

AN

# ABNORMAL HIERATIC

## READING BOOK

CONTAINING TEXTS FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM (LONDON),  
THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM (NEW YORK), THE EGYPTIAN  
MUSEUM (CAIRO), THE LOUVRE (PARIS), THE MUSEO EGIZIO  
(TURIN), THE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK (VIENNA), QUEEN'S  
COLLEGE (OXFORD) AND THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN  
(LEIDEN)

by

KOENRAAD DONKER VAN HEEL

WITH A PALAEOGRAPHY OF ABNORMAL HIERATIC  
SIGNS AND SIGN GROUPS

by

JOOST GOLVERDINGEN

*Fascicle I: Papyri from London, Brooklyn, Cairo and Leiden*



Leiden 2013

# *I'm beginning to see the light*

The Velvet Underground

This is *Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut"* no. 24

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Koenraad Donker van Heel & Joost Golverdingen, *An Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book Containing Texts from the British Museum (London), the Brooklyn Museum (New York), the Egyptian Museum (Cairo), the Louvre (Paris), the Museo Egizio (Turin), the Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), Queen's College (Oxford) and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden), with a Palaeography of Abnormal Hieratic Signs and Sign Groups* is freely available to students and scholars with an interest in abnormal hieratic.

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A CONCISE PALAEOGRAPHY OF ABNORMAL HIERATIC  
(GARDINER SIGN LIST A-M)

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A CONCISE PALAEOGRAPHY OF ABNORMAL HIERATIC  
(GARDINER SIGN LIST N-Z)





# CONCORDANCES

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	672	P. Louvre E 7856 recto	<b>14</b>
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# INTRODUCTION

Why would anyone want to write an abnormal hieratic reading book? The answer is simple: because none was available. This probably has something to do with the fearsome reputation enjoyed by abnormal hieratic, the administrative script used in parts of Upper Egypt during the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties.

Opinions vary as to whether one should still refer to this script as abnormal hieratic—the alternatives ranging from late cursive hieratic to cursive late hieratic to late hieratic cursive, *ḫet*.—but the fact that this term was coined by Francis Llewellyn Griffith in the first ever useful overview of documentary papyri from the Late Period, in what is probably one of the best books in our field ever written,<sup>\*</sup> should be reason enough to retain it. So abnormal hieratic it is.

The aim of this reading book is quite simple. In the second semester of 2011-2012 I was allowed to set up an abnormal hieratic course at Leiden University, expecting only the occasional oddball student to apply. Instead I was faced with eight eager, motivated and talented students—to wit Renate Bonte, Joost Golverdingen, Steffie van Gompel, Petra Hogenboom, Suzanne Knauff, Bahar Landsberger, Mirjam van Saane and Daniel Soliman—who turned this class into an exciting teaching and learning experience, which however also involved much copying and scanning and sending things around. Writing this reading book will therefore save me a lot of time in the future and—hopefully—stimulate colleagues elsewhere to start their own course in abnormal hieratic. The ultimate ambition of this reading book is to see the number of abnormal hieratic scholars expand.

Fortunately, the museums housing abnormal hieratic papyri in their collections that were approached by me all proved willing to support this initiative, allowing us to use photos of their papyri in this reading book.

Unfortunately, the situation at the Cairo Museum precluded its staff from answering any of my queries. However, since the one piece from the collection included in this reading book—P. Cairo 30657—is not just an important milestone in the development of abnormal hieratic but also free from any copyright, the decision was made to include the plate from Spiegelberg's magistral catalogue of demotic papyri from the Cairo Museum.

First and foremost, many thanks are due to Joost Golverdingen, who did all the facsimiles. Apart from being one of the Egyptologists taking the new abnormal

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<sup>\*</sup> F.L. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester: With Facsimiles and Complete Translations* (1909).

hieratic course at Leiden University in the 2011-2012 semester, he is also an accomplished artist with a keen eye for detail, graciously saving me from having to do something—viz. preparing a palaeography—that is best left to people who know what they're doing. Please note that this palaeography was made from photos in Leiden, without a final check on the original papyri.

As is his wont, Cary Martin of University College London agreed to scrutinise our manuscript for any imperfections,—an ungrateful task, but somebody has to do it. His generosity is—as always—very much appreciated.

Now that this reading book is ready to go out into the world, it gives me great pleasure to express my sincere gratitude to the people who made it possible, to wit Richard Parkinson of the *British Museum*, Edward Bleiberg of the *Brooklyn Museum*, Vania Vanzella of the *Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie di Torino*, Guillemette Andreu of the *Louvre*, Sophie Kovarik of the *Nationalbibliothek Wien*, John Baines of the *University of Oxford* and Maarten Raven of the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden. Special mention should also be made of Catherine Bridonneau of the *Louvre* who presented us with superb colour photos of the Louvre papyri made for the occasion by Georges Poncet. Likewise, Peter Jan Bomhof provided us with exquisite photos of the Leiden material. Your support is greatly appreciated.

The number of people actually publishing abnormal hieratic studies is still frightingly small. Fortunately, my favourite authors all chipped in. Günter Vittmann kindly sent a crystal clear scan of P. Vienna D 12002 and permitted us to include his work on T. JdE 94478. Hannes Fischer-Elfert came up with the splendid suggestion to include literary abnormal hieratic in this reading book, providing us with the necessary photos and his transcription of part of the unpublished P. Queen's College. The idea to include short descriptions of the contents of the texts to help students along is also his (this was actually completely overlooked by me). John Baines gladly permitted us to use P. Queen's College, even though it still has to be published. For the sake of (our) convenience, the two literary texts have been added as docs. **20** and **21** in fascicle III. Richard Jasnow happily filled in a really crucial lacuna. Sven Vleeming graciously authorised the inclusion of the original facimiles made by him for the publication of P. Reinhardt. Without your help this reading book would probably never have been written. Special mention, however, should also be made of the two students who took—are taking and intend to continue to take—the advanced course in abnormal hieratic at Leiden University, the first people who ever used this reading book in class, to wit Steffie van Gompel and Petra Hogenboom. All of you thanks. And I mean thanks!

Leiderdorp, 13 September 2012 & 17 April 2013



# HOW TO USE THIS READING BOOK

This abnormal hieratic reading book—delivered in five separate fascicles due to the size of the photos—is free for all to use, but the quality of some of the photographs may be substandard when printing. That is because this book was devised as an on-screen tool, explaining the somewhat peculiar layout in which the odd pages are found to the left of the corresponding even pages. Also, students should learn *always* to consult the first editions. These contain the original photos and—more important—the notes written by the scholars who published these texts for the very first time. Anyone who has ever published—or seriously studied—an abnormal hieratic text will appreciate how long this may have taken them, never succeeding in reading it all but still persevering.

If photos are used for study purposes only, it may sometimes be allowed to scan them from the original publications, which will enable students to blow up troublesome passages. However, blowing them up on-screen from this PDF will in most cases suffice.

So far there are not many really helpful tools, but there are some. The fundamental article to read—slightly outdated by the publications in subsequent years—is S.P. Vleeming, ‘La phase initiale du démotique ancien’, in *CdE* 56 (1981), p. 31-48. This is a handy overview outlining the differences between abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts. When reading abnormal hieratic, students should also consult:

- G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* III (1936), a book that never ceases to amaze by the sheer vision behind it
- W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), which has been a reliable and helpful tool for the past—almost—60 years, and will be for many years to come
- J.H. Johnson et al., *The Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, the online dictionary that was originally devised as a supplement to the *Demotisches Glossar*,—the standard dictionary for demotists and hieraticists today and in the next centuries
- S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (1991), p. 191-252, which unravels many early demotic signs and sign groups, more than once including their (abnormal) hieratic counterparts
- P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenbor*, Vol. II (1994), p. 1\*-57\*, which is the first true palaeography of early demotic
- O. El-Aguizy, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharqa to the End of the Ptolemaic Period* (1998), also containing a very useful palaeography of abnormal hieratic signs and sign groups

- U. Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift* (2001), addressing uncial hieratic in the Late Period and indispensable when tracking down a hieratic sign

As long as there is no abnormal hieratic palaeography that entirely covers all known documents from the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties, the best policy is also to compile one's own, using palaeographies of earlier sources:

- A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l'organisation du domaine d'Amon, XXe-XXIe dynasties à la lumière des papyrus Prachov, Reinhardt et Grundbuch* (1988)
- A. von Bomhard, *Paléographie du Papyrus Wilbour: l'écriture hiératique cursive dans les papyri documentaires* (1998)
- The original S.P. Vleeming, P. Reinhardt (1983)—not the official publication that came out in 1993—which contains a handy list of late hieratic signs and sign groups. This list is reproduced in fascicle IV of this reading book.

The best way to acquire a genuine feeling for abnormal hieratic is to supplement these with one's own handcopies of any sign or sign group that seems out of the ordinary, which—sadly—happens more often in abnormal hieratic than one would wish sometimes. To further accommodate students, this reading book therefore includes a concise abnormal hieratic palaeography compiled by Joost Golverdingen.

At present, only a few Egyptologists are actively pursuing the study of abnormal hieratic, but let us hope this may change in the years ahead. Suffice it to say that the overviews of our field—Griffith, in *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, I (1909), p. 15-32; Malinine, in *Textes et langages*, I (1973), p. 31-35 and Vittmann, in *LA* IV (1982), cols. 748-750—have now all been rendered obsolete by the still unpublished, comprehensive paper presented by Günter Vittmann in Göttingen in 2007: 'Der Stand der Erforschung des Kursivhieratischen (und neue Texte)', also mentioning many new and exciting sources that will be published in the foreseeable future.

Now to the texts themselves. The notes in this reading book are *supplementary* to the notes in the original publications. Students should make the best possible use of these notes, as well as of the notes in this reading book.

If this results in any improvements on this book, so much the better! If it leads to any question from any student or colleague, simply contact one of the authors and we'll be more than happy to discuss it.

## DOC. 1 | P. BM EA 10113 recto

[This text seems to have been written by an abnormal hieratic scribe converting to early demotic]

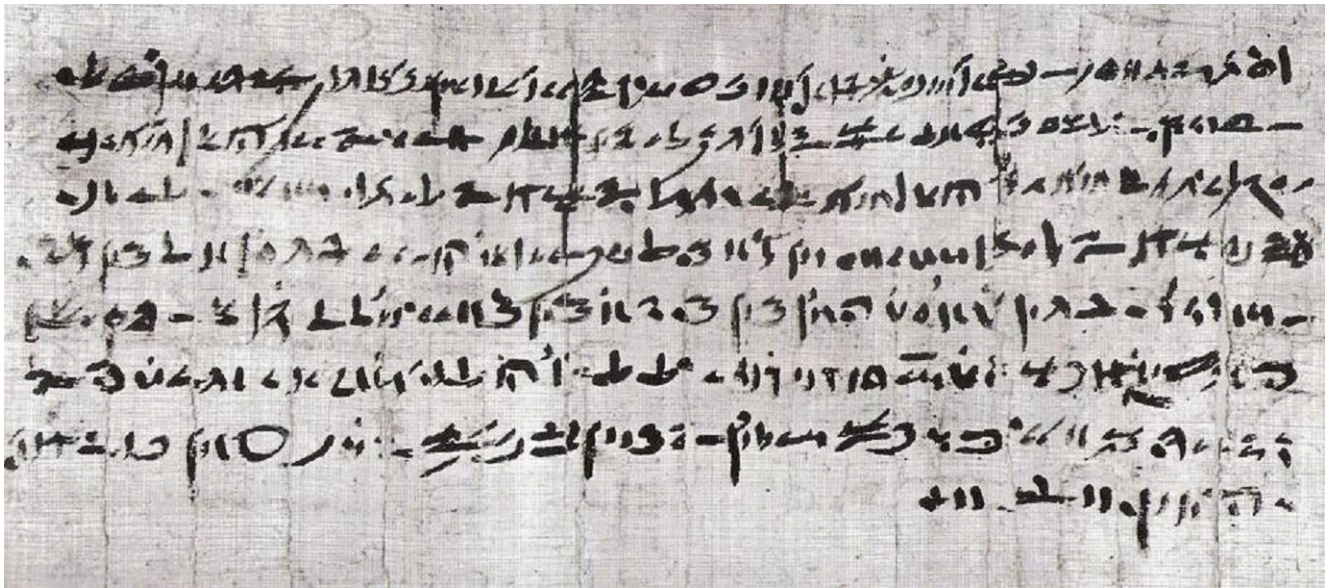
*Date* : Year 20 II šmw 10 of Apries (October 19, 570 BC)

*Publication* : N. Reich, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum* (1914), p. 5-8 and plate I-II, and M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques* I (1953), p. 15-19 and II (1983), p. 5-6—For a re-edition, see K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts* (1995), p. 229-235, 290-293 and plate XXX

*Content* : The embalmer Hepiy has borrowed one deben (which probably includes the interest) from the choachyte Djekhy son of Tesmont. If Hepiy does not repay the loan in time, it will bear additional interest. The securities for the loan include Hepiy's children.

- L. 1 :** *Wšh-ib-Rʿ*: Note that the scribe writes uncial hieratic *wšh* in the royal name, for which see Möller, *Paläographie*, III (1936), p. 38 no. 398.—Compare *wšh* in *wšh-mw* in *l. 2*.
- L. 1 :** *ḏḏ*: The expected stroke following *ḏḏ* is missing here.
- L. 1 :** *Hp-iy*: The bull determinative in *Hp* almost looks like a double *t*. For a similar group, see doc. **5** *l. 1* (*ḏḏḏḏ/twtw*).
- L. 1 :** *Dd-ḥr*: One is always tempted to transcribe *Hr* instead of *ḥr*.—Cf. the same name in verso *l. 1*.
- L. 1 :** *mw.t.t=f*: Compare *mw.t.t=f* in line 2.
- L. 2 :** *Hʿʿ=w-s-(n)-ʿs.t*: The expected *t* + egg determinative seem to be ligatured with the cobra determinative.
- L. 2 :** *Niw.t*: The city determinative above the plural strokes is identical to *nʿ* as it is written by several abnormal hieratic scribes.—Cf. the note to doc. **8** *l. 2* (*Pʿ-ḥr-Hnsw*).
- L. 3 :** The breakdown of the deben into kite to prevent tampering with the figures occurs quite regularly.—See e.g. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, I (1994), p. 48 n. VI.
- L. 3 :** *ʿn*: The ligature of *ʿ* + *n* is a single dot.
- L. 3 :** *ink di.t s n=k*: The *ink di.t* pattern is an abnormal hieratic characteristic.—Cf. doc. **17** col. I *l. 7-8* (twice) and doc. **2** note to *l. 10* (*inn ir sn*).
- L. 4 :** *tm*: Abnormal hieratic scribes may revert to uncial forms for words they do not write very often.—Cf. *tm* in doc. **17** col. I *l. 7*.
- L. 4 :** *šh.t*: The reading is assured only by the context.—Cf. *šh.t* in doc. **17** col. I *l. 1*.
- L. 4 :** *iw=w ... i ir ms*: The unread sign may be the sitting child in abnormal hieratic—for which see Donker van Heel, *Abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts* (1995), p. 250-252—but this scribe writes *ms* ‘interest’ with the early demotic sitting child a little further on.

[NOTES CONTINUED ON P. 33]



P. BM EA 10113 recto (© The British Museum)



## DOC. 1 | P. BM EA 10113 verso

[1] *Dd-ḥr sꜣ Hnsw-ỉ.ỉr-ꜥꜣ.w*

[2] *Pth-ỉ.ỉr-dỉ.t=s sꜣ ʾ[w=f-]ꜥꜣ.w*

**L. 1:** For the transcription of ꜥꜣ, see Vleeming in *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985* (1988), p. 213-217.

**L. 2:** This witness is also known from doc. 15 verso l. 4.



P. BM EA 10113 verso (© *The British Museum*)

## DOC. 2 | P. BM EA 10432

[This scribe, whose name is lost, probably also wrote doc. 6; see E. Bresciani (ed.), *Acta Demotica: Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists (Pisa, 4th-8th September 1993)*, EVO 17 (1994), p. 115-124]

*Date* : Year 15 IV šmw of Amasis (between December 5, 556 and January 4, 555 BC)

*Publication* : G.R. Hughes, *Saite demotic land leases* (1952), p. 9-17 and plate I. A number of relevant corrections are found in the review by M. Malinine, in *RdE* 10 (1955), p. 105-107—For a re-edition, see K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts* (1995), p. 236-239, 293-295 and plate XXXI

*Content* : Fifteen business partners lease some land in the Palette of Khonsu from the priest Psamtik son of Ankhpakhered, who will receive 25% of the harvest.

- L. 1 :** *h3.t-sp*: The sign used for *t* + *sp* is the multifunctional sign often used in abnormal hieratic.—See the note to doc. 7 l. 1.
- L. 1 :** *hw n p3 mšc*: This correction by Malinine (p. 106) is not certain. Note that the sign read as *hw*—which one would be inclined to read as *mni*—was apparently used for *wrš* in doc. 4 l. 2, for which see Donker van Heel, in *JEA* 90 (2004), p. 158 n. *c*.
- L. 2 :** *Dḥwt-ī.ir-dī-s*: It is difficult to recognise *ir*, which resembles demotic *nty*. The same writing occurs in *Imn-ir-ḥnh* in l. 7; cf. *ī.ir* in l. 10.
- L. 2 :** *P3-dī-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd*: Initial *p3* in personal names may be written with two dots, one dot (*P3-dī-Imn-ḥp* in l. 3) or just as in early demotic (*P3-dī-Dḥwt* in l. 5).
- L. 2 :** *Ir.t-w-rt*: The same name occurs in doc. 9 l. 1. For the reading *rt*, see Donker van Heel, *Abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts* (1995), p. 250-252.
- L. 3 :** *P3-dī-Imn-ḥp*: *Imn* is written in early demotic, but the scribe also uses the abnormal hieratic writing in *Imn-ir-ḥnh* in l. 7.
- L. 4 :** *Ḥr-ḥb*: Short for *Ḥr-m-ḥ-bi.t*.—Cf. Griffith, *Catalogue of the demotic papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III (1909), p. 457.
- L. 4 :** *Ḥnsw-ir-ḥ3.w*: The sign for *ḥ3* is identical to *rs* in *P3-dī-Ḥr-Rsn* (l. 3).
- L. 5 :** *ḥw-Dḥwt*: The reading *ḥw* is not unproblematic.
- L. 8 :** *dmd*: see Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (1991), p. 245-246 § 84.
- L. 8 :** *s*: Note that Hughes, *Saite demotic land leases* (1952), p. 9 and p. 46-47 note *b* read *b3k*, but see Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (1991), p. 233-234 § 70.—Compare also *s* in doc. 13 l. 5 and 18 col I l. 3.
- L. 8 :** *ḥnh-p3-ḥrd*: the sign for *ḥrd* looks like the early demotic sign for the woman giving birth, which is sometimes clearly distinguished from the sitting child in early demotic.—See Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenbor*, II (1994), p. 7\* nr. A17 and 9\* nr. B2.

[NOTES CONTINUED ON P. 33]

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a medieval manuscript. The text is written in dark ink on a light-colored, textured background. The script is dense and flowing, with many ligatures and flourishes. The text is arranged in approximately 12 lines, with some lines being longer than others. The overall appearance is that of a historical document, possibly a letter or a page from a book.

P. BM EA 10432 (© The British Museum)



## DOC. 3 | P. BM EA 10906 recto

[Also known as P. Michaelides 2. The scribe wrote doc. 4 on the same day. Some notes that are pertinent to doc. 3 may be found there]

*Date* : Year 7 II *pr.t* of Taharka (between July 10 and August 9, 684 BC)

*Publication* : K. Donker van Heel, ‘A day in the life of the ancient Egyptian goatherd Ityaa: abnormal hieratic P. Michaelides 1 and 2 (P. BM EA 10907 and 10906)’, in *JEÄ* 90 (2004), p. 153-166 and plate 1-8

*Content* : The goatherd Tjaynahebu son of Bay states to the goatherd Ityaa that the latter has paid him the money owed to him by Paiuiu(hor) son of Nesamun, a man from Gaza. Belongs to doc. 4.

- L. 2** : *pr.t*: As in early demotic, it is not always easy to distinguish between *pr.t* and *šmw*. A characteristic feature of *šmw*, however, is the extension of the first leg of *š* well below the line, e.g. in doc. 2 l. 1.—Cf. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (1991), p. 228-229 § 64, and note the shape of the ligature *r + t* + oblique stroke.
- L. 2** : *wrš-ṣnh*: See the note to doc. 4 l. 2. The scribe writes the abbreviated tail determinative here, and the full determinative in the next line.
- L. 2** : *Tzy-nz-hb.w*: Instead of *hb.w* the scribe seems to have written *hz.w*. This phenomenon also occurs in hieroglyphic spellings of the name, for which see e.g. *PM* VIII, p. 778.
- L. 4** : *dbn*: One is tempted to read just *dbn* here for the signs between *šp(=) n=k* and 1, but the editor still opted to read *pz dbn* 1.—Cf. doc. 4 l. 10 and Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (1991), p. 209-210 § 44.
- L. 5** : *i.wn m-di(=i)*: Perhaps even *i.wn m-di=i* on account of the dot, which occurs right at the end of the line (the perfect spot for a space filler).
- L. 6** : *Pz-iwiw-Hr*: Short for *Pz-iwiw-Hr*, who is also mentioned in l. 13 and in doc. 4 l. 2
- L. 7-8** : *i.ir(=i) ir šp=s n=k pz hrw*: Note that the writing of *ir* is identical to *wn* in l. 5.
- L. 8-9** : *mn ... irm*: Rather damaged, but the same clause occurs in l. 11-12.
- L. 9** : *nb*: *nb* above *r* is fairly common in abnormal hieratic. Only the fact that this is a standard clause enables the identification of the upper sign as *nb*.
- L. 9-10** : *Pz-iwiw-Hr*: The writing of *Hr* here is indistinguishable from initial *dd* in l. 2.
- L. 10** : *mw.t*: The cobra determinative in *mw.t* ‘mother’ is probably a mistake.
- L. 11** : *nzy=f sn.w dr=w*: The group for *dr=w* is much abbreviated.—Cf. *dr* in e.g. doc. 1 l. 7, 15 l. 9 and 18 col. I l. 11.
- L. 13** : *dr.t=k*: Could this be an extravagant writing of *tw=k* or even *ir.t=k* for *iw=k*? The latter suggestion seems to be ruled out by the writings of *ir* by this scribe in l. 7.

[NOTES CONTINUED ON P. 34]

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, likely Akkadian, on a fragment of a tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 15 lines, though some are partially obscured by the fragment's irregular edges. The script is dense and characteristic of the Neo-Assyrian period.

P. BM EA 10906 recto (© The British Museum)

## DOC. 3 | P. BM EA 10906 verso

- [1] *M-b3ḥ P3-wrm s3 P3-dī=s*
- [2] *M-b3ḥ P3y=w-rb3 p3y=f šr*
- [3] *M-b3ḥ P3-dī-Imn s3 Ryry*
- [4] *M-b3ḥ P3y=f-ib-nḥt s3 P3-gw*
- [5] *g*
- [6] *M-b3ḥ Ir.t-Hr-r=w s3 P3-Hr*
- [7] *Dmḍ s 8 r.sh=w mī nn*
- [8] *M-b3ḥ Hr s3 Bs-Mw.t i r T3y-n3-hb.w i p3 m(3)d(3) nty ḥry*



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Hebrew, on a fragment of aged parchment. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines, though some are partially obscured by the fragment's irregular edges. The script is dark and dense, with some characters appearing to be stylized or abbreviated. The parchment is light brown and shows signs of wear, including a prominent vertical crease down the center and several small holes or tears.

P. BM EA 10906 verso (© The British Museum)



## DOC. 4 | P. BM EA 10907 recto

[Also known as P. Michaelides 1. The scribe wrote doc. **3** on the same day]

*Date* : Year 7 II *pr.t* of Taharka (between July 10 and August 9, 684 BC)

*Publication* : K. Donker van Heel, 'A day in the life of the ancient Egyptian goatherd Ityaa: abnormal hieratic P. Michaelides 1 and 2 (P. BM EA 10907 and 10906)', in *JEA* 90 (2004), p. 153-166 and plate 1-8

*Content* : The goatherd Paiuiuhor son of Nesamun states to the goatherd Ityaa that the latter has paid his (i.e. Paiuiuhor's) debt to the goatherd Tjaynahebu and that he now owes this amount to Ityaa. If he tries to go back on this deal the amount owed by him will be doubled. Belongs to doc. **3**.

**L. 2** : *wrš-ḥḥ*: Note that the tail determinative of *ḥḥ* is written in various ways in *l.* 2, 3 and 6.—Cf. doc. **7** note to *l.* 2.

**L. 3** : *ḥt-ḥ*: Reading not entirely certain.—Cf. *ḥt-ḥ* in doc. **3** *l.* 4.

**L. 3-4** : *P3-wnš*: The sitting man determinative is ligatured to *š*. The same seems to have happened in *wrš-ḥḥ* in *l.* 3.

**L. 4-5** : *tw=i iy.t*: For a similar passage, see doc. **15** note on *l.* 3.

**L. 5** : *iw=w dd.t-w*: The alternative would be to read *im* at the beginning of the line, leaving us with *dd.t-w* here.

**L. 7** : *qr.t*: The sign for *d* is a horizontal line.—Cf. e.g. *qr.t=k* doc. **3** *l.* 13.

**L. 8** : *irm*: An abbreviated writing that occurs more often, e.g. in doc. **8** *l.* 7 (*iw-k irm(=i)*).

**L. 12-13** : *ḥḥ Imn ḥḥ Pr-ḥ*: It seems the scribe twice wrote an abbreviated tail determinative after *ḥḥ*. The group for *Pr-ḥ* can hardly be recognised as such, but this is a fixed oath formula in abnormal hieratic contracts.

**L. 13** : *bn iw(=i) rh st3*: A standard formula, for which see e.g. also doc. **12** *l.* 5 and 6 and **17** col. I *l.* 11. The expected tusk + man with hand to mouth determinative of *rh* is abbreviated to the multifunctional sign often seen in abnormal hieratic.—See the note to doc. **7** *l.* 1 (or the scribe simply forgot to write the second determinative).

**L. 14** : *P3y-ḥ-r=f*: See *JEA* 90 (2004), p. 159 n. *s*. The multifunctional sign at the beginning can actually also be read as *t3*.—See doc. **17** note to col. I *l.* 2. The group read as *ḥ* may well be *ir.t*, resulting in a name *T3y-ir.t-r=f*, for which cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I (1935), p. 354 nr. 1 (*T3y-ir.t-r=w*) and *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 336 n. 65, as well as *PM* VIII 2, p. 1027 (*T3y=w-ir.t-r=w*).

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Hebrew or Aramaic, on a fragment of papyrus. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, though some are partially obscured by the fragment's irregular edges. The script is dense and characteristic of ancient Near Eastern documents.

## DOC. 4 | P. BM EA 10907 verso

- [1] *M-b3ḥ wrš-<sup>c</sup>nḥ Hr-ms s3 Imn-nḥt*
- [2] *M-b3ḥ P3-di-wn s3 P3-<sup>2</sup>Ikš*
- [3] *M-b3ḥ P3y=f-ib-nḥt s3 P3-gwg*
- [4] *M-b3ḥ Ṭp-<sup>c</sup>3 s3 P3-šr-n-g3y.w*
- [5] *M-b3ḥ P3-wrm s3 P3-di=s*
- [6] *M-b3ḥ P3y=w-rb3 p3y=f šr*
- [7] *M-b3ḥ Ir.t-Hr-r=w s3 P3-Hr*
- [8] *M-b3ḥ P3-di-<sup>2</sup>Imn s3 Ryry*
- [9] *Dmḡ s 8 r.sh=w mī nn*



Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, likely Akkadian, on a fragment of a clay tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines, though some characters are obscured by the fragment's irregular edges. The script is dense and characteristic of the Neo-Assyrian period.

P. BM EA 10907 verso (© The British Museum)

## DOC. 5 | P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E recto

[The many supplementary notes to this text simply reflect the fact that this is one of the most difficult abnormal hieratic texts known to date]

*Date* : 650-600 BC

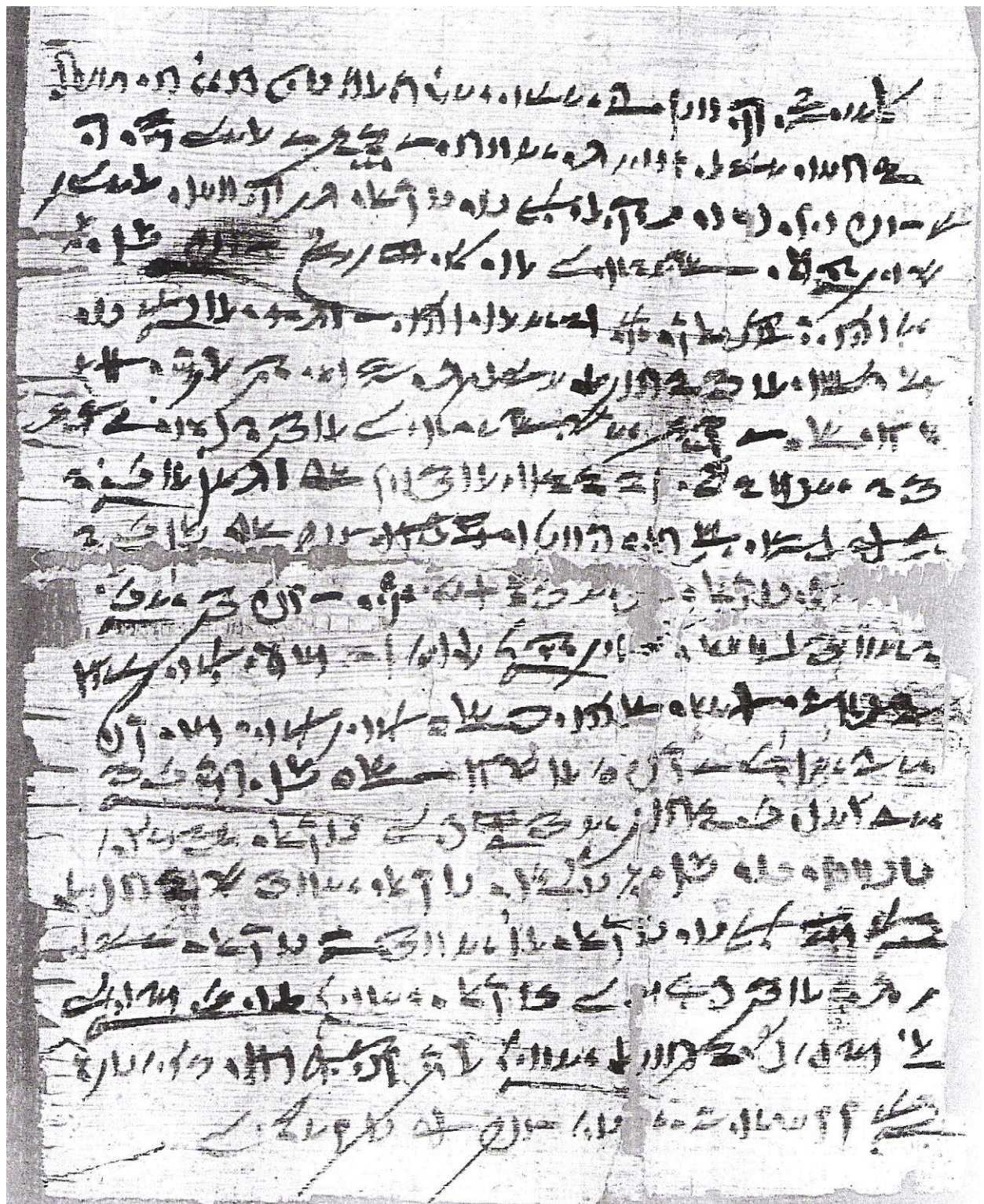
*Publication* : R. Jasnow and G. Vittmann, 'An abnormal hieratic letter to the dead (P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E)', in *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/93), p. 23-43 and plate 2-3

*Content* : Letter by Ituru daughter of Petepanebaâ to the apparently deceased Penhy (?) son of Nakhttaymut about all sorts of bad things done to her by a man called Neshor son of Horsiese.

- L. 1 :** *P3-di-p3-nb-ꜥ3*: Rather than *P3-di-p3-nb nty*.—Cf. *nty* at the end of *l. 2* and in *l. 12*, where it resembles early demotic *nty*. For the name, see Ranke, *Personennamen*, II (1952), p. 284 nr. 22.
- L. 1 :** *iw=s*: Written *is*. For *nty iw=s* written *nty is*, see doc. 17 col. I *l. 9*.
- L. 1 :** *hry d3d3*: Reading offered with the utmost reserve. For the first two signs, cf. *d3d3* 'head' in Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 673.—Or cf. *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 617 (*twtw* 'Raum. Auch im Tempel')? Note that the first two signs of this word resemble the signs used in doc. 1 *l. 1* to write the bull determinative in the divine name *Hp*.
- L. 2 :** *Pn-hy (?)*: Extremely doubtful, but perhaps preferable to *Tnhm (?)* read by the editors. For *pn*, cf. *Pnpny* in *l. 8* and Ranke, *Personennamen*, I (1935), p. 361 nr. 16 (*Ta-hy*). The alternative would be to read *Pn-hry* (proposed by Petra Hogenboom). The partial translation of *l. 1-2* by Fitzpatrick in *JEA* 69 (1983), p. 163-164 unfortunately left out all personal names.
- L. 2 :** *n3-ꜥ33*: For the writing of *n3*, see the note to doc. 8 *l. 2* (*P3-hr-Hnsw*). One may transcribe *n3* either as a dot + *n* (so Jasnow and Vittmann, p. 41) or (from top to bottom) *n + 3 + n*.
- L. 2 :** *hr.w*: The determinatives seem clear enough, but the first two signs look like *i* + the multi-functional sign (for this sign, see the note to doc. 7 *l. 1*), which could be *3* or perhaps even *tw*, perhaps resulting in a quaint spelling *iwt* for *ꜥt* 'Mangel, Not, Armut'.—See Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 13. However, the same word is used as a verb at the end of *l. 3*.
- L. 3 :** *di*: Seems to be a correction that was made afterwards in the margin: *di* for *tw(=i)*.
- L. 4 :** *t3y=f*: For a perfect parallel, see Von Bomhard, *Paléographie du Papyrus Wilbour* (1998), p. 32. Note that there are various ways in which *t3y* is written in abnormal hieratic, e.g. in doc. 1 *l. 6* (*n-t3y pr ...*) and 7 (*m-di-k t3y.t=w*) and in doc. 15 *l. 7* and 11 (*n-t3y p3 hrw r hry*), and *l. 8* (*n-t3y sn sn.t ...*). The scribe uses a different form in *l. 16*, which is similar to the group used in doc. 1 *l. 6* (see the note there).

[NOTES CONTINUED ON P. 34-35]





P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E recto (© *The Brooklyn Museum*)



## DOC. 5 | P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E verso

*Hr-s3-Is.t* <*s3*> *Pn-hy* (?) <*s3*> *Nht-t3-mw.t* ... [ ... ] ʕš *sw r3=f t3 hw.t Pn-hy* (?).





P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E verso (© *The Brooklyn Museum*)

## DOC. 6 | P. Cairo 30657

[The scribe—effortlessly switching from abnormal hieratic to early demotic (and back), that would become fashionable in the reign of Amasis—probably also wrote P. Louvre E 7845 B and doc. 2]

*Date* : Year 24 II *pr.t* of Amasis (between June 6 and July 5, 547 BC)

*Publication* : M. Malinine, ‘Deux documents égyptiens relatifs au dépôt (P. Louvre E. 7861 et P. Caire 30657)’, in *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 219-229—Cf. K. Donker van Heel, ‘The lost battle of Peteamonip son of Petehorresne’, in *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 115-124

*Content* : The choachyte Petedjehuty son of Inaros states that the choachyte Rery son of Tesmont has compensated him for some goods that were with (or owed to him by) Rery’s mother.

**L. 1** : *dd*: The vertical stroke following *dd* is an abnormal hieratic characteristic.

**L. 1** : *wšh-mw*: Written in early demotic. For abnormal hieratic *wšh-mw*, see e.g. doc. 8 l. 3.

**L. 1** : *Pz-di-Dḥwt*: The reference by Malinine (p. 228 n. 11) to P. Louvre E 7846 l. 3 is probably a mistake for P. Louvre E 7848 l. 3, which is our doc. 9.

**L. 1** : *s3*: The transcription of *s3* is now thought to be the sitting man above the *s3*-bird instead of the egg above *n*.—See Vleeming, *The Gooseberds of Hou* (1991), p. 214ff. § 51.

**L. 1** : *Ir.t-Hr-r=w*: *ir.t* written with a single stroke occurs more often in abnormal hieratic.—Cf., for instance, doc. 5 l. 1. For the transcription of *r=w*, see Vleeming, *The Gooseberds of Hou* (1991), p. 202-203 § 35 and Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, II (1994), p. 11\*.

**L. 2** : *Di-sw-Mnt*: The *t* transcribed by Malinine (p. 224) in *di* should be omitted.—Cf. *di=k* a little further on in this line.

**L. 2** : *di=k mtr ḥ3.t(=i)*: The scribe learned this early demotic clause from his father, who used it in doc. 8 l. 4 and 15 l. 10. Note that this scribe uses the early demotic man with hand to mouth determinative here in *mtr* and the abnormal hieratic tusk + man with hand to mouth determinative in *rh* in l. 4.

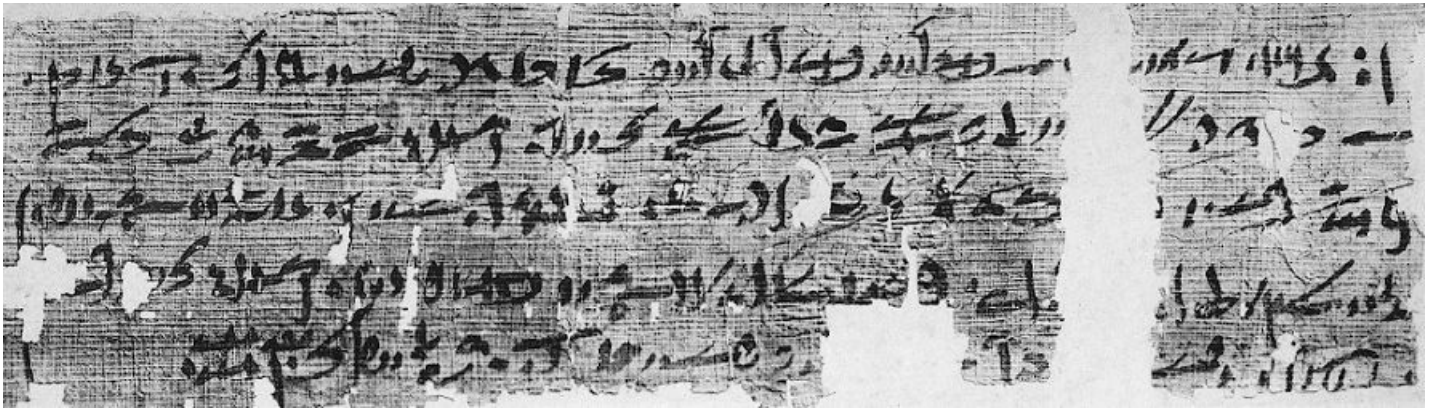
**L. 2** : *nkt*: For the determinative, see also Vleeming, *The Gooseberds of Hou* (1991), p. 249 § 86.

**L. 2** : *nkt nb r.dd(=i) n=k*: This interpretation seems preferable to Malinine’s (p. 228 n. 12) *nk.t nb.t dd(w.)n=k*.

**L. 3** : *s.ḥm.t*: A rather elaborate writing.—Cf. e.g. *s.ḥm.t* in doc. 17 col. I l. 4. What looks like the sitting man determinative may actually be a *t* (proposed by Daniel Soliman).

**L. 3** : *Ḥ3=w-s-n-Is.t*: Very damaged, but the reading is certain. The same woman is mentioned in doc. 1 l. 2 as the mother of the brother of the man addressed here in doc. 6.

[NOTES CONTINUED ON P. 35]



P. Cairo 30657 (© The Egyptian Museum)

## DOC. 7 | P. Leiden F 1942/5.15

[Notes to ll. 1-9]

*Date* : Year 21 II *sh.t* 8 of Py (March 30, 727 BC)

*Publication* : S.P. Vleeming, 'The sale of a slave in the time of pharaoh Py', in *OMRO* 61 (1980), p. 1-17 and plate 1 (note the facsimile on p. 11)

*Content* : Payfdytmen son of Paypenu states that he has received from the choachyte Itshery son of Nesamun (?) three deben and one kite of silver as the money for 'a man from the north' called Paneferiu (?), presumably a prisoner of war taken during Py's campaign against the north.

**L. 1** : *sh.t*: Cf. doc. 17 col. I l. 1.

**L. 1** : Note that many abnormal hieratic scribes use a multifunctional sign. In this text it is used for the *t* + egg determinative in *Is.t*, the second half of *p3* (l. 2), the complement to *sp* (l. 3), the sitting man in *rm* (l. 6), the sun disk with diagonal stroke (l. 9) and *s3* (l. 9).

**L. 2** : *P3y=f-di.t-mn*: The name of the first contracting party is often also mentioned in the witness subscriptions. For this name, compare l. 10, 15 and 18.

**L. 2** : For the tail determinative in *P3y-pnw*, cf. the extended writing in l. 11 and see Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (1991), p. 207-208 § 42.

**L. 3** : The patronym was left unread by the editor, but it seems to end with a clear abbreviated writing of abnormal hieratic *Imn*.—Cf. *Imn* in *pr-Imn* in l. 14, leaving only very few signs for the first part of the name, which would then have to be e.g. *Ns-*, *Wd3-*, *etc.*.—Cf., for instance, *Ns-Imn* in doc. 4 l. 2.

**L. 4** : *P3-nfr-iw*: An alternative reading *P3-nfr-Imn-Ip(.t)* was proposed by Parker, in *ZÄS* 93 (1966), p. 112.

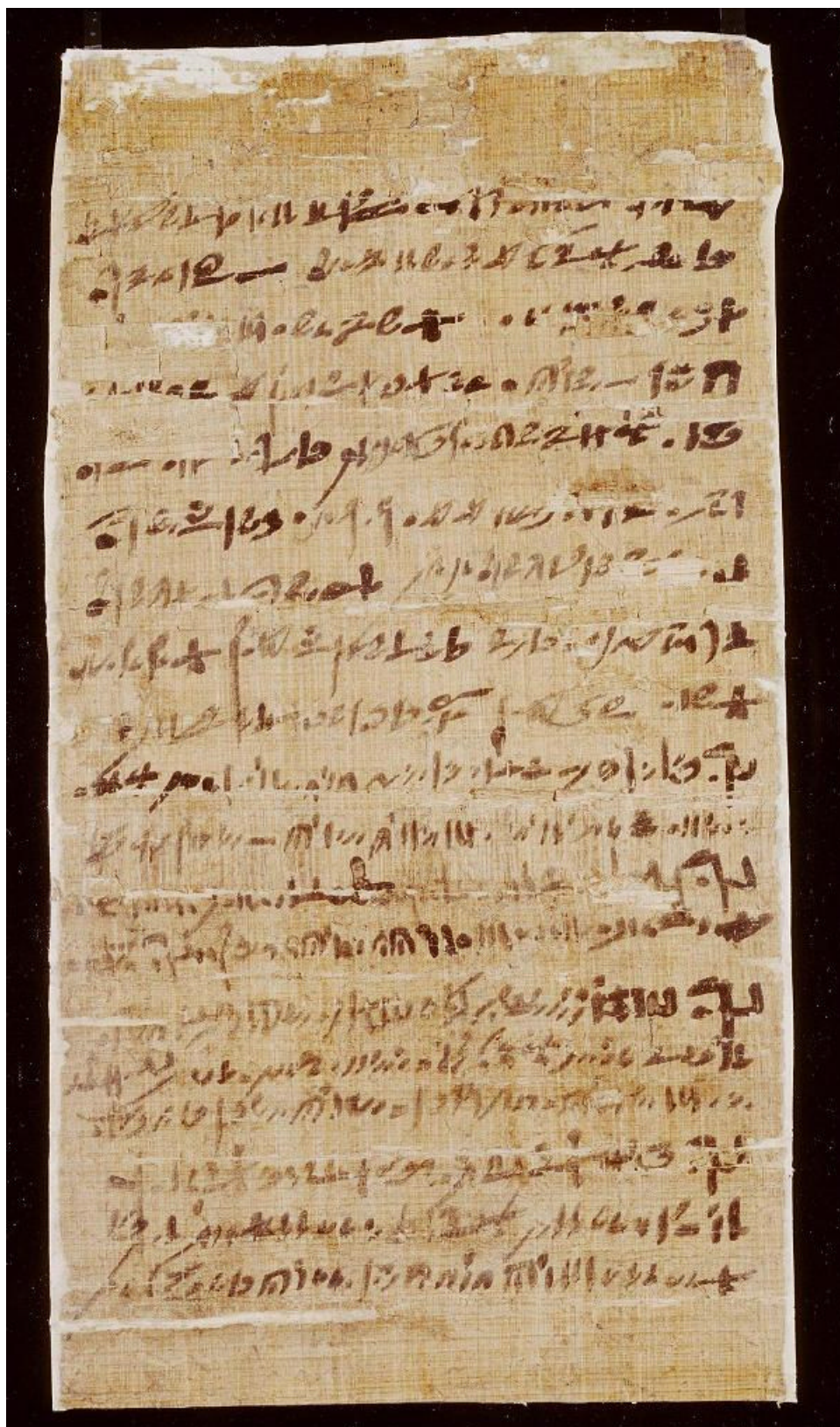
**L. 6** : *bn sn*: Compare *bn sn* in l. 8.

**L. 7** : *iw iw=w rh*: the reading *iw=w* is expected, but seems doubtful.

**L. 8** : *h3i3 (?) nb n sh*: Vleeming's transcription appears to be correct, although one is tempted to read *h3 dm<sup>c</sup> nb n sh*. The sign between the alleged *d3* and the sign for *tm3* (Gardiner V19) seems to be an *3*, or more specifically, the multifunctional sign seen more often with abnormal hieratic scribes, not an *m* + <sup>c</sup> (cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 679). In doc. 4 l. 16 a document is referred to as a *m(3)d(3)*.—Cf. doc. 18 col. I l. 12: *ir p3 nty iw=f md im=w bn sdm=w r=f m s.t nb n sh*.

**L. 8-9** : *dw3 hr s3 dw3*: For another example, see doc. 18 col. I l. 12.

**L. 8** : *hr* is extremely abbreviated. It can take various shapes.—Cf. *hr* in doc. 4 l. 11 and 15 l. 4.



P. Leiden F 1942/5.15 (© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden)

# NOTES TO THE TEXTS (CONT.)

[Doc. 1 | P. BM EA 10113]

- L. 4 :** *kt*: The sign does not compare favourably with *kt* in *l. 3*, but it cannot be *dbn* (see e.g. *l. 2* and *3*).
- L. 5 :** *ibd*: The transcription of the first group is not certain.—Compare the same word in *l. 5* and the early demotic examples in Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 27.
- L. 5 :** *rnp.t*: The dot between *l. 4* and *5* appears to belong to this word. The sun disk determinative is missing from Donker van Heel, *Abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts* (1995), plate XXX.
- L. 5 :** *nty iw=w ir=w*: *iw* is sometimes written as abnormal hieratic *i*.
- L. 5 :** *hpr*: Reich (p. 6) and Malinine (p. 16 and p. 18-19 n. 10) read *m-sz*, but compare *hpr* in doc. 2 *l. 11* (at the beginning).
- L. 5 :** *qzqz*: A similar spelling occurs twice in doc. 17 *I l. 8*.
- L. 5 :** *iwz*: The determinative may be the striking arm + cross determinative followed by plural strokes, as would be expected.—Cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 22.
- L. 6 :** *n-ty*: For this quaint spelling, see Donker van Heel, *Abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts* (1995), p. 292 n. *b*.
- L. 6 :** *hm.t*: The dot needed to complete the seated woman determinative was drawn too far to the left.
- L. 6 :** *nhh*: For quite similar spellings in demotic, see the online *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*.
- L. 7 :** *<m>-sz(=i)*: Reading is uncertain.
- L. 7 :** *nty*: Apart from the inadvertent dot, *nty* looks like early demotic.—Compare *nty* in *l. 5* and *6*.
- L. 7 :** *m-di=k ty.t=w r.r=w*: *r.r=w* seems preferable to *ir=w*.
- L. 8 :** *knb.t nb*: The scribe writes *nb* in several ways.—See e.g. *ibd nb rnp.t nb* (*l. 5*) and *nty nb* (*l. 7*).

[Doc. 2 | P. BM EA 10432]

- L. 9 :** *n=n*: Note the curious writing with *nz*.
- L. 10 :** *inn ir sn n mhy*: This verbal pattern introduced by the absolute pronoun is popular in abnormal hieratic.
- L. 11 :** *hpr*: The writing is abnormal hieratic. For *hpr* in early demotic, see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 355.
- L. 8 :** *iw=k*: For the strange hook-like sign to the left, see Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus* (1962), p. 54.



[Doc. 3 | P. BM EA 10906 recto]

**L. 14** : *P3 mtr-sh*: Typical for the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

**L. 14** : *P3y-ʿ3-r-f*: See the note to doc. 4 l. 14.

**L. 16** : *Hr-ms*: The writing of *Hr* with a long horizontal stroke underneath, suppressing the stroke that often follows the name (e.g. in l. 9-10: *P3-iwiw-Hr*), occurs more often in abnormal hieratic.

**L. 16** : *ʿImn-nhṯ*: Although the reading is not entirely certain, nothing better comes to mind. *ʿImn* is, as often happens, abbreviated.—Cf. doc. 10 note to l. 2, where the scribe uses both the full and the abbreviated forms of *ʿImn* in personal names.

**L. 18** : The reading of the first name is doubtful.

[Doc. 5 | P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E recto]

**L. 5** : *ʿkw*: Note that the wood determinative is indistinguishable from *s3* in *Hr-s3-ʿIs.t* (e.g. l. 3) and from the first group in *hm* at the end of l. 12.

**L. 5** : *(m-)ḏr.t(=i)*: Written *ḏl.t*, with an extra dot.

**L. 5** : *p3y(=i) ḥḏ*: One wonders whether this could also be read as *p3 ḥmt ḥḏ* ‘the copper (and) silver’.—Cf. doc. 1 l. 6 (*ḥḏ ḥmt ḥbs nḥ bdt nb*). Note, however, that *ḥmt* is written differently in l. 11.

**L. 5** : *bdt*: The only thing that distinguishes this word from *md* ‘issue, word’ in l. 8 is the grain determinative.

**L. 6** : *Wp-w3.w.t-ḥtp*: For *Wp-w3.w.t*, see *Wp-w3.w.t-ḥ-ir-ḏl=s* in doc. 17 col. II l. 1 and Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I (1980-2000), p. 115-116.

**L. 6-7** : *šp*: Often written without the book roll that was moved to the beginning of l. 7, even if there is enough space at the end of l. 6.—Cf. doc. 7 l. 3 (without) and doc. 8 l. 8 (with).

**L. 7** : *šp(=i) sw n šb*: The word left unread by the editors—also occurring in l. 12 (*šp(=i) n3 ḥḏ nty* ...) and l. 13 (*ṯ3y(=i) sw n* ...)—may be the same that has caused demotists some headaches in the past, viz. *šb/šp*, for which see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 497 (*šb.t* ‘Veränderung, Tausch, Vergeltung, Belohnung’) and 502 (*šp* ‘Geschenk, Lohn Entschädigung’),—and Hughes, *Saite demotic land leases* (1952), p. 59ff. n. *t*, and especially p. 60 (exx. cited in n. 90-91). One would be inclined to transcribe the cross + book roll + plural strokes + block of stone or grain, for which cf. Černý in *Fs. Griffith* (1932), p. 54 n. 1.

**L. 7** : *w3ḥ=f*: The alternatives range from an equally doubtful *ḏr.t=f*, proposed in class by Bahar Landsberger, to *(r-)ḏr=f* ‘totally’, but this would result in a unique, unknown expression *m-šs (r-)ḏr=f*. For *ḏr=f* in *p3 t3 (r-)ḏr=f*, see e.g. doc. 1 l. 7.—In view of *n-ir-ḥr* at the end of l. 14 and *ḥr* in l. 18, a reading *ḥr.r=f* seems less probable.

**L. 8** : *wstn*: Apart from the slightly problematic tusk + book roll for *ḥ* a reading *msh* seems preferable.—Cf. *ḥ* in *ḥb* in l. 10 (damaged).

**L. 12** : *m-s3*: The final group is a problem. For an equally problematic *(m-)s3*, see doc. 1 l. 7.

**L. 12** : *n3 ḥḏ nty šb/šp*: See above note to l. 7.

**L. 13** : *p3 bnr*: Highly abbreviated, but compare *p3 bnr* at the beginning of the line in doc. 17 I l. 9.

- L. 13 :** *ʿnh nʒ hm(.w)*: The reading seems certain, but *ʿnh* lacks a proper determinative, unless this is the dot + diagonal stroke that follows *hm(.w)*.
- L. 13 :** *iw tʒy(=i) sw n šb/šp*: See above note to *l. 7*.
- L. 15 :** *ʾmn-ḥtp*: The element *ḥtp* read by the editors looks quite different from *ḥtp* in *Wp-wʒ.w.t-ḥtp* in *l. 8*. Perhaps consider a reading *Ḥr-m-P*?
- L. 16 :** *n-tʒy*: The *n* seems superfluous.—Compare *tʒy* and *n-tʒy* in doc. **1** *l. 6-7* and see the note on *l. 4* of this text.
- L. 16-17 :** *Nʒ-nḥt=f-mw.t*: Is the sign at the beginning of *l. 17* really just the *f* or could this be an abbreviated writing of *tʒy=f*?—Cf. W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), p. 602.
- L. 17 :** *ms=k*: One wonders whether a reading *ms=k hm* ‘you were born a nobody’ or sim. would yield more sense.
- L. 19 :** *mtw=k wwy.t*: The use of *wy* ‘be far (in a legal sense)’ seems slightly unexpected in an abnormal hieratic text. In doc. **6** *l. 3* and doc. **16** *l. 4* the verb *hʒʿ* is used to—probably—denote the same.
- L. 19 :** *i.ḥr(=i)*: The group is damaged and the reading is uncertain. If this is the correct reading, *ḥr* would be written in early demotic.

[Doc. **6** | P. Cairo 30657]

- L. 3 :** *dī(=i) (?) hʒʿ i.r=k n.im=w*: Malinine had *dī=i hʒʿ i.r=k n.im=w* in his transliteration (p. 225), but *dī=tw (?)* (for *tw=tw*) *hʒʿ i.r=k n.im=w* in his n. 15 on p. 228. This clause is insufficiently understood, but it finds a parallel in doc. **16** *l. 4* (*ink m hʒʿ.t r=k tʒy 10 stʒ ʒh nmh*). It appears to be a rather inadequate counterpart of the early demotic *tw=i wy.t r.r=k*-clause (‘I am far from you ...’). Note, however, that *wy* is actually used in this sense in doc. **5** *l. 19*.
- L. 4 :** *rh*: Still written in abnormal hieratic, even including the tusk determinative.
- L. 4 :** *m-dī(=i)*: Only traces left.
- L. 4 :** For the signature of the scribe, see doc. **8** *l. 11*, where he signs the contract written by his father as a witness. There he still writes *ʾmn* in his own name in abnormal hieratic, which here in doc. **6** suddenly has become early demotic.

### Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting “Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut”

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2. S.P. VLEEMING, *De Opstand van Babylon in een Aramese Literaire Papyrus uit Egypte* (1983)
3. P.W. PESTMAN, *Memorabilia bijeengebracht ter gelegenheid van het 50-jarig bestaan van het Institutum Papyrologicum Universitatis Lugduno Batavae* (1985)
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