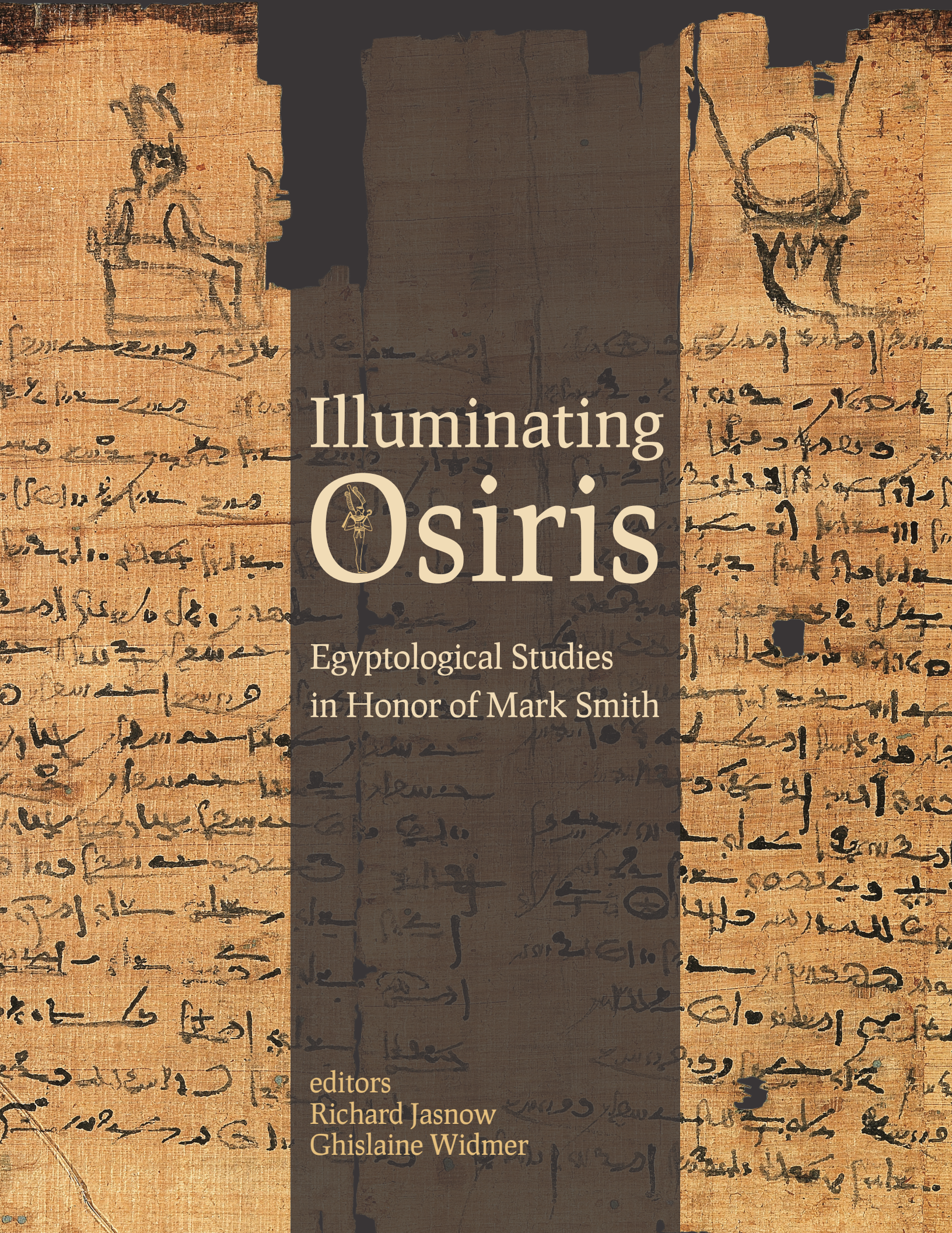


Illuminating Osiris

Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith

editors
Richard Jasnow
Ghislaine Widmer

ILLUMINATING OSIRIS

EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF MARK SMITH

MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT

NUMBER TWO



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Richard Jasnow
Ghislaine Widmer

Note from the Editors

Scholars of Late period Egypt, and Demoticists in particular, are an individualistic group. They tend to devise their own conventions of citation and transliteration. In this spirit we have only applied a light editorial hand to the articles in this volume, although we have indeed striven for a reasonable consistency. We trust that no readers will be seriously inconvenienced or unduly puzzled by this editorial tolerance.

Introduction

In recent years, Demotic Studies has attracted a number of remarkable individuals who have brought about a virtual renaissance, a *wḥm-mswt*, in our field. However, Mark Smith stands out even among this group. He enjoys, indeed, a special veneration among Egyptologists for the range and power of his scholarship. His books and articles, distinguished by their impeccable style and clarity, possess an authority seldom rivaled in our field. He is certainly one of the leaders in the famously difficult study of Egyptian Religion. His many friends, close colleagues, and former students present this Festschrift to him in grateful recognition of his profound contributions to Egyptology.

The basic facts of his career may be quickly recounted. Mark graduated with a BA in Near Eastern Studies in the University of Chicago in 1973. He then entered the graduate program in Egyptian Philology in the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of Chicago. There, at the Oriental Institute, he studied with such professors as George Hughes, Edward Wente, Janet Johnson, and Klaus Baer. He worked particularly closely with Prof. Hughes, for whom he has always had a special esteem. Born in Nebraska, Hughes embodied the positive qualities associated with the Midwest. He was modest, thoughtful, hardworking, and helpful, never so happy as when sitting quietly with a student contemplating a Demotic text. It is no surprise that Mark, himself raised in Minnesota, was inspired by him. He obtained his PhD in 1979, presenting a Doctoral Thesis entitled: "The Demotic Mortuary Texts of Papyrus Louvre E. 3452." During the later part of his residence (1977–1980) at the Oriental Institute he joined the Demotic Dictionary Project, which had been brought back to life by Janet Johnson. In 1980 he was appointed both Lady Wallis Budge Fellow and University Lecturer in Ancient Egyptian and Coptic at Oxford. He was a Reader in Egyptology from 1996–2007 and then named Professor of Egyptology in 2007. His present title is "Professor of Egyptology and Lady Wallis Budge Fellow of Egyptology." He is currently serving as Chair of the Faculty Board of Oriental Studies.

Mark has naturally been involved in numerous expeditions and projects through the years. His participation on the Demotic Dictionary Project doubtless helped to lay the groundwork for his deep knowledge of the corpus of Demotic texts. Already as a student he had the opportunity to be an Epigrapher at the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1976–1977). He thereby become acquainted first-hand with the great temples and tombs in Luxor. A few years later Mark had the good fortune to work with that most distinguished Epigrapher, Prof. Ricardo Caminos (Brown University), in the marvelous site of Gebel el-Silsila (1981–1982; fig.1). They spent many hours copying the quarry graffiti, both certainly enjoying the remote beauty of that isolated site. Mark admired the meticulous quality of Caminos's scholarship and his sensitive approach to philology, particularly lexicography, as amply demonstrated by the masterful *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Among his non-Demotic activities we may mention here his time as Acting Keeper of the Griffith Institute Archives and Editor of the *Topographical Bibliography* (2011–2012). In this capacity he helped prepare for publication volume 8.4 of that fundamental Egyptological reference work.

The bibliography published in this volume amply documents Mark's scholarly publications, we need not systematically describe here his numerous books and articles. We should, however, observe that Mark's particular interest, really from the very beginning of his academic career, has been religious, funerary, and mortuary texts. This dedication to that very challenging corpus is the hallmark of his scholarly persona. While individual examples of such texts, as the Rhind Papyrus, had, of course, been known almost from the beginning of Demotic Studies, it is no exaggeration to state that Mark's series of volumes, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM* 10507, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, and *Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7)*, really opened up this whole field of study.

The compositions that Mark published are among the most elaborate and poetic preserved from ancient Egypt. Mark, along with his colleagues working in other Demotic subspecialties, forcefully made the case that Demotic, far from being a rather boring byway of Egyptology, is a field of immense richness, full of treasures waiting to be discovered by assiduous researchers. Moreover, his comprehensive commentaries to the texts, which draw on a vast range of textual and material evidence and sources, have exploded the notion that one can study these texts "in isolation," as it were. He has thus inspired students and colleagues to become well-rounded Egyptologists, and not just "Demoticists." Demotic cannot be separated from the rest of Egyptology. Similarly, colleagues working in the earlier pharaonic periods no longer can safely ignore the Late period. While most of his publications might be characterized as "specialized," his extensive collection of translations and essays, *Traversing Eternity*, has made this aspect of ancient Egypt more readily accessible to the wider circle of scholars and the general public. Mark has always also had a deep interest in Coptic Studies as well, as exemplified by his chapter on "Coptic Literature 337–425" in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. Indeed, his first published article in 1974 was an edition of a Coptic ostracon in *Enchoria*.



Fig. 1. Mark with Ricardo Caminos preparing for the 1981–1982 epigraphic campaign at Gebel el-Silsila at Chicago House. Photograph courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago.

Editors of Festschriften are traditionally allowed the privilege of adding a more personal note to their introductions. We would like in the following lines to take advantage of this editorial indulgence from our individual perspectives.

I (Richard) have counted myself fortunate to have known Mark since his time as a graduate student at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in the 1970s. Indeed, having entered the graduate program in 1977 as an aspiring Demoticist myself, I soon heard of this "advanced" graduate student who was completing his dissertation, even before I ever set eyes on him in the Oriental Institute Archives. I knew well from Prof. George Hughes, Jan Johnson, and Edward Wente, just how brilliant a philologist he was. Thanks to Jan's initiating the Demotic Dictionary Project, I was later able to work with, or for, him, laboring away with colleagues such as Robert Ritner in a small room at the end of the second-story hallway in the Oriental Institute, right next to the Hittite Dictionary. Jan had asked us to transliterate and translate the core material to be utilized for the *CDD*. As one of his responsibilities, Mark would read over and correct my hand-written transliterations and translations, which we prepared on yellow-note pads in those precomputer days. I was, naturally, rather nervous as to what Mark might say of my attempts at "working-up" these often difficult Demotic texts for carding. I need not have been. One could simply not imagine a more encouraging and helpful colleague and mentor.

What I remember from those early Demotic Dictionary days was Mark's sheer love of Demotic and delight in puzzling out a crux. Mark was at that time going through such fundamental texts as the Archive of Hor or Parker's *Omina*. How often he would show us an interesting or unusual writing or discuss a challenging passage. Non-Egyptologists would doubtless have been astonished, if not alarmed, to observe how we in the Demotic Dictionary found the vagaries of Demotic script to be a continuous source of amusement and joy.

Many of the contributors to this volume later studied with Mark at Oxford, as did my co-editor, Ghislaine. I suspect that their experience has been similar to mine. They doubtless felt as I did and do, that they were engaging with someone who loved Demotic texts, and who especially appreciated the challenge of deciphering and explaining clearly their meaning.

When Mark was working with Ricardo Caminos recording those Demotic graffiti in Gebel Silsila in 1981, I was a member of the Epigraphic Survey in Luxor. Mark and Caminos came by one day for a vist to Chicago House. I shall never forget how we sat on a bench talking enthusiastically about graffiti, all those unrecorded inscriptions waiting to be copied. Demoticists will be aware of the almost incredible number of beautiful Demotic graffiti from Gebel Silsila. On that bench before the Chicago House Library Mark described to me the impressive Demotic inscriptions at the site. Spreading his hands widely, he exclaimed: "the ayins were that large!" The emotion might be compared to that of a young palaeontologist roaming a rich fossil site in the Montana deadlands.

The reader should not have the impression, however, that Mark is fixated merely on Egyptology. Those who know Mark are aware that he has many interests outside of our field. He is passionate about American Baseball, his beloved team being the Boston Red Sox. I recall with pleasure when, having come to Johns Hopkins University to deliver the annual William Foxwell Albright Lecture sponsored by the Department of Near Eastern Studies, my colleague, Betsy Bryan, arranged for tickets for the three of us to a game between the Baltimore Orioles (our home team) and the Boston Red Sox. She had obtained spectacular seats, so that one could observe the players close up. I suspect that Mark enjoyed this outing about as much as a good Demotic religious text. On his visits back to America with Annette, Mark has always tried to make the pilgrimage to Fenway Park in Boston, where the Red Sox play, to see a game. During one visit Mark was able to meet personally Johnny Pesky, a famous Red Sox player of the 1940s and '50s (a teammate of the legendary Ted Williams). Since I suspect most Demoticists are Europeans who may not have studied baseball history, I would explain the significance of Mark's meeting Pesky by equating it with what we might feel coming face-to-face with F. Ll. Griffith. In the Demotic Dictionary Office Mark and I sometimes speculated that it would be nice to have "Demotic" cards much like the "Baseball" cards collected by fans of that sport. Baseball cards contain pictures of the players together with the important statistics of the athlete's career, i.e., how many "home runs" (that is like football goals) the player has hit. In our "Demotic" cards one might have a picture, for example, of Wilhelm Spiegelberg, together with the high percentage of correct or amazing readings which he/she had made. Certainly there would be other interesting statistics which one might add about professional Demoticists. The details still have to be worked out….

Mark has a deep love of music of various genres. Classically, he enjoys Handel and Wagner, for example, but is particularly a fan of early opera recordings, as exemplified by such great singers as Rosa Poncelle. Mark is also fond of early Jazz, his taste ranging from the foundational figures of King Oliver and Jelly Roll Morton through Miles Davis. Among more contemporary Jazz artists he loves Sun Ra, most fitting for an Egyptologist. Early blues, as represented by such greats as Howlin Wolf, is another of his passions. His Egyptological writings have, at least once, revealed his interest in American blues. In Mark's review of the Heinz-Josef Thissen's edition of *Harfner*, he quotes the great African-American musician Son House's use of the expression "to raise sand," when discussing Thissen's restoration "to raise up/scatter sand" in the Demotic text. How often has Son House appeared in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*?

Mark plays music himself. He is a devotee of the tuba. When he won the Mark Perry Galler Prize at the University of Chicago for the best dissertation of 1979, he used part of his winnings to purchase a seat for his tuba on the flight to England when he took up his position at Oxford. We have heard, from several reliable sources, that back in Chicago he would occasionally practice his tuba on the roof of his apartment house. It was Mark who clued me in to the marvelous tuba concerto of Ralph Vaughan Williams, which I gladly added to my own CD collection.

* * *

Ma (Ghislaine) première image de Mark (sans écriture non étymologique ici !) est une photographie prise de dos à Pise en 1993, lors du cinquième Congrès international des études démotiques. C'est ainsi que j'ai fait la connaissance de celui qui allait m'initier à cette cursive, me diriger et me conseiller pendant plus de dix ans, depuis le *Master of Philosophy* jusqu'à la thèse de doctorat et encore, par la suite.



Fig. 2. Mark Smith dans le temple d'Amon à Siwa en 2013

Des deux années de cours que j'ai suivis avec Mark (de 1993 à 1995), souvent en comité très réduit, j'ai le souvenir d'un enseignant attentif à ses étudiants, bienveillant et disponible, ayant toujours soin de souligner le caractère positif d'une réponse, même si celle-ci était… "not quite correct". La personnalité scientifique et humaine de Mark m'ont donné envie de poursuivre mon cursus en démotique avec lui, malgré les difficultés que j'éprouvais alors à me sentir "oxonienne". Mark a accepté d'être le directeur scientifique d'une thèse genevoise, que j'ai menée en parallèle avec l'assistanat, et m'a consacré de nombreuses heures, tant lors de mes séjours à Oxford qu'à travers une correspondance épistolaire très fournie (je parle d'un temps sans messagerie électronique !). Je reconnaissais au premier coup d'œil, dans ma boîte aux lettres, l'écriture régulière de Mark et, en papyrophile, j'ai gardé précieusement ces "reliques" smithiennes qui pourraient, comme je l'avais dit en plaisantant lors d'un Symposium à Heidelberg, prendre un jour de la valeur sur le marché des antiquités. Mark m'a appris à réfreiner mon impatience de débutante, m'octroyant toujours des conseils fort judicieux. Ses encouragements et son soutien permanent, qu'il s'agisse de mes premiers articles ou communications (je me rappelle de sa présence attentive, au premier rang de la grande salle du Service des Antiquités, lors du sixième Congrès international des études démotiques du Caire), ou qu'il s'agisse de lettres de recommandation jusqu'à la révision toute récente du manuscrit de ma thèse de doctorat, ont été pour moi essentiels dans la réalisation de ma carrière.

Tant que j'étais son étudiante, Mark est resté très réservé, ne laissant paraître que quelques bribes de ses intérêts non égyptologiques, comme le tuba auquel il faisait parfois allusion durant les cours et, plus généralement, la musique, qui a toujours occupé une place importante dans sa vie. Ce n'est pourtant que le jour de ma soutenance de doctorat que j'ai appris que Mark avait profité de ce passage en Suisse pour assister à une représentation d'Eugène Onéguine au Grand Théâtre de Genève.

Au fur et à mesure des années, j'ai appris à mieux connaître Mark et j'ai rencontré Annette, son épouse, dont les passions sont tout aussi nombreuses. J'ai beaucoup entendu parler de leurs trois chats, Flint, Cleo (en hommage au chanteur de blues Cleo Gibson et non à la reine macédonienne !) et Senta, mais également de dinosaures et de baleines auxquels Mark aime à consacrer une partie de son temps libre, chez lui, à Condicote, ou lors de ses déplacements professionnels : combien de fois n'a-t-il évoqué tel ou tel musée d'Histoire Naturelle, à Berlin, Boston

ou Paris, qu'il avait visité à l'occasion d'un colloque ou d'une soutenance de thèse ? Profitant d'une invitation en Bohême, il a recherché les traces de sa famille et la maison où avaient vécu ses aïeux. Et c'est avec cette même détermination qu'il a modifié le programme de ses voyages guidés en Égypte pour visiter quelques sites qui lui tenaient particulièrement à cœur.

Enfin, étant moi-même grande amatrice des "salles obscures", je ne pourrai passer sous silence la passion de Mark pour le cinéma muet, en particulier pour les films d'épouvante des années 1920. Je me souviens de l'enthousiasme avec lequel il m'a parlé des projections à la cinémathèque ou au Musée d'Orsay qui ont parsémé son séjour parisien en tant que directeur d'études invité à l'EPHE, son grand regret étant d'avoir manqué de quelques jours la présentation de *La chute de la maison Usher*.

Mark est un homme qu'il faut prendre le temps de connaître. Pour emprunter le titre d'un autre film de Jean Epstein, je dirais qu'il est une "glace à trois faces". Sérieux et exigeant avec les autres, mais surtout avec lui-même, il impressionne ceux qui l'approchent par l'acuité de ses connaissances de notre discipline ; sa façon de parler, à la fois tranquille et déterminée, énonçant ses observations avec une logique implacable, emporte alors l'adhésion. Mais c'est aussi, comme Richard et moi l'avons rappelé, un homme aux multiples passions, qu'il vit pleinement et sans arrières-pensées, qu'il s'agisse de baseball, de musique, de films muets ou d'animaux de grande et petite tailles. La troisième face de Mark, que j'ai découverte au fil des années, est celle d'un homme qui aime plaisanter sur les incohérences du monde extérieur, comme sur lui-même. Avec une approche toujours scientifique, Mark joue volontiers avec les idées préconçues jusqu'à les faire paraître absurdes, déconstruisant ainsi certaines évidences. N'a-t-il pas écrit (sérieusement) au sujet du *Eleventh International Congress of Demotic Studies* qu'il a organisé à Oxford en 2011, dans *Hallmark*, le journal local de son village des Cotswolds où nous avons été somptueusement reçus : « Demotists from all over the world attended, at least one from every continent on earth except Antarctica » ? Évoquant cette même excursion « on a warm, sunny day with hardly a cloud in the sky », il me signalait, dans un message électronique, que ce jour-là, le 1er septembre 2011, le pourcentage de personnes sachant lire le démotique était plus important à Condicote qu'à Thèbes au 1er siècle avant notre ère ou à Tebtynis trois siècles plus tard !

In addition to the Oxford contributions to the essays, Richard Parkinson has asked that we express warmest congratulations from the Egyptological and collegiate community there past and present, including, from among the teaching staff, John Baines, Elizabeth Frood, Leire Olabarria, Luigi Prada, Gesa Schenke, Robert Simpson, Andreas Winkler; from the Ashmolean Museum, Liam McNamara and Helen Whitehouse; from the Griffith Institute, Francisco Bosche-Puche, Elizabeth Fleming, Alison Hobby, Diana Magee, Jaromir Malek, and Cat Warsi; from the Sackler Library, Diane Bergman; and also from the Master and Fellows of University College, Oxford. All join together in wishing Mark the very best now and in the future.

Richard Jasnow
Ghislaine Widmer

Given Mark's interests, the editors had originally envisioned a Festschrift with a thematic unity, focussing on unpublished religious and literary texts from the Late period. We also made the more difficult decision to restrict the contributors to those who had studied with Mark at Oxford or had worked closely with him. However, *habent sua fata libelli* or, in the original Demotic, *nꜣ ḏmꜥ.w wn mtw=w pꜣy=w šy ḥꜥ=w.* Over the years the book expanded beyond those admittedly unrealistic (and naïve) restrictions. Some authors quite naturally chose to study previously published texts, hieroglyphic or Greek inscriptions, as well as economic documents or questions of grammar. As the project continued, we also became keenly aware that there are other friends, colleagues, and admirers of Mark whom we might have asked to contribute. The Jubilee's stature is such that most Egyptologists would have been happy to submit an article, thus doubling or tripling the size of the present volume. May those saddened that they were not asked to contribute have pity upon the poor editors and forgive them their transgressions!

Abbreviations

GENERAL

Abb.	Abbildung
Abt.	Abteilung
AD	*Anno Domini*
ÄS	ägyptische Sammlung
adj.	adjectif
adv.	adverbe
AF	Abbreviation followed by an inventory number employed in the designation of objects in the Louvre Museum
Anm.	Anmerkung
apr.	après
AR	Altes Reich
art.	article
av.	avant
BAAM	Bibliotheca Alexandrina. The Archaeology Museum.
BC	Before Christ
BCE	Before Common Era
Bd.	Band
BD	Book of the Dead
Bibl. nat.	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. See also BN
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
BP	Before Present
bzw.	beziehungsweise
ca.	*circa*, approximately
Cat.	Catalogue
CE	Common Era
CEROR	Centre d'études et de recherches sur l'Occident romain
cf.	*confer*, compare
CG	Catalogue Général
CLES	Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture (The Brooklyn Museum)
cm(s)	centimeter(s)
CNI	Carsten Niebuhr Institute, Copenhagen
col(s).	column(s)
contemp.	contemporary with
CT	Coffin Texts
CtYBR	= Yale University Research Libraries Information Network's designation for the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
DAE	Département des Antiquités égyptiennes (Louvre)
déf.	défini
DelM	Deir el-Medina
Dem	Demotic
ders.	derselbe
d.h.	das heißt
dies.	dieselbe

diss.	dissertation
DPhil	Doctor of Philosophy
DN	Divine Name
Dyn.	Dynasty
ead.	*eadem* (same author [feminine])
ed.	edition
ed(s.)	editor(s)
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund
EES	Egypt Exporation Society
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alii*, and others
etc.	*et cetera* and so forth
ex(x).	example(s)
f.	féminin
Fasc. Supplet.	*Fasciculi Suppletorii*, additional fascicles
ff.	following
fig(s).	figure(s).
Flo	Florence
Fn.	Fußnote
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Fs.	Festschrift
GEM	Grand Egyptian Museum
ggf.	gegebenenfalls
Gl	Glyptothek/Glyptotek
GN	Geographical Name
Griff.	Griffith (Institute)
Hg(g.)	Herausgeber (singular and plural)
ht.	height
i.	intransitif
IANES	Institut für die Kulturen des Alten Orients
ibid.	*ibidem*, in the same place
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
imp.	impératif
indéf.	indéfini
ined.	*ineditus*, unpublished
i.S.v.	im Sinne von
insbes.	insbesondere
inv.	inventory
J.-C.	Jésus-Christ
JE	=JdE = Journal d'Entrée, Cairo Museum
Kol.	Kolumne
km	kilometer
KV	Valley of the Kings
l.	line
LdM	Livre des Morts
lit.	literally
loc. cit.	*loco citato*, in the place already cited
Lond.	London
m	masculine
m	meter
max.	maximum
m.E.	meines Erachtens
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Mich.	Michigan
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MME	Medelhavsmuseet designation numbers
MRAH	Musées royaux d'Art ed d'Histoire de Bruxelles
MS	Manuscript
n.	note
NK	New Kingdom
nn	*nomen nescio*, name unknown
o(s).	number(s)
Nr.	Nummer
NYHS	New York Historical Society
o.	ostracon
O.I.	Oriental Institute, Chicago
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
Ostr.	ostracon
Ox.	Oxford
Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus
P. /Pap.	Papyrus
pers. comm.	personal communication
PN	Personal Name
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
plur.	pluriel
poss.	possessif
prép.	préposition
PT	Pyramid Text(s)
Ptol.	Ptolemaic/Ptolemy
Pyr.	Pyramid
q.v.	*quod vide*, which see
rev.	revised
RMO	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
RSV	Revised Standard Version (Old Testament)
rt.	recto
S	Seite
s	stela
sc.	*scilicet*, namely
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
SIP	Second Intermediate Period
s.f.	substantif féminin
s.m.	substantif masculin
s.n.	*sine numero*, without number
sq(q).	*sequiturque*, *sequunturque*, and following
SR	Special Register (Cairo Museum)
s.u.	Siehe unten
s.v.	*sub verbo*, under the word
Tab.	Tabelle
Taf	Tafel
Tebt.	Tebtunis
TLA DZA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/) Das Digitalisierte Zettelarchiv
temp	*tempore*, in the time of
TM	Trismegistos
trans.	translator
TT	Theban tomb (tomb number)
u.a.	unter anderem/n

UC	University College London
Urk.	Urkunden
v.	verbe
v. Chr.	vor Christus
var.	variant(e)
vgl.	vergleiche
vign.	vignette
vo.	verso
vol(s)	volume(s)
vs.	verso
v.i.	verbe intransitif
v.t.	verbe transitif
w.	width
w.	with
Wb. Z	Wörterbuch Zettel
yr.	year
z.B.	zum Beispiel

BIBLIOGRAPHIC

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960–.
AAASH	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Budapest, 1951–.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Wiesbaden, 1979–.
AAWL	see ASAW
ACES	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies. Sydney, 1989–.
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe. Glückstadt, Berlin, 1958–.
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*. Leiden, Copenhagen,1923–.
AegHel	See AH
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca Leodiensia. Liège, 1987–.
AegTrev	Aegyptiaca Treverensia. Mainz, 1981–.
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York, 1936–.
AfP	see *APF*
Ä & L	*Ägypten und Levante*. Vienna, 1990–.
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica. Geneva, then Basel, 1974–.
AHAW	Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg, 1997–.
ÄIB	G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Two volumes. Leipzig, 1913–24.
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*. New York, 1897–.
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*. Baltimore, 1880–.
AJSLL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*. Chicago, 1895–1941.
ALB	Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon. Paris, 1969–.
ALex	D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*. Paris, 1980–1982. Cited by entry number.
AnAe	Analecta Aegyptiaca. Copenhagen, 1940–.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Kevelaer, Neukirchen, Vluyn, Münster, 1969–.
AOB	Acta Orientalia Belgica. Brussels, 1966–.
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*. Berlin, 1974–.
ÄOP	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin, 2012–.
AOS	American Oriental Series. New Haven, 1925–.
AÖAW	*Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse*. Vienna, 1864–.

APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*. Stuttgart, 1910–.
ARG	*Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*. Stuttgart, 1999–.
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*. Prague, 1929–.
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*. Cairo, 1900–.
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Leipzig, Stuttgart, 1915–.
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London, 1893–.
ASMA	Aarhus studies in Mediterranean antiquity. Aarhus, 1998–.
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology. New Haven, 1966–.
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen/ Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Berlin, Mainz am Rhein, 1970–.
AVDAIK	see AV
BACE	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*. Sydney, 1990–.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports. Oxford, 1978–.
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford, 1974–.
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*. New York, 1964–.
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude. Cairo, 1908–.
BeiBf	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. 11 vols. Cairo, Zürich, Wiesbaden, 1937–1997.
BEM	*Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum*. Cairo, 2004–.
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*. New York, 1979–.
BEStud	Brown Egyptological Studies. London, 1954–.
BG	Bibliothèque générale. Cairo, 1959–.
BiAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1932–.
BidE	*Bulletin de l'Institut du désert d'Égypte*. Heliopolis, 1953–.
BIE	*Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, later *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*. Cairo, 1859–1950.
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*. Cairo, 1901–.
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Leiden, 1943–.
BMFA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*. Boston, 1926–.
BMJ	*Brooklyn Museum Journal*. Brooklyn NY, 1942–.
BMMA	*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1905–.
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers. London, 1978–.
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*. London, 1926–.
BMSAES	*British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*. London, 2002–.
BSA	British School of Archaeology in Egypt. London, 1905–1953.
BSAE/ERA	British School of Archaeology in Egypt (and Egyptian Research Account). London, 1896–1952.
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*. Cairo, 1935–.
BSAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte. Hamburg, 1985–.
BSEG	*Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève*. Geneva, 1979–.
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*. Paris, 1949–.
BzA	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde. Stuttgart, 1990–.
CAA	Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer. Mainz, 1977–.
CASAE	*Cahiers*. Suppléments aux *ASAE*. Cairo, 1946–.
CBD	Catalogue of the Books of the Dead (and Other Religious Texts [later added]) in the British Museum. London, 1997–.
CCEM	Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean. Vienna, 2000–.
CD	W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1939.
CDD	J. Johnson, ed. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 2001,–. http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Brussels, 1925–.
CDPBM	Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. London, 1939–.
CENiM	Cahiers "Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne." Montpellier, 2008–.

CGC	*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo, 1901–.
CH	Collectanea Hellenistica. Leuven, 1989–.
CHANE	Culture & History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden, 2000–.
CMET MonTesti	Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino. Serie prima, Monumenti e testi. Milan, Florence, 1967–.
CNI Publications	The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Publications. Copenhagen, 1986–.
CNMAL	Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden. Leiden, 1974–.
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Paris, 1857–.
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*. Lille, 1973–.
CSEG	Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie. Geneva, 1991–.
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition. Leiden, 1976–.
DAIKS	see *SDAIK*
DAWW	Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl., 1850–1918.
DDD	Demotische Dokumente aus Dime. Wiesbaden, 2006–.
DE	*Discussions in Egyptology*. Oxford, 1985–.
DemBL	A.A. den Brinker, B. Muhs, and S. Vleeming. *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*. StudDem 7. Two volumes. Leuven, 2005.
Demot. Nb.	E. Lüddeckens et al. *Demotisches Namenbuch.* Wiesbaden, 1980–2000.
DemStud	Demotische Studien. Leipzig, 1901-1928. Continued, Würzburg, Sommerhausen, 1988–.
Dendara	É. Chassinat, continued by Chassinat and F. Daumas, continued by S. Cauville, *Le Temple de Dendara*. Cairo, 1934–.
DFIFAO	Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Cairo, 1934–.
DGÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie. Vienna, 1947–.
DPSMB	Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Berlin, 1978–.
EA	*Egyptian Archaeology, The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society*. London, 1991–.
Edfou	M. de Rochemonteix, continued by É. Chassinat, continued by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, *Le Temple d'Edfou*. Cairo, 1897–.
EG	A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. rev. Oxford, 1957.
ENiM	*Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne*. Montpellier, 2008–.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, Leiden, 1961-1992.
EQTÄ	Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie. Münster, 2003–.
ERTR	Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations. New York, 1954-1974.
Esna	S. Sauneron, *Le Temple de Esna*. 8 vols. IFAO. Cairo, 1959–1982.
ET	*Études et Travaux: Scholarly annual of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences.* Warsaw, 1966–.
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven. Leiden, 1982–.
EVO	*Egitto e Vicino Oriente*. Pisa, 1978–.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament. Tübingen, 1991–.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1921–.
GHP Egyptology	Golden House Publications Egyptology. London, 2004–.
Glossar	W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen, 1954.
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*. Göttingen, 1972–.
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen (IV. Reihe: Ägypten), Göttingen, 1973–.
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim, 1976–.
HAT	Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches. Wiesbaden, 1995–.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten. Leiden, 1952–.
HP	G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. 3 volumes. Leipzig, 1909–12.
HPBM	Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. London, 1935–.
HTBM	*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*. London, 1911–.
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review.* New York, Cambridge, MA, 1908–.
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Berlin, London, 1998–.
ITE	Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Begleithefte. Wiesbaden and Gladbeck.1990–.

JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion*. Leiden, Boston, 2002–.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Baltimore, 1843–.
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Boston, New York, 1962–.
JEA	*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London, 1914–.
JEH	*Journal of Egyptian History*. Leiden, 2008–.
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch*. Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux. Leiden, 1933–.
JES	*The Journal of Egyptian Studies.* Waseda University, Tokyo, 1993–. http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/publication eji.html
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Leiden, 1957–.
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*. Boston, 1974–.
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*. Warsaw, 1946–.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago, 1942–.
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*. London, 1911–.
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*. Manchester, 1956–.
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*. Toronto, 1977–.
KÄT	Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden, 1969–.
KAW	Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt. Mainz, 1977–.
KHWB	Wolfhart Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1977.
Kom Ombo	J. de Morgan et al. *Kom Ombos*. Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, II–III. Vienna, 1895–1909.
K*RI*	Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. 8 volumes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–99.
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen. Wiesbaden, 2004–.
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–92.
LAAA	*(Liverpool) Annals of Archaeology and Anthrolopogy.* Liverpool, 1908–1948.
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient. Paris, 1974–.
LD	Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. 12 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–56.
LGG	Christian Leitz et alii (eds.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. 8 volumes. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16 and 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–3.
LingAeg	*Lingua Aegyptia*. Hamburg, Göttingen, 1991–.
LingAegSM	Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica. Hamburg, Göttingen, 1994–.
MAe	Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, Munich, 1962–.
MBPF	Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. Munich, 1915–.
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Berlin, Wiesbaden, Mainz, 1930–.
Med. Habu	H.-J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, DemStud 10. Gisela Zauzich Verlag: Sommerhausen, 1989.
MEOL	Mededeelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux." Leiden, 1934–1946.
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, 1953–1971.
MMAF	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire.* Cairo, 1889–.
MMJ	*Metropolitan Museum Journal*. New York, 1968–.
MonAeg	Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.
MPER NS	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Neue Serie. Vienna, 1932–.
MRE	Monographies Reine Élisabeth. Fondation egyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Brussels, 1971.
MVAA	Monumenti Vaticani di Archeologia e d'Arte. Vatican, 1922–.

MVAeG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, 1921–1944.
MVAG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, Berlin, 1896–1921.
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt. Atlanta, 2015–.
NAWG	Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen. 1941–2006.
OÄW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte). Vienna, 1848–.
OAJ	*Oxford Art Journal*. Oxford, 1978–.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freibourg [Switzerland], Göttingen, 1973–.
OCMA	Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology Monograph. Oxford, 2007–.
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications. Chicago, 1922–.
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–.
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. Berlin, Leipzig, 1898–.
OM	Orientalia Monspeliensia. Montpellier, 1979–.
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Leiden, 1920–1999.
Or	*Orientalia*. Rome, 1920–.
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Tübingen, 2009–.
PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie. Leiden, 1953–.
PALMA	Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. Turnhout, 2005–.
PapBrux	Papyrologica Bruxellensia. Brussels, 1962–.
PapLup	Papyrologica Lupiensia. Lecce, 1992–.
Pap. Flor.	Papyrologica Florentina. Florence, 1975–.
P. L. Bat.	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava. Leiden, 1941–.
PLO	Porta Linguarum Orientalium. Wiesbaden, 1954–.
PM I^{1}	B. Porter and R. 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}	B. Porter and R. 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^{2}	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 2: *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed. revised and augmented. Oxford, 1972.
PM III^{1}	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III: *Memphis. Part 1. Abu Rawash to Abusir*. 2nd ed., revised and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1974.
PM III^{2} fascicle 3	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III^{2}, *Memphis. Part 2. Saqqara to Dahshur*. Fascicle 3 (III^{2}, 777-1014). 2nd ed., revised and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum,1981.
PM III^{2} fascicle 2	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III^{2}. *Memphis. Part 2. Saqqara to Dahshur*. Fascicle 2 (III^{2}, 575-776). 2nd ed., revised and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum,1979.
PM III^{2} fascicle 1	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III^{2}: *Memphis. Part 2. Saqqara to Dahshur*. Fascicle 1 (III^{2}, 393–574). 2nd ed., revised and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1978.
PM IV	B. Porter and R. 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	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts,*

	Reliefs, and Paintings, Vol. 5: *Upper Egypt: Sites (Deir Rifa to Aswan, Excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Edfu, Esna, Kôm Ombo, and Philae*. Oxford, 1937.
PM VI	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Vol. 6: *Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Oxford, 1939.
PM VII	B. Porter and R. 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.
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1916–.
PN	H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. 3 vols. Glückstadt, Hamburg, 1935–1977.
Pros. Ptol.	*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, Studia Hellenistica 6, 8, 11-13, 17, 20-21, 25. Leuven, 1950–.
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. London, 1879-1918.
PSI	Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto. Florence, 1912–.
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen. Bonn, 1968–.
PTT	Private Tombs at Thebes. Oxford, 1957–.
RA	*Revue archéologique*. Paris, 1844–.
RAPH	*Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Cairo. 1930–.
RB	*Revue biblique*. Paris, 1892–.
RdE	*Revue d'égyptologie*. Cairo, Paris, 1933–.
RecTrav	*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Paris, 1870–1923.
REG	*Revue des études grecques*. Paris, 1888–.
RGRW	Religions of the Graeco-Roman World. Leiden, 1992–.
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi orientali*. Rome, 1907–.
RTA	N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. ASE 13–18. London, 1903–1908.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens. Heidelberg, 1990–.
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*. Hamburg, 1974–.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago, 1931–.
SASAE	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (= CASAE). Cairo, 1946–.
SAT	Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch. Wiesbaden, 1998–.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Vienna, 1848–.
SBAW	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft. Basel, 1953–.
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. Cairo, 1975–.
SEAP	*Studi di egittologia e di Antichità puniche*. Bologna, Pisa, 1987–.
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum. Amsterdam, 1923–.
SEP	*Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde*. Leipzig, 1927-1930.
SHAW	Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Heidelberg, 1983–.
SHR	Studies in the History of Religion, Supplement to *Numen*. Leiden, 1965–.
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse). Vienna, 1848–1946.
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin, 1918–1921. Continued by SAWB (= Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse).
SRaT	Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel. Dettelbach, 2007–.
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. Toronto, 1977–.
SSR	*Studi storico-religiosi*. Scuola di perfez. in stud. stor.-relig. Università di Roma. L'Aquila, 1977–1982.
StudDem	Studia Demotica. Leuven, 1987–.
StudHell	Studia Hellenistica. Leuven, 1942–.
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae. Berlin-Brandenburg, 2004. http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/
Trismegistos	Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of papyrological and epigraphical resources. Leuven. http://www.trismegistos.org/
TTS	The Theban Tomb Series. London, 1915–1933.
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh, 1982–2001.
TUAT NF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Gütersloh, 2004–.
UEE	*UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles, 2010–. https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens. Leipzig, 1896–1956.

UPZ	U. Wilcken. *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde).* 2 volumes. Berlin, Leipzig, 1927–1957.
Urk. I	K. Sethe. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig, 1903.
Urk. IV	K. Sethe. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.* Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4, fasc. 1–16. Leipzig, 1906–1909. 2nd rev. ed., 1927–1930. Continued by W. Helck, fasc. 17–22. Berlin, 1955–1958.
Urk. VI	S. Schott, *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts*. Leipzig, 1929–1939.
Urk. VII	K. Sethe and W. Erichsen. *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches.* Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 7. Leipzig, 1935–.
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes. Vienna, 1975–.
VA	*Varia Aegyptiaca*. San Antonio, 1985–.
VAS	Varia Aegyptiaca. Supplement. San Antonio, 1987–.
VKAR	Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Antike Rechtsgeschichte. Vienna, 1977–.
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Wiesbaden, Göttingen, 1971–1994.
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. plus 5 vols. Belegstellen. Berlin, 1926–1963.
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta, 1990–.
WdO	*Die Welt des Orients*. Göttingen, 1947–.
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Vienna, 1887–.
WZKM-B	Beihefte zur *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Vienna, 1936–.
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.* Leipzig, Berlin, 1863–.
ZDMG	*Zeitschriften der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, Wiesbaden. 1847–.
ZNTW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*. Giessen, 1900–.
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.* Bonn, 1967–.

Egyptological Bibliography of Mark Smith

Books

Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia (Oxford), in press.
Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (Oxford, 2009).
Papyrus Harkness (MMA 31.9.7) (Oxford, 2005).
On the Primaeval Ocean, The Carlsberg Papyri 5 = CNI Publications 26 (Copenhagen, 2002).
The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Oxford, 1993).
The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507, CDPBM 3 (London, 1987).

Book Chapters, Articles, and Other Contributions

In press
"Todesüberwindung und Leben nach dem Tod in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit," in J. Assmann and H. Roeder (eds.), *Handbuch Altägyptische Religion* (Leiden), in press.
"Transformation and Justification: A Unique Adaptation of Book of the Dead Spell 125 in P. Louvre E 3452," in R. Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, SAOC 70 (Chicago), in press.
"Forschung in der Papyrussammlung – Past, Present and Future," *Jahrbuch der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, in press.
"A New Version of the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing," *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Demotists, Würzburg, 27–30 August 2002* (Würzburg), in press.

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et al. "Eleventh International Congress of Demotic Studies, Oxford, 30 August–3 September, 2011," *Enchoria* 34 (2014/2015), 119–36.

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"Whose Ritual? Osirian Texts and Texts Written for the Deceased in P. BM EA 10209: A Case Study," in B. Backes and J. Dieleman (eds.), *Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt. Liturgische Texte für Osiris und Verstorbene im spätzeitlichen Ägypten*, SSR 14 (Wiesbaden, 2015), 161–77.
With R. Jasnow. "New Fragments of the Demotic Mut Text in Copenhagen and Florence," in R. Jasnow and K. M. Cooney (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan* (Atlanta, 2015), 239–82.

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"Osiris and the Deceased in Ancient Egypt: Perspectives from Four Millennia," *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), Section des sciences religieuses* 121 (2014), 88–101.
"Bodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P) and the Interface Between Temple Cult and Cult of the Dead," in J. F. Quack (ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, ORA 6 (Tübingen, 2014), 145–55.

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"Orthographies of Middle Egyptian Verbal Forms in Demotic, with Particular Reference to the *sdm.n=f*," in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Orthography. Acts of an International Colloquium Held in Trier, 8 November 2010*, StudDem 11 (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA), 2013, 117–26.

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"New References to the Deceased as *Wsir n NN* from the Third Intermediate Period and the Earliest Reference to a Deceased Woman

as *Ḥ.t-Ḥr NN*," *RdE* 63 (2012), 187–96.
"Demotic comes to Condicote," *The Hallmark, Condicote Village Newsletter* 57 (Winter 2011/12), 7–8.

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With R. Jasnow."'As for Those Who have Called me Evil, Mut will Call Them Evil': Orgiastic Cultic Behavior and Its Critics in Ancient Egypt (PSI Inv. [provv.] D 114a + PSI Inv. 3056 verso)," *Enchoria* 32 (2010/2011), 9–53.
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"A Divine Decree for the Deceased (O. Strasbourg D. 132 + 133 + 134)," in H. Knuf, C. Leitz, H. Knuf, and 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, and Walpole, MA, 2010), 439–45.

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"Resurrection and the Body in Graeco-Roman Egypt," in T. Nicklas F. V. Reiterer, and J. Verheyden (eds.), *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection*, *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection*, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature, Yearbook 2009 (Berlin and New York, 2009), 27–41.
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"Osiris and the Deceased," in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (Los Angeles, 2008) <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/29r70244>.

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"The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land," *RdE* 57 (2006), 217–32.

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"A Village Treasure, The Church of St. Nicholas," *The Hallmark, Condicote Village Newsletter* 33 (December 2005), 7–8.

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"Budge, Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis," in H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 8 (Oxford, 2004), 556–58.

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"Egyptian Invective. A Review Discussion of *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: Eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877)*, by Heinz Josef-Thissen," *JEA* 86 (2000), 173–87.

M. Smith, "P. Carlsberg 462. A Fragmentary Account of a Rebellion Against the Sun God," in P. J. Frandsen and K. Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*, The Carlsberg Papyri 3 = CNI Publications 22 (Copenhagen, 2000), 95–112.

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"A Demotic Coffin Inscription: Berlin Äg. Inv. 7227," in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur* 1, OLA 84 (Leuven, 1998), 425–39.

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"Coptic Literature, 337–425," in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* XIII: *The Late Empire, A.D.* 337–425 (Cambridge, 1998), 720–35.

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"Dating Anthropoid Mummy Cases from Akhmim: The Evidence of the Demotic Inscriptions," in M. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), 66–71.

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"Budge at Akhmim, January 1896," in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. Montagno Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, EES Occasional Publications 11 (London, 1994), 293–303.

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"A Demotic Formula of Intercession for the Deceased," *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), 131–54.

"New Egyptian Religious Texts in the Bodleian Library," *Bodleian Library Record* 14 (Oxford, 1992), 242–46.

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"Did Psammetichus I Die Abroad?," *OLP* 22 (1991), 101–9.

"Papyrus Harkness," *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 95–105.

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"An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth For Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9(P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 2)," *Enchoria* 16 (1988), 55–76.

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Obituary

Obituary for Ricardo Caminos in *The Guardian* (15th of June 1992)

Art-Making in Texts and Contexts

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The production of art is not a frequent subject in the Egyptian textual sources, if we are asking for a specific description of content and design. What little we have reminds us that when the artist referenced his work, it was in the carefully constructed self-memorialization context, not the documentary setting.[1] In addition, the intentions of art and the forms and processes of its production may have been interrelated, but were nonetheless distinct. It is often difficult for the contemporary scholar to distinguish between the message and the medium, such that some would attribute much symbolic meaning to style while others would consider style as primarily the artist's contribution. Making art and thinking about art are different processes in a similar way that deciphering texts differs from interpreting them. Mark Smith is one of the few who is as expert at decipherment as interpretation. I hope that this small contribution that considers how the diversity in texts about art production relates to actual art-making will be accepted in the respectful way it is intended.[2]

The three types of texts discussed below reflect two thousand years of art production: the famous stela of Irtisen composed in the Eleventh Dynasty for a draughtsman of Mentuhotep II represents the artist himself.[3] Instructions from Book of the Dead spells typify a priestly description of an image to be drawn, although probably not by the scribe and illustrator for the text. Last, a Demotic papyrus from the first or second century AD (P. Vienna D 10100) has been described by Günter Vittmann as a plan attributed to an unspecified Ptolemy for a shrine of the god Sobek, lord of Pai, but never achieved.[4] Dieter Kurth drew a plan of this shrine resulting from the description in the papyrus. This text provides some interesting technical information, and it presents a detailed description of the layout of decoration with accompanying text.

Iconic images were manipulated by artists to create all Egyptian art. The adaptation of such icons to suit a specific context was a characteristic of Egyptian art even in its early eras. A commonly recognized example from the predynastic era was the manipulation of the fantastic leonine quadrupeds seen on Susa and Uruk cylinder seals for use on stone reliefs, including the Narmer Palette, where the addition of human figures with rope halters recreated the otherwise heraldic element seen on product sealings.[5] The artist's tool kit, as it were, included this manipulative

1. W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C 14)*, MÄS 22 (Berlin, 1970) and H. Junker, "Der Maler Irj," *AÖAW* 1956:3 (1956), 59–79.

2. Some recent art-historical analyses have attempted to pose questions of interpretation not only to the corpus of artworks but to ancient texts as well. Although it is characteristic of art history as a discipline to apply contemporary art theory to all bodies of art, scouring a variety of texts for answers to our own questions may not result in the most reliable outcomes. To pay attention to how issues of art and art production appear in ancient texts is important if we are then to submit those sources to further art historical analyses. See M. Müller, "Die Königsplastik des Mittleren Reiches und ihre Schöpfer: Reden über Statuen – Wenn Statuen reden," *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2005), 27–78; M. Müller, "Discourses about Works of Art in Ancient and Modern Times," in K. A. Kothay (ed.), *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts* (Budapest, 2012), 13–22; and A. Verbovsek, "Reception and Perception," in M. K. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 141–54.

3. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*.

4. G. Vittmann, "Ein Entwurf zur Dekoration eines Heiligtums," *Enchoria* 28 (2002/3), 106–36, pls. 14–21.

5. H. Pittman, "Constructing Context: The Gebel el-Arak Knife: Greater Mesopotamian and Egyptian Interaction in the Late Fourth

possibility, as Gay Robins has richly explored in her article, "Piles of Offerings: Paradigms of Limitation and Creativity in Ancient Egyptian Art."[6] Melinda Hartwig developed this theme in examining scene variants as part of her book *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*.[7] It is unlikely that we will ever know the exact manner in which artists managed this adaptive process, particularly within a workshop approach to image-building, but various approaches bring us closer to an understanding. Tamás Bács undertook to examine some of the Theban tomb and temple inspirations for the tomb of Imiseba in his article entitled "Art as Material for Later Art: The Case of Theban Tomb 65" where he referred to the reinvention of earlier models to remodel an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.[8] In another forum, explorations of the hieroglyphic system, such as that by Orly Goldwasser in her study *From Icon to Metaphor. Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs*,[9] provide some useful ways to explore imagery as well as writing. In particular the internal relationships of word elements, that is, the choices for spelling a word, come to mind as one examines the various elements of image groups placed on scene registers. In some cases it can be seen that choices are not solely based on spacing or visual context but could also confer layers of meaning. Goldwasser further pursued this realm in her discussion of writings of "Aten" concluding that the divine classifier was routinely omitted in the Amarna era because it implied the existence of a category of divinities—something anathema to Akhenaten's notion of a sole god.[10] In evaluating the texts, I will look for iconic sources and adaptations and for internal relationships. Following the textual discussions, the icon production of a few small-scale and unusual painted scenes in the front hall of TT 92 of Suemniwet, ca. 1425 BC, will be considered with reference to vantage points of the texts.

The Stela of Irti-sen

Louvre C 14, the stela of Irti-sen (fig. 1; pl. 1), has been studied and translated by a large number of scholars over the past more than a hundred years.[11] The complete study of it is that by Winfried Barta who considers it in the broad historical and literary context. The translation I offer here veers somewhat away from the interpretations of Barta and others, but I believe it can be defended. I provide a complete translation of the stela's fifteen lines, omitting the scenes.

It is the view in this discussion that Irti-sen's text was conceived deliberately to represent the artist on two different levels: as a highly educated and elite ritualist and as a master craftsman. Many of the statements in the autobiographical text are considered to have been carefully written to be understood in two ways: as the evidence of an educated elite familiar with royal and religious myth and ideology and equally as the claims of a highly trained artisan who is legitimating his own son's rights as his successor. Below, however, I will discuss only the portion relating to the artist's career and craft.

Millennium B.C.E," in J. Cooper and G. Schwartz (eds.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-first Century* (Winona Lake, IN, 1996), 13–15.

6. G. Robins, "Piles of Offerings: Paradigms of Limitation and Creativity in Ancient Egyptian Art," in C. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, OLA 82 (Leuven, 1998), 957–63.

7. M. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*, MAe 10 (Brepols, 2004).

8. T. Bács, "Art As Material for Later Art: The Case of Theban Tomb 65," in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 94–100.

9. O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor. Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs*, OBO 142 (Fribourg [Switzerland], Göttingen, 1995).

10. O. Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt*, GOF 38 (Wiesbaden, 2002), 127–28.

11. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*; M. Baud, "Le métier d'Iritisen," *CdE* 25 (1938), 20–34; S. Aufrère, "L'artiste de la première période intermédiaire et la tradition oubliée," *Égypte Afrique et Orient* 18 (2000), 15–26; A. Badawy, "The Stela of Irtysen," *CdE* 72 (1961), 269–76; and Müller, "Die Königsplastik des Mittleren Reiches," 40–42; B. Mathieu, "Irtysen le technicien," in V. Angenot and F. Tiradritti (eds.), *Artists and Colour in Ancient Egypt, Proceedings of the Colloquium Held in Montepulciano, August 22nd–24th, 2008*, Studi Poliziani di Egittologia 1 (Montepulciano, 2016 [forthcoming]).

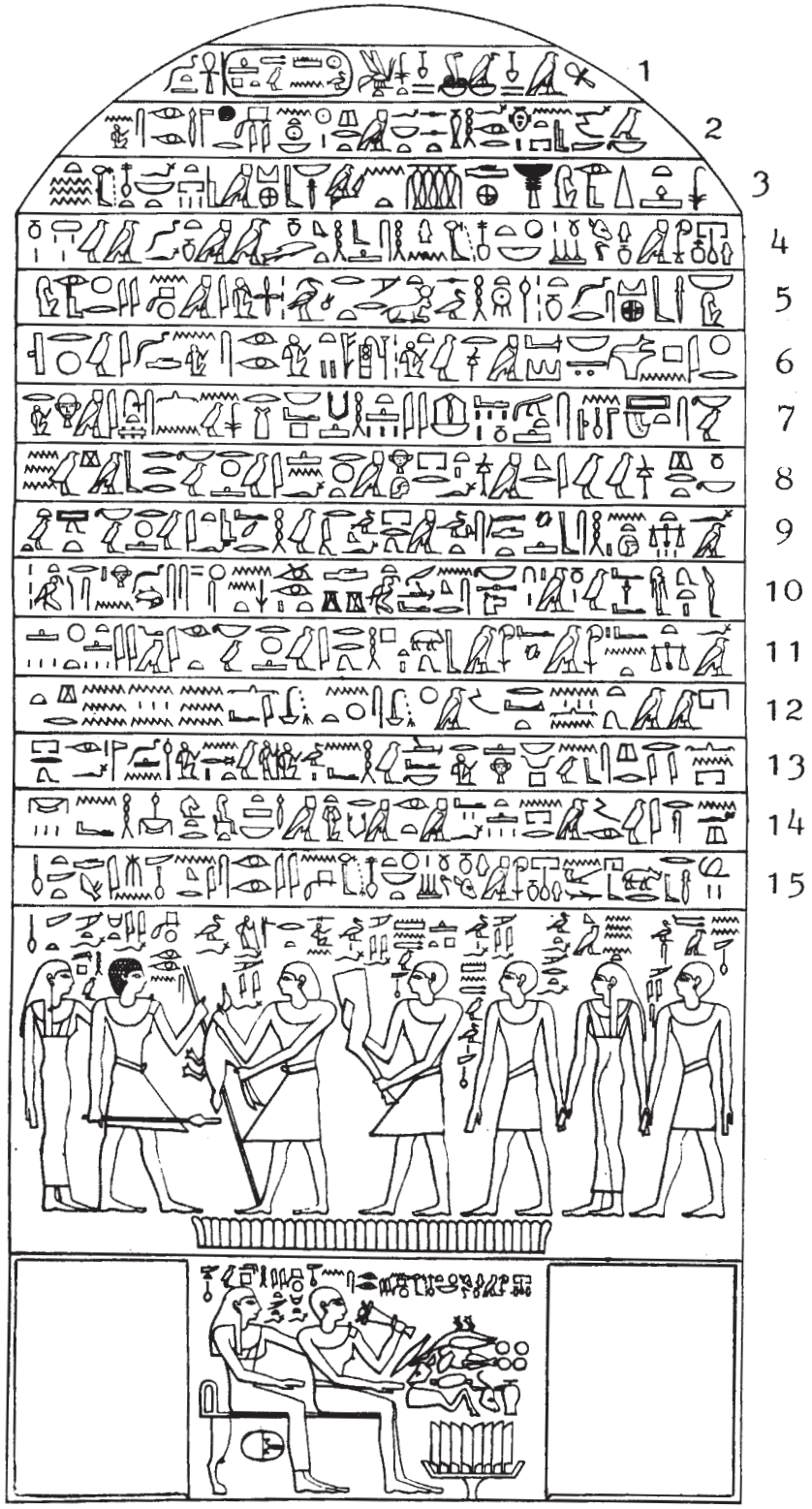


Fig. 1. Stela of Irti-sen after Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, Abb. 1

1. *ꜥnḫ ḥr smꜣ tꜣwy nbty smꜣ tꜣwy nsw-bity sꜣ Rꜥ Mnṯw-ḥtp ꜥnḫ ḏt*
2. *bꜣk.f mꜣꜥ n st-ib.f irr ḥsst.f nbt m ḫrt-hrw nt rꜥ nb imꜣḫy ḫr nṯr ꜥꜣ Irty-sn*
3. *ḥtp-di-nsw Wsir nb Ḏdw ḫnty-imntyw nb ꜣbḏw m swt.f nbt nfrt wꜥbt*
4. *prt-ḫrw ḫꜣ m t ḥnḳt kꜣ ꜣpd šs mnḫt ḫt nb nfr wꜥb t n ḥsb ḥnḳt ḫꜣmt ḏfꜣw nw*
5. *nb ꜣbḏw ḏsrwt ḥḏt Ḥsꜣt mrrt ꜣḫw wnm im n imꜣḫy ḫr Wsir*
6. *ḫr Inpw nb tꜣ ḏsr imy-r ḥmwtyw sš ḳsty/gnwty Irty-sn ḏd iw rḫ.*
7. *kwi sštꜣ n mdw-nṯr sšmt-ꜥw nw ḥbyt ḥkꜣ nb ꜥpr.n sw nn swꜣt im ḥr.i*
8. *ink grt ḥmww iḳr m ḥmwt.f pr ḥr-tp m rḫt.n.f iw rḫ.kwi rw bꜣgw*
9. *fꜣt nt tp-ḥsb šdt sꜥḳt m pr-ꜥḳ.f r iyw ḥꜥ r st.f iw rḫ.kwi šmt twt*
10. *nmt nṯrt ꜥḥꜥw nw ꜣ-10 (11) ks n sḳr-wꜥty dgg irt n snt snt.s ssnḏ ḥr n rstyw*
11. *fꜣt ꜥ nt ḫꜣꜥ ḫꜣb nmt pḥrr iw rḫ.kwi irt imyt ḫwt*
12. *hꜣꜣt.[s]n nn rdit mꜣḫ sn ḫt n iꜥ.n [s]n mw grt*
13. *nn pry ḫr.s n bw nb wp-ḥr.i wꜥ.kwi ḥnꜥ sꜣ(.i) smsw n ḫt.i wḏ.n nṯr ir.f pr.*
14. *n.f ḫr.s iw mꜣ.n prwt-ꜥwy.f m irt imy-r kꜣt m ꜥꜣt nb špst ḥꜣt r ḥḏ ḥnꜥ nbw*
15. *pḥwy r ꜣbw r hbny prt-ḫrw ḫꜣ m t ḥnḳt kꜣ šs ꜣpd mnḫt ḫt nbt nfr wꜥb n imꜣḫy Irty-sn iḳr mꜣꜥ ḫrw ms n Idt mꜣꜥt ḫrw*

1. Live the Horus Sema-tawy, Nebty Sema-tawy, king of upper and lower Egypt, the son of Re Mentuhotep, living forever.
2. His truly favorite servant who does everything which he praises in the course of every day, the one endowed before the great god, Irti-sen.
3. A gift which the king gives and Osiris the lord of Djedu and Khenty-imentiu the lord of Abydos in all its good and pure sites:
4. invocation offerings of a thousand of bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster (vessels), linen and every good and pure thing: bread of the allocation, beer of the offering inventory[a]; provisions of
5. the lord of Abydos: strong beer and milk of the Hesat-cow on which the Akhu love to dine for the one endowed before Osiris,
6. and before Anubis, lord of the sacred land, the overseer of craftsmen, scribe and sculptor,[b] Irti-sen, who says: "I know
7. the mystery of the hieroglyphs, the sequence of the festal offering list[c] (or ceremonies), and all magic, I having prepared it. There was nothing thereof that passed by me.[d]
8. I, indeed, am a craftsman excellent in his craft, who proceeds at the top through what he knows. I know the parts of the "tired one,"[e]
9. how to proportion correctly,[f] how to recite, how to cause to enter as "he goes forth and enters in," so that a body/limb arrives at its proper place.[g] I know the register scene:[h]
10. the female/goddess procession[i] and the stances[j] of 10 (or 11) birds[k]; the bowing down for smiting of a sole (captive). When the Eye fixes on its two sisters (or its sister-eyes)[l] the face of the enemy[m] is made terrified.
11. (I know how) to raise the arm of the one who hurls <at> the hippopotamus, the stride of him who strides swiftly [i.e., Horus].[n] I know how to make pigments[o] and the things
12. which they ["we" written] contain,[p] without letting the fire burn them up. Neither can water wash them away.
13. There is nothing that will be revealed [lit. go forth] to anyone except me, alone, with my eldest son of my body, the god having commanded that he might act as "one to whom it is revealed" [lit. one for whom its content goes forth].[q]
14. I have seen his proficiency[r] in acting as overseer of works with every precious stone, beginning from silver and gold,

15. down to ivory and ebony." Invocation offerings of a thousand of bread, beer, beef, alabaster (vessels), linen, and every good and pure thing for the one endowed Irti-sen the effective one, true of voice, born of Idet, true of voice.

Notes and Commentary

[a] *ḥnḳt ḫ3mt* (*Wb.* III, 362, 10–11 and 231, 3–8) apparently derives from the verb meaning "to bend," as in the respectful pose of the offerer, but from its wider meanings Barta concluded that it indicated an offering possession parallel to *t n ḥsb*, "bread of the allocation."[12]

[b] It remains uncertain whether this word should be read *ḳsty* or *gnwty.* The combination with "scribe" is unusual and likely suggests two titles. Cf. Mathieu, "Irtysen le technicien," 11 note c.

[c] *ḥbyt* is used of offerings and the offering lists, so the identification of this in a purely temple context is less likely. Rather his boast of being at the front of the procession appears to refer to the burial rites, but given the king's relationship to the monument, this may have been the royal tomb and funerary temple of Mentuhotep II in addition to elite tombs nearby.[13] Despite the view of some that artists were largely executors of royal instruction, Irti-sen and other artisans clearly operated in several arenas.[14] Some authors have considered the knowledge of ceremonies to be part of the artist's training and performance particularly in association with the lector priests, and Barta's highly erudite commentary considers the meanings of knowledge and the artist's connections with it.[15] Although he identified the context here with the tomb, he focused specifically on the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.[16] However, artists were also among the funeral celebrants from the Old Kingdom onward.[17] The knowledgeable funeral participant was highly valued at all times for his ability to recite and respond; the processional involvement with the burial might have also been important, and added to the artist's ability to contribute to a variety of funerary liturgies.[18]

[d] A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1957), §394, n. 4 cites this passage as the universal negation with the participle.

[e] *rw b3gi* counter to the view of Barta that this is a compound referring to the grid.[19] He argues that *b3gw* is a writing for *bg3w* (*Wb.* I, 482, 12) in *rw b3gw* (*Wb.* I, 432, 1) and that it can mean "Teile der Umwandelbarkeit," "Parts of convertibility," or "convertible parts" stating that Umwandelbarkeit would have designated the measurement of a proportional system and the changeability of their sizes. However, there is no attestation of this word that approaches a meaning "convertibility." The word designates a "shipwrecked one" (see R. Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* [Mainz, 1995], 264 and *Wb.* I, 482, 12). More likely this is a word for the dead (the tired) and Osiris more specifically, whose sacred limbs are part of Irti-sen's knowledge—probably as to their mysteries and their representation. See *Wb.* I, 431, 2–4; of Osiris, *imy b3gi*, with the water determinative, see *Wb.* I, 431, 13; of the dead, without determinative, Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 244.

Here the term probably refers to the body parts of Osiris and alludes to their hidden location in the netherworld, which Irti-sen can claim to have knowledge of. These were partially depicted in the sixth hour of the Amduat

12. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, 61–62
13. Müller, "Die Königsplastik des Mittleren Reiches."
14. Ibid., 48.
15. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, 78–86.
16. Ibid., 86–91 and *Wb.* III, 61.
17. Junker, "Der Maler Irj," 3 and V. Chauvet, "Who Did What and Why: The Dynamics of Tomb Preparation," in R. Jasnow and K. M. Cooney (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, MVCAE 1 (Atlanta, 2015), 63–78.
18. B.M. Bryan, "Memory and Knowledge in Egyptian Tomb Painting," in E. Cropper (ed.), *Dialogues in Art History* (Washington DC, 2009), 19–39; Chauvet, "Dynamics of Tomb Preparation."
19. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, 94–100.

at a later time. Compare CT 838–839 where the injured and inert Osiris is invoked to stay alert, and Isis combats his putrescence. CT 822 names body parts to reject the corpse's putrefaction.[20]

[f] Used at Edfu to refer to temple reliefs and images that were executed exactly, see P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Leuven, 1997), 1131.

[g] The verbal form of *r iyw ḥ*ᶜ is uncertain, but the reed leaf is certain. The meaning must accommodate the preposition "to/toward/as far as/until" regardless of the form. In the First Intermediate period, amulets of body parts are common, probably due to the vicissitudes of embalming techniques, so the reference to limbs might reflect this.[21]

[h] *šmt twt* is the term for register of decoration, relief and painting. Vittmann, "Ein Entwurf zur Dekoration," 106–36 and see further below; Borchardt cited at *Wb.* IV, 466, 14, from Karnak, had the same term, but at that time it was identified as a name of a room in Karnak temple. The primary significance here of the term for "register" is perhaps to indicate Irti-sen's knowledge of laying out wall spaces as well as of the movement of figures placed on them. The determinative for *twt* placed at the beginning of the next line is of a standing mummiform Osiris, and the text should primarily be understood to infer "I know the register scene." However, a doubled reading could also result in "I know how the statue of (an) Osiris moves and the procession or stride of the female/goddess," perhaps indicating knowledge of the funerary statue cult. The placement of the Osiride determinative on the following line further encourages the dual reading.

[i] *nmtt/nmt* (*Wb.* II, 271, 6; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 415; R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und erste Zwischenzeit* [Mainz, 2003], 632) There is only one *t*, but such writings are common for *nmtt*. The female's identity is unknown, but the feet of the figure are slightly apart although not in open stride. Compare the open position of feet on the Meketre servant figures shown striding. In two dimensions the feet of elite and divine figures are shown separate, as here when either standing or processing.[22] For example, in the tomb of Ukhhotep at Meir, the feet of the female Hathoric entertainers are positioned as here, although all the performing males have open-legged stances.[23] Thus we read again in dual form: Irti-sen's ability to show the slightly open stride of an elite female while likewise claiming knowledge of a ritual procession in a register scene (see note h above) given that the word *nmtt* indicates movement. If a deity is intended, we should note that the realm of Hathor is evoked in the cemetery, even at Abydos. However, contemporary goddess depictions from Mentuhotep's Deir el Bahri sanctuary vary among themselves and differ from this hieroglyph: Hathor appeared in scenes with the horns and disk, while other goddesses were shown without headdresses. In inscriptions the hieroglyph determining the name of Nekhbet wore the vulture headdress while that for Hathor was seated with a headdress.[24]

[j] *ḥ*ᶜ*w*. Note that *ḥ*ᶜ*w* is followed by the genitival adjective and is thus clearly the substantive. Most translators have rendered it as "position," but it particularly refers, as the *Wörterbuch* notes, to the "correct" position or station of a thing or person (*Wb.* I, 220, 7–9). Irti-sen's display of both artistic and religious knowledge may have been chosen here to pun upon his familiarity with the *ḥ*ᶜ*w* birds, the grey herons, who were likened in the Pyramid Texts to the deceased as rain clouds, no doubt due to their color.[25] (See discussion below regarding the representations of birds and animals in near-contemporary tombs, supplying a visual illustration of Irti-sen's description.) The word *ḥ*ᶜ*w* has been used primarily to indicate the variety of standing positions that the artist must master to depict Egyptian birds in iconic forms distinguished and expanded upon from the Predynastic on.

20. A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 785–1185*, OIP 87 (Chicago, 1961), 40–41 and 22–23.

21. C. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 11.

22. D. Arnold, "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *MMJ* 26 (1991), 5–48, figs. 35–36; H.E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), pl. 8. See now also Mathieu, "Irtysen le technicien."

23. A. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir Part I, The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-hotp's son Senbi*, ASE 22 (London, 1914), pl. II.

24. D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari II. Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuares*, AV 11 (Mainz, 1974), pls. 1, 3, 4, 9, 12, 15, 18, 25, 26, 28, 44.

25. C. Leitz, *LGG* II, 196; P. Houlihan, "A Guide to the Wildlife Represented in the Great Swampland Scene in the Offering Chapel of Ti (No. 60) at Saqqara," *GM* 155 (1996), 29–31.

[k] This phrase probably refers to Irti-sen's ability to represent the varying stances of ten (or eleven) types of birds,[26] the *ꜣ*-glyph designating birds generally. The strokes after both the vulture and the number indicate their function as determinatives, although a number of authors have read the number as 11. Gardiner notes two Pyramid Text spells (1303 and 1729) where *ꜣ* denotes "vulture" and also points to Irti-sen's stela, stating: "In the more general sense 'bird', Louvre C 14, 10." (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 467, G 1, n. 2; see also Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 1; cf. *Wb.* I, 1; Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, [*ꜣpd*] 104–7). The nearly contemporary Beni Hasan tombs display examples of such knowledge, with various birds represented and identified by label (pl. 2a).[27] Barta translated as "die Stellung eines gefangenen Vogels" and argued that the artist proclaimed his technical ability to show overlapping captive birds due to his conclusions that *md* meant "captive." Such a verb is unattested, and the writing with only the "10" sign (G V 20) plus a stroke somewhat further dampens this interpretation, because this is only known as a writing for the number (see Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, 109–11). However, the erudite nature of the text, including royal allusions, does suggest that Irti-sen may have also been alluding to Horus, particularly given the royal connections of the stela itself. The "ten birds," (reading the vulture as a generic word for bird) refer to Horus's number following the traditional Heliopolitan ennead (Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 481). This alternative translation could then mean "… the positions (ritual stations) of the ten birds," referring to the ennead plus the falcon Horus. Due to their equation with the deceased in the Pyramid Texts, vultures were commonly produced and used as funerary amulets from the late Old Kingdom onward. Five were found at the neck of Tutankhamun (Andrews, *Amulets*, 37). The golden vulture amulet was utilized in BD 157 as a protection of Horus and was placed on the neck of the deceased.[28]

[l] *Sp-sn* is here a means of reduplicating *snt—snt snt*, meaning "two sisters," a reference to the eyes of the captive. (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 210, § 274). As with possessive adjectives, here the adjective number agrees in gender with the noun. Compare *wꜣt.f wʿt*, "its one side" from Eloquent Peasant, R 46. (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 193–94, §261–62) However, the circular sign is very small, and this could also be read as *dfḏ* "pupil" meaning here "her two sister-eyes." For the circular sign as a writing of the pupil as the "Eye," Gardiner, D-12, 451. Since the two other eyes here belong to the king's enemy, they must be equated with the enemies of the sun god represented by the balls in the later attested *sḳr ḥmꜣt* ritual of "striking the balls." The pupils of the enemies were flung to the far corners of the cosmos to prevent their threats to the god and the ruler.

[m] *Rstyw*. Ritner notes that it designates execration figures suggesting that here a ritual environment for protection is indicated.[29]

[n] A series of words used to refer to Horus as slayer of Seth as hippopotamus or crocodile (Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 367, 520–21, 701) *fꜣi*; *nmt(t)*; *ḫꜣʿ*.

[o] W. Spiegelberg, "*Imjt* 'Farbenpaste,'" *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 94–95.

[p] *Wb.* II, 475, 5–6. *ḫrt* for the adverb *grt* at the end of the line is contained within the translation as "neither" expressing the negation *n* plus *grt* "furthermore" (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 155 n. 8). However, Gardiner, 188 n. 10, notes the unusual *-t* ending as if the enclitic particle were written.

[q] *Pry ḫrt.sn* is used of revealing secrets where *ḫrt* should refer to their content, here meaning the knowledge (*rḫt*) and capabilities that he listed. *prt ḫr* implies possession of skills and elsewhere magic: "to disperse" (*Wb.* I, 520, 7–9; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 283). The phrase is parallel to that describing his son in the next line. PT 82 has the use of the verb with *ḫr*.[30]

[r] literally, "what goes forth from his two arms."

26. Baud, "Le métier d'Iritisen," 28; Mathieu, "Irtysen le technicien," 13, note j, but noting Meeks's preference for 10.
27. P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, ASE 2 (London, 1893), pl. IV, tomb 15 and pl. XVI, tomb 17.
28. R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1972), 154–55, 157; see P. BM 10088, 10098.
29. R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago, 1993), 187–88.
30. K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums* (Leipzig, 1908), I, 32.

Discussion: Knowledge and the Artist's Creativity

Irti-sen's obviously erudite autobiographical text appealed first to his literate status and thus to scribal and elite contemporaries who might read his monument's inscription. This is entirely appropriate to the genre and encourages an analysis of the text that identifies layers of content and meaning.[31] As a monument intended to enhance his afterlife rejuvenation, Irti-sen's stela evokes not only his skill as a craftsman but also his role in rituals, a dualism seen to be inherent in the career of master artisans.[32] The realm of his mastery of the hieroglyphs was combined with Irti-sen's involvement in their magical effectiveness. Allusions to funerary liturgy and to literature identify Irti-sen as an appropriate funerary participant as well as a tomb-maker. All the elements bespeak the desire for status by means of Irti-sen's knowledgeable effectiveness.

We should not consider this text as describing Sehbilder or Sinnbilder when it rather obviously does both.[33] Irti-sen describes icons that he can produce but with the religious knowledge that extends not only the image's mythological context but appears frequently to connect it with contemporary royal symbolism. Similar layering is indicated regarding his artistic talents; the motifs mentioned may refer as much to his work on the royal monuments as to private ones. He speaks, as a well-educated man, of what he knows, but also of knowing how to do things. One might compare the degree of specific information found in the autobiographies of various officials, such as Weni or Sobekkhu,[34] where the particular elevates the general and ideal but cannot be assessed as bare historical data. Even the events have been treated in the literary environment to provide metaphorical allusions. Irti-sen knows how to lay out scenes (*šmt twt*) and knows specific icons: the procession of a female/goddess, along with the stances or positions of birds, in art and cosmology (notes i–k above). In Upper Egypt in the reign of Mentuhotep II one thinks first of Hathor, including her Deir El Bahri chapel decoration, but the phrase following recalls the onomastic display of birds and animals in nearly contemporary Beni Hasan tombs (pl. 2.1).[35] In a deeper symbolic interpretation, one may consider that he refers metaphorically to the Heliopolitan ennead plus Horus, the "stations of the ten divine birds" and makes a connection with Mentuhotep as he does by name at the beginning of his inscription.[36] Similarly the deceased might claim to be the tenth god and play the role of Horus himself who assists in the enlivening of Osiris.[37]

Irti-sen also knows the iconic image of a crouching captive about to be slain (fig. 2). Here, exceptionally, not only does he display his knowledge of the role of the eye of Re, but he describes fear on the face of the captive resulting from the evil eye "that stares at its two sisters" (see note l above).[38] His next claim was to know how the arm was raised when throwing the harpoon at a hippopotamus. It is noteworthy that a nonroyal tomb owner is not shown harpooning hippos before the New Kingdom, although the stance of spearing is common in the fishing scenes.[39]

31. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, 80–91; J. Assmann, "Der literarische Aspekt des ägyptischen Grabes und seine Funktion im Rahmen des 'monumentalen Diskurses,'" in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature, History, and Forms*, PÄ 10 (Leiden, 1996), 97–104.

32. Chauvet, "Dynamics of Tomb Preparation."

33. Verbovsek, "Reception and Perception."

34. C. Eyre, "Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Historiography," in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, EES Occasional Publications 11 (London, 1994), 104–24; J. Baines, "The Stela of Khusobek: Private and Royal Military Narrative and Values," in J. Osing and G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, ÄAT 12 (Wiesbaden, 1987), 43–61.

35. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. IV, tomb of Baket no. 15.

36. Leitz, *LGG*, I, 1.

37. H. Brunner, "Neunheit," in *LÄ* IV, 476; H. Willems, "The Social and Ritual Context of a Mortuary Liturgy of the Middle Kingdom (CT spells 30–41)," in H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*, OLA 103 (Leuven, 2001), 253–372.

38. Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, 104–5, 111–13.

39. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, Horae Soederblomianae [Travaux publiés par la Société Nathan Söderblom] III (Lund, 1953).

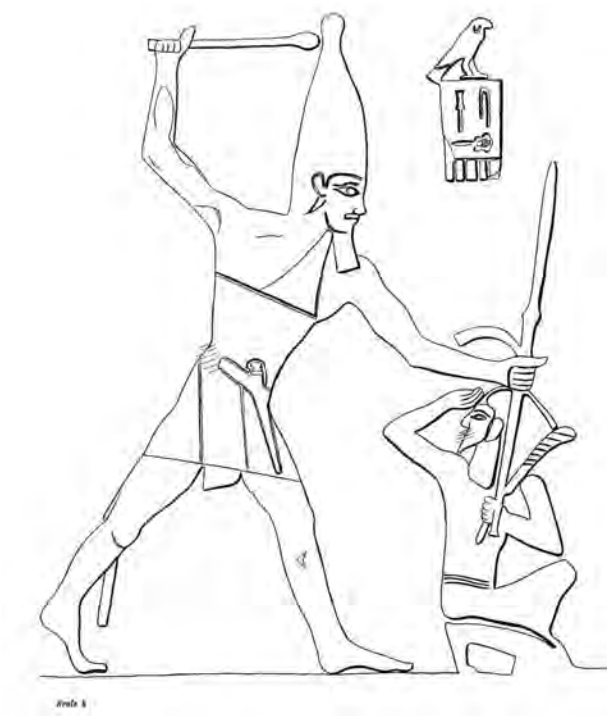


Fig. 2. Sekhemkhet smiting enemy. Wadi Maghara. After A. H. Gardiner, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. Ia.

The significance of the hippopotamus hunt and its relation to the ruler has been confirmed by the ritual burial of the animals (captured in the hunt) in the chief cemeteries of predynastic Hierakonpolis.[40] Scenes of the ruler in this role are known from the early dynastic and later Old Kingdom. When depictions of the elite tomb owner were also introduced, the identification with Horus and the ruler was not abandoned.[41] The language used by Irti-sen here was still common in texts of the late era describing Horus spearing the hippopotamus Seth—particularly in the Edfu temple of the Ptolemaic era (see note m above). This also included the designation "he who strides swiftly," referring to Horus/the king in the hunt. Although the stela goes on to mention his knowledge of making pigments, this is less relevant to the discussion at hand.

The Artist Revealed

What is remarkable here, and may represent a less conscious level of information than that mentioned above, is nonetheless contained in Irti-sen's description of the motifs he knows. He never refers to images or drawings as his product. He designates the icons as noun or infinitival *actions requiring the depiction of limbs in various positions* (fig. 3). Such reduction of images to the positions of parts recalls immediately the figured ostraca and drawing boards depicting separate limbs and elements of full scenes[42] (pls. 2b, 2c). Irti-sen refers to this ability to meld various limb and figure positions so that iconic images of deep symbolic significance are reproduced. This reduction of motifs to combinations of postures was introduced by reference to the deceased as "the inert one" like Osiris, a well-known prone figure with legs slightly flexed. Here "the inert one" needed to be able to move about by means of the recitations and the representations of his parts (*rw*), also referred to as limbs (*ḥꜥw*)—those things that must be animated. Then follows the "register scene": literally "the movement of images:" the procession of the female or goddess; the stances of the vultures; the bowing captive; the uplifted arm spearing the hippo, and the one who strides and who runs. Irti-sen has provided a description of what he does by reference to the attitudes of the figures. Although one might suggest that his intent was to identify those figures that required his expertise, it does not negate the fact that *the artist's description was of the positions rather than the figures doing them*. Indeed the manner

40. B. Adams, "Seeking the Roots of Ancient Egypt: A Unique Cemetery Reveals Monuments and Rituals from Before the Pharaohs," *Archéo-Nil* 12 (2002), 11–28; R. Friedman, W. Van Neer, and V. Linseele, "The Elite Predynastic Cemetery at Hierakonpolis: 2009–2010 Update," in R. Friedman and P. Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at Its Origins 3: Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State: Predynastic and Early Eynastic Egypt," London, 27th July–1st August 2008*, OLA 205 (Leuven, 2011), 157–91.

41. A. Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter.* Teil II: *Textband*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 38/ Archäologie 62 (Frankfurt am Main, 1996).

42. W. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mut (No. 71) at Thebes* (New York, 1942), 9–14, pls.1–4.



Fig. 3. Icons by postures, stela of Irti-sen

of his description is nearly onomastic in its own way, consisting of a list of nominally framed postures.[43] The second type of text to be reviewed describes image quite differently.

Funerary Performative Instructions

Spells from the Book of the Dead often included rubrics that prescribed the use of images to ensure the effectiveness of the utterance. A few are cited here, but there are many others. In addition, the images described in the instructions here are of the two-dimensional sort, but some spells called for objects to be made and used.[44] The rubric for Spell 100 is as follows (fig. 4):

> *ḏd mdw ḥr sšmw pn nty m sšw sš ḥr šw wꜥb m dḳrw n ḥmwt w3ḏwt šbnw ḥr mw n ꜥntyw rdi(w) n 3ḫ ḥr šnbt.f nn rdit tkn.f m ḥꜥw.f ir 3ḫ nb irw n.f nn iw.f h3.f r wi3 n Rꜥ m ḫrt hrw nt rꜥ nb ḥsb sw Ḏḥwty m prt h3t m ḫrt hrw nt rꜥ nb šs m3ꜥ ḥḥw n sp*
>
> To be spoken over this image which is a drawing painted on a clean papyrus with an adhesive pigment of ground green copper mixed with myrrh-resinated water. Placed for the *akh* on his breast without allowing that it touch his body. As for every *akh* for whom this is done, he descends into the bark of Ra daily. Thoth will reckon him in the going forth and descending daily. A true matter, millions of times.[45]

Two interesting points may be made concerning this instruction. One is that there is an example of an image and spell used in the manner prescribed that derives from the burial of Henutmehyt, an elite lady of early Dynasty 19.[46] The pigment called for in the instruction is a green adhesive powder, *dḳrw n ḥmwt w3ḏwt,* used as a background coat in painting and as a base on stone blocks to hold further pigments.[47] The color on the papyrus in question is now white (over a red original) and has been identified as magnesium silicate. That pigment (talc) ranged in color from whitish to green and is still used in water color painting as a base coating or extender. It is quite likely that its original hue on the papyrus was green as required by the instruction.[48]

43. A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947).

44. J. Taylor (ed.), *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 2010), 119, nos. 48–51.

45. G. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu,* CDB 1 (London, 1997), pl. 80; E. Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie II. Varianten* (Berlin, 1886), 235–36.

46. Taylor, *Journey,* 47.

47. B. Bryan, "The ABC's of Egyptian Painting in the Mid-18th Dynasty," in R. Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday,* SAOC 70 (Chicago, 2016), forthcoming; idem, "Pharaonic Painting through the New Kingdom," in A. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2010), vol. 2, 990–1007.

48. W. McElroy, *Painter's Handbook* (Carlsbad, CA, 1987), 118.