

PAPYROLOGICA BRUXELLENSIA

— 28 —

A COMPANION TO DEMOTIC STUDIES

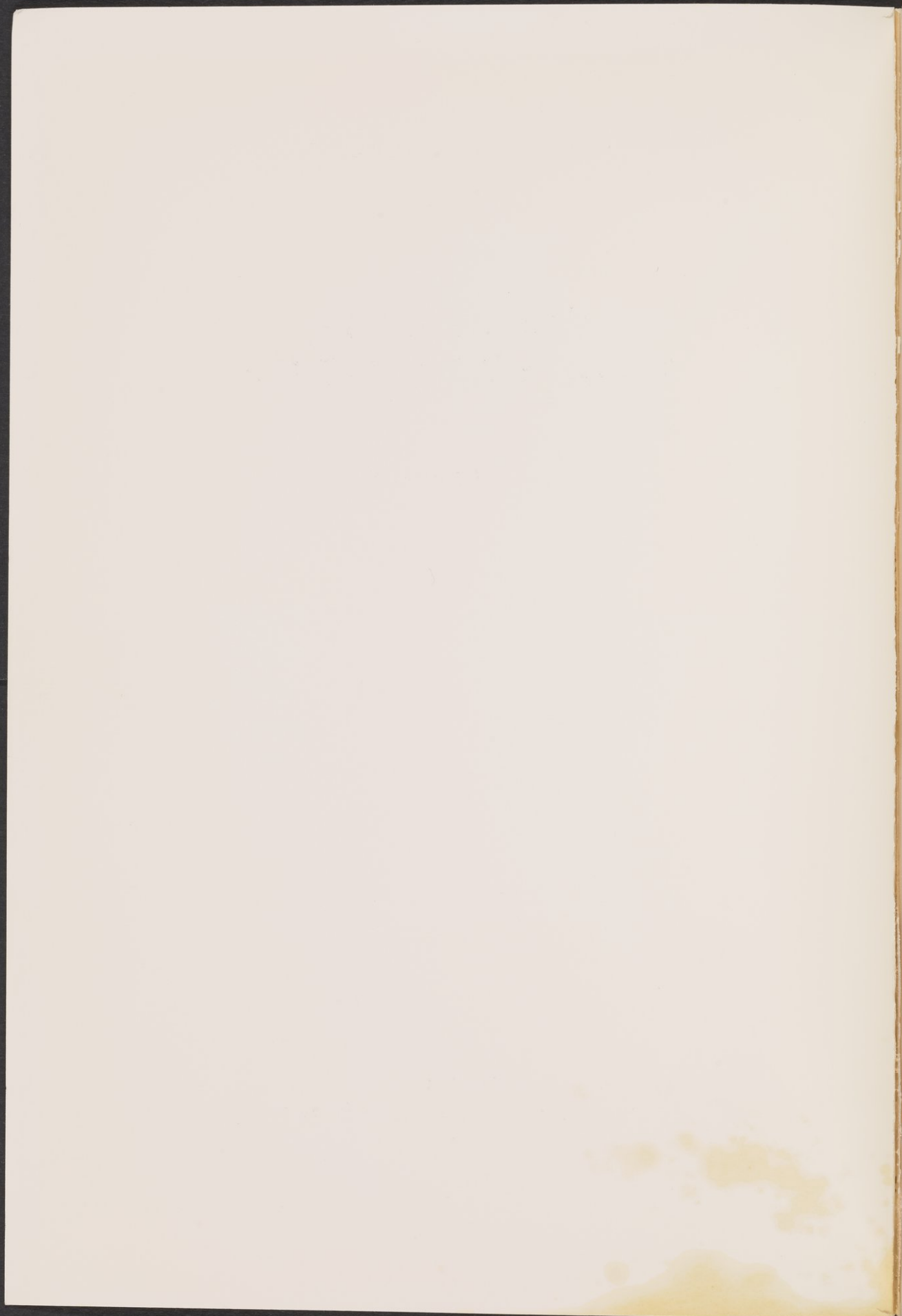
Mark DEPAUW

BRUXELLES

FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ÉLISABETH

1997

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PAPYROLOGICA BRUXELLENSIA

A COMPANION TO DEMOTIC STUDIES

Études de papyrologie et éditions de sources

publiées sous la direction de

Jean Brunschwig

FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ELISABETH

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Mark DEPAUW

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FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ÉLISABETH II

1997

To the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur

To the memory of the Quakers

Preface

One of the main obstacles for newcomers to the promising field of Demotic studies has been the lack of scientific tools, such as a handbook. In default of a general survey, information about the Demotic language and script, and about the texts written in it, was hard to trace, and as a result the information provided was often neglected by scholars studying the later periods of Egyptian culture and history. The need for an introduction to Demotic, as a counterpart to manuals of Greek papyrology and Egyptology, was therefore expressed several times.

It should be stressed here that this *Companion* is only a partial fulfilment of this need. It is of a more limited scope than some of its Greek counterparts, the main difference being that the culture of late pharaonic, Ptolemaic, or Roman Egypt is not discussed *in extenso*. No doubt it would be very instructive to give a survey of these topics including information gained from the Demotic sources. However, since Demotic script and language stretch from the seventh century BC to the fifth century AD, this would be a huge undertaking which is beyond my competence, especially because it would be quite useless to study the history of any period exclusively on the basis of Demotic sources. The precise goal of this *Companion* is to make Demotic studies more accessible so that Greek papyrologists or Egyptologists interested in the later periods will be better equipped to take full account of Demotic material in their study of the late pharaonic period or the Ptolemaic and Roman societies. As such it does not contain an introduction to script or grammar.

The foundations of this book were laid in 1993, when the late Professor J. Quaegebeur asked me to update and revise the introductory notes of his course 'Demotic'. The goal was to provide beginning students with a kind of handbook, permitting a faster transition to grammar and the texts themselves. He urged me to elaborate the Dutch version and to consider a translation into English in view of a future publication. It is very sad that because of his untimely death he has not been able to witness the final result. Several people have advised and assisted me in his place, thus trying to fill the gap he left. In the first place I should like to express my thanks to Professor W. Clarysse, who read through two previous versions of the manuscript, enriched them with his comments, and supported me at times when I doubted I would bring the task to a good end. I am also very grateful to Professors P. Frandsen and H. De Meulenaere, who read through the work and provided valuable remarks and suggestions. As president of the *Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth*, the latter, together with his colleague Professor J. Bingen, was also willing to include this *Companion* in the series *Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, for which I wish to thank them both. I am further indebted to Professors W.J. Tait and R. Jasnow, who each at different stages emended the English of this publication; to Professor M. Smith, who kept me from several defects in the section on the Demotic literature; to Professor M. Chauveau, who urged me to add the succinct section on the historical information in Demotic texts, which I had been contemplating; to Professors K.-Th. Zauzich and D. Devauchelle; to Dr. Hoffmann, Dr. E. Cruz-Uribe, Dr. L. Limme, and K. Ryholt, for assistance and advice on various matters. And last but not least I wish to thank the *Papyrological Institute* of the *University of Leiden*, where a

fundamental critique caused me to revise and enlarge the present work and alter its title. The shortcomings remain of course entirely my own responsibility.

Finally, I must say that I am well aware of the fact that it may be considered an act of *hybris* to publish a book of this kind with the limited experience I have at this time of my life. To my excuse I can only refer to the circumstances described above: it is my hope that the work will be useful enough to avert any *nemesis*. May I not too strongly disappoint the *b3* of Professor Jan Quaegebeur, without whose encouragement this *Companion* would never have been realized and to whom I dedicate the book in sincere admiration.

Brussels, 17 December 1996

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0. General introduction

Since the seventies a new interest in Demotic studies has emerged. No obvious reasons for this unexpected evolution can be readily demonstrated, but it is a fortunate thing this fascinating discipline is revived, as it was in danger to be pushed even farther into the margins of Egyptology. Nevertheless Demotic is a script and a language that continues the ancient Egyptian tradition. The large quantity of documents written in it form an unalienable part of Egyptian culture, and deserve to be studied by Egyptologists, not only for linguistic reasons, but because of their socio-economical and sometimes political-historical importance as well.

As a stage in the history of the Ancient Egyptian language, Demotic is important for the linguistic evolution. Its position in between Late Egyptian and Coptic is intensively discussed, as well as its alleged artificial character. The origin of Demotic script from hieratic is clear, but about the exact circumstances in which the transition took place the details are still unclear. Much work also needs to be done in the field of palaeography, where reliable sign-lists for each period are still lacking. As concerns orthography Demotic continues the etymological system of Ancient Egyptian, but the occasional phonetic spellings are an important source for the study of pronunciation and dialects, which still is in its beginning stages.

Demotic deeds are essential for the study of the administration and the law in the last millenium of ancient Egyptian history. Evidently, the main focus in this field is the Ptolemaic period, where one is confronted with a vast body of information which has been neglected for a long time by historians of the Hellenistic societies. The study of Graeco-Roman Egypt has often too heavily been based on Greek documents, whereas there is so much to be gained from a confrontation between the various sources. Bilingual archives, if they are investigated in their entirety, are a striking illustration of this. One can but hope that Demotic studies will soon catch up with Greek papyrology, which connects with Classical Studies and thus has a much larger base of recruitment. The number of Demotic scholars is smaller due to the relative difficulty of the Demotic script and to the lack of reliable scientific tools, although the latter is gradually changing.

When it comes to literature, the situation is different: because of the large quantity of literary texts written in the temple libraries in the Faiyum, it is the Roman period that is the centre of attention. The study and publication of the material from Tebtunis, in Copenhagen, Florence, and various other places all over the world, which is currently undertaken, will mark a completely new stage in the study of Egyptian literature: the extensive Demotic material is not only interesting in itself, but also valuable for the reconstruction of the older models now lost.

H.J. Thissen, *Demotistik und Ägyptologie. Anmerkungen zu demotischen literarischen Texten*, in: *ZÄS* 117 (1990), pp. 63–69.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die Aufgaben der Demotistik – Freude und Last eines Faches*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 9–16.

1. Demotic: script and language

1.1. First use and etymology of the term Demotic

1.1.1. Script

The term 'Demotic' was introduced into modern literature by Champollion and has become customary, although in the nineteenth century sometimes 'enchorial' was used to denote the script. In antiquity the situation varies according to the type of source.

A. GREEK LITERARY SOURCES

Most Greek literary sources distinguish between two types of script:

Herodotus (2, 36; fifth century BC): (γράμματα) δημοτικά – ιερά 'popular – sacred'.

Diodorus (1, 81 & 3, 3; first century BC): (γράμματα) ιερά – κοινοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν; 'sacred – of a more common knowledge'; δημῶδη προσαγορευόμενα – ιερά καλούμενα; 'referred to as 'popular' – called 'sacred'.

Heliodorus (*Ethiop.* 4, 8; third and fourth century AD): (γράμματα) δημοτικά – βασιλικοῖς δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἱερατικοῖς καλουμένοις ὁμοίωται; 'popular – royal, similar to those of the Egyptians called 'priestly''. The passage concerns Meroitic script, for which equally two different types can be distinguished (see below, p. 46): the parallelism between both situations is explicitly pointed to.

In these texts no distinction seems to be made between hieroglyphs and hieratic. Both are forms of the same 'sacred' or 'priestly' script, to which Demotic is opposed.

In antiquity, only Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 5, 4, 20–21; second and third century AD) distinguishes between three types of Egyptian script: ἱερογλυφική – ἱερατική – ἐπιστολογραφική; 'of holy carving – priestly – epistolary', evidently referring to hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Demotic. Compare with Porphyry (*Vit. Pythag.* 12; third century AD) γράμματα ἐπιστολογραφικά – ἱερογλυφικά / συμβολικά; 'epistolary – of holy carving / symbolic characters'. The term 'letter script' is also found in the Egyptian sources (see below).

J. Vergote, *Clément d'Alexandrie et l'écriture égyptienne. Essai d'interprétation de Stromates V, IV, 20–21*, in: *CdÉ* 16 (1941), pp. 21–38, esp. pp. 22–23.

For general information, see E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*, Copenhagen 1961, pp. 38–56.

B. GREEK DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

In the Greek documentary sources Demotic script is considered to be specifically Egyptian, indigenous, and national.

Decree of Canopus (238 BC): γράμματα ιερά – αἰγύπτια; 'sacred – Egyptian characters'.

1. Demotic: script and language

Rosetta Stone (196 BC): γράμματα ἱερά – ἐνχώρια; ‘sacred – enchorial characters’.

P. gr. Tebt. II 291 (162 AD): γράμματα ἱερατικά – αἰγύπτια; ‘priestly – Egyptian characters’.

In the first two sources, which are decrees and have both a hieroglyphic and a Demotic version, Greek is called *ss̄ n ḥw-nbwt* (in Classical Egyptian) or *sh n Wynn* (in Demotic), both to be translated as ‘script of the Greeks’. The designation ‘indigenous’ for the most commonly used Egyptian system of writing (i.e. Demotic) can be explained as forming a deliberate contrast to the terms employed for the script of the immigrant Greeks.

C. EGYPTIAN SOURCES

In Egyptian, parallel to the situation in some Greek literary sources, Demotic is called *ss̄/sh̄ (n) š̄.t* ‘letter script’, both in Classical Egyptian and in Demotic. This in opposition to the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts, which, both in Classical Egyptian and in Demotic, are called *ss̄/sh̄ (n) pr-nḥ* ‘script of the House of Life’ (Decree of Canopus) or *ss̄/sh̄ (n) mdw-nṯr* ‘script of the word of God’ (Rosetta Stone).

Thus it is clear that the term Demotic is taken from the Greek literary sources and from Herodotus in particular. For an explanation why he called the script ‘popular’, see below, p. 22.

	Hieroglyphs	Hieratic	Demotic	Greek
Herodotus	ἱερά		δημοτικά	—
Diodorus (I)	ἱερά		κοινωτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν	—
Diodorus (III)	ἱερά καλούμενα		δημώδη προσαγορευόμενα	—
Heliodorus	ἱερατικά		δημοτικά	—
Clement of Alexandria	ἱερογλυφική	ἱερατική	ἐπιστολογραφική	—
Porphyry	ἱερογλυφικά / συμβολικά		ἐπιστολογραφικά	—
Canopus: Greek	ἱερά		αἰγύπτια	‘Ελληνικά
Rosetta: Greek	ἱερά		ἐνχώρια	‘Ελληνικά
P. gr. Tebt. 2	ἱερατικά		αἰγύπτια	—
Canopus: Hieroglyphs	<i>sš (n) pr-ḥ</i>		<i>sš (n) š^c.t</i>	<i>sš n ḥ3w-nbwt</i>
Rosetta: Hieroglyphs	<i>sš (n) mdw-nṯr</i>		<i>sš (n) š^c.t</i>	<i>sš n ḥ3w-nbwt</i>
Canopus: Demotic	<i>sh (n) pr-ḥ</i>		<i>sh (n) š^c.t</i>	<i>sh n Wynn</i>
Rosetta: Demotic	<i>sh (n) mdw-nṯr</i>		<i>sh (n) š^c.t</i>	<i>sh n Wynn</i>

1.1.2. Language

In modern literature the term ‘Demotic’ can also refer to the stage of the Egyptian language following Late Egyptian and preceding Coptic. This is only by analogy with the script: there is no evidence that Greek δημοτικός was ever used in this way. But there are indications that the Egyptians themselves made the distinction between the classical ‘sacred’ language and the contemporary spoken idiom. Thus there is a passage of Manetho (third century BC) quoted by Flavius Josephus (*Contra Apionem* 1, 14, 82; first century AD), dealing with the etymology of the name of the rulers of the Second Intermediate Period, the ‘Hyksos’. He states that the word Ὑκσως is best divided into two elements: the first part Ὑκ, meaning ‘king’ καθ’ ἱεράν γλῶσσαν ‘in the sacred language’; the second part σως, meaning ‘shepherds’ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν διάλεκτον ‘in the common discourse’. Another striking illustration of this distinction are the synodal decrees, in which the language of the hieroglyphic version is strongly differentiated from that in Demotic.

See also below, p. 37.

1.2. Demotic script and orthography

1.2.1. The 'Rise and Fall' of Demotic script

Since Demotic was used over a period of more than a thousand years, it is only reasonable that various stages of the script need to be distinguished. The division is chiefly based on changes in the documentation and certainly not exclusively on the political situation.

Interesting additional information on the Demotic script can be found in S.P. Vleeming, *Inleiding tot het demotische schrift*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Het demotische schrift (Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologische Instituut"*, 7), Leiden 1988, pp. 1–22, esp. pp. 11–12.

For a short introduction to the logographical writing system of Demotic, see W. Clarysse, *Demotic for Papyrologists. A First Acquaintance*, in: M. Capasso (ed.), *Atti del V seminario internazionale di papirologia, Lecce 27–29 giugno 1994 (Papyrologica Lupiensia, 4)*, Lecce 1995, pp. 87–114.

A. EARLY DEMOTIC

From the Later Ramesside period onwards (from twentieth dynasty; around 1196 BC) regional differences appear in hieratic administrative script (also called chancellery or official script). During the Third Intermediate Period (twenty-first until twenty-fifth dynasty; around 1070 – late eighth century BC) Lower and Upper Egyptian variants arise.

In Upper Egypt numerous finds allow us to follow the evolution whereby the script becomes more and more cursive and develops into the so-called '**abnormal hieratic**'. In view of its origins 'late hieratic' or 'late cursive hieratic' would actually be better names. The oldest texts written in this script, dating from the twenty-first and twenty-second dynasties, are mostly administrative documents. Those from the later period (twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties) are generally private legal deeds. The contracts drafted in abnormal hieratic differ from their Demotic counterparts not only by the script, but also in wording and form.

F.L.I. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester–London 1909, vol. 3, pp. 12–14.

M. Malinine, *L'hieratique anormal*, in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent Cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972 (BdÉ, 64)*, Le Caire 1972, vol. 1, pp. 31–35.

A list of published texts is given in G. Vittmann, *Papyri, kursivhieratische*, in: *LA IV* (1982), cols. 748–750.

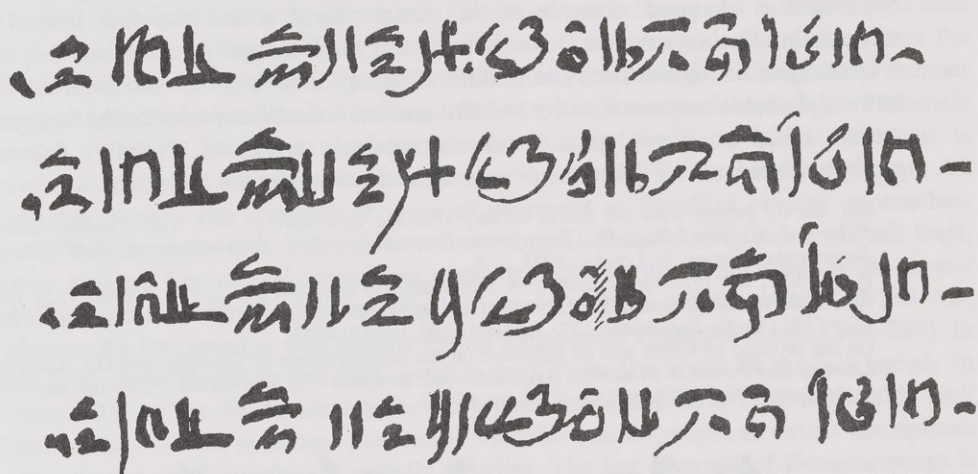
For the Lower Egyptian variants, it is unfortunate that hardly any sources are available permitting us to follow what was probably a very similar transition to **Demotic**. Possibly the recent discoveries of inscriptions at the Serapeum will shed new light on the matter. The oldest known texts (P. Rylands 1 & 2, Stela Louvre C101) date from the reign of Psammetichus I (664–610 BC), the first pharaoh of the twenty-sixth dynasty, based in Sais in the Delta. As this monarch gradually established his power over all Egypt, Lower Egyptian Demotic started to oust Upper Egyptian abnormal hieratic. At first Theban clerks copied some elements such as style, orthography, and juridical terms. Later on, interest in the Upper Egyptian variants lessened under influence of the increasing prestige of the new Lower Egyptian system of writing. Under Amasis (570–526 BC) Demotic finally became the official administrative and legal script, which eventually resulted in the complete disappearance of abnormal hieratic.

For the evolution of Demotic, see M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique "anormal" et en démotique (XXV^e–XXVII^e dynasties)* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 300), vol. 1, Paris 1953, pp. VII–XXI.

S.P. Vleeming, *La phase initiale du démotique ancien*, in: *CdÉ* 56 (1981), pp. 31–48.

For the inscriptions of the Serapeum, see O. El-Aguizy, *About the Origins of Early Demotic in Lower Egypt*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 91–102.

Recently also K. Donker van Heel, *The Lost Battle of Peteamonip son of Petehorresne*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 115–124, with references to the earlier literature. The problem is also discussed in his dissertation, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, Leiden 1995, pp. 48–71.



Early Demotic script, 644 BC (el-Hibeh). Four times the same text of P. Rylands 2, handcopied by F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester–London 1909, vol. 2, pl. 11 (C–F).

This *early Demotic* is generally placed between about 650 and about 400 BC (Saite and Persian periods; twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh dynasties). It can be described as a rather bold script with signs usually formed separately, or with ligatures of which the hieroglyphic origin is generally clear. As can be expected it is closely related to hieratic. Furthermore it is reasonable in view of its origin that the orthography of Demotic is not basically different from the traditional historical-etymological orthography of the hieroglyphic script. As a consequence, however, the way a word is written could probably differ markedly from its actual phonetic pronunciation.

Demotic was in this period only used for administrative, legal, and commercial documents, while hieroglyphs and hieratic were reserved for other texts. This means that in Herodotus' time (fifth century BC) it was not in use yet for all purposes, but confined to daily life: a 'popular, demotic script', hence probably the name δημοτικός.

F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester–London 1909, vol. 3, p. 35.

B. MIDDLE OR PTOLEMAIC DEMOTIC

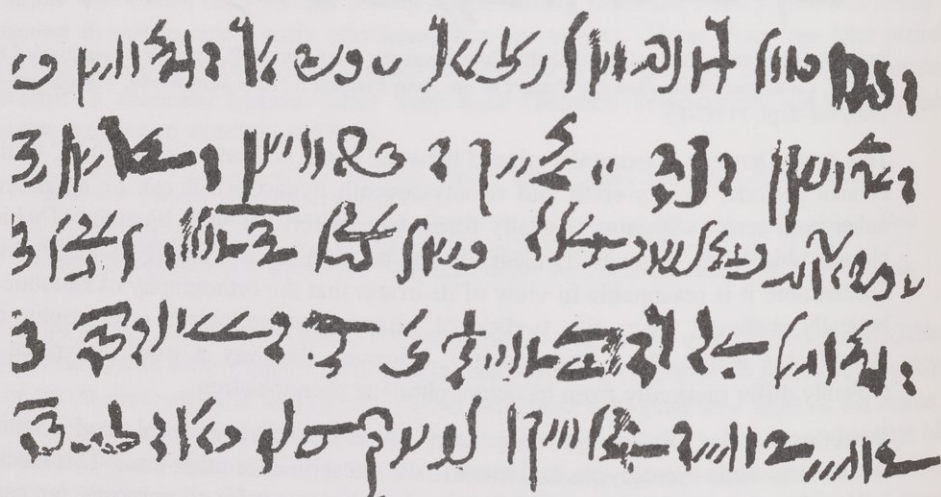
From about the fourth century BC onwards, Demotic seems to have enjoyed a higher status, since we find also literary texts written in the script previously limited to more

everyday matters. This does not imply, however, that there were less legal documents drawn up in Demotic. The early Ptolemaic period especially is very rich in Demotic documentary texts of all kind. Still, the conquest by the Greeks constitutes a turning-point because the new language and script appearing in the daily life of the Egyptians gradually gained the upper hand. From the end of the third century BC the immigrants' idiom became the most important one in public life. The crucial factor probably was the prestige it enjoyed as the language of the administration and of the higher classes. Demotic education was confined to the temple and offered progressively fewer career opportunities. A good example of this development is the fact that from 146 BC onwards contracts written in Demotic lost most of their legal force, unless they showed a Greek note of registration. The traditional theory that Greek ousted Demotic because as an alphabet it was much easier to learn and intrinsically superior to the logographical system based on hieroglyphs, is now increasingly criticized. Probably this view is strongly biased and all this was not experienced as such by the Egyptians.

For literary papyri from the fourth century BC, see H.S. Smith / W.J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri, I* (P. dem. Saq. I), (Texts from Excavations, 7 // Excavations at North Saqqâra. Documentary Series, 5), London 1983, p. X.

H. Maehler, *Die griechische Schule im ptolemäischen Ägypten*, in: E. Van 't Dack et al. (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven — 24–26 May 1982* (Studia Hellenistica, 27), Lovanii 1983, pp. 191–203.

On the prestige of Greek and its influence on the disappearance of Demotic, see D.J. Thompson, *Literacy and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt*, in: A.K. Bowman / G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 67–83.



Middle Demotic script, third century BC. Part of the 'Cambyses-decree', handcopied by W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten* (Demotische Studien, 7), Leipzig 1914, pl. 8a (1–5).

This Middle or Ptolemaic Demotic, from about 400 until about 30 BC, is a smaller script with very considerable stylization of both separate signs and ligatures. The hieroglyphic or hieratic origin of the signs is in most cases barely recognizable, and it is not sure the

scribes themselves were still aware of it. The orthography changes only slightly, the main difference being that sometimes phonetic elements such as *tj* (*hrd.tj*) creep in.

C. LATE OR ROMAN DEMOTIC

From the beginning of Roman rule onwards, Demotic is progressively less used in public life. In the first and second centuries AD quite a few texts have been found in a large variety of genres, documentary as well as literary. Especially the latter are very numerous and often of a high quality: this period can rightly be called the culmination of Demotic literary production, the centre of which seems to have been in small towns such as Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos in the Faiyum. These are also the places where the Demotic documentary papyri from this period have been found. Although their number remains considerable, there are far less different types in comparison with the Ptolemaic period. When it comes to ostraca, mainly receipts, the geographical situation is remarkably enough the opposite: they are almost exclusively found in Upper Egypt. All over the country the quantity of material decreases as the third century approaches. From that time onwards, apart from a few ostraca, some subscriptions to Greek texts, some magical papyri, and perhaps an occasional literary text, only mummy labels and graffiti have been found. Currently the last precisely dated ostrakon dates 232/233 AD, whereas the last papyrus was written during the reign of Philippus Arabs (244–249). In the final stage Demotic was only used in graffiti on the walls of the Isis temple in Philae. During the fourth century the script still appears to have been reasonably well known, but this was no longer the case in the fifth century, when all extant inscriptions come from a small number of priestly families. The last example of Demotic script is dated 11 December 452 AD (Graff. Philae 365 [Griffith]).

There is a clear pattern in the decline of Demotic. First the administratively and juridically most important texts disappear, only later on followed by the literary and semi-literary manuscripts, which were much less relevant to public life. It is no coincidence that the last testimonies are graffiti, texts with a very personal message from the faithful to the deity. At least partially this evolution may well be the result of a Roman policy.

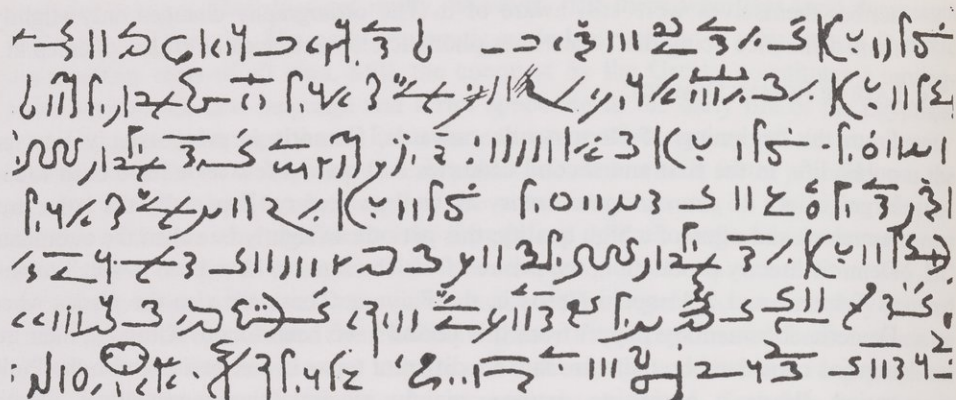
K.-Th. Zauzich, *Demotische Texte römischer Zeit*, in: G. Grimm et al. (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions, 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier* (AegTrev. 2), Mainz 1983, pp. 77–80.

For the papyrus from the reign of Philippus Arabs, see J.-C. Grenier, *Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 22), Bruxelles 1989, p. 80 (P. dem. Leconte 7).

R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, pp. 235–240 (*The Decline of Demotic and Rise of Coptic*).

For the hypothesis that this evolution was influenced by a Roman policy, see N. Lewis, *The Demise of the Demotic Document: When and Why*, in: *JEA* 79 (1993), pp. 276–281.

W.J. Tait, *Some Notes on Demotic Scribal Training in the Roman Period*, in: A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23–29 August, 1992*, Copenhagen 1994, pp. 188–192.



Late Demotic script, second century AD. An extract from the 'Myth of the Sun's Eye', as handcopied by W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln – "Kufi") nach dem leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384*, Strassburg 1917, pl. 8 (1–7).

Late or Roman Demotic stretches from about 30 BC until 452 AD, well into the Byzantine period. It is a rather spidery script, often without distinction between thick or thin strokes, a change which can be explained by the scribes abandoning the writing brush and adopting the Greek reed pen, which is hard and pointed (see below, p. 83). Signs tend to take a standard form and size. Only existing ligatures are used, no new ones are created.

It is also in this period that the orthography of Demotic began to change significantly in some cases. Etymological writings are more and more complemented and sometimes even replaced by a non-historical orthography which stresses the vocabulary's phonetic value. But on the other hand sometimes hieratic or even hieroglyphic signs are adopted (for instance in the writing of *Nwt* '(city of) Thebes'). See below, pp. 28 and 31.

A typical example of the evolution towards pure phonetic writing is the so-called 'alphabetical Demotic script' used in certain magical papyri from the Roman period: words whose exact pronunciation was essential were written with single letter signs, both for consonants and vowels. Often they are accompanied by Old Coptic glosses (see below, p. 32).

For the alphabetical Demotic, see J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384*, in: *OMRO* 56 (1975), pp. 29–64, esp. pp. 48–51.

1.2.2. Other factors influencing Demotic script and orthography

Apart from the historical evolution, several other factors play a role in the varying appearance of the script.

A. GEOGRAPHY

Different scribal schools, each with their own palaeographical style, seem to have existed. In *Lower Egypt*, including Memphis and the Faiyum, there appears to have been a more 'uncial' tendency, reminiscent of early Demotic. Conclusions regarding the Demotic of the Delta must be considered merely provisional, as it is practically an

unknown field. For *Upper Egypt* we have a very extensive documentation for the city of Thebes, providing ample information. Still, the study of the geographical influences on palaeography has hardly begun and many problems remain. Thus for instance one of the enigmas is the great variety of hands in literary texts from the Roman period that all apparently come from Tebtunis.

In several cases the regional differences emerge clearly in orthography. Some expressions, such as *ta* 'daughter of', are written differently in Lower and Upper Egypt. Similar regional influences as well as idiosyncrasies can for example also be traced in the writing of the date at the beginning of contracts. Naturally, we must keep in mind that the orthographic rules were perhaps less stringent in antiquity than nowadays.

For some regional differences in writing, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit* (ÄA, 19), Wiesbaden 1968, vol. 1, esp. pp. 224–228.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Transcription of the Feminine pronomen relationis in Demotic* (ta), in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem 1990, vol. 2, pp. 1048–1055.

W.J. Tait, *Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 303–310, esp. p. 307.

For dialects, see below p. 36.

B. INDIVIDUAL HANDS

Some scribes seem to have a more cursive handwriting, although this could in some cases be attributed to the genre of the text (see below). A certain clumsiness in signatures can sometimes be explained by the limited literacy of people for whom it was enough to be able to write their own name. The differences between various hands are particularly clear in witness-copy contracts in which the notary's text is copied out four or six times. Another example of individual variation can be found in the archive of Hor of Sebennytyos (beginning second century BC; Saqqara). The keeper apparently realized that his handwriting was atrocious and regularly dictated to his secretary, who had an elegant and well balanced hand. On purely palaeographical grounds a common origin would perhaps barely have been considered.

For Hor of Sebennytyos and his secretary, see J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (Texts from Excavations, 2), London 1976, pp. 121–122.

Special attention is given to individual hands in P.W. Pestman / J. Quaegebeur / R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, 3 vol., Leiden 1977.

On literacy in Demotic, see J.D. Ray, *Literacy and Language in Egypt in the Late and Persian Periods*, in: A.K. Bowman / G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 51–66, and the article of D.J. Thompson, *Literacy and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt*, in the same volume, pp. 67–83.

Although Demotic script can be baffling at the level of the actual handwriting, it must be admitted that nearly all Demotic texts are well written. Before the Roman period it is difficult to find examples of 'inept scribes', except perhaps in school exercises. From that time onwards, in certain places, the decline of Demotic may have been partially caused by the incompetence of individual scribes.

For the possible influence of incompetent scribes on the disappearance of knowledge of Demotic in Dime, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden III*, in: *Enchoria* 4 (1974), pp. 71–82, esp. p. 79.

1. Demotic: script and language

Sometimes a scribe may be pardoned for his mistakes because he had before him only an imperfect copy. This is probably the case in G.R. Hughes, *The Blunders of an Inept Scribe (Demotic Papyrus Louvre 2414)*, in: G.E. Kadish / G.E. Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams. A Festschrift (SSEA, 3)*, Toronto 1982, pp. 51–67.

P.W. Pestman, *A Comforting Thought for Demotists? Errors of Scribes in the "Archive of the Theban Choachytes"*, in: S.F. Bondi et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, pp. 413–422.

For a scribe who makes several mistakes, see S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections (P.L.Bat., 26)*, Leiden (...) 1994, no. 53. See also the Medinet Madi texts, below, p. 43.

C. WRITING MATERIALS

The kind of writing tool employed (Egyptian versus Greek pen) can change the general impression of the script. An even more profound influence can be exerted by the writing surface. It is thus evident that carving an inscription on a difficult surface such as stone or metal leads to a more 'angular' type of script than inking a text on papyrus. In the former case the orthography is sometimes curtailed as well.

For the writing tools, see below, p. 83.

The relationship between epigraphic Demotic and 'papyrological' Demotic remains as yet almost unexplored.

D. TYPES OF TEXT

Of course the genre to which the text belongs also plays a role: the writing of 'private' documents such as letters is more cursive than that of contracts. During the Roman period 'literary' and documentary scripts are quite different, an evolution which is paralleled in Greek texts.

For an example of a Roman-period letter written in a literary hand, see W.J. Tait, *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek (P. Tebt. Tait) (Texts from Excavations, 3)*, London 1977, no. 22 and P. Cairo 31220.

For a discussion of the variation of hieratic handwriting according to the type of document that is written, see J.J. Janssen, *On Style in Egyptian Handwriting*, in: *JEA* 73 (1987), pp. 161–167.

1.2.3. Demotic and the other stages of Egyptian script

During its long history, the Egyptian language was written with a number of scripts. The traditional ones were hieroglyphs and hieratic, but as already described above, in the first millennium BC the latter generated two new types: abnormal hieratic and Demotic. Later, in the first centuries AD, the Coptic alphabet was created to write Egyptian language. Demotic existed together with all these scripts, and its relationship with each of them varied with the lapse of time.

For the relationship between abnormal hieratic and Demotic, see above, p. 22.

A. HIEROGLYPHS

The hieroglyphic script has its place alongside Demotic throughout almost the entire development of the latter, from the seventh century BC until the fourth century AD. Each has its specific sphere of use.

Hieroglyphs are primarily found in inscriptions, but even in the Roman period this more prestigious script is used for papyri, especially when writing sacred or religious texts. *Demotic* is normally written on papyri or ostraca, but there are also quite a few

epigraphic texts on various other materials. This leads to a simplification of the script, since it is not suited for engraving or carving.

P. Vernus, *Les espaces de l'écrit dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, in: *BSFÉ* 119 (1990), pp. 35–56.

In quite a few cases, however, Demotic script is found in *combination* with hieroglyphs. This can happen in various ways, some where one script remains prominent, others leading to 'biscrpts' or texts alternating between both writing systems.

For a definition and the distinction between 'bilingual text' and 'biscrpt', see J. Horn, *Bilingue, Trilingue*, in: *LA* VII (1992), cols. 1–8.

A text can be written in hieroglyphs with Demotic annotations: this procedure is mainly applied in literary texts, where the Demotic notes or glosses refer to the content of the hieroglyphic text or even add a more elaborate commentary. Other short notes concern the design of the vignettes or are just indications of the page number.

A typical example is the late Ptolemaic P. Jumilhac, see J. Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac*, [Paris 1959]. For the Demotic glosses, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Zu einigen demotischen Glossen im Papyrus Jumilhac*, in: *Enchoria* 4 (1974), pp. 159–161.
U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften, Teil 3 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 19)*, Stuttgart 1986, p. 139 (index s.v. 'Demotisch in Glossen' for both hieroglyphic and hieratic texts).

Demotic texts with a annotation in hieroglyphs: since hieroglyphs were in this period generally reserved for literary manuscripts, it is rare to find them used for a note. An exceptional example is the signature of one of the witnesses in the two oldest papyri in Demotic. Occasionally hieroglyphs are also used for the legend of certain representations.

The witness gives his hieroglyphic signature instead of a full copy of the text itself in P. Rylands 1 & 2, see F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester–London 1909, vol. 3, pp. 47–48; 206–208.
For hieroglyphs as legends, see the mummy board (below, p. 120).

Real 'biscrpts' where the text is repeated in both scripts: here the Demotic text repeats the hieroglyphic inscription partially or in full. This procedure is followed in the decrees, on some funerary stelae, or in a self-laudatory text on a statue (see below, pp. 125, 120, 82).

A survey of bilingual and trilingual texts in hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek is given by F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis (SASAE, 16)*, Le Caire 1952, pp. 253–274.
For a small text on stone where hieroglyphs, hieratic, and Demotic are all used in one text and partially overlap, see T. Handoussa, *A Late Egyptian Text Written in Different Scripts*, in: *MDAIK* 44 (1988), pp. 111–115.

For an example of an interesting funerary stela where the Demotic inscription is basically equal to the hieroglyphic one, see I. Mathieson et al., *A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara*, in: *JEA* 81 (1995), pp. 23–41.

Texts where hieroglyphs and Demotic alternate: occasionally within funerary stelae the hieroglyphs precede with the pious formulae, while the Demotic part with the more personal information follows. Sometimes, especially in religiously

inspired texts from the Roman period, hieroglyphs are freely intertwined with the Demotic signs.

For the funerary stelae, see for instance E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis, Vol. I* (AA, 38), Wiesbaden 1981, no. 26; or J.D. Ray, *A Pious Soldier: Stele Aswan 1057*, in: *JEA* 73 (1987), pp. 169–180.

For the use of hieroglyphs in Demotic texts, see for instance R. Jasnow, *Demotic Texts from the Carnegie Museum of Natural History*, in: *Enchoria* 17 (1990), pp. 89–96, esp. pp. 95–96 (no. 4). Compare graffito Philae 421.

There are also some cases where *hieroglyphs* are adopted to write down a text in the *Demotic language*. Thus reading the texts of some stelae of the Saite period, written in hieroglyphs or hieratic, proves very difficult, mainly because they are a transcription of a Demotic original. This practice was probably not uncommon, but only shows through when it was performed inadequately. A similar procedure seems to have been used for a certain number of temple inscriptions at for instance Edfu or Dendera, although more often these show some features of both “Classical Egyptian” and Demotic.

Two examples of the stelae have been studied by M. Malinine, *Vente de tombes à l'époque saïte*, in: *RdÉ* 27 (1975), pp. 164–174.

For the temple inscriptions, see J.F. Quack, *Monumental-Demotisch*, in: L. Gestermann / H. Sternberg-Ei Hotabi (eds.), *Per aspera ad astra. Wolfgang Schenkel zum neunundfünfzigsten Geburtstag*, Kassel 1995, pp. 107–121.

Demotic orthography is, as already stated, fundamentally identical with its hieroglyphic counterpart. However, some orthographic processes are new or more frequently adopted.

One of these is the so-called *non-etymological writing*, replacing a word by an equivalent which is written differently but has an identical or similar pronunciation. If the Demotic non-etymological orthography of a personal name or title is preserved in hieroglyphs, this can sometimes cause serious difficulties of interpretation when one does not know the Demotic parallel.

For non-etymological orthographies, see M. Malinine, *Jeux d'écriture en démotique*, in: *RdÉ* 19 (1967), pp. 163–166.

For an example of the problems arising from a Demotic non-etymological orthography in hieroglyphs, see J. Quaegebeur, *Une épithète méconnaissable de Ptah*, in: J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Livre du centenaire 1880–1980 (MIFAO, 104)*, Le Caire 1980, pp. 61–71.

F. de Cenival, *Fautes d'orthographe ou orthographes aberrantes systématisées en démotique*, in: *Enchoria* 16 (1988), pp. 1–6.

Another procedure is to *differentiate the writing* of one and the same word to make a *semantic distinction*. This procedure was sometimes used by the scribes to make things clearer.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Differenzierende Schreibungen bei differierender Wortbedeutung*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984 (Studia Demotica, 1)*, Leuven 1987, pp. 109–113.

The number of *determinatives* in Demotic is more limited than that in hieroglyphs or hieratic, but they still have a wide range of applications.

Concerning use and meaning of determinatives in Demotic, see P.W. Pestman, *Jeux de déterminatifs en démotique*, in: *RdÉ* 25 (1973), pp. 21–34.

Often the confrontation of hieroglyphic and Demotic sources is very rewarding. Not only can it lead to a better understanding of some expressions, but prosopographical identifications can result in new historical insights.

For instance J. Quaegebeur, *Études démotiques et égyptologie: quelques titres et noms de métier*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 239–249.

Compare H.-J. Thissen, *Horapollinis Hieroglyphika Prolegomena*, in: M. Minas et al. (eds.), *Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag (AegTrev, 7)*, Mainz 1994, pp. 255–263.

H. De Meulenaere, *La prosopographie thébaine de l'époque ptolémaïque à la lumière des sources hiéroglyphiques*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period (P.L.Bat., 27)*, Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 83–90.

B. HIERATIC

Hieratic no more disappeared than did hieroglyphs with the rise of Demotic. It remained common up to the Roman period, each writing system having its own specific domain.

In later periods *hieratic* was mainly used for literary and especially religious texts. The last hieratic papyrus dates to the third century AD. Just like Demotic, it is rarely found in inscriptions. *Demotic* was not at first used for literary and religious texts, but eventually even funerary and mortuary texts were written in it.

Again in several cases hieratic and Demotic are used *simultaneously*.

Hieratic with Demotic annotations: in the astronomic-mythological handbook P. Carlsberg 1 the basic text is in hieratic with additional comments in Demotic. The hieratic Tebtunis onomasticon from about 100 AD has an interlineary 'translation' in Demotic, made somewhere in the second century AD. Some examples of the Book of Breathing provide guidelines, sometimes written in Demotic, where to place the document.

For the Book of Breathing, see M. Coenen, *Books of Breathing. More than a Terminological Question?*, in: *OLP* 26 (1995), pp. 29–38, esp. pp. 34–36.
See below, pp. 105, 115.

Demotic documents with hieratic annotations: like hieroglyphs, hieratic is not normally used for short notes. Perhaps some examples of legends to representations, such as the one above the mummy board with a Demotic text, can be classified here.

See below, p. 120.

Real 'biscritps' where the text is written in both scripts: on the 'bilingual' funerary Rhind papyri the hieratic text is followed by a Demotic version.

See below, p. 117.

Texts where hieratic and Demotic alternate: the treatise on the mummification of the Apis bull generally uses Demotic, but on the recto for more ritual passages the hieratic of the twenty-sixth dynasty model is preserved. On the verso hieratic is also used in other cases, probably because this version links up more closely to the source text. A similar procedure is applied in P. Rylands 9, where the text of two

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stelae is given in hieratic. In the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden hieratic is sometimes even used for single words.

See below, pp. 112, 102, 109.

Sometimes *hieratic* signs can be used to write down a text in *Demotic language*: P. Vandier (probably sixth or fifth century BC, see below, p. 92) contains on the recto side a story about the scribe Merire, written in hieratic, but in a language close to early Demotic papyri such as P. Rylands 9. Other narratives in hieratic adopt a similar orthography or grammar as well. See also the stelae mentioned above.

For the language of P. Vandier, see A. Shisha-Halevy, *Papyrus Vandier Recto: An Early Demotic Literary Text?*, in: *JAOS* 109 (1989), pp. 421–435; J.F. Quack, *Notes en marge du papyrus Vandier*, in: *RdÉ* 46 (1995), pp. 163–170.

Compare P. Vernus, *Entre néo-égyptien et démotique: la langue utilisée dans la traduction du Rituel de repousser l'Agressif (Étude sur la diglossie I)*, in: *RdÉ* 41 (1990), pp. 153–208.

For other texts, see G. Burkard / H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Ägyptische Handschriften, Teil 4 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 19)*, Stuttgart 1994, p. 10 n. 11.

The palaeography and orthography of hieratic and Demotic are, especially in the earlier stages of the latter, quite parallel, which is no surprise considering the genetic link between the two. Demotic also regularly uses hieratic signs (with strong regional restrictions), which underscores this connection even more.

A large number of hieratic signs is used in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, see the list of B.H. Stricker, *Het graphisch systeem van de magische papyrus London & Leiden, II: Inventaris der hiëratische tekens*, in: *OMRO* 36 (1955), pp. 92–132.

C. COPTIC

Coptic script is the final result of the development towards a more phonetic orthography that starts in the Roman period. In fact three phases can be discerned.

For the evolution of orthography, see H. Grapow, *Vom Hieroglyphisch-Demotischen zum Koptischen. Ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Sprachgeschichte (Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 28)*, Berlin 1938, pp. 3–30, esp. pp. 20–23.

J. Quaegebeur, *De la préhistoire de l'écriture copte*, in: *OLP* 13 (1982), pp. 125–136; id., *Pre-Coptic*, in: A.S. Atiya et al. (eds.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia, Volume 8*, New York (...) 1991, pp. 188–190.

After Alexander the Great subdued the country, Greek became a major language in Egypt. In the Ptolemaic period Greek characters were used to write Egyptian names or Egyptian words. Occasionally, in individual experiments, rather long Demotic texts are transcribed in Greek alphabet (see below, p. 44). This can be considered the 'prehistory' of Coptic script.

J. Quaegebeur, *Greek Transcriptions*, in the above mentioned encyclopedia, pp. 141–142, and *Pre-Old Coptic*, pp. 190–191.

The next stage, from the first century AD onwards, is the so-called 'Old Coptic', texts written in the Egyptian language with Greek characters, now with a more or less coherent system of signs derived from the Demotic script. Each phoneme unknown in Greek is represented by a single sign. This fits into the tendency towards non-etymological spelling already evident in late Demotic.

H. Satzinger, *Die altkoptischen Texte als Zeugnisse der Beziehungen zwischen Ägyptern und Griechen*, in: P. Nagel (ed.), *Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten*

(Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge*, 1984 / 48 [I29]), Halle 1984, pp. 137–146.

For a list of Old Coptic documents and comparative material, see H. Satzinger, *Old Coptic*, in the above mentioned encyclopedia, pp. 169–175.

On the alphabets, see R. Kasser, *Alphabets, Old Coptic*, in the same volume, pp. 41–45.

The last phase is called 'Coptic', the largely standardized script from the third century AD onwards. It consists of the Greek alphabet complemented with a limited number of signs derived from Demotic and adapted to the ductus of Greek uncials.

On the alphabet, see R. Kasser, *Alphabets, Coptic*, in the above mentioned encyclopedia, pp. 32–41.

Since the Coptic script *stricto sensu* is in its early stages confined to Christian faith, while use of Demotic always remained limited to the ancient Egyptian culture and religion, there was no real contact between the two scripts. There are manuscripts, however, that combine Demotic with Old Coptic, which had not yet developed this religious aspect. Old Coptic is generally used for glosses elucidating the main text. Naturally this permits the scribe to indicate the vowels, essential, but probably not readily known by every user of a Demotic magical handbook. A further form of contact between Demotic and Old Coptic is P. BM 10808 (Oxyrhynchos; second century AD), a magical text which is written in a form of Old Coptic script, but in a language that is a mixture of Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian, and Demotic.

J. Osing, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (*ÄA*, 33), Wiesbaden 1976.

For examples of Demotic combined with Old Coptic glosses, see the magical texts or the hieratic onomasticon from Tebtunis (below, pp. 108, 115), which apart from the Demotic 'translation' has some Old Coptic glosses for those unable even to read Demotic.

1.3. The Demotic language

It falls beyond the scope of the present *Companion* to give an extensive summary of the developments in a much discussed and complex topic such as the evolution of the Egyptian language. Attention will be focused upon the place of Demotic in a diachronic (1.3.1.) and a synchronic (1.3.3.) approach, both of which are naturally closely connected with one another.

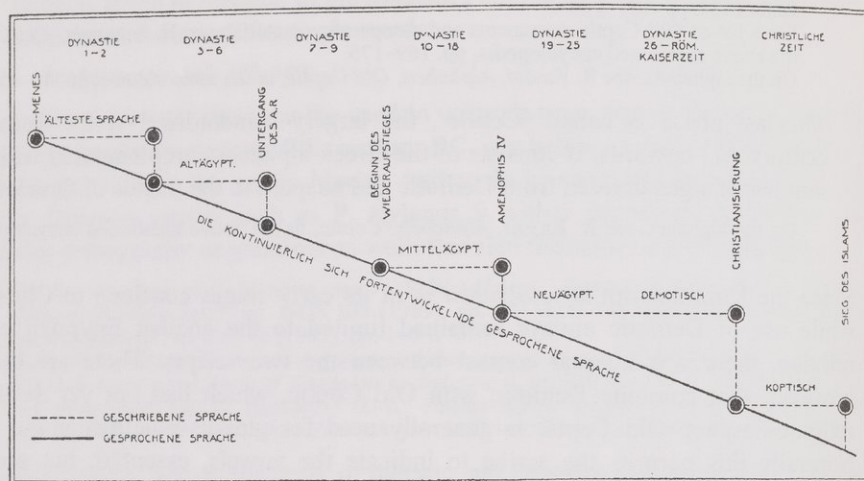
An introduction to Egyptian linguistic studies is W. Schenkel, *Einführung in die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft* (*Orientalistische Einführungen*), Darmstadt 1990.

1.3.1. The 'Rise and Fall' of Demotic language

A. 'THE RISE'

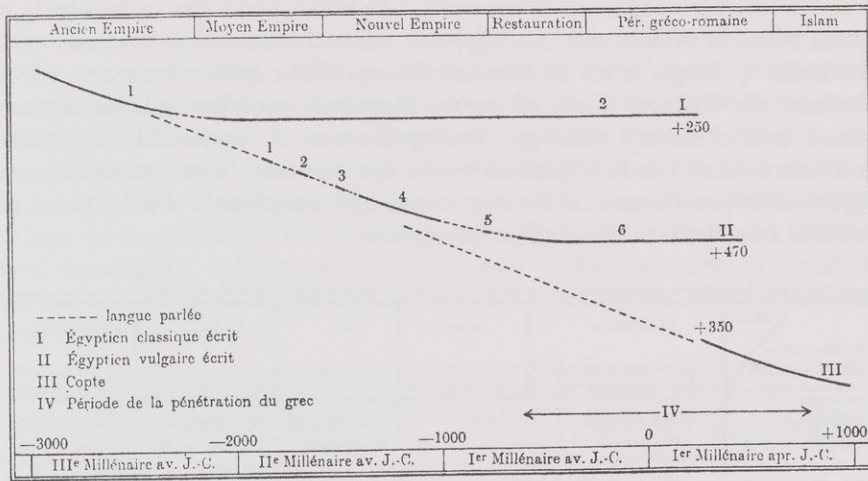
The place of Demotic in the evolution of the Egyptian language is much discussed. The traditional opinion was formulated by Sethe in his so-called 'cataclysm' theory, which considered the popular language, evolving linearly, as primary. At some particular points a literary language arises, closely linked with the contemporary spoken idiom. This last one keeps developing and thus moves further and further away from the fixed 'standard' language. With the end of a political era this artificial construction breaks down and at the beginning of a new 'Golden Age' a new one arises, again adopting the spoken language of the time. Demotic, as a continuation of Late Egyptian, was considered an exception to this rule.

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K. Sethe, *Das Verhältnis zwischen Demotisch und Koptisch und seine Lehren für die Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache*, in: *ZDMG* 79 (1925), pp. 290-316.

Stricker reacted against this too rigid model. In his theory, the link between phases of the language and political events is loosened: thus Middle Egyptian is no more than a slightly developed 'Old Egyptian'. Furthermore its use is not limited to the 'classical' period of Egyptian history, but it continues to be adopted for certain texts even in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Clearly dissociated from all this is the spoken idiom. It never coincides with the artificial literary languages, although naturally at times the distance is smaller than at others. For Demotic, the situation is about the same as in Sethe's model. In his review Vergote accepted this reconstruction, although he did not agree with the concept of a spoken language that is at all times differentiated from its literary counterpart. According to him both sometimes coincide (such as Old Egyptian [I 1], Late Egyptian [II 4] or Coptic [III]). Demotic links up to Late Egyptian, not to the spoken language, and is by consequence from the beginning an artificial idiom.



B.H. Stricker, *De indeeling der Egyptische taalgeschiedenis*, Leiden 1945; also in *OMRO* 25 (1944), pp. 12–51.

J. Vergote, review of the dissertation of Stricker, in: *BiOr* 2 (1945), pp. 90–93; id., *Grammaire Copte, Tome 1 b: Introduction, phonétique et phonologie, morphologie synthématique (structure des sémantèmes), Partie diachronique*, Louvain 1973, pp. 1–4 (§§ 1–2).

The idea of Demotic as a notary language from which all Greek influence present in the spoken discourse is filtered out was taken up and stressed by Ray. In his opinion this artificial character may already be present in early Demotic. Others, such as Lüddeckens or Johnson, do believe that, at least in its early stages, Demotic stands close to the everyday language. The latter also reacts against giving Demotic only a secondary position as a continuation of Late Egyptian: the differences between Demotic and earlier stages of the Egyptian language are in her view not smaller than those between Demotic and Coptic.

J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC, 38), Chicago 1976, pp. 298–302.

E. Lüddeckens, *Ägypten*, in: G. Neumann / J. Untermann (eds.), *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit. Kolloquium vom 8. bis 10. April 1974* (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 40), Köln–Bonn 1980, pp. 241–265, esp. pp. 252–256.

J.D. Ray, *Literacy and Language in Egypt in the Late and Persian Periods*, in: A.K. Bowman / G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 51–66; id., *How Demotic is Demotic?* in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 251–264.

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Whereas Stricker's theory does not really take into account the various texts written in hybrid forms of Middle and Late Egyptian, precisely these lie at the heart of the model developed by Junge. In his opinion innovations in the spoken language only gradually penetrate the different levels of written discourse: everyday matters, literature, state affairs, and ultimately theology. The appearance of 'neo-Middle Egyptian' in the twentieth dynasty can be explained by the fact that only from that period onwards the Egyptians became aware of the two stages and consciously differentiated them. For Demotic a similar evolution can be recognized.

Zeit	20. Dynastie	3. ZwZt	SpZt	Ptol. Zt	Kaiserzeit
Pragmatische Textkategorien	Ramses III				
theologische Sprechhandlungen	NEO-MITTELÄG. - T3-nfr SPÄTMITTELÄG. II - Karnak-Text		NEO-MITTELÄG. - Schabako	NEO-MITTELÄG. I - pBremner-Rh. NEO-MITTELÄG. II - Tempeltexte	NEO-MITTELÄG. II - Tempeltexte
"staatliche" Sprechhandlungen	MEDIO-NEUÄG. - Siegesbericht	NEO-MITTELÄG. - Osorkon	NEO-MITTELÄG. - Pianchi-St.	NEO-MITTELÄG. - Rosettana DEMOTISCH I/ GRIECHISCH	DEMOTISCH II/ ALT-KOPTISCH - Mag. Pap. DEMOTISCH II/ GRIECHISCH
"literarische" Sprechhandlungen		NEUÄG. I - Hor. + Seth NEUÄGYPTISCH II - Wenamun	- Amenemope	DEMOTISCH I - Setna I	DEMOTISCH II - Setna II
"Alltags"-Sprechhandlungen	NEUÄGYPTISCH II - "Černý/Groll"-Gram.	- LRL	(ABNORM-HIER.)/ FRÜH-DEMOTISCH	DEMOTISCH I/ GRIECHISCH	DEMOTISCH II/ GRIECHISCH

F. Junge, *Sprache*, in: *LÄ V* (1984), cols. 1176–1211; id., *Sprachstufen und Sprachgeschichte*, in: W. Röllig (ed.), *XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 25. März 1983 in Tübingen. Ausgewählte Vorträge (ZDMG Supplementa, 6)*, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 17–34.
For a critical view and a plea for a return to Stricker's model, see K. Jansen-Winkel, *Diglossie und Zweisprachigkeit im alten Ägypten*, in: *WZKM* 85 (1995), pp. 85–115.

B. 'THE FALL'

As an artificial, 'classical' language the development of Demotic, especially on the level of the vocabulary, is often concealed by reactions towards linguistic purism. Nevertheless some innovations from the spoken idiom did make their way into the written language. But only with the appearance of Coptic does the spoken language and the influence of Greek really become tangible. An important exception are the ostraca of Medinet Madi (see below, p. 43).

Examples of innovations from the spoken language are the *finalis* and other verbal forms, see J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC, 38), Chicago 1976, p. 301 n. 209.

1.3.2. Other factors influencing Demotic language

A. GEOGRAPHY ('DIALECTS')

The geographical influences on Egyptian language are well known for Coptic, where the regional differences in grammar, vocabulary, and especially in phonetics eventually

result in the two standard dialects: Sahidic and (later) Bohairic. It is of course tempting to find the embryonal stages of this variation already in Demotic. This poses some problems, however. First of all it is a major handicap that Demotic writes no vowels: it is precisely by phonetic variation on this level that the Coptic dialects are most clearly distinguished. Furthermore we must bear in mind that Demotic was also an official language, falling back on older stages and possibly 'filtering out' the possible dialectal influences. This does not mean, of course, that there was no such regional differentiation in Egypt during the period Demotic was written. It can be observed, for instance, in the Greek transcription of Egyptian names. No doubt a thorough study of the phonetics of Demotic consonants in the various regions and a comparison with Coptic could yield interesting new insights.

The difficulty of the study of dialects for the early and Ptolemaic periods was stressed by F. Lexa, *Les dialectes dans la langue démotique*, in: *Archiv Orientalní* 6 (1934), pp. 161–172.

For Greek transcriptions indicating various vocalizations in spoken language, see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique* (OLA, 2), Leuven 1975, pp. 278–313.

J.H. Johnson, *The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, in: J.H. Johnson / E.F. Wente (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC, 39), Chicago 1976, pp. 105–132. She also deals with traces of dialectal differences in other texts.

For traces of the dialect of Tebtunis, see W.J. Tait, *A Demotic Word-List from Tebtunis: P. Carlsberg 41a*, in: *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 210–227, esp. pp. 213–214.

The Coptic dialects are intensively studied by R. Kasser: for instance most recently *Le dialecte copte V, fayoumique sans lambdacisme* (...), in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 87–124; for a survey, see id., *Dialects*, in: A.S. Atiya et al. (eds.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia, Volume 8*, New York (...) 1991, pp. 87–97, as well as various other articles in the linguistic appendix in the same volume.

B. OTHER

Other factors must have influenced the language as well. Individual character and the genre to which the manuscript belongs can play a role in matters of vocabulary or grammar: texts where a more solemn attitude was appropriate often contain archaisms; literature is generally more conservative in grammar in comparison with documents—in either example older sources may lie at the basis of these phenomena. Even the textual grammar may be influenced: inscriptions strive for brevity, letters leave out common knowledge—both sometimes resulting in texts which can prove very enigmatic for the modern reader.

For the differences between literary and non-literary texts in Late Egyptian, see S. Groll, *The Literary and Non-Literary Verbal Systems in Late Egyptian*, in: *OLP* 6/7 (1975/1976), pp. 237–246.

For archaisms, see below; for letters, see below, p. 151.

1.3.3. Demotic and the other stages of the Egyptian language

A. CLASSICAL OR MIDDLE EGYPTIAN

In spite of some changes, the basic structure of the Egyptian language stays the same during its long history. In later stages of the language many of the basic rules already present in Middle Egyptian remain in force.

F. Junge, *Morphology, Sentence Form and Language History*, in: J.D. Ray (ed.), *Lingua Sapientissima. A Seminar in Honour of H.J. Polotsky, organised by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and the Faculty of Oriental Studies in 1984*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 47–56.

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When Demotic and Classical Egyptian occur simultaneously, for instance in synodal decrees, the language is often consciously differentiated. For the hieroglyphic text rare words or words no longer used at all in Demotic are chosen. But sometimes the scribe makes minor mistakes, and 'demoticisms' penetrate his classical language. Literary texts often go back to an earlier stage of the language and have been adapted or even translated from older models. In some cases this leads to archaisms, but not necessarily.

For the 'mistakes' in synodal decrees, see F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis* (SASAE, 16), Le Caire 1952, p. 300 (index).

For general information, see A. Roccati, *Übersetzung*, in: *LÄ* VI (1986), cols. 833–838.

For a translation from Middle Egyptian without archaisms, see J.F. Quack, *pWien D 6319. Eine demotische Übersetzung aus dem Mittelägyptischen*, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 125–129.

For a comparison of the various stages of the language and their use, see above (1.3.1.) the theory of Junge and its critique by Jansen-Winkel.

Apart from smaller passages such as fixed formulae in religious and legal manuscripts, there are also larger texts in which Demotic is used for Middle Egyptian language. On a late Ptolemaic or early Roman ostrakon a hymn to Amon-Re of which the oldest version dates back to the twenty-fifth dynasty is written in the Demotic script. The same procedure is found in funerary texts, such as a stela written in both hieroglyphs and Demotic, where the latter version is a mere transliteration of the Middle Egyptian text into Demotic signs.

The hymn to Amon-Re is published by M. Smith, *A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 115–149. A new edition based on the original recently found in the BM is forthcoming.

M. Smith, *Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts*, in: *Enchoria* 8,2 (1978), pp. 17–27.

For the stela, see S.P. Vleeming, *Transliterating Old Egyptian in Demotic*, in: *GM* 117/118 (1990), pp. 219–223.

For other funerary texts, see M. Smith, *New Middle Egyptian Texts in the Demotic Script*, in: G.M. Zaccane / T.R. di Netro (eds.), *Atti del Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, Torino 1993, vol. 2, pp. 491–495.

For some general remarks, see A. Roccati, *Writing Egyptian: Scripts and Speeches at the End of Pharaonic Civilization*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyse to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 291–294.

B. LATE EGYPTIAN

The close relationship between both stages of the language is obvious as Demotic originated from Late Egyptian. Examples of this connection are the article and the possessive pronoun. Furthermore common to both language phases is the evolution from synthetic (*sdm=f*) to analytic (*iw=f sdm*) verbal forms. The other grammatical and lexical differences still require further investigation.

P. Vernus, *Entre néo-égyptien et démotique: la langue utilisée dans la traduction du Rituel de repousser l'Agressif (Étude sur la diglossie I)*, in: *RdE* 41 (1990), pp. 153–208.

For a recent investigation into Late Egyptian idiom, see for instance J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1. La morphologie verbale (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, 2)*, Liège 1992.

L. Depuydt, *On a Late Egyptian and Demotic Idiom*, in: *RdE* 45 (1994), pp. 49–73.

C. COPTIC

The relationship between Demotic and Coptic is apparent in phonetic and grammatical features. A major problem in assessing the exact differences and similarities between the two languages is their divergent writing system. Some phonetic distinctions are still made in Demotic script, but disappear in the Coptic alphabet. Probably this is the result of a real evolution, but it could also be a question of orthography. As far as vocabulary is concerned, the continuity seems to be stronger than has been traditionally supposed. Despite the about twenty per cent Greek words, the bulk of the Coptic lexicon has its roots in Ancient Egyptian.

For the relationship between Demotic and Coptic vocabulary, see the etymological dictionaries below, p. 60; also J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, 2 vol., Mainz 1976; and R. Kasser, *Vocabulary, Copto-Greek*, in: A.S. Atiya et al. (eds.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, Volume 8, New York (...) 1991, pp. 215–222.

The question if changes in the orthography are the result of a real phonetic differentiation is also discussed (for the Coptic dialects) by R.S. Kasser, *Alphabets, Coptic*, in the above mentioned encyclopedia, pp. 32–41.

For an example of the grammatical differences between Demotic and Coptic, with implications for the study of Coptic dialectal forms, see J.F. Quack, *Bemerkungen zum demotisch-koptischen Temporalis*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 231–237.

1.4. Demotic and non-Egyptian scripts and languages

1.4.1. Aramaic

From about the eighth century BC, Aramaic was the 'lingua franca' for the entire Near East. Aramaic texts have been found in Egypt especially from the Persian twenty-seventh dynasty (525–404 BC) onwards, when it became the official language of administration. Particularly interesting is the documentation from the military settlement in Elephantine, which housed the Jewish mercenaries at this Egyptian border of the Persian empire. In the fourth century BC the number of documents decreases and in the middle of the third century BC Aramaic definitively gives way to Greek as written language for the Jews in Egypt.

On the background of the Jewish settlement, see B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine. The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1968.

A general introduction is given by H. Shirun, *Aramäische Texte aus Ägypten*, in: *LÄ* I (1975), cols. 362–370.

See also E. Bresciani, *L'Égypte des satrapes d'après la documentation araméenne et égyptienne*, in: *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres de Paris. Comptes Rendus* 1995, pp. 97–108.

As a result of the prolonged contact between Aramaic and Egyptian, each language to some degree exerted an influence on the other. The most intriguing case is certainly the large papyrus with Demotic script and Aramaic language discussed below, but there are further examples.

In the *Aramaic* texts relatively few traces can be found. Besides Egyptian names (of persons, gods, places, and months) only a few loan-words occur, most of them funerary in character. Bilingual texts are scarce as well: occasionally Aramaic letters contain an address, the name of the scribe, or a registration note in Demotic. Indirect evidence are

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the literary compositions that were translated into Aramaic and the legal formulae, some of which may have been borrowed from Demotic.

W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptisches Sprachgut in den aus Ägypten stammenden aramäischen Urkunden der Perserzeit*, in: C. Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag* (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern, Gieszen 1906, vol. 2, pp. 1093–1115.

For the Aramaic translations of Egyptian literature, see P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (*Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient*, 5), Paris 1972, pp. 428–429.

For some Aramaic letters with Demotic text, see B. Porten / A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, 1. Letters. Appendix: Aramaic Letters from the Bible*, Jerusalem 1986; a more detailed study of a Demotic address (?) on an Aramaic letter can be found in B. Porten, *The Identity of King Adon*, in: *Biblical Archaeologist* 44 (1981), pp. 36–52, esp. pp. 42–45. G. Vittmann, *Zu den ägyptischen Entsprechungen aramäisch überlieferter Personennamen*, in: *Orientalia* 58 (1989), pp. 213–229; id., *Ägyptisch-aramäische Kleinigkeiten*, in: *WZKM* 83 (1993), pp. 233–246.

A Demotic expression transcribed in Aramaic is discussed by J.F. Quack, *Ein demotischer Ausdruck in aramäischer Transkription*, in: *WdO* 23 (1992), pp. 15–20.

There are equally few loan-words in *Demotic*. Bilingual texts in which the Egyptian language plays the prominent role are very rare: an example is a Demotic contract signed by an Aramaic witness. Notwithstanding some indications of reverse influences, it is generally believed that Egyptian legal formulae are derived from their Aramaic counterparts. A literal translation of an Aramaic letter into Demotic has been preserved as well.

For the signature, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (50023–50165)* (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), Berlin 1932, p. 75 (no. 50103).

The letter translated from Aramaic was re-edited by G.R. Hughes, *The So-Called Pherendates Correspondence*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 75–86, esp. pp. 77–84.

For the legal formulae, see B. Porten, *Aramaic-Demotic Equivalents: Who is the Borrower and Who the Lender?*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyse to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 259–264.

For a survey of Semitic loan-words in Demotic, see G. Vittmann, *Semitisches Sprachgut im Demotischen*, in: *WZKM* 86 (1996), pp. 435–447.

Apart from some isolated Aramaic names or loan-words for which the Demotic script was used, there is an exceptional example where this procedure is applied for a longer composition. P. Amherst 63 is a papyrus (3.5 m long; 23 columns) with literary-poetical texts, written in pure Aramaic without Egyptian loan-words. Although some Demotic bi- or tri-consonantal signs are included to render Aramaic sounds, the script mainly consists of single letter characters. Alongside these a limited set of determinatives is used, mainly to separate the words.

The manuscript probably dates from the fourth century BC, and may come from Edfu. The transcription system helps to shed some light on the question of who was the author, since the person who wrote the text did this the way an Egyptian would hear it: he did not distinguish between some phonemes relevant to Aramaic. Still, he understood what he was writing, as appears, for example, from his correct use of the divine determinative.

The reason for this strange procedure remains unknown. What religious, cultural, or even aesthetic interest the writer had in the text is still a mystery. Perhaps he did not

know enough Aramaic to learn the texts by heart, and so he had to note them on papyrus in Demotic.

Many aspects are also treated in C.F. Nims / R.C. Steiner, *A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2-6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script*, in: *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 261-274. This is the first of a series of articles in which P. Amherst 63 will be published.

An introduction is given by S.P. Vleeming / J.W. Wesselius, *Bijbelse parallellen in een Aramees / Demotische papyrus uit de vierde eeuw v. Chr.*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Vreemdelingen in het land van farao. Een bundel artikelen samengesteld ter gelegenheid van het vijftigjarig bestaan van het Papyrologisch Instituut van de Rijksuniversiteit van Leiden*, Zutphen 1985, pp. 14-26; id., *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63. Essays on the Aramaic Texts in Aramaic/Demotic Papyrus Amherst 63, Volume I*, Amsterdam 1985.

For one of the most recent studies, on which the above exposé is based, see I. Kottsieper, *Papyrus Amherst 63 – Einführung, Text und Übersetzung* 12, 11-19, in: O. Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen. Die altorientalisch-kananäische Königstradition in jüdischer Sicht, Teil 1: Ps. 20, 21, 72, 101 und 144* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur, 6), Münster 1988, pp. 55-75.

1.4.2. Greek

A. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND

After the conquest by Alexander in 332 BC and the subsequent immigration of the Greeks, who became the upper class, Egypt gradually grew bilingual.

At first Greek was only in use among the immigrants and in the administration, where it replaced Aramaic as the official language. Because the Greeks also formed the social elite, their language strongly attracted the indigenous population, and ethnic Egyptians progressively started to employ it. As they often did so rather well, it is not always easy to distinguish an Egyptian from a Greek.

The education of Egyptians in Greek is discussed in D.J. Thompson, *Language and Literacy in Early Hellenistic Egypt*, in: P. Bilde et al. (eds.), *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, 3)*, Aarhus 1992, pp. 39-52. W. Clarysse, *Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek*, in: *CdÉ* 68 (1993), pp. 186-201.

Demotic on the contrary, probably also because of the difficulty of the script, was hardly ever learned by Greeks. If they did, it was mostly out of an interest in Egyptian culture, especially religion, but also medical knowledge. Thus we have a letter congratulating a Greek on having learned to read Demotic, because this will permit him to earn a living as an intermediary between Greek slaves who had to learn the tricks of the medical trade and an Egyptian specialist.

For the interpretation of the letter, see R. Rémondon, *Problèmes du bilinguisme dans l'Égypte lagide* (U.P.Z. I, 148), in: *CdÉ* 39 (1964), pp. 126-146, esp. pp. 142-143 for other examples. Occasionally Greeks, or rather people with Greek names, are listed as witnesses in Demotic contracts and sign in Demotic, see W. Clarysse, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (P.L.Bat., 27), Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 1-19, esp. pp. 13-16.

B. BILINGUAL TEXTS AND BILINGUALISM

Quite a few *bilingual texts* are known. They belong to various types, ranging from manuscripts where both languages are more or less on the same level, to documents in which either of them is clearly prominent.

A concise survey is also given by W. Peremans, *Notes sur les traductions de textes non littéraires sous les Lagides*, in: *CdÉ* 60 (1985), pp. 248-262.

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Demotic documents with Greek annotation: a typical example of this are the Demotic contracts on which a Greek tax receipt is written. Similar are the Greek registration notes, found below the main text in Demotic agreements from 145 BC onwards. Surety contracts written in Demotic often display a Greek abstract on the verso.

For the Greek abstracts on surety contracts and their usefulness for the reading of Demotic (and vice versa), see W. Clarysse, *Notes on some Graeco-Demotic Surety Contracts*, in: *Enchoria* 8,2 (1978), pp. 5–8.

K.A. Worp, *Remarks on Some Greek Marginalia in Demotic Tax Receipts*, in: *ZPE* 80 (1990), pp. 253–256.

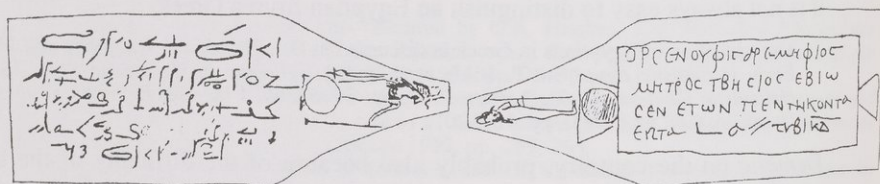
Concerning registration, see P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive (Studia Demotica, 2)*, Leuven 1993, pp. 337–341 (§6).

Greek documents with a Demotic annotation: occasionally a Greek contract bears a Demotic tax receipt. Quite a few tax receipts on ostraca written in Greek have subscriptions in Demotic with an identification of the tax, the payer, and the amount. Sometimes all information is double, in which case they actually belong in the following category.

For a Demotic tax receipt on a Greek papyrus, see P. gr. Lond. III 881 (pp. 11–12).

D. Devauchelle / G. Wagner, *Ostraca ptolémaïques bilingues d'Edfou*, in: *ASAE* 68 (1982), pp. 89–101.

For some examples of the Demotic subscriptions on Greek tax receipt, see S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections (P.L.Bat., 26)*, Leiden (...) 1994, for instance nos. 24–25.



Mummy label in Greek and Demotic from the Roman period, handcopied by W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (30601–31166). I. *Die demotischen Inschriften* (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), Leipzig 1904, pp. 85–86 (no. 9396).

Real bilingual texts where the information is repeated in both languages: typical examples of this procedure are the synodal decrees, with their hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek versions. In the so-called ‘double documents’ the *scriptura exterior* is sometimes written in both Greek and Demotic. Many mummy labels from the Roman period give a short identification of the deceased: often one side is Demotic, the other Greek.

For some double documents, see P.W. Pestman, *Ricevute bilingui dell'archivio di Zenon*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive (P.L.Bat., 20 A)*, Leiden 1980, pp. 1–88.

For the decrees, see below, p. 125; for the mummy labels, see below, p. 121; see also the ostraca of the preceding category.

Texts where Greek and Demotic parts alternate: the rare examples include a Greek letter from the Ptolemaic period, where the content of a dream is given in Demotic, ‘so as to know its precise implications’. A very special case are the ostraca from

Medinet Madi, where Greek and Demotic are used together, even within one sentence. These sherds probably derive from the priestly schools and illustrate the Graeco-Egyptian mixed culture in a Faiyum village from the second century AD.

The Greek part of the letter is published by U. Wilcken in: L. Mitteis / U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Erster Band: Historischer Teil. Zweite Hälfte: Chrestomathie*, Leipzig-Berlin 1912, pp. 73–75 (no. 50), with some remarks on the contents.

For the Medinet Madi ostraca, see E. Bresciani / R. Pintaudi, *Textes démotico-grecs et greco-démotiques des ostraca de Medinet Madi: Un problème de bilinguisme*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984 (Studia Demotica, 1)*, Leuven 1987, pp. 123–126; for a first publication, see E. Bresciani / S. Pernigotti / M.C. Betrò, *Ostraka demotici da Narmuti, I (nn. 1–33) (Quaderni di Medinet Madi, 1)*, Pisa 1983; a further publication of these texts by P. Gallo is forthcoming.

Compare also a curiosity with Demotic, hieroglyphs, and Greek: K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein schriftgeschichtliches Curiosum*, in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 224–228.

Finally, there is much *indirect evidence of bilingualism*: bilingual archives show us that it was not unusual for a family to possess documents in both languages. Another source of information about the relationship between Greek and Demotic are Greek translations of Egyptian literature or Demotic contracts.

For Demotic contracts translated into Greek, see W. Peremans, *Le bilinguisme dans les relations gréco-égyptiennes sous les Lagides*, in: E. Van 't Dack et al. (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven — 24–26 May 1982 (Studia Hellenistica, 27)*, Lovanii 1983, pp. 253–280, esp. pp. 266–267.

For bilingual archives, see below, p. 153; for the literature, see below, pp. 152, 86.

The question is how to interpret this 'bilingualism'. It is commonly recognized that in the Ptolemaic period Greek and Egyptian cultures practically existed side by side with mutual influence but without actual fusion. A fine example of this are double names: according to the occasion alternatively a Greek or an Egyptian name was used. In civil administrative life a Greek name was fitting; in a religious environment an Egyptian name was more appropriate. Not only does this teach us to be careful in using names as a basis for defining a person's ethnicity, but it also shows the dichotomy between the cultures in this period. Still, many people were probably bilingual. For Egyptians working in army or administration and wanting to climb the social ladder, it was indispensable to have at least a working knowledge of Greek. Greek families, for example through marriages, also came into contact with the local population. Thus they became familiar with the Egyptian language and, as the two populations mingled, the number of people who spoke both Greek and Egyptian no doubt increased. It was precisely during this period (from the late second century BC onwards) that the decline of the Demotic script accelerated, from a certain moment (around 50 AD) leaving the local population without a properly functioning script to write their own language in everyday life.

Concerning bilingualism, see W. Peremans, *Le bilinguisme dans les relations gréco-égyptiennes sous les Lagides*, in: E. Van 't Dack et al. (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven — 24–26 May 1982 (Studia Hellenistica, 27)*, Lovanii 1983, pp. 253–280.

For the dichotomy, see W. Clarysse, *Ptolemaeisch Egypte. Een maatschappij met twee gezichten*, in: *Handelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 45 (1991), pp. 21–38.

1. Demotic: script and language

Double names are discussed in W. Clarysse, *Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration*, in: *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), pp. 57–66; see also J. Quaegebeur, *Greco-Egyptian Double Names as a Feature of a Bi-Cultural Society: The Case Ψονεὺς ὁ καὶ Τριάδελφος*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 265–272.

C. LINGUISTIC AND ORTHOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES

It goes without saying that two languages in mutual contact influence one another. Indications of this are not only found in Egyptian, the idiom of the local people, but also in Greek, the language of the conqueror and the administration.

Egyptian influence on *Greek* is rather small, lexically as well as grammatically. The names of the months and some symbols belong to the most frequent Egyptian features in Greek texts from Egypt.

On the possible influence of Egyptian language on Septuagint Greek, see L.-Th. Lefort, *Pour une grammaire des LXX*, in: *Le Muséon* 41 (1928), pp. 152–160.

On 'Egyptianisms' in Greek, see G. Mussies, *Egyptianisms in a Late Ptolemaic Document*, in: E. Boswinkel et al. (eds.), *Antidoron Martino David oblatum. Miscellanea Papyrologica* (P.L.Bat., 17), Lugdunum Batavorum 1968, pp. 70–76; G. Husson, *ὕπὸ dans le grec d'Égypte et la préposition égyptienne hr*, in: *ZPE* 46 (1982), pp. 227–230.

See also the articles by F.T. Gignac, *Bilingualism in Greco-Roman Egypt*, in: A. Graur et al. (eds.), *Actes du X^e congrès international des linguistes, Bucarest, 28 août – 2 septembre 1967*, Bucarest 1970, vol. 4, pp. 677–682; id., *Some Interesting Morphological Phenomena in the Language of the Papyri*, in: R.S. Bagnall et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York, 24–31 July 1980* (ASP, 23), Chico 1981, pp. 199–207; id., *The Papyri and the Greek Language*, in: *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985), pp. 155–165.

For the signs with an Egyptian origin used in Greek texts, see P.W. Pestman, *Ricevute bilingui dell'archivio di Zenon*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive* (P.L.Bat., 20 A), Leiden 1980, pp. 1–88, esp. pp. 76–78 (n. o).

An (incomplete) list of Egyptian loan-words in Greek is given by J.-L. Fournet, *Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien*, in: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 84 (1989), pp. 55–80.

On the contrary Greek has left many more traces in *Egyptian*. Especially in Coptic, where even grammatical elements such as conjunctions are adopted, this is obvious. About one fifth of Coptic vocabulary derives from Greek. In Demotic this influence is much smaller, which can be explained by the fact that as an official and literary language it modelled itself on an older, 'purer' phase of the language, deriving from a period before the arrival of the Greeks. The Demotic scribes give proof of their language purism through translation loan-words, for instance *shn* for Greek *τράπεζα* "(financial) bank". Most cult titles of the Ptolemaic monarchs are also translated. Loan-words proper chiefly include honorary titles, official titles, derivations from Greek proper names, and technical terms from administration, army, and finance. When transcribing Greek into Demotic, apart from an occasional 'sportive writing', twenty single-character signs were used. The transcriptions mostly render the nominative, although in some cases the Greek genitive ending is rendered as well. Apart from royal names, omission of the (foreigner) determinative is exceptional. Very exceptionally a somewhat longer text is transcribed from Greek into Demotic: an example of this is a mummy label, where the usual Demotic text is replaced by a Demotic 'transcription' of the Greek. The vowels are rendered by adapted signs: Greek η is noted with the Demotic sign for *h3.t* "heart", *2H* in Coptic; for Greek ω and

o the group *ʔt* "back" is used: compare Coptic $\omega\omega$ = in the *status pronominalis* of the preposition $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}$.

For the mummy label with the Demotic transcription of Greek, see W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit auf Grund von grossenteils unveröffentlichtem Material* (Demotische Studien, 1), Leipzig 1901, pp. 18–19 (§5).

Concerning Greek translation loan-words in Demotic, see J. Vergote, *Bilinguisme et calques (Translation Loan-Words) en Égypte*, in: *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, Napoli 1984, vol. 3, pp. 1385–1389.

For a detailed discussion of the transcription system used in Demotic, see W. Clarysse / G. Van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt. Chronological Lists of the Priests of Alexandria and Ptolemais with a Study of the Demotic Transcriptions of their Names*, (P.L.Bat., 24), Leiden 1983, pp. 129–165; an index by W. Brunsch in: *Enchoria* 16 (1988), pp. 119–128.

For a list of Greek loan-words in Demotic, see W. Clarysse, *Greek Loan-Words in Demotic*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (Studia Demotica, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 9–33. Demotic scientific medical texts use many Greek loan-words, but these are not included in this list.

For Demotic as an official and literary language, see above, p. 33.

A third example of mutual influence is of course the evolution towards the *Coptic* script (see above, p. 32), which started with the transcription of Demotic names into Greek. This often offers interesting information, for example about vocalization and dialectal pronunciation. Occasionally an Egyptian name transcribed in Greek is not recognized anymore as being Egyptian and thus rendered in Demotic by means of 'single-character signs': $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{s}$ = $\Theta\omega\tau\omicron\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ = *Thwtṛkhs*.

Concerning the misunderstanding of originally Demotic names, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Kleinigkeiten*, in: *ZÄS* 54 (1918), pp. 111–128, esp. pp. 124–126 (*Der Name Θωτορχης*). Compare K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein rätselhafter Personennamen*, in: *Enchoria* 16 (1988), pp. 95–99.

For the Greek transcriptions of names, see J. Quaegebeur, *The Study of Egyptian Proper Names in Greek Transcription. Problems and Perspectives*, in: *Onoma* 18 (1974), pp. 403–420.

Compare W. Brunsch, *Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Wiedergaben ägyptischer Personennamen*, in: *Enchoria* 8,1 (1978), pp. 1–142.

For the 'translations' of Egyptian names or nicknames in Greek, see T. Derda, $\Sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ – *p dd*, an Example of a Bilingual Nickname (Reconsideration of SB I 5441), in: *ZPE* 65 (1986), pp. 187–190.

On the rules followed when adapting the Egyptian names to Greek declension, see P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive* (Studia Demotica, 2), Leuven 1993, pp. 485–496 (§25).

A further stage in this evolution is the use of Greek characters to write down Egyptian formulae or longer passages. These predecessors of Old Coptic are of course interesting for the pronunciation of Demotic during the Ptolemaic period: a nice example is a graffito from Abydos (second century BC).

For the graffito, see P.W. Pestman / J. Quaegebeur / R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden 1977, no. 11. See also no. 12 where this procedure is limited to some words. For a list of similar examples, see J. Quaegebeur, *Pre-Old Coptic*, in: A.S. Atiya et al. (eds.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, Volume 8, New York (...) 1991, pp. 190–191.

D. CO-OPERATION BETWEEN DEMOTISTS AND GREEK PAPYROLOGISTS

It is important to study Greek and Demotic together. However, as a rule texts are published separately, not only if they belong to the same archive but occasionally even if they are written on the same papyrus or ostrakon. Co-operation can prevent the loss of valuable information about dates, names, etc., both for Greek papyrologists and for Demotists. Thus, for instance, the Greek translation of Demotic terms or titles (or the reverse) can help to understand them, although in some cases the relationship between both remains enigmatic.

For a comparison of Greek and Demotic idioms and expressions, see F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis* (SASAE, 16), Le Caire 1952.

Some Demotic titles and their Greek counterparts are collected by P.W. Pestman in: P. gr. Mil. Vogliano III, pp. 183–187 (n. c).

W. Clarysse, *Bilingual Texts and Collaboration between Demoticists and Papyrologists*, in: *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di Papirologia*, Napoli 1984, vol. 3, pp. 1345–1353; on the study of bilingual archives id., *Some Greeks in Egypt*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 51–56, and id., *Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (P.L.Bat., 27), Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 1–19.

1.4.3. Meroitic

From loanwords it can be deduced that at least part of the population in Nubia spoke Meroitic already since the New Kingdom; inscriptions in the Meroitic alphabet range from the second century BC until the third century AD. Two types of writing occur, both of which are derived from Egyptian: the rare hieroglyphic script (an alphabet using Egyptian hieroglyphs) and the more common cursive one (an alphabet based on Demotic signs). Owing to the decipherment by Griffith, the texts can be transliterated, but they remain as yet mostly incomprehensible since the affinities of Meroitic with other languages are obscure. It is clear, however, that it does not belong to the Afro-Asiatic language family.

Concerning the adaptation of cursive Meroitic script from twenty-fifth dynasty Lower Egyptian business script and the close relationship with Demotic, see K.-H. Priese, *Zur Entstehung der meroitischen Schrift*, in: F. Hintze (ed.), *Sudan im Altertum. 1. internationale Tagung für meroitische Forschungen in Berlin 1971* (Meroitica, 1), Berlin 1973, pp. 273–306.

For a general introduction, see D.A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush. The Napatan and Meroitic Empires*, London 1996, pp. 189–195.

The graffiti on the Philae temple walls are mainly written by Egyptians. The Demotic visitors' inscriptions left by Meroites are generally less formulaic and contain personal prayers. There are indications that the last priestly family of which epigraphic testimonies exist engraved pious inscriptions in three languages: Greek, Demotic, and Meroitic. Sometimes a Meroitic and Demotic inscription are found side by side, but it remains unclear if they have the same content.

For a short Demotic inscription on a gourd alongside a Meroitic one, see S.V. Wängstedt / N.B. Millet, in: T. Säve-Söderbergh (ed.), *Late Nubian Cemeteries (The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, 6)*, Solna 1982, p. 51 (M2).

The possible trilingualism of the last pagan priests in Philae is discussed in A. Burkhardt, *Zu späten heidnischen Priestern in Philae*, in: P. Nagel (ed.), *Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten* (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge, 1984 / 48 [I 29]), Halle 1984, pp. 77–83.

About the Demotic graffiti written by Meroites, see A. Burkhardt, *Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos. Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung der demotischen Graffiti (Meroitica, 8)*, Berlin 1985.

1.4.4. Latin

Under Roman rule Greek continued to be the language most frequently used by the elite in Egypt. Latin was only employed for matters relating to the Roman army, the highest Roman magistrates, or Roman citizens. In the governmental communications with the subjects and even in the chancellery, Greek held a dominant position, just like in the other eastern provinces of the Roman empire, with the possible exception of Syria. Only from the fourth century AD onwards, under Diocletian, does Latin seem to have been more widely used in Egypt. Still, besides the enormous amount of Greek-Demotic ostraca, a number of Latin-Demotic ones have been found as well.

For the position of Latin, see J. Kaimio, *Latin in Roman Egypt*, in: J. Bingen / G. Nachtergaele (eds.), *Actes du XV^e congrès international de papyrologie (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 18)*, Bruxelles 1979, vol. 3, pp. 27–33, also referring to the classical treatise of A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Ägyptens unter römischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart 1915, pp. 132–186 (*Der Sprachengebrauch in der Verwaltung Ägyptens*).

For a curiosity in which four languages are used next to one another (Greek, Demotic, Latin, and signs still to be deciphered), see R. Coles, *A Quadrilingual Curiosity in the Bodleian Library in Oxford*, in: R.S. Bagnall et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New-York, 24–31 July 1980 (ASP, 23)*, Chico 1981, pp. 193–197.

Some examples of Latin-Demotic ostraca in K.-Th. Zauzich, *Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu*, in: *Enchoria* 12 (1984), pp. 67–86, esp. pp. 78–82.

See also B. Rochette, *Traducteurs et traductions dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, in: *CdÉ* 69 (1994), pp. 313–322; id., *Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, in: *CdÉ* 71 (1996), pp. 153–168.

1.4.5. Other languages

The contact of Demotic with other languages is considerably less tangible. It is mainly limited to titles and names of foreign origin that have been transcribed into Demotic. Thus the *Demotisches Namenbuch* (see below, p. 62) mentions anthroponyms that are (at least originally) Hebrew, Ancient Arabic, Phoenician-Punic, Akkadian, Assyrian, or Iranian. In turn, sometimes Egyptian and more specifically Demotic names occur in other languages.

W.W. Müller, *Zu den in demotischen Urkunden in den Schreibungen wjw und 'wmjw belegten semitischen Namen*, in: *ZAS* 115 (1988), pp. 84–85.

A number of Egyptian-Demotic names in Phoenician are listed in G. Vittmann, *Zu den in den phönikischen Inschriften enthaltenen ägyptischen Personennamen*, in: *GM* 113 (1989), pp. 91–96.

G. Vittmann, *Ein altiranischer Titel in demotischer Überlieferung*, in: *Afo* 38/39 (1991/1992), pp. 159–160.

For traces of Iranian in Demotic, see P. Huyse, *'Analecta Iranica' aus den demotischen Dokumenten von Nord-Saqqara*, in: *JEA* 78 (1992), pp. 287–293.

Concerning foreigners and their language in Egypt, see H.S. Smith, *Foreigners in the Documents from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, Saqqara*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond (SAOC, 51)*, Chicago 1992, pp. 295–301.

For South Arabic, see W.W. Müller / G. Vittmann, *Zu den Personennamen der aus Ägypten stammenden Frauen in den sogenannten "Hierodulenlisten" aus Ma'in*, in: *Orientalia* 62 (1993), pp. 1–10.

2. Demotic Studies: origin and evolution

2.1. History of Demotic Studies

2.1.1. The decipherment: first half of the nineteenth century

Demotic played an important role in the decipherment of hieroglyphs. Thus **J.D. Åkerblad**, a Swedish diplomat and orientalist (1763–1819), particularly studied the Demotic section of the Rosetta Stone (discovered in 1799). Comparing the Greek and Demotic version, he managed within two months to identify a number of words, especially proper names. He also discovered the pronominal suffix of the third person (=f). His findings were published in the *Lettre à M. de Sacy* in 1802. Further progress however failed to come, most probably because he thought Demotic was an exclusively alphabetic script: a plausible hypothesis considering the fact that every word identified until then was indeed written by means of single-character signs.

T. Young, an English physician, physicist, and amateur Egyptologist (1773–1829), abandoned the Demotic alphabet of Åkerblad, which proved to be another important step in the decipherment. He was the first to suggest that hieroglyphs could be alphabetical as well as non-alphabetical and that Demotic signs were derived from them. One of his other achievements was the correct division of the text of the Rosetta Stone into eighty-six word groups. In 1827 he focused his study exclusively on Demotic, but was hindered in his activities by other obligations and ill health.

J.D. Ray, *Thomas Young et le monde de Champollion*, in: *BSFÉ* 119 (1990), pp. 25–34.

J.F. Champollion (1790–1832) identified fifteen Demotic signs (including Åkerblad's =f) with Coptic alphabetical signs as early as 1808. His success in deciphering the hieroglyphic script from 1818 onwards, with its culmination in 1822, naturally also brought about substantial progress in the field of Demotic studies.

D. Devauchelle, *D'une pierre deux écritures*, in: *Mémoires d'Égypte. Hommage de l'Europe à Champollion*, Strasbourg 1990, pp. 110–117.

2.1.2. The pioneer era: second half of the nineteenth century

In the years following the decipherment, Demotic was gradually pushed into the background because of the enigmatic aura still surrounding hieroglyphs and exerting a natural fascination: the texts were thought to contain secret esoteric wisdom meant only for the initiated. In addition, the relationship between hieroglyphs and Demotic was far from clear at that time.

Already in 1833 **E. Hincks**, an Irish Egyptologist and Assyriologist (1792–1866), pointed out the importance of Demotic studies, but his message remained unheeded (*The Enchorial Language of Egypt*, in: *Dublin University Review* 1,3; 14 p.).

For his bibliography, see *Orientalia* 52 (1983), pp. 325–356.

2. Demotic Studies: origin and evolution

The German Egyptologist **H. Brugsch** (1827–1894) started studying Demotic in his early youth, finishing the draft of his grammar at the age of sixteen. His *Scriptura aegyptiorum demotica ex papyris et inscriptionibus explanata* (1848) was epoch-making and can be called the real starting point of Demotic studies. Amongst his numerous further publications are the first Demotic grammar (*Grammaire démotique* (...)) in 1855; early in comparison with the first Late Egyptian one by A. Erman and the first modern Coptic one by L. Stern, both in 1880) and a *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch* (...) in seven volumes (1867–1882).

Another important figure in this period was **E. Revillout**, a French Egyptologist (1843–1913). Initially he was especially interested in Coptic and Old Egyptian: he did not specialize in Demotic until 1876. He produced an enormous quantity of books and articles, but they are often unsystematic and imprecise. His main merit was to publish a great deal of the available Demotic material. Particularly interesting for the 'petite histoire' are his attacks on Brugsch in the *Revue Égyptologique*, a journal almost entirely written by Revillout himself.

For his bibliography, see C. Wessely (ed.), *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* 13 (1913), pp. 10–18.

2.1.3. A broader scientific basis: the beginning of the twentieth century

In his very first Demotic publication (1900: *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*) the English Egyptologist **F.Ll. Griffith** (1862–1934) set a new and very high standard. He can therefore be called the founder of modern Demotic philology and palaeography. In his extensive bibliography, important studies such as the publication of the *Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (together with H. Thompson; 1904–1909) and the *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* in three volumes (1909) are landmarks.

For his bibliography, see *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London 1932, pp. 485–494.

Through a large number of detailed articles, his numerous publications of Demotic papyri, and of course, his grammar, the German Egyptologist **W. Spiegelberg** (1870–1930) is one of the main figures in the history of Demotic studies. He founded a series *Demotische Studien*, laid the foundations of a dictionary, and edited many papyri and inscriptions. In illustration of this, the three volumes of Demotic texts in the *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (1904–1932, the last part posthumous) may be mentioned.

For his bibliography, see *Enchoria* 4 (1974), pp. 95–139.

S.P. Vleeming, *Spiegelberg in Strasbourg*, in: *Enchoria* 11 (1982), pp. 85–98.

A. Grimm / S. Schoske, *Wilhelm Spiegelberg als Sammler (Recherchen zu Aegyptiaca in München. Studien zur Erwerbungs-geschichte der Sammlung, 1)*, München 1995.

One of the great Egyptologists of this period was **K.H. Sethe** (1869–1934). His many works include the very elaborate study of sureties (*Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte*, 1920), which contains so much detailed information that it could be used as an introduction to Demotic. He was also a key figure in the study of the Egyptian language.

For his bibliography, see *Enchoria* 5 (1975), pp. 135–150.

Apart from these protagonists a number of other scholars who played a not negligible role in this period should be listed. The above mentioned **H. Thompson** (1875–1960) studied law and pharmacy before immersing himself in Egyptian Studies at the age of fourty, with an emphasis on Coptic and Demotic. He published Theban ostraca and a family archive of Siut, but eventually preferred to return to Classical Studies.

The Czech scholar **F. Lexa** (1875–1960), originally a teacher of mathematics and philosophy, discovered Egyptology through the hieroglyphs. He published a very elaborate Demotic grammar and provided editions of P. Pamonthes and P. Insinger. His influence was rather limited as he worked too much in isolation.

W.B. Oerter, *František Lexa in Straßburg*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 71–78.

R. Mužíková et al. (eds.), *František Lexa. Zakladatel české egyptologie* (*Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica*, 4 // *Velké Osobnosti. Filozofické Fakulty Univerzity Karlovy*, 2), Praha 1989.

For a biography of deceased Egyptologists, see the standard list by M.L. Bierbrier / W.R. Dawson / E.P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd rev. ed., London 1995.

2.1.4. The growth of various schools: after World War I

During the interbellum period Demotic studies became more widely spread, leading to the rise of different schools with different transliteration systems, a problem still existent nowadays (see below, p. 70). For the German school Berlin was an important centre for a long time, but scholars of Demotic were also trained in England, in the United States (especially in Chicago), in France, as well as in various other places around the world.

2.2. Spread and organization of Demotists

2.2.1. Centres

Demotic studies are well represented throughout the world: Europe, Egypt, and the United States all have universities where Demotic is taught and museums that possess Demotic collections.

The addresses and other co-ordinates of the various institutions and their staff members can be found in J.S. Karig, *International Directory of Egyptology*, Berlin, with regular additions and corrections. See also the lists of institutions and individual Egyptologists on the Internet (appendix C).

2.2.2. Gatherings

Though Demotic studies have become a science of their own, the number of Demotists does not equal that of Coptologists or Greek papyrologists. Discussions between scholars are often held during Egyptology or papyrology congresses. Since 1977 a tradition of Demotic congresses has grown: West-Berlin '77, Leiden '84, Cambridge '87, Chicago '90, Pisa '93, and Cairo '96. The next meeting will take place in Copenhagen in '99.

1st Congress West-Berlin: *Enchoria* 8, Sonderband (1978), pp. 1–46.

2nd Congress Leiden: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (*Studia Demotica*, 1), Leuven 1987.

3rd Congress Cambridge: J. Quaegebeur / S.P. Vleeming, *Third Meeting of Demotists: A Report*, in: *Enchoria* 15 (1987), pp. 247–253.

2. Demotic Studies: origin and evolution

4th Congress Chicago: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992.
5th Congress Pisa: *EVO* 17 (1994).

In August '95 the first 'Demotische Sommerschule' took place in Würzburg. This summer school is meant for the collective reading and discussion of unpublished texts. The second summer school is planned for '97 in Cologne.

3. Scientific tools

3.1. General tools

3.1.1. Handbooks and introductions

A genuine handbook for Demotic is not yet available. Some basic information is provided in E. Hornung, *Einführung in die Ägyptologie. Stand – Methoden – Aufgaben* (*Die Archäologie. Einführungen*), 4th rev. ed., Darmstadt 1993, p. 28 (§10); p. 36 (§15c).

Useful discussions about some aspects can also be found in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion* (*BdÉ*, 64), 3 vol., Le Caire 1972.

Vol. I: M. Malinine, *L'hiératique anormal*, pp. 31–35; F. de Cenival, *L'écriture démotique*, pp. 37–44; A.F. Shore, *Demotic* [gram.], pp. 143–150; S. Pernigotti, *Il vocabolario demotico*, pp. 203–208.
Vol. III: F. Daumas, *Les textes bilingues ou trilingues*, pp. 41–45; J.-C. Goyon, *La littérature funéraire tardive*, pp. 73–81; E. Bresciani, *I testi letterari demotici*, pp. 83–91; K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die demotischen Dokumente*, pp. 93–110.

A first *status quaestionis* was given by W. Spiegelberg, *Der gegenwärtige Stand und die nächsten Aufgaben der demotischen Forschung*, in: *ZÄS* 59 (1924), pp. 131–140. More than fifty years later a new account of the state of the art was published by E. Lüddeckens, *Stand und Aufgaben der Demotistik*, in *Enchoria* 8, Sonderband (1978), pp. 15–23.

A short introduction to the history of Demotic studies and to the scientific tools is offered by D. Devauchelle, *Le démotique. Bilan et perspectives*, in: M. Dewachter / A. Fouchard (eds.), *L'égyptologie et les Champollion*, Grenoble 1994, pp. 311–317.

For Egyptology the basic works are those mentioned in the above: E. Hornung, *Einführung*, the volumes of *Textes et langages*, and the colloquium held in Grenoble.

For Greek papyrology quite a few introductions are available. The most recent one is H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (*Die Altertumswissenschaft*), Darmstadt 1994. Other important works are O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Torino 1973 (reprint with addenda: Milano 1980); E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri. An Introduction*, Oxford 1968 (paperback edition with supplementary notes in 1980); W. Peremans / J. Vergote, *Papyrologisch handboek*, Leuven 1942. In this last book Demotic and Coptic also receive some attention.

A general introduction to Coptic papyrology is S. Pernigotti, *Introduzione alla papirologia copta*, in: M. Capasso (ed.), *Atti del V seminario internazionale di papirologia, Lecce 27–29 giugno 1994* (*Papyrologica Lupiensia*, 4), Lecce 1995, pp. 255–274.

3.1.2. Bibliographies

A Demotic bibliography for the period prior to the seventies does not exist for the time being. More recent literature is listed in a critical-analytic bibliographical chronicle of the utmost importance: the annual *Demotistische Literaturübersicht* (*DL*) by H.-J. Thissen

(until 1993) and H. Felber (from 1994 onwards) in the journal *Enchoria*. The first volume appeared in 1971 and covered the years 1968–1969. Arrears of only one or two years have to be taken into account.

The *Egyptological* bibliographies are also essential tools. The *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* (*AEB*) has appeared since 1948 (covering the publications of 1947) and gives references by the alphabetical order of the authors' names, followed by a short summary. Since the instalment dealing with 1979, a systematic classification has been introduced, in which Demotic appears under 'III. Texts and Philology e.'. Until the issue covering the year 1987 (published 1993) the annual rhythm was maintained. The new annual instalments (published since 1995) cover the years from 1992 onwards and are also available on the Internet (see appendix C). Currently an attempt is being made to shorten the leeway for the years 1988–1991.

For the period before 1947, I.A. Pratt, *Ancient Egypt. Sources of Information in the New York Public Library*, New York 1925, and ead., *Ancient Egypt 1925–1941. A Supplement* (...), New York 1942, both lists of the publications received by the *New York Public Library*, should be consulted. Since the Demotic material appears under various headings, it can take a long time to discover. Therefore the bibliographies of individual scholars (see above, p. 47) can prove very useful. Compare also W. Federn, *Egyptian Bibliography* (Jan. 1, 1939 – Dec. 31, 1947), in: *Orientalia* 17–19 (1948–1950), 8 instalments.

For the earlier periods there are the annual bibliographies appearing from 1914 onwards in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (*JEA*): *Ancient Egypt* (by F.L.I. Griffith; from 1928 for two years only by J. Capart) and *Graeco-Roman Egypt, Papyrological Section* (by H.I. Bell; from 1928 onwards by various scholars).

A bibliography of ancient Egypt from 1822 until 1946 by C. Beinlich-Seeber will appear in the series *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*: see J.-L. Chappaz / S. Poggia, *Ressources égyptologiques informatisées 1* (...) *Chronique annuelle* (...), in: *BSEG* 19 (1995), pp. 115–132, esp. p. 119.

In the field of *Greek papyrology* the essential tool is the bibliography on index cards published by the *Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth* and the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* (M. Hombert / G. Nachtergaele / A. Martin) in Brussels. It started in 1941 (covering the years from 1938 onwards) and is still running. Since 1995 the trimestral instalments are published on computer and on paper, instead of cards. Gradually the earlier years are also being computerized. Furthermore there is an annual bibliography in the journal *Aegyptus*, from 1920 onwards.

Compare also the surveys of Demotic texts, see below, p. 65.

3.1.3. Contributions in general reference works

The most important work here is of course the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 volumes, 1975–1992, an encyclopedia of Egyptology with contributions by various specialists. Most of the articles are in German, some in English, few in French. There is more to be found here than would be expected for Demotic studies. The following articles have been mentioned in the 'Demotistische Literaturübersicht' in *Enchoria*: *Akten II*; *Asylrecht*; *Bilingue, Trilingue*; *Chaemwase-Erzählungen*; *Demotisch*; *Demotische Chronik*; *Eheurkunden*; *Eid, demot.*; *Erbe, E. Erbrecht nach demotischen Urkunden*; *Gebelein, demot. Urkunden*; *Graeco-*

ägyptische Literatur; Harmachis; Hauskaufurkunden (demotisch); Hierogrammat; Kanopusdekret; Kaufurkunden; Kultgenossenschaft; Lamm des Bokchoris; Lehre des Anchsheschonki; Lehren, verschiedene; Lesonis; Lexikon; Märchenmotive; Maße und Gewichte (in demotischen Texten); Mathematik; Mitgift; Mumienetikette; Nachleben; Orakel; Papyri, kursivhieratische; Papyri, demotische; P. Insinger; Petbe; Petubastis-Erzählung; Philensis-Dekrete; Prophetie; Priester(tum) (griech.-röm); Psammeticus; Pterophoren; Rakotis; Ritterlichkeit; Rosette, Stein von; Satirisches demotisches Gedicht; Schreibtafel; Sonneauge, demotischer Mythos vom; Sprache; Stolist; Tachos; Taricheut; Tebtynis; Teephibis; Tempeldekrete; Tierkult; Töpferorakel; Übersetzung; Urkundenarchive; Verfluchung; Verpachtung; Volkserzählungen; Weisheit, demotische; Xerxes; Zahlungsmittel und Münzen. See further the general index (vol. VII), s.v. *Demotisch* and *Demotische Texte*.

The seventh volume of the *Lexikon* is an excellent tool for various purposes: apart from a general index there are indices covering names (of places, gods, kings and queens, foreign rulers, private persons, foreign names, animals, and plants), titles, words, texts cited (from Egyptian literature to Classical authors), and even calendar days. The volume is rounded off by English and French indices and maps. Demotic words are included in the Egyptian language sections.

3.1.4. Periodicals

Enchoria (since 1971; Würzburg; annual): the basic periodical for Demotic. Apart from more substantial articles ('Aufsätze'), it also contains brief communications ('Miszellen'), and the very important 'Demotistische Literaturübersicht' (see above, p. 53). Reviews ('Rezensionen') are included as well.

Other periodicals which are important to Demotic studies are included in the list with the abbreviations in appendix B (p. 173).

3.1.5. Series

Demotische Studien (since 1901; Leipzig-Sommerhausen; 11 vol.): this series was established by W. Spiegelberg. He wrote most of the first eight volumes himself, and after his decease for a long time nothing more was published. K.-Th. Zauzich started the series again in 1988.

Studia Demotica (since 1987; Leiden; 4 vol.): with editions of papyri and more general works.

Other series, which are not confined to Demotic but regularly publish on the subject, are also included in the list of appendix B.

3.1.6. Check-lists

There is for the time being no uniform system of referring to texts in *Demotic*. Some prefer to cite the inventory numbers which the documents have in museums or other collections, while others refer to the numbers in the publications where the texts are edited or re-edited.

The advantage of the former system using inventory numbers is that documents in general do not change their names and numbers. The main disadvantage is that the reader is in

many cases obliged to consult a list of the collection with the inventory numbers of the pieces and the place where they have been published. When papyri from different collections can be put together, this may also lead to lengthy references such as P. Berlin P. 13381 + P. BM 69008.

The latter system refers directly to the publications, making the detour by the list unnecessary, but has the disadvantage that the continual changing of the names and numbers forces the reader to check certain publications to know which papyrus or ostrakon is meant. And because of the lack of a *Sammelbuch* for Demotic (see below, p. 65), this also leads to references such as *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 128–129.

Concerning this bone of contention whether to use publication numbers or inventory numbers, see P.W. Pestman, *An Appeal to Demotists*, in: *Enchoria* 12 (1984), pp. 29–32, pleading strongly for the use of publication numbers, and a reply by D. Devauchelle, *Très respectueuse réponse à l'appel aux démotisants* de P.W. Pestman, in: *Enchoria* 13 (1985), pp. 65–66.

If publication numbers are used, a handy tool is the list of proposed abbreviations by S.P. Vleeming / A.A. Den Brinker, *Check-List of Demotic Text Editions and Re-Editions presented on the Occasion of the Fifth International Conference for Demotic Studies in Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993* (Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut", 14), Leiden 1993.

A system of references in which inventory numbers play the most important part is given by J.H. Johnson, *Text Abbreviations used by the Chicago Demotic Dictionary including all References cited as of June 20, 1988*, in: *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 128–141 (and also pp. III–IV). The list of papyri by Lüddeckens in *LÄ* (see below, p. 68) remains an indispensable tool.

In Greek papyrology exclusively publication numbers are used. For the most recent edition of the checklist, see J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (BASP Suppl., 7), 4th ed., Atlanta 1992.

In Egyptology generally a hybrid system with publication and inventory numbers is employed. There is no general checklist, but the list of papyri by W. Helck, *Papyri, hieratische*, in: *LÄ* IV (1982), cols. 672–747, and M. Bellion, *Égypte ancienne. Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés*, Paris 1987, can prove useful.

A Coptic checklist is A.A. Schiller, *A Checklist of Coptic Documents and Letters*, in: *BASP* 13 (1976), pp. 99–123.

3.1.7. 'Berichtigungsliste'

When a text has been published, it starts to live a life of its own. It is referred to; certain passages are interpreted in a way divergent from that of the editor; different readings or a new dating are proposed; or the text can even be re-edited completely. Because all these emendations are spread over various publications, it is sometimes difficult to keep track of the situation.

Precisely to cope with this problem in Greek papyrology, the *Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (BL) was created. Here all the published

emendations are collected and presented in a critical way. The first volume was published in 1922 and in 1989 an index to the first 7 volumes was compiled.

Because of the great difficulty of the Demotic script, readings by different scholars can diverge widely, sometimes implying a completely new interpretation of a text. The absence of a Demotic counterpart to the Greek *BL* has therefore long been a problem for anyone working with this documentation. A project with loose index cards, also including unpublished corrections, has been proposed by K.-Th. Zauzich, *Vorschlag für eine demotische Berichtigungsliste*, in: R.S. Bagnall et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York, 24–31 July 1980* (ASP, 23), Chico 1981, pp. 553–556, but has not been realized yet, due to publication difficulties.

Another project has been set up in Leiden by S.P. Vleeming / A.A. Den Brinker, see S.P. Vleeming, *Demotic Texts Revised. A Demotic Berichtigungsliste*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 317. Unlike the proposal of K.-Th. Zauzich, it is not intended to include unpublished corrections.

On the Egyptological side there is nothing for the time being.

3.2. Palaeographical and linguistic tools

3.2.1. Palaeographies and sign lists

A. PALAEOGRAPHY

In the field of palaeography no standard study is available such as Möller's *Hieratische Paläographie* for hieratic. Spiegelberg wanted a Demotic palaeography to be connected with this work, with more attention paid to group-writing in view of the large number of ligatures in Demotic. He even deemed it necessary to make a palaeographical dictionary with the most frequent words. For all these reasons one has to wonder if, especially for the later stages of the script, it would be the most appropriate procedure to set out from an 'etymological' point of view, listing the signs according to what their hieroglyphic origin represents, as is done for hieratic.

G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie. Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, 3 vol.: I. *Bis zum Beginn der achtzehnten Dynastie*, II. *Von der Zeit Thutmosis' III bis zum Ende der einundzwanzigsten Dynastie*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1927, III. *Von der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie bis zum dritten Jahrhundert nach Chr.*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1936.

Glanville, Erichsen and Stricker each contemplated a Demotic palaeography but did not proceed beyond the stage of preliminary work. The work has not become easier since: especially the more recent publications do not always provide indices. It is therefore doubtful that a Demotic palaeography will appear in the near future.

O. El-Aguizy, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharka to the End of the Ptolemaic Period*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 67–70.
For the articles of Stricker, see the next page.

B. SIGN LISTS

In default of a palaeography, scholars have to do with other tools. Amongst them a number of sign lists, which are useful but often too limited for advanced study.

A sign list for early Demotic texts is found in W. Erichsen, *Auswahl fröhdemotischer Texte zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht sowie zum Selbststudium zusammengestellt*, 3 vol., Kopenhagen 1950. Part 3 consists of the *Schriftliste*, divided into section A. *Das Alphabet*, containing the single-character signs (at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of a word), and section B. *Übrige Zeichen*, classified according to the hieroglyph which they represent (see A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*).

Valuable tools for the palaeography of this period are also the lists of signs by P.W. Pestman / S.P. Vleeming, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (*Studia Demotica*, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 2, pp. 1*-57*, and S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)* (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, pp. 191-252 (*Some Early Demotic Signs*).

As far as Ptolemaic and Roman Demotic are concerned, the main work of reference is W. Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke I. Literarische Texte*, 3. *Schrifttafel*, Leipzig 1937. After a short list of the 'alphabet', the different signs are grouped according to their shape (from A.1 to MM.10). For each a hieroglyphic transcription is proposed and some examples are given of words in which the sign occurs. This is followed by a useful chart, of which a revised version is given in S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Het demotische schrift* (*Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut"*, 7), Leiden 1988, pp. 61-66.

This booklet (pp. 59-60) also provides an index to the comprehensive but incomplete list of signs by Stricker, which was published in a series of articles. This list is primarily based on the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. In addition to a survey of hieratic and Demotic signs, it contains numerous scholarly comments on phonetics: B.H. Stricker, *Het graphisch systeem van de magische papyrus Londen & Leiden*, in: *OMRO* 31 (1950), pp. 64-71 (introduction); 36 (1955), pp. 92-132 (hieratic signs); 39 (1958), pp. 80-103 (Demotic signs); 42 (1961), pp. 25-52; 45 (1964), pp. 25-55.

Furthermore interesting are the lists of determinatives, each followed by the domain to which they apply and some examples, in W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem strassburger demotischen Papyrus, sowie den wiener und pariser Bruchstücken* (*Demotische Studien*, 3), Leipzig 1910, pp. 89*-102*, and id., *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenaugen* (*Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln - "Kufi"*) nach dem leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384, Strassburg 1917, pp. 338-365.

One of the best palaeographical tools available are the volumes of the *Demotisches Namenbuch*. A selection of the various writings of each name is listed chronologically. The left column is preserved for handcopies of Upper Egyptian, the right for Lower Egyptian examples.

See for instance the name *Pa-Is.t* in vol. 5, p. 354 (for the *DNB*, see below, p. 62).

3.2.2. Grammars

The first Demotic grammar was H. Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique, contenant les principes généraux de la langue et de l'écriture populaires des anciens Égyptiens*, Berlin 1855. It is an important pioneering work, but nowadays it is obsolete.

Seventy years later a new grammar was published, mainly based on the Setne novel: W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1925. It is modelled on the Late Egyptian grammar by A. Erman (1880) and has been criticized especially because of its lack of arrangement, but even now it remains the chief work of reference. Although the parts about the verb have been superseded since the explanation of the second tenses by H.J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*, Le Caire 1944, the facsimile lists of verbal prefixes in various texts are still useful. Articles by R.J. Williams, *On Certain Verbal Forms in Demotic*, in: *JNES* 7 (1948), pp. 223–235, and R.A. Parker, *The Durative Tenses in P. Rylands IX*, in: *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 180–187, applied the new insights from Polotsky to Demotic and to some extent reordered the section on verbal forms in Spiegelberg's grammar.

Some ten years later than Spiegelberg's work, G. Ort-Geuthner published a grammar based on the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden (*Grammaire démotique du papyrus magique de Londres et Leyde*, Paris 1936). Being founded on a single text, it did not receive much attention, and the study of Spiegelberg remained fundamental.

The monumental opus by F. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, 7 vol., Praha 1949–1951, appeared after World War II: part 1 contains an introduction, orthography, and phonetics; parts 2 to 5 deal with morphology; part 6 treats syntax; part 7 concludes with 'addenda et corrigenda' and the indices. Although this grammar was published after Polotsky's explanation of the second tenses, the part about the verb, written before the war, does not take these findings into account. The main criticism of the grammar has concerned the strange classification of the verbs, primarily based on the translation. Nowadays it is almost solely used for matters of orthography and for its wealth of examples. It is also the only grammar to provide serviceable indices.

Meanwhile a 'compact' grammar, which could also be used for teaching, was still lacking. E. Bresciani, *Nozioni elementari di grammatica demotica*, Milano–Varese 1969, tried to fill this gap. The main merit of the book is that it allows fast progress because of its succinctness. The list of bi- and triconsonantal signs is particularly useful to become familiar with the script.

A grammar with instruction as the main purpose was published by a Coptologist: P. du Bourget, *Grammaire fonctionnelle et progressive de l'égyptien démotique*, Louvain 1976. This idiosyncratic work, mainly based on the Setne novel and the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, pays little attention to palaeography and contains a panoply of inaccuracies and errors. Consequently it was received with severe criticism.

See the review by E. Lüddeckens in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 199–204; and by M. Smith in: *CdÉ* 52 (1977), pp. 262–271.

3. Scientific tools

Another short Demotic grammar is U. Luft, *A démotikus nyelv. Bevezetés az I. évezred második felében használt egyiptomi írásba és nyelvbe*, Budapest 1983, written in Hungarian.

See the review of W. Brunsch, in: *Enchoria* 13 (1985), pp. 243–251.

J.H. Johnson's *The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC, 38) Chicago 1976, treats the Demotic verb forms according to the standard theory of Polotsky. It cannot completely replace the earlier grammars, however, as it is based mainly on four literary texts (Setne I, Onchsheshonqy, the Myth of the Sun's Eye, and the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden).

A summary is offered by K.-Th. Zauzich's review in: *BiOr* 35 (1978), pp. 40–41; see the review-article by F. de Cenival, *Le système verbal démotique*, in: *CdÉ* 55 (1980), pp. 87–101.

A second study by the same author is a beginners' course for the study of Demotic based on Onchsheshonqy: J.H. Johnson, *Thus wrote 'Onchsheshonqy* (SAOC, 45), 2nd rev. ed., Chicago 1991. Although not primarily designed for self-instruction, it is the probably the best introduction to Demotic grammar available at the moment.

The first steps are now being taken towards a modern linguistic approach to Demotic grammar, for instance J.H. Johnson, *Remarks on Egyptian Verbal Sentences*, in: *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5,5 (1978), pp. 153–172, or A. Shisha-Halevy, *Work-Notes on Demotic Syntax*, I, in: *Orientalia* 58 (1989), pp. 28–60.

A recent publication discusses various grammatical features of the Demotic used in the relevant sections of the sacerdotal decrees: R.S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Griffith Institute Monographs), Oxford 1996.

3.2.3. Dictionaries

The very first study on the Demotic lexicon was published by T. Young, *Rudiments of an Egyptian Dictionary in the Ancient Enchorial Character containing all the Words of which the Sense has been Ascertained*, London 1830. It was published as an appendix to H. Tattam, *A Compendious Grammar of the Egyptian Language*. A striking accomplishment considering the time it was edited, it now has only historical value.

Again the real pioneering work was done by H. Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch* (...), 7 vol., Leipzig 1867–1882. Although the number of texts on which it is based is rather small, it is an admirable individual effort and still worth consulting.

From the same pioneer era dates the attempt at composing a lexicon by two pupils of Revillout: D. Chardon / L. Denisse, *Dictionnaire démotique*, Paris 1893. It was never finished (they reached only *f*), neither did it reach a high level of quality.

During the subsequent period the knowledge of Demotic vocabulary steadily increased through the study and publication of new texts. In his *status quaestionis* Spiegelberg therefore made an ardent but unfortunately vain plea for the inclusion of the Demotic lexical material in the *Wörterbuch*. He himself had some notes for a Demotic dictionary ready, but because of his untimely death in 1930 the manuscript could not be finished.

Together with the rest of Spiegelberg's legacy, it was transferred to Chicago, where it still lies.

A provisional solution came with W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, Copenhagen 1954. Not meant to be an exhaustive dictionary, it is still an indispensable tool in spite of some disadvantages. Thus the *Glossar* offers a limited choice of sometimes defective handcopies, in most cases without precise reference to the source.

A number of corrections and additions to the *Glossar* are suggested by A. Klasens in: *BiOr* 13 (1956), pp. 221–223, and by G.R. Hughes in: *JNES* 16 (1957), pp. 55–63.

On the 29th Orientalists' Congress (Paris 1973), C.W. Nims from Chicago announced a new start was made to compose a Demotic lexicon, based on Spiegelberg's manuscript. This project is currently directed by J.H. Johnson. It is not meant to replace the *Glossar*, but to complete it with new lexemes and lexicographical insights. The latest state of affairs of this CDDP (Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project) was presented at the Demotic Congress of '96 in Cairo. The examples of every lemma are scanned and have precise references. Newly published material will not be included anymore.

J.H. Johnson, *The Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project*, in: *Enchoria* 8, Sonderband (1978), pp. 11–13; R.K. Ritner, *The Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project: A Status Report*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (*Studia Demotica*, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 145–148.

A general discussion of the problems concerning Demotic lexicography is W.J. Tait, *Approaches to Demotic Lexicography*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (*Studia Demotica*, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 95–108.

For non-Egyptian words in Demotic, see the sections on Demotic and other languages above, p. 39.

When unknown words are encountered, besides specific Demotic lexica, other dictionaries should be consulted as well: the meaning of new Demotic lexemes can often be assessed through earlier Egyptian or later Coptic parallels. The *Egyptian* vocabulary is extensively listed in A. Erman / H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 5 vol., Leipzig 1925–1931, with a sixth volume *Deutsch-Ägyptisches Wörterverzeichnis* (1950) and a seventh *Rückläufiges Wörterverzeichnis* (1963). The *Belegstellen* with the precise references for the meanings given were published between 1935 and 1953. As already mentioned, the Demotic vocabulary was not taken into account, whereas the Coptic equivalents of Egyptian lexemes were at least mentioned. A project is running to update the *Wb.* with the aid of the computer: see the preliminary reports in W.F. Reineke (ed.), *Mitteilungen aus der Arbeit am Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, from 1993 onwards. Demotic will again not be included.

For a project of an abnormal hieratic dictionary, see G. Vittmann, *Ein kursivhieratisches Wörterbuch*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (*Studia Demotica*, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 149–151.

The *Coptic* dictionaries can prove very useful as well. The most elaborate one is W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, with the supplement by R. Kasser, *Complément au dictionnaire copte de Crum* (*Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes*, 7), Le Caire 1964. It pays no attention to etymology, which is largely compensated for by three other Coptic

3. Scientific tools

dictionaries: W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965–1977 (based on Spiegelberg's draft for a Coptic dictionary); J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976; and W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1983.

For statistical data concerning the lexical relationship between Old Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic, see W. Westendorf, *Bemerkungen zum Abschluß des Koptischen Handwörterbuches*, in: *Enchoria* 8, Sonderband (1978), pp. 41–44.

Interesting are also the dictionaries limited to a certain semantic field during the whole history of the Egyptian language, from Classical Egyptian until Coptic. Thus for instance G. Charpentier, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique*, Paris 1981; D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (*Studies in Egyptology*), London–New York 1988, esp. pp. 290–291 for the Demotic. The list of priestly titles in W. Clarysse, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica IX* (...) (*Studia Hellenistica*, 25), Lovanii 1981, pp. XIII–XIX, may also be mentioned here, as well as an index of titles mentioned in *LÄ* VII (1992), pp. 429–446.

A general survey of the lexicographical tools from the Ancient Egyptian until the Coptic stage, including Demotic, is W. Schenkel, *Die Lexikographie des Altägyptisch-Koptischen*, in: *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 12 (1995), pp. 191–203.

3.2.4. Onomastic repertories

A short survey of Egyptian onomastics discussing toponyms, anthroponyms, and divine names is J. Quaegebeur / K. Vandorpe, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastics*, in: E. Eichler et al. (eds.), *Namenforschung* (...). *Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik* (...), Berlin–New York 1995, vol. 1, pp. 841–851.

A general bibliography for onomastics, with a section on Egyptian names, is featured in the journal *Onoma* since volume 3 (1951).

A. PERSONAL NAMES

For the field of Demotic the essential work is E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden from 1980 onwards. The most recent volume is *Lieferung* 13 (1995; up to *krs*), bringing the total to 1008 pages. All names attested in Demotic script, including those of foreign origin, are covered. Only royal names are not included. Within each entry hieroglyphic, Greek, or Coptic equivalents of the name, when known, are given. Very useful for palaeography are the numerous handcopies of examples of the name, listed in a chronological order, and distinguishing Upper and Lower Egyptian provenance. The uncertain attestations of names follow at the end of each letter. Name indices and regular 'addenda et corrigenda' complete the whole.

For the royal names, see H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte. Recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes, princesses et parents de rois. Tome quatrième: de la XXV^e dynastie à la fin des Ptolémées* (MIFAO, 20), Le Caire 1916, and J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS, 20), Berlin 1984, for the late pharaonic period; P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les*

textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.) (P.L.Bat., 15), Lugdunum Batavorum 1967, for the Ptolemies; and J.-C. Grenier, *Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 22), Bruxelles 1989, for the Roman emperors.

On the so-called *hypocoristica*, see J. Quaegebeur, *Aspects de l'onomastique démotique: Formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (Studia Demotica, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 75–84.

A list of Egyptian personal names, including also Demotic examples, was composed by H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 2 vol. : I. *Verzeichnis der Namen*; II. *Einleitung. Form und Inhalt der Namen. Geschichte der Namen. Vergleiche mit andren Namen. Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I. Umschreibungslisten*, Glückstadt–Hamburg 1935–1952. As is clear from the subtitle, part 2 contains much more than a mere enumeration of names, and like the first volume it can be interesting for Demotic onomastics as well. In 1977 several German scholars published III. *Verzeichnis der Bestandteile*, a list of the components of the names which is a particularly useful tool for the restoration of damaged names and the study of name-formation. Some corrections and additions to Ranke have been published in a series of articles by M. Thirion, *Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke PN*, of which the most recent one is published in *RdÉ* 46 (1995), pp. 171–186, with references to the preceding instalments, as well as corrections by other scholars. See also appendix C (The Internet).

Two publications deal with the anthroponyms occurring in Greek papyri: F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg 1922, which gives a list of the names found in documents, with a reference to the texts involved, and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke* (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 16), Milano–Varese 1971, with additional references and new names (the latter are marked with *). The *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri* on CD-ROM can also be consulted.

Furthermore a 'rückläufiges Wörterbuch' exists for all proper names in Greek. The most recent edition including useful bibliographical references is F. Dornseiff / B. Hansen, *Reverse-Lexicon of Greek Proper-Names. Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Chicago 1978: the names listed by Preisigke are marked with P₃.

For the Coptic personal names there is the work of G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten I (Untersuchungen)* (Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde, 1, 2), Leipzig 1929. See also W. Brunsch, *Index zu Heusers "Personennamen der Kopten"*, in: *Enchoria* 12 (1984), pp. 119–153; id., *Index der koptischen und griechischen Personennamen in W.E. Crums Coptic Dictionary*, in: *Enchoria* 13 (1985), pp. 133–154.

Compare the prosopographies, below, p. 168.

B. PLACE-NAMES

Under supervision of K.-Th. Zauzich a project for a list of toponyms is in progress for Demotic. For the latest report, see W. Cheshire, *A Dictionary of Demotic Toponyms*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International*

3. Scientific tools

Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984 (Studia Demotica, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 131–134.

Also interesting are the onomastica (word-lists), quite a few of which list place-names in a geographical order (see below, p. 115).

For hieroglyphic place-names H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, 7 vol., Le Caire 1925–1931, is comprehensive but has become very dated. The Demotic terms are adopted uncritically and artificially converted into hieroglyphs.

Useful is A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 vol., London 1947. In this publication Gardiner studies many Egyptian place-names in detail and also includes Greek, Demotic, and Arabic names. Especially the survey in volume 3, plate 24 to 27, with lists for Upper Egypt ordered from south to north is interesting (discussed in vol. 1, pp. 40–63; vol. 2, pp. 1*–204*).

A survey of the different nomes based on the hieroglyphic documentation is offered by P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, 2 vol., Paris 1957–1961. Volume 1 deals with Lower Egypt, volume 2 with Upper Egypt. W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), 5)*, Wiesbaden 1974, gives a survey of the complex problem of the nomes through the whole of ancient Egyptian history.

A separate book is dedicated to the Theban nome: E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gauces (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, 16)*, Berlin–Leipzig 1952. A list with the various names for localities in Nubia and Upper Nubia is K.-H. Priese, *Orte des mittleren Niltals in der Überlieferung bis zum Ende des christlichen Mittelalters*, in: F. Hintze (ed.), *Meroitistische Forschungen 1980. Akten der 4. internationalen Tagung für meroitistische Forschungen vom 24. bis 29. November 1980 in Berlin (Meroitica, 7)*, Berlin 1984, pp. 484–497. Both include Demotic material.

For Greek a complete reference book is available in A. Calderini / S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, 5 vol., Cairo–Milano 1935–1987; *Supplemento 1° (1935–1986)*, Milano 1988; *Supplemento 2° (1987–1993)*, Bonn 1996. This book lists all toponyms in Graeco-Roman sources from Egypt, along with all geographical and topographical names concerning Egypt in Graeco-Roman sources found outside Egypt.

In F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluß der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten*, 3 vol., Berlin 1925–1931, geographical names are included in a special 'Abschnitt' 16 and 16a (pp. 276–342). The work has been complemented by supplements 1 (1971, pp. 402–421) and 2 (1991, pp. 289–306).

Some books are limited to certain nomes or regions: amongst the more recent examples are M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermapolite. Toponymes et sites (ASP, 21)*, Ann Arbor

1979; or P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite. Repertorio toponomastico* (*Papyrologica Florentina*, 9), Firenze 1981.

There is also an elaborate list of topographical names attested in a christian context in Coptic, Greek, and Arabic: S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), 41), 6 vol., Wiesbaden 1984–1992.

C. DIVINE NAMES

For the Egyptian side there is no specific work and general reference works like *LÄ* (especially vol. VII (1992), pp. 308–330) or H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, have to be consulted. Again the *Demotisches Namenbuch* can provide good service because of the many theophoric personal names. A project to compose a lexicon of 'minor Egyptian gods' has been announced in Cologne.

For Greek (and Latin) there is G. Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon rerumque sacrarum et divinarum ad Aegyptum pertinentium quae in papyris ostracis titulis graecis latinisque in Aegypto repertis laudantur* (*Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità*, 45), 5 vol., Milano 1974–1977, which lists the names of gods and deified persons, as well as their epithets. Many other religious-onomastic themes are included: cult epithets of monarchs and their spouses, religious buildings and cult places, religious holidays, names of phylae and demes, and finally the calendar months named after emperors.

3.3. Surveys of Demotic texts

Under this heading we have grouped together a number of tools that provide surveys of Demotic texts. These can either be non-systematic, as in the case of chrestomathies, or follow a fixed pattern, such as the lists of texts according to date, provenance, type of text, or location.

3.3.1. Chrestomathies

Chrestomathies are books in which a selection of Demotic texts is presented. Generally the aim is to give an idea of the variety of Demotic literature and documentation, sometimes with the specific purpose of teaching language and script. Other works only give a translation of literary texts.

Very useful as introductions to reading Demotic are for instance the chrestomathies published by W. Erichsen. For early Demotic there is the *Auswahl frühdemotischer Texte zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht sowie zum Selbststudium zusammengestellt*, 3 vol.: I. *Texte*; II. *Umschrift und Glossar*; III. *Schriftliste*, Kopenhagen 1950: three volumes of documents in facsimile or in a clarifying 'Normalschrift', sometimes including interlinear transliterations. A few texts are also transcribed into hieroglyphs. Ptolemaic and Roman Demotic are covered by the *Demotische Lesestücke*. The first part covers the literary texts: I. *Literarische Texte*, 3 vol.: I. *Texte*; II. *Glossar*; III. *Schrifttafel*, Leipzig

1937. The second the non-literary: *II. Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, 2 vol.: *I. Texte*; *II. Glossar*, Leipzig 1939–1940.

A selection of abnormal hieratic and early Demotic documents with translation can be found in M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique "anormal" et en démotique (XXVe–XXVIIe Dynasties)*, 2 vol. (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, 300; *Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 18), Paris 1953 & Le Caire 1983. The second volume, which appeared posthumously, contains the photographs and the hieroglyphic transcriptions by F. de Cenival.

Another important study for the Ptolemaic and Roman periods is P.W. Pestman / J. Quaegebeur / R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, 3 vol.: *I. Transcriptions*; *II. Traductions*; *III. Index et planches*, Leiden 1977. The original purpose was to offer new editions of poorly edited texts or of those in less accessible publications (in fact a counterpart to the Greek *Sammelbuch* by Preisigke et al.). However, it proved necessary to re-edit totally the texts included: a simple transliteration is hardly sufficient for Demotic. The whole enterprise was therefore limited to a number of texts for which this procedure seemed justified. The resulting volumes offer a useful introduction to Demotic.

Not a chrestomathy, but equally usable as companion to reading Demotic is K. Sethe / J. Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgerrechtsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit (Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 32)*, Leipzig 1920.

There are also a number of chrestomathies of Demotic literature in translation only. The most elaborate is that of M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings, Volume III: The Late Period*, Berkeley (...) 1980, pp. 123–217 (*Demotic Texts*). Also E. Bresciani, *Letteratura e poesia dell'antico Egitto*, 2nd rev. ed., Torino 1990, pp. 689–1013 (*La letteratura demotica e greco-egiziana*).

3.3.2. According to date

Although a considerable quantity of documentary papyri survive from the Saite and Persian periods, most Demotic documents come from the Ptolemaic period, especially the third and second century BC. In the last century of Ptolemaic rule and in the early Roman period there are relatively many ostraca, and naturally the extensive literary production in the second and beginning of the third century AD in the Faiyum should be mentioned here (see below, p. 85).

A list of precisely dated early Demotic documents (from pharaoh Piankhi to Darius III) is given by H.-J. Thissen, *Chronologie der frühdemotischen Papyri*, in: *Enchoria* 10 (1980), pp. 105–125, to be supplemented with S.P. Vleeming, *La phase initiale du démotique ancien*, in: *CdÉ* 56 (1981), pp. 31–48.

The abnormal hieratic texts are listed by S.P. Vleeming, *The Sale of a Slave in the Time of Pharaoh Py*, in: *OMRO* 61 (1980), pp. 1–17, esp. pp. 3–7.

For the Ptolemaic and Roman periods a list of precisely dated documents (332 BC – 453 AD) is given by P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)* (*P.L.Bat.*, 15), Lugdunum Batavorum 1967.

3.3.3. According to provenance

Demotic texts are found all over Egypt. A list with their various provenances would be very instructive, but is lacking for the time being. One of the most important centres is Thebes, but for Upper Egypt also Gebelein and Elephantine should be mentioned. In Lower Egypt the Faiyum and Memphis have yielded much material. Due to the humidity of the Delta generally only Demotic inscriptions are found there, although the carbonized papyri discovered in Tanis are an important exception.

A preliminary survey of Demotic ostraca can be found in U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Niltal und Oasen. Ägyptischer Alltag nach demotischen Ostraka*, in: ZÄS 118 (1991), pp. 127–141.

For the inscriptions, see the index in A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen (...) mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften (...) und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1995, pp. 32–76.

On the Egyptological side there is the so-called Porter-Moss (PM): B. Porter / R.L.B. Moss / E.W. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vol., Oxford 1927–1951, with a second edition in progress (vol. 1–3 ready: 1960–1981). In some volumes Demotic material is sporadically listed, but the references given in the indices s.v. *Demotic* are generally incomplete, so this otherwise practical tool is barely usable for our purpose. For more recent finds during excavations a preliminary report is provided in J. Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan*, featured in the journal *Orientalia* since 1950.

For Greek papyri there is the elaborate but very dated work of K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung*, Leipzig 1933, which occasionally refers to Demotic material (see index s.v. *demotische P*).

3.3.4. According to type of text

In view of the vast number of literary texts discovered in recent years, in various collections as well as during excavations, a systematical survey of these documents would be very useful. There is a project to create an *IDL* (*Index der demotischen Literatur*) with a short survey of the various texts. Another undertaking aiming to provide a more elaborate literature repertory has been announced by J. Mertens and M. Tassier. According to the latest report (Pisa '93) it is to appear periodically in *Enchoria*.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein Index der demotischen Literatur (IDL)*, in: *Enchoria* 8, Sonderband (1978), pp. 45–46.

J. Mertens / E. Tassier, *Proposal for a Bibliography and Description of Demotic Literary Texts*, in: *GM* 101 (1988), pp. 49–55.

J. Mertens, *Bibliography and Description of Demotic Literary Texts: A Progress Report*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 233–235.

For the documentary texts there is the alphabetically ordered list of the various genres, with special attention to bibliography, by K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die demotischen Dokumente*, in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion (BdÉ, 64)*, Le Caire 1972, vol. 3, pp. 93–110.

Surveys concentrating on legal aspects have been provided by E. Seidl, *Demotische Urkundenlehre nach den frühptolemäischen Texten* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 27), München 1937; id., *Ägyptische*

Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit (ÄF, 20), 2nd rev. ed., Glückstadt (...) 1968, pp. 18–24; id., *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (ÄF, 22), 2nd rev. ed., Glückstadt (...) 1962, pp. 49–68; id., *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz. Die Behauptung des ägyptischen Rechts neben dem römischen*, Sankt Augustin 1973, pp. 84–86.

See also below, the sections on literature and documentary texts, pp. 85 and 123.

3.3.5. According to location (and limited to a specific writing ground)

Among the richest collections of Demotic documents belong (in alphabetical order) those in Berlin, Brussels, Cairo, Copenhagen, Florence, Heidelberg, London, Manchester, Munich, Oxford, Paris, Strasbourg, Turin, Vienna, ... As already indicated in the title of this section, there are no general surveys of the Demotic material preserved in these museums, libraries, or institutes, except those limited to a specific writing ground.

A list of papyri grouped according to place of storage is E. Lüddeckens, *Papyri, demotische*, in: *LÄ IV* (1982), cols. 750–898. It also provides extensive bibliographical information, and is indispensable when working with inventory numbers.

For abnormal hieratic there is a similar list of G. Vittmann, *Papyri, kursivhieratische*, in: *LÄ IV* (1982), cols. 748–750.

For the inscriptions there is the index in the work of A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen (...) mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften (...) und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1995, pp. 347–353. For ostraca and other small writing grounds nothing is available for the moment.

A survey of Demotic (and other) short texts including ostraca is currently undertaken by U. Kaplony-Heckel and will probably appear in *Enchoria*.

4. Methodology

4.1. Collection of the source material

The collecting of texts in Demotic studies runs parallel with that in Greek papyrology and epigraphy. Papyri, ostraca, and other writing grounds are discovered in excavations or acquired from the antiquities market, whereas graffiti can be collected by the exploration of quarries or temples. Moreover many Demotic texts still lie unpublished in various collections all over the world and await study, while in most cases their Greek counterparts have been examined for a long time. 'Museum archaeology' can thus be very rewarding indeed.

For an extensive discussion about the collecting of source material, see K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung*, Leipzig 1933, or the other references in H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde (Die Altertumswissenschaft)*, Darmstadt 1994, p. 16.

The authenticity of the documents is no real issue in Demotic studies. Real forgeries intended to deceive the expert are rare, although the sense of humour of the Demotists should perhaps not be underestimated. In earlier days the 'creative imagination' of a scholar could lead him to 'reconstruct' quite large portions of a fragmentary text. A well-meant 'Spielerei' can also have far reaching consequences if it is not recognized as such.

For the 'Spielerei', see G. Vittmann, *Zur "jüngeren demotischen syllabischen Schrift" oder Champollion als Verfasser eines demotischen Textes*, in: *GM* 88 (1985), pp. 63–68.

For the 'reconstruction', see W. Clarysse, *UPZ I 6a, a Reconstruction by Revillout*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 43–49.

For a clear example of a fake, still interesting because the original is lost, see M. Chauveau / H. Cuvigny, *Les étiquettes de momies de la collection Froehner*, in: *CRIPEL* 9 (1987), pp. 71–80, esp. pp. 78–80 (no. 7).

If the interpretation of a text is difficult, it is generally preferable to re-examine its reading before considering it a forgery. See K.-Th. Zauzich, *Verteidigung eines Mumienbildes*, in: *ZAS* 114 (1987), pp. 95–100.

4.2. Publication of a Demotic text

4.2.1. Description

Each item is identified by indicating the collection where the text is kept and, if appropriate, the inventory number(s). The excavation number (if there is one) can also be mentioned. If they are known, the circumstances of the find or acquisition are explained succinctly, as well as the previous references to the text.

Furthermore all material aspects are discussed: the size, the completeness or otherwise, the condition of the writing surface, etc. In the case of papyri it is important to mention what is written on the reverse. Older publications often neglect this, only giving the text on the front side. It can also prove useful to know how the script runs with respect to the fibres, if the papyrus has been rolled up or folded, whether it is a palimpsest, whether the text starts on the papyrological recto or verso side, how long the individual papyrus sheets (*selides*) are, etc. (see below, p. 75).

4. Methodology

Sometimes mathematics can help to calculate how much of a papyrus is lost, see F. Hoffmann, *Die Länge des P. Spiegelberg*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 145–155.

4.2.2. Dating and provenance

Most short documents in Demotic do not mention the name of the ruling pharaoh. It is therefore sometimes difficult to situate them chronologically. Useful indications are provided by prosopographical evidence, the mention of institutions, or the level of prices. Other clues, such as archaeological context, the general layout, or palaeographical style, are usually less precise. To determine the provenance of texts acquired on the antiquities market, apart from the above criteria, the mentioning of certain localities or the onomastic evidence can also provide useful clues.

For prosopographical evidence, see W. Clarysse, *Prosopography and the Dating of Egyptian Monuments in the Ptolemaic Period*, in: H. Maehler / V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz 1978, pp. 239–244, or, more recently, H. De Meulenaere, *La prosopographie thébaine de l'époque ptolémaïque à la lumière des sources hiéroglyphiques*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period (P.L.Bat., 27)*, Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 83–90.

For prices as a criterion for dating, see W. Clarysse / E. Lanciers, *Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period*, in: *AncSoc* 20 (1989), pp. 117–132.

4.2.3. Reading and translation

Normally a transliteration, i.e. a transposition of Demotic into Latin characters, with supplementary diacritical signs, is of the essence. Some scholars use the term 'transcription', which is normally employed for the conversion into hieroglyphs (see below).

Nowadays a transliteration is included in the majority of publications. It has the huge practical advantage that text and comments can be combined very easily, and that the 'brackets' of the Leiden transliteration system, created for Greek papyri, can be used. The dots under the characters indicating doubtful readings are, because of the diacritical signs in Demotic, obviously omitted and replaced by a question mark after the word or by half square brackets.

On the Leiden transliteration system, see E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri. An Introduction*, Oxford 1980, pp. 187–188 n. 22.

For a survey of the symbols used in Demotic, see P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri I. Demotic Texts from the Collection (CNI Publications, 15)*, Copenhagen 1991, p. vi.

See below, appendix D.

The gap between phonetic pronunciation and historical-etymological writing has for a long time led to different transliteration systems. The English system (Griffith – Thompson – Glanville) is based on a reconstruction of the actual pronunciation and is thus closely connected with Coptic. The German system (Spiegelberg – Sethe – Erichsen) is historically oriented towards the etymological orthography and refers to classical Middle Egyptian. Because of the influence of Erichsen's *Glossar* the German system eventually prevailed, rightly so because it is only through external sources (a later language phase [Coptic] and other languages [mainly Greek]) that we have a clue to the actual pronunciation of the vocabulary. It is more logical to transcribe what is written down, of which we have more reliable data. At the Second International Congress of Egyptology in 1979 in Grenoble,

agreement was reached to facilitate a further standardization of the transliteration system, but in spite of this, discrepancies continue to exist. Probably the publication of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary will be a new landmark in the evolution towards a uniform method.

On the agreements, see F. de Cenival in: *Enchoria* 10 (1980), pp. 11–13.

For further literature, see S.P. Vleeming, *Inleiding tot het demotische schrift*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Het demotische schrift (Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut, 7), Leiden* 1988, pp. 1–22, esp. pp. 20–22.

Occasionally early Demotic and sometimes even later texts are transcribed into hieroglyphs. This process has the advantage that it gives very precise information about each sign in the Demotic text. It is also useful for teaching Demotic because it helps the students to see the original hieroglyphic origin, and it can help to bridge the gap with classical Egyptology. However, it is time-consuming, requires an extensive palaeographical knowledge, and is sometimes very artificial because of the continuous choice between diachronic and synchronic transcription.

Concerning the need of knowing abnormal hieratic to transcribe Demotic, see S.P. Vleeming, *Transcribing Cursive Late-Hieratic*, in: S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985 (Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. Beihefte, 3), Hamburg* 1989, pp. 211–218.

A plea for hieroglyphic transcription is S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)* (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, pp. 12–15 (*Transcribing Early Demotic*); id., review of the second volume of M. Malinine, *Choix de Textes (...)*, in: *BiOr* 41 (1984), cols. 353–356.

For critical remarks about this procedure, see G. Vittmann, review of S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)*, in: *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 176–185.

4.2.4. Commentary

In the line-by-line commentary often a distinction is made between remarks on transliteration or transcription on the one hand, and notes on the translation on the other. Both discuss the various problems of detail analytically.

The general commentary, either as an introduction or in a concluding synthesis, puts the document or composition into a wider context. Placing it firmly in a certain genre or period can result in new insights.

For an example, see J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor (Texts from Excavations, 2)*, London 1976.

4.2.5. Photograph and facsimile

The photograph represents the text, preferably at its actual size. If necessary, infra-red or ultra-violet exposure can be used to contrast the inked text more with the writing ground. It is always advisable to photograph a papyrus against a light background: if not, small holes can misleadingly appear as if they were black ink.

Most of the photographs of papyri in W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31270; 50001–50022). II. Die demotischen Papyrus (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, 2 vol., Strassburg 1906–1908, were taken with a dark background.

Because the quality of a photograph often deteriorates when it is printed, a drawing of the text, the so-called handcopy or facsimile, is recommended. It is preferably made from the original: if this is not possible, a good photograph has to be used instead, but the result should always be collated with the original. When for some reason a text is only published through a (defective) handcopy, this can of course conceal how dubious a forced reading really is.

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For examples of accurate handcopies, see for instance S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections* (P.L.Bat., 26), Leiden (...) 1994.

Another procedure is to reconstruct lost passages of the text in the handcopy, by means of parallels in documents of almost identical content, provenance, and date. This can be useful to create a tool to become familiar with a difficult palaeography and orthography.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein Hauskauf in Soknopaiu Nesos*, in: S.F. Bondi et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, pp. 607–611.

4.3. Criteria for the classification of texts

There are two ideals for the grouping of texts in a publication. The first one is the edition of documents according to the archive to which they belonged in antiquity. This gives a good idea of the 'Sitz im Leben' of the texts and often illuminates the motives lying behind the manuscripts. The second one is the publication according to type of document, a procedure especially interesting for the understanding of the implications of certain formulae.

In most text publications, however, purely practical criteria for grouping prevail: location of the text, writing surface, provenance, date, and others are often combined.

4.3.1. Archives

The analytic character of the papyrological sources can partly be neutralized by studying them within the framework of the archive to which they belong. Recent publications often try to reconstruct these archives and to publish them in their entirety. This may be very time consuming, but it can be very rewarding indeed. Sometimes an archive can be so extensive that to publish or republish it completely would be an enormous undertaking. A possible solution is a preliminary survey of the texts it contains.

E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford, Volume I. P. Ox. Griffith nn. 1–75 (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 49)*, Milano 1975.
P.W. Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenothes figlio di Horos (P. Tor. Amenothes). Testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a. C. (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima — Monumenti e Testi, 5)*, Milano 1981.

For a preliminary survey of the texts in an archive, see P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive (Studia Demotica, 2)*, Leuven 1993.

For a survey of the various archives, see below, p. 152.

4.3.2. Type of text

This second useful grouping criterion for publishing texts is applied more often than for Greek papyri, mainly because of the difficulty of the Demotic script. Parallel texts with similar wording facilitate the reading and interpretation. Furthermore the precise implications of certain formulae can be ascertained as well. For literary texts it is of course also interesting to discover parallels and include them in the study. If a complete re-edition of all the texts is too large an undertaking, a survey may be given instead.

For an example of documentary texts, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempelleide* (ÄA, 6), 2 vol., Wiesbaden 1963.

Because many papyri were already more or less accurately published, the core of K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus*

ptolemäischer Zeit (ÄA, 19), 2 vol., Wiesbaden 1968, is a list with the most important information from each contract.

For a literary example, see M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, Oxford 1993.

The various genres of text, see below, p. 84.

4.3.3. Other grouping criteria

A. LOCATION

This is one of the most frequently used criteria, especially for practical reasons. It is not only employed for public institutions such as museums and libraries (P. Brussels, P. Berlin, ...), but for some private collections as well (P. Loeb, O. Corteggiani, ...).

W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Bruxelles 1909.

W. Spiegelberg†, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* (Papyri der Universität München, 1), München 1931.

M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, 1), Leiden 1974.

B. Menu, *Deux ostraca démotiques inédits* (O.D. Corteggiani N° 1 et 2), in: *CRIPEL* 6 (1981), pp. 215–224.

B. DATING

As a rule this is also only used as a secondary criterion, often combined with location or provenance.

S. Grunert, *Thebanische Kaufverträge des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z. (Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 2)*, Berlin 1981.

C.A.R. Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area* (Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 4), London 1990.

C. PROVENANCE

Again only a secondary criterion for publication in combination with the location of the text. A special case are the editions of documents found during an excavation. They frequently belong together and thus come close to the ideal of archive publication, which of course also has a chronological and geographical component.

For a publication of papyri with the same provenance acquired on the antiquities market, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Gebelen-Urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* (Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, NS 4), Heidelberg 1964.

Examples of publications of texts coming from a single excavation are H.S. Smith / W.J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri, I* (P. dem.Saq. I) (Texts from Excavations, 7 // Excavations at North Saqqâra. Documentary Series, 5), London 1983; K.-Th. Zauzich, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine* (Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1 & 3), Berlin 1978 & 1993.

For ostraca, see E. Bresciani / S. Pernigotti / M.C. Betrò, *Ostraka demotici da Narmuti, I* (nn. 1–33) (Quaderni di Medinet Madi, 1), Pisa 1983.

D. WRITING GROUND

Because different genres are written on a different kind of writing ground, often the papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions of a collection are published separately.

G. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo* (Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents, 6), Le Caire 1945.

H.-J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu. Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Demotische Studien, 10), Sommerhausen 1989.

For a survey of writing materials, see below, p. 74.

E. CONTENT

Here documents are edited together because they treat a common subject, for example a collection of various kinds of manuscripts dealing with bail. This often comes very close to a publication of texts because they belong to the same genre, but in other cases it can be quite divergent (for instance the publication in Greek papyrology of a corpus of documents concerning slaves).

For texts dealing with bail, see K. Sethe / J. Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit (Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 32)*, Leipzig 1920, which contains letters, contracts, and surety documents.

Documents about cattle in E. Cruz-Urbe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents. A Study in Legal Forms and Principles in Ancient Egypt (ASP, 26)*, Chico 1985.

The corpus of (Greek) Ptolemaic slave texts is R. Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte (Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei, Beihefte, 1)*, 3 vol., Stuttgart 1990.

5. Writing Demotic

5.1. Writing grounds

The following survey lists the various materials that were used to write upon. Some of these are employed regularly for all kinds of text, such as papyri or ostraca. Others are used only in specific circumstances, for inscriptions related to the writing surface, such as sarcophagi or funerary linen.

Of course an alternative would be to consider also the form of the material on which the text is written. This arrangement would be interesting for certain types of objects for which different materials can be used, such as ostraca (either limestone fragments or potsherds) or writing tablets (on wood, limestone, or even parallels on metal). The other side of the coin is that in that case a single kind of writing material would be dispersed between various categories. That is why the former solution has been adopted.

For a survey of the materials and a bibliography, see S.P. Vleeming, *Inleiding tot het demotische schrift*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Het demotische schrift (Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut"*, 7), Leiden 1988, pp. 1–22, esp. pp. 1–6. It also deals with other technical aspects such as writing tools, writing posture, and the layout of documents.

For a list of documents on papyrus or ostraca, see also the surveys of texts according to location, above p. 68; the inscriptions are listed according to their writing ground in the second part of the dissertation of A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen aus Berlin, Chicago, Durham, London und Oxford, mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften aus Paris und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1995, abbreviated as Farid, *Bibliographie*, in the following.

5.1.1. Papyrus

Papyrus was the most typical writing ground of ancient Egypt. Almost all genres could be written on it, but for important manuscripts it was probably out of the question to use anything else. Therefore a number of texts that have been written on ostraca, but for which this hardly seems appropriate, are in all probability only drafts. Although papyrus was far from being the cheapest writing support, its price must not be exaggerated either.

J. Černý, *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt*, London 1952.

A. Schlott, *Schrift und Schreiber im Alten Ägypten (Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek)*, München 1989, pp. 62–76.

A recent popular, but well-documented work is R. Parkinson / S. Quirke, *Papyrus (Egyptian Bookshelf)*, London 1995.

A. PRODUCTION AND REUSE

Papyrus is made out of strips cut from the pith of the triangular stalks of the papyrus plant. These strips are put together to form sheets, which are then glued to one another to make a roll. The side on which the fibres of the papyrus are perpendicular to the joins between the various sheets is called the papyrological recto. This is sometimes better smoothed than the so-called verso. In the first sheet of a scroll or πρωτόκολλον 'protocol', however, the fibres run parallel to the joins. This is probably to prevent the outer end of the papyrus, most liable to damage because exposed when rolled up, from crumbling away.

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H. Ibscher, *Beobachtungen bei der Papyrusaufrollung*, in: *AfP* 5 (1913), pp. 191–194, esp. p. 193. For a discussion of the terms recto and verso, see E.G. Turner, *Actes du XI^e congrès international de papyrologie, première partie: The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, 16), Bruxelles 1978.

A piece of papyrus that had already been written upon could be recycled by rubbing out the previous text and writing the new one on top of it. Such a document is then called a palimpsest. Old papyri could also be coated with plaster and used to make cartonnage for mummies. Today these sheets can be recovered and often yield new documents with interesting information.

About palimpsests, see R.A. Caminos, *Some Comments on the Reuse of Papyrus*, in: M.L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Papyrus: Structure and Usage* (*British Museum Occasional Papers*, 60), London 1986, pp. 43–61.

B. THE FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPTS

The format of Demotic documents on papyrus runs from tiny scraps to complete rolls. The latter is found in some literary and funerary texts. In documentary texts only very rarely a complete roll is used because the texts are in general much shorter. Perhaps this is the case for some Ptolemaic contracts of the larger type (see below).

For most documents a strip of papyrus was cut from the scroll: this could preserve the entire original height or not. Its shape was often related to the text it was intended to carry. Thus for instance letters from the Ptolemaic period are generally not very wide, causing the message to be written in many short lines.

For early Demotic, see S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)* (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, pp. 255–260 (*Formats of Dated Papyri from Dyn. 25–30*).

C. THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT

The larger literary manuscripts commonly adopt columns in the arrangement of the text over the available surface on the recto. For convenience sometimes guidelines or borders are used. If necessary the text could be continued on the reverse, although this is but rarely the case. In later periods Demotic literature was often written on the verso of papyrus sheets whose recto had already been used. The Tebtunis literary papyri, for instance, generally bear Greek texts on the obverse.

W.J. Tait, *Guidelines and Borders in Demotic Papyri*, in: M.L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Papyrus: Structure and Usage* (*British Museum Occasional Papers*, 60), London 1986, pp. 63–89.

Many Demotic contracts belong to the highly aesthetic ‘larger type’, in which the four margins are quite extensive. Often the scribe started to write at about one fourth of the height of the papyrus and tried to end the text before he reached the lower half of the sheet. This caused the documents to be written in a few long lines, and as more and more clauses were added, this led to very wide papyri indeed. The witnesses are listed on the verso, under a small stroke that indicates where the *qd* introducing the parties of the agreement is written on the recto. Other manuscripts belong to the ‘narrow type’, which generally seems to be used for less important documents. In this model there are little or no margins and often the entire surface of the sheet is filled. This could lead the writing to be somewhat cramped towards the end of the contract, because the scribe feared that he would not manage to make the complete text fit within the available

room. The witnesses could be listed below the contract or on the verso. In this model the reverse could also contain abstracts or other remarks, such as the address in letters. In this last genre the message is also regularly not confined to the obverse, but continued on the back.

M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *Checking, Terminal, Stress Marks, Partition Indications and Margin Lines in Demotic Documents*, in: *Enchoria* 9 (1979), pp. 49–62.

On layout in early Demotic documents, see P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (*Studia Demotica*, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 1, pp. 26–32.

D. FURTHER HANDLING AFTER WRITING

When a document was finished, it was folded or rolled up for preservation. As a rule the papyri were not sealed, an exception made for letters and some Demotic contracts adopting the Greek form of 'double document' (see below, p. 121). The seal in this last type of document hides only part of the papyrus.

On seals and sealing, see K. Vandorpe, *Breaking the Seal of Secrecy. Sealing-Practices in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt based on Greek, Demotic and Latin Papyrological Evidence* (*Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut"*, 18), Leiden 1995.

Some texts were placed in the coffin of the deceased (funerary and sometimes literary texts). Others were just thrown away when they had lost their value or used to make cartonnage. Important documents, however, were kept and stored in a safe place, often a jar or a chest. If we are lucky, these archives can be found during excavations (see below, p. 152).

5.1.2. Pottery

A. OSTRACA

The most important writing material for which pottery is employed are the 'ostraca'. Generally this term is reserved for potsherds on which a text has been written after the vessel was broken. Normally the convex side of the sherd is used first, and only rarely the writing continues on the concave side, the latter procedure leading to a so-called opisthograph. Sometimes they were also reused after rubbing off the previous texts ('palimpsest'). The potsherds are usually of rather small dimensions, although occasionally larger pieces can serve also. Limestone fragments (see below, p. 80) are a possible alternative, but are less common for Demotic than for hieratic.

Ostraca of quite large dimensions are briefly discussed by U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Das Tagebuch der Polizeistation von Karanis (Ein Vorbericht)*, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 191–192.

Ostraca are mostly used for receipts or small notes. Literary ostraca, with extracts from larger literary works, well known from earlier periods, are rare for Demotic. Most ostraca date in the Ptolemaic and early Roman period, while not many examples from the late pharaonic period are extant.

D. Devauchelle, *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre, Tome I: Reçus (BdÉ, 92)*, 2 vol., Le Caire 1983, with a bibliography of earlier literature on Demotic ostraca on pp. 4–10.

For an ostrakon of the pre-Ptolemaic period, see D. Devauchelle, *Cinq ostraca démotiques de Karnak*, in: *Karnak* 8 (1987), pp. 137–142, no. 6 (plate II, where it is depicted as no. 7). There are also a number of early Demotic ostraca in the finds from Manawir in the oasis of Kharga, which will be edited by M. Chauveau.

5. Writing Demotic

For a literary ostrakon, see M. Chauveau, *Montouhotep et les Babyloniens*, in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991), pp. 147–153.

For a recent publication with special attention to the palaeographical aspects, see S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections* (P.L.Bat., 26), Leiden (...) 1994.

B. ENTIRE VESSELS

Slightly different from the ostraca are the vessels which have been used to write upon while still intact. Some of these receptacles carry literary texts, apparently without any connection with the original function of the writing ground. This connection is also absent in a vessel which has an early Demotic deed (presumably a draft) written on the inside. Occasionally a whole jar could be employed like the potsherds and is covered with similar texts of less importance. Others bear an inscription connected with their (former) contents, such as dedications on container-jars with mummies of sacred animals.

For examples of literary texts on pots, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen* (*Demotische Studien*, 5), Leipzig 1912. Compare a text on a pot from the beginning of the third century AD: R.A. Parker, *A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement. Medinet Habu Ostrakon 4038*, in: *JEA* 26 (1940), pp. 84–113.

For the vessel bearing a deed, see M. Malinine / J. Pirenne, *Documents juridiques égyptiens* (*Deuxième série*), in: *AHDO* 5 (1950–1951), pp. 11–91, esp. pp. 73–74 (no. 39).

In funerary inscriptions on vases (probably letters to the deceased), the text is only marginally related to the jar or its contents, for instance E. Lüddeckens, *Frühdemotische Inschrift eines Tongefäßes in Berlin*, in: *Enchoria* 1 (1971), pp. 1–8.

For an example of an account, presumably not related with the jar on which it was written, see J. Quaegebeur, *Die Streufunde aus dem Oberbau*, in: E. Graefe et al., *Das Grab des Ibi, Obervermögenverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun* (*Thebanisches Grab nr. 36*), Bruxelles 1990, pp. 55–67, esp. p. 65 (no. 53).

For inscriptions related to the contents of the receptacle, see D. Devauchelle, *Notes sur des coupes à pied à inscriptions démotiques. Introduction aux inscriptions démotiques de Tanis*, in: P. Brissaud (ed.), *Cahiers de Tanis I (Recherche sur les Civilisations, 75)*, Paris 1987, pp. 151–154; or M.C. Guidotti, *A proposito di alcuni vasi con iscrizione demotica*, in: *EVO* 16 (1993), pp. 37–41.

Some more examples in Farid, *Bibliographie*, p. 224.

5.1.3. Wood

A. WRITING TABLETS

Wood is one of the materials that can be used to make writing tablets. These are boards of a regular shape, specially prepared to serve as writing ground. To this end they usually received a coating of plaster. Demotic examples are not very numerous and like the earlier ones they also seem frequently to have been employed for school exercises. Nevertheless also other texts were written on these boards, such as the planetary tables on the so-called Stobart tablets.

A survey of writing tablets throughout Egyptian history, made out of various materials but excluding the mummy labels and the smaller examples, is given by P. Vernus, *Schreibtafel*, in: *LA V* (1984), cols. 703–709: nos. 49–55 and 57 are written in Demotic; nos. 49 and 53–54 are in wood. Add for instance the Stobart Tablets (see below, p. 106).

Boards of smaller dimensions can be attached to the mummy to identify the deceased. They commonly imitate the shape of a stela. Like their larger counterparts they are generally made of wood, although other materials can be used as well. Because of their

specific characteristics the boards are often considered a separate category, the so-called mummy labels. In some cases, however, messages, receipts, or even commercial transactions are noted on them. It is striking that this last use seems to occur almost exclusively in Gebelein (and nearby Crocodilopolis).

There is even a curse which was written on a 'mummy label', see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotica I* (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 1925/6), München 1925, pp. 39–41 (no. 16).

For an example of the alternative use of 'mummy labels' (from Crocodilopolis), see U. Kaplony-Heckel / B. Kramer, *Ein griechisch-demotisches Holztäfelchen mit Sitologenquittung und Privatabrechnung für Epigraphie aus Krokodilopolis*, in: *ZPE* 61 (1985), pp. 43–57; or see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Pathyris. Demotische Kurz-Texte in Cairo, I, II, III* (Nr.1–85), in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 45–86; 21 (1994), pp. 23–62; 22 (1995), pp. 40–122.

For the mummy labels, see below, p. 121; for the examples in stone, see below, p. 81.

B. FUNERARY FURNITURE

Various items of funerary furniture are made of wood and are covered with generally short texts related to the deceased and his well-being. Thus we have examples of Demotic inscriptions on coffins, small votive statues, a mummy board, a mummy portrait, or a shrine.

There is an example of a wooden shrine from the Ptolemaic period with a Demotic inscription, see W. Spiegelberg, *Eine ägyptische Schreintür der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in: *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 5 (1928), pp. 30–35.

For wooden sarcophagi, see G. Botti, *Documenti demotici del Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, in: *Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel i centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio (1839–1939) (Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie)*, Città del Vaticano 1941, pp. 29–38, esp. pp. 33–38 (no. 3).

Some small votive statues with a Demotic inscription have been published by G. Botti, *Statuette per standardi funerari del Museo Egizio di Torino*, in: L. Banti et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli*, Firenze 1955, pp. 145–148.

For the only example of a mummy portrait with a Demotic inscription, see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 80 (no. 10); E. Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits. Faces from Ancient Egypt*, London 1995, p. 173 (no. 111).

For a more elaborate survey of various kinds of objects in wood inscribed with Demotic, see Farid, *Bibliographie*, pp. 189–193.

For the mummy board, see below, p. 120.

C. OTHER

A wooden scribal palette is covered with faded Demotic and Greek texts, which can be dated to the second century BC.

E. Bresciani, *La collezione egizia nel Museo Civico di Bologna (Antichità – Archeologia – Storia dell'arte, 2)*, Ravenna 1975, p. 37 (B. 3137).

5.1.4. Stone

A. STELAE

Many Demotic inscriptions have been written on stelae: erect stones, freestanding as well as integrated into the architecture or in the natural surroundings. They are often arched at the top, whether or not combined with a representation of the solar disk, all symbolically referring to the vault of heaven. According to the type of stela different scenes are depicted underneath. Two important aspects of the engraving of texts are their public character and their durability.

For general information, see K. Martin, *Stele*, in: *LÄ* VI (1986), cols. 1–6.

5. Writing Demotic

For a survey of Demotic examples, see Farid, *Bibliographie*, pp. 216–223.

Apart from funerary stelae (see below, p. 120), there are those which commemorate an important event. This can be the promulgation of a decree (see below, p. 125), the erection of some building by an important official, or the installation or death of sacred animals such as the Apis bull. These last two types of votive stelae (see below, p. 148) were normally put in sacred places and dedicated to the god(s). In return they asked for benevolence on behalf of the donor. Still another category is constituted by the stelae on which a Demotic contract is written in either hieroglyphs or hieratic.

Concerning the classification of the texts and their representations, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31166). I. Die demotischen Inschriften (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Leipzig 1904, esp. pp. 1–6.

For the contracts on a stela, see M. Malinine, *Vente de tombes à l'époque saïte*, in: *RdÉ* 27 (1975), pp. 164–174.

B. ARCHITECTURE OR QUARRIES

Quite a few buildings, such as temples or tombs, were written upon. For the official inscriptions Demotic was seldom used as generally the more prestigious hieroglyphs were preferred. Exceptions are for example the synodal decrees on the walls of the temple in Philae (see below, p. 126) and perhaps the inscription relating the destruction and reconstruction of a temple in Elephantine.

On the inscription in Elephantine, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Zum demotischen Baugruben-Graffito vom Satis-Tempel auf Elephantine*, in: *MDAIK* 43 (1987), pp. 155–169.

Much more common are graffiti. These are inscriptions of varying size, inked or incised by local employees or visitors on surfaces where no writing was intended, generally as an expression of personal piety. They can be found in quarries (Gebel Silsila, Wadi Hammamat), tombs (Theban necropolis), and very often temple roofs and walls (Edfu, Medinet Habu, Philae). The distinction between engraved and inked graffiti ('dipinti') of classical archaeology is not made in Egyptology.

For the above definition, see H.-J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu. Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im ptolemäischen Ägypten (Demotische Studien, 10)*, Sommerhausen 1989, with a survey and bibliography on pp. 3–5.

Add for instance E. Cruz-Uribe, *The Demotic Graffiti from Gebel Teir (Khargha Oasis)*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 79–86.

For a survey, see Farid, *Bibliographie*, pp. 199–200; 201–205.

C. SCULPTURE AND SMALLER ITEMS

Likewise, although it is generally preferred to use hieroglyphs for inscriptions on statues, sarcophagi, offering tables, or other monumental sculptures, Demotic is employed for these purposes as well. Less common are inscriptions on a stone bowl, a measuring rod, and an anvil (?).

For the anvil (?) and the rod, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (50023–50165) (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Berlin 1932, pp. 18–19; 27–28 (nos. 50046; 50050).

Some smaller items are published by G. Botti, *Piccoli monumenti con iscrizioni demotiche del Museo egizio di Torino*, in: *Aegyptus* 35 (1955), pp. 39–42.

For the votive inscription on a twenty-seventh dynasty steatite bowl, see A.F. Shore, *A Rare Example of a Dedicatory Inscription in Early Demotic*, in: *BMQ* 29 (1964–1965), pp. 19–21.

On limestone sarcophagi, see H.-J. Thissen, *Demotische Inschriften aus den Ibisgalerien in Tuna el-Gebel. Ein Vorbericht*, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 107–113.
For a survey, see Farid, *Bibliographie*, pp. 199–201; 205–215.

D. OTHER

Limestone served as a writing ground in other ways as well: as already mentioned above, flakes of small dimensions were an alternative for potsherds, both resulting in what we call 'ostraca'. Larger slabs were made into writing boards: a typical example has on the one side a mathematical exercise, on the other excerpts from a literary text. Mummy labels in stone only seem to be known from Dendera.

Some mummy labels on limestone from Dendera have been published by E. Bresciani, *Etichette di mummia in calcare da Dendera nella collezione Michaelidis*, in: *SCO* 10 (1961), pp. 209–213.
For the writing boards, see above. The mentioned example was published by G. Belli / B. Costa, *Una tabellina aritmetica per uso elementare scritta in demotico*, in: *EVO* 4 (1981), pp. 195–200.
Add for instance the drawing-board inscribed with Demotic, see J.D. Ray, *Two Inscribed Objects in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, in: *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 247–253, esp. pp. 247–251.
For some ostraca on limestone flakes, see S. Grunert, *Sieben demotische Geschäftsbriefe aus der Thebais*, in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19 (1992), pp. 219–226.

5.1.5. Metal

A. PRECIOUS OBJECTS

Most of the Demotic texts which are found on metal are directly connected with the item, such as dedicatory inscriptions or more prosaically the weight or the (former) contents of receptacles. These precious things can be vessels belonging to a hoard and made out of gold or silver, or various objects such as small statues, mirrors, censers, musical instruments, or other curiosities. The relative scarcity of examples can perhaps be partially explained by the lack of study of this type of documents.

For metal objects, see A.F. Shore, *Votive Objects from Dendera of the Graeco-Roman Period*, in: J. Ruffle et al. (eds.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, Warminster 1979, pp. 138–160, with a small survey of other metal objects with a Demotic inscription on p. 159 n. 8.
Add for instance A. Farid, *Three Mirrors with Demotic Inscriptions*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 103–118; id., *Sieben Metallgefäße mit demotischen Inschriften aus Kairo und Paris*, in: *RdE* 45 (1994), pp. 117–132.
For the treasure of Tuch el-Qaramus where a number of recipients also have Demotic inscriptions, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Philologische Bemerkungen zum Schatz von Tuch el-Qaramus*, in: *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 101–106.
For this category, as well as other metal objects with Demotic inscriptions, see Farid, *Bibliographie*, pp. 194–198.

B. COINS

Since coinage is only frequently attested in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, when Greek was the official language, Demotic is very rare on coins. Two samples of a silver tetradrachm in 'Athenian' style, issued by Artaxerxes III and inscribed with his name in Demotic, are extant. One of them was found as part of a hoard somewhere in Iraq.

A.F. Shore, *The Demotic Inscription on a Coin of Artaxerxes*, in: *The Numismatic Chronicle* 7. Ser. 14 (1974), pp. 5–8.

5. Writing Demotic

C. OTHER

Quite rare are also plaques that are made of bronze and slightly resemble writing tablets. One of these is an inventory of temple valuables, the other two are probably copies of a self-praising text typical of statues or some stelae. At least one of them repeats the whole on the back in hieroglyphs.

The inventory was published by W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (30601–31166). 1. *Die demotischen Inschriften* (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), Leipzig 1904, pp. 80–82 (no. 30691).

The tablets with laudatory texts have been published by A.F. Shore, in the above mentioned article in the *Studies Fairman*, Warminster 1979, esp. pp. 141–158.

5.1.6. Linen

A. FUNERARY LINEN

This writing ground is only exceptionally used, almost solely in a funerary context. The texts provide an identification of the deceased, sometimes adding a blessing. A distinction may be made between writing on mummy shrouds, mummy bands, and smaller linen strips. Slightly different is a letter to the god Thoth written on linen, perhaps to be buried with or wrapped around a mummified ibis.

For the letter to Thoth, see G.R. Hughes, *A Demotic Plea to Thoth in the Library of G. Michaelides*, in: *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 176–182.

For a survey, see M. Thieme / P.W. Pestman, *Inscribed Mummy Linen of the Roman Period*, in: E. Boswinkel / P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues* (P.L.Bat., 19), Lugdunum Batavorum 1978, pp. 225–231; add the mummy shroud in Boston which bears a Demotic inscription, see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 186–187.

A recent publication is El-Hussein O.M. Zaghloul, *Inscribed Mummy Linen from Egyptian Museums* (BCPS, 7), Cairo 1990.

B. WRAPPING

Linen can also be used to wrap certain valuable legal documents, and occasionally a short text referring to the papyri is written on these strips. The link is however not always clearly discernible.

For some examples, see G. Botti, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh* (*Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima – Monumenti e Testi*, 1), Firenze 1967, vol. 1, pp. 204–205.

5.1.7. Other materials

Other writing grounds are even more exceptional. Thus there are examples of camel bones employed for writing. A narrow strip could be cut out of a palm leaf and used for a small letter. Only very rarely objects in faience bear inscriptions in Demotic. Some sarcophagi are made of hard mud, sometimes strengthened with straw. They are covered with a layer of plaster on which inscriptions can be written. A stopper to close a jar was made out of some kind of cement and covered with a Demotic inscription. On sandals made of papyrus cartonnage a Demotic text can be inked. Leather could serve as a writing ground in Egypt as well, probably especially for more important books. In Demotic there is only one such example: a piece of treated animal skin with various formulae from a marriage settlement, perhaps used for educational purposes.

Wax tablets are common in the Graeco-Roman world but do not seem to have ever been used by Demotic scribes. Parchment was only invented around 200 BC and for the time being there are no Demotic texts known. Paper was introduced around the eighth century AD, when Demotic had long disappeared.

For an example of a Demotic text on faience, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (30601–31166). I. *Die demotischen Inschriften* (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), Leipzig 1904, pp. 92–93 (no. 30645; 12261); for the sandals, see id., *Die Demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (50023–50165)* (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), Berlin 1932, pp. 38 (no. 50057b).

The stopper is mentioned by P. Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929–1932)* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 2nd Ser. 10), Paris 1933, p. 162.

Two examples of palm leaves are published by K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften, Teil 2* (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, 19), Wiesbaden 1971, nos. 328–329.

For a text on camel bone, see E. Bresciani et al., *Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco*, in: *SCO* 25 (1976), pp. 37–88, esp. pp. 46–52 (no. 7); ead., *Una mandibola di cammello con testo demotico di epoca augustea*, in: *RdE* 24 (1972), pp. 25–30.

For parchment and leather in Pharaonic Egypt, see M. Weber, *Pergament*, in: *LÄ* IV (1982), cols. 936–937; I owe the information on the leather manuscript to K.-Th. Zauzich, whom I wish to thank here cordially.

For the sarcophagi made out of hard mud, see M. Smith, *A Demotic Formula of Intercession for the Deceased*, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 131–154, esp. p. 146 for the material.

5.2. Writing equipment

Besides the materials on which Demotic was written, the implements used to write Demotic should be taken into consideration as well. The distinction between epigraphy and papyrology as it is known from Greek studies is not applied to Demotic. Texts on metal are almost always incised with a sharp tool, which exceptionally can also be used to write something on wood. For inscriptions on stone the chisel can be employed as well as a pen and ink. For all other writing grounds the latter implements are adopted. It is interesting to take a closer look at them, especially since they were subject to change and development.

5.2.1. Pen

The Egyptians usually wrote with a pen made of rush, which was handled as a brush and may automatically cause an alternation of thin and broad lines. The Greek reed pen (or *calamus*), which probably was held the same way as modern writing material, does not necessarily produce this effect, resulting in a more even outlook.

Normally the Egyptian pen is used for Demotic texts, the Greek pen for Greek documents. However, sometimes, especially during the period between around 270 to 230 BC, Greek appears to be written with a rush pen: this almost certainly points to an Egyptian scribe writing in Greek. The reverse phenomenon of writing Demotic with a Greek *calamus* only appears from the late Ptolemaic period onwards. Eventually this last procedure was to replace the use of the Egyptian rush pen definitively, implying a further assimilation to Greek customs.

W.J. Tait, *Rush and Reed: the Pens of Egyptian and Greek Scribes*, in: B.G. Mandilaras et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25–31 May 1986*, Athens 1988, vol. 2, pp. 477–481.

Concerning the use of the Egyptian pen for Greek, see W. Clarysse, *Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek*, in: *CdE* 68 (1993), pp. 186–201.

5.2.2. Ink

In the type of ink adopted by the scribes a parallel difference might be noted. The one normally used for Demotic was based on carbon, while for Greek possibly on occasion a metallic type was employed. Red ink, still frequent in hieratic and hieroglyphic manuscripts of the later periods, seems to have largely disappeared for Demotic in the Ptolemaic period. Later on, when Demotic takes the place of hieratic for religious texts also, it is again employed more frequently.

For some Ptolemaic examples of the use of red ink, see P. Cairo 30705–30707, published by W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (30601–31270; 50001–50022). II. *Die demotischen Papyrus* (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), Strassburg 1906–1908, vol. 1, pp. 125–127.

E. Delange et al., *Apparition de l'encre métallurgique en Égypte à partir de la collection de papyrus du Louvre*, in: *RdÉ* 41 (1990), pp. 213–217.

6. Demotic literature

It is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory definition for the terms 'literary' and 'documentary'. Under the heading 'Demotic literature' I have gathered together texts that have been transmitted through several generations because of their intrinsic value. The 'literary texts' have been distinguished from the 'scientific texts' or 'reference works', and from the 'funerary and mortuary texts'. Again, the boundary between these is often blurred. Thus instructions could be labeled as reference works addressing moral issues, while funerary and mortuary texts are, at least partially, practical guides for the deceased in the hereafter or for the officiating priests. Moreover some documentary texts have contents leaning towards literature. If these clearly have literary ambitions, they have been included in a special category.

Many of these literary texts are probably based upon older models, although this is often problematic to ascertain with certainty. Arguments for a date of composition which precedes that of the preserved copy are archaisms in vocabulary or grammar; the general state of the text, whereby corrupt passages can be the result of intensive copying and interpolation; and the content, sometimes indicating a particular date of composition.

For the background and the environment from which the texts originate, see W.J. Tait, *Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 303–310.

This survey of the Demotic literature is naturally of a far more limited scope than the one that will be offered by the announced 'repertory of Demotic literature' (see above, p. 67). Moreover it has to be stressed here as well that the knowledge of Demotic literature will be enhanced considerably by the study and publication of the literary texts from Tebtunis, mainly preserved in Copenhagen (but also in other places around the world), and from other new editions and finds.

An introduction to the project of the publishing of the Tebtunis texts is given in K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einleitung*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri I. Demotic Texts from the Collection (CNI Publications, 15)*, Copenhagen 1991, pp. 1–11.

6.1. Literary texts

The literary texts in a narrow sense are a large group including narratives; mythological texts; ritual texts, hymns, or invocations; invective, satire and parody; pseudo-prophecies; instructions; documentary texts with literary ambitions; and some others which do not fit clearly in one of these categories. The arrangement of these genres and their definitions are purely pragmatic. More thorough investigations will no doubt result in a better understanding of the literature of the later periods and of ancient Egypt in general.

An idiosyncratic survey is E.A.E. Reymond, *A Contribution to a Study of Egyptian Literature in Graeco-Roman Times*, in: *BRL* 65,2 (1982–1983), pp. 208–229; ead., *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.) Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60.

6. Demotic literature

See also W.J. Tait, *Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek*, in: J.R. Morgan / R. Stoneman (eds.), *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context*, London–New York 1994, pp. 203–222.
W.J. Tait, *Demotic Literature: Forms and Genres*, in: A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms (Probleme der Ägyptologie, 10)*, Leiden (...) 1996, pp. 175–187.
For translations of some of this literature, see the chrestomathies cited above, p. 65.

It is not always easy to tell which literary texts are written in verse and could be labeled poetry. The Harper's song, the stela of Moschion and P. Carlsberg 69 have been identified as such. However, to define Ancient Egyptian or Demotic poetry is anything but easy. An important principle is the recognition of 'parallelismus membrorum'. Furthermore the rhythm based on the pronounced stress seems essential. External features, such as punctuation in red ink or layout in separate metrical lines, are clear indications as well.

A study of the metre of Demotic poetry was written by a pupil of Revillout: E. Boudier, *Vers égyptiens. Métrique démotique. Étude prosodique et phonétique du Poème Satirique, du Poème de Moschion et des papyrus à transcriptions grecques de Leyde & de Londres*, Paris 1897. It can be considered premature, to say the best.

M. Lichtheim, *Have the Principles of Ancient Egyptian Metrics been Discovered?*, in: *JARCE* 9 (1971–1972), pp. 103–110.

J. Assmann, *Parallelismus membrorum*, in: *LÄ* IV (1982), cols. 900–910.

For the rhythm, see H.-J. Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler. Eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877) (Demotische Studien, 11)*, Sommerhausen 1992, pp. 78–79.

Most documents, as already stated, combine Demotic script with Demotic language, and the great majority of texts discussed in this chapter are no exception to this rule. Still, occasionally a story such as that of P. Vandier, written in hieratic but with Demotic language features, is taken in. For certain genres, Greek texts that can with great probability be identified as translations from an Egyptian source have been included as well. Their Demotic originals are unfortunately seldom preserved, so it is difficult to assess to what extent these narratives have been adapted to Greek taste.

On the relationship between Egyptian literature and the Greek world, see H.-J. Thissen, *Graeco-ägyptische Literatur*, in: *LÄ* II (1977), cols. 873–878.

Concerning the relationship between the Demotic and Greek versions of the Myth of the Sun's Eye, see M.C. Betto, *L'alchimia delle traduzioni: Il Mito dell'Occhio del Sole e il PB.M. Inv. No. 274*, in: *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, Napoli 1984, vol. 3, pp. 1355–1360.

See also below, pp. 98, 113.

The possible influence of Greek literature on Demotic is much discussed. Thissen is convinced of the influence of iambic poetry in the Harper's Song, whereas Homer as a possible source of inspiration for the Inaros texts is admitted by some, but questioned by others. If a connection with Greek literature is accepted, the origin of the stories of this 'cycle' is usually situated in a Greek-Egyptian environment under Ptolemy II.

In favour of Greek influence for the Petubastis cycle is A. Volten, *Der demotische Petubastisroman und seine Beziehung zur griechischen Literatur*, in: H. Gerstinger (ed.), *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie*, Wien 1955 (MPER, NS 5), Wien 1956, pp. 147–152; J.W.B. Barns, *Egypt and the Greek Romance*, in the same volume, pp. 29–36, is sceptical, as well as F. Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen. Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri. P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A* (MPER, NS 24), Wien 1995, pp. 20–26.

For Greek influence on the Harper's song, see H.-J. Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler. Eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877) (Demotische Studien, 11)*, Sommerhausen 1992, pp. 13–15.

6.1.1. Narratives

These texts are sometimes classified under the label 'novel', indicating a narrative of fictional events. This is surely one of the most popular genres in Egyptian literature. Its

oldest examples can be traced to the Middle Kingdom and it is still well attested in Demotic.

A general survey is given in J. Quaegebeur, *Le roman démotique et gréco-égyptien (Les Civilisations Orientales. Grandes Oeuvres, G 22)*, Liège 1987.

A. SETNE KHAEMWASET TEXTS

This is a series of stories in which Khaemwaset, a son of Ramses II, plays a leading role. He is also called Setne because of his title (Demotic *str*; hieroglyphs and hieratic *sm* / *stm*), related to his position as high priest of Ptah in Memphis. The historical Khaemwaset can be considered an archaeologist 'avant la lettre': he was a diligent restorer of ancient monuments. Especially in the first story these antiquarian interests play a prominent role.

E. Bresciani, *Chaemwase-Erzählungen*, in: *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 899–901.

In *Setne I* (written on P. Cairo 30646; Thebes; early Ptolemaic period; 6 columns) Khaemwaset breaks into the tomb of Naneferkaptah, a prince who took into his grave a sacred book written by the god Thoth himself. Khaemwaset wants to get hold of this precious manuscript and when the ghost of the deceased will not give permission, he forces things by using witchcraft. Later on Setne has a nightmare in which a malevolent woman has him in her sway, taking all his belongings and causing him to have his children killed. Setne realizes this dream is caused by Naneferkaptah and decides to give him back the book.

Both this and the following text were published by F.L.I. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis. The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas*, Oxford 1900.

A more metaphorical interpretation of some passages is suggested in P.A. Piccione, *The Gaming Episode in the Tale of Setne Khamwas as Religious Metaphor*, in: D.P. Silverman (ed.), *For his Ka. Essays offered in Memory of Klaus Baer (SAOC, 55)*, Chicago 1994, pp. 197–204.

In *Setne II* (written on the verso of P. BM 604; Dime ?; Roman period; 7 columns) Khaemwaset and his wife, after divine intervention, have a son, Siosiris, who is endowed with magical power. One of his exploits is to take his father with him to the underworld and show him that only good behaviour on earth leads to happiness in the hereafter. Siosiris becomes so famous that the Nubian king challenges the pharaoh to let him compete with one of his own magicians. After the contest, which ends in a victory for Setne's son, this last reveals himself as the reincarnation of a sorcerer who defeated another Nubian contestant 1500 years before. After granting Setne another son, Siosiris disappears.

For the publication by F.L.I. Griffith, see above, *Setne I*.

For a study, see I. Hofmann, *Der kuschitische Horus als Seth*, in: E. Kormysheva (ed.), *Ancient Egypt and Kush. In Memoriam Mikhail A. Korostovtsev*, Moscow 1993, pp. 201–233.

A possible reference to the historical context in which *Setne II* came into being is pointed to in N. Grimal, *Le roi et la sorcière*, in: C. Berger et al. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant. Volume 4: Varia (BdE, 106)*, Le Caire 1994, pp. 97–108.

P. Carlsberg 207 (Tebtunis; second century AD; 2 fragmentary columns) is another *Setne* text, narrating how the leading character is charged by a *rmt* ⲙⲧ with the punishment and execution of a criminal. It is not clear yet how this story is related to the two preceding ones.

W.J. Tait, *P. Carlsberg 207: Two Columns of a Setna-Text*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications, 15), Copenhagen 1991, pp. 19–46. He also refers to other published Setne texts, mainly in Cairo, on p. 34.

The birth and education of Siosiris are possibly also recounted in the narrative texts on terracotta vessels mentioned below (see below, p. 90). Numerous other, still unpublished texts from Tebtunis contain other Setne stories.

B. INAROS PETUBASTIS TEXTS

This is an ‘epic’, or perhaps more correctly a cycle consisting of several stories that are loosely linked with one another. The historical background of the characters, mostly warriors, is the Third Intermediate Period, when Egypt was divided into several small rival kingdoms. The narratives themselves, however, do not refer to actual historical facts and are timeless.

W. Helck, *Petubastis-Erzählung*, in: *LÄ IV* (1982), cols. 998–999.

On the historical background of these stories, see K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (1100–650 B.C.), 2nd ed., Warminster 1986, pp. 455–461.

In the Battle for the Prebend of Amon (written on P. Spiegelberg and P. de Ricci, as well as some fragments in Philadelphia; Akhmim; first century BC; 18 columns), according to a recent new interpretation, it is narrated how a priestly endowment is successively in the possession of Anch-Hor, the son of king Petubastis, and the first prophet of Amon in Thebes. Apparently the aim of this alternation is to link the royal family and the high clergy of Amon. Later the king travels to Thebes, probably for religious-political reasons, to be recognized as the legitimate leader of the whole of Egypt. The high priest of Horus in Buto, possibly the son of the first prophet of Amon, refuses to accept this state of affairs. He gathers thirteen Asians and threatens to recover the priestly endowment by force if the king does not grant it to him. His claims are probably justified because he is in favour of a new theology of Amon. The Horus priest defeats prince Anch-Hor in a duel, and afterwards he boards the sacred barque of Amon. Another duel leads to the Asians’ victory. Totally at a loss, king Petubastis makes an appeal to his former adversaries, who did not recognize his claims to the throne, and sends them a letter. A new actor appears on the stage in the person of the prince of Elephantine, who fights an inconclusive duel against one of the Asians. This is where the papyrus breaks off. Presumably Petubastis attains a political victory, whereas on the theological level the high priest of Buto prevails and gains possession of the prebend.

W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem strassburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken* (Demotische Studien, 3), Leipzig 1910.

F. Hoffmann, *Die Länge des P. Spiegelberg*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 145–155.

F. Hoffmann, *Der Anfang des Papyrus Spiegelberg — ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (P.L.Bat., 27), Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 43–60; in the same volume C. Traunecker, *Le papyrus Spiegelberg et l’évolution des liturgies thébaines*, pp. 183–201.

For dating and provenance, as well as new fragments, see F. Hoffmann, *Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten*, in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 27–39, esp. pp. 38–39.

Probably the Battle for the Armour of Inaros (written on P. Krall; Faiyum; 137/138 AD; 26 columns) chronologically precedes the above mentioned novel. Inaros, one of the princes of the small kingdoms into which Egypt was divided, was the owner of a

magnificent piece of armour. After his death, this was appropriated by his adversary. A series of battles over the armour is the result, but in the end Pami, Inaros' son, prevails.

E. Bresciani, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros (Papyrus Krall)* (MPER, NS 8), Wien 1964.

A new edition will appear in the series MPER, see F. Hoffmann, *Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten*, in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 27–39, esp. p. 29.

Another story in the cycle, 'Egyptians and Amazons' (written on P. Vienna D. 6165 and D. 6165 A; Faiyum; about 200 AD; 12 columns), relates an Egyptian campaign to Asia led by Petechnon, a son of Inaros. With their allies, the Assyrians, Egyptian troops advance against the Amazons and their queen Serpot, who inflict severe losses upon them. Petechnon decides to challenge Serpot in a duel, but this ends without winner. Afterwards both contestants fall in love with one another. The Amazons and the Egyptians form an alliance and successfully repel an attack of the prince of India. This is where the papyrus breaks off. The mention of India is a nice illustration of the widening of horizon in Egypt after Alexander.

A. Volten, *Ägypter und Amazonen. Eine demotische Erzählung des Inaros-Petubastis-Kreises aus zwei Papyri der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Pap. Dem. Vindob. 6165 und 6165 A)* (MPER, NS 6), Wien 1962.

F. Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen. Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri. P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A* (MPER, NS 24), Wien 1995; id., *Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten*, in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 27–39, esp. pp. 27–29.

Furthermore there are the story of Inaros and the Griffin, about the battle between the hero and a Red Sea griffin, and the Love-story of Bes (both with fragments in Copenhagen and Florence; Tebtunis; Roman period).

E. Bresciani, *La corazza di Inaro era fatta con la pelle del grifone del Mar Rosso*, in: *EVO* 13 (1990), pp. 103–107.

A number of other unpublished texts from the collections in Copenhagen, Cairo, and Vienna might also belong to this story-cycle since the same names occur. Other new fragments appear in publications from time to time.

For the Cairo texts, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (50023–50165)* (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), Berlin 1932, pp. 103–105 (no. 50142).

For a small fragment on a drawing-board, see J.D. Ray, *Two Inscribed Objects in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, in: *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 247–253, esp. pp. 247–251.

For new fragments, see W.J. Tait, *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek (P. Tebt. Tait)* (*Texts from Excavations*, 3), London 1977, nos. 1–5.

The texts in Vienna are mentioned by E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. pp. 46–49.

For the story of Nanferkasokar and the Babylonians, see below, p. 90.

C. PHARAOH AMASIS AS A POPULAR DRUNKARD

One of the columns preserved on the back of the Demotic Chronicle (P. BN 215; Lower Egypt (?); third century BC; see below, p. 97), tells us the story of pharaoh Amasis, who feels like having some wine and in spite of repeated warnings drinks too much of it. The day after, a hangover prevents him from handling state affairs properly. As a distraction he wants to hear a story and is told about a young sailor who is sent away by the pharaoh, much to his and his wife's distress. At this point the text breaks off. This

irreverent interpretation of a *Königsnovelle* is in fact only the frame-story of a novel. Probably the lost continuation recounts how the pharaoh takes advantage of the absence of the sailor and harasses his wife.

Pharaoh Amasis' dipsomania is also recorded by Herodotus (2, 173–174) and Diodorus (1, 70, 11), of which the latter points out that this behaviour ran counter to Egyptian custom. Amasis is often depicted as a king who does not know how to behave, tales which probably circulated because, as a usurper, he did not have royal blood running through his veins.

W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten* (Demotische Studien, 7), Leipzig 1914, pp. 26–28.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Wie maß-voll war Amasis?*, in: *Enchoria* 16 (1988), pp. 139–140.

J. Quaegebeur, *Les rois saïtes amateurs de vin*, in: *AncSoc* 21 (1990), pp. 241–271, esp. pp. 265–270.

F. Hoffmann, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte von König Amasis und dem Schiffer*, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 15–21.

D. AHIQAR NOVEL

Ahiqar is the name of a wise man, who was the Keeper of the Seal of Sanherib and Asarhaddon, two Assyrian kings of the eighth and the seventh century BC. Although he had appointed his stepson as his successor and was educating him for this purpose, his pupil is ungrateful and slanders him in front of the king. Ahiqar is sentenced to death, but manages to escape and goes underground. When the Egyptian pharaoh presents some difficult problems to the Assyrian king, the latter realizes that he needs the help of his most talented magician. For that reason he decides to restore Ahiqar to his favour and sends him away to Egypt. There he defeats all challenges and returns to Nineveh showered with gifts. In the concluding wisdom text Ahiqar employs proverbs to castigate his stepson for his misbehaviour.

Fragments of this Ahiqar-novel and the accompanying wisdom texts have been found in many languages. The oldest one known is in Aramaic, but Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopian, Armenian, and even Slavic versions are preserved as well. Parallels can also be found in the Bible and in the classical Greek world. In Demotic only fragments of the frame-story survive (P. Cairo s. no. & P. Berlin P. 23729; Faiyum; probably first century AD). Since there are no proverbs that can be connected to the narrative with certainty, it seems better to classify the text here for the time being.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Demotische Fragmente zum Ahikar-Roman*, in: H. Franke et al. (eds.), *Folia Rara Wolfgang Voigt LXV. diem natalem celebranti ab amicis et catalogorum codicum orientalium conscribendorum collegis dedicata*, Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 180–185.

E. OTHER NARRATIVES

Narratives of various types are also found on terracotta vessels from the first or the second century AD, possibly from Memphis. These texts are all drafted as letters and tell the short stories of sorcerers (such as Siosiris' youth), along with animal fables (similar to those in the Myth of the Sun's Eye). Probably they are scribal exercises, written on readily available material.

W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen* (*Demotische Studien*, 5), Leipzig 1912.

New finds in Saqqara have also yielded a number of literary texts, the oldest known in Demotic (possibly fourth century BC). *P. dem. Saq. 1 and 1a* (fragments of 4 columns) tell the story of Nanefersachme and the prophet of Horus, Lord of Letopolis. Probably it is set in twenty-sixth dynasty Memphis. As a narrative in typical Demotic tradition it includes adventure, crime, and romance. The exact story-line is difficult to reconstruct, since only half of four columns out of originally at least sixteen are still extant. At present it is impossible to link these texts with the known cycles.

Both the front and back of *P. dem. Saq. 2* (fragments of 1 column) contain interesting narratives which seem to belong to the same genre as the Setne stories, though probably they are no part of this cycle. The recto relates an argument between Horus and his mother Isis. Possibly Horus intervenes for mere mortals who got involved in a divine conflict. The verso contains a text about the abduction of pharaoh Badja (?). Merib, a high court-official, is suspected of the kidnapping. In a dream he sees how the goddess Hathor puts the king to the test. She advises Merib to warn the court-guard and to go and fetch pharaoh Badja. After his departure he is followed by the steward and together they find the abducted monarch. The steward is immediately accused by the king of the kidnapping, after which the papyrus breaks off.

Other papyri found in Saqqara are narrative texts as well, but they are too fragmentary to be dealt with here. They do not seem to fit into the known cycles and thus attest to the variety of Demotic literature.

H.S. Smith / W.J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri, I (P. dem. Saq. I) (Texts from Excavations, 7 // Excavations at North Saqqâra. Documentary Series, 5)*, London 1983.

Another example are the fragments of narratives in which the protagonists are the priests of Re in Heliopolis, in particular one *Hr-p3-wnš*. They are probably parallel with the stories of the high priests in Memphis (Setne).

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Neue literarische Texte in demotischer Schrift*, in: *Enchoria* 8,2 (1978), pp. 33–38, esp. p. 36.

There even is an Aramaic version of this story. A publication of both versions is prepared by B. Porten / K.-Th. Zauzich.

Because it also seems to relate the preparations for a duel, the story of Naneferkasokar and the Babylonians (written on P. Berlin P. 13640; provenance unknown; third or second century BC; 1 column) was once considered as part of the Inaros cycle, but this is definitely not the case. New, but still unpublished fragments from the Carlsberg collection mention a column nineteen, clearly indicating that this must have been a long story. A small excerpt, exceptionally written on an ostrakon, has been found as well.

W. Spiegelberg, *Aus der Geschichte vom Zauberer Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar. Demotischer Papyrus Berlin 13640*, in: S.R.K. Glanville (ed.), *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London 1932, pp. 171–180.

The unpublished Copenhagen fragments are mentioned in K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einleitung*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri I. Demotic Texts from the Collection (CNI Publications, 15)*, Copenhagen 1991, pp. 1–11, esp. p. 6.

For the ostrakon, see M. Chauveau, *Montouhotep et les Babyloniens*, in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991), pp. 147–153.

P. Berlin P. 13588 (from cartonnage; Abusir el-Meleq; late Ptolemaic; 4 columns) contains a conversation between a priest and the pharaoh about a complaint of the former that he has been unjustly treated. Although he claims to be priest of both Herishef and Amon-Re, and feels entitled to the income from both functions, he was apparently sent from pillar to post by the clergy of both temples, and receives neither. An important factor in the decision of the pharaoh seems to have been the devotion of the priest, who inscribed mortuary texts for the mummy of Psammetichus.

W. Erichsen, *Eine neue demotische Erzählung* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1956 / 2), Wiesbaden 1956 (= pp. 49–81).

M. Smith, *Did Psammetichus I Die Abroad?*, in: *OLP* 22 (1991), pp. 101–109.

Fragments from other stories, such as the campaign of pharaoh Djoser against the Assyrians or other king's novels, will be published amongst the Tebtunis texts in Copenhagen.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einleitung*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications, 15), Copenhagen 1991, pp. 1–11, esp. p. 6.

A special case is P. Vandier (provenance unknown; sixth or fifth century BC; 10 columns), a text written in hieratic with strong grammatical influence of Demotic. The recto tells us two stories playing during the rule of the otherwise unknown pharaoh Sisobek. The protagonist is Merire, a 'magician' and general, also mentioned in other narrative texts of this period. This papyrus tells his struggle with the king and with his magicians.

G. Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier* (Bibliothèque Générale, 7), Le Caire 1985; see also H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Der Pharao, die Magier und der General – Die Erzählung des Papyrus Vandier*, in: *BiOr* 44 (1987), cols. 5–21. See above, p. 32.

For other narrative texts, see the mythological texts, and the frame-stories of both the pseudo-prophecies and the instructions (below, pp. 97 and 99).

6.1.2. Mythological texts

A myth relates the 'true and sacred' deeds of supernatural creatures, which give an explanation for the origin of mysteries of the cosmos or human existence. By their narrative character the mythological texts are in a way related to the stories mentioned above.

A. MYTH OF THE SUN'S EYE / KUFİ-TEXTS

The 'Myth of the Sun's Eye' relates how the sun-god Re quarrels with his daughter Tefnut, who therefore decides to go into exile to Nubia. Eventually, however, Thoth convinces her to return. This myth, an explanation of the solstice, has been reconstructed through hieroglyphic inscriptions on temple walls, mainly from the late pharaonic era. The most extensive Demotic version, P. Leiden I 384 (on palaeographical grounds dated to the second century AD; 22 columns) originates from Thebes and tells how a 'jackal-monkey', symbol of Thoth, tries to persuade the goddess to return to Egypt. To that aim, and to protect himself against the wrath of the fierce goddess, he uses, among other things, animal fables of moralistic strain, the so-called Kufi-texts. This discussion between the 'jackal-monkey' and Tefnut is in fact the core of the

composition: the account of the myth itself, with the eventual return of the goddess to Egypt and her arrival in Memphis, is in fact reduced to a frame-story. Besides the Leiden text, fragments from some other manuscripts are also preserved.

W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln – "Kufi") nach dem leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384*, Strassburg 1917.

For the publication of fragments of a duplicate version from Tebtunis, see W.J. Tait, *A Duplicate Version of the Demotic Kufi Text*, in: *AcOr* 36 (1974), pp. 23–37.

Animal fables are also mentioned in E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.)*. *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. p. 46.

M. Smith, *Sonnenauge, Demotischer Mythos vom*, in: *LÄ V* (1984), cols. 1082–1087; id., review of the edition of F. de Cenival, in: *BiOr* 49 (1992), cols. 80–95.

For the manuscript in Lille, see F. de Cenival, *Les nouveaux fragments du Mythe de l'Oeil du Soleil de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*, in: *CRIPEL* 7 (1985), pp. 95–115; ead., *Les titres des couplets du Mythe*, in: *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), pp. 141–146.

F. de Cenival, *Le Mythe de l'Oeil du Soleil (Demotische Studien, 9)*, Sommerhausen 1988.

A Greek version of this myth is preserved on P. BM 278 (third century AD). The text is damaged but even then it is interesting to observe to what extent the translation diverges from the Demotic original. Some parts have clearly been adapted to Greek taste.

S. West, *The Greek Version of the Legend of Tefnut*, in: *JEA* 55 (1969), pp. 161–183.

M.C. Betrò, *L'alchimia delle traduzioni: Il Mito dell'Occhio del Sole e il PB.M. Inv. No. 274*, in: *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, Napoli 1984, vol. 3, pp. 1355–1360.

B. COSMOGONY OF MEMPHIS

This mythological text, probably only part of a narrative, is written on P. Berlin P. 13603 (4 columns), a fragment from mummy cartonnage, found in the Faiyum and to be dated under the reign of Augustus. The text gives a description of the origins of the world, the gods, the creation of the moon, the Nile, and grain. It continues with an enumeration of cult-places and festivals of Ptah, the Memphite god who plays an important role in the myth. The famous hieroglyphic stela with the '*Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*' and some hieratic papyri contain similar texts.

W. Erichsen / S. Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift (Pap. demot. Berlin 13603)* (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1954 / 7), Wiesbaden 1954 (= pp. 303–394).

New fragments have been discovered in Berlin by K.-Th. Zauzich.

C. BATTLE OF HORUS AND SETH

The origins of this mythological text can be traced back to P. Chester Beatty 1 from the time of Ramesses V. It describes the battle between Horus and Seth for the supremacy in Egypt. Of the Demotic version of this story we have some extracts from the magical spells spoken by the followers of each party in P. Berlin 8278 (Faiyum; early Ptolemaic) and P. Berlin P. 23536. Fragments were also discovered in Saqqara and in the collection of the Museum in Berlin (from mummy cartonnage; P. Berlin P. 15549, 15551 and 23727; Hermopolis; about first century BC).

A short description and plates of P. Berlin 8278 are found in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig–Berlin 1902, pp. 20–21.

For P. Berlin P. 23536, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Neue demotische Papyri in Berlin*, in: W. Voigt (ed.), *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 27. Juli 1968 in Würzburg. Vorträge. Teil 1 (ZDMG Supplementa, 1)*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 41–47, esp. pp. 45–46.

For the Saqqara fragments, see H.S. Smith, *The Saqqara Papyri. Demotic Literary Papyri and Letters*, in: *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists, Oxford, 24–31 July 1974* (Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 61), London 1975, pp. 257–259, esp. p. 258.

Publication of the Berlin fragments in K.-Th. Zauzich, *Der Streit zwischen Horus und Seth in einer demotischen Fassung* (...), in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüdeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 275–281.

D. OTHERS

P. Vienna D. 10102, possibly written by the same scribe who wrote the 'Prophecy of the Lamb' (see below, p. 98), is a fragment of a cosmogony (?). In a small fragment from the Michaelidis collection we see Osiris act as the judge of the gods. A legend about Isis and her son Horus is narrated in fragments from the Viennese collections. A cosmological text about Nun is preserved in the Tebtunis texts in Copenhagen. Like the astronomic-mythological tract P. Carlsberg 1 and 1a (see below, p. 105), it may have a mainly didactic function.

For the fragment from the Michaelidis collection, see E. Bresciani, *Testi demotici nella collezione Michaelidis*, in: *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963), pp. 1–26, esp. pp. 8–11 (*Due frammenti da un racconto mitologico*).

P. Vienna D. 10102 was mentioned by E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Contents of a Temple Library*, in: G. Grimm et al. (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposiums, 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier* (AegTrev, 2), Mainz 1983, pp. 81–83.

The legend of Isis and Horus is allegedly described in some papyri in Vienna, see E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyrus in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. p. 50.

For the Nun-text in Copenhagen, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einleitung*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyrus 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications, 15), Copenhagen 1991, pp. 1–11, esp. p. 7. The publication by M. Smith is in preparation.

6.1.3. Ritual texts, hymns, and invocations

A hymn is a text in which a god is worshipped and praised. The genre is known from older periods, but in the late pharaonic period many were carved on the temple walls. In Demotic there are no epigraphic examples, but only more extensive 'ritual books' on papyrus, as well as short texts, mostly on ostraca. Whereas the former often worship several gods, the latter are dedicated to a single god or goddess, such as Bastet, Isis, Amon, Re-Horus, or Buchis. Of course it is also customary to include hymns in mythological or other texts.

A. P. BERLIN 6750 AND 8765

Both P. Berlin 6750 and 8765 are fragments from a kind of 'Ritual book of the Faiyum' (Roman period; respectively 10 and 2 columns). The main figure seems to be Osiris, although Horus and a number of goddesses also play an important role.

Plates and a survey of the content are given in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig-Berlin 1902, pp. 24–26.

A new edition of both texts is currently prepared by G. Widmer.

B. P. BERLIN 8043

Passages in which a reciting priest seems to identify himself with some gods indicate that a similar ritual book is preserved in P. Berlin 8043 (Faiyum; Roman period; 8 columns).

Plates and a short survey in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig-Berlin 1902, p. 28.

C. P. CARLSBERG 69

P. Carlsberg 69 is a text with a song for Bastet and a praise of drunkenness. The content runs parallel to some ostraca in Leuven.

For P. Carlsberg 69, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einleitung*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection (CNI Publications, 15)*, Copenhagen 1991, pp. 1–11, esp. p. 7 n. 18. The text will be published by J.F. Quack and F. Hoffmann. A publication of the ostraca in Leuven is in preparation by M. Smith and M. Depauw.

D. SMALLER INDEPENDANT TEXTS

There seem to be only few other examples on papyrus. An invocation of the god Sobek of Dime, with various sections listing his epithets, is preserved in P. Strasbourg 31. P. Heidelberg 736 verso contains a fragmentary metric hymn to Isis, which was, according to the editor, to be recited during a procession. P. Tebt. Tait 14 worships the same goddess. O. Naville is a late Ptolemaic or early Roman hymn addressed to Amon, written in a language that is practically Middle Egyptian. In the Archive of Hor two other hymns are preserved, of which one is dedicated to Isis, the other to Re-Horus. Another one directed to Buchis was found in the Bucheum in Hermonthis. A further example praises a 'Great Goddess'.

Short contents and plates of P. Strasbourg 31 in W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek*, Strassburg 1902, p. 49.

P. Heidelberg 736 verso was published by W. Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Papyrus Heidelberg 736*, in: *ZÄS* 53 (1917), pp. 30–34.

For O. Bucheum 167, see G. Mattha, *The Demotic Ostraka*, in: R. Mond / O.H. Myers (eds.), *The Bucheum. Volume II: The Inscriptions (Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society, 41)*, London 1934, pp. 53–74, esp. p. 56.

For the hymns to Isis and Re-Horus, see J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor (Texts from Excavations, 2)*, London 1976, nos. 10 and 18.

For P. Tebt. Tait 14, see W.J. Tait, *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek (P. Tebt. Tait)*, (*Texts from Excavations, 3*), London 1977, pp. 48–53.

O. Naville was studied by M. Smith, *A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 115–149; a new edition of the ostrakon (now discovered in the British Museum bearing number 50601) has been announced.

B. Menu, *Deux ostraca démotiques inédits (O.D. Corteggiani N° 1 et 2)*, in: *CRIPEL* 6 (1981), pp. 215–224, esp. pp. 215–218.

E. HYMNS INTEGRATED IN LARGER COMPOSITIONS

In the (pseudo-)documentary text P. Rylands 9 (see below, p. 102), columns twenty-four to twenty-five contain three hymns directed to Amon. The end of the Myth of the Sun's Eye (see below, p. 92) also includes a praise of Mut.

For the hymns in P. Rylands 9, see E. Bresciani, *I tre salmi ispirati da Ammone nel P. dem. Rylands IX, 24–25 e la teodicea egiziana antica*, in: E. Bresciani et al. (eds.), *Scritti in onore di O. Montevecchi*, Bologna 1981, pp. 59–71.

Another study (in Hungarian) is Z.I. Fábián, *A Rylands IX. démotikus papyrusz Amon-himnuszai. Versfordítási kísérlet*, in: U. Luft / Z. Vanek (eds.), *Egyptológiai füzetek I. Studia iuvenum in honorem V. Wessetzky (Études Publiées par les Chaires d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Université L. Eötvös de Budapest, 36)*, Budapest 1983, pp. 38–52.

intellectual level than the other instructions, transmitted from father to son. They would be ethical rules for priests, parallel to the ones found in inscriptions on temple walls. All this remains highly hypothetical. See E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. pp. 50–52.

6.1.7. Miscellaneous

We have to wonder if, in the mind of the ancient Egyptians, there were strict textual categories such as religious or profane, literary or documentary: many texts fall out of our schemes or find themselves on the border between two sections. This is the case for some literature which defies the usual classification, but also for documentary texts with literary ambitions.

A. P. RYLANDS 9

An excellent example of this blurred border between documentary and literary texts is P. Rylands 9 (El Hibeh; end of sixth century BC; 25 columns). It can best be described as a very elaborate petition, or at least a copy of it, directed to the 'governor' by a certain Petesis. His plea provides an extensive survey of the history of his family and the injustice inflicted on them, and demands retribution. It is hard to tell whether the dramatic literary qualities (for instance the two hymns or 'songs inspired by Amon himself') are intentional or whether the scribe just got carried away by enthusiasm for his just cause.

F.L.I. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester-London 1909, vol. 3, pp. 60–112; 218–253; 309.

R.A. Parker, *The Dura Tenses in P. Rylands IX*, in: *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 180–187.

For the literary character, see V. Wessetzky, *An der Grenze von Literatur und Geschichte*, in: J. Assmann et al. (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 499–502.

G. Vittmann, *Eine mißlungene Dokumentenfälschung: Die "Stelen" des Peteese I (P. Ryl. 9, XXI – XXIII)*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 301–315.

A new edition by S.P. Vleeming and M. Chauveau is forthcoming.

B. THE MOSCHION STELA

Another example is a piece of poetry on an alabaster stela of which two fragments are preserved (Berlin 2135 & Cairo JdÉ 63160; Xoix; second or third century AD). Someone called Moschion recounts, both in Greek and in Demotic, the healing of his sore feet by Osiris. The stela contains a playing board for each language and a manual to understand the board. In both languages the text can be read in various ways (194.480 in Demotic; 141.381.055.200 in Greek). Considering this complexity it is not surprising that two almost simultaneous editions have resulted in divergent interpretations.

W. Brunsch, *Die bilingue Stele des Moschion (Berl. Inv. Nr. 2135 + Cairo JdÉ Nr. 63160)*, mit einem Exkurs von G. Amendt, in: *Enchoria* 9 (1979), pp. 5–32.

E. Bresciani, *I testi demotici della stele "enigmistica" di Moschione e il bilinguismo culturale nell'Egitto greco-romano*, in: *EVO* 3 (1980), pp. 117–145.

C. P. DODGSON

This is a papyrus (Elephantine; Ptolemaic) of an unusual content, which makes it difficult to interpret. It is drafted as a letter in the appropriate format, and contains three

6.1.5. Pseudo-prophecies

It is difficult to find an appropriate term for these texts. They can hardly be labelled historiography, because this originated in the Greek world and there is no definite proof that it existed as such in Egypt. In fact these compositions are related to the pseudo-prophetic literature, which is known since the First Intermediate Period. In this genre, future events are announced, but paradoxally these forecasts are made *post eventum*. In other words, these texts claim to be written in a time preceding (part of) the predicted events, whereas the actual composition took place afterwards. In spite of the propagandistic, anti-Greek strain, there is also a deeper meaning: an attempt to reconcile the divine world order (i.e. the supremacy of Egypt) with the historical reality. Hence the German term 'Tendenzschriften'. A similar kind of text is the legend of Nectanebo, preserved in the Alexander romance. There the last Egyptian pharaoh is made the father of Alexander the Great, thus legitimizing the foreign rule.

For the question of the existence of historiography in Egypt, see M.A. Korostovtsev, *A propos du genre "historique" dans la littérature de l'ancienne Égypte*, in: J. Assmann et al. (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 315–324.

B. Van Rinsveld, *La prophétie du moribond. Naissance et mort d'un mythe. Essai sur le fondement social de la structure des "récits-cadres"*, in: *Aegyptus* 60 (1980), pp. 73–92.

R. Schlichting, *Prophetie*, in: *LÄ* IV (1982), cols. 1122–1125.

J.G. Griffiths, *Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Era*, in: D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism*, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979, Tübingen 1983, pp. 273–293; J. Assmann, *Königsdogma und Heilserwartung. Politische und kultische Chaosbeschreibungen in ägyptischen Texten*, in the same volume, pp. 345–377; more recently id., *Ägypten. Eine Sinngeschichte*, Darmstadt 1996, pp. 418–430.

The so-called propagandistic content of the various texts is discussed *in extenso* in W. Huß, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester. Studien zur Geschichte des ptolemäischen Ägypten* (*Historia Einzelschriften*, 85), Stuttgart 1994, pp. 129–137 (Nectanebo's Legend & Dream), pp. 143–179 (Demotic Chronicle; Prophecy of the Lamb; The Potter's Oracle).

A short introduction and a translation of the Demotic Chronicle and the Prophecy of the Lamb is D. Devauchelle, *Les prophéties en Égypte ancienne*, in: J.M. Assurmendi et al., *Prophéties et oracles. II: En Égypte et en Grèce (Suppléments aux Cahiers Évangile, 89)*, Paris 1994, pp. 6–30.

A. DEMOTIC CHRONICLE

The Demotic Chronicle (P. BN 215; Lower Egypt (?); 7 columns), was given its name in the *editio princeps* by Revillout. It is a rather hermetic text, of which the beginning and the end are missing, making it even more difficult to fathom the whole. The core of the text is a series of proverbs, said to be written on a board. Interpretations are offered for each of them, so that they can be applied to Egyptian history. Although the so-called interpretation is often as enigmatic as the proverb itself, a nationalist element is obvious: a typical example is the announcement of a man from Herakleopolis who will bring justice back to Egypt after the Persian and Greek dominations. The manuscript claims to date to Djedher (Teos) in the thirtieth dynasty, but several features show that it was written later, in the Ptolemaic period: the rubbed out Greek text that is visible under the Demotic and the grammar confirm the impression given by the mention of the Greeks. A date after 217 BC has been suggested because then, on the occasion of the battle of Raphia, the Greek conqueror for the first time also integrated native Egyptians in the Macedonian phalanx, which led to a nationalist revival. This text could be meant to

support a rebellion by indigenous Egyptians against the foreign oppressor. In another interpretation the text is a description of the ideal Egyptian king.

W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten* (Demotische Studien, 7), Leipzig 1914.

P. Kaplony, *Demotische Chronik*, in: *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 1056–1060.

On the historic value of the Demotic Chronicle, see C. Traunecker, *Essai sur l'histoire de la XXIX^e dynastie*, in: *BIFAO* 79 (1979), pp. 395–436, esp. pp. 401–406.

Compare J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic Chronicle as an Historical Source*, in: *Enchoria* 4 (1974), pp. 1–17; ead., *The Demotic Chronicle as a Statement of a Theory of Kingship*, in: *JSSEA* 13 (1983), pp. 61–72; ead., *Is the Demotic Chronicle an Anti-Greek Tract?*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 107–124.

J.H. Johnson / R.K. Ritner, *Multiple Meaning and Ambiguity in the "Demotic Chronicle"*, in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem 1990, vol. 1, pp. 494–506.

B. PROPHECY OF THE LAMB

This text (P. Vienna D. 10000; Faiyum; 4 separate fragments of 3 columns) narrates how a certain Psinyris comes across a book describing the future of Egypt. He also discovers his children's destiny, a destiny so frightening that he wants to throw them into the water after their birth. However, he does not have the heart to do this, so he prepares his offspring by revealing the prophecy to them. In the second column a lamb appears describing the period of disaster: a blessed era will not dawn in Egypt until after nine hundred years. After this prediction it dies, and Psinyris decides to consult pharaoh Bocchoris concerning the book and its interpretation. After the curse is read to the king, the story ends with the burial of the lamb as a deity.

The composition dates itself under pharaoh Bocchoris (twenty-fourth dynasty, about 715 BC), but through the colophon we know the papyrus was actually written in the thirty-fourth year of Augustus (4–5 AD). It might be a copy of a Ptolemaic original, though an origin in the Roman period cannot be excluded.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Lamm des Bokchoris*, in: *LÄ III* (1980), cols. 912–913.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Das Lamm des Bokchoris*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, vol. 1, pp. 165–174.

C. THE POTTER'S ORACLE (GREEK)

Of this composition three fragments belonging to two versions are extant (P. gr. Graf: second century AD; P. gr. Rainer: third century AD // P. gr. Oxy. 2332: late third century AD). They are all in Greek, although the text is certainly a translation from a Demotic original. The frame-story, for instance, is typically Egyptian. It tells how, when king Amenophis lands on an island and visits a sanctuary, an envoy, incarnating the creator-god Khnum, starts making pots in a kiln. Because this is considered a sacrilege, the pots are taken out of the oven and smashed. The potter is dragged in front of the king, makes a prophecy and dies. His words are written down and he is buried in Heliopolis. A period of disaster for Egypt is predicted: Seth and his followers (i.e. the Greeks) will damage the country and the sun god will not send a new king to earth until after the destruction of Alexandria.

Since the story is directed against the Ptolemies, the original version must be situated in that time. A probable date is around 130 BC when the struggle between Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II raised hopes among the Egyptians that the Greeks would destroy themselves. As time went by it became clear that this would not happen and a reference to the Prophecy of the Lamb (possibly originally a gloss) was interpolated. Thus the prophecy's fulfilment was placed in a distant future and the concrete historical meaning was replaced by an eschatological one, making the text relevant enough to be copied until the third century AD.

L. Koenen, *Prophezeiungen des "Töpfers"*, in: ZPE 2 (1968), pp. 178–209.

Commentary in L. Koenen, *The Prophecies of a Potter: A Prophecy of World Renewal becomes an Apocalypse*, in: D.H. Samuel (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (ASP, 7), Toronto 1970, pp. 249–254.

F. Dunand, *L'Oracle du Potier et la formation de l'apocalyptique en Égypte*, in: *L'apocalyptique* (*Études d'Histoire des Religions*, 3), Paris 1977, pp. 41–67.

The Viennese collections possibly contain Demotic fragments of this 'prophecy', see E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (P. Rainer Cent.). *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. p. 50.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Töpferorakel*, in: *LÄ VI* (1986), cols. 621–623.

P. BM 10660 (ined.) possibly contains a Demotic text related to the potter's oracle: C.A.R. Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 29–37, esp. pp. 29–31.

D. NECTANEBO'S DREAM (GREEK)

This Greek papyrus from the second century BC was written by Apollonios, *katochos* of the Serapeum in Memphis. It contains the beginning of a *Königsnovelle*, and tells how king Nectanebo is sent a dream. He is reminded of the fact that the temple of Ares, built by him in the capital Sebennytos, still has no hieroglyphic inscriptions. Roused from his dream, the pharaoh wants this omission to be remedied quickly by a certain Petesis, and he pays him his fee. This last one however decides to drink some wine first and to enjoy life. He happens to see a beautiful girl and ... This is where the papyrus breaks off. Some elements of this story and parallels with the texts mentioned above indicate that the rest of the text probably contained a prediction by Petesis of a time of disaster for Egypt, eventually followed by a salvation.

W. Clarysse, "De droom van koning Nektanebo" op een Griekse papyrus (U.P.Z. 81), in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht* (*Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*), Leiden–Zutphen 1983, pp. 367–371.

For the most recent publication and discussion, see L. Koenen, *The Dream of Nektanebos*, in: *BASP* 22 (1985), pp. 171–194. His theory that the Greek text is written in verse has not been widely accepted.

6.1.6. Instructions

Demotic instructions consist of a combination of injunctions and precepts. These are given as aphorisms: brief, mostly single sentences in a loose order, apparently skipping from one subject to another. Sometimes, however, they are focused on a central theme, especially in P. Insinger. The narrative frame of these teachings generally presents them as advice from father to son. Their practical aim is to teach living in harmony with the divine world-order. The wise man knows his place in society, the fool does not. A prominent role is played by the gods, and even when they are not mentioned everything bathes in a religious

atmosphere. However, the teachings are no esoteric texts of secret wisdom: essentially they are meant for everyone.

Demotic instructions are closely connected with their older Egyptian predecessors, although there are some different preoccupations in the themes. The main change is the frequent use of single-line maxims, constituting a logical and grammatical unit. There are interesting similarities with wisdom literature in other languages from the Near East, possibly pointing to mutual influence.

E. Seidl, *Juristische Gedanken in den Weisheitslehren der Ptolemäerzeit*, in: E. Bresciani et al. (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevicchi*, Bologna 1981, pp. 349–353.

M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context. A Study of Demotic Instructions* (OBO, 52), Freiburg–Göttingen 1983.

For a general introduction, a survey of preserved texts and their bibliography, see M. Smith, *Weisheit, demotische*, in: *LÄ VI* (1986), cols. 1192–1204.

D. Devauchelle, *De l'originalité des sagesse égyptiennes tardives du IV^e siècle avant au I^{er} siècle après J.-C.*, in: J. Trublet (ed.), *La sagesse biblique de l'Ancien au Nouveau Testament. Actes du XV^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Paris, 1993) (Lectio Divina, 160)*, Paris 1995, pp. 217–228.

A. P. INSINGER

This long papyrus (Akhmim; first century AD; 35 columns) was originally offered for sale to the Louvre, but the authorities refused on account of the price. Later on it was bought by Insinger for the Leiden museum, but by then it was no longer complete. Fragments of the missing part have been discovered in Philadelphia. Fragments of other versions are preserved in Copenhagen, Florence, Paris, Cairo, and Berlin.

The instruction is divided into twenty-five thematic chapters, each with a title. The traditional basic theme is the opposition of the foolish and the wise. Compared with other Demotic wisdom literature the text of P. Insinger is more structured and of a higher spiritual level. This has led many scholars to consider it as an original composition by a single author, whereas the other ones would rather be compendia with selections from earlier texts.

F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger. Les enseignements moraux d'un scribe égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C.*, 2 vol., Paris 1926.

A. Volten, *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch (Analecta Aegyptiaca, 2)*, Kopenhagen 1941.

New fragments from other collections have been published by K.-Th. Zauzich, *Neue literarische Texte in demotischer Schrift*, in: *Enchoria* 8,2 (1978), pp. 33–38; also possibly F. de Cenival, *Fragment de sagesse apparentée au papyrus Insinger (P. Université de Lille III Inv. P. dem. Lille 34)*, in: *CRIPEL* 12 (1990), pp. 93–96.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Pap. Dem. Insinger*, in: *LÄ IV* (1982), cols. 898–899.

Discussion in M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context. A Study of Demotic Instructions* (OBO, 52), Freiburg–Göttingen 1983, pp. 13–92.

A strong influence of P. Insinger on the Jewish wisdom book of Ben Sira is accepted by J.T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom (Society of Biblical Literature. Monograph Series, 28)*, Chico 1983. See the review by H.-J. Thissen in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 199–201.

On biblical parallels, see T. Schneider, *Hiob 38 und die demotische Weisheit (Papyrus Insinger 24)*, in: *Theologische Zeitschrift* 47 (1991), pp. 108–124.

B. ONCHSHESHONQY

The frame-story of this instruction (P. BM 10508; Akhmim; first century BC; 28 columns) runs as follows: Onchsheshonqy, priest of Re in Heliopolis, is innocently

involved in a conspiracy against the king. He is thrown into prison and writes a spiritual testament for his son on potsherds.

S.R.K. Glanville, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy* (British Museum Papyrus 10508) (*Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, 2), London 1955.

H.-J. Thissen, *Lehre des Anch-Scheschonqi*, in: *LÄ III* (1980), cols. 974–975.

Transliteration, translation, and commentary of the frame story in H.S. Smith, *The Story of 'Onchsheshonqy*, in: *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 133–156. Another version of this story is to be found on a papyrus from the Roman period in the Carlsberg collections in Copenhagen.

Transliteration, translation, and glossary in H.-J. Thissen, *Die Lehre des Anchsheshonqi* (P. BM 10508) (*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, 32), Bonn 1984.

C. OTHERS

P. Louvre N 2414 (Memphis; second century BC; 3 columns) is a fragment with proverbs of *P3-wr-dl* for his son, possibly extracts from a larger instruction or the draft of a wisdom text. The parallels with Onchsheshonqy are striking.

A. Volten, *Die moralische Lehren des demotischen Pap. Louvre 2414*, in: G. Botti / A.E. Breccia (eds.), *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte* (4 giugno 1843 – 4 giugno 1943), Pisa 1955, vol. 2, pp. 269–280.

G.R. Hughes, *The Blunders of an Inept Scribe* (Demotic Papyrus Louvre 2414), in: G.E. Kadish / G.E. Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams. A Festschrift* (SSEA, 3), Toronto 1982, pp. 51–67.

Translation and comments in S.P. Vleeming, *Een kleine demotische wijsheidstekst* (P. Louvre 2414), in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht* (Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"), Leiden–Zutphen 1983, pp. 382–386.

Recently also P. Ashmolean 1984.77 was published (Thebes (?); second or third century AD; lower part of 4 columns). Besides more traditional parts, in a few cases parallel with Onchsheshonqy, some other, more unusual subjects are treated, such as the prohibition of cutting down trees or harming sacred animals.

R. Jasnow, *A Demotic Wisdom Papyrus in the Ashmolean Museum* (P. Ashm. 1984.77 Verso), in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 43–54.

There are other smaller wisdom texts, of which it is not always easy to determine if they are independent 'compositions' or extracts from from a larger instruction.

E. Bresciani, *Testi demotici nella collezione Michaelidis*, in: *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963), pp. 1–26, esp. pp. 1–4.

P.J. Williams, *Some Fragmentary Demotic Wisdom Texts*, in: J.H. Johnson / E.F. Wente (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC, 39), Chicago 1976, pp. 263–271.

An important wisdom text, written in late hieratic but with linguistic features of early Demotic, is P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 (provenance unknown; about fourth century BC; 6 columns). This papyrus takes an intermediate position, not only chronologically (between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period), but also thematically and stilistically. Thus the stichic structure with single-line maxims is not yet as strict as in later texts.

R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135) (SAOC, 52), Chicago 1992.

An elaborate review with a German translation is J.F. Quack, *Ein neuer ägyptischer Weisheitstext*, in: *WdO* 24 (1993), pp. 5–19.

According to Reymond a number of texts from the Viennese collections first treat an ethical theme and then give some proverbs and practical applications of these doctrines. These texts would be on a higher

6. Demotic literature

intellectual level than the other instructions, transmitted from father to son. They would be ethical rules for priests, parallel to the ones found in inscriptions on temple walls. All this remains highly hypothetical. See E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. pp. 50–52.

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We have to wonder if, in the mind of the ancient Egyptians, there were strict textual categories such as religious or profane, literary or documentary: many texts fall out of our schemes or find themselves on the border between two sections. This is the case for some literature which defies the usual classification, but also for documentary texts with literary ambitions.

A. P. RYLANDS 9

An excellent example of this blurred border between documentary and literary texts is P. Rylands 9 (El Hibeh; end of sixth century BC; 25 columns). It can best be described as a very elaborate petition, or at least a copy of it, directed to the 'governor' by a certain Petesis. His plea provides an extensive survey of the history of his family and the injustice inflicted on them, and demands retribution. It is hard to tell whether the dramatic literary qualities (for instance the two hymns or 'songs inspired by Amon himself') are intentional or whether the scribe just got carried away by enthusiasm for his just cause.

F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester-London 1909, vol. 3, pp. 60–112; 218–253; 309.

R.A. Parker, *The Durative Tenses in P. Rylands IX*, in: *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 180–187.

For the literary character, see V. Wessetzky, *An der Grenze von Literatur und Geschichte*, in: J. Assmann et al. (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 499–502.

G. Vittmann, *Eine mißlungene Dokumentenfälschung: Die "Stelen" des Peteese I (P. Ryl. 9, XXI–XXIII)*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 301–315.

A new edition by S.P. Vleeming and M. Chauveau is forthcoming.

B. THE MOSCHION STELA

Another example is a piece of poetry on an alabaster stela of which two fragments are preserved (Berlin 2135 & Cairo JdÉ 63160; Xoïs; second or third century AD). Someone called Moschion recounts, both in Greek and in Demotic, the healing of his sore feet by Osiris. The stela contains a playing board for each language and a manual to understand the board. In both languages the text can be read in various ways (194.480 in Demotic; 141.381.055.200 in Greek). Considering this complexity it is not surprising that two almost simultaneous editions have resulted in divergent interpretations.

W. Brunsch, *Die bilingue Stele des Moschion (Berl. Inv. Nr. 2135 + Cairo JdÉ Nr. 63160)*, mit einem Exkurs von G. Amendt, in: *Enchoria* 9 (1979), pp. 5–32.

E. Bresciani, *I testi demotici della stele "enigmistica" di Moschione e il bilinguismo culturale nell'Egitto greco-romano*, in: *EVO* 3 (1980), pp. 117–145.

C. P. DODGSON

This is a papyrus (Elephantine; Ptolemaic) of an unusual content, which makes it difficult to interpret. It is drafted as a letter in the appropriate format, and contains three

separate sections spoken by a divine child to an unnamed questioner, possibly as an exceptional oracle consultation. Two criminals are mentioned and the deletion of the divine aspect of their theophoric names seems to be essential.

F. de Cenival, *Le papyrus Dodgson (P. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1932-1159). Une interrogation aux portes des dieux?*, in: *RdE* 38 (1987), pp. 3-11.

E. Bresciani, *Il papiro Dodgson et il hp (n) wpj.t*, in: *EVO* 11 (1988), pp. 55-70.

C.J. Martin, *The Child Born in Elephantine: Papyrus Dodgson Revisited*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 199-212.

D. BOOK ON THE BUILDING OF TEMPLES

It is unclear to which genre the Demotic fragments of a Book on the Building of Temples (P. Vienna D. 6319; Dime ?; second century AD [?]) belongs. They contain a *Königsnovelle*, but are in all probability part of a more comprehensive work. Interesting are the mentioning of names of pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. Other fragments from Tebtunis in hieratic and Demotic will surely shed new light on the content of this composition.

J.F. Quack, *pWien D 6319. Eine demotische Übersetzung aus dem Mittägyptischen*, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 125-129.

E. AN AGRICULTURAL DREAM

A very unclear text which also seems to withstand all classification is found on O. BM 5671 (Thebes ?; third century BC). Because of the strange logic it could refer to a dream, although in view of the lack of parallels nothing decisive can be said.

J.D. Ray, *An Agricultural Dream: Ostrakon BM 5671*, in: J. Baines et al. (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays presented to I.E.S. Edwards (EES Occasional Publications, 7)*, London 1988, pp. 176-183.

F. OTHERS

According to the interpretation of the editor Spiegelberg, the verso of the Demotic Chronicle contains the already mentioned story of Amasis and the sailor, some documentary texts, but also a number of animal fables, somewhat similar to those found in the Myth of the Sun's Eye. The interpretation of these texts remains highly unsure.

For the edition, see above, p. 97; for the documentary texts, see below, p. 127.

A royal panegyric on Cleopatra Philopator is mentioned in E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42-60, esp. p. 46.

6.2. Scientific texts / Reference works

Under this heading I have brought together the papyri that can be considered reference works or manuals for priests or other specialists in certain professions. In most cases it is impossible to know whether they were preserved in the 'House of Life', as a part of the temple library, or if they were in private possession and accompanied the deceased to his grave.

6.2.1. Mathematical texts

Several Demotic mathematical texts have been preserved. These contain real algebraic and geometric problems with a task and a solution. It is not certain whether this is purely 'Egyptian' science, as there is probably Babylonian or Greek influence. Especially under Persian rule (twenty-seventh dynasty) much 'mathematical wisdom' from Babylonia might have entered Egypt. On the other hand some problems are already mentioned in Egyptian texts from the Middle Kingdom (P. Rhind and the Moscow papyrus).

The majority of the texts mentioned below have been collected and published in R.A. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (Brown Egyptological Studies, 7), London 1972, referred to as Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, in the following; id., *Some Demotic Mathematical Papyri*, in: *Centaurus* 14 (1969), pp. 136–141.

For the parallels with older Egyptian texts, see K. Vogel, *Ein arithmetisches Problem aus dem Mittleren Reich in einem demotischen Papyrus*, in: *Enchoria* 4 (1974), pp. 67–70.

W.-F. Reineke, *Mathematik*, in: *LÄ* III (1980), cols. 1237–1245.

A. THE VERSO OF THE 'CODE OF HERMOPOLIS'

This collection of problems (Hermopolis; third century BC; 19 columns), written on the back of the so-called 'Code of Hermopolis' (see below, p. 113), is the longest and most interesting mathematical text preserved in Demotic. It shows an organized presentation, developing from relatively simple arithmetic to plane geometry. The last, most complicated problem deals with calculating the volume of a pyramid.

Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, problem 1–40 (pp. 13–53).

B. P. BM 10520

The thirteen problems presented in P. BM 10520 (Memphis (?); early (?) Roman; 7 columns) are especially interesting because they involve progressions and the approximation of irrational square roots. In opposition to some other mathematical papyri there is little or no duplication.

Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, problem 53–65 (pp. 64–72).

C. P. BM 10399

The recto of P. BM 10399 (provenance unknown; Ptolemaic period; 7 columns) repeats the problem of determining the volume of a mast in terms of *hins* of water for various lengths. The verso contains additions and subtractions of fractions, of which some have a numerator greater than one.

Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, problem 41–52 (pp. 53–63).

For new fragments of this text, see C.A.R. Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 29–37, esp. pp. 32–35.

D. OTHERS

Other mathematical texts are P. BM 10794 and P. Carlsberg 30 (Tebtunis; probably second century AD; 2 and 5 columns). Both are very fragmentary and the content is often uncertain, but the former has some multiplication tables for fractions. P. Heidelberg 663 (Ptolemaic) contains fragments of four geometric problems concerning a field. P. Griffith Inst. I E.7 (Dime; late Ptolemaic [?]) is a fragment of one column with five similar algebraic equations.

P. Griffith Inst. I E. 7 was published by R.A. Parker, *A Demotic Mathematical Papyrus Fragment*, in: *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 275–279.

P. BM 10794 & Carlsberg 30 in Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, problem 66–67, 68–72 (pp. 72–73, 73–77).

P. Heidelberg 663 was published by R.A. Parker, *A Mathematical Exercise — P. Dem. Heidelberg 663*, in: *JEA* 61 (1975), pp. 189–196.

6.2.2. Astronomical texts

Egypt played an important role in astronomy and geography. Later landmarks such as Ptolemy (second century AD) and Theon (fourth century AD) lived and worked in the land of the Nile. In the Greek papyri from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods precursors of this culmination can be found. All astronomical texts in Demotic were written under Roman rule. In contrast with what is often supposed, however, the Egyptian native achievements seem to be insignificant, and strongly indebted to both Babylonians and Greeks.

Most of the texts mentioned below have been collected and (re-)edited in O. Neugebauer / R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts. III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (*Brown Egyptological Studies*, 6), London 1969, pp. 217–255 (*Demotic Texts*), referred to as Neugebauer / Parker, *Astronomical Texts* in the following.

O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, Berlin (...) 1975, vol. 2, pp. 559–568 (*Egypt*).

A. AN ASTRONOMICAL-MYTHOLOGICAL TRACT: P. CARLSBERG 1 AND 1A

On the ceiling of the tombs of both Seti I and Ramses IV the so-called cosmology is depicted: a representation of the course of the sun, the moon, and the stars through the body of the celestial goddess Nut and in the underworld. P. Carlsberg 1 and 1a (Tebtunis; 4 columns recto; 3 columns verso) are line comments to the hieroglyphs that accompany this scene. The texts are quoted in hieratic sentence by sentence, translated into Demotic, and commented on by the scribe. The first part is strongly astronomical, the second more mythological. Both papyri date from the second century AD and are a striking illustration of the fidelity to native Egyptian traditions and the ‘revival’ of Demotic literary and scientific texts in this late period.

H.O. Lange / O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. I. Ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmologischer Text* (*Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Skrifter*, 1, 2), København 1940.

Some corrections and a new translation in O. Neugebauer / R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts. I. The Early Decans* (*Brown Egyptological Studies*, 3), London 1960, pp. 37–80.

B. P. CARLSBERG 9

A very important text for our knowledge of the calendars of ancient Egypt is P. Carlsberg 9 (Tebtunis; 144/145 AD; 3 columns). It enables the user to determine the beginning of certain lunar months, based on a cycle of twenty-five Egyptian civil years, which equates 309 lunar months (sixteen ‘normal’ years of twelve months; nine ‘leap’ years with thirteen months). This cycle was introduced in the fourth century BC, and was also used by the Greeks for the Macedonian calendar.

Neugebauer / Parker, *Astronomical Texts*, pp. 220–225.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Drei neue Fragmente zu Pap. Carlsberg 9*, in: *Enchoria* 4 (1974), pp. 157–158.

See also W.J. Tait, *Handlist of Published Carlsberg Papyri*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications, 15), Copenhagen 1991, pp. 129–140, esp. p. 132 n. 14, and a new photograph on pl. 10.

6. Demotic literature

A. Spalinger, *Under the Moon of Earth*, in: A. Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendars (Varia Aegyptiaca. Supplements, 6)*, San Antonio 1994, pp. 61–83.

C. PLANETARY TABLES

The planetary tables give lists of the dates when planets enter certain zodiacal signs, information especially useful for casting horoscopes. P. Berlin P. 8279 (Faiyum; after 42 AD; 40 columns) treats the years 17 BC until 12 AD; the so-called Stobard tablets (Thebes (?); after 140 AD; 4 out of originally at least 11 wooden writing tablets hinged together) concern the years 63 to 140 AD.

Neugebauer / Parker, *Astronomical Texts*, pp. 225–240.

D. OTHER TEXTS

Other texts list data resulting from the planetary or lunar observations, such as the day-by-day motion of Mercury as morning star, the dates of lunar eclipses or, more didactical and comparable to the mathematical texts, calculations of the seasons' beginning.

Neugebauer / Parker, *Astronomical Texts*, pp. 240–255.

R. Parker / K.-Th. Zauzich, *The Seasons in the First Century B.C.*, in: D.W. Young (ed.), *Studies presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, Beacon Hill 1981, pp. 472–479.

O. Neugebauer / R.A. Parker / K.-Th. Zauzich, *A Demotic Lunar Eclipse Text of the First Century, B.C.*, in: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 125 (1981), pp. 312–327 with additional plates in *Enchoria* 12 (1984), p. 217.

6.2.3. Divinatory texts

Under this heading are gathered manuals to forecast the future by various means, through interpretations of either astrological observations, spontaneous strange events, or dreams. Certainly if only fragments have been preserved, the choice between these subgenres is often difficult. These books were possibly kept in the library of the 'House of Life', just like the magical texts and the other scientific texts mentioned here. Magic and divinatory texts are both weapons in the battle against the evil powers in the universe.

The 'Archive of Hor' is an archive of someone specialized in precisely these matters, namely the interpretation of oracles and dreams. But since these ostraca concern specific cases and are no general reference works, they have been discussed amongst the documentary texts (see below, p. 150).

A. ASTROLOGICAL HANDBOOKS (FOR INDIVIDUALS)

In these astrological texts predictions are given according to the position, at the time of birth of an individual, of the planets in zodiacal signs and their subdivisions. Both P. Berlin P. 8345 (Faiyum; about second century AD; 4 columns) and P. Vienna D. 6614 (Faiyum; end first century AD) belong to this most common type, forecasting good or evil fortune in health, esteem, women, children, and death.

G.R. Hughes, *An Astrologer's Handbook in Demotic Egyptian*, in: L.H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker, presented on the Occasion of his 78th Birthday, December 10, 1983*, Hanover–London 1986, pp. 53–69.

New texts will certainly come from the Tebtunis papyri in Copenhagen and Florence. A papyrus preserved in Lille has already been connected with to a Carlsberg fragment. The manual (P. Carlsberg 66; second century AD; 4 fragmentary columns) lists the twelve zodiacal signs in the Greek order, but develops this by dividing them in three decans

each. Strictly individual predictions, good and bad, are given for the persons born in those periods.

For the Copenhagen texts, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einleitung*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection (CNI Publications, 15)*, Copenhagen 1991, pp. 1–11, esp. p. 7.

Preliminary discussion of the text from Lille in M. Chauveau, *Un traité d'astrologie en écriture démotique*, in: *CRIPEL* 14 (1992), pp. 101–105.

Other astrological texts are no handbooks for the astrologer but merely tools, such a table of terms, or practical calculations for the actual horoscopes. Since the latter are limited in use to one individual, they will be discussed amongst the documentary texts (see below, p. 150).

A list of other astrological texts with their respective publications can be found in O. Neugebauer / R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts. III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (*Brown Egyptological Studies*, 6), London 1969, pp. 217–219.

See also E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. p. 53.

For the table of terms, see L. Depuydt, *A Demotic Table of Terms*, in: *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 1–9.

B. ASTROLOGICAL HANDBOOKS (FOR COUNTRIES)

These astrological texts provide forecasts for the general future of Egypt and other countries of the Near East, which reminds of the pseudo-prophecies. The astronomical observations on which they are relying can be either exceptional or regular. In the former case these manuals could also be labelled omen texts, as in the famous 'Vienna Omen papyrus' (P. Vienna D. 6286; Faiyum (?); a copy written end second century AD; fragments of 16 columns). This is a compilation of two independent books, of which the first deals with solar and lunar eclipses. The predictions based on these phenomena are very precise and even indicate the exact month on which they will come true. The original must go back to the sixth century BC, probably soon after the Persian conquest, and the essentially Babylonian treatise will probably have had a very significant influence on Greek 'science'. The second book written on this papyrus records predictions based on the different moon-phases, and is thus more astrological.

R.A. Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* (*Brown Egyptological Studies*, 2), Providence 1959.

P. Cairo 31222 (Faiyum (?); Roman period) is a very fragmentary handbook with predictions based on the rising of Sothis and its position relative to the seven planets. Recently P. BM 10661 was found to be of very similar content.

G.R. Hughes, *A Demotic Astrological Text*, in: *JNES* 10 (1951), pp. 256–264.

For P. BM 10661, see C.A.R. Andrews, *Unpublished Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 29–37, esp. pp. 31–32.

C. MANUALS FOR DREAM INTERPRETATION

The best known examples are P. Carlsberg 13 and 14 verso (Tebtunis; second century AD; 4 & 9 fragments), the fragmentary remains of two reference books explaining the meaning of dreams. These manuals for the oneirocritic are arranged thematically, with sections for visions of numbers, women, etc. The personality of the dreamers does not

seem to be of importance: in the hieratic counterparts, they are divided into followers of Horus or Seth, categories which are crucial to the interpretation. This 'handy excuse' for the dream interpreter can be found in Greek and Arabic oneiromancy as well.

These manuals are lexicographically interesting because they are like thematic dictionaries teaching us many new words in their eagerness to describe any possible dream. It is not clear if they are authentically Egyptian or to what extent they are products of foreign influence.

A. Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung (Pap. Carlsberg XIII und XIV verso)* (*Analecta Aegyptiaca*, 3), Kopenhagen 1942, with examples of similar books on p. 5.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Aus zwei demotischen Traumbüchern*, in: *ApP* 27 (1980), pp. 91–98.

Other examples of handbooks for dream interpreters are possibly found in the Vienna collections: E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.) Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. pp. 53–54.

For the actual descriptions of dreams, see below, p. 150.

D. OMEN TEXTS

Herodotus (2, 82) already states that the Egyptians, more than all other nations, considered spontaneous strange events the basis of their fortune-telling. This seems to be confirmed in the handbooks for the interpretation of omens in the Vienna collections. Information can especially be gained from the movements of sacred (?) animals.

For a small fragment of a possible omen-text, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotica I (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse, 1925 / 6)*, München 1925, pp. 9–11.

The texts from the Vienna collection are mentioned by E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.) Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. pp. 54–56.

E. OTHER DIVINATORY TEXTS

It is not always clear if divinatory texts that have only partially been preserved belong to the dream descriptions or the omen texts, or even constitute a category of their own. One such example is P. Berlin 8769 (Faiyum; Roman period; 4 columns), where the various columns list names of minerals and herbs, which are followed by a prediction, generally, but not always, favourable. Similar is P. Berlin P. 23521 (late Ptolemaic or early Roman), in which the body parts of a woman are mentioned: those on the left and the heart lead to favourable predictions, those on the right to negative ones.

For P. Berlin 8769, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig–Berlin 1902, p. 29.

Other possible examples (although they could also be manuals for the interpretation of dreams) are published by W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (50023–50165)* (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*), Berlin 1932, pp. 98–103 (nos. 50138–50141).

For P. Berlin P. 23521, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Neue demotische Papyri in Berlin*, in: W. Voigt (ed.), *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 27. Juli 1968 in Würzburg. Vorträge. Teil I (ZDMG Supplementa, 1)*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 41–47, esp. p. 45.

6.2.4. Magical texts

Magical texts are collections of spells and recipes which try to obtain their goal outside the natural laws of cause and effect. In a broader application of this term funerary compositions such as the Book of the Dead could also be included, but here only texts for use during life are meant. Again the discussion is limited to more general 'reference works' (for practical applications, see below, p. 151), which are essential for a good understanding of religion in Hellenistic Egypt.

For the above 'working definition' and a study of Egyptian magic in general, including much Demotic material, see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC, 54), Chicago 1993.

General introductions are G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, London 1994; Y. Koenig, *Magie et magiciens dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Bibliothèque de l'Égypte Ancienne), Paris 1994.

R.K. Ritner, *Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and their Religious Context*, in: W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Teil II: Principat. Band 18: Religion. 5. Teilband: Heidentum: Die religiösen Verhältnisse in den Provinzen (forts.)*, Berlin-New York 1995, pp. 3333–3379; see also in the same volume the article by W.M. Brashear, *The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)*, pp. 3380–3684.

The four papyri mentioned here all come from the Anastasi collection, and were found in Thebes. They are dated to the end of the third century AD or somewhat later. There are indications that several of them were written by the same scribe. Typical is the mixture of Demotic, Greek, and Old Coptic.

E. Bresciani, *I grandi testi magici demotici*, in: A. Roccati / A. Siliotti (eds.), *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei faraoni. Atti convegno internazionale di studi, Milano, 29–31 ottobre 1985*, Milano 1987, pp. 313–329.

W.J. Tait, *Theban Magic*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period (P.L. Bat., 27)*, Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 169–182.

A. THE MAGICAL PAPYRUS OF LONDON AND LEIDEN

This is the longest text preserved in Demotic, consisting of P. Leiden J 383 (Anastasi 65) and P. BM 10070 (Anastasi 1072). The two parts originally belonged together but were cut apart for the antiquities market. In total the papyrus numbers twenty-nine large columns on the recto and thirty-three smaller ones on the verso side. Both beginning and end are lost. Three columns are composed in Greek. Some passages or words whose exact pronunciation is important are written in a special Demotic 'alphabetical' script often accompanied by Old Coptic glosses. Hieratic, especially where a solemn attitude is appropriate, and a kind of cipher seem to have been employed as well.

The papyrus gives spells for various purposes, for instance to communicate with the gods in a vision or to make a woman love a man. Other, more 'medical' recipes are allegedly effective against the bite of a dog or a bone stuck in the throat. There is also 'black magic', such as prescriptions to cause 'evil sleep' in a man or to make someone mad.

F.Ll. Griffith / H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vol., London 1904–1909.

For a new translation, see J.H. Johnson / W.C. Grese / R.F. Hock (these last two for the Greek sections) in: H.D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells*, Chicago–London 1986 (referred to as 'Betz' in the following), PDM xiv. 1–1227 (pp. 195–251).

B. P. LEIDEN I 384 VERSO

The verso of the papyrus containing the Myth of the Sun's Eye has nineteen columns of a bilingual magical text (Anastasi 75; successively 2 columns Demotic; 13 Greek; 2 Demotic; 2 mainly Demotic). Again Demotic is interspersed with passages or words in hieratic, 'alphabetical Demotic', Old Coptic, and a single word in cipher. It was most probably written by the scribe of the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden.

The Demotic part of the papyrus contains an invocation to the gods to reveal the prescription fitting to a certain illness, but also spells to separate people from each other or to cause a woman to hate a man.

Publication of the Demotic part in J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384*, in: *OMRO* 56 (1975), pp. 29–64.

See the translation by J.H. Johnson / R.F. Hock / E.N. O'Neil (these last two for the Greek sections) in: Betz, PDM xii. (lines 1–49; 50–164 on pp. 152–153; pp. 169–172 are Demotic).

C. P. LOUVRE E. 3229

This papyrus (originally Anastasi 1061) is damaged at both ends, but the text still amounts to seven columns on the recto and one column on the verso. The Demotic is interspersed with hieratic, Old Coptic, and 'alphabetical Demotic'. Amongst the contents are various spells for sending a dream, as well as invocations to the gods to see them in a vision.

J.H. Johnson, *Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 55–102.

See the translation by J.H. Johnson in: Betz, PDM Suppl. 1–208 (pp. 323–330).

D. P. BM 10588

This is a papyrus with eight columns in Demotic on the recto side. On the verso side there are two columns Demotic and four columns Greek. In the Demotic parts Old Coptic is used for magical names and Greek for ingredients. The various spells include a method of finding a thief and a prescription to make a woman fall in love.

H.I. Bell / A.D. Nock / H. Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum (Proceedings of the British Academy, 17)*, Oxford 1933.

For a new translation, see J.H. Johnson / R. Kotansky / E.N. O'Neil (the latter two for the Greek sections) in: Betz, PDM lxi. (lines 1–57; 63–158 on pp. 286–290 are Demotic).

E. OTHERS (?)

The existence of a separate genre of 'Hermetic Writings' has been postulated by their editor Reymond. Supposedly these would be scholarly tracts giving interpretations of theoretical books or 'secret writings'. The written depositions of scholarly discussions between Egyptian priests would deal with cosmological issues. As 'philosophical' literature from the 'House of Life' it would have been adopted by the Greeks in their 'Corpus Hermeticum'.

As was demonstrated in the reviews, the bulk of these very fragmentary papyri have been incorrectly read and interpreted by Reymond. One should thus be very wary of accepting her conclusions. Most texts are probably astrological, medical, or magical.

E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum, Part II: From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings*, (MPER, NS 11), Wien 1977. Add ead., *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.) Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60, esp. pp. 56–59.

See the reviews by D. Devauchelle, in: *CdÉ* 55 (1980) pp. 127–132, and J.H. Johnson, in: *JNES* 41 (1982), pp. 301–303.

A so-called Thoth Book is due to be edited by K.-Th. Zauzich and R. Jasnow. Some plates of papyri with extracts from this text have already been published: see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig–Berlin 1902, pp. 26 (P. Berlin 8027); E. Revillout, *Papyrus démotiques du Louvre. Fascicule IV (Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti, 1)*, Paris 1902, pp. 5–8 (no. 30), pl. 30–33.

6.2.5. Medical and paramedical texts

The classical authors mention the high esteem that ancient Egyptian medical science enjoyed. After a gap of nearly a thousand years the Demotic texts link up again with the important papyri from the Middle and New Kingdom.

For an introduction, see J.F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, London 1996.

A. A MEDICAL PAPYRUS

P. Vienna D. 6257 (22 fragments of one papyrus scroll; only recto; 14 columns) was, according to its editor, part of a temple library of Sobek in Crocodilopolis (Faiyum), but her argumentation is not entirely convincing. The text can be dated to the second half of the second century AD and is particularly informative for medical practice during the Hellenistic period. Because of the inaccurate publication, however, new insights in the medical and scientific literature of this period must wait until after a more thorough study of this document. Thus it is not clear whether the innovations, such as new remedies for well-known diseases, are to be attributed to contact with the Greek world, or if they are autonomous Egyptian evolutions. The many Greek loan-words point out to a foreign origin.

The work seems to be a compilation of six older books: 'On skin diseases'; 'On internal diseases'; 'On skin inflammations and swellings'; 'On sores and disturbances'; 'On the treatment of various internal diseases'; 'From a physician's compendium'. Sometimes the original wording is maintained, which leads to archaisms. The grammar of the text might indicate a date for the original around the third or the second century BC.

E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Souchos Temples in the Fayyum. Part I: A Medical Book (P. Vindob. D. 6257)* (MPER, NS 10), Wien 1976.

This publication has been severely criticized for its inaccuracies in both transliteration and translation. It has to be used with utmost care, see the reviews of M. Smith, in: *BiOr* 35 (1978), pp. 53–57; J.H. Johnson, in: *JNES* 41 (1982), pp. 301–303. The elaborate indices, especially 'II. Pharmakon' (201 numbers; pp. 244–292) and 'III. Medical Index' (98 numbers; pp. 293–304) should be used with due reserve, see D. Devauchelle / M. Pezin, *Un papyrus médical démotique*, in: *CdÉ* 53 (1978), pp. 57–66.

Other texts preserved in Copenhagen are mentioned in K.-Th. Zauzich, *Einleitung*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection (CNI Publications, 15)*, Copenhagen 1991, pp. 1–11, esp. p. 8.

B. A DENTIST'S HANDBOOK

P. Vienna D. 12287 (Faiyum [?]) consists of two small fragments from around the second or third centuries AD dealing with the extraction of teeth.

Publication with a short survey of predecessors in E.A.E. Reymond, *From an Ancient Egyptian Dentist's Handbook. P. Vindob. D. 12287*, in: *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, Montpellier 1984, pp. 183–199.

Compare E. Bresciani, *Ai margini della storia della medicina egiziana antica. Il caso di Padikhonsi di Akhmim*, in: *EVO* 10,2 (1987), pp. 51–55.

C. A HERBAL

P. Carlsberg 230 (Tebtunis; second century AD; 11 fragments) and P. Tebt. Tait 20 (2 fragments) are part of a systematic handbook for the identification of herbs. For each plant involved, one or two medical recipes are also provided. Because they all bear a number, we know that at least ninety herbs are listed.

W.J. Tait, *P. Carlsberg 230: Eleven Fragments from a Demotic Herbal*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection (CNI Publications, 15)*, Copenhagen 1991, pp. 47–92; id., *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek (P. Tebt. Tait) (Texts from Excavations, 3)*, London 1977, pp. 67–69.
M.C. Betrò, *Erbari nell'antico Egitto*, in: *EVO* 11 (1988), pp. 71–110.

D. A GYNAECOLOGICAL TRACT

The fragmentary papyrus Berlin 13602 (Abusir el-Meleq; late first century BC; 1 column) gives various recipes concerning the gynaecological subjects, especially focusing on contraceptives. Magic and witchcraft also play a role in this text, just as in other and older medical papyri.

W. Erichsen, *Aus einem demotischen Papyrus über Frauenkrankheiten*, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 2 (1954), pp. 363–377.

6.2.6. The embalming ritual of the Apis-bull

P. Vienna KM. 3873 (Memphis (?); 7 columns recto, 4 columns verso) deals with the embalming of the dead Apis bull. Although both sides of the papyrus share the same subject, two different hands can be discerned. The text, written in a mixture of hieratic and Demotic scripts (see above, p. 31), is Ptolemaic: the recto side dates from around the end of the second century BC, the verso being somewhat later.

The manuscript deals with the different activities involved in the embalming and the burial of the sacred Apis bull. When it dies, its body is brought to the House of Purification to be ritually cleaned. After four (?) days it is transferred to the House of Embalming, where the mummification takes place. Some surgical operations are carried out: the entrails are removed and the cavities filled up. The corpse then probably remains for a long time (fourty days ?) covered with solid natron. On the fifty-third day other personnel with specific tasks start to wrap up the body in bandages. After the mummy is placed into a coffin, it is carried out of the House of Embalming on a shrine on the sixty-ninth day. A procession then brings the bull to the Lake of Kings for a number of ritual operations intended for its resurrection. After a short stay in the Tent of Purification the now risen Apis awaits its burial. This takes place on day seventy, when it is carried to the underground tomb in the Serapeum. Then this is closed until the next interment.

The text does not pay much attention to the ritual acts and the contents of the spells or glorifications that would have to be recited. This is conspicuous, certainly if compared with other manuscripts concerning embalming such as the 'Rituel de l'Embaumement'. It is essentially a practical, almost medical handbook for the mummification of the dead Apis bull. Probably the papyrus belonged to one of the embalmers who took his professional

tools with him into his tomb. It might also be a copy belonging to the 'House of Life', the repository of priestly wisdom.

R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual. P. Vindob. 3873 (OLA, 50)*, Leuven 1993.

Compare J.-F. Quack, *Zwei Handbücher der Mumifizierung im Balsamierungsritual des Apisstieres*, in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 123–129.

6.2.7. Juridical texts

During the Ptolemaic period Egyptian law survived and was practised next to its Greek counterpart. Under Ptolemy VIII regulations were made to determine to whom which kind of law applied, depending on the language in which the contract was drawn up. All surviving juridical 'scientific' texts concern the 'sacred law' developed by the Egyptian priests.

On Egyptian 'sacred' law in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see J. Quaegebeur, *Sur la "loi sacrée" dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, in: *AncSoc* 11/12 (1980/1981), pp. 227–240, esp. pp. 236–240 for Demotic texts, and id., *La justice à la porte des temples et le toponyme Premit*, in: C. Cannuyer / J.-M. Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès*, Ath (...) 1993, pp. 201–220.

A. THE 'LEGAL CODE OF HERMOPOLIS'

The most important Demotic juridical manual is without any doubt the so-called Code of Hermopolis (Cairo JdÉ 89127–89130 & 89137–89143; first half of the third century BC; 10 columns), found in Tuna el-Gebel in 1938–1939 and published by Mattha and Hughes in 1975. The text is written on the recto: the verso contains mathematical problems (see above, p. 104).

Four large sections can be discerned, treating consecutively: some problems which can occur between the permanent owner and the tenant (for instance lawsuits between lessor and lessee); some special cases of alimentation within marriage; problems with property such as the unclear consequences of new constructions; and finally some specific cases of inheritance.

The main question remains who wrote this text and to what purpose. It has been suggested that it is a collection of juridical practices in casuistic form or a codification of priestly common law under Ptolemy II Philadelphos, but for these the composition does not seem general enough. The manuscript is rather a private commentary on a more fundamental and comprehensive work by a specialist, or a juridical handbook with procedures to be applied to various complex cases, perhaps as guidelines for the judges in native courts. At least part of the book might even be traced back to an original of the eighth century BC under pharaoh Bocchoris. It is also worth considering if the recto and verso of the papyrus should not be considered together as a mathematical and juridical reference book.

G. Mattha / G.R. Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West (BdÉ, 45)*, 2 vol., Le Caire 1975.

For a survey and references to all earlier literature, see S. Allam, *Réflexions sur le "Code légal" d'Hermopolis dans l'Égypte ancienne*, in: *CdÉ* 61 (1986), pp. 50–75.

Transliteration and translation, using all published and a number of unpublished corrections in K. Donker van Heel, *The Legal Manual of Hermopolis [P. Mattha], Text and Translation (Uitgaven vanwege de Stichting "Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut", 11)*, Leiden 1990, with an extensive bibliography on pp. vii–viii.

Some passages of this text were apparently translated into Greek. Very remarkable is the fact the only copy as yet discovered of this Greek translation comes from Oxyrhynchos and dates to the second half of the second century AD. Internal grammatical criteria, however, point to the early Ptolemaic period as the date of the original redaction. It is probably based on another, lost copy of the Demotic manual.

The papyrus is P. gr. Oxy. XLVI 3285. See P.W. Pestman, *Le manuel de droit égyptien de Hermopolis. Les passages transmis en démotique et en grec*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* (P.L.Bat., 23), Leiden 1985, pp. 116–143.

B. OTHER MANUALS

Besides the above mentioned text from Hermopolis, there are juridical reference books from Tebtunis as well. Since also new additions are made, P. Carlsberg 301 (almost a hundred, often tiny fragments; end of the Ptolemaic period) is no mere reproduction of an already known 'law handbook'.

E. Bresciani, *Frammenti da un "Prontuario legale" demotico da Tebtuni nell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze*, in: *EVO* 4 (1981), pp. 201–215.

M. Chauveau, *P. Carlsberg 301: Le manuel juridique de Tebtynis*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications, 15), Copenhagen 1991, pp. 103–127.

Furthermore a fragment (P. Carlsberg 236; Tebtunis; second century AD) from the forty-fourth (!) column of a law handbook is extant. Its original must date from around the same time as the Code of Hermopolis.

W.J. Tait, *P. Carlsberg 236: Another Fragment of a Demotic Legal Manual*, in: P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications, 15), Copenhagen 1991, pp. 93–101.

About sixty fragments in Berlin come from cartonnage. Some are quite large, up to even a whole column. Amongst the topics discussed are marriage and divorce law. On the verso of the fragments literary texts are written. Both recto and verso probably date from the third century BC.

Mentioned by K.-Th. Zauzich, *Weitere Fragmente eines juristischen Handbuchs in demotischer Schrift*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 327–332.

C. THE SO-CALLED 'ZIVILPROZESSORDNUNG'

A slightly different juridical text is the so-called 'Zivilprozessordnung' (P. Berlin P. 13621 & Cairo 50108 recto; Thebes; Ptolemaic; fragments of 4 columns). It sets forth in which cases a document that has been drawn up is sufficient evidence in a lawsuit, and with whom the onus of proof rests when the authenticity of various types of documents is controversial. The verso gives a list of priestly offices with an indication of the sum required to hold them. Both sides may form a 'handbook' for Theban priests, in a similar way to the 'Code of Hermopolis'.

W. Spiegelberg, *Aus einer ägyptischen Zivilprozeßordnung der Ptolemäerzeit (3.–2. vorchristl. Jahrh.)* (Pap. demot. Berlin 13621) (*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung*, NS 1), München 1929; and K. Sethe / W. Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zu dem Bruchstück einer ägyptischen Zivilprozeßordnung in demotischer Schrift* (...) (*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung*, NS 4), München 1929.

E. Seidl, *Die demotischen Zivilprozessordnung u. die griechischen Rechtsurkunden*, in: *CdÉ* 7 (1932), pp. 210–226.

Compare T. Mursich, *Eine Zwischenbilanz zum "zivilprozessualen" Abschnitt des demotischen Rechtsbuches "S"* (P. Berl. 13621 Rc. Col. II), in: D. Nörr / D. Simon (eds.), *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel*, Frankfurt a.M. 1984, pp. 205–282.

For the verso, see below, p. 131.

6.2.8. Onomastica, word-lists

Onomastica are lists of names or words that provide an inventory of a certain field of study. They could be used as reference works or in the education of scribes. Many examples preserved today are as a matter of fact probably no more than students' exercises. These texts follow a long Egyptian (and Near Eastern) tradition of cataloguing and listing, a typical 'aspective' way to get a grip on reality.

For examples from older periods, see A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 vol., London 1947.

For a late example written in hieratic but with Demotic and Old Coptic glosses, see J. Osing, *Ein späthieratisches Onomastikon aus Tebtunis*, in: S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985 (Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. Beihefte, 3)*, Hamburg 1989, pp. 183–187; the glosses in Demotic and Old Coptic are discussed by the same author: *Vocabulaires et manuels sacerdotaux à l'époque romaine*, in: J. Osing, *Aspects de la culture pharaonique. Quatre leçons au Collège de France (Février-mars 1989) (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, NS 12)*, Paris 1992, pp. 37–48, esp. pp. 44–48.

In Demotic studies a terminological distinction between onomastica and word-lists is but rarely made. The former term is then reserved for lists of proper names (personal, divine, and geographical), the latter for enumerations of common names. Sometimes even whole sentences or grammatical conjugations are listed.

A. SEMANTIC ORDER

In these onomastica the entries are listed in a systematical way according to their meaning or what they refer to. Thus we have a list of toponyms in geographical order from south to north (O. Ashmolean 956; first century BC). The most comprehensive texts belonging to this type are P. Cairo 31168 and 31169 (Saqqara; early Ptolemaic; 10 columns recto; 4 columns verso). What is extant of the latter starts with a list of toponyms. The sections concerning the Delta have been preserved, and there seems to be a 'clockwise' order, whereby possibly the four borders of each nome are listed. It continues with a list of gods and their epithets, which is paralleled in 31168. In fragments from columns thirty to thirty-three of a papyrus from Tebtunis (P. Carlsberg 23; Ptolemaic) we find an enumeration of priestly titles and court designations, probably classified according to their rank.

For the Tebtunis papyrus, see W.J. Tait, *A Demotic List of Temple and Court Occupations: P. Carlsberg 23*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 211–233.

For the ostrakon, see M. Smith, *Four Demotic Ostraca in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum*, in: *Enchoria* 16 (1988), pp. 77–88, esp. pp. 78–84.

For the topographical section of P. Cairo 31169, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Das topographische Onomastikon im P. Kairo 31169*, in: *GM* 99 (1987), pp. 83–91; see also P. Chuvin / J. Yoyotte, *Documents relatifs au culte pélusien de Zeus Casios*, in: *Revue Archéologique* 1986, pp. 41–63, esp. pp. 48–52.

B. ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Very striking is the fact that some lists show an alphabetical order, which may be traced back to that of the South Arabic alphabet. The Egyptian scribes probably preferred it to that of the north-western Semitic languages, because for some Egyptian phonemes these did not have a matching character.

J.F. Quack, *Ägyptisches und südarabisches Alphabet*, in: *RdÉ* 44 (1993), pp. 141–151, with references to older literature; some corrections to printing errors in *RdÉ* 45 (1994), p. 197.

This alphabetical order can be found in several documents. The best preserved fragments of P. Carlsberg 41a (Tebtunis; second century AD; 3 columns) deal with metal vessels and tools, many of them designated with foreign loan-words. A fragment of the Michaelides collection (Faiyum; fourth century BC) lists personal names beginning with *h*. Another interesting example again comes from Tebtunis (P. Carlsberg 12; second century AD) and not only enumerates various nouns, but also some often used sentences. But perhaps the most intriguing text (P. dem. Saq. 27; fourth century BC) is one in which birds are connected with trees ('the ibis [*hb*] was upon the ebony-tree [*hbnyl*']) and with toponyms ('the Benu-bird [*bnw*] went away to Babylon [*Bbl*']).

A. Volten, *An "Alphabetical" Dictionary and Grammar in Demotic (Pap. Carlsberg XII verso)*, in: *Archiv Orientalní* 20 (1952), pp. 496–508.

E. Bresciani, *Testi demotici nella collezione Michaelidis*, in: *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963), pp. 1–26, esp. pp. 15–16.

W.J. Tait, *A Demotic Word-List from Tebtunis: P. Carlsberg 41a*, in: *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 210–227.

P. Saqq. 27, published by H.S. Smith / W.J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri, I (P. dem. Saq. I) (Texts from Excavations, 7 // Excavations at North Saqqâra. Documentary Series, 5)*, London 1983, pp. 198–213.

6.2.9. School exercises

Ostraca or papyri can contain exercises on various subjects. The majority of these are grammatical, but there are others dealing with lexicography (see above, p. 115), administrative terminology, or arithmetic. Ostraca containing exercises with extracts from literary texts in Demotic are less commonly used in scribal training.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Schüler und Schulwesen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, in: *SAK* 1 (1974), pp. 227–246.

D. Devauchelle, *Remarques sur les méthodes d'enseignement du démotique (À propos d'ostraca du Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak)*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 47–59.

E. Tassier, *Greek and Demotic School-Exercises*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond (SAOC, 51)*, Chicago 1992, pp. 311–315.

6.3. Funerary and mortuary texts

The last category of the Demotic literature are the funerary and mortuary texts. Theoretically these two can distinguished: the former term is then reserved for all texts that are part of the funerary equipment, the latter for compositions originally meant for the use of the living, *in casu* the mortuary priest. In practice, however, it is often difficult to separate the two functions strictly. Therefore they have been treated here together.

For the distinction between funerary and mortuary texts, see J. Assmann, *Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies*, in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem 1990, vol. 1, pp. 1–45.

Concerning the double function of several texts, see M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, Oxford 1993, pp. 6–7; 12–18.

Perhaps more than the other literary genres these compositions have a documentary aspect as well. Especially in the case of the shorter examples, such as the funerary stela or the mummy labels, the identification of the deceased is more important than literary aspirations.

The long tradition of funerary texts starts with the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, continues with the Coffin Texts of the First Intermediate period and the Middle Kingdom, and leads to the Book of the Dead from the New Kingdom onwards. During this last period a continuously growing variety of compositions is created. For the mortuary texts there are also predecessors in earlier periods. All these compositions of both genres are generally written in hieratic, even under Roman rule. The oldest example written in Demotic dates from the middle of the first century BC. Many of them must be labelled compilations.

As they were useful for the decipherment of Demotic because of their hieroglyphic and hieratic counterparts, these manuscripts were intensively studied in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century little attention was paid to them. Nevertheless their importance is manifold: they are interesting for the text tradition; linguistically for the grammatical archaisms; lexicographically for the 'technical terms'; they show the sacerdotal and scribal creativity in composition; and finally they offer new information about religious practices.

The survey given here is mainly based on an unpublished lecture of M. Smith on Demotic mortuary and funerary literature given in Heidelberg.

6.3.1. Larger compositions

A. P. RHIND 1 & 2

These are the two best known funerary manuscripts, found together in Thebes in 1856/1857 lying next to the deceased in the sarcophagus. They are now preserved in Edinburgh. The same scribe wrote them for husband and wife, who died shortly after one another in the same year 9 BC. The texts of each papyrus are written in both hieratic and Demotic, and topped by large vignettes, especially in the case of P. Rhind 1.

This last, intended for the husband, numbers eleven columns and contains a 'biography' of the deceased and a series of passages dealing with different aspects of the voyage to the hereafter: the announcement of death, the escort to the underworld, the purification, the judgement before Osiris, etc. Especially interesting is the detailed description of the mummification.

P. Rhind 2 (9 columns) is an abridged version of the same text for his wife.

G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg* (Demotische Studien, 6), Leipzig 1913.

A translation in G. Roeder, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben* (Die Ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild, 4), Zürich-Stuttgart 1961, pp. 328–358.

B. P. PAMONTES

P. BN 149 (3 columns) is usually named P. Pamontes after its owner, a man who died in Thebes in 63 AD. It contains a translation of chapter 125 of the 'Book of the Dead' and an extract from the 'Book of Traversing Eternity'.

F. Lexa, *Das demotische Totenbuch der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus des Pamontes) (Demotische Studien, 4)*, Leipzig 1910.

The correct inventory number (149 instead of 140) is given in F.R. Herbin, *Le livre de Parcourir l'Eternité (OLA, 58)*, Leuven 1994, p. 31.

C. THE BOOK OF TRANSFORMATIONS

The oldest funerary-mortuary text known in Demotic, P. Louvre E. 3452, was written for a Theban priest in 57–56 BC. Apart from the resurrection to life by Isis, the text mainly consists of spells for transformations into various sacred animals.

G. Legrain, *Le Livre des Transformations (Papyrus démotique 3,452 du Louvre)*, Paris 1890.

A new treatment in the unpublished dissertation by M. Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, Chicago 1979.

D. LITURGY OF OPENING THE MOUTH FOR BREATHING (P. BERLIN P. 8351 ET AL.)

This original composition consists of different parts: the awakening of the deceased (compare the ancient 'Ritual of Opening the Mouth'); the description of the sacrifices; and the integration of the dead into the cosmos by participating in various feasts and rites (compare the ancient 'Book of the Crossing of Eternity'). These texts were probably read when the mummy was brought into the tomb; the papyrus was placed beside it afterwards. Four manuscripts of this composition are preserved, all of them from the first century AD, possibly from Akhmim. The most important one is P. Berlin P. 8351 (5 columns); other copies are P. Strasbourg 3 verso (fragments of 4 columns); P. Louvre E. 10607 (1 column); P. Louvre E. 10605 & Bodl. MS. Egypt. C.9 (P) (3 columns).

M. Smith, *An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 9(P) + Louvre E 10605)*, in: *Enchoria* 15 & 16 (1987 & 1988), pp. 61–91 & pp. 55–76.

M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, Oxford 1993.

E. P. BM 10507

This papyrus (late first century BC; 12 columns) was purchased together with the teachings of Onchsheshonqy, and probably comes from Akhmim. It is a compilation consisting of three books: 'The book which Isis made for Osiris, foremost in the west'; 'The book which was made in exact accordance with his desire for Hor son of Petemin to cause it to be recited as an opening of the mouth document in his presence on the night of his burial feast'; and 'The chapters of awakening the *ba* which are recited on the night of mummification for a god's-servant, a *wab*-priest, a magistrate, a scribe, and the rest of the men who are great and before whom it is fitting to recite them'. The last part (columns 4–12) has a parallel in P. Harkness columns two to three.

M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507 (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 3)*, London 1987.

For the correct reading of the name of the deceased, see for example the review of G. Vittmann, in: *WZKM* 79 (1989), pp. 258–262.

For the provenance, see M. Smith, *Budge at Akhmim, January 1896*, in: C. Eyre / A. & L.M. 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, pp. 293–303.

F. P. HARKNESS

This text is not a single continuous composition, but consists of eight discrete sections (6 columns), some of which are spoken by the deceased, while others are to be recited by the family members. The contents are very diverse, from glorifications to libation formulae. Like in P. BM 10507 there are also 'Stundenwachen', but in this case not only the hours of the night, but also those of the day are enumerated. The papyrus was written for a woman in Qaw el-Kebir in 60 AD.

Photographs in T.J. Logan, *Papyrus Harkness*, in: J.H. Johnson / E.F. Wente (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC, 39), Chicago 1976, pp. 147–161.

Preliminaries to a future publication are given by M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 95–105.

G. BODL. MS. EGYPT. A.3 (P)

Apart from a hieratic text this manuscript (provenance unknown; second half of the first century BC; 4 columns) also contains a series of offering liturgies in Demotic script but Middle Egyptian language. One of these is a composite of spells 25 and 32 of the Pyramid Texts; another, to be recited in conjunction with a ritual involving a torch, has a parallel in the final column of the above mentioned P. Strasbourg 3 verso, also written in Middle Egyptian.

M. Smith, *New Middle Egyptian Texts in the Demotic Script*, in: G.M. Zaccane / T.R. di Netro (eds.), *Atti del Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egitologia*, Torino 1993, vol. 2, pp. 491–495.

6.3.2. Shorter texts

A. P. TURIN N. 766

P. Turin N. 766 (Memphis; first century AD) is inspired by the 'Book which Makes the Name Flourish', a litany that clearly demonstrates the importance that the Egyptians attached to their names. The papyrus is a Demotic counterpart to what is traditionally called the Second Book of Breathing and aims to assure the entry of the deceased in the underworld.

G. Botti, *Il libro del respirare e un suo nuovo esemplare nel papiro demotico N. 766 del Museo Egizio di Torino*, in: *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 223–230.

For the complicated problem of the terminology of the Books of Breathing and related texts, see M. Coenen, *Books of Breathings. More than a Terminological Question?*, in: *OLP* 26 (1995), pp. 29–38.

B. DIVINE DECREES

Of similar purpose is a single text, seven lines in length, preserved in O. Strasbourg 132–134. It is a short Demotic counterpart of the 'Götterdekrete', 'divine decrees' in favour of the deceased, which are mostly written in hieroglyphs on a stela placed in the grave.

A publication is being prepared by M. Smith.

For the hieroglyphic counterparts and references to this genre, see J. Quaegebeur, *Lettres de Thot et décrets pour Osiris*, in: J.H. Kamstra et al. (eds.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion. Essays dedicated to Professor M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss* (...), Kampen 1988, pp. 105–126; H. De

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Meulenaere, *Le décret d'Osiris*, in: *CdÉ* 63 (1988), pp. 234–241; L. Kákossy, *Three Decrees of Gods from Theban Tomb 32*, in: *OLP* 23 (1992), pp. 311–328.

C. LETTERS OF BREATHING

Other short texts come from the Theban area and can be dated to the first or second century AD. Like the preceding categories, they have been interpreted as a sort of passport or a letter of recommendation for the underworld. Some bear the label 'Book of Protection', others are titled 'Letter of Breathing'. There are also examples of these texts written on coffins.

For the coffins, see G. Botti, *Documenti demotici del Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, in: *Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel i centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio (1839–1939) (Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie)*, Città del Vaticano 1941, pp. 29–38, esp. pp. 33–38 (no. 3).

M. Chauveau, *Glorification d'une morte anonyme (P. dém. Louvre N 2420 c)*, in: *RdÉ* 41 (1990), pp. 3–8.

J. Quaegebeur, *P. Brux dem. E. 8258. Une lettre de recommandation pour l'au-delà*, in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem 1990, vol. 2, pp. 776–795.

D. SIMILAR SHORT TEXTS

Demotic inscriptions have been preserved on various items of funerary equipment. Some of these are in fact no more than labels, whose main purpose is to identify the dead person. Others incorporate brief religious formula, and finally some are more elaborate and seem to be of a purpose similar to the preceding categories.

M. Smith, *A Demotic Formula of Intercession for the Deceased*, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 131–154, esp. pp. 150–154.

Quite exceptional is a mummy board (BM 35464; provenance unknown; Ptolemaic or Roman). The representation, similar to those found on funerary stelae, is accompanied by a short hieroglyphic and hieratic legend, and a much longer Demotic text. This last one identifies the deceased and describes her journey to and reception in the underworld. Judging by the dimensions (1.44 m high; 12 cm wide) the board probably was meant for a child.

Published by G. Vittmann, *Ein neuer religiöser demotischer Text (Mumienbrett BM 35464)*, in: *ZÄS* 117 (1990), pp. 79–88.

Compare a hieroglyphic example, published in G. Vittmann, *Ein Mumienbrett im Britischen Museum (BM 36502)*, in: M. Bietak et al. (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*, Wien 1994, pp. 222–275.

E. FUNERARY STELAE

In the temple or in the grave itself a stela could be placed to commemorate the deceased. These fairly common funerary stelae sometimes represent the dead person standing before Osiris, whether or not accompanied by various other deities. Alternatively he is shown lying stretched out on a beer. An inscription gives the appropriate religious formulae and his name and titles.

The stelae of this type found in Abydos or in the Serapeum in Memphis presumably stood in the temple asking for a blessing on behalf of the dead person. Those discovered

in other localities were in all probability placed in the tomb itself and simultaneously identified the deceased.

For a typology of the formulae of the funerary stelae, see B. Menu, *Une stèle démotique inédite*, in: *RdE* 26 (1974), pp. 66–72.

For some examples of funerary stelae, see A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies), Liverpool 1992, esp. pp. 121–123.

A. Farid, *Demotische Inschriften aus Berlin, Kairo und Saqqara*, in: *MDAIK* 50 (1994), pp. 43–55; also a list by the same author in *Fünf demotische Stelen (...) mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften (...) und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1995, pp. 245–266.

F. MUMMY LABELS

A cheap replacement for the more elaborate stelae were the so-called mummy labels. These are wooden tablets (see above, p. 78), frequently in the shape of a stela, with a little hole to tie the label to the mummy. Occasionally materials other than wood can be used. They did not only identify the deceased by name, but also gave a short religious formula for his well-being in the hereafter. Many of these labels are bilingual: they have Greek on one side, Demotic on the other. Similar funerary texts are written on various materials related to mummification and burial, from linen to small statues.

J. Quaegebeur, *Mummy Labels: An Orientation*, in: E. Boswinkel / P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues (P.L.Bat., 19)*, Lugdunum Batavorum 1978, pp. 232–259.

J. Quaegebeur, *Mumienetiketten*, in: *LÄ* IV (1982), cols. 216–217.

J. Quaegebeur, *La question des étiquettes de momies*, in: *CRIPPEL* 8 (1986), pp. 99–102.

For some more recent publications, see the publications and remarks by M. Chauveau in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991), pp. 135–146 & pp. 155–159; 92 (1992), pp. 101–109.

7. Demotic documentary texts

Not merely documents of legal relevance, but all non-literary Demotic material is included in the class of documentary texts. They provide information on public and private administration; economic and social life; legal and, occasionally, political topics.

Literary compositions may defy categorization, but documentary texts do so even more. Various criteria can be taken into account for their classification. Thus there is the type of document: through both external and internal features, such as format and formulae, a manuscript can for instance be assigned to the notary- or *sh*-deeds, and more in particular to the cessions (*sh n wy*). One can also consider the legal implications of the document as of most importance and adopt modern legal classifications: a text is either a sale or contains testamentary dispositions, even if both can be accomplished by means of a single type of document, the *sh n db hq*. A third possibility is to take into account the official or private character: documents can be issued by various institutions or their representatives, but also by a private person.

It would of course be ideal if these criteria resulted in identical classifications, but, as might be expected, they in fact lead to divergent arrangements. A typical example is a letter: formally this is a type of document with specific formulae (first criterion); sometimes, however, contracts are made up in epistolary style (conflict between the first and second criterion); and a distinction can be made between private letters and official ones (possible conflict between first and third criterion). Another example are receipts: if the third criterion is given priority, official tax receipts and private receipts must be separated; if they are drafted in epistolary form they may be included amongst the letters (first criterion).

An arrangement of documentary texts will therefore be a compromise between the various factors playing. The following classification starts from the third possibility, making a distinction between dealings with the various institutions (7.1.); legal documents or arrangements between private individuals (7.2.); and unofficial documents (7.3.).

For similar surveys of documentary texts, see above, p. 67. The list of K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die demotischen Dokumente*, in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion (BdÉ, 64)*, Le Caire 1972, vol. 3, pp. 93–110, is alphabetical, and for that reason the German counterparts of the English terms are given in each section.

Not all secondary literature cited in his article is reproduced here.

Before we continue with the survey, it is necessary to pay some attention to the legal form of the documents. The different types of contract in Demotic each have their specific structure, formulae, and format. A distinction is made between the notary-contracts, the agreements in epistolary form, and less formal documents.

Notary-contracts (or *sh*-contracts) are papyri in which a notary (Dem. *sh*), representing the priests of the temple, warrants a statement made in his presence. These documents are often quite long, but there are also examples where it was preferred to use less space (see above, p. 76). Since this is the traditional way to write a contract, we find it from the beginning (a sale from the year 644 BC), until well in the Roman period (last example: 45 AD).

7. Demotic documentary texts

The structure of these declarations, written by the notary, is the following:

- The document starts with the date, containing the ruling year of the pharaoh and, during part of the Ptolemaic period and in the most important documents, the names of the eponymous priests.
For the dating formula, see below, p. 163.
- This is followed by an identification of the two parties in the third person, as a statement of the notary: *ḏḏ A n B* 'Says A to B'.
- The actual body of the declaration with the various formulae changes according to the type, but the clauses are always in the first person, as statements by the first party.
- At the end, often at the beginning of a new line, the notary writes down *sh* 'written' and his name.
- Only in the early Demotic period is it customary for the declaring party to sign the contract in his own handwriting.
- Sometimes an interested third party also signs the contract.
- A number of witnesses (at least four and at most, in the Ptolemaic period, sixteen) write down their names on either the recto or, for the larger type, the verso of the papyrus.
- For important contracts in the early Demotic and the early Ptolemaic period some witnesses also copy the whole contract, even if they have already signed on the verso.
For an exemplary edition of such a 'witness-copy' contract, see M. Malinine, *Une vente de prébendes sous la XXX^e dynastie* (Pap. Moscou N° 135), in: RdÉ 26 (1974), pp. 34–51.
- Sometimes a preliminary draft of the agreement or some notes are still preserved at the right-hand side of the papyrus.
P.W. Pestman, *Drafts of Demotic Notarial Documents*, in: C. Eyre / A. & L.M. 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, pp. 242–267.
- From 264 BC onwards all Demotic documents regarding sale had to bear a Greek note stating payment of the relevant taxes.
- From 145 BC onwards a law stipulated that all agreements written in Demotic had to be registered.
P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive* (Studia Demotica, 2), Leuven 1993, pp. 337–341 (§6).
- The papyrus was rolled up for preservation, but never sealed.
For the preservation, see above, p. 77.

Agreements in epistolary style (*š^c.t*) are a less official style for a contract. This type makes use of an introductory formula also frequently found at the beginning of letters. It also has the same format: rather narrow strips of papyrus. Royal oaths, surety documents, and loans often take this form, generally as double documents (see below).

- As in the notary contract, the document starts with a date, which in this case only mentions the year of the ruling pharaoh, never the eponymous priests.
- The identification of the parties is given by *A p³ nty ḏḏ n B* 'A is the one who says to B'.
- Again the stipulations of the declaration follow in the first person.
- At the end the writer of the contract writes down *sh*, 'written', followed by his name. In this case he is not necessarily a notary, but generally just a private scribe.
- The witnesses sign with their names, but are generally less numerous than in the notary-contracts. Four is a number frequently found.
- As an extra security this type can also be a double document, a procedure borrowed from Greek contracts. The most important part of the text, or later only a short summary of the essence, is written again above the contract. Afterwards this part of the papyrus with the duplicate version (the so-called *scriptura interior*) is folded and sealed. The other one (the *scriptura exterior*) remains visible for consultation. The purpose of this procedure was of course to prevent any alterations.

For some double documents, see P.W. Pestman, *Ricevute bilingui dell'archivio di Zenon*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive* (P.L.Bat., 20 A), Leiden 1980, pp. 1–88.

7.1. Dealings with institutions (state and temple)

For a double document in which the *scriptura interior* is possibly a tender, whereas the *scriptura exterior*, stipulating different conditions, is the actual contract, see M.C. Betrò, *Il P. dem. Lille 119: Un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto*, in: S.F. Bondi et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, pp. 67–84.

The Demotic documents are thus almost always subjectively formulated, as statements in the first person, from one party to the other. This implies that it was very important who was in possession of the deed. If a really bilateral contract containing mutual commitments was needed, this could be accomplished by simultaneously drawing up deeds acknowledging each other's rights, or by mentioning certain obligations in the unilateral agreement. But a third way to remedy this was for the two parties to agree before a trustee about their conflicting interests. This is done in the so-called *hn.w* 'agreements' ('Übereinkunft'), existing both as *sh*-contract and in epistolary form.

For an example, see C.F. Nims, *Demotic Papyrus Loeb 62: A Reconstruction*, in: *AcOr* 25 (1960), pp. 266–276.

See also below, p. 128.

7.1. Dealings with institutions (state and temple)

In the early Demotic period the evidence for the administration is fairly limited, and largely confined to the temple. Only well after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, from about the middle of the third century BC, do we find a substantial amount of documents illustrating an elaborate bureaucracy. This Ptolemaic administration was essentially Greek, but still our Demotic documentation is very extensive, and shows a great variety of documents. In the Roman period Demotic is only used for tax receipts and for matters concerning the temple: it progressively disappears from public life from the first century AD onwards (see above, p. 25).

Of course many administrative documents have been lost, because after a while they had become outdated and irrelevant. Many were reused, for instance in palimpsests and cartonnage, or just thrown away. Sometimes a decision was made public by an inscription on stone: in most cases only these monuments have been preserved whereas the originals are lost.

Most of the following documents were issued by the institutions or by one of their representatives: they were decrees (7.1.1.) or other official decisions (7.1.2.). We also have quite a number of lists, inventories, accounts, etc. (7.1.3.), which were used for everyday administration, such as the management of taxes. In these activities many small documents were issued for the benefit of private individuals (7.1.4.). Much less frequent are the documents drawn up by private individuals for the institutions (7.1.5.).

7.1.1. Decrees

After the authorities had taken a decision, a decree could be issued to make it public. This could be accomplished through a piece of papyrus, but important proclamations were sometimes engraved on a temple wall or on a large stela. During the Ptolemaic period the famous synodal decrees are generally drawn up in three versions: hieroglyphs, Demotic, and Greek. Other decrees are bilingual (for instance Demotic and Greek) or only employ

one language. It is not always certain if these epigraphic versions are the official promulgations, or mere copies made by private initiative.

F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis* (SASAE, 16), Le Caire 1952, pp. 253–263, with some additions in id., *Les textes bilingues ou trilingues*, in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion* (BdÉ, 64), Le Caire 1972, vol. 3, pp. 41–45.

E. Martin-Pardey, *Tempeldekrete*, in: *LÄ VI* (1986), cols. 379–384.

For the 'Sitz im Leben', see J. Bingen, *Les ordonnances royales* C.Ord.Ptol. 75–76 (Héracléopolis, 41 avant J.-C.), in: *CdÉ 70* (1995), pp. 206–222, esp. p. 222.

A. SYNODAL DECREES

Under the Ptolemies there is very interesting evidence for the relationship between the Egyptian clergy and the state ruled by the Greek pharaohs: after their general assembly the priests issued the so-called synodal decrees, mentioning the merits of the king and the royal administration, and promulgating measures taken or privileges granted. The text was generally prepared in three versions (hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek) and several copies of the stela were afterwards published in various localities in Egypt. In secondary literature the decrees are either referred to by the name of the place where and the year when the assembly took place (Memphis decree; 196 BC), by the name of the occasion that was celebrated (Raphia decree), or by the provenance of the most important copy (decree of the Rosetta stone). The first procedure is to be preferred.

For a survey of all known synodal decrees and references to the publications of the Demotic sections, see W. Huß, *Die in ptolemäischer Zeit verfaßten Synodal-Dekrete der ägyptischen Priester*, in: *ZPE 88* (1991), pp. 189–208.

See now also the survey in R.S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Griffith Institute Monographs), Oxford 1996, pp. 1–19.

For two of these decrees almost complete copies have been preserved, both of which have played a crucial role in the decipherment of the Egyptian script: the Memphis decree (196 BC; preserved on the famous Rosetta stone found in 1799) and the Canopus decree (238 BC; found in 1866).

For the publication of the Demotic parts of the decrees of Canopus and Memphis, compared with the Greek and hieroglyphic versions, see W. Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana) mit den hieroglyphischen und griechischen Fassungen und deutscher Uebersetzung nebst demotischem Glossar*, Heidelberg 1922.

For the more recent duplicate versions, see the references of the above article by W. Huß or the book of Simpson.

Amongst the other decrees where the Demotic version is preserved are the so-called Raphia decree (217 BC); the decrees of the assemblies held in Alexandria and Memphis, written in hieroglyphs and Demotic on the wall of the pronaos of the mammisi in Philae (186 & 185 BC); and fragments of a trilingual decree dating to 112 BC.

For the Raphia decree, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31166). I. Die demotischen Inschriften* (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), Leipzig 1904, pp. 14–20 (no. 31088).

For the two decrees preserved in Philae, see W.M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches, Vol. III. The Bilingual Decrees of Philae*, Washington 1920, pp. 31–88.

For the unpublished Demotic fragments of the decree dated to 112 BC and other ones, see the above article of Huß or the book of Simpson.

B. LOCAL PRIESTLY DECREES

These are very similar to the synodal decrees mentioned above: only were they not issued by the Egyptian clergy in general, but by a specific group of priests. An example is the so-called stela of Kallimachos, in which the clergy of the Thebaid pays homage to the leading official of this region during the reign of Cleopatra VII and Cesarion. There is no hieroglyphic version, but only Demotic and Greek ones.

For this decree, see F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis* (SASAE, 16), Le Caire 1952, p. 264.

Compare with a similar decree of which only the Greek version is preserved, see the above article of W. Huß, esp. p. 200 n. 71.

C. ROYAL DECREES

Another trilingual stela (Benha; 96 BC) recounts how, by royal order, the temple of Athribis is granted the right of asylum, which other old and important Egyptian sanctuaries already possessed. During the Ptolemaic period other decrees concerning governmental policy, issued by the pharaoh or high officials representing him, explicitly state that a Greek and a Demotic version of the decision should be made public. In many cases only the Greek version has been preserved, however.

The hieroglyphic text of the decree of Athribis was re-edited by P. Vernus, *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique* (BdE, 74), Le Caire 1978, pp. 196–198 (no. 165), with references to literature on the Demotic and Greek versions.

For a list of the other decrees, see N. Lewis, *The Demise of the Demotic Document: When and Why*, in: *JEA* 79 (1993), pp. 276–281, esp. pp. 277–279.

Two of the texts written on the verso of the Demotic Chronicle were identified by Spiegelberg as a report on the codification of Egyptian laws during the reign of Darius and an extract from the directives of Cambyses concerning the financial measures taken against temples. Later investigations seem to point out that these and other sections of the reverse are closely connected with one another, since they pertain to sacerdotal law and privileges such as fiscal immunity. They apparently stem from the same environment as the literary composition on the obverse.

For the edition, see above, p. 97.

N.J. Reich, *The Codification of the Egyptian Laws by Darius and the Origin of the "Demotic Chronicle"*, in: *Mizraim* 1 (1933), pp. 178–185.

E. Bresciani, *La morte di Cambise ovvero dell'empietà punita: a proposito della "Cronaca Demotica"*, verso; col. C, 7–8, in: *EVO* 4 (1981), pp. 217–222.

A very exceptional ostrakon, found in the French excavations in Karnak (third century BC), contains an order from the royal administration for a global inventory of the resources of all Egypt. The text is in all probability a translation from a Greek original.

Published by E. Bresciani, *Registrazione catastale e ideologia politica nell'Egitto tolemaico. A Completamento di "La spedizione di Tolomeo II in Siria in un ostrakon demotico inedito da Karnak"*, in: *EVO* 6 (1983), pp. 15–31.

For its implications on the history of the Second Syrian War, see J.K. Winnicki, *Der Zweite Syrische Krieg im Lichte des demotischen Karnak-Östrakons und der griechischen Papyri des Zenon-Archivs*, in: *JJP* 21 (1991), pp. 87–104.

7.1.2. Other official decisions

Like the preceding category, these are texts resulting from the deliberations of an institutional group. Generally, however, they were not made public in the same elaborate way and most examples are only found on papyrus.

A. RULES OF CULT-GUILDS

The cult-guilds were associations of priests and temple personnel. Our most important source of information for these organizations are documents in Demotic in which the relevant regulations were laid down after they had been ratified at a general meeting for the duration of one year ('Kultvereinssatzungen'). The members promise to pay their monthly dues and to perform certain payments in kind. Furthermore they are expected to be present at the meetings, to bury the sacred animals, and to participate regularly in celebrations where the consumption of wine and beer seems to have been essential. One of the main purposes of the guilds was that of mutual assistance. Thus the members had to participate in the rituals and the costs when someone came to die, and they were obliged to help colleagues who were held in custody. This system aimed to improve the coherence within the group and also helped to avoid internal conflicts. In case of disagreement the matter should first be brought before the council of the guild itself, probably to keep the government out of temple matters. Fines were provided for, in case the rules were violated. It is clear that the purposes were both religious and social.

Although there is evidence for cult-guilds even in the Saite period, the documents with the articles of association are only attested from the fourth century until 107 BC: later examples are written in Greek. Six out of the twelve Demotic examples are explicitly identified as copies. Most originate from the Faiyum, and four concern one and the same cult-guild. A single example (the oldest document known) perhaps has to be situated in Memphis. The only one from Thebes (P. Berlin P. 3115) is a slightly different document: it contains some passages, such as the list with the 'drinking days', similar to the articles of association of a cult-guild, but the main part concerns the procedures for practising the occupation of choachyte or embalmer.

F. de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* (BdÉ, 46), Le Caire 1972.

For a summary of the available documentation about cult-guilds, see M. Muszynski, *Les "associations religieuses" en Égypte d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques*, in: *OLP* 8 (1977), pp. 145–174.

P. Vernus, *Kultgenossenschaft*, in: *LÄ* III (1980), cols. 848–850.

F. de Cenival, *Papyrus Seymour de Ricci: Le plus ancien des règlements d'association religieuse* (4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.) (Pap. Bibl. Nationale E 241), in: *RdÉ* 39 (1988), pp. 37–46.

E. Bresciani, *Nuovi statuti demotici di "Confraternite" dalla necropoli dei Coccodrilli a Tebtynis* (P. Vogl. demot. Inv. 77 e Inv. 78), in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 49–67.

B. REGULATIONS FOR THE PRACTISING OF CERTAIN PROFESSIONS

A number of documents from the Roman period record regulations between various professional groups concerning the conditions for the practising of their function. Thus we have for example documents mentioning the rights and obligations of priests and craftsmen, or regulations concerning the entry in service of a phyle of priests.

7.1. Dealings with institutions (state and temple)

For an example of this type of agreement, see E. Bresciani, *Un documento demotico dell'anno 15° di Domiziano dall'archivio templare di Dime* (P. Vindob. D 4852): *Le condizioni previste per lo scriba e l'addetto alle spese dei sacerdoti*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (P. Rainer Cent.). *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 181–184, and the comments of K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die Bedingungen für das Schreiberamt von Soknopaiu Nesos*, in: *Enchoria* 12 (1984), pp. 87–90.

There is also an epigraphic example of these regulations: a Demotic stela from Koptos contains the agreements between a professional association of weavers or tailors and various other fellowships, more precisely concerning the mummification of sacred animals and the manufacture of clothes.

A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen (...) mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften (...) und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1995, pp. 32–76.

C. ACCOUNTS OF TRIALS

The most extensive report of the proceedings of a lawsuit ('Prozessprotokoll') is P. BM 10591 (Siut; 170 BC; 10 columns). The litigation concerns an inheritance of land, claimed by two half-brothers, Tefhape and Tuot. Both are children of the deceased Petetum, but from different marriages. In the trial Tuot is represented by his wife Chratianch. The document that is preserved is an official copy containing a short introduction; the first plea of the plaintiff Chratianch; the reply of the defendant Tefhape; the second plea and the second reply; the procedure of the court up to judgement, including the questioning of both parties; and finally the actual verdict in favour of Tefhape. The document is signed by the scribe and the three judges.

H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum including an Account of a Trial before the Laocritae in the Year B.C.170*, Oxford 1934; for the archive, see below, p. 157.

Much shorter is P. Mallawi 602/10 (Sharunah; 117/116 BC; 1 column). In this case the property of a tomb in the necropolis of Sharunah is at stake. Judgement was entered for the plaintiff, the embalmer Petanupis. The structure of the document is almost identical to that of the copy of the proceedings of the Siut trial. Here a representative of the Greek official, the *eisagogeus*, also signs the contract.

O. El-Aguizy, *A Ptolemaic Judicial Document from Hwt-Nsw*, in: *BIFAO* 88 (1988), pp. 51–62.

Another example, in which two quotations of laws are especially interesting, is P. Cologne 7676 (Thebes; 115/114 BC; 2 columns): it concerns an inheritance of land and income from tombs in the Theban necropolis. P. Berlin P. 23508 (227 BC [?]) deals with revenue from priestly offices of an Anubis sanctuary.

H.-J. Thissen, *Zwei demotische Prozeßprotokolle*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 283–288.

D. PROCEEDINGS IN A SACERDOTAL CONCLAVE

Because of the very fragmentary condition of the only example of a report on the proceedings in a sacerdotal conclave (P. Rylands 25; Gebelein; 118–115 BC), much remains unclear. The two columns seem to describe the topics discussed, such as the length of the priestly offices (?). A list of the officiating priests of the five phyles follows.

7. Demotic documentary texts

F.L.I. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester-London 1909, vol. 3, pp. 154-155; 282-283; 313.

7.1.3. Administrative tools: lists, registers, accounts, ...

For a smooth working of the administration of the institutions, a number of tools were necessary. Thus for taxes it was essential to have a precise idea of the composition of the population or the arrangement of the land. Other lists concern payments in money or in grain, drawn up for reference by the officials. And available goods or valuable equipment had to be inventoried from time to time as well.

A. CENSUS LISTS

Census lists are extensive surveys of the inhabitants of certain topographical units: profession, ethnicity, and sex of the subjects were specified. This tool for the collection of taxes provides interesting information about the various types of taxation and the privileges that were granted to certain groups of the population. About twenty examples are extant, mainly preserved through mummy cartonnage. Some have sections in both Greek and Demotic.

An example of a census list is P. Lille III 99, published by F. de Cenival, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille (III)* (MIFAO, 110), Le Caire 1984.

For a project on a corpus of Ptolemaic census lists in Demotic and in Greek, see W. Clarysse, *Greeks and Persians in a Bilingual Census List*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 69-77.

B. AGRICULTURAL ACCOUNTS

Perhaps the most important text to be mentioned here is P. Berlin P. 13608 (Gebelein; 94-91 BC). In several columns on both the recto and the verso side of the papyrus, entries are made concerning the management of lands in the region: as such it contains a list of farmers; a description of the measuring and the inspection of land; registration of work; notes on delivery of wheat or money; and remarks on special events. Other, similar texts from Gebelein are very fragmentary.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Demotische Verwaltungsakten aus Gebelein: Der große Berliner Papyrus 13608*, in: *ZAS* 121 (1994), pp. 75-91.

C. DIARY FROM A NOTARY OFFICE

P. Lille 120 (Ghoran; early Ptolemaic) registers the various contracts drawn up day by day in a notarial office. Possibly a text from Saqqara can also be related to these proceedings, although other interpretations are equally possible.

F. de Cenival, *Répertoire journalier d'un bureau de notaire de l'époque ptolémaïque en démotique* (P. dém. Lille 120), in: *Enchoria* 15 (1987), pp. 1-9.

For the Saqqara text, see C.J. Martin, *Demotic Contracts as Evidence in a Court Case?*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyse to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 217-220.

D. DIARY FROM A POLICE STATION

The so-called diary of a police station in Karanis is a further example of these daily entries, this time written on ostraca. It was recently argued that the texts rather come from Philadelphia.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Das Tagebuch der Polizeistation von Karanis. Ein Vorbericht*, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 191–192.

E. DIARY FROM A BANK

P. Rylands 40 (late Ptolemaic) lists money in such quantities that it has been suggested it is a diary of a leading banker or even of the temple-treasury. For each day the deposits, the withdrawals, and the balance are given.

F.L.I. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester–London 1909, vol. 3, pp. 164–166; 292–296; 316.

F. ACCOUNTS OF CULT-GUILDS

Only one example (P. Louvre E. 7840; Thebes; 542–538 BC) is known so far, with several columns listing the members of the association, their contributions and the days on which they gathered for festivities. But several of the rules for cult-guilds (see above, p. 128) also have one or more pages attached with similar accounts.

F. de Cenival, *Comptes d'une association religieuse thébaine datant des années 29 à 33 du roi Amasis (P. demot. Louvre E 7840 bis)*, in: *RdE* 37 (1986), pp. 13–29; re-edited by K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, Leiden 1995, no. 11.

G. LIST OF PRIESTLY OFFICES WITH THEIR PRICE

The reverse of the papyrus fragments with the so-called 'Zivilprozessordnung' lists priestly offices in the various temples in Egypt, such as Thebes or Buto. The amounts that follow each position probably indicate the fee that has to be paid for holding the office.

For the publication, see above, p. 114.

H. TEMPLE INVENTORIES

In an inventory of the temple of Medinet Habu, precious and sacred tools are listed on a bronze plaque. Similar lists on papyrus from the Faiyum (Roman period) and Elephantine (early Demotic) are also preserved in the collection of Berlin.

For the list from the Faiyum, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig–Berlin 1902, p. 24.

For the inventory of Medinet Habu, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31166). I. Die demotischen Inschriften (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Leipzig 1904, pp. 80–82 (no. 30691).

For the one found in Elephantine, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Neue demotische Papyri in Berlin*, in: W. Voigt (ed.), *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 27. Juli 1968 in Würzburg. Vorträge. Teil I (ZDMG Supplementa, 1)*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 41–47, esp. pp. 43–44.

I. OTHER LISTS

Of many or perhaps even most lists or accounts ('Listen und Abrechnungen') the exact purpose is far from clear. Although these texts can be very informative for matters of prosopography and administration, they are rarely studied *in extenso* and much work remains to be done.

For an example on a wooden writing tablet, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31166). I. Die demotischen Inschriften (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Leipzig 1904, pp. 78–80 (no. 30641).

7. Demotic documentary texts

For an early Demotic example, see for instance M. Chauveau, *Un compte en démotique archaïque: Le Pap. Claude 1*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 21–29; or the examples in W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), Berlin 1932, pp. 46–53 (nos. 50060–50062).

For ostraca, see for instance M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, 1), Leiden 1974, nos. 83–275 & 365–408.

For some publications of lists from later periods, see for instance K.-Th. Zauzich, *Paläographische Herausforderungen II*, in: *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 90–100, and id., *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 151–180, esp. pp. 166–169 (no. 10).

7.1.4. Documents issued by institutions to individuals

The numerous documents that were issued by the representatives of institutions for private individuals are in most cases meant as a proof for the person to whom the document is handed over that he has fulfilled an obligation due to the state or the temple. Often the accomplished fact is the payment of a tax or an equivalent in work. Not as common are the texts in which the institutions grant certain rights or give an individual a warrant for the performance of tasks.

No distinction is made here between the world of the state and that of the temple: these were so narrowly intertwined, and the information given by the receipts is sometimes so vague, that the choice is often impossible.

A. LAND ALLOTMENTS

The exact meaning of the $r-r\bar{h}=w$ ostraca is still under discussion. They have been believed to refer to rectifications of boundaries of land disturbed by the inundation, but now the interpretation as land allotments proposed by Lichtheim is widely accepted. This means that the authorities obliged someone to till a piece of land and to pay rent for it, with the purpose of restoring waste land to cultivation.

M. Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (OIP, 80), Chicago 1957, pp. 53–55.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Theben-West und Theben-Ost (31 demotische $r-r\bar{h}=w$ Ostraka aus dem British Museum)*, in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem 1990, vol. 2, pp. 517–624; ead., *Das Acker-Amt in Theben-West von 151 bis 141 v. Chr.*, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 55–67.

B. TAX RECEIPTS

The various taxes which had to be paid to the state or to the temple are mainly known through thousands of receipts ('Quittungen') on ostraca. These give the date, the names of payer and scribe, the amount paid, and the type of tax. Sometimes this last information is not specified: probably in these cases the profession of the payer will have made things clear enough. Occasionally it is mentioned that more than one tax has been paid at the same time. Only in the Roman period the Demotic receipts explicitly mention if the money has been handed over to the bank or to another party. As in the census lists, here again Greek and Demotic are frequently used in alternation, at least in the Theban region. During the first century AD Greek gradually replaces Demotic, although the latter is still employed in a temple environment.

E. Seidl, *Die Quittung in den demotischen Texten*, in: J. Bingen et al. (eds.), *Le monde grec: pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Université Libre de Bruxelles. Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 62), Bruxelles 1975, pp. 716–722.

7.1. Dealings with institutions (state and temple)

Concerning banks and bankers in Thebes, see R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers à Thèbes à l'époque romaine*, in: *ZPE* 57 (1984), pp. 241–296; id., *Liste chronologique des banquiers royaux thébains*, in: *ZPE* 75 (1988), pp. 115–138.

The rare receipts from the early Demotic period are written on papyrus sheets (see below). This material is still used for similar purposes during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but the most customary writing ground for confirmation of payment of state and temple taxes are ostraca or wooden tablets (this last only in Pathyris). In some cases, such as the *enkuklion* tax, the payment was confirmed below the contract itself. In the later stages of the Roman period it seems more common again to use papyrus to issue receipts for taxes.

Concerning the Roman Demotic receipts on papyri, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 151–180, esp. pp. 151 & 170–172.
For a recent publication, see F. Hoffmann, *Eine spätdemotische Zahlungsquittung (P. Vindob. D6344)*, in: *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 13–22.

In the following a small survey is given of the great variety of tax receipts, distinguishing the early Demotic, Ptolemaic, and Roman examples.

The most important publications of tax receipts are (in chronological order and preceded by the abbreviation used in the survey):

O. Mattha = G. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo* (*Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents*, 6), Le Caire 1945.

ADO = S.V. Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka aus der Sammlung des Victoria-Museums zu Uppsala und der Staatlichen Papyrussammlung zu Berlin*, Uppsala 1954.

OMH = M. Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (*OIP*, 80), Chicago 1957.

O. Leiden = M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (*Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, 1), Leiden 1974.

ODL = D. Devauchelle, *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre. Tome I: Reçus* (*BdÉ*, 92), 2 vol., Le Caire 1983.

O. Var. = S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections* (*P.L.Bat.*, 26), Leiden (...) 1994.

• Early Demotic

We have a number of early Demotic receipts (Thebes, middle sixth century BC; Hou, beginning fifth century BC) for payment in kind of the harvest tax (*šmw*) to the Domain of Amon. These were in all probability paid by the owner-lessor of the Domain's farm land. During the early Demotic period it is in many cases difficult, however, to distinguish whether *šmw*, in a context of the letting out of land, means 'tax' or 'rent'.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (...) (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, nos. 2–4, esp. p. 55 (n. hh).

K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, Leiden 1995, pp. 44–47 (discussing nos. 12; 14–16).

• Ptolemaic

Demotic ostraca with tax receipts are numerous during two periods. The first one, when the bulk of the documentation comes from Thebes and Elephantine, is the second half of the third century during the reigns of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and III Euergetes (285–222 BC, mainly after about 260). Very common are the salt, oil, yoke (?), and overseer

of the necropolis taxes. The second period, when many texts come from Pathyris, is situated between the reigns of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Ptolemy X Alexander I (181–88 BC).

The fundamental work on the economy of Ptolemaic Egypt, mainly based on Greek sources, is C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939.

For the first period, see B. Muhs, *Demotic and Greek Ostraca in the Third Century B.C.*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 249–251.

Salt tax (*hmš*): a capitation tax attested from 263 until 219 BC; different rates for men on the one hand, women and slaves on the other; there also is a chronological fluctuation of the rate.

O. Var. p. 35.; for the rate, see also W. Clarysse / D.J. Thompson, *The Salt-Tax Rate Once Again*, in: *CdÉ* 70 (1995), pp. 223–229.

Oil tax (*nḥḥ*): the state oil monopoly was farmed out to various people who had to pay for the privilege.

O. Var. p. 25.

Beer tax (*hmk.t*): like for oil, there was a strict monopoly on the brewing of beer; the tax related with it is only rarely attested in Demotic.

ODL p. 153.

Cloth tax (*hbs / šs-nsw*): a tax on the manufacture of linen, as part of the state monopoly.

O. Var. p. 33; U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Der thebanische Leineweber Psenchonsis Patemios. Neue demotische Ostraka-Quittungen der späten Ptolemäerzeit zum Übergang von Leinwand-Lieferungen zur Leineweber-Steuer*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 161–181.

Yoke (?) tax (*nḥb*): probably a tax on transport animals, attested in the third century BC only.

O. Var. pp. 14 & 98.

Nḥtj (?) tax: previously identified as the ivory tax, but this is now generally rejected; closely related with the yoke (?) tax, but its precise nature is still unclear.

O. Var. pp. 19 & 98.

Sheep tax (*isw*): attested until the early Roman receipts; probably payable for the pasture of the animals and maybe identical, but certainly related to the pasture (?) tax (*ktm*).

O. Var. p. 6.

Overseer of the necropolis tax (*mr-hšs.t*): a fixed amount probably paid by the choachytes to the temple when they brought a mummy to the necropolis; attested in the early Ptolemaic period, already before 260 BC.

For the most recent investigation, see S.P. Vleeming, *Minima Demotica from Theban Tomb 32*, in: C. Eyre / A. & L.M. 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, pp. 354–364, esp. pp. 355–362.

Necropolis tax (*hšs.t*): probably levied by the temple on the funerary personnel of the necropolis; only attested in Edfu; possibly identical to the preceding tax.

O. El-Aguizy, *Une nouvelle "taxe de la nécropole" à Edfou*, in: *OLP* 21 (1990), pp. 135–139.

Burial tax (*ks.t*) and other funeral taxes: often their precise nature is unclear.

D. Devauchelle, *Notes sur l'administration funéraire égyptienne à l'époque gréco-romaine*, in: *BIFAO* 87 (1987), pp. 141–160.

Income of a Server Tax (*ḥ rmt-iw=f-šms*): possibly a tax paid by religious personnel, but the exact nature is still unclear.

O. Var. p. 29.

Compulsory services (*ḥrt*): probably in some cases compulsory labor could be avoided by paying a certain amount, but again the precise purpose of the tax or the services is unknown.

O. Var. p. 10.

House tax (*ḥ wy*): possibly a tax which had to be paid by owners of a house; quite rare, like the preceding one.

ODL p. 155.

Fruit tax (*tke*): this tax, which is attested until the Roman period but of which only relatively few examples have been preserved, was probably paid by the owners of fruit-trees; almost all come from Edfu.

ODL p. 238.

Enkuklion tax (*ggryn*): tax 'of the scribes (and) representatives', levied when landed and other property was sold; attested from the seventh until the second century BC; its rate is specified as

either 1/10 or 1/20 (possibly 1/20 for the state; 1/20 for the temple); the receipt is generally written on the papyrus which contains the contract.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Tithe of the Scribes (and) Representatives*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyzes to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC, 51), Chicago 1992, pp. 343–350.

Apomoira tax (*p3 1/10*): the tithe on wine and garden land.

OMH p. 14; see the article of W. Clarysse / K. Vandorpe in the acts of a colloquium on the dynastic cult in the third century B.C, forthcoming in the series *Papyrologica Bruxellensia*.

Harvest tax (*šmw*): a tax levied on the harvest, to be paid in kind to the state.

O. Var. p. 83.

Syntaxis (*sntksn.t*): a tax paid in money or in kind; probably the money was raised by the government on leased land, and afterwards transferred to the Egyptian priesthood.

ODL p. 161.

Tax (?) for the lease of land (*hw hwt*): the 'farmer's profit' on leased land, which probably belonged to the temple.

OMH p. 34.

Tax (?) for the lease of land (*hw htr*): parallel to the preceding, but here possibly rent on state land was meant.

ODL pp. 130–131.

Receipts for delivery of straw (*th*): of unclear purpose; not frequently attested.

ODL p. 172

Compare other deliveries to the state or the temple (for example of wine): at least some of these may also be taxes.

A few other, seldom attested taxes: Shawl tax (read *inw* or *in-šn*): D. Devauchelle, *Quelques ostraca démotiques déposés à l'IFAO*, in: *BIFAO* 85 (1985), pp. 99–104, esp. p. 100; Slave tax (*bik*): O. Var. p. 79; Incense tax (*hny*): ODL p. 166; Arsinoe tax (*1/10 n šrsyn*): ODL p. 167 (= apomoira tax); Basket tax (*byr*): ADO p. 38.

• Roman period

In the early Roman period, especially during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, we again find many ostraca recording payment of taxes. Because of changes in the administration, their names and nature have of course often changed. Another difference is that now frequently the royal bank is explicitly mentioned.

The fundamental work on taxation in Roman Egypt is S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, 2), Princeton 1938.

For the ostraca of the Theban area, see K.A. Worp, *Observations on Demotic Tax Receipts from the Theban Region in Roman Times*, in: *ZPE* 80 (1990), pp. 243–252.

Poll tax (*p3.t*): the capitation tax which is attested until the reign of Titus (79–81 AD); payable by the local male population between 14 and 60 years of age, although some people were exempted; the rate varied chronologically and geographically, but was quite high in comparison with that of the salt tax during the Ptolemaic period.

O. Var. p. 137.

Dike tax (*nbt*): the contribution for the construction and maintenance of dikes could be paid by either actual physical labour (5 days) or by a fixed sum.

O. Var. p. 141.

Bath tax (*s.t-iwn*): a fixed amount paid for the public works on baths; often paid together with two preceding personal taxes.

O. Var. p. 139; ODL p. 229.

Palm tree tax (*bny.t*): paid on land planted with palm trees.

ODL p. 246.

Chest tax (*ftj.t*): only attested during the Roman period in Dendera; perhaps meant for the upkeep of temples?

S.P. Vleeming, *A Dromos Tax*, in: *Enchoria* 15 (1987), pp. 147–154.

Logeia tax (*šty*): a tax levied by priests of Isis or a male god, originally a free contribution, but later evolved into an imposed tax; all Demotic examples date from the reigns of Claudius and Nero and come from Hermonthis.

7. Demotic documentary texts

K.A. Worp, *Observations on Demotic Tax Receipts from the Theban Region in Roman Times*, in: ZPE 80 (1990), pp. 243–252, esp. pp. 245–247.

Tax of the business of Pharaoh (*md pr-ʿ*): probably paid by a lessee of state land to the state bank; compare the above *hw hwtj* and *hw htr*.

ODL p. 247.

A few other, rarely attested taxes: Donkey tax (*ʿ*): ODL p. 239; Onion and herb tax (*mdl / sm*): ODL p. 245; House-builders' tax (*kd pr*): OMH p. 31; Weaver's tax (*shṭ*): OMH p. 30; Hay-sellers' tax (*s-n-sm*): OMH p. 31; Priesthood taxes: OMH p. 32; Pigeon house tax (*s.t-mnt*): OMH p. 50; *ʿntwg* tax: OMH p. 50

See also above: the sheep tax, fruit tax, overseer of the necropolis tax, the *hw hwtj*.

C. CERTIFICATES OF PURITY FOR CATTLE TO BE SLAUGHTERED

In two small texts (Dime; 148 and 149 AD) a priest of Sakhmet certifies that he has given a seal approving the killing of a cow for an offering. The more elaborate Greek text is followed by a short Demotic counterpart.

P.W. Pestman / J. Quaegebeur / R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden 1977, nos. 13–14.

D. CONTRACTS BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS

It is not always easy to determine if a contract is drawn up by someone on his own behalf or as a representative of an institution. Sometimes this is clear through the formulation of the agreement, the fact that one of the parties is explicitly designated as a representative, or by the writing ground. A typical example is the sale of land in the necropolis to the choachytes. These buy the plot from the temple administration to build a tomb on it and sell it to one of their clients. Whereas the former agreement is written down on an ostrakon, the latter is a more elaborate contract on papyrus.

For an example of a receipt for the price of a building plot, see S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections* (P.L.Bat., 26), Leiden (...) 1994, no. 53.

7.1.5. Documents written by individuals for institutions

Although not as common as the reverse category, we have a number of documents written by individuals for institutions. Generally they have been preserved in temple or official archives.

A. SELF-DEDICATIONS

In the self-dedications ('Hierodulie-Urkunden') a person declares himself the 'slave' (*b3k*) of a god, enters his service and engages to pay annually a fixed sum, either forever or for a period of ninety-nine years. In return the 'slave' expects protection from the patron deity against demons, phantoms, and ghosts. Women as well as men make such declarations. Of a substantial number the father is called 'anonymous', which has been interpreted within the framework of temple prostitution, but also as a sign that the 'slaves' belonged to the lower strata of the Egyptian society. That this can probably not be generalized is shown by the presence of some people with Greek names amongst them. The exact practical implications and purpose of these documents (magical, financial, or social) are still uncertain.

At least fifty examples are known: all of them are notary contracts, which is a clear indication of their official character. They come from the Faiyum, mainly Tebtunis but also Philadelphia and Dime. Most can be dated to the second century BC (between 209/208 (?) and 118 BC). It is most likely that the documents were preserved in temple archives.

- R. Scholl, *ἱερόδουλος im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, in: *Historia* 34 (1985), pp. 466–492.
 H.-J. Thissen, *Koptische Kinderschenkungsurkunden. Zur Hierodulie im christlichen Ägypten*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 117–128, esp. pp. 124–128.
 W. Clarysse, *A Demotic Self-Dedication to Anubis*, in: *Enchoria* 16 (1988), pp. 7–10.
 One of the most recent publications is M. Chauveau, *Un contrat de "hiérodoule"*. *Le P. dém. Fouad 2*, in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991), pp. 119–127.
 Currently a publication of the self-dedications from Tebtunis preserved in the British Museum and in the Carlsberg collection is in preparation by W.J. Tait and K. Ryholt, see W.J. Tait, *Some Aspects of the Demotic Self-Dedication Texts of the Ptolemaic Period*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 281.

B. TENDERS

Several offers for the farming of monopolies have been preserved in the papyri from Soknopaiu Nesos. In this case they pertain to temple matters, but examples referring to government taxes are also possible. Thus for instance the tenders for the leasing of land confiscated by the authorities in Edfu.

- For the texts from Edfu, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus von der Insel Elephantine, I (Nr. 1–13) (Demotische Studien, 2)*, Leipzig 1908, nos. 1–10.
 E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford, Volume I. P. Ox. Griffith nn. 1–75 (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 49)*, Milano 1975, nos. 42–55.
 For a letter referring to the farming of government taxes, see H.S. Smith / W.J. Tait, *A Proposal to Undertake Tax-Administration for a District Official*, in: *Enchoria* 12 (1984), pp. 43–49.

C. MEMORANDA / PETITIONS

A memorandum (*mkmk*, 'Eingabe') is a missive through which a case is brought before an official, in the hope that he will solve the matter without the plaintiff being obliged to take further steps, such as going to court. Quite a few of these documents are preserved.

- S.V. Wängstedt, *Eine demotische Rechtsurkunde aus Gebelên*, in: *OrSu* 14/15 (1965/1966), pp. 45–50.
 E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford, Volume I. P. Ox. Griffith nn. 1–75 (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 49)*, Milano 1975, nos. 37–41.
 G.R. Hughes, *On Two Demotic Egyptian "Memoranda"*, in: *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 63–68.

Similar requests to higher authorities do not identify themselves as memoranda. It is therefore not always clear if they are really petitions or just reports.

- Whereas during the Ptolemaic period Greek petitions to the king (*enteuxeis*) are fairly common, the only Demotic example is doubtful, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31270; 50001–50022). II. Die demotischen Papyrus (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Strassburg 1908, vol. 1, pp. 244–247 (no. 31057).
 J.D. Ray, *The Complaint of Herieu*, in: *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 97–116.
 See also P. Rylands 9 (above, p. 102).

D. SURETY DOCUMENTS

To make sure that obligations were fulfilled and promises kept, a guarantee by a third party was a valuable tool. This could be a subscription to or an explicit clause in the

contract, but also a separate document. In this last case relatively small papyri ('Bürgschaften') were used, in which someone stands surety for a colleague before the local authorities (often the *oikonomos* and *basilicogrammateus*). The guarantors are soldiers or priests of a lower level, but also farmers or brewers; most debtors are artisans of various professions, although brewers are especially numerous.

There are two main types of surety documents: either the security concerns a debt, generally small amounts in connection with state monopolies or the farming of taxes; or it deals with the continued presence of individuals. In the latter case, someone stands security for a prisoner released on bail, which sometimes seems to include a kind of house arrest; or he guarantees that a worker will be present. There are even examples of a security for another security, similar to a reinsurance.

The surety documents are only attested in the early Ptolemaic period, between 262 and 209 BC. All are double documents in epistolary style, often with a Greek abstract on the verso.

For the study of a number of documents mentioning the idea of security, see K. Sethe / J. Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* (*Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 32), Leipzig 1920.

F. de Cenival, *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'époque ptolémaïque* (*P. dém. Lille* 34 à 96) (*Société d'Histoire du Droit. Collection d'Histoire Institutionnelle et Sociale*, 5), Paris 1973.

Concerning the Greek abstract on the back, see above, p. 41.

E. OATHS

Two types of oaths ('Eide') exist, each with their own range of distribution and their specific spheres of use: temple oaths and royal oaths.

E. Seidl, *Der Eid im ptolemäischen Recht*, München 1929; id., *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht. Erster Teil: Die Zeit von der Eroberung Ägyptens bis zum Beginn der Regierung Diokletians* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 17), München 1933; id., *Die Verwendung des Eides im Prozeß nach den demotischen Quellen*, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 91 (1974), pp. 41–53.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Eid, demot.*, in: *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 1200–1204.

Temple oaths are known only in Upper Egypt from about 200 BC until the early Roman period. Greek examples are exceptional. Mostly these are decisory oaths used to solve a conflict, whereby the procedure goes as follows: a written statement is drawn up, in all but a few cases on an ostrakon, declaring that the incriminated party will take an oath before to the local god. He usually has to swear that he is innocent of an alleged crime, that he has already settled a debt, or that his claims to an item are justified. If the defendant will take the oath, the accuser will withdraw his charges; if the incriminated party fails to do so, he will be considered as being in the wrong and will have to remunerate the accuser for the damage or pay the amount discussed, to which in that case a fine can be added. The ostraca frequently mention that the oath is afterwards given into the hands of a third, neutral party.

This procedure may seem odd to us, but it can be partially explained by the fact that the onus of proof rests with the plaintiff. If he wants to be proved right without real

evidence he has no other choice than to demand an oath from the defendant. If the latter is guilty the prospect of perjury may deter him from taking the oath.

Temple oaths were collected by U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide* (ÄA, 6), 2 vol., Wiesbaden 1963; ead. *Die demotischen Tempeleide der Berliner Papyrussammlung*, in: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte* 10 (1968), pp. 133–184.

For a special case, written on a papyrus, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein Tempeleid mit Treuhänder*, in: *Enchoria* 17 (1990), pp. 123–128.

Many new examples have been published, for instance most recently ead. *Pathyris II* (Nr. 31–55), in: *Enchoria* 21 (1994), pp. 23–62, esp. pp. 35–45 (no. 37–45); S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections* (P.L.Bat., 26), Leiden (...) 1994, no. 57.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Sowahr der Stier von Medamod lebt! Ueber die Ortsgötter in den Tempel-Eiden*, in: C. Eyre / A. & L.M. 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, pp. 149–159.

Royal oaths are known from the third century BC until the Roman period. In opposition to the temple oaths, Greek examples are common, even to such an extent that the Demotic examples can be considered exceptions. Also the royal oaths are exclusively written on papyrus and occur all over Egypt. The man who takes the oath swears by the ruling pharaoh, the dynasty of the Ptolemies as well as (often) Isis, Serapis, and all the gods of Egypt that he will fulfil certain obligations, mostly in matters of state. If he holds his promise, he will be blessed by the king; if it turns out that his intentions were false, he will be subject to the curse of the pharaoh.

For the royal oaths there is no corpus. See the list of E. Seidl, *Der Eid im ptolemäischen Recht*, München 1929, pp. 12–18, supplemented by U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Eid, demot.*, in: *LÄ I* (1975), col. 1202 n. 3.

7.2. Legal documents (private individuals)

Legal documents concerning agreements between private individuals constitute the largest and perhaps best studied group of Demotic documentary texts. They were kept in family archives as proof of ownership, and precisely for this reason large numbers have been preserved. They provide much information on legal proceedings, but equally on social and economic life: personal status (marriage / divorce; free man / slave), property (sales, gifts, inheritance, ...), and obligations (work, services, ...).

A. MARRIAGE SETTLEMENTS

Marriage in ancient Egypt was as a rule monogamous and, with the exception of royalty, not between close relatives. It was a purely social matter and there is no evidence for a religious ceremony. A valid marriage probably did not even require a written contract, and the documents concerned with it ('Eheurkunden') pertain to property and inheritance. They deal with the provisions concerning the woman's allowance, specify the claims of the wife on what she brought into the marriage, and give her security by stating that, in case of failure by the husband to fulfil his obligations, part of his possessions or even all of it belongs to her. Frequently a separate clause explicitly mentions the right of inheritance of the children arising from the marriage. Two different types of these documents have been distinguished.

The first one (A; between about 536 and 60 BC; also abnormal hieratic) only requires a single 'woman's document' (*šḥ n ḥm.t*). It provides for a gift from husband to wife (*šp n s-ḥm.t*) and stipulates the annual maintenance in kind that she will receive. Often the contract lists the woman's personal possessions. They will be administered by the husband, but remain lawful property of the woman and have to be returned to her in the case of divorce, except perhaps when adultery is involved.

The second type (B) mentions an endowment from wife to husband, which, although it remains her property, can be used by him to provide maintenance in kind at specified annual rates. This procedure is written down in a single document (B1; about 10 examples; from 517 (?) BC until 12 BC), mentioning this 'money to become a wife' (*ḥḏ n ir ḥm.t*). An alternative was to use two deeds (B2; between 365 BC and 21 AD): the principal document, the so-called 'document of maintenance' (*šḥ n s'nh*), in this case concerns the obligations of the husband and is doubled by a 'document concerning money' (*šḥ n ḏbḥ ḥḏ*) which acts a security for the wife should he fail to fulfil his obligations.

E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (AA, 1), Wiesbaden 1960.

P.W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt. A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman* (P.L.Bat., 9), Lugdunum Batavorum 1961.

E. Lüddeckens, *Eheurkunden*, in: *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 1181–1183; id., *Mitgift*, in: *LÄ IV* (1982), cols. 152–155.

The above classification is found in H.S. Smith, *Marriage and the Family in Ancient Egypt: I. Marriage and Family Law*, in: M.J. Geller et al. (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World. Papers from a Seminar (...), London, February to May 1986*, London 1995, pp. 46–57; C.J. Martin, *Marriage and the Family in Ancient Egypt: II. Marriages, Wills and Leases of Land: Some Notes on the Formulae of Demotic Contracts*, in the same volume, pp. 58–78.

B. DOCUMENTS OF DIVORCE

In ancient Egyptian law there probably was always the possibility of a divorce, not only in the case of adultery, but also when one or both parties wanted to separate. This is attested in literary texts from earlier periods and certain types of marriage contracts, in *casu* the above A, mention it in a clause. Other marriage settlements (B) were arranged in such a way that the wife could always ask her endowment back or demand maintenance from her husband or his heirs. Still, there are ten examples of documents of divorce ('Scheidungsurkunden'; from 542 until about 100 BC). In these the husband acknowledges that the woman in question is no longer his wife, that he has no more claims on her in this respect, and that she is free to marry again. These documents are no true counterparts of the marriage contracts because they are not concerned with property. They are probably meant as a protection against illegal claims from the former husband.

For divorce documents, see the literature cited above, esp. H.S. Smith, pp. 54–56; and P.W. Pestman, pp. 58–79, with references to older literature.

C. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING MONEY ('SALE')

When something changed owner in ancient Egypt during the period in which Demotic was written, this could be recorded in various ways. For the sale of smaller items the document was usually phrased in epistolary style, sometimes even on ostraca. But for more important transactions a notary contract was generally called upon. Often two

deeds are used for this purpose, each with its own implications. The first one is the document concerning money ('Geldbezahlungsschrift'; *sh n dbꜣ hꜩ*). In this the vendor (A) acknowledges that he has received an unspecified sum from the buyer (B); that the sold property is now in his (B) possession; that he himself (A) has no further rights to the property; that he (A) will assist the buyer in removing anyone who claims to have rights on it; that all documents related to the property belong to him (B); and that, if necessary, he (A) will swear an oath on his (B) behalf. To all this, especially in the early Demotic documents concerning cattle, a penalty clause can be added. Another optional element is the clause of agreement by a third party, especially used in cases where the deed refers to another document. The order of the clauses can vary, and some of them can be omitted for brevity's sake, especially in contracts of a later date. In the various 'forms' that thus originate, a scribal tradition with both a geographical and chronological component may be recognized: Theban deeds are distinguished from later examples drawn up in Edfu or in Lower Egypt.

Various goods change owner by means of a *sh n dbꜣ hꜩ*: houses (in good shape or in ruins, in their entirety or partially), land (arable land or building land), tombs (or the revenues resulting from them), liturgical revenues (from priestly offices), slaves (only in the early Demotic period), or even the entire possessions of someone (houses, land, cattle, clothes, personnel, etc.). In the early Demotic period it is also used to sell cattle (mostly cows).

The documents concerning money always give the impression of being sales, but do in fact function in many different ways. In many cases it is even difficult to ascertain what the real transaction is behind the formulae of the document. Only when we have supplementary information, such as other documents within a family archive, can the exact purpose be traced. Thus 'sales' can be fictitious in the sense that they are actually testamentary dispositions, transferring property between relatives to facilitate inheritance. They also regularly act as securities for other agreements such as marriage settlements (see above, p. 139). Often additional clauses specifying obligations for either the vendor or the buyer or for both, with a penalty clause on top, are an indication that the contract is probably more than a simple sale. A typical example are the sales of entire estates with a clause at the end of the contract that guarantees the vendor subsistence during life as well as a proper burial.

Another example is P. BM 10388, a sale of a piece of land in the necropolis, with conditions relating to the construction of a chapel and the performance of cult service. See C.A.R. Andrews, *Prolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area (Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 4)*, London 1990, no. 2.

For the so-called 'sale *propter mortem*' and other deceptive contracts, see P.W. Pestman, *Appearance and Reality in Written Contracts: Evidence from Bilingual Family Archives*, in: M.J. Geller et al. (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World. Papers from a Seminar (...)*, London, February to May 1986, London 1995, pp. 79–87, esp. pp. 79–81.

Sometimes it is explicitly stated in the 'sale' itself that it serves another purpose. In the so-called 'loan on mortgage' ('Kaufpfandverträge') the formulae are identical with a normal *sh n dbꜣ hꜩ*, but they are preceded by a text which states that an amount of money has to be returned before a certain date. Only if the loaned sum is not redeemed

in time does the sale, of which the formulae follow, become a fact. The object of the 'document concerning money', always real estate, thus acts as a pledge for the loan. This type of document is only attested in Upper Egypt during the Ptolemaic period. A similar procedure in Greek does not explicitly mention the loan itself.

First recognized by W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Kaufpfandverträge (Darlehen auf Hypothek)*, in: *RecTrav* 31 (1909), pp. 91–106.

For the Greek texts, see P.W. Pestman, *Ventes provisoires de biens pour sûreté de dettes. ὠναὶ ἐν πίστει à Pathyris et à Krokodilopolis*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte (P.L.Bat., 23)*, Leiden 1985, pp. 45–59.

A special case, only attested in early Demotic, are the documents in which the vendor sells himself as a slave or as a son of the buyer. Their exact interpretation is still unclear.

For the sale of oneself as a son, see K. Donker Van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, Leiden 1995, no. 13 (P. Louvre E. 7832).

The document concerning money is one of the most frequently attested types of contract. Examples have been found all over Egypt and from all periods. The oldest one is a sale of priestly offices (644 BC), the most recent one concerns a house (45 AD). As in the case of most Demotic documents, the bulk is Ptolemaic. More than one hundred examples are known from that period.

The Ptolemaic sales and mortgages were studied together with the cessions by K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit (ÄA, 19)*, 2 vol., Wiesbaden 1968.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Hauskaufurkunde (demotisch)*, in: *LÄ* II (1977), cols. 1066–1067; id., *Kaufurkunden, demotische*, in: *LÄ* III (1980), cols. 370–371.

For a survey of the early Demotic documents for money, see E. Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit (ÄF, 20)*, Glückstadt (...) 1956, p. 25 (no. 1). Add for instance the early Saite stelae in hieroglyphs or hieratic that contain a 'translation' of a Demotic document concerning money, M. Malinine, *Vente de tombes à l'époque saïte*, in: *RdÉ* 27 (1975), pp. 164–174.

For the documents concerning cattle, excluded by Zauzich, see B. Menu, *Vente d'une vache de labour sous Ptolémée VIII Evergète II*, in: *CRIPÉL* 6 (1981), pp. 229–242; D. Devauchelle, *Pap. dém. Amiens n°s 1 et 2*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 57–65, esp. pp. 57–61 (no. 1); E. Cruz-Urbe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents. A Study in Legal Forms and Principles in Ancient Egypt (ASP, 26)*, Chico 1985, and the review-article of S.P. Vleeming, *Notes on some Early-Demotic Cattle Documents*, in: *BiOr* 42 (1985), cols. 508–525.

S. Grunert, *Thebanische Kaufverträge des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z. (Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 2)*, Berlin 1981.

C.A.R. Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area (Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 4)*, London 1990.

O.M. El-Hussein Zaghloul, *An Agreement for Sale from the Reign of Ptolemy IX Sôter II in the Museum of Mallawi*, in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991), pp. 255–264.

As already stated, to sell smaller items generally other types of documents, mostly in epistolary style, were used, for example the ostraca for receipts of the price of a building plot. One of the last exclusively Demotic papyrus documents extant, dated 175/176 AD, concerns a sale of resin.

For the sale of resin, see G. Botti, *Papiri demotici dell'epoca imperiale da Tebtynis*, in: *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, Milano 1957, vol. 2, pp. 75–86, esp. pp. 83–85.

For a receipt of the price of a building plot, see S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections (P.L.Bat., 26)*, Leiden (...) 1994, no. 53.

D. CESSIONS

During the Ptolemaic period it is customary to add a so-called cession ('Abstandsschrift'; *sh n wy*) to most documents concerning money that are used for a sale. It is sometimes even written on the same papyrus. The formulae are largely identical, but in the first clause the vendor declares that he will cede all rights to a certain property, instead of confirming the payment. The secondary nature of this document is often clear from the fact that, in a clause at the end of the contract, it refers to the *sh n dbꜣ hꜣ* with which it is connected.

Nevertheless, the cession can also be used in other circumstances. After a verdict in a trial, the losing party can be forced to make a document in which he refrains from further actions on the object of litigation. These so-called withdrawals after judgement ('Streitverzichtserklärung') are rare. Since they generally contain other formulae referring to the judgement and sometimes even leave out the formula typical for cessions, they are often considered a special type of cession or even a separate category. However, in Demotic accounts of trials, a withdrawal is referred to as a *sh n wy*.

S. Allam, *The Agreement after Judgement*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 19–28.

A cession can also be drawn up when a debt was paid earlier than stipulated in the contract or when an inheritance was divided: the heirs thereby renounce all rights to the goods of the other parties. It is not always clear which factors led to the creation of a cession. Even in the early Demotic period, when this type of document is not yet really standardized and the typical cession formula is but rarely found as the introduction, the reason for the cession remains often enigmatic. What is clear is that this document tries to prevent any future claims from the ceding party to recover the property. Its main purpose is to reassure the other party.

P.W. Pestman / J. Quaegebeur / R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden 1977, vol. 2, pp. 6–7.

S. Allam, *Bemerkungen zur Abstandsschrift*, in: *Enchoria* 13 (1985), pp. 1–5.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...) (Studia Demotica, 3)*, Leuven 1991, pp. 129–131 (n. dd).

Cessions are common, though not as common as the documents concerning money. The earliest example can be dated to 485 BC, although the typical formula is attested in the middle of a contract as early as 543 BC. Again the bulk of the cessions, more than sixty examples, are Ptolemaic.

For the examples before the Ptolemaic period, see P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (*Studia Demotica*, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 1, p. 87 n. IV; and S.P. Vleeming, cited above.

Ptolemaic cessions have been studied by K.-Th. Zauzich together with the documents concerning money, see above, p. 140.

E. EXCHANGES

In the exchange documents ('Tauschurkunden') two items are swapped between their owners. The formulae are almost identical with those of the documents concerning money, because the purpose of each is very similar. Still, although the exchange of goods, such as cows or building plots, must have been a frequent practice before the

7. Demotic documentary texts

appearance of money and coinage, only very few examples have been found. Probably this kind of agreement was usually settled orally, or by means of other types of documents, such as mutual sales or cessions.

For some Ptolemaic examples, see P.W. Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenothès figlio di Horos* (P. Tor. Amenothès). *Testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a. C.* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima — Monumenti e Testi, 5), Milano 1981, no. 14, with further references in p. 122 n. m.

For some alternative ways to swap property, see A.F. Shore, *Swapping Property at Asyut in the Persian Period*, in: J. Baines et al. (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and other Essays presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (EES Occasional Publications, 7), London 1988, pp. 200–206.

For some early Demotic examples, see P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (Studia Demotica, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 1, nos. 11 & 17.

F. DONATIONS / PROPERTY TRANSFERS

Under this heading documents are grouped in which someone acknowledges certain rights of the other party concerning a property, using a formula such as *dy=y n=k* 'I have given you' or *mtw=k* 'Yours is ...'. If an agreement of this kind occurs between two unrelated parties, it is generally a transfer of property in return for some kind of service. Also similar is the allotment (*shn*) of a piece of land for ninety-nine years, without any mention whatsoever of a service in return.

For the allotment for 99 years, see P.W. Pestman / J. Quaegebeur / R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden 1977, no. 10.

For an example of a transfer of tombs, see C.A.R. Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area* (Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 4), London 1990, no. 11.

For some early Demotic examples, see P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (Studia Demotica, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 1, nos. 1, 9, 14.

Often only part of something (*dni.t*) is mentioned, implying a division of common property. In this case the parties are often relatives, and the proceedings concern goods as a share of an inheritance, without any actual division between the parties. Generally the person making the declaration remains in possession. The donor acknowledges a relative as an heir (or a fellow heir) by granting him or her part of the property of something. The beneficiary of the grant is identified by a kinship term that follows his or her name, either subjective (for instance *p3y=y sn* 'my brother') or objective (for instance *by=f šr.t* 'his daughter'). Testamentary dispositions concerning goods that go from father to children are also a regular feature of marriage settlements. If they are not included in the original agreement between the parents, they can be added afterwards in a contract between father and heir, either on the same papyrus or on a separate sheet.

E. Seidl, *Die Teilungsschrift*, in: *MDAIK* 8 (1939), pp. 198–200, treats this type of document together with the following, as does K.-Th. Zauzich in his survey of the Demotic documents (see above, p. 67).

For some early Demotic examples, see P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (Studia Demotica, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 1, nos. 4–6, 13.

G. DIVISIONS / WILLS

For 'testamentary' dispositions a real division ('Teilungsurkunden'; *sh dni.t pš*), in which the heirs declare to one another that they have shared the inheritance, can also be

used. This is generally accomplished through a unilateral declaration, as in the other agreements.

For a Ptolemaic example, see C.A.R. Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area* (*Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, 4), London 1990, no. 15. Compare also no. 21, in which the beneficiary states he is satisfied with his share.

For some early Demotic examples, see P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (*Studia Demotica*, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 1, nos. 2, 12, 16.

Wills ('Testamente') as a specific type of document are virtually non-existent in Demotic. The only example (P. Moscow 123) is probably the result of Greek influence. As a rule it was preferred to employ clauses in marriage settlements, (fictitious) sales, or the above recognition as heirs for testamentary dispositions of that kind.

On the law of succession in Demotic papyri, see P.W. Pestman, *The Law of Succession in Ancient Egypt*, in: J. Brugman et al., *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession* (*Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia*, 9), Leiden 1969, pp. 58–77; id., "Inheriting" in the Archive of the Theban Choachytes (2nd cent. B.C.), in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies*, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984 (*Studia Demotica*, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 57–73.

C.J. Martin, *Marriage and the Family in Ancient Egypt: II. Marriages, Wills and Leases of Land: Some Notes on the Formulae of Demotic Contracts*, in: M.J. Geller et al. (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World. Papers from a Seminar (...)*, London, February to May 1986, London 1995, pp. 58–78, esp. pp. 59–60. Compare W. Clarysse, *Ptolemaic Wills*, in the same volume, pp. 88–98.

H. PARTNERSHIPS

Closely connected with the preceding categories are the deeds of partnership ('Genossenurkunden'), in which two (or more?) persons recognize each other as partners (*hbr*). This means that they will share profit or loss in a common project, either professional, such as in a choachyte's office, or private, such as in a property, for example a cow. The same could also be accomplished by other types of documents, such as sales of half of the property.

This type of contract, of which the oldest example dates from 536 BC, is restricted to the early Demotic period.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Gebelen-Urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* (*Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, NS 4), Heidelberg 1964, no. 11.

Concerning the juridical implications of this type of document, see M. Malinine, *Un contrat démotique de société* (Pap. Loeb n° n° 47 et 46), in: W. Helck (ed.), *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967*, Wiesbaden 1968, pp. 87–93.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)* (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, nos. 1 & 7, esp. p. 109 n. 1.

I. LEASES

Contracts of lease ('Pachturkunden') generally concern the rent of land. The examples of the early Demotic period are often enigmatic to us because they leave out a substantial amount of information on the arrangements. In the Ptolemaic period most agreements become more explicit. Differences between early Demotic and Ptolemaic examples concern the time of payment of the rent (always after the lease in the early Demotic examples) and the beneficiary of the tax (the temple in early Demotic examples, the royal administration in the Ptolemaic period).

G.R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (SAOC, 28), Chicago 1952; id., *Notes on Demotic Egyptian Leases of Property*, in: *JNES* 32 (1973), pp. 152–160.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)* (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, no. 5.

K. Donker Van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, Leiden 1995, nos. 5–6, 17, 19–21 (P. Louvre E. 7844, 7845 A, 7836, 7833, 7837, 7839).

In the Ptolemaic period contracts are either drawn up by the lessee (*shn=k n=y*, ‘you have leased to me’; almost all Upper Egyptian examples), or by the lessor (*shn=y n=k*, ‘I have leased to you’; all from Lower Egypt). The formulae of the documents diverge widely and sometimes seem very complicated to us. The key features, however, are the above mentioned statement of lease; the duration of the contract (mostly one year); a description of the leased land; the guarantee actually to farm it; the provision of farming implements; and arrangements concerning the payment of rental and tax (*šmw* in Upper Egypt; *md Pr-ʿ3* in Lower Egypt; see above, p. 132). A penalty clause determines what happens if the lessee fails to fulfil his duties. There is also an unusual example in bilateral style.

E. Seidl, *Bodennutzung und Bodenpacht nach den demotischen Texten der Ptolemäerzeit* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 291, 2), Wien 1973.

W. Cheshire, *Verpachtung*, in: *LÄ VI* (1986), cols. 1012–1014.

For a lease document in bilateral style, see C.J. Martin, *A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P. BM 10560*, in: *JEA* 72 (1986), pp. 159–173.

C.J. Martin, *Marriage and the Family in Ancient Egypt: II. Marriages, Wills and Leases of Land: Some Notes on the Formulae of Demotic Contracts*, in: M.J. Geller et al. (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World (...)*, London 1995, pp. 58–78, esp. pp. 60–62.

A study on Ptolemaic land leases of H. Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge der Ptolemäerzeit. Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entwicklung und inhaltlichen Aspekten einer Gruppe von demotischen Urkunden*, will appear in the series *ÄÄ*.

Lease acts that deal with the renting of houses and living accommodation, income from liturgical days or mortuary endowments, which sometimes contain unusual formulae, are less numerous.

For an example, see G. Botti, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh* (*Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima — Monumenti e Testi*, 1), Firenze 1967, vol. 1, pp. 135–144.

These documents are generally notary contracts, but there are also examples of double documents. Some are even written on ostraca. Leases are quite numerous from the early Demotic period onwards, but again most examples are Ptolemaic.

For an example on ostrakon, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Drei demotische Urkunden auf Ostraka*, in: *AcOr* 25 (1960), pp. 229–237, esp. pp. 232–236 (no. 2).

A document for lease of royal land with a royal oath and a security was published by F. de Cenival, *Deux textes démotiques du fonds Jouguet relatifs aux cultures de blé*, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 13–22, esp. p. 17–22.

J. LOANS

Amongst the most common Demotic documents are the loans (‘Darlehensurkunden’; *sh n rʿ-wḥ3*), for which various forms can be used, from extensive notary contracts through double documents in epistolary form. A distinction must be made between loans of money and loans in kind.

Loans of money in Demotic are formulated as acknowledgements of a debt, generally only mentioning the total amount owed, without specifying the interest rate. It is very likely, however, that the creditor will have expected a financial remuneration. So, instead of presuming that most loans are without interest, it seems more plausible to suppose that the surplus will have been included in the sum owed. From the rare cases where the interest is listed separately, it appears that in the early Demotic period this could amount to fifty or even one hundred per cent. It remains unclear whether the length of the loan is taken into account. In the early Ptolemaic period an interest of thirty per cent a year can be deduced. This was subsequently reduced by a decision of Ptolemy II to a maximum of two per cent a month or twenty-four per cent *per annum*. If the loan was paid back before the agreed date of reimbursement, only part of the interest had to be paid. If, on the other hand, the debtor was unable to fulfil his obligations, a new document could be drawn up, confirming the debt and fixing a new date for the return of the amount owed.

P.W. Pestman, *Loans Bearing no Interest?*, in: *JJP* 16–17 (1971), pp. 7–29.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein demotisches Darlehen vom Ende der 30. Dynastie*, in: *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 241–243.

For the rare documents regarding early payment or renovation of a debt, see P.W. Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenotes figlio di Horos (P. Tor. Amenotes). Testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a. C.* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima — Monumenti e Testi, 5), Milano 1981, nos. 15 and 16.

D. Devauchelle, *Le papyrus démotique du musée de Figeac (Inv. E9): Un prêt d'argent*, in: *Cahiers du Musée Champollion. Histoire & Archéologie* 1 (1988), pp. 10–15.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)* (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, no. 12.

The loans in kind, payable in for instance wheat or wine, do not mention the duration of the loan when determining the interest. The debtor invariably pays a compensation of fifty per cent of the goods borrowed, both in the early Demotic and the Ptolemaic period. A special case are the contracts in which an amount is lent out in money, but the debt will be settled in kind. It has also been suggested that these loans in kind are in fact sales with postponed delivery.

For juridical implications of this type of document, see M. Malinine, *Un prêt de céréales à l'époque de Darius I (Pap. dém. Strasbourg N° 4)*, in: *Kēmi* 11 (1950), pp. 1–23.

For the loans of money which will be paid back in kind, see D. Devauchelle, *Pap. dém. Amiens n°s 1 et 2*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 57–65, esp. pp. 61–65 (no. 2).

For the loans on mortgage, see above, p. 140.

K. DEPOSITS

The main difference between a deposit and a loan is that a deposit implies that the money or the goods can be claimed back at any time. One of the rare examples of this type of document is a list of women's possessions which is normally integrated in a marriage settlement. In this case a separate sheet was opted for.

P.W. Pestman, *Appearance and Reality in Written Contracts: Evidence from Bilingual Family Archives*, in: M.J. Geller et al. (eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World. Papers from a Seminar (...)*, London, February to May 1986, London 1995, pp. 79–87, esp. pp. 81–82.

L. PUBLIC PROTESTS

A public protest (*šꜥr*; 'Streitschatzung'), is a formal statement, written by a professional scribe and certified by sixteen witnesses, in which rights of ownership are disputed. If over the course of three consecutive years, yearly a protest is made, and if these are not answered by the opponent, the claims of the protestant are considered to be just. The evidence from the few extant examples of this document can even be supplemented by a section of the so-called Legal Code of Hermopolis.

P.W. Pestman, "Public Protests" in the Demotic Family Archive of Pchorchonsis, in: S. Janeras (ed.), *Miscel·lània papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig en el seu vuitantè aniversari*, Barcelona 1987, pp. 271–281.

M. DEEDS OF OBLIGATION

To the deeds of obligation ('Verpflichtungsurkunden') belong various declarations in which someone commits himself to another party to perform certain tasks or to refrain from certain acts. This is, of course, a very heterogeneous group, with for example a wet-nurse's contract, embalming agreements, commitments concerning building plans, or 'deeds-of-not-hindering'. Many of the above contracts contain clauses in which the same or similar obligations are mentioned.

A survey of similar texts is given by E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (ÄF, 22), 2nd rev. ed., Glückstadt (...) 1962, p. 53.

For two new studies of the wet-nurse's contract, see M.C. Bettrò, *Contratto demotico con nota di registrazione graeca*, in: M. Manca Masciadri / O. Montevecchi, *I contratti di baliatico (Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum, 1)*, Milano 1984, pp. 39–50; and H.-J. Thissen, *Der demotische Ammenvertrag aus Tebhytis*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 235–244.

B. Menu, *Cessions de services et engagements pour dette sous les rois kouchites et saïtes*, in: *RdÉ* 36 (1985), pp. 73–87.

For a recently published 'deed-of-not-hindering', see O. El-Aguizy, *A Demotic Deed of "Not Hindering" from Sharunah*, in: *BIFAO* 89 (1989), pp. 89–99.

N. PRIVATE RECEIPTS

For private confirmation of payment in money or in kind commonly the epistolary form was used. Here also it is often not clear whether the parties act on their own behalf or are representatives of institutions (see above, p. 136).

For some examples, see E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford, Volume I. P. Ox. Griffith nn. 1–75 (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 49)*, Milano 1975, nos. 60–72.

7.3. Unofficial documents

7.3.1. Expressions of religious feeling

A. VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

Votive inscriptions, written on all kind of writing grounds, are texts that link the name of the donor or author with a deity or deified person. These can be short dedicatory inscriptions on vessels, small statues, or other gifts that were probably placed in or near the temple. The bulk of the graffiti similarly show the devotion of the visitors or

employees. Votive inscriptions on stelae or on architecture also demonstrate how the faithful expected a blessing from the god in return for their offerings and the pious deeds they performed. The account of their meritorious conduct can even be stretched to such a length that it reminds us of the autobiographies of earlier periods. In the Roman period some important officials even proclaimed their gifts in a trilingual stela, in imitation of the royal decrees (see above, p. 125). Compare also the funerary stelae (see above, p. 120).

The trilingual stela commemorating the donation of land to the temple of Hathor in Dendera is discussed by F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis* (SASAÉ, 16), Le Caire 1952, pp. 266–267.

See also the two self-laudatory texts, one both in hieroglyphs and Demotic, published by A.F. Shore, *Votive Objects from Dendera of the Graeco-Roman Period*, in: J. Ruffle et al. (eds.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, Warminster 1979, pp. 138–160, esp. pp. 141–158; compare W. Spiegelberg, *Neue Urkunden zum ägyptischen Tierkultus* (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse*, 1928 / 3), München 1928, pp. 3–14.

For dedicatory inscriptions on a statue and some stelae, see A. Farid, *Demotische Inschriften aus Berlin, Kairo und Saqqara*, in: *MDAIK* 50 (1994), pp. 43–55.

For some Apis stelae, see D. Devauchelle, *Les stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis conservées au musée du Louvre*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 95–114.

See also A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen (...) mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften (...) und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1995, pp. 234–237 (for Apis and mother of Apis stelae); 238–308 (categories 12, 18, 32, 37, 40, 43, 52, 62, 67, and 68).

For the stelae and graffiti, see above, p. 79.

B. LETTERS TO GODS

In letters to gods ('Briefe an Götter') private persons address one or several deities to complain about an injustice which they have suffered, and to demand retribution and punishment for the evildoer. It probably is preferable to interpret these documents as 'magical' texts and successors of the 'letters to the dead', rather than to consider them as complaints used in a trial by ordeal, or as parallels to the oracle questions.

Abd-el-Gawad Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter von der Spät- bis zur Römerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des religiösen Brauchtums im alten Ägypten*, 2 vol., Würzburg 1987.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Paläographische Herausforderungen I*, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/1993), pp. 165–179.

G. Vittmann, *Zwei demotische Briefe an den Gott Thot*, in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 169–181.

C. ORACLE QUESTIONS

For oracle questions ('Orakelfragen') a query or statement was written twice on a small piece of papyrus, one version affirmative, one negative. The papyrus was then divided into these two parts and both were handed over to the representative of the oracle. Only one part was returned as an answer to the query. The subjects can refer to past or future: has someone stolen clothes or not? Is it opportune to till land or to set out on a journey? Most Demotic oracle questions are Ptolemaic; in the Roman period they were almost exclusively written in Greek.

The basic study is W. Erichsen, *Demotische Orakelfragen* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, 28 / 3), København 1942.

U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Neue demotische Orakelfragen*, in: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972), pp. 79–90.

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For an example of the affirmative and negative versions, see for instance E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford, Volume I. P. Ox. Griffith nn. 1-75 (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 49)*, Milano 1975, nos. 1-2.

On the background of the Greek examples, see L. Papini, *Struttura e prassi delle domande oracolari in greco su papiro*, in: *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1990), pp. 11-20.

A new survey is announced by K.-Th. Zauzich, *Eine unerkannte Orakelfrage*, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/93), pp. 227-229.

For a pair of complementary examples from the twentieth or twenty-first dynasty in hieratic, see K. Ryholt, *A Pair of Oracle Petitions addressed to Horus-of-the-Camp*, in: *JEA* 79 (1993), pp. 189-198.

D. DREAM DESCRIPTIONS

To know the future or to have an idea of the best course of action, one could also resort to the interpretation of dreams. These could be spontaneous dreams, but often they were the result of incubation: in that case the person involved or a priest spent the night in the temple to receive a message from the god. Before going to sleep magical spells were recited to evoke visions.

An account of these dreams could be given to the priests, who then interpreted them largely on the basis of reference books (see above, p. 107). There are several examples in the so-called *katochoi*-archive, both in Greek and in Demotic. Closely related to these is the 'Archive of Hor of Sebennytyos', which consists of many ostraca containing such oneiric descriptions or perhaps rather a draft for their interpretation.

An ostrakon was published by M. Malinine, *Texte démotique relatif à un accident de travail*, in: *AcOr* 25 (1960), pp. 250-265. It was recognized as a dream text by A. Volten, *Das demotische Ostrakon im Brooklyn-Museum (Inv. No. 37.1821 E)*, in: *AcOr* 26 (1961), pp. 129-132.

J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor (Texts from Excavations, 2)*, London 1976.

For some examples on papyrus, see E. Bresciani et al., *Una rilettura dei pap. dem. Bologna 3173 e 3171*, in: *EVO* 1 (1978), pp. 95-104.

J.D. Ray, *Phrases used in Dream-Texts*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19-21 September 1984 (Studia Demotica, 1)*, Leuven 1987, pp. 85-93.

Sometimes within a Greek letter Demotic is used for an exact description of the dream, see above, p. 42.

E. CALCULATIONS FOR HOROSCOPES

These are calculations of the position of celestial bodies for a specific date, namely the day of birth of the person for whom the actual forecast, of which there is no trace, is made. All Demotic examples are written on ostraca, dating between 38 BC and 57 AD. Those of later date are in hieroglyphs, for example on a coffin-lid or on the walls of a tomb.

O. Neugebauer, *Demotic Horoscopes*, in: *JAOS* 63 (1943), pp. 115-127.

O. Neugebauer / R.A. Parker, *Two Demotic Horoscopes*, in: *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 231-235.

M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, 1)*, Leiden 1974, no. 333.

For some of the Medinet Madi texts, see R.A. Parker, *A Horoscopic Text in Triplicate*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüdeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 141-143.

There is also an example of a small document (Faiyum; between 122 and 138 AD) recording the exact time of birth of three individuals, presumably to cast their horoscopes.

F. Hoffmann, *Astronomische und astrologische Kleinigkeiten I: Pap. Wien D6005*, in: *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 22–26.

F. INCANTATIONS

In addition to the magician's manuals preserved on papyri (see above, p. 108), there are also 'practical applications' on many other writing materials such as ostraca, wooden 'mummy labels', or even in a graffito. These spells and incantations can be apotropaic, for instance against scorpions; exorcizing, for instance medical recipes; or belong to black magic, for instance a curse. The oldest examples are possibly pre-Ptolemaic, but magic is one of the genres for which Demotic remained in use until the third century AD and later.

For curses on papyrus, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31270; 50001–50022). II. Die demotischen Papyrus (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Strassburg 1906–1908, vol. 1, pp. 237 & 266 (nos. 31045; 31167 verso; the former probably a letter to a god; the latter probably fourth or third century rather than Saite).

W. Spiegelberg, *Aus der Straßburger Sammlung demotischer Ostraka*, in: *ZAS* 49 (1911), pp. 34–41, esp. pp. 34–37. No. 1 is an incantation (16 lines) to make blood flow out of a woman's body.

An incantation on a wooden tablet was published by W. Edgerton, *Wooden Tablet from Qāw*, in: *ZAS* 72 (1936), pp. 77–79.

For the graffito, see G. Vittmann, *Ein Zauberspruch gegen Skorpione im Wadi Hammamat*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 245–256. Compare K.-Th. Zauzich, *Abrakadabra oder Ägyptisch? Versuch über einen Zauberspruch*, in: *Enchoria* 13 (1985), pp. 119–132, and the reaction by G. Vittmann, *Zum Verständnis des demotischen Zauberspruchs im Wadi Hammamat*, in: *Discussions in Egyptology* 13 (1989), pp. 73–78.

G. Vittmann, *Verfluchung*, in: *LA* VI (1986), cols. 977–981.

7.3.2. Daily life

A. LETTERS, REPORTS, ...

Demotic letters are attested between the middle of the sixth century BC and the third century AD. Generally the sender himself or a scribe wrote down the message on a piece of papyrus, which was afterwards folded, sealed, and transported to the addressee. This last reads the text after removing the seal, which consequently is only seldom preserved. Most letters deal with business affairs: simple greetings or mere inquiries after the health of the addressee are rare. For less important communications and for short distances, often ostraca are used.

Although a number of different formulae and stereotype phrases can be distinguished, the content of letters is by definition unpredictable, and sometimes even intentionally cryptic. As a result, the messages are in most cases hard to interpret. An often cursive script and a curtailed orthography constitute further difficulties.

For a catalogue of the texts from Elephantine, amongst which many letters, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften, Teil 2 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 19)*, Wiesbaden 1971. A substantial amount of them have been published by the same author in *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine (Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1 & 3)*, Berlin 1978 & 1993.

A recent publication of some papyrus letters is H.S. Smith, *Sunt lacrimae rerum A.F. Shore honoris causa*, in: C. Eyre / A. & L.M. 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, pp. 281–292.

For the formulae, see M. Depauw, *The Demotic Epistolary Formulae*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 87–94.

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For an example of a quite elaborate letter on an ostrakon, see M. Depauw, *A Demotic Business Letter (O. Brux. E 354)*, in: *OLP* 26 (1995), pp. 39–49.

For memoranda, see above, p. 137; for Demotic letters addressed to gods, see above, p. 149.

B. 'LABELS'

These labels are various short texts that concern the object on which they were written: the weight of metal vessels, the contents of jars, the name of the owner, ...

For examples of inscriptions giving the weight or indicating the former contents, see above, pp. 78 and 81.

The texts on linen used as wrapping for precious documents can also be classified here, see above, p. 82.

C. CAPTIONS TO DRAWINGS

The most famous example here is a map with mainly Greek, but also some Demotic captions. A similar Greek text, with a plan for the irrigation of new land to be developed, adds the Demotic names for some points of the compass. Further explanations to drawings are relatively rare.

The map is P. Cairo 31163, published by W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (30601–31270; 50001–50022). II. Die demotischen Papyrus (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Strassburg 1906–1908, vol. 1, pp. 261–263.

The Greek text is P. gr. Lille I 1.

For another example, see E. Bresciani, *Due ostraka demotici da Ossirinco*, in: *SCO* 15 (1966), pp. 269–274, esp. pp. 269–271.

See also D. Devauchelle, *Remarques sur les méthodes d'enseignement du démotique (À propos d'ostraca du Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak)*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 47–59, esp. pp. 54–55.

8. Archives and libraries

The analytic character of the papyrological sources can be partly neutralized by studying them within the framework of the archive to which they belong. An archive is defined as a collection of manuscripts made *in antiquity* by a private person or by an institution. The term is often confused with a dossier, this last being a group of texts which have been brought together *today* because they contain information on a particular person, family or subject.

A. Martin, *Archives privées et cachettes documentaires*, in: A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists. Copenhagen, 23–29 August, 1992*, Copenhagen 1994, pp. 569–577.

The above distinction and definition are found in P.W. Pestman, *A Family Archive which Changes History. The Archive of an Anonym*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (P.L.Bat., 27), Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 91–100, esp. pp. 91–93.

Important documents were often kept in a safe place, where they are sometimes found in modern times. If this is the result of official excavations, the archive can be published in its entirety without problems. But if the documents were found and traded illegally, they may be scattered over various collections. In that case the archives have to be reconstructed by means of internal criteria, or sometimes museum archival data such as the inventory numbers and the dates of acquisition.

For museum archival data as aid for the reconstruction of archives, see K. Vandorpe, *Museum Archaeology or how to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 289–300. See also the publication of Pestman mentioned above.

The great majority of documents preserved must once have belonged to archives, although this is usually difficult or impossible to trace. It should be stressed here also that many ostraca were kept as proof, just like the papyri. Somewhat different are the collections of literary texts, preserved by the temples in their libraries (see below, p. 161). In private archives Demotic literature is rare.

For an example of a dossier consisting of ostraca, see D. Devauchelle, *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre. Tome I: Reçus* (BdÉ, 92), Paris 1983, pp. 129–149. The related Greek texts are discussed in W. Clarysse, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (P.L.Bat., 27), Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 1–19, esp. pp. 17–18.

On literary papyri in documentary archives, see W. Clarysse, *Literary Papyri in Documentary "Archives"*, in: E. Van 't Dack et al. (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven — 24–26 May 1982* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 27), Lovanii 1983, pp. 43–61.

What follows is not an exhaustive list of all archives known, but a short survey of those that have been published as such or received attention recently. An elaborate list of the various archives and the papyri or ostraca which constitute them is given in E. Lüddeckens, *Urkundenarchive*, in: *LÄ* VI (1986), cols. 876–886.

A discussion of the structure and the contents of the various archives can be found in the works of E. Seidl. For the late pharaonic period in *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit* (ÄF, 20), 2nd rev. ed., Glückstadt 1968, pp. 2–8; for the Ptolemaic period in *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (ÄF, 22), 2nd rev. ed., Glückstadt (...) 1962, pp. 15–49; and for the Roman period in *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz. Die Behauptung des ägyptischen Rechts neben dem römischen*, Sankt Augustin 1973, pp. 55–71.

8. Archives and libraries

An interesting anthology devoted to a number of family archives from the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods is offered by P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Familiearchieven uit het land van Pharao. Een bundel artikelen samengesteld naar aanleiding van een serie lezingen van het Papyrologisch Instituut van Leiden in het voorjaar van 1986*, Zutphen 1989.

For a general survey of archives and libraries in the ancient Near East, see J.A. Black / W.J. Tait, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East*, in: J.M. Sasson et al. (eds.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York (...) 1995, vol. 4, pp. 2197–2209.

8.1. Private archives

Private archives consist of covenants preserved by private citizens to prove certain rights, for example ownership, or to attest certain actions, for example payment of taxes. Sometimes unofficial documents with sentimental value can be added, although this is only rarely the case. Quite often, however, agreements from the professional sphere are also included in this type of archive. Although it has been proposed to create a separate category of 'accountant archives' for these cases, it is perhaps best to study them here as well, because it is often far from easy to distinguish professional activities from those belonging to the private sphere.

Quite a few of the private archives that have been preserved once belonged to choachytes. Since these worked as libationers in the necropolis, they had plenty of opportunities to store away their documents in a very safe place, namely in the tombs of which they took care.

8.1.1. Early Demotic

Private archives from this period often contain both Demotic and abnormal hieratic documents. Those that consist exclusively of the latter are not taken into account here.

A. THEBES

A thoroughly studied archive is that of the woman *Tsenhor*, containing fifteen papyri dated between 556 and 487 BC. Most of these were drawn up for the keeper, for example title-deeds (concerning a slave, a building, land, ...) or a marriage settlement, but a few were deposited by her daughter and her oldest son.

P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (*Studia Demotica*, 4), 2 vol., Leuven 1994. E. Seidl incorrectly considers it the archive of *Ir.t.w-r.t=w*.

A new study of abnormal hieratic and Demotic papyri from the reigns of Amasis will be published by K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, Leiden 1995. It includes what Seidl regards as the archives of Djehy and Itouradj.

B. EL-HIBEH

Intriguing because of the presence of the pseudo-literary petition P. Rylands 9 (see above, p. 102), is the archive of *Petesis*, containing nine papyri ranging from 644 until 513 BC. One would expect the other documents to be the supporting evidence for his claim to rights in the temple, but oddly enough they seem to contradict the argumentation of the plaintiff.

F.L.I. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester–London 1909, vol. 3, p. 43; E. Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit* (ÄF, 20), 2nd rev. ed., Glückstadt 1968, p. 7.

8.1.2. Ptolemaic period

Most of the family archives extant belong to the Ptolemaic period. In the beginning of this period the majority are still exclusively Demotic, but from the middle of the third century BC onwards bilingual, Demotic-Greek archives become common. Gradually Greek gains the upper hand and in the Roman period private archives with Demotic documents completely disappear.

A. EDFU

The archive of *Pabakhtis* consists of twenty-five papyri dated between 265 and 208 BC. It contains not only documents that concern land (documents concerning money, cessions, and a loan on mortgage), but also marriage settlements, a division, and a lease. Apart from the *editio princeps* of Spiegelberg, the archive has received relatively little attention.

W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt. Verträge der ersten Hälfte der Ptolemäerzeit (Ptolemaios II–IV) aus Apollinopolis (Edfu)*, Leipzig 1913. A new edition is in preparation, see J.G. Manning, *A Proposal for a New Study of the Hauswaldt Papyri*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 197.

B. GEBELEIN

Because the papyri from Gebelein were acquired on the antiquities market, the archives to which they belonged must be reconstructed. All of them were established by the offspring of soldiers who came to Gebelein, bought land, and married there. The largest archive is that which eventually came into possession of *Peteharsemteus* (more than 70 papyri and other documents; 145–88 BC). The title-deeds, receipts for payment of taxes, and letters of which it consists are mainly Greek, but about one third is drawn up in Demotic.

P.W. Pestman, *Les archives privées de Pathyris à l'époque ptolémaïque. La famille de Pétéharsemtheus, fils de Panebkhounis*, in: E. Boswinkel et al. (eds.), *Studia Papyrologica Varia* (P.L.Bat., 14), Lugdunum Batavorum 1965, pp. 47–105. For more recent publications, see the above article of K. Vandorpe, p. 292 n. 13.

The bilingual archive of *Horos son of Nekhoures* (about 70 papyri, the majority in Demotic; 134–89 BC) is the only one from Gebelein that was found and sold in its entirety, probably the former contents of a pot. The last keeper was a soldier whose father had married a member of an important family of military men.

Editio princeps of 30 Demotic papyri by F.L.I. Griffith, *Demotic Papyri from Gebelên*, in: E.N. Adler et al. / F.L.I. Griffith, *The Adler Papyri*, London 1939, pp. 61–118.
G. Messeri-Savorelli, *Un nuovo documento dell'archivio di Horos figlio di Nechutes*, in: *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1990), pp. 53–62.

Similar is the archive of *Pelaïas* (about 20 documents, of which roughly half is Demotic; 152–88 BC); it contains both Greek and Demotic contracts, mainly concerning the woman Nahomsesis, her son-in-law Eunus, and her grandson, the last owner of the archive. Some marriage settlements of female relatives are also part of it.

P.W. Pestman, *Nahomseisis, una donna d'affari di Pathyris. L'archivio bilingue di Pelaias, figlio di Eunus*, in: E. Bresciani et al. (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevicchi*, Bologna 1981, pp. 295–315.

Another important archive is that of the Cretan cavalry officer *Druton* and his offspring (some 50 documents; between 174 and 94 BC). The Demotic documents (about one third) are mainly loans, marriage settlements, and documents of divorce.

J.K. Winnicki, *Ein ptolemäischer Offizier in Thebais*, in: *Eos* 60 (1972), pp. 343–353.

K. Vandorpe, *Museum Archaeology or how to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives*, in: *EVO* 17 (1994), pp. 289–300, in which a new publication of the entire archive is announced.

C. THEBES

Again most of the Demotic archives known from this period come from Thebes. One of the oldest Ptolemaic ones is that of *Teos and his wife Taba* (12 documents; 327/326–306 [?] BC). Apart from title-deeds of a house, some documents from the professional sphere are included as well.

J. Quaegebeur, *De nouvelles archives de famille thébaines à l'aube de l'époque ptolémaïque*, in: J. Bingen / E. Nachtergaele (eds.), *Actes du XV^e congrès international de papyrologie (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 19)*, Bruxelles 1979, vol. 4, pp. 40–48.

Of the archives that have been found during official excavations, two have already been published, at least partially. The oldest one is that of *Psenminis*: thirty-two papyri found in a house during excavations in Dra-Abu-el-Naga in 1922. The archive covers six generations or one hundred years (317–217 BC) and finally came into the possession of the above mentioned scribe. It contains documents from the choachyte family of the previous husband of his wife, as well a series of contracts concerning his own house.

For a publication of the first 26 documents, see M. El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes. Demotic Papyri in the Philadelphia and Cairo Museums from the Ptolemaic Period*, Cairo 1959.

A recent short discussion with reference to the earlier literature is given in P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive (Studia Demotica, 2)*, Leuven 1993, pp. 28–29.

The archive of the woman *Teianteus* (about 18 documents; 315–274 BC) has been reconstructed from papyri in London, Brussels, Moscow, and Manchester. All texts, either directly or indirectly, concern a house of which the ownership changed through the years. The title-deeds of this property, rather than the family affairs, form the core of this archive.

The archive has been partially published and studied by S.R.K. Glanville, *A Theban Archive of the Reign of Ptolemy I, Soter (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 1)*, London 1939.

P.W. Pestman, *Het huis van Teianteus*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Familiearchieven uit het land van Pharao. Een bundel artikelen samengesteld naar aanleiding van een serie lezingen van het Papyrologisch Instituut van Leiden in het voorjaar van 1986*, Zutphen 1989, pp. 14–23.

The archive of *Pechutes*, covering seven generations of a family of choachytes (334–199 BC), has remained virtually unpublished. It is kept in London and Paris.

P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive (Studia Demotica, 2)*, Leuven 1993, p. 31.

The archive is referred to by E. Seidl as that of *P3-dy-ršy*, by E. Lüddeckens as *P3-tm3*.

Two jars discovered in 1905 during excavations in Deir el-Medina contained the archive of *Totoes*. The papyri (53 of which 9 are Greek; 189–100 BC) are loans, receipts, sales,

exchanges, leases of property, and others illustrating the private affairs of the keeper, but also include documents from Totoes' wife and her family.

G. Botti, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima — Monumenti e Testi, 1), 2 vol., Firenze 1967.

P.W. Pestman, *Fureter dans les papiers de Totoës. Archives familiales grecques-démotiques de Turin*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* (P.L.Bat., 23), Leiden 1985, pp. 145–148.

Probably the largest archive that can be reconstructed through internal and external criteria is that of the *Theban choachytes* (about 80 documents; 182–98 BC). It actually consists of two separate collections: that of Osoroeris and that of Panas, both leading members of the association of choachytes of the necropolis of Djeme. For this reason we also find administrative documents such as rules of cult-guilds, besides deeds concerning personal property.

For a survey, see in P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive* (Studia Demotica, 2), Leuven 1993.

The bilingual archive of *Amenothes* (16 papyri; 171–116 BC) contains documents concerning his family, his property, as well as his professional activities as embalmer and chief lector priest.

P.W. Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenotes figlio di Horos* (P. Tor. Amenotes). *Testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a. C.* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima — Monumenti e Testi, 5), Milano 1981.

Since the edition of C.A.R. Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area* (Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 4), London 1990, many new texts from this area have become known, but the study of these documents as archives has only just begun, see P.W. Pestman, *A Family Archive which Changes History. The Archive of an Anonym*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (P.L.Bat., 27), Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 91–100.

D. SIUT

The archive of the lector priest *Tefhape* from Siut was the first one to be published as such in Demotic studies. It contains thirteen papyri dated between 185 and 169 BC, of which three are documents belonging to Tefhape's sister. She preferred these to be kept in the archive of her brother, rather than in that of her husband, since they contained the commitments by the latter. The remaining ten documents all concern a trial about the inheritance of the father of Tefhape, who had been married twice. An account of the trial and the judgement, passed in 170 BC, was found in this archive, as well as various contracts containing the evidence laid before the court by the keeper of the archive.

Published by H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum, including an Account of a Trial before the Laocritae in the Year B.C. 170*, 2 vol., Oxford 1934.

A.F. Shore / H.S. Smith, *Two Unpublished Demotic Documents from the Asyut Archive*, in: *JEA* 45 (1959), pp. 52–60.

For a survey of the proceedings, see S.P. Vleeming, *Strijd om het erfdeel van Tefhapi*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Familiearchieven uit het land van Pharao* (...), Zutphen 1989, pp. 30–45.

E. HERMOPOLIS

One of the relatively few written sources available for Hermopolis is the bilingual family archive of *Dionysios* (41 papyri, of which 8 Demotic; 139–104 BC). The

Demotic texts are all contracts containing transactions of immovable property, livestock, or wheat.

E. Boswinkel / P.W. Pestman, *Les archives privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephala. Textes grecs et démotiques* (P.L.Bat., 22), Leiden 1982.

For the unpublished family archive of Teos (14 papyri; 191–162 BC), see E. Lüddeckens, *Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel (mit einer genealogischen Skizze)*, in: E. Kießling / H.-A. Rupprecht (eds.), *Akten des XIII. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Marburg / Lahn, 2.–6. August 1971* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 66), München 1974, pp. 235–239.

F. MEMPHIS

For Memphis there is a large *Undertakers' Archive* (some 30, mainly Demotic papyri; between 203 and 65 BC), acquired by Anastasi in the first half of the nineteenth century, and later scattered among museums all over Europe. These papers of five generations are mainly marriage settlements and divisions of property. The majority of the texts is only available in out of date publications.

D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Princeton 1988, pp. 155–189; 280–282 (*Appendix B*).

Furthermore only small papyrus archives, such as that of the priest *Horos son of Petosiris* (3 cessions; 201–181 BC) or that of the merchant *Harmachis* (4 loans of money that will be paid back in kind; 108 BC) have been published.

P.W. Pestman / J. Quaegebeur / R.L. Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden 1977, nos. 1–3 (Horos); 4–6 (Harmachis).

A very special archive is that of *Horos of Sebennytyos* (second century BC), found during excavations in Saqqara. It consists of about seventy Demotic and some Greek texts, all drafts written on ostraca. The intriguing texts concern dreams and oracles, as well as a cult of ibises. Some of these have direct historical significance.

J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor (Texts from Excavations, 2)*, London 1976; id., *Observations on the Archive of Hor*, in: *JEA* 64 (1978), pp. 113–120.

G. FAIYUM

The *embalmers' archives of Hawara* (late third until middle first century BC) again contain documents both from the private and the professional sphere. They are split between different collections (Chicago, Copenhagen, Oxford, ...) and have only partially been published.

The texts preserved in Oxford have been published by E.A.E. Reymond, *Embalmers' Archives from Hawara (Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in Ashmolean Museum, 1)*, Oxford 1973.

E. Lüddeckens, *Die demotischen Urkunden von Hawara. Ein Vorbericht*, in: H. Maehler / V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz 1978, pp. 221–226.

The most extensive archive from the Ptolemaic period is the so-called *Zenon-archive* (about 2000 papyri, of which only 25 are at least partially Demotic; 274–227 BC). These documents were kept by the manager of a large estate in Philadelphia, granted by Ptolemy II Philadelphos to his *dioiketes* Apollonios. Because they were found in unofficial excavations at the end of the nineteenth century, the papyri have been scattered all over the world. The bulk of the texts is Greek and concerns the

management of the estate or the private affairs of Zenon, both of which are often intermingled in the archive.

Editio princeps of the Demotic texts of the Zenon archive by W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs* (*Demotische Studien*, 8), Leipzig 1929.

The bilingual receipts have been re-edited by P.W. Pestman, *Ricevute bilingui dell'archivio di Zenon*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive* (*P.L.Bat.*, 20 A), Leiden 1980, nos. 1–8 and 11–13.

P.W. Pestman (ed.), *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (*P.L.Bat.*, 21), 2 vol., Leiden 1981.

A popular work is W. Clarysse / K. Vandorpe, *Zenon, een Grieks manager in de schaduw van de piramiden*, Leuven 1990; there is also a French version *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des pyramides* (*Ancorae*, 14), Louvain 1995.

8.2. Administrative archives

Administrative archives consist of official documents kept by a state official. Most Demotic examples date from the early Ptolemaic period, when at least part of the proceedings could be effected in the language of the local population; typical examples are census lists and other administrative documents. In the course of time Greek as the language of the upper class became predominant, and in the Roman period Demotic is even scarcely used for official purposes.

A. ELEPHANTINE

The archive of the administrative official *Milon* (39 papyri of which 10 at least partially Demotic; 225–223 BC) was found in Elephantine, but the contents clearly point to Edfu as its original provenance. Several documents are tenders for the leasing of land that formerly belonged to a rich priestly family in Edfu but was confiscated because of tax debts. The Demotic texts bear a short summary in Greek, in all probability because Milon did not know the language of the native population. Although it is known from the archive that Milon took refuge in Elephantine because of problems concerning his post in Edfu, it is unclear why he left these documents on the island.

Editio princeps in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus von der Insel Elephantine*, I (Nr. 1–13) (*Demotische Studien*, 2), Leipzig 1908, nos. 1–10.

B. OXYRHYNCHOS

About 1800 ostraca in Pisa and in Cologne were originally thought to have come from Oxyrhynchos. In all probability, however, the texts were found in a desert outpost between the Nile and an oasis. This explains why so many documents (mainly diaries and letters) concern the transport of water and grain. Palaeography and the level of prices mentioned in the ostraca suggest a date in the later years of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (145–132 BC), rather than one in the Roman period. The organization of this administrative archive (or archives?) will probably only become clear after all the texts have been published.

For the date, see also W. Clarysse / E. Lanciers, *Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period*, in: *AncSoc* 20 (1989), pp. 117–132, esp. pp. 122–124. For an introduction and references to the various articles in which the ostraca have been published, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Wasser für den Aussenposten* (*Das demotische Archiv der Oxyrhynchos-Ostraka*), in: B. Menu (ed.), *Les problèmes institutionnels de l'eau en Égypte ancienne et dans*

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l'Antiquité méditerranéenne (BdÉ, 110), Le Caire 1994, pp. 229–238; add E. Bresciani / S. Sanseverino / S. Volpi, *Ostraka demotici pisani inediti*, in: *EVO* 16 (1993), pp. 43–56.

C. FAIYUM

From the district of Polemon in the Faiyum come a number of surety contracts and tenders for lease of land. It is not unlikely that all documents belong together and were kept by the toparch of Crocodilopolis.

K. Sethe / J. Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* (Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 32), Leipzig 1920, nos. 1–8.

Many papyri recovered from mummy cartonnage that was found in Ghoran, Lahun, and Magdola can probably be grouped to form one or possibly more archives of nomarchs. The reconstruction of this bilingual official archive from the third century BC is a very complicated affair, however. The various groups seem to be official letters, surety contracts, census lists, and other administrative documents. The papyri, of which the bulk is still unpublished, are kept in the Sorbonne.

For some publications, see H. Sottas, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille, Tome 1^{er}*, Paris 1921; F. de Cenival, *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'époque ptolémaïque* (P. dém. Lille 34 à 96) (*Société d'Histoire du Droit. Collection d'Histoire Institutionnelle et Sociale*, 5), Paris 1973; ead., *Papyrus démotiques de Lille (III)* (MIFAO, 110), Le Caire 1984. Others are published in articles, see for instance F. de Cenival, *Deux textes démotiques du fonds Jouguet relatifs aux cultures de blé*, in: *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 13–22; M.C. Betrò, *Il P. dem. Lille 119: Un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto*, in: S.F. Bondi et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, pp. 67–84.

8.3. Temple archives and libraries

Like the royal administration, the temples also collected documents that were important for their practical functioning and preserved them in their own archives. In this special environment Demotic was frequently used until well in the Roman period, but eventually here also Greek triumphed.

Closely linked with the archives are the libraries, collections of literary texts kept by the priests. They contained hieroglyphic, hieratic, but from about the fourth century BC onwards also Demotic papyri. In the Roman period some of the literature was also written down in Greek, but as a whole these temple libraries were the last bastions of the native languages and scripts.

8.3.1. Archives

A. ELEPHANTINE

In the course of German excavations in Elephantine at the beginning of this century a temple archive was discovered. Almost all papyri are letters concerning the affairs of the *Khnum-priests* of Elephantine, which illustrate how these men lived and worked, as well as the various disputes and arguments in which they were engaged. Minor groups are formed by the title-deeds, accounts, and lists. The letters are mainly Ptolemaic (or somewhat earlier?), but several early Demotic and a few early Roman examples have

also been found. The structure and the various chronological layers of the archive are still unclear.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften, Teil 2 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 19)*, Wiesbaden 1971. For publications of the letters, see above, p. 151.

B. TEBTUNIS

More than one hundred self-dedications, some examples of rules of cult-guilds, and other documents from the second century BC belonged to the archive of the *temple of Sobek* in Tebtunis.

E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (ÄF, 22), 2nd rev. ed., Glückstadt (...) 1962, p. 47 (no. 38).

C. DIME (SOKNOPAIU NESOS)

The archive of the *temple of Sobek* was found during unofficial excavations at the end of the nineteenth century and acquired by various museums all over the world. The collection of the *Griffith Institute* in Oxford, which counts about three hundred papyri from Dime, is of very diverse contents. A number of Ptolemaic texts (middle second century BC) have already been published and contain oracle questions, letters, *hypomnemata*, tenders for the collection of taxes, contracts, and receipts. Accounts, lists, and fragments will follow later. Papyri in other collections, which contain much Roman material, are also gradually being published.

E.A.E. Reymond, *Studies in the Late Egyptian Documents Preserved in the John Rylands Library. II. Dimè and its Papyri: An Introduction*, in: BRL 48 (1966), pp. 433–466.

For some Ptolemaic texts of Dime, see for instance E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiou Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford, Volume I. P. Ox. Griff. nn. 1 – 75 (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 49)*, Milano 1975.

A number of Roman Demotic examples have been published: see for the most recent instalment, K.-Th. Zauzich, *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 151–180. See also the above work of E. Bresciani, p. XIV n. 2.

8.3.2. Libraries

A. TEBTUNIS

The most famous example is the extensive temple library of Tebtunis, consisting of literary texts of all kinds: narrative, mythological, astrological, astronomical, medical, mathematical, and other. Illicit diggings took place from the nineteenth century onwards and were the only source until about 1930, when official excavations began. The manuscripts have found their way to many collections all over the world. Thus more than one thousand numbers have been given to the papyri and fragments in the collection in Copenhagen alone. Most texts have been situated between the middle of the first and the third century AD; the great variety of different hands shows that these libraries were not the work of individuals, even if certain prolific temple scribes can be identified.

A survey of the contents of the library, with a first instalment of new publications of these texts, is P.J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (CNI Publications, 15), Copenhagen 1991.

For an outline of the history of the Tebtunis material, see also J. Osing, *The Carlsberg Papyri 2. Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis, I* (CNI Publications, 17), forthcoming.

B. DIME

Another temple library is that connected to the already mentioned *temple of Sobek* in Dime. The majority of these again very diverse texts is preserved in Vienna, and must be situated between about the first century BC and the third century AD. Since these papyri were not found during official excavations, their exact provenance cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but Soknopaiu Nesos is one of the most likely candidates.

For a survey of the texts, see E.A.E. Reymond, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in: *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42–60.

For the texts from Medinet Madi, see above, p. 43.

9. Selected topics

9.1. The calendar system

Traditionally in Egypt more than one calendar was employed. Two of them were based exclusively on the moon, whereas a third one tried to follow the course of the sun, even if it was essentially still a schematic or 'average' lunar year. Only this last system, the so-called Egyptian civil year of 365 days, is adopted in Demotic, although for religious purposes the two other calendars remained in use.

For the different calendars of Egypt, see R.A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (SAOC, 26), Chicago 1950.

The intensively discussed absolute chronology of ancient Egypt is considered in *Ägypten und Levante* 3 (1992). Especially the dates of the New Kingdom are often revised, see for example recently J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (HAB, 39), Hildesheim 1994.

9.1.1. The era of the ruling pharaoh

Demotic documents date themselves by referring to the year of rule of the pharaoh, which is calculated from the first year during which the pharaoh ascended the throne, or sometimes the time when the (previous) king or queen took him or her as an associate. The second year begins on the following New Year's Day (Thot 1). In early and Ptolemaic Demotic, the royal name is only explicitly mentioned in larger documents, in that case often with the king's cult titles. For smaller texts, such as letters or accounts, it is therefore not always easy to determine to which pharaoh the year refers. During the Roman period the name of the emperor was more commonly given, even in less important texts. After Diocletian, however, the succession is sometimes left out of account in unofficial documents, and the years continue to be counted from 285 AD according to the era of Diocletian ('The Era of the Martyrs').

For a list of Demotic translations of the epitheta of Ptolemaic monarchs, see P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.) (P.L.Bat., 15), Lugdunum Batavorum 1967, pp. 159–163.

Demotic graffiti dated according to the era of Diocletian are referred to in R.S. Bagnall / K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam pertinentia, 8), Zutphen 1978, p. 47.

For the names and titles of the Roman emperors in Demotic documents, see J.-C. Grenier, *Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 22), Bruxelles 1989.

For the conversion of the dates to our Christian era, see above, p. 66, and below.

9.1.2. The eponymous priests

A supplementary dating system, combined with the preceding one in important documents such as notary-contracts, lists the eponymous priests of Alexander the Great and the deified Ptolemies. These officials gave their name to the Macedonian year during which they functioned in the Greek cities of Alexandria (from 290 BC onwards) and Ptolemais (from 215 BC onwards). After Ptolemy VI (180–145) the scribes often omitted the names of the priests because of their ever increasing number, and ultimately this led to the disappearance of the practice as a whole in the early first century BC.

9. Selected topics

A list of eponymous priests is given in W. Clarysse / G. Van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt. Chronological Lists of the Priests of Alexandria and Ptolemais with a Study of the Demotic Transcriptions of their Names* (P.L.Bat., 24), Leiden 1983.

9.1.3. The calendar: days, months, and seasons

The Egyptian year consists of 365 days, or twelve months of thirty days plus five epagomenal days. The months are grouped into three seasons of four months each. Because of the very cursive writing of the signs indicating the season (*ḏh.t* 'flood', *pr.t* 'seed-time', or *šmw* 'harvest'), it is often difficult to determine the precise date. Moreover Demotic contracts, in opposition to abnormal hieratic ones, do not mention the day on which they were drawn up before the reign of Ptolemy VI.

The omission of the day in Demotic contracts of the earlier periods is discussed in F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Manchester-London 1909, vol. 3, p. 33, and J. Quaegebeur, review of R.H. Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri* (...), in: *CdÉ* 49 (1974), pp. 288–291, esp. p. 290.

	<i>ibd-1</i> 'Month 1'	<i>ibd-2</i> 'Month 2'	<i>ibd-3</i> 'Month 3'	<i>ibd-4</i> 'Month 4'	
<i>ḏh.t</i> 'inundation'	Thot	Phaôphi	Hathyr	Khoiak	—
<i>pr.t</i> 'winter'	Tybi	Mekhir	Phamenôth	Pharmuthi	—
<i>šmw</i> 'summer'	Pakhôns	Payni	Epeiph	Mesorê	<i>n3 hrw 5 n ḥb</i> 'The five epagomenal days'

The seasons, months and their Greek equivalents.

𐤏𐤁𐤓 *ḏh.t*

𐤏𐤏𐤏 *pr.t*

𐤏𐤏𐤏 *šmw*

𐤏𐤏𐤓 *ḏh.t*

𐤏𐤏𐤓 *pr.t*

𐤏𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤏𐤏 *šmw*

The writing of the seasons in Demotic. In the Ptolemaic period (top) *pr.t* and *šmw* are likely to be confused; in the Roman period *ḏh.t* and *pr.t* are often very similar. See K.-Th. Zauzich, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 172–173.

In this Egyptian calendar New Year's Day (Thot 1) is fixed, in opposition to the lunisolar Macedonian calendar, often used in Greek papyri, in which the date of accession to the throne also marks the beginning of a new year. A third calendar is the financial one, used in the third century BC (Ptolemy II Philadelphos and III Euergetes). The only difference from the Egyptian calendar is the date of New Year: Mekhir 1 instead of Thot 1. It is not used to date Demotic texts, but it may sometimes be referred to in tax receipts.

A general treatise of calendars in Ptolemaic Egypt is A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (*Müncher Beiträge zu Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 43), München 1962.

E. Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque. Problèmes de chronologie hellénistique* (*Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, 20), Basel 1990; see reviews by H. Hauben, *La chronologie macédonienne et ptolémaïque mise à l'épreuve. A propos d'un livre d'Erhard*

Grzybek, in: *CdÉ* 67 (1992), pp. 143–171; A. Spalinger, *Calendrical Comments*, in: *BiOr* 51 (1994), cols. 5–20; and L. Criscuolo in: *Aegyptus* 71 (1991), pp. 282–289.

The use of the financial calendar in Demotic documents is discussed by S.P. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections* (P.L.Bat., 26), Leiden (...) 1994, pp. 38–39.

9.1.4. Deviations from and conversion to the Julian calendar

As 365 days are in fact insufficient by about one fourth of a day in comparison to the actual period of revolution of the earth around the sun, the year started to ‘float’ and some festivals turned out to be held in summer instead of in winter or vice versa. The Canopus Decree (238 BC; Ptolemy II Philadelphos) introduced a sixth epagomenal day every fourth year, but this measure was actually applied only with the introduction of the Julian calendar under Augustus. And even afterwards the old *annus vagus* continued to be used sporadically, especially in horoscopes, texts concerning Egyptian religion, and documents from conservative regions.

Various reference tools can help to convert dates from the Egyptian calendar into our system. The conversion for the early Demotic period can be computed in P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (P. Tsenhor). *Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}* (*Studia Demotica*, 4), Leuven 1994, vol. 1, pp. 167–183.

For the Ptolemaic period tables are offered in T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 39), München 1954.

Exact Roman dates can be transposed into our calendar by use of the folding page in P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)* (P.L.Bat., 15), Lugdunum Batavorum 1967, following p. 8.

For the transitional period between the (Ptolemaic) Egyptian and (Roman) Julian calendars, see T.C. Skeat, *The Reign of Augustus in Egypt. Conversion Tables for the Egyptian and Julian Calendars, 30 B.C. – 14 A.D.* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 84), München 1993, with a correction for the first nine years of Augustus' reign by D. Hagedorn, *Zum ägyptischen Kalender unter Augustus*, in: *ZPE* 100 (1994), pp. 211–222.

For dates according to the old *annus vagus* in the Roman period, see D. Hagedorn / K.A. Worp, *Das Wandeljahr im römischen Ägypten*, in: *ZPE* 104 (1994), pp. 243–255.

9.2. Measures, weights, and money

Our knowledge of the various systems in Demotic for measuring and weighing is still very incomplete. Various reasons have been brought forward to explain this: the fact that the measures used were often not mentioned because of their obviousness to the then reader; chronological and geographical diversity; and lack of progress in the study of lists and accounts, where clues to a better understanding of these measures can probably be found. We are best informed about the Ptolemaic period.

The following remarks are essentially based on the article by S.P. Vleeming, *Maße und Gewichte*, in: *LÄ* III (1980), cols. 1209–1214.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Unerkannte demotische Kornmasse*, in: J. Osing / 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, pp. 462–471.

9.2.1. Linear and square measures

The basic unit for linear measures is the so-called God's-cubit (*mh-ntr*), presumably equalling 52.5 cm from the late pharaonic period onwards. Its subdivisions are the palm (*šp*) and the finger (*tb*), equal to respectively 7.5 and 1.875 cm. Amongst the larger units the schoinion (*h-nwh*) of 52.5 m is the one most frequently used.

9. Selected topics

Schoinion <i>ḥ-nwḥ</i>	God's-cubit <i>mḥ-ntr</i>	Palm <i>šp</i>	Finger <i>tb^c</i>
52.5 m	0.525 m	0.075 m	0.01875 m
—	—	—	1
—	—	1	7
—	1	4	—
1	100	—	—

The square measures are derived from the above ones. Thus there are the square-cubit (*mḥ-ḥti*) of 0.275 m², the ground-cubit (*mḥ-itn*) of 27.5 m² and the aroura (*stḥ*) of 2756.25 m². The latter is the most common one, and often its subdivisions of 1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/16 and 1/32, each with their own sign and name, are used to indicate the area.

Aroura <i>stḥ</i>	Ground-cubit <i>mḥ-itn</i>	Square-cubit <i>mḥ-ḥti</i>
2756.25 m ²	27.5 m ²	0.275 m ²
—	—	1
—	1	100
1	100	—

A detailed account of the various linear and area measures is S.P. Vleeming, *Demotic Measures of Length and Surface, chiefly of the Ptolemaic Period*, in: P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* (P.L.Bat., 23), Leiden 1985, pp. 208–229.

9.2.2. Cubic measures

Various system are adopted according to what is measured. Sometimes a cubic cubit seems to be used, but mostly a different unit for liquids and dry materials is employed.

For dry materials such as wheat, the history of the various measures of capacity has been reconstructed as follows. Originally the most common one was the sack (*ḥ^cr*) equalling 4 oipe (*ipy.t*) or 160 hin (*hn*; probably between 0.45 and 0.50 litres). During the Achaemenid rule the Persian artaba (*rtb*), equal to 60 hin or about 30 litres, was introduced. The sack continued to be used, but under the influence of the artaba it was reduced to 80 hin or about 40 litres. When the Greeks came to Egypt, they adopted both systems, leading to two values for the artaba in Greek sources, either 29/30 or 40 choinikes (1 choinix equalling about one litre).

Sack <i>ḥꜣr</i> (Stage 1)	Oipe <i>ipy.t</i>	Sack <i>ḥꜣr</i> (Stage 2)	Greek Artaba (2)
160 hin	40 hin	80 hin	40 choinikes
about 80 l	about 20 l	about 40 l	about 40 l
—	1	—	—
—	2	1	1
1	4	2	2

Artaba <i>rtb</i>	Greek Artaba (1)
60 hin	30 choinikes
about 30 l	about 30 l

S.P. Vleeming, *The Artaba, and Egyptian Grain-Measures*, in: R.S. Bagnall et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York, 24–31 July 1980* (ASP, 23), Chico 1981, pp. 537–545; id., *Some Notes on the Artaba in Pathyris*, in: *Enchoria* 9 (1979), pp. 93–100. See the article by K.-Th. Zauzich cited above.

For liquids apparently a great variety of receptacles are used for measuring, also dependent on the type of fluid. The only measure which can be equated with our metric system is the already mentioned hin.

Compare K.-Th. Zauzich, *Wie maß-voll war Amasis?*, in: *Enchoria* 16 (1988), pp. 139–140.

9.2.3. Weights

The basic unit used in Egypt from the New Kingdom onwards is the kite (*kt*), equal to about 9.1 grams. Ten kite form one deben (*dbn*) or 91.5 gram. Weights are mainly used to estimate the value of precious materials, especially valuable metals such as gold, copper, or silver. Quantities of this last were the most common means of payment before the arrival of coinage in Egypt. Frequently the Treasury of Ptah or that of Thebes is mentioned, which was traditionally interpreted as the temple authority controlling the alloy of the metal, probably by marking it. In view of the lack of archaeological evidence for these ‘coins *avant-la-lettre*’, it seems more likely, however, to connect the treasuries with the maintenance of correct standard weights.

S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (...) (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, pp. 87–89 (n. uu).

9.2.4. Money

The Egyptian monetary system is based on working with certain amounts of precious metal, generally silver or copper. The situation in the early Demotic period before about the middle of the fourth century is described in the preceding section. From that period onwards, or perhaps even earlier as is suggested by new evidence in the ostraca of Manawir, the kite was artificially connected with the Greek stater (2 kite = 1 stater): shortly

afterwards, with the arrival of Alexander the Great and the ensuing Greek supremacy, coins become a regular feature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Until 210 BC the coinage was based on a silver standard; from that time onwards, one based on copper was employed. Subsequently the relative value of copper with respect to silver was halved several times during the second century BC, which made the level of prices rise. The inflation was stopped in 30 BC, when Octavian, the later Augustus, returned to the silver standard.

For Demotic the basic money unit is the kite (*kt*), usually referring to copper. If silver was meant, this was generally specifically indicated (*ḥḏ sp-2*). Ten kite form one deben (*dbn*). These traditional Egyptian units are used in combination with Greek ones. A very large amount is the talent (*krkr*, 300 deben). Smaller ones are the obol (*tb^c.t*, 1/12 kite) and the stater (*sttr*, 2 kite). This last unit is especially common in the Roman period. The drachma (1/2 kite), the basic unit in Greek, is not used in Demotic.

Deben <i>dbn</i>	Kite <i>kt</i>	Obol <i>tb^c.t</i>	Drachma	Stater <i>sttr</i>	Talent <i>krkr</i>
—	—	1	—	—	—
—	½	6	1	—	—
—	1	12	2	—	—
—	2	24	4	1	—
1	10	—	20	5	—
300	—	—	6000	—	1

For inflation and the difference between silver and copper standard prices, see T. Reekmans, *The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation*, in: E. Van 't Dack / T. Reekmans, *Ptolemaica (Studia Hellenistica, 7)*, Louvain–Leiden 1951, pp. 61–118. This can also be a useful dating criterion, see above, p. 70. P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive (Studia Demotica, 2)*, Leuven 1993, pp. 347–351 (§8).

9.3. Prosopographies

Prosopographies are chronologically, geographically, and sometimes thematically defined lists of the various individuals attested in all available sources. In opposition to the onomastic lists, they are essentially an historical tool, trying to establish in which documents a person is attested: consequently they should not be limited to a certain kind of script, but should incorporate all possible source material. For this reason they are listed here, rather than amongst the palaeographical and linguistic tools (see above, p. 57).

9.3.1. Late pharaonic

There is no real prosopography for the early Demotic period. A preliminary work is for instance G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25.*

und 26. Dynastie (Beiträge zur Ägyptologie, 1 // Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, 3), Wien 1978.

9.3.2. Ptolemaic

Only for this period is there an exhaustive prosopography drawing from both Egyptian and Greek sources: the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* by W. Peremans / E. Van 't Dack and pupils, published in the series *Studia Hellenistica* in Leuven (1950–1981). The lists are arranged thematically, according to the persons' titles or occupations (administration, army, temples, agriculture, economy, culture, foreign possessions). It is completed by an *Index nominum* (1975) and two volumes of *Addenda et corrigenda* (1975 & 1981). At present it is reorganized as a relational database on computer (FoxPro) and it will soon be available on the Internet.

The relationship between this prosopography and the Demotic evidence is discussed in W. Clarysse, *The Prosopographia Ptolemaica and Demotic Studies*, in: *Enchoria* 8, Sonderband (1978), pp. 7–9. A project for a Demotic counterpart of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* is discussed in W. Brunsch, *Eine Prosopographie Ägyptens nach den demotischen Quellen*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* (*Studia Demotica*, 1), Leuven 1987, pp. 127–129; W. Brunsch / G. Vittmann, *Teilentwurf einer Prosopographie Ägyptens nach den demotischen Quellen*, in: *Enchoria* 13 (1985), pp. 25–39. The need for a separate Demotic prosopography was questioned by W. Peremans / E. Van 't Dack, *A propos d'une prosopographie de l'Égypte basée sur les sources démotiques*, in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 79–85.

9.3.3. Roman

In the Roman period Demotic sources play a lesser role, so their information is often neglected. Some of the several prosopographical publications, primarily based on Greek texts, enumerate certain types of officials, whereas others are geographically classified.

An example is the list of *strategoi* by M.H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine* (MIFAO, 56), Le Caire 1935, to be completed for the period 1935–1965 with G. Mussies, *Supplément à la liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens de H. Henne*, in: E. Boswinkel et al. (eds.), *Studia Papyrologica Varia* (P.L.Bat., 14), Lugdunum Batavorum 1965, pp. 13–46. For Demotic, see literature in A. Farid, *Zwei demotischen Stelen*, in: *BIFAO* 87 (1987), pp. 185–198, esp. p. 185 n. 1–6.

Some other lists of functionaries are mentioned in D. Hagedorn, *Eignet sich die prosopographische Methode zur Erforschung sozialer Strukturen in den Dörfern des römischen Ägypten?*, in: W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie. Kolloquium Köln, 24.–26. November 1991, Köln (...) 1993*, pp. 351–363.

One of the geographically restricted prosopographies which also contain Demotic data is B.W. Jones / J.E.G. Whitehorn, *Register of Oxyrhynchites 30 B.C.–A.D. 96* (ASP, 25), Chico 1983. W. Clarysse, in: *BiOr* 42 (1985), cols. 338–344, shows that many of the Demotic texts mentioned in this publication are in fact Ptolemaic instead of Roman.

9.4. Demotic as a source for the late Egyptian political history: a sample

As already mentioned in the preface to this *Companion*, I have chosen not to include chapters on history and culture of late pharaonic, Ptolemaic, or Roman Egypt. Indeed, for a study on these subjects not only Demotic, but all other possible sources of information should be taken into account. Even the combination and confrontation of classical literary texts with pieces of

evidence from the Greek papyri is not sufficient: the documents written in native Egyptian languages are needed as well.

For a survey of the contribution of Greek and Demotic papyrology to the history of Ptolemaic Egypt, see R.S. Bagnall, *Papyrology and Ptolemaic History: 1956–1980*, in: *Classical World* 76 (1982–1983), pp. 13–21.

For an excellent example of the study of an historical event by drawing in all possible sources, including Demotic, see E. Van 't Dack et al., *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103–101 B.C. A Multilingual Dossier concerning a "War of Scepters"* (*Collectanea Hellenistica*, 1), Brussel 1989.

Demotic texts sometimes contain valuable political-historical information, not found anywhere else. In some cases their historical importance is obvious and has already been pointed to in the above: thus one of the pseudo-prophecies, the Demotic Chronicle (see above, p. 97), is an essential source for the history of the last indigenous dynasties that ruled Egypt. The various decrees (see above, p. 125) are further examples of documents with direct historical significance. This section is only a sample of the contributions of other texts to these questions, and does not claim to be exhaustive at all.

9.4.1. Late pharaonic

Even a literary text can contain a piece of historical information not found elsewhere. Thus P. Berlin P. 13588 refers to the tradition that Psammetichus I died abroad, east of Daphne. Consequently the exact description of a lunar eclipse in the papyrus might well be an indication for the precise day of his death: 22 March 610 BC.

M. Smith, *Did Psammetichus I Die Abroad?*, in: *OLP* 22 (1991), pp. 101–109.

For the text, see above, p. 90.

P. Rylands 9 is the only source to mention that Psammetichus II manifested his presence in Palestine in the year 591 BC, through what seems to have been a peaceful mission. Probably the aim was to support the Judeans in their rebellion against the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar.

S. Sauneron / J. Yoyotte, *Sur le voyage asiatique de Psammetique II*, in: *Vetus Testamentum* 1 (1951), pp. 140–144; with some 'addenda et corrigenda' in the same journal, 2 (1952), pp. 135–136.

A. Spalinger, *Egypt and Babylonia: A Survey (c. 620 B.C.–550 B.C.)*, in: *SAK* 5 (1977), pp. 221–244, esp. pp. 233–234; id., *The Concept of the Monarchy during the Saite Epoch — an Essay of Synthesis*, in: *Orientalia* 47 (1978), pp. 12–36, esp. pp. 22–23.

For the text, see above, p. 102.

A large papyrus fragment from Elephantine lists names and numbers of the participants in an otherwise unknown expedition of Amasis to Nubia in the year 529 BC.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ein Zug nach Nubien unter Amasis*, in: J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond (SAOC, 51)*, Chicago 1992, pp. 361–364.

T. Eide et al., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD. Vol. I: From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC*, Bergen 1994, pp. 298–299.

Three documents from a dossier of texts dated to the early fifth century BC have also led to the identification of a pharaoh Psammetichus IV, a rebel king during the Persian domination. Through the information of Herodotus and because of the chronological homogeneity of the dossier, his reign can be dated between 486 and 484 (?) BC.

E. Cruz-Uribe, *On the Existence of Psammetichus IV*, in: *Serapis* 5 (1979–1980), pp. 35–39.

Some corrections in P.W. Pestman, *The Diospolis Parva Documents: Chronological Problems concerning Psammetichus III and IV*, in: H.-J. Thissen / K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 145–155.

See also S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (...)* (*Studia Demotica*, 3), Leuven 1991, pp. 3–4.

9.4.2. Ptolemaic

A Demotic ostrakon from Karnak mentions the preparations for an expedition of Ptolemy II in the year 258 BC, during the Second Syrian War. This information is confirmed by some Greek papyri from the Zenon archive.

J.K. Winnicki, *Der zweite syrischer Krieg im Lichte des demotischen Karnak-Ostrakons und der griechischen Papyri des Zenon-Archivs*, in: *JJP* 21 (1991), pp. 87–104.

For the publication by E. Bresciani, see above p. 127.

The main information on the two indigenous pharaohs Haronnophris and Chaonnophris, the leaders of the rebellion in the Thebaid (205–186 BC), comes from Demotic sources. Recently through the reconstruction of a family archive new light was shed on the exact chronology of their reigns.

P.W. Pestman, *Haronnophris and Chaonnophris. Two Indigenous Pharaohs in Ptolemaic Egypt (205–186 B.C.)*, in: S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period (P.L.Bat., 27)*, Leiden (...) 1995, pp. 101–137; and id., *A Family Archive which Changes History. The Archive of an Anonym*, in the same volume, pp. 91–100.

The absence of pharaoh Ptolemy VI from Egypt in his thirty-second year of rule (150/149 BC), as mentioned by a Demotic papyrus, can probably be explained by his journey to Ptolemais to marry his daughter to Alexander Balas.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Zwei übersehene Erwähnungen historischer Ereignisse der Ptolemäerzeit in demotischen Urkunden*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), p. 193.

A new Demotic letter with a double date at the end is an important piece of evidence for the reconstruction of the exact course of events in the summer of 145 BC. It emerges that there is no need to suppose a short reign of the so-called 'Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator': it seems certain that Ptolemy VIII came into power again immediately after the death of his brother Ptolemy VI.

M. Chauveau, *Un été 145*, in: *BIFAO* 90 (1990), pp. 135–168; id., *Un été 145. Post-scriptum*, in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991), pp. 129–134.

The events of the year 89/88 BC, with the struggle between Ptolemy IX Soter II and Ptolemy X Alexander I, are confirmed by a Demotic stela mentioning that one of both pharaohs, which one remains unclear, was outside Egypt in the year 26 = 29.

K.-Th. Zauzich, *Zwei übersehene Erwähnungen historischer Ereignisse der Ptolemäerzeit in demotischen Urkunden*, in: *Enchoria* 7 (1977), p. 193.

9.4.3. Roman

The only documents with real historical value published until now are the graffiti on the walls of the temple of Isis in Philae and the other sanctuaries in the Dodekaschoenus. Thus an inscription dated to year three of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (253 AD; G. Philae 416) is an essential source for the history of the relations between Rome and the kingdom of Meroe.

Published by F.L.I. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodekaschoenus (Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie)*, Oxford 1935–1937, vol. 1, pp. 114–119.

A. Burkhardt, *Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos. Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung der demotischen Graffiti (Meroitica, 8)*, Berlin 1985, pp. 77–96; 114–117 and other passages.

L. Török, *Der meroitische Staat I. Untersuchungen und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Sudan im Altertum (Meroitica, 9)*, Berlin 1986, pp. 309–316.

APPENDIX A

The Demotic 'alphabet'

3

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This is the order of the various transliteration signs as it is used in for instance Erichsen's *Glossar* or the indices of the various publications.

APPENDIX A

The Derridian 'alphabet'

This is the order of the various translations given as it is used in the Derridian 'alphabet'.
Given in the order of the various publications.

APPENDIX B

Abbreviations

What follows is no list of all possible abbreviations, but only of those used in this *Companion*. Further abbreviations from the Egyptological sphere can be found in *LÄ* VII (1992), pp. XIV–XIX. For those from the world of classical philology and archaeology, the list of abbreviations in *L'Année Philologique. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'Antiquité gréco-latine* should be consulted.

Other lists were compiled by J.S. Wellington, *Dictionary of Bibliographic Abbreviations Found in the Scholarship of Classical Studies and Related Disciplines*, Westport–London 1983; and by O. von Müller / W. Nagel / E. Strommenger, *Sigelschlüssel der internationaler Zeitschriften, Serien, Monographischer Sammelwerke und Lexica der Europäisch-orientalischen Altertumskunde – Prähistorie – Archäologie – Keilschriftwissenschaften – Ägyptologie*, in: *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 9/10 (1978/1979), pp. 167–383.

For abbreviations of editions, see above, p. 55.

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AcOr	Acta Orientalia
AegTrev	Aegyptiaca Treverensia
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AfP	Archiv für Papyrusforschung
AHDO	Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental
AnAe	Analecta Aegyptiaca
AncSoc	Ancient Society
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
BCPS	Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BSÉG	Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève
BSFÉ	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte
CRIPEL	Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente

GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
Karnak	<i>Cahiers de Karnak</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
MÄS	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Studien</i>
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i>
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i>
MPER	<i>Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)</i>
OBO	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden te Leiden</i>
OrSu	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i>
P.L.Bat.	<i>Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava</i>
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RecTrav	<i>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes</i>
RevÉg	<i>Revue Égyptologique</i>
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i>
SASAÉ	<i>Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
SCO	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
SSEA	<i>Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

APPENDIX C

The Internet

For the time being there is no Demotic home page on the Internet. Nevertheless, several collections with Demotic papyri have a web-site providing interesting information. Some examples:

- The pages of the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project* supply annual reports of the undertaking and two interesting lists of institutions and scholars involved in Demotic Studies.

Address: <http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/oi/proj/dem/demotic.html>

- The *Special Collections Library* at the *Duke University* provides a list of its Demotic papyri with links to their photographs, as well as a general introduction to Demotic by W. Clarysse.

Address: <http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/demotic.html>

- The *Carsten Niebuhr Institute* in Copenhagen features a list of its Demotic papyri on the Internet.

Address: http://www.ihl.ku.dk/cni/papcoll/pap_dem.htm

In default of a Demotic home page, the search for interesting information can also be started from the Egyptological, (Greek) papyrological, or Coptic pages:

EGYPTOLOGY

- The home page of the *Centre for Computer-Aided Egyptological Research* features access to for instance lists of egyptological institutions, museums, or egyptologists themselves; a "Multilingual Egyptological Thesaurus" (professional terms in German, English, and French); or a "Prosopographia Aegypti" (which in contrast with its name is no prosopography, but an onomastic list).

Address: <http://www.ccer.ggl.ruu.nl/ccer/default.html>

- An alternative is to start from the *Cambridge Egyptological Home Page*, which provides access to pages with recent news, announcements of future gatherings, and much more.

Address: <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/index.html>

- A further possibility is the ABZU, a guide to resources for the study of the ancient Near East available on the Internet, more specifically the regional index on Egypt.

Address: http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/oi/dept/ra/abzu/abzu_regindx_egypt.html

(GREEK) PAPYROLOGY

- A *Papyrology Home Page* provides links to the home pages of various institutions and papyrological collections.

Address: <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~jmucci/papyrology>

COPTOLOGY

- The useful facilities for Coptology can be found through the *Coptic Home Page*.

Address: <http://cs-www.bu.edu/faculty/best/pub/cn/home.html>

APPENDIX D

The Demotic Transliteration System

- () supplied from elsewhere: used to supply a word or part of a word omitted in accordance with widespread scribal practise; also used about the resolution of a symbol or an abbreviation.
- [] lost or lacuna: in principle used where no trace survives of a word or individual sign.
- < > emended: omission in the original, where this is clearly a mistake rather than a conventional abbreviation or elision.
- { } superfluous: cancelled by the editor as an error by the original scribe.
- ⸀ ⸁ uncertain: in principle used where signs are sufficiently damaged that more than one reading is in theory possible; sometimes also used to express doubt over a reading
- [[]] deleted by the original scribe.
- ˘ ˙ interlinear (superscript) addition by the original scribe.

APPENDIX D

The Demotic Transliteration System

- (1) Symbols from the Demotic script used to supply a word or part of a word omitted in the original, where this is clearly a mistake, are enclosed in brackets, and where no such symbol is available, the word or part of the word is supplied in the original script.
- (2) Symbols from the Demotic script used to supply a word or part of a word omitted in the original, where this is clearly a mistake, are enclosed in brackets, and where no such symbol is available, the word or part of the word is supplied in the original script.
- (3) Symbols from the Demotic script used to supply a word or part of a word omitted in the original, where this is clearly a mistake, are enclosed in brackets, and where no such symbol is available, the word or part of the word is supplied in the original script.
- (4) Symbols from the Demotic script used to supply a word or part of a word omitted in the original, where this is clearly a mistake, are enclosed in brackets, and where no such symbol is available, the word or part of the word is supplied in the original script.
- (5) Symbols from the Demotic script used to supply a word or part of a word omitted in the original, where this is clearly a mistake, are enclosed in brackets, and where no such symbol is available, the word or part of the word is supplied in the original script.

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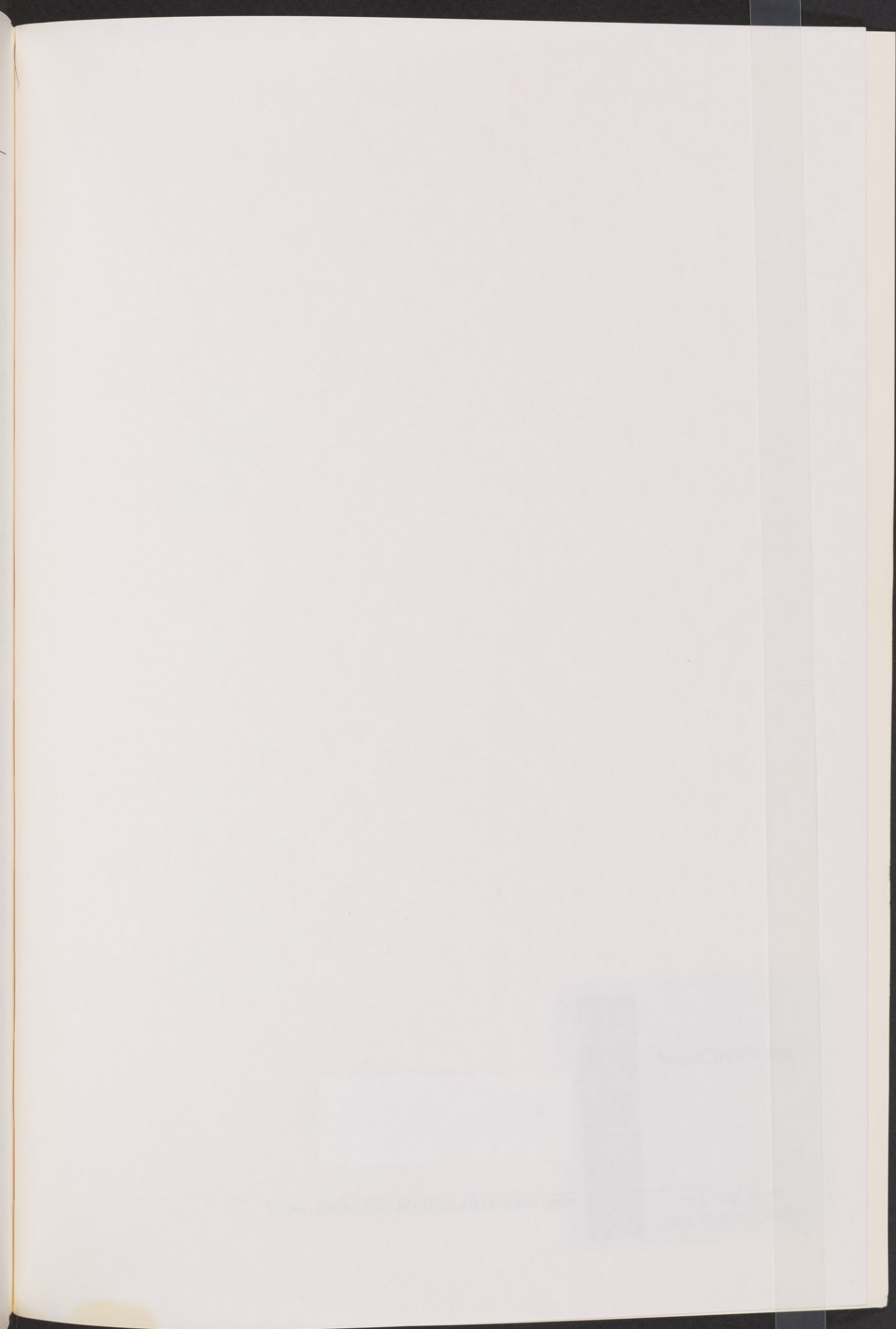
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