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Title Notes and Communications: Two Notes on Egyptian Script

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Abstract Possible scripts for the “reformed Egyptian” referred to in the Book of Mormon include abnormal hieratic and carved hieratic.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

Two Notes on Egyptian Script

John Gee

Moroni, at the end of his father's record, states, "we have written this record according to our knowledge, in the *characters* which are called *among us* the reformed Egyptian" (Mormon 9:32).¹ Since the publication of this statement many suggestions have been made concerning the identification of the script.² This note is intended to broaden the base of possibilities thus far considered by adding two hitherto unconsidered options.

Abnormal Hieratic

Most discussions of reformed Egyptian deal with demotic.³ Yet "Demotic is . . . derived . . . from one of two hieratic styles used in Lower Egypt itself."⁴ This other style of hieratic script,

¹ Moroni explicitly says that the term *reformed Egyptian* refers to the script rather than the language. I have dealt with the distinction between language and script in John Gee, "La Trahison des Clercs: On the Language and Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6/1 (1994): 79–82, 94–99.

² A convenient summary of the suggestions is found in William J. Hamblin, "Reformed Egyptian" (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1995).

³ Hugh Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert, The World of the Jaredites, There Were Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1988), 15; Stephen E. Thompson, review of *Southwestern American Indian Rock Art and the Book of Mormon*, by James R. Harris, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 4 (1992): 75–76.

⁴ Ola el-Aguizy, "About the Origins of Early Demotic in Lower Egypt," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. Janet H. Johnson (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1992), 94.

abnormal hieratic,⁵ has not received attention and ought at least to be considered in discussions of reformed Egyptian. Michel Malinine, who did the most work toward deciphering and publishing abnormal hieratic documents, did not like the term himself and preferred to call it "cursive thébaine tardive" (late Theban cursive)⁶ while Georg Möller preferred the term "späthieratische Kursive,"⁷ but Griffith's term, "abnormal hieratic," is the one that has stuck. "'Abnormal hieratic' represents the final stage of the development of cursive writing in the New Kingdom, which was elaborated and used in the southern half of Egypt and, in particular, at Thebes, and whose progressive changes can actually be followed, almost without interruption, from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty until the penultimate reign of the Saite Dynasty."⁸ An adaptation of hieratic characterized by "wild orthography,"⁹ abnormal hieratic in its second phase was used in Egypt mainly for legal and administrative purposes¹⁰ during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties (727–548 B.C.),¹¹ after

⁵ So named by F. Ll. Griffith, see Jaroslav Černý, "The Abnormal-hieratic Tablet Leiden I 431," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1932), 46; Michel Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques en hiératique anormal et en démotique*, 2 vols. (vol. 1: Paris: Champion, 1953; vol. 2: Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1983), 1:iv.

⁶ Michel Malinine, "Une affaire concernant un partage (Pap. Vienne D 12003 et D 12004)," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 25 (1973): 192.

⁷ Quoted in Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1973), 1:31.

⁸ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:xiv.

⁹ Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927–36), 3:1.

¹⁰ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:iv. For the administrative purposes of early demotic, see *ibid.*, 1:xvi.

¹¹ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:ix; Sven P. Vleeming, "The Sale of a Slave in the Time of Pharaoh Py," *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 40 (1980): 4, 13 n. 31. No trace remained by the second year of Alexander the Great (331 B.C.); see Richard Jasnow, "The Hieratic Wooden Tablet Varille," in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David P. Silverman (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), 100.

which time it was replaced by demotic.¹² Though abnormal hieratic is usually thought only to have been used in southern Egypt,¹³ it has now been dubiously argued that it was used in northern Egypt as well.¹⁴ Be that as it may, it is yet another modified Egyptian script available in Egypt in Lehi's day.

Carved Hieratic

It is important to realize also that demotic, like hieratic (and abnormal hieratic), was usually written with a brush on papyrus until Ptolemaic times (third century B.C.), when the Greek *kalamos* or reed pen began to be used.¹⁵ Hieratic from the beginning was a script adapted for brush on papyrus; for carving, hieroglyphics were used.¹⁶ After the conquest of Egypt by the Libyans ushered in the Twenty-first Dynasty,¹⁷ hieratic began to be used for carving in stone. During the Twenty-second Dynasty, hieratic stelae containing official royal decrees became common; but hieratic disappeared from official decrees with the archaizing fashion of the Saite Period (Twenty-sixth Dynasty).¹⁸ The ductus

¹² Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:xix-xxi.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1:ix-xiv; Michel Malinine, "Vente de tombes à l'époque saïte," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 27 (1975): 169.

¹⁴ El-Aguizy, "About the Origins of Early Demotic," 91-94.

¹⁵ Willy Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek," *Chronique d'Égypte* 68/135-36 (1993): 188-89, 192-93.

¹⁶ See Nicolas Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, trans. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 33-34.

¹⁷ The importance of this for Old Testament history can hardly be understated. Without the problems caused by its western and southern flanks (Libya and Nubia), Egypt would certainly have pursued its traditional course of dominating the Levantine littoral, which would not have allowed either a united or a divided Israelite monarchy; the Israelites would have forever been fighting the Egyptians rather than the Philistines. For Egypt's foreign policy, see Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), a book unfortunately marred by the author's obvious hostility toward the Bible and the religions that sprang therefrom.

¹⁸ For a recent study of the archaizing tendency of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, see Peter Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1994). This tendency is normally noted in the art of the period; see Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 256-57. Although the archaizing tendency of art is normally associated with the

of hieratic (and demotic) that has been engraved is altered from that found on papyrus—carving tends to be more angular,¹⁹ while the brush adapts itself well to rounded forms—which makes it more difficult to read if one is not used to it. When engraved, hieratic and demotic are normally engraved in stone, but there are examples of demotic engraved into metal,²⁰ including a bronze palette.²¹ Though, to my knowledge, no one has raised this objection before, it is worth noting that a tradition of engraving forms of cursive Egyptian is attested by Lehi's day²² and that engraved forms of cursive do not necessarily coincide with those forms produced by brush and ink.

What follows are selected lists of documents in abnormal hieratic²³ and carved hieratic²⁴ and a selected bibliography of works dealing with abnormal hieratic.

Twenty-sixth Dynasty, it started earlier in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty; *ibid.*, 160; W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, rev. William Kelly Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 408.

¹⁹ Greek epigraphers used special tools in carving circular letters; see A. E. Raubitschek, "The Mechanical Engraving of Circular Letters," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951): 343–44; C. G. Higgins and W. Kendrick Pritchett, "Engraving Techniques in Attic Epigraphy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 69/4 (1965): 369–70, plates 97, 99–100.

²⁰ Adel Farid, "Sieben Metallgefäße mit demotischen Inschriften aus Kairo und Paris," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 45 (1994): 117–32 and plates XIII–XVII.

²¹ Cairo CG 30691 (Roman period), in Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, 1:80–82 and Tafel XXVI. This document is a temple inventory; for other examples see Jasnow, "The Hieratic Wooden Tablet Varille," 99–112, and bibliography in p. 100 n. 10.

²² Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 3:8.

²³ In 1953 Malinine knew of about 150 documents in early demotic and abnormal hieratic, of which about thirty at most had been published; Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:iv. He said there were about forty texts in abnormal hieratic; *ibid.*, 1:ix.

²⁴ This does not include incised hieratic ostraca that came to my attention too late to be included.

Selected Chronological List of Abnormal Hieratic Documents

<u>Document</u>	<u>Date</u> ²⁵	<u>Egyptian Date</u>	
P. Berlin 3063	21–22 Dyn		
Berlin "Grundbuch"	21–22 Dyn		
P. Berlin 10459	21–22 Dyn		
P. Ermitage 2969	21–22 Dyn		
P. Vienne 12011a	21–22 Dyn		
P. Vienne 12011b	21–22 Dyn		
P. Vienne 12011c	21–22 Dyn		
P. Vienne 12013	21–22 Dyn ²⁶		
P. Brit Mus 10800	22 Dyn	14.2.ꜥht.8	? ²⁷
P. Berlin 3048	833 B.C.	14	Takelot II ²⁸
P. Leiden F 1942/5.15	728 B.C.	21.2.ꜥht.8	Py ²⁹
Vatican (10.574) 2038 c	726 B.C.	22	Py ³⁰

²⁵ Conversion of the dates to our calendar here, and generally through the article follow those of Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*, 2nd ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1986). The format for the Egyptian date where given is taken from the Egyptian date formula of the documents themselves, using Egyptian format. Thus the date 17.1.šmw.13 Psammetichus I means: year 17, first month of harvest (summer), day 13 of Psammetichus I. Restorations are in brackets.

²⁶ First eight items unpublished, see Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 1:32.

²⁷ I. E. S. Edwards, "Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (1971): 120–24; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 35. Almost any king of the Twenty-first Dynasty could fit this date.

²⁸ Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 34; Georg Möller, *Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge aus vorsäitlicher Zeit* (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918), 1–16 and Tafel I–II.

²⁹ Vleeming, "The Sale of a Slave," 1–17. This was the actual document that led to the rereading of the name Piankhy/Pianchi as Py; see Richard A. Parker, "King Py, a Historical Problem," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966): 111–14; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 370 nn. 730–31, 582 §524; Heinz-Josef Thissen, "Chronologie der früdemotischen Papyri," *Enchoria* 10 (1980): 106.

³⁰ Michel Malinine, "Une vente d'esclave à l'époque de Psammétique I^{er} (papyrus de Vatican 10574, en hiératique «anormal»)," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 5 (1946): 119–31; Parker, "King Py, a Historical Problem," 111–14; Malinine,

Papyrus Louvre E 3228 e	707 B.C.	10.4.šmw.ꜥꜣꜣ	Shabaka ³¹
Papyrus Louvre E 3228 b	706 B.C.	13.3.ꜣꜣt.24	[Shabaka] ³²
Papyrus Louvre E 3228 d	688 B.C.	3.1.prt.10	Taharqa ³³
MMA 35.3.318 verso	688 B.C.	3.1.šmw.11	[Taharqa] ³⁴
MMA 35.3.318 recto	686 B.C.	5.1.šmw.2	[Taharqa] ³⁵
Papyrus Cairo 30884	686 B.C.	5.1.šmw.16	[Taharqa] ³⁶
Papyrus Louvre E 3228 f	686 B.C.	5.3.šmw.19	[Taharqa] ³⁷
Papyrus Louvre E 3228 c	685 B.C.	6.2.šmw.6	Taharqa ³⁸
Papyrus Cairo 30841	686 B.C.	7.4.[x]	Taharqa ³⁹
Papyrus Cairo 30886	680 B.C.	13.2.šmw.29	[Taharqa] ⁴⁰
Papyrus Louvre 3168		[10]	Taharqa ⁴¹
Cairo CG 30907 + 30909	669 B.C.	22	Taharqa ⁴²

"L'hiératique anormal," 33, 34; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 370 n. 731, 582 § 524; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4.

³¹ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:35–42, 2:14–17, plate V; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 32, 34; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4; Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1952), 91–92, plates xii–xiv.

³² Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:3–14, 2:1–5, plates I–II; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 34; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4.

³³ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:43–49, 2:17–20, plate VI; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 34; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4; Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, plates v–vii (misidentified as Louvre E3228a).

³⁴ Jaroslav Černý and Richard A. Parker, "An Abnormal Hieratic Tablet," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (1971): 127–31, plate 35; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 35; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4.

³⁵ Černý and Parker, "An Abnormal Hieratic Tablet," 127–31, plate 35; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 35; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4.

³⁶ Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Druglin, 1904; Strassburg: Fischbach, 1906; Strassburg: Schauberg, 1908; Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1932), 2.1:194, 2.2:plate LXVII.

³⁷ Michel Malinine, "Transcriptions hiéroglyphiques de quatre textes du Musée du Louvre écrits en hiératique anormal," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 34 (1982–83): 94–95 and plate 4; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 33; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4; Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, plates xv–xvi.

³⁸ Michel Malinine, "Une jugement rendu à Thèbes sous la XXV^e dynastie (pap. Louvre E. 3228c)," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 6 (1951): 157–78; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 33, 34; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4; Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, plates viii–xi.

³⁹ Spiegelberg, *Demotischen Denkmäler*, 2.1:190; 2.2:plate LXV.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.1:194; 2.2:plate LXVII.

⁴¹ Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 32–33 (dating to year 10 of Taharqa); Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 4.

Papyrus Cairo 30878	668 B.C.	23	[Taharqa] ⁴³
Papyrus Cairo 30865			Taharqa ⁴⁴
Papyrus Louvre E 3228 g			[Taharqa] ⁴⁵
Cairo CG 50012			[Taharqa] ⁴⁶
Papyrus Cairo 30894			[Taharqa] ⁴⁷
Papyrus Cairo 30906			[Taharqa] ⁴⁸
Papyrus Wien 12004		(4)	Psammetichus I ⁴⁹
Louvre Stele C 101	656 B.C.	8.2.ꜥht	Psammetichus I ⁵⁰
Brooklyn 47.218.3	650 B.C.	14	Psammetichus I ⁵¹
Papyrus Wien 12003	647 B.C.	17.1.šmw.13	Psammetichus I ⁵²
Papyrus Vatican XL	643 B.C.	21.3.ꜥht.12	Psammetichus I ⁵³
Papyrus Wien 12002	639 B.C.	25	Psammetichus I ⁵⁴
Papyrus Louvre E 2432	635 B.C.	[2]9.3.šmw.21	Psammetichus I ⁵⁵

⁴² Spiegelberg, *Demotischen Denkmäler*, 2.1:196, 2.2:plate LXIX; Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 12–13; Malinine, “L’hiératique anormal,” 34 (dating to year 12? of Taharqa); Vleeming, “Sale of a Slave,” 5 (dating to year 22? of Taharqa); Thissen, “Frühdemotische Papyri,” 107 (dating to year 13 of Taharqa). Möller, *Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge*, 7–16 and Tafel III.

⁴³ Spiegelberg, *Demotischen Denkmäler*, 2.1:194, 2.2:plate LXVII; Thissen, “Frühdemotische Papyri,” 107–8 (perhaps date to Psammetichus I).

⁴⁴ Spiegelberg, *Demotischen Denkmäler*, 2.1:190; 2.2:plate LXV; Thissen, “Frühdemotische Papyri,” 107.

⁴⁵ Malinine, “Quatre textes du Musée du Louvre,” 96–97 and plate 5.

⁴⁶ Spiegelberg, *Demotischen Denkmäler*, 2.1:329–32, 2.2:plate CXLIII.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.1:195; 2.2:plate LXVIII.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.1:196; 2.2:plate LXVIII; Thissen, “Frühdemotische Papyri,” 107.

⁴⁹ Malinine, “Une affaire concernant un partage,” 92–208; Vleeming, “Sale of a Slave,” 5.

⁵⁰ Malinine, “Vente de tombes à l’époque Saïte,” 168–73; el-Aguizy, “About the Origins of Early Demotic,” 102, plate 10.4.

⁵¹ Richard A. Parker, *A Saïte Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1962), 1–34; Malinine, “L’hiératique anormal,” 35; Vleeming, “Sale of a Slave,” 5.

⁵² Malinine, “Une affaire concernant un partage,” 192–208; Vleeming, “Sale of a Slave,” 5.

⁵³ F. L. Griffith, “An Early Contract Papyrus in the Vatican,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 32 (1910): 5–10.

⁵⁴ Parker, *Saïte Oracle Papyrus*, 24; Thissen, “Frühdemotische Papyri,” 108.

⁵⁵ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:102–108, 2:48–50, plate XIV; Malinine, “L’hiératique anormal,” 33 (dating to year 19 of Psammetichus I), 35; Vleeming, “Sale of a Slave,” 5 (dating to year 29 of Psammetichus I).

Papyrus Turin no. (246) 2118	634 B.C.	30.4.šmw.5	Psammetichus I ⁵⁶
Papyrus Turin no. 2118 verso	633 B.C.	31.1.šmw.12	Psammetichus I ⁵⁷
Papyrus Turin no. (244) 2119		33–42	Psammetichus I ⁵⁸
Papyrus Turin no. (247) 2120	619 B.C.	45.1.prt.5	Psammetichus I ⁵⁹
Papyrus Turin no. (248) 2121	617 B.C.	47.3.šmw.18	Psammetichus I ⁶⁰
Papyrus Louvre E 7858	609 B.C.	2	Necho II ⁶¹
Papyrus Louvre E 7849	591 B.C.	5.4.šmw.21	Psammetichus II ⁶²
Papyrus Brit Mus 10113	568 B.C.	20.2.šmw.10	Apries ⁶³
Papyrus Louvre E 7861	567 B.C.	3	Amasis ⁶⁴
Papyrus Louvre E 7848	558 B.C.	12	Amasis ⁶⁵
Leiden I 431	556 B.C.	14	Amasis ⁶⁶
Papyrus Brit Mus 10432	555 B.C.	15	Amasis ⁶⁷

⁵⁶ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:56–71, 2:22–32; Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 33, 34; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 5.

⁵⁷ Sergio Pernigotti, "Un nuovo testo giuridico in ieratico «anormale»," *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale* 75 (1975): 73–95.

⁵⁸ Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 33; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 5.

⁵⁹ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:72–84, 2:33–41, Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 32–33, 34; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 5.

⁶⁰ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:117–124, 2:53–55; Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 32–33, 35; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 5.

⁶¹ Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 33; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 5.

⁶² F. Ll. Griffith, "The Earliest Egyptian Marriage Contracts," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 31 (1909): 212–20; Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 33; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 5–6.

⁶³ Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques*, 1:15–19, 2:5–6; Nathaniel J. Reich, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischen und demotischen Schrift aus dem British Museum* (Vienna: Hölder, 1914), 5–8; Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 34, 35; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 6.

⁶⁴ Michel Malinine, "Deux documents égyptiens relatifs au dépôt (P. Louvre E. 7861 et P. Caire 30657)," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958): 219–29; Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 33, 35; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 6.

⁶⁵ Thissen, "Frühdemotische Papyri," 110.

⁶⁶ Černý, "The Abnormal-hieratic Tablet Leiden I 431," 46–56 (dating to Taharqa); Malinine, "L'hieratique anormal," 34 (dating to Amasis); Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 6.

Papyrus Louvre E 7845	553 B.C.	17	Amasis ⁶⁸
Papyrus Louvre E 7846	548 B.C.	22.3.šmw.5	Amasis ⁶⁹
Cairo CG 30657	546 B.C.	24	Amasis ⁷⁰
Papyrus Louvre E 3168	?	16.1.šmw.26	? ⁷¹
Papyrus Brooklyn 37.1799 E	?	?	? ⁷²

Select Annotated Bibliography on Abnormal Hieratic

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- Bakir, Abd el-Mohsen. *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1952. The standard discussion of Egyptian slavery, it is also the first publication of several abnormal hieratic slave transactions.
- Černý, Jaroslav. "The Abnormal-hieratic Tablet Leiden I 431." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 46–56. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1932). Publication of an abnormal hieratic writing tablet.

⁶⁷ George R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 9–17; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 34; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 6.

⁶⁸ Michel Malinine, "Trois documents de l'époque d'Amasis relatifs au louage de terres," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 135–41. Thissen, "Frühdemotische Papyri," 111, does not consider this to be abnormal hieratic.

⁶⁹ Griffith, "Earliest Egyptian Marriage Contracts," 212–20; Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960), 14–17; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 33 (dating to year 26); Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 6 (dating to year 22); Malinine, "Quatre Textes du Musée du Louvre," 99–100 and plate 7.

⁷⁰ Spiegelberg, *Demotischen Denkmäler*, 2.1:95, 2.2:plate XLVIII; Malinine, "Deux documents égyptiens," 219–29; Malinine, "L'hiératique anormal," 35; Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," 6.

⁷¹ Malinine, "Quatre textes du Musée du Louvre," 98 and plate 6.

⁷² Richard Jasnow and Günther Vittmann, "An Abnormal Hieratic Letter to the Dead (P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E)," *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992–93): 23–43.

- Černý, Jaroslav, and Richard A. Parker. "An Abnormal Hieratic Tablet." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (1971): 127–31. The publication of a tablet dated archaeologically to the reign of Taharqa containing two sales and a discussion of grain measures in Egypt at this period of time.
- Edwards, I. E. S. "Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (1971): 120–24. One of the few publications of an abnormal hieratic document from the first period of abnormal hieratic.
- Griffith, F. Ll. "The Earliest Egyptian Marriage Contracts." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 31 (1909): 212–20. The publication of the transcriptions of two marriage contracts in abnormal hieratic. Griffith had the uncanny ability to crack texts that no one else could; he here demonstrates it by the first transcription of abnormal hieratic texts.
- Griffith, F. Ll. "An Early Contract Papyrus in the Vatican." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 32 (1910): 5–10. The publication of an abnormal hieratic contract.
- Hughes, George R. *Saite Demotic Land Leases*, 9–17. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952. The publication of an abnormal hieratic land lease among a collection of demotic land leases.
- Jasnow, Richard, and Günther Vittmann. "An Abnormal Hieratic Letter to the Dead (P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E)." *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992–93): 23–43. The publication of an abnormal hieratic letter to the dead.⁷³
- Lüddeckens, Erich. *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 14–17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960. A publication of many marriage contracts, most in demotic, but two in abnormal hieratic.

⁷³ For this genre of texts, see Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdom* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928); Alan H. Gardiner, "A New Letter to the Dead," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (1930): 19–22; Siegfried Schott, "Die Bitte um ein Kind auf einer Grabfigur des frühen mittleren Reiches," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (1930): 23 (unrecognized by editor); Michel Malinine, "Une lettre démotique à Aménothés fils de Hapou," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 14 (1962): 37–43; Edward F. Wente, "A Misplaced Letter to the Dead," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975–76): 595–600; Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 180–83 (with bibliography).

- Malinine, Michel. "Une affaire concernant un partage (Pap. Vienne D 12003 et D 12004)." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 25 (1973): 192–208. Publication of two cessions in abnormal hieratic.
- Malinine, Michel. *Choix des textes juridiques en hiératique anormal et en démotique*. 2 vols. vol. 1: Paris: Champion, 1953; vol. 2: Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1983. A collection of legal texts in abnormal hieratic and demotic arranged chronologically according to subject. Volume 1 contains the transliteration, translations, and commentary, as well as an introduction to abnormal hieratic, while volume 2 contains hieroglyphic transcriptions and some plates.
- Malinine, Michel. "Deux documents égyptiens relatifs au dépôt (P. Louvre E. 7861 et P. Caire 30657)." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958): 219–29. Publication of two legal documents in abnormal hieratic dealing with deposits.
- Malinine, Michel. "L'hiératique anormal." In *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, 2 vols., 1:31–35. Cairo: Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1973. An historical overview of the scholarship on abnormal hieratic.
- Malinine, Michel. "Une jugement rendu à Thèbes sous la XXV^e dynastie (pap. Louvre E. 3228c)." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 6 (1951): 157–78. Publication of a court case over the ownership of a slave in abnormal hieratic, with an analysis of the legal processes involved in the slave trade in Egypt.
- Malinine, Michel. "Transcriptions hiéroglyphiques de quatre textes du Musée du Louvre écrits en hiératique anormal." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 34 (1982–83): 93–100. The hieroglyphic transcription of four abnormal hieratic documents in the Louvre.
- Malinine, Michel. "Trois documents de l'époque d'Amasis relatifs au louage de terres." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 8 (1951): 127–50. Publication of three documents concerning the rental of parcels of land, one in early cursive demotic, one in abnormal hieratic, and one in early demotic.

- Malinine, Michel. "Une vente d'esclave à l'époque de Psammétique I^{er} (Papyrus du Vatican 10574, en hiéroglyphique «anormal»)." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 5 (1946): 119–31. A publication of an abnormal hieratic sale of a slave.
- Malinine, Michel. "Vente de tombes à l'époque saïte." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 27 (1975): 164–74. The publication of two Saite period stelae containing the sale of tombs, one of which (Louvre C101) was thought to be in abnormal hieratic, which Malinine denies.
- Malinine, Michel, Georges Posener, and Jean Vercoutter. *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1968). Publication of 252 stelae from the Serapeum of Memphis of which six (nos. 30, 33, 42, 58, 159, and 160) have been argued to have abnormal hieratic.
- Möller, Georg. *Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge aus vorsaitischer Zeit*. Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918. General overview of all Egyptian marriage documents, but based on two abnormal hieratic documents, as the earliest examples of the genre.
- Parker, Richard A. "King Py, a Historical Problem." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966): 111–14. The discussion of the date in P. Leiden F 1942/5.15. This article forced a rereading of Shabako's predecessor's name from Pianchi/Piankhy to Py or Piye.
- Parker, Richard A. *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1962), 1–34. Publication of an oracle papyrus in abnormal hieratic, with an excursus by Jaroslav Černý on oracles that is the standard work on ancient Egyptian oracles.
- Pernigotti, Sergio. "Un nuovo testo giuridico in ieratico «anormale»." *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale* 75 (1975): 73–95. The publication of an abnormal hieratic will.
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Druglin, 1904; Strassburg: Fischbach, 1906; Strassburg: Schauberg, 1908; Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1932. Part of the *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, this important corpus of demotic material includes several papyri in abnormal hieratic. (There are three

volumes, volume two comes in two parts; all parts have been published by different publishers.)

Thissen, Heinz-Josef. "Chronologie der fröhdemotischen Papyri." *Enchoria* 10 (1980): 105–25. A Chronology of all 186 early demotic papyri including 42 abnormal hieratic documents that had been published to that point.

Vleeming, Sven P. "The Sale of a Slave in the Time of Pharaoh Py." *Ouheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 40 (1980): 1–17. The publication of what some consider to be the earliest abnormal hieratic document, P. Leiden F 1942/5.15, also including an overview of all abnormal hieratic documents published to that date.

Selected Chronological List of Carved Hieratic Documents

<u>Monument</u>	<u>Date</u> ⁷⁴
Brit Mus 138	21st Dyn? ⁷⁵
Strasbourg 1588	22nd Dyn ⁷⁶
Caves IFAO n de séquestre 14456	22nd Dyn ⁷⁷
Leningrad Ermitage 5630	c. 935 B.C. (year 10 of Sheshonq I) ⁷⁸
New York MMA 10.176.42	c. 918 B.C. (year 6 of Osorkon I) ⁷⁹
Chicago OIM 10511	823 B.C. (year 3 of Sheshonq III) ⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Dates based on Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 470–72.

⁷⁵ Georg Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910–27), 3:33–34. The text, according to Möller, is a Twenty-first Dynasty forgery; it purports to be from the Middle Kingdom.

⁷⁶ Dimitri Meeks, "Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du I^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.," in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Edward Lipinski, 2 vols. (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1979), 2:665 # 22.0.6.

⁷⁷ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 666 # 22.0.30.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 666 # 22.1.10; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 291 n. 278.

⁷⁹ MMA 10.176.42 (unpublished), cited in Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 303 n. 323, and 304 n. 334; Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 666 # 22.2.6.

⁸⁰ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 668 # 22.8.3.

Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg

E. 917	818–793 B.C. (reign of Pedubast I) ⁸¹
Louvre E 20905	808 B.C. (year 18 of Sheshonq III) ⁸²
Brooklyn Mus 67–118	804 B.C. (year 22 of Sheshonq III) ⁸³
Berlin 7344	798 B.C. (year 28 of Sheshonq III) ⁸⁴
Strasbourg 1379	796 B.C. (year 30 of Sheshonq III) ⁸⁵
Moscow I 1a 5647	795 B.C. (year 31 of Sheshonq III) ⁸⁶
Cairo 21/3/25/15	794 B.C. (year 32 of Sheshonq III) ⁸⁷
location unknown	784 B.C. (year 21 of Iuput I) ⁸⁸
Moscow I 1a 5648	c. 825–773 B.C. (Sheshonq III) ⁸⁹
British Mus 73965	761 B.C. (year 7 of Sheshonq V) ⁹⁰
location unknown	760 B.C. (year 8 of Sheshonq V) ⁹¹
Brooklyn Mus 67–119	753 B.C. (year 15 of Sheshonq V) ⁹²
Cairo JdE 30972	749 B.C. (year 19 of Sheshonq V) ⁹³
Farouk collection	732 B.C. (year 36 of Sheshonq V) ⁹⁴

⁸¹ Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Recueil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la glyptothèque ny Carlsberg* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1936), plate V; Jean Yoyotte, "Un étrange titre d'époque libyenne," *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale* 58 (1959): 97; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 339–40 n. 536.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 668 # 22.8.18.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 668 # 22.8.22.

⁸⁴ Günther Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913) 2:209; Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 669 # 22.8.28; Yoyotte, "Un étrange titre d'époque libyenne," 98.

⁸⁵ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 669 # 22.8.30.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 669 # 22.8.31; Yoyotte, "Un étrange titre d'époque libyenne," 97.

⁸⁷ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 669 # 22.8.32; Yoyotte, "Un étrange titre d'époque libyenne," 99.

⁸⁸ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 671 # 23.2.21.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 681 # B 4.

⁹⁰ Stephen Quirke and Jeffrey Spencer, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 201; Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *The Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1995), 162.

⁹¹ Meek, "Les donations aux temples," 670 # 22.10.8.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 670 # 22.10.15; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 351 n. 609.

⁹³ W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, 3 vols. (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1906–20), 1:54–55, plate 18; Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 670 # 22.10.19; for the correct attribution of the ruler, see Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 349–51 esp. 351 n. 610.

Cairo JdE 45549	788 or 730 B.C. (year 38 of unnamed king, Sheshonq III, V?) ⁹⁵
Cairo JdE 85647	c. 767–730 B.C. (Sheshonq V) ⁹⁶
Louvre IM 3305	22nd Dyn? ⁹⁷
Louvre IM 19	22nd Dyn? ⁹⁸
Cairo 27/6/24/3	22nd Dyn? ⁹⁹
Ashmolean Mus 1894–107b	724 B.C. (year 24 of Py) ¹⁰⁰
Athens G3, 409	720 B.C. (year 8 of Tefnakht) ¹⁰¹
Stela Zagazig	714 B.C. (year 3 of Shabako) ¹⁰²
New York MMA 55.144.6	711 B.C. (year 6 of Shabako) ¹⁰³
Cairo JdE 28731	(year 6 of unnamed king) ¹⁰⁴
Stela Suez	646 B.C. (year 19 of Psammetichus I) ¹⁰⁵
Cairo CG 31086	Saite/Persian ¹⁰⁶
Cairo CG 31094 (JdE 27145)	Ptolemaic/Roman? ¹⁰⁷

⁹⁴ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 670 # 22.10.36.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 681 # B 3.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 669 # 22.10.00a.

⁹⁷ Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, 1:55; 2:plate XIX 61.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 1:87, 2:plate XXV 87.

⁹⁹ Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, plates ii–iv.

¹⁰⁰ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 672 # 23.XV.24.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 672 # 24.1.8; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 372 n. 741.

¹⁰² Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 673 # 25.4.3; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 379 n. 772.

¹⁰³ Unpublished, references in Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 673 # 25.4.6; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 379 n. 773.

¹⁰⁴ Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 674 # 26.0.6.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 674 # 26.1.19.

¹⁰⁶ Spiegelberg, *Demotischen Denkmäler*, 1:12, Tafel I.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 1:25, Tafel V.