

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Interpretation and Authority:

The Social Functions of Translation in Ancient Egypt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Emily Christine Cooper Cole

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Interpretation and Authority:

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Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Jacco Dieleman, Chair

This dissertation examines the social functions of translation in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom through the Roman Period (ca. 2000 BCE-200 CE), focusing on the practice of translating texts from earlier into later phases of the Egyptian language. There are two main objectives for this study. First, I determine how translation developed, and second, I investigate how the practice of translation in Egyptian society changed over time. I accomplish this by situating the translations, which form the basis of my textual analysis, within their social contexts. This research establishes that translation was a part of a tradition of Egyptian interpretive processes, offers evidence for the continued social prestige of translation as an intellectual ability from the Pharaonic to Roman Periods, and

contributes to the discussion of how broader linguistic developments affected the social use of language in Egypt.

In order to prove that there was a progression from interpretation to translation, I begin by analyzing the earliest attestations of Egyptian textual commentary from the Middle Kingdom. Then I compare those techniques to the ones found in translated texts of the Third Intermediate Period and later. I illustrate how the increased specialization of the traditional Middle Egyptian language after the New Kingdom led to the adoption of translation as a means of textual interpretation.

From the repeated attestations of interpreting in the biographies of high-ranking officials from Pharaonic Egypt, I conclude that Egyptians were interested in highlighting their intellectual aptitude as part of their elite identity. Educated scribes who were invested in transmitting and explaining complex texts thus valued translation as an scholarly pursuit, as it guaranteed that important ritual texts remained understandable to the general population over time.

Following the spread of Greek-Egyptian multilingualism from the Late Period onward, I contend that translation became an important feature of daily life and its function expanded beyond interpretation. By comparing the bilingual Rhind papyri and the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees, I argue that Middle Egyptian and its associated scripts were adopted alongside contemporary Demotic to invoke the religious and political authority of traditional Egyptian culture during the Ptolemaic Period.

The dissertation of Emily Christine Cooper Cole is approved.

Todd Hickey

Willemina Z. Wendrich

Jacco Dieleman, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

To my parents

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Abbreviations

<i>BD</i>	<i>Book of the Dead</i> (German: <i>Tb – Totenbuch</i>)
<i>CDD</i>	<i>Chicago Demotic Dictionary</i>
<i>CG</i>	<i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i>
<i>CT</i>	<i>Coffin Texts</i>
<i>DG</i>	Erichsen, <i>Demotisches Glossar</i>
<i>IFAO</i>	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
<i>JE</i>	<i>Journal d'entrée</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	Helck, Otto, and Westendorf, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 volumes
<i>LGG</i>	Leitz, <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 8 volumes
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, Scott, and Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> .
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online
<i>PL</i>	Wilson, <i>Ptolemaic Lexicon</i>
<i>PM</i>	Porter and Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography</i>
<i>PT</i>	<i>Pyramid Texts</i>
<i>TLA</i>	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae
<i>TM</i>	Trismegistos (http://www.trismegistos.org/)
<i>Urk.</i>	<i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i>
<i>Wb.</i>	<i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i>

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Biographical Sketch

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2014 “Marginal Notes: The translation and commentary of P. BM 10252,” *American Research Center in Egypt 65th Annual Meeting*, Portland OR, 4-6 April 2014
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Chapter 1. Introduction

- 1 **Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote**
 When April with its sweet-smelling showers
2 **The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,**
 Has pierced the drought of March to the root,
3 **And bathed every veyne in swich licour**
 And bathed every vein (of the plants) in such liquid
4 **Of which vertu engendred is the flour;**
 By which power the flower is created;¹

For a 21st century English speaker, the opening verses of Geoffrey Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales* lie between the familiar and the foreign. Many words are immediately identifiable, some have different spellings, and yet others are entirely unknown in contemporary speech. The passage of time and the shift in culture and society from 14th century England to 21st century globalization has substantially changed the English language. It is not that Middle English is unrecognizable as an earlier phase of modern English, just that it has become increasingly difficult for readers to follow without some kind of guide. Therefore in order to understand the poetry, an interlinear translation is supplied, which transforms the text in some fundamental ways. The rhythm and rhyme of the original are lost, word order and spelling are updated, and explanations are added in parentheses, i.e. “of the plants,” to ensure that the historical vocabulary is clear.

Over approximately 600 hundred years, the English language has altered sufficiently that today reading aids, such as the translation, are required in order for early texts to remain accessible. In Egypt, extensive linguistic changes took place over more than 3000 years, and a similar effort was made to guarantee that early language continued

¹ Middle English text from Benson 2008. Interlinear translation from Benson, L. D. 2008 “The Geoffrey Chaucer Page” (<http://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/teachslf/gp-par.htm>), last modified Apr 8, 2008. Harvard: The President and Fellows of Harvard College.

to be comprehensible. The scholars who studied ancient Egyptian texts recognized that in order to ensure that readers could continue to understand and make use of ritual compositions, they had to comment on and translate the archaic language in which they were written. The remarkable transmission of certain texts over thousands of years attests to the value that was placed on traditional works of the Egyptian religion. It also meant that translation occupied a central role in editing, compiling, and copying those documents for much of Egyptian textual history.

In my research, I intend to shine a light on the scribes, scholars, and other individuals who were involved in the Egyptian practice of translation and commentary, work that they carried out in order to understand their own language's ancient texts. There are therefore two main goals for this dissertation:

1. to examine how translation developed from Pharaonic to Roman Period Egypt
2. to investigate how translation functioned within society

To this end, I examine material that spans millennia, from the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2000 BCE) through to the Roman Period (ca. 200 CE). I do not want to pinpoint a technique or process that remained unchanged over hundreds of years and give it meaning. Instead, I focus on how the ancient translation techniques—in the most general sense—evolved and adapted to the changing sociolinguistic environment. By means of this diachronic study, I demonstrate the endurance and resilience of Egyptian intellectual practice, and the significance that it held among the general population.

1.1. What is Translation?

1.1.1. Ancient and Modern Translation

Why do we translate? How does the process work? And what is translation really? The need for speakers of different languages to communicate and understand foreign written documents has been a fundamental aspect of human society since language diversified and writing was invented thousands of years ago. Nonetheless, we are poorly informed about translation practices in antiquity. The mediation may have been passive and part of conversation, or intentional with trained language professionals involved in high level negotiations. These individuals who facilitated the transformation of a source to a target language were often overlooked, frequently undervalued, and blamed when misunderstandings arose.²

The notion of translation has been a subject of scholarly interest since antiquity and has since engendered philosophical inquiry into the nature of language and communication.³ Since the 1950s *translation studies* has developed as an independent field of research with a broad range of approaches. It can be separated into two areas of study: *applied translation studies* develops teaching methods, tools for literary translation, and interpreting techniques with practical applications, while *theoretical translation studies* considers the reasons for translation, the psychological processes involved in translation, and the place of translation in society.⁴

² The most important study on the subject of the translator's place in these exchanges is Venuti 1995.

³ The edited volumes by Rener 1989 and McElduff and Sciarino 2011 present studies of translation from antiquity to the present day.

⁴ Halverson 2009.

For the purpose of my work, I have adopted aspects of “descriptive translation studies,” which belongs to the theoretical branch of translation studies and was developed by Gideon Toury.⁵ This model was the product of the cultural turn in linguistics that took place in the 1980s, which refocused the linguistic discussion on the cultural environment in which translation takes place. For Toury, translation involves a process of deconstruction and reconstruction, where the goal of translation is to fill a void within the target language culture.⁶ From the theory of descriptive translation studies, I extract the emphasis on the function of translation within the target culture and the need for contextualization. However, my methodology for studying the texts in my corpus does not follow that outlined by Toury, which is best suited to studying literary texts and focuses on specific textual details. This kind of analysis is better suited to the individual text studies from which I draw. Instead, I outline the kinds of transformations that are taking place, and how those define the nature of Egyptian translation.⁷

The concept of translation has passed into other disciplines, but for the purpose of my research, I confine it to the use of language. However, even then the term can refer to several different aspects of linguistics:

1. The **process** of transferring a written text from source language (SL) to target language (TL), conducted by a translator, or translators, in a specific socio-cultural context.

⁵ Pym, Shlesinger, and Simeoni 2008, Toury 2012. For a summary of the arguments that have been raised against this model, see Pym 2010, 83-85. It should be noted that Toury intended his theory of translation studies to be relevant also to applied translation studies.

⁶ “Translation are facts [=functions] of target cultures; on occasion facts of a peculiar status, sometimes constituting identifiable (sub)systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event” (Toury 2012, 23). I return to the concept of target and source culture below, when I discuss the different types of translation (see Chapter 1.1.2).

⁷ I concede that my discussion of translation and its close association with practices of textual interpretation might be regarded as an attempt to define a *translational norm* in Egypt, but I do not restrict myself to the terminology of descriptive translation studies that defines it as such (Toury 2012, Chapter 3).

2. The written **product**, or target text, which results from that process and which functions in the socio-cultural context of the TL.
3. The cognitive, linguistic, visual, cultural and ideological **phenomena** which are an integral part of 1 and 2.⁸

Throughout this study, I consider each of these facets of translation—the object, action, and philosophy—within the framework of ancient Egyptian society. I intend to show how, why, and by whom translation was undertaken in Egypt, and where it fit within the broader intellectual activities of the Egyptians.

Although many approaches to modern translation studies do not pertain to ancient sources, as we have no means of interviewing or studying the translators and interpreters in person, we can access these individuals through the primary sources that they left behind, the secondary references to their work, and our knowledge of the society in which they lived. With those resources, we gain insight into what influenced their decisions at each step in the creation of a translation. What were the factors that went into initiating a translation, perfecting it, and then using it as a functional object? In investigating these processes, we can come to understand what lay behind the translation process.

Translation in Egypt and the Hellenistic and Roman worlds has been discussed for some time within the concept of multiculturalism in ancient society.⁹ For this reason, attention has largely been directed towards the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, as they provide the most extensive evidence for cultural contact in Egypt's history.¹⁰ Studies of Egypt specifically have also tended to focus on Egyptian-Greek bilingualism and

⁸ Hatim and Munday 2004, 6, my emphasis.

⁹ See for example the articles on ancient multilingualism collected in Adams, Janse, and Swain 2002, Papaconstantinou 2010, and Mullen and James 2012. For studies of translation in particular, see note 3.

¹⁰ See for example the work of Johnson 1992, Bowman 1996b, and Bingen 2007

examine the broader sociological framework of language contact, including its relation to status, ethnicity, or religion.¹¹ An article by Thomas Schneider remains one of the few that looks more broadly at issues of translation in Egypt from the Pharaonic through Graeco-Roman Periods.¹² With this dissertation, I contribute to the substantial discussion of language use and translation in Graeco-Roman Egypt by connecting later practices to earlier periods of Egyptian history in a diachronic study. Rather than emphasize what took place between Greek and Egyptian speakers, I demonstrate that translation was an important part of Egyptians' understanding of their own language and that that understanding evolved over time.¹³

1.1.2. Defining Translation

Above I defined the act, object, and philosophy of translation, but I did not address what constitutes translation (which actions?) or a translation (what objects?). Moreover, I did not specify that different kinds of translation exist. For example, we might want to find out how the Prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* has been translated into French,

¹¹ There are numerous studies of this kind, among which are Peremans 1964, 1983a, 1983b, Rochette 1994, Chauveau 2000, Fewster 2002, Tovar 2010, and Vierros 2014.

¹² Schneider 2011. In his article, Schneider distinguishes three types of translation in Egypt: the translation of Egyptian from earlier to later phases (see note 23), the translation between Egyptian and foreign languages, and the modern translation of Egyptian by Egyptologists. See also "Übersetzung," von Beckerath, *LÄ* VI, 833-838.

¹³ Readers are directed towards the work of Jacco Dieleman (2005) on translation in Egyptian magical texts of the Roman Period and the recent dissertation by Foy Scalf (2014) on Demotic funerary texts for the continued discussion of language use and change in later periods. The other important works for the study of Egyptian translation are discussed below in Chapter 1.2.

5 **Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote**
Quand Avril de ses averses douces
6 **The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,**
à percé la sécheresse de Mars jusqu'à la racine,
7 **And bathed every veyne in swich licour**
et baigné chaque veine de cette liqueur
8 **Of which vertu engendred is the flour;**
par la vertu de qui est engendrée la fleur;¹⁴

or German,

1 **Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote**
Wenn milder Regen, den April uns schenkt,
2 **The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,**
Des Märzkes Dürre bis zur Wurzel tränkt,
3 **And bathed every veyne in swich licour**
In alle Poren süßen Saft ergießt,
4 **Of which vertu engendred is the flour;**
Durch dessen Wunderkraft die Blume sprießt;¹⁵

but when I first introduced this text, I presented a modern English version of the Middle English text. Can we still consider this a translation? In the discussion of what constitutes translation, for many years there was only the seminal 1959 paper of the Russian linguist, Roman Jakobson. In this essay, he outlined what he understood as the three different types of translation,

- 1) Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language.
- 2) Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
- 3) Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal systems.¹⁶

Because only interlingual translation was deemed “translation proper,” and due to the fact that translation studies had its roots in linguistics and comparative literature, scholars

¹⁴ French translation from Chaucer and Legouis 1908.

¹⁵ German translation from Chaucer and von Düring 1885.

¹⁶ Jakobson 1959, 114, author's emphasis. Roman Jakobson's ideas were strongly based in semiotics. With this article, he introduced them into the study of translation and broadened the scope of translation studies research.

focused largely on the translation of language between two systems. Although this tripartite division has since been replicated in the introduction of every handbook on translation, the discussion of intralingual and intersemiotic translation has only lately received further attention.

The first scholar to advocate integrating intralingual translation into translation studies was Karen Zethsen.¹⁷ She endeavored to define translation in a less restricted way through a diachronic examination of Danish translations of the Bible.¹⁸ She contends that,

generally the difference in strategies between intralingual and interlingual translation is *a question of degree and motivation rather than kind*. The omissions, additions, restructuring, etc. seen in intralingual translation are more extreme than is generally the case in translation proper.¹⁹

In other words, the theoretical division between the kinds of translation has hidden the fact that the same mechanisms are used to transfer information from the source text to the target text in both interlingual and intralingual translation.

Her argument is improved by the contributions in a more recent study of the kinds of translation. In a section dedicated to intralingual and intersemiotic translation in the 2014 *Companion to Translation Studies*, the very division of translation into three categories is questioned.²⁰ One issue, which was first raised by the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, is the significant problem of how one defines the borders of a language.²¹ The basic question being, when do languages stop being historically related

¹⁷ Zethsen 2007, 2009.

¹⁸ Zethsen 2009, 796-800. Her difficulties with defining intralingual translation are reflective of the multifaceted nature of the subject. She does not provide a single definition, but instead provides a description of its features.

¹⁹ Zethsen 2009, 808-9, author's emphasis.

²⁰ Bermann and Porter 2014.

²¹ Derrida 1985, 173-174.

and become independent entities? To refocus the debate, Kathleen Davis, a scholar of Old English, makes the following observation:

Perhaps we could simply dismiss it: if the border cannot be defined, then what does it matter? The problem with this approach is that it would ignore the history of the politics of language and the enormous social, cultural, and economic stakes of language identification. [...] Jakobson's discussion of intralingual and interlingual translation indicates that he was thinking synchronically rather than diachronically [...].²²

Therefore, what had been missing from the definitions of intralingual and interlingual translation is an investigation into when the former becomes the latter? When does the translation of Chaucer into English become the same as the translation of Chaucer into French or German? Zethsen recognized that these two concepts were related, but her study was more restricted in time, whereas Davis is able to point out that the evolution of language is the key factor in once again integrating the study of intralingual and interlingual translation.

With any study of Egyptian language, we are fortunate enough that it was recorded for more than 3000 years. This time depth presents us with the unparalleled opportunity to study the relationship between intralingual and interlingual translation and to observe how the one develops out of the other. When do individuals recognize that they no longer translate their own language? How do they adapt to linguistic change? And how does translation evolve along with it? By the Roman Period, when the translation and commentary of the ritual text of the Egyptian *Book of Nut* were written, that composition had been recopied for millennia.²³ This history was no doubt recognized

²² Davis 2014, 588.

²³ Within Egyptological research, intralingual translation has been defined as “the *translation of Egyptian texts of one Egyptian linguistic variety and in one script to a different one* (and related explicative phenomena such as transliteration, adaptation, modernization, commenting)” (Schneider 2011, 179, author's emphasis).

by scribes, who studied Middle Egyptian much, as Davis shows, in the way that English-speakers have studied Old English since the 16th century, when already it was assumed to be part of their cultural heritage.²⁴ However, unlike the largely passive learning of Old English by 16th century or modern scholars, the Egyptian scribes of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods still regularly composed new texts in the archaic Hieroglyphic script and syntax of Middle Egyptian. Nevertheless, I contend that translation develops out of the various steps of interpreting a text in order to better understand it (see Chapter 3). Papyri that were kept in temple libraries did not go unused, but were extensively read and annotated. There annotated marks in margins attest to such active use of the documents.

However, there is one final aspect of interlingual translation that must be addressed, which is its place within culture. The translator must make a series of choices in interpreting the content of the original work. As mentioned, Old English was studied and translated because it was valued by 16th century English-speakers, who considered it to be the earliest form of their language and part of their cultural heritage. Interlingual translation can be understood as a means of bridging two cultures, by transferring knowledge between them and creating new texts.²⁵ For any act of interlingual translation, a plan must be devised and a decision made on how to move a text between the cultural system of the source and target. The issue of whether or not intralingual translation represents a similar move from one culture to another may be defined in one way by individuals involved in the translation process, and another way by those studying the text centuries, or millennia, later. For this question, it is helpful to turn to the work of scholars in the field of Septuagint Studies.

²⁴ Davis 2014, 589-590.

²⁵ Toury 2012, 22-23.

1.1.3. Septuagint Studies and Cultural Transmission

Religious texts are a fundamental part of any pre-modern culture. They are often revered as the word of god(s) and are retained over long periods of time, enduring extensive transformation to the world in which they function. Their longevity, however, leads to an artificial inflexibility in language use. While everyday speech constantly changes around them, these texts are preserved as religious and cultural artifacts. At certain points in history there have been breaks with tradition, the most famous being the translation of the Septuagint into Greek from the original Hebrew and later the translation of the Christian Bible into German, English, and other European language as a feature of the Protestant Reformation. Especially in the case of the Medieval Bible, translation was a matter of life or death, as the debate over the sacred words was so rooted in issues of cultural, but also political control of the Bible's message. In both Hellenistic Alexandria and Medieval Europe, translation was thus part of larger issues of religious heritage, access to information, and cultural preservation.

The translation of religious texts has been a sensitive topic in modern theoretical discussion and has developed along its own lines due to the sometimes controversial nature of the texts and the difficulties in translating divinely inspired works.²⁶ The controversy over the translation of ancient ritual texts occupied ancient scholars as well as modern.²⁷ Nothing could be more illustrative of this issue than the famous translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, which was reputedly commissioned by Ptolemy II in the

²⁶ For studies on the translation of sacred texts, see Nida and Taber 1969 and Zogbo 2009.

²⁷ The complexities of dealing with sacred texts are equally well documented in non-Western translation traditions. For instance, when Buddhist texts were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, the translators worked in groups (translation forums, or *yichang*) that were funded by the government from as early as the 2nd century CE (Hung and Pollard 2009, 370-372). The translations were derived from the interpretations of the monks who could read the original text and then compiled to form the Chinese version. For the intersection of translation and culture in other international contexts, see also Hung 2005.

3rd century BCE.²⁸ With a large Jewish population in Alexandria whose native language was Greek, the translation project was a means of transmitting the religious scriptures into a language that was understandable. In the work of Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, the motivations behind the creation of the Septuagint are investigated as a source of cultural linguistic survival.²⁹ Rather than applying a purely philological commentary, her approach is to understand the translation process within the socio-political setting of Hellenistic Alexandria and the Jewish diaspora. She aspires to demonstrate, “how the Septuagint worked to achieve accommodation for a colonized group, [...] to define their own hybrid identity and to retain control over their essential values in relation to the powers-that-be.”³⁰

It is from these goals that I draw inspiration, for it is my intention not only to examine the translations, but also express where they fit within Egyptian society. In returning to the question of whether or not intralingual translation represents the transformation of text from one cultural system to another, I would argue that it does in the case of Egypt for two reasons. The first is that the intralingual translation practices that were carried out on ritual texts were designed to leave the original unaltered. The new text in a different language phase was not regarded as part of the historical tradition and therefore could not replace it (see Chapter 5). Second, when translated texts were permitted to replace the original in the early Roman Period, I maintain that it was due to a recognition that society had sufficiently changed for the Egyptians to accept the need for translation (see Chapter 7). Much as Rajak maintains that the Hebrew Bible was a means

²⁸ Rajak 2009, 30.

²⁹ Rajak 2009.

³⁰ Rajak 2009, 7.

of subverting Hellenistic rule and maintaining Jewish culture, the translation of Egyptian ritual texts from older phases into Demotic was a means of guaranteeing access to and transmitting texts that would otherwise have become incomprehensible to the majority of Egyptians. In this way, the results of detailed linguistic analyses of Egyptian texts, just like those from Septuagint Studies, can overlap with the sociocultural study of the Hellenistic world and integrate the texts into their historical context.

My interest is in understanding the translators and their place in society more so than determining the minutiae of translation choices and examining every word of text in detail. While I provide a diachronic development of translation in Chapters 4 through 6, I do so with the aim of demonstrating how the function of translation practices and translation changes over time. In this respect, I am motivated by the Helsinki or Finnish School of Septuagint Studies and the work of Annali Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo in particular. Their point of view is reflected by Aejmelaeus' statement that,

I do not see the study of translation techniques as an attempt to break the hidden code behind the translation – there probably is none – but to see the translator behind it and to appreciate his work.³¹

Thus the translator is understood as the link between the source and target texts, which means that the translation technique of a person can be defined as “the manner he usually works and the renderings he in general produces.”³² In my study, I am precisely aiming to see the usual pattern of Egyptian intralingual translation rather than each linguistic choice. My work does not answer detailed linguistic questions, such as how a particular syntactic construction was translated or developed over time, and it does not offer detailed philological commentary on every translation choice. It does, however, aim to

³¹ Aejmelaeus 2007, 44.

³² Sollamo 2008, 36.

contextualize translation as a social activity within the realm of temple scriptoria as well as in the broader context of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.³³

1.1.4. Language and Society

It is important therefore to address this link, i.e. the connection between language, and its inherently communicative function, and society. It is by combining textual analysis with social interpretation that my work has the most to offer to scholars of Egyptology, Classics, linguistics, and translation studies. I am indebted to the work of sociolinguists, who seek to understand how language can at the same time communicate information and define an individual's social identity. How someone decides to express their thoughts illustrates the identity of the individuals involved in the exchange and defines the social situation in which it is taking place.³⁴ In any setting, the choice of words allows the speaker to project a definition of his or her identity and equally results in the listener forming a mental impression about the person in question.

When speakers of different languages interact or read texts in a foreign language, today, just like in antiquity, they turn to interpreters and translators.³⁵ As in any linguistic exchange, translators are embedded within their particular social context. On the one hand, the translator is nearly invisible and acts only to facilitate communication between source and target language. On the other hand, those involved in modern literary translation often experiment with a degree of liberty. For them, the translation process becomes a means by which to express their understanding of the text. The decisions they

³³ In this regard, I am very much indebted to the work of Karel van der Toorn (2009), who examines the social structures of Jewish scribal culture and how they relate to the composition of the Hebrew Bible.

³⁴ Fasold 1984, ix.

³⁵ Gehman 1914, Rochette 1994.

make could be a means of expanding upon ideas in a text, although there is always the danger that they stray too far from the original and miscommunication occurs. The translation of poetry is one case where a lack of interpretation would undoubtedly deprive the reader of the intricacy of figures of speech or the sounds of the source language.

In the case of ancient translators, we do not have the exact parameters they were given. However, since I am not dealing with dialogue, where words are chosen at a rapid rate, but documents, I assume that they generally took the author a significant amount of time to compose. The choices that were made were therefore evaluated and reassessed to create exactly the impression that was desired. Translation was the result of language choices by which the translator arguably interpreted the author's work in a new context and projected aspects of his own personality onto the text.

My goal is to examine how translation was valued socially and whether that affected the choices that scribes made in employing different translation methods. By isolating the unique features of Egyptian translation, I aim to understand how the identity of individual translators was involved. By analyzing the language of the texts and simultaneously exploring the social domains in which these documents were created, the motivations and mechanisms that inspired the creation of these translated texts emerge. Furthermore, with the expansion of multilingualism as an outcome of population growth and social change in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, translation became a routine part of social interactions. I intend on determining how earlier practices of translation adapted to the new sociolinguistic environment. With the inclusion of the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees, I seek to contribute to the discussion on the overall multilingual situation in Egypt by understanding the authority that Egyptian and Greek offered, especially when

placed side-by-side on a public monument. My investigation of translation in the Egyptian corpus of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods is particularly suited to add to the discussion of the intellectual activities of the literate Egyptian community during the 1st millennium BCE

1.2. Translation and Commentary

1.2.1. Translated Texts in Egyptological Studies

Apart from the larger studies of multilingualism and translation, which I discussed above in Chapter 1.1.1, my research would not be possible without the text editions and theoretical studies that have been carried out to date in the field of Egyptology.

The most important work on Egyptian translation is by Siegfried Schott, whose 1954 volume, *Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen. Eine altägyptische Übersetzung*, established the connection between translation and interpretation in Egyptian ritual texts.³⁶ Schott recognized the interpretive function of translation in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* on papyrus BM 10252 and discussed several other translated Egyptian texts in his work. I draw upon many of his ideas, but provide a more systematic analysis of the translated texts, which focuses on the process of transmission and the development of translation practices over time. Schott was also the first to consider translation as a social concept, and conceived the idea of groups of priests interpreting and working on texts at Egyptian temples. In this way, the priests

³⁶ The study is divided into four sections: a general introduction to translation, the place of translation in dramatic texts, translation as commentary in multilingual documents, and a glossary of terms found in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* on papyrus BM 10252, which is the basis of his study (Schott 1954, 3, 5-6). Note that there are two paginations for this work, as it was included as the fifth volume in the series *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1954*. The independent numbering begins at 1, while the numbers at the top of the page start at 143. I follow the numbering that starts at 1 throughout, as it is referenced in the table of contents and glossary of the publication.

became interpreters of divine words, much as Thoth was considered the interpreter of the gods. However, Schott also considered all Egyptian translated texts together, including the Rhind papyri of the early Roman Period. In this dissertation, I demonstrate that while many of the same techniques were used in the Rhind papyri as in other translated documents, the function of translation in the Rhind papyri was not interpretation but legitimization (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 7).

In examining this interpretive function of Egyptian translation Jan Assmann's 1995 edited volume on the nature and function of commentary, *Text und Kommentar*, and Ursula Rößler-Köhler's contribution to that publication are extremely valuable. Assmann first provided a series of convincing criteria for determining whether a text qualifies as meta-textual commentary, and Rößler-Köhler then applied those features to several works (see Chapter 1.2.2). I expand upon the work of Rößler-Köhler on spell 335 of the *Coffin Texts* and spell 17 of the *Book of the Dead* to prove that commentary techniques that first appear on untranslated texts continue to be used within translated ones (see Chapter 4). I also adopt this identification system to demonstrate that some Egyptian translations qualify as commentary, while others, most notably the Rhind papyri, do not (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6).

Finally, an extremely valuable study is the 2007 synoptic edition of the *Book of Nut* by Alexandra von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch* (see Chapter 2.2.3). Her detailed new translation and publication of the sources for this cosmographical work provides excellent commentary on the original text as well as on notions of textual transmission, translation, and commentary. However, her analysis generally remains focused on the *Book of Nut* and expands only briefly to broader issues

of Egyptian translation. Von Lieven has also written an article on translation, which introduces some important questions, including why certain genres of Egyptian texts were translated while others were allowed to disappear from the textual record.³⁷ I argue that Egyptian translation was employed to explain and comment on ritual texts, while still preserving an unaltered original text. Since the goal was not simply to transform the original, other genres, such as literature were not subject to this process (see Chapter 3.4).

While I intend to build on previous studies, my work is more than a synthesis of established observations. I prove that a continuous development in translation took place and I present a new approach to the classification of translated texts. Most notably, I outline the social contexts in which these texts were created and later used to investigate the role that translation played in ancient society. In this dissertation, I explore what techniques were used in creating textual commentary and translations, and how their application differed among the source materials. Moreover, this work is undertaken within the theoretical framework that I defined above.

1.2.2. Terms and Theory of Textual Interpretation

One of my central arguments is that Egyptian translation can be directly linked to earlier practices of textual commentary. However, in order to demonstrate this link, I need an established method of determining whether a text can be considered textual commentary or not. Therefore, the following model is applied to my textual analysis in Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6.

The creation of a commenting method is inseparable from the development of textual transmission, from the first time a text is put in writing to the continuous

³⁷ von Lieven 2010, 148-149.

reproduction of those written words over time.³⁸ One way to understand how an idea becomes central to a society is through the four-step model of permanent institutionalization, i.e. “tradition,” presented by Jan Assmann.³⁹ *Thematization* occurs when an implicit concept becomes explicit, *textualization* happens when it is put into written form, *codification* is when those texts are collected, copied, stored, etc., and *canonization* is selectively elevating a text(s) to a sacred tradition. It is when a text has reached a level of canonization that commentary can occur naturally, as the text is then fixed into a social and historical tradition.⁴⁰ In his assessment of the situation in Egypt, Assmann concludes that:

So können wir in Ägypten von Thematisierung, Textualisierung und Tradition sprechen, aber nicht von dem weitergehenden Schritt, der erst Sinn-Bindung über Jahrtausende ermöglicht: Kanonisierung und Auslegung.⁴¹

This appraisal is due to the fact that Assmann draws largely on a Judeo-Christian tradition to create his framework. Egypt simply does not achieve the level of canonization and interpretation that are known from the texts and commentaries produced by the ancient scholars of the Hebrew Bible.⁴² Nevertheless, when Jan Assmann returns to the definition of commentary in a later publication, he produces three criteria necessary for a text to be considered commentary: *Nachträglichkeit* (=added afterwards), *Deutungsfunktion* (=fulfills an interpretive function), and *Textbezug* (=dependent on

³⁸ Regarding the nature of paratext in general, see Genette 1997, and in Egypt, see Aufrère 2010.

³⁹ Assmann 1990, 42-46. Regarding notions of canonization and tradition in Egyptian literature, see also Quirke 1996, 380, Quack 2009b, and Shupak 2001.

⁴⁰ Assmann 1990, 45.

⁴¹ Assmann 1990, 45.

⁴² The literature on biblical exegesis is extensive, see for instance Aejmelaeus 2007, Toorn 2009, or Tov 2012.

another text).⁴³ Using these defining features, Ursula Rößler-Köhler has proved that the annotations associated with *Coffin Text 335* and *Book of the Dead 17* do meet the requirements to constitute a secondary textual commentary to the main text.⁴⁴ By understanding some of the social conditions surrounding the creation of textual commentary, I demonstrate that translation should be seen as a fifth step in maintenance of “tradition.”⁴⁵

In order to discuss commentary and the concepts associated with it, I also need to set out a few of the terms. For this dissertation, I use the following definitions:

commentary, a collection of comments, glosses, or other annotations appended to and expanding upon a body text.⁴⁶

gloss, an insertion into or next to continuous text—as short as a word or as long as a paragraph—that provides an explanation of the body text.⁴⁷

alternate reading, a sub-category of gloss, which notes alternative reading of the body text that is set apart by the use of an introductory phrase.⁴⁸

With this model and terms in mind, I have a framework within which to assess whether or not translation is an interpretive practice.

⁴³ Assmann 1995, 103.

⁴⁴ Rößler-Köhler 1995, 124-130.

⁴⁵ The four levels involved in creating ‘tradition,’ as outlined by Jan Assmann, are thematization, textualization, codification, and canonization (1990, 42-46).

⁴⁶ “A treatise consisting of a systematic series of comments or annotations on the text of a literary work; an expository treatise following the order of the work explained” (“commentary, n.3.a,” *OED* Online. 1891. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/37060?rskey=sIDDYb&result=1&isAdvanced=false> [accessed 3-Dec-2014]).

⁴⁷ “A word inserted between the lines or in the margin as an explanatory equivalent of a foreign or otherwise difficult word in the text; hence applied to a similar explanatory rendering of a word given in a glossary or dictionary. Also, in a wider sense, a comment, explanation, interpretation,” (“gloss, n.1.a,” *OED* Online. 1900. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/79130?rskey=d0Lt6t&result=1&isAdvanced=false> [accessed 23-Oct-2013]).

⁴⁸ The terminology used in the German publications of Egyptian textual commentary is “variante” (e.g. Rößler-Köhler 1979, 1999), but in the English scholarly literature on textual criticism the term “variant” refers to a place in the text where two manuscripts provide different readings (e.g. West 1973). In order to avoid confusion, I have chosen to use the phrase “alternate reading” in this dissertation for the places where there is a sign-posted variation.

1.3. Outline of Chapters

To begin, I present an overview of the sources that are available for the study of translation in Egypt. The creation of extensive translations remains relatively rare when compared to the volume of texts that survive from Egypt. It is also important to remember that my sample is spread over a long period of time, and so the study is, by necessity, diachronic. In Chapter 2, I offer a brief summary of the content and bibliography of my corpus of materials as well as a discussion of how my corpus is cohesive.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the sociolinguistic changes of pharaonic Egypt from the Middle Kingdom through the Late Period. I contend that because of the break between Middle and Late Egyptian, translation was introduced as a form of interpretive practice. I then introduce the Egyptian concept of interpretation *wḥꜥ* and examine its social function from the Middle Kingdom onward. By analyzing its appearance in biographical and literary texts, I illustrate the important social role that solving problems and interpreting texts had among high-ranking Egyptian officials. In the New Kingdom, the word comes to be more closely associated with language and ritual knowledge. For this reason, I argue that interpretation (*wḥꜥ*), and consequently translation, was largely reserved for sacred texts. Translation was not seen as a means of replacing a text, but of expanding and clarifying the complex content.

The next two chapters make up the textual analysis that supports my claim that translation and interpretation were part of the same practice of textual manipulation, which scribes practiced from the Middle Kingdom through the Roman Period. In Chapter 4, I investigate the development of commentary from the Middle Kingdom through the

end of the New Kingdom. By analyzing the techniques found in the extended commentary of *Coffin Text 335* and *Book of the Dead 17*, the connection between the earliest commentary techniques and those seen in the later translated material can be established. I show that these texts are part of a single process, whose goal it was to add precision to a text by specifying undefined concepts and compiling textual variations.

The earlier compositions are then compared to the commentaries and translations associated with the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* in papyrus BM 10252 and the *Book of Nut* in papyrus Carlsberg 1 and 1a in Chapter 5. The use of marked comments in both compositions aligns with what is found in the earlier texts, but the inclusion of a full intralingual translation provides new means of composing commentary. The reproduction of these commentaries supports the fact that they were valued as intellectual products, but again, the rarity of examples either reflects the poor preservation of temple materials in the modern record, or that translation was at the extreme end of the interpretive practices of the Egyptian priests and thus not undertaken as frequently.

In Chapter 6, I turn to texts where translation served a different function. Rather than require interpretation, the *Rhind Papyri* adopted aspects of earlier interpretive translation, but did so in order to create a ‘pseudo-historical’ translation. Although some of the same techniques that are found in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* or the *Book of Nut* are also found in the *Rhind papyri*, the assumption that they are the same is incorrect. In this chapter, I examine the techniques that I had identified in Chapter 5 within the *Rhind Papyri* and demonstrate that the translation is not intended to function primarily as an interpretation. The inclusion of Hieratic and Demotic versions of these compositions offered a false sense of history for texts that were composed at the same

time. The purpose of translation was thus not to explain, but to authorize. The Demotic was comprehensible, and the Hieratic gave a history to the text. Furthermore, I show that the translation ultimately took on the role of the original, as demonstrated by papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 149, which contains only a full Demotic translation of earlier texts.

Finally in Chapter 7, I consider the social changes that led to the new function of translation in Demotic funerary literature. By examining the changing sociolinguistic environment of Late Period, Ptolemaic, and Roman Egypt, I point to the changing value of the different registers of the Egyptian language. While Hieroglyphs, Hieratic, and Middle Egyptian were able to retain their preeminent position in the Ptolemaic Period, when Egyptian tradition was used to prop up the image of Ptolemy as pharaoh, this prestige faded as the Roman emperors ruled from abroad and priestly power was eroded. From this perspective, I consider a final group of texts, namely the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees. Much as the Rhind funerary papyri were meant to provide authority by including the Hieratic version of the text, the three languages of the decrees drew their symbolic authority from different political spheres. The Hieroglyphic versions were consistently prioritized visually, but the inclusion of Greek was a constant reminder of the Hellenistic rule over the country. Including the Demotic version was a way of reaching out to those who otherwise could not read the Egyptian of the Hieroglyphs, and elevated it from its otherwise largely bureaucratic functions. The translation of earlier Egyptian into later Egyptian was a respected and valuable skill, but one that seems to have been relatively restricted throughout Egyptian history. With the end of the Ptolemaic Period, and the

expansion of a multilingual society, traditional Egyptian language gradually fell out of use and with it thousands of years of textual interpretation.

Chapter 2. Presentation of Textual Sources

The corpus of this dissertation comprises a number of different genres of text, which have in common that they contribute to our understanding of changing patterns of language use in pharaonic and later Egypt. In this chapter, I begin by explaining how my corpus functions as a cohesive unit, and then, in order to familiarize the reader with the texts, I provide an overview of the content and function of the primary documents.⁴⁹ As presented in Chapter 1, I am conducting a study of how scribes annotated and translated older Egyptian texts to make them understandable and current.

In subsequent chapters, I introduce the Egyptian notion of translation and the social value that it offered, and then I outline the development and diversification of Egyptian intralingual translation – i.e. the translation of an earlier phase of Egyptian into a later one.⁵⁰ Therefore, I remain largely within the confines of Egyptian sources. In order to demonstrate how these translation techniques were drawn from practices of textual commentary that were already in use during the Middle Kingdom, I make use of textual examples from the 2nd millennium BCE to the 2nd century CE. The questions posed by this dissertation focus on how Egyptian scribes engaged with and overcame difficulties with obscure subject matter and dealt with texts written in an older stage of the language. By examining the techniques they used and the context in which they worked, I aim to assess the social value of translation within scribal culture and in broader Egyptian society from the Middle Kingdom through the Roman Period.

⁴⁹ For the basic facts on each text, see Appendix A.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 1.1.2.

2.1. Documentary Cohesion

The documents presented here span a period of time from the 11th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2030 BCE) to the Roman Period (2nd century CE). With more than 2000 years separating the earliest document from the latest, we must consider how these texts can be brought together into a corpus of material.

First, while some of the texts are unique, others belong to textual traditions lasting hundreds or even thousands of years. For instance, although the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead* are considered separate corpora, many of the spells found in one continue to be copied in much later versions of the other. The *Coffin Texts* are known largely from the Middle Kingdom, and *Book of the Dead* material found in the 18th Dynasty (ca. 16th-14th centuries BCE) is equally attested as late as the 1st-2nd centuries CE.⁵¹ Similarly, the *Book of Nut* is known from the later New Kingdom (13th-12th centuries BCE) and at Roman Tebtunis of the 1st-2nd centuries CE. The proven longevity of these religious texts, suggests that I am correct in adopting a diachronic approach in this dissertation. In my textual analysis, I uncover the particular techniques scribes adopted in order to preserve older texts and demonstrate that until the Roman Period there was a ritual need to preserve and transmit Middle Egyptian texts unchanged.

Second, with my specific interest in the use of translation as a social practice, it is important to understand the context and nature of the translated texts. The majority of materials belong to the category of ritual texts, some of which were used in funerary contexts. Early examples of the latter are the *Coffin Text* and *Book of the Dead* of the

⁵¹ For Roman Period *Book of the Dead* papyri, search “Datierung = Römisch” in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014, and see Chapter 7.2.

pharaonic period and the Rhind papyri from the early Roman Period. These texts were buried with the original owners of the documents, and they all share thematic content.

The adoption of funerary texts previously used in the ritual setting of the temple increases towards the end of the New Kingdom. Numerous manuscripts of the 4th century in particular include materials assembled from the so-called “Osiris Liturgies.”⁵² The *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* is an example of this genre of text and is known from several copies. Although one version, papyrus British Museum 10252, was discovered in a funerary context, the content and earlier use of the text places it on closer footing with ritual execration texts. The *Book of Nut* is also known from funerary contexts, but the bilingual versions, papyrus Carlsberg 1 and 1a, were discovered as part of the Tebtunis temple library.

Third, the Egyptians who acted as agents in the creation, use, and disposal of the documents are largely scribes working within the Egyptian temple system. Although not all of the documents were used by priests, temple personnel played a role in writing and transmitting each of these objects. In particular, funerary texts, which were owned by elite Egyptians in a range of professions, were composed of materials that could only have been accessed by ritual specialists, such as the Osirian liturgies mentioned above. It is in conjunction with the changes that occurred regarding the social role played by the temple, priests, and scribes that I chart the development of textual transmission from the Middle Kingdom onward (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4).

Finally, although the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees are administrative and political texts, I include them because they are the most important documents of an increasingly

⁵² Regarding the adoption of temple texts in funerary contexts, see Backes 2015 . On the Osirian liturgies more generally, see the recent edited volume by Backes and Dieleman 2015 and Bommas and Kucharek 2008.

bilingual society, which publicly display different registers of Egyptian language. With the priests actively involved in discussions with the Ptolemaic kings, the documents represent the negotiation of power and rights between the new Greek administration and the Egyptian elite (see Chapter 7). When contextualized within the evolving linguistic landscape of the Ptolemaic Period, the decrees are a relevant part of the discussion of Egyptian language use and the social value of language at that time. Therefore, my comparative analysis of the following textual material is justified due to the longevity of textual transmission of many texts, their similar context of use, and their association with temple personnel.

2.2. Textual Corpus

Having established the validity of my corpus of materials, I provide an overview of the content and function of the documents that are the basis of my textual analysis. Any other materials are examined as they become relevant to the discussion. For the benefit of those unfamiliar with the texts, I focus primarily on the content and function of each document, as details on the date, provenance, and current holding institution of the individual sources are summarized in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 of the appendix to this chapter.

2.2.1. Funerary Texts

The mortuary literature discussed in this dissertation was preserved on coffins, papyri, ostraca, and stelae from a range of burial contexts dated to the Middle Kingdom through the Roman Period. For the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead*, I present only the particular sections of those texts that I study in detail.⁵³

⁵³ The literature on these collections of funerary spells is too extensive to list. For recent work on the *Coffin Texts*, see Willems 2014, and for an introduction to the *Book of the Dead*, see the excellent exhibition catalogue Taylor 2010.

2.2.1.1. *Coffin Text 335*

Coffin Text spell 335 (*CT 335*), which later becomes *Book of the Dead* 17 (*BD 17*), is first attested in the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2000 BCE) and does not have any textual precursor.⁵⁴ It has been subject of many studies on textual criticism, lexical analysis, and the study of Egyptian religion.⁵⁵ The spell has attracted this scholarly interest, because it is attested in many copies and includes textual commentary alongside the original composition. These annotations appear already in the first copies of the spell and are the earliest evidence for scribes working through complex ritual texts to explain and expand their content (see Chapter 4).

CT 335 can be divided into two parts. The first is a speech by the god Atum in a first person narrative, which is preceded in some versions by the title *r n prt m hrw m hr.t-ntr* ‘Spell for going forth by day in the necropolis’ (IV184a).⁵⁶ The spell goes on to present the deceased in the guise of the creator god Atum in many different forms. The subject matter then shifts to a portrayal of the deceased in a positive light as an honest, pious, and knowledgeable man. Finally, in traversing from the living world to that of the dead, the first part of the spell turns to the preparation of the deceased for the tribunal of Osiris and ensures that he or she is able to overcome the trials of the afterlife.

⁵⁴ The transcription of the spell is found in de Buck (1935, IV 184-326). A complete Dutch translation of all of the versions of the spell from de Buck’s concordance can be found in Heerma van Voss (1963). An English translation of the text with some notes on the variants is found in Faulkner (2004, vol. I, 260-269). For an extended explanation on how the coffins are labeled and a concordance between the different names that have been assigned, see Willems 2014, 230-315.

⁵⁵ The spell has been the subject of textual criticism first by Schenkel 1975 and Sledzianowski (1975), then Rößler-Köhler (1998), and most recently Jürgens (1999, 2001). Matthieu Heerma van Voss included information on the lexicon of the spell in his translation (1963). Antonio Morales discusses the content of the spell in relation to its physical location in his work on the transmission of the *Pyramid Texts* to the *Coffin Texts* (2013).

⁵⁶ Faulkner 2004, vol. I, 266 n.1.

Part two of the spell continues to use the first person, but is formulated as a series of exaltations to the different incarnations of the sun god: Re, Atum, and Khepri.⁵⁷ It is with the reborn manifestation of the solar deity in the form of Khepri, that this section of the spell ends. The conclusion includes an exhortation to save the deceased from the examiners of the dead. Of the six copies of *CT* 335 that include the full second part of the spell, two end with instructions on the use of the spell, one comments on the last lines of text, one is followed immediately by *CT* 154, one includes an offering formula, and the last is too broken to determine what ending it had.⁵⁸ The arc of the second half of the spell invokes the divine solar cycle from the living god in his disk as Re, into the final stages of life with the elderly Atum, then through the various trials of the afterlife, where Khepri helps the deceased so that he may be reborn each day.

When considered as a unified composition, *CT* 335 embodies three major concepts in Egyptian funerary religion: the relationship of the creator god with the deceased, the confirmation that the deceased led a good and truthful life, and the desire of the deceased for protection in and safe passage through the underworld. The continued requests for fair treatment in the tribunals and safe passage to the next world are echoed throughout the text, and the deceased can use the spell to demonstrate a good knowledge of the important gods inhabiting the mythical realms and pass by them safely.

⁵⁷ There are also short recitations to *Nb nr.w* 'Lord of Fear,' to *Nb dšr.w* 'Lord of Blood,' to *Wsir* 'Osiris,' and to *B3 mnḥ* 'Potent soul' between those to Atum and Khepri.

⁵⁸ See de Buck 1935, IV 325-326. T1Be and T2Be have instructions, T1Cb has commentary, B3C goes onto *CT* 154, M1NY has an offering formula, which it also had as an introduction to the spell, and B1Y is damaged. The coffins are named by find spot (M = Meir), a sequential number (1, 2, 3...), and their current location (NY = New York).

2.2.1.2. *Book of the Dead 17*

Spell 17 is the number given to *CT 335* when it appears in the *Book of the Dead* in the New Kingdom (ca. 1500 BCE).⁵⁹ Just as its earlier counterpart, *BD 17* has been studied extensively.⁶⁰ The most important development is the standardization of the commentary that is attached to the body text. Examples of *CT 335/BD 17* that date to the transition between the use of inscribed coffins to papyrus from the Second Intermediate Period and early 18th Dynasty still include some variation in the textual annotations, but by the second half of the 18th Dynasty, the complete, regular commentary became integrated into the spell (see Chapter 4).⁶¹

BD 17 is a popular spell that is considered “the quintessence of the *Book of the Dead*, summarizing the main purposes of the entire corpus.”⁶² It is attested at least as late as the end of the Ptolemaic Period.⁶³ Although the content of *BD 17* is redacted out of *CT 335*, there is an additional section with accompanying commentary that follows what is

⁵⁹ The text appears in Edouard Naville’s transcription of *Book of the Dead* manuscripts (1971, pl. XXIII-XXX and 29-74), and a new edition of the 18th Dynasty versions of the spell was made by Günter Lapp (2006). An English translation of the text was made by Thomas Allen (1974, 26-32). There are 470 objects recorded by the *Bonn Totenbuch Projekt* that include the spell of which 66% are written papyrus and the remaining 34% are on other media. The spell is next to *BD 15* and *18* in the majority of the cases. For a German translation, further bibliography, and additional statistical information, see “Spruch 17” in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014.

⁶⁰ The text was first studied by Amélineau (1910a, 1910b) and Grapow (1912, 1915). A volume of essays was produced from a seminar on the spell (Westendorf 1975). One of the contributors, Rößler-Köhler, has written an extensive textual criticism of the manuscripts which were available to her in two volumes (1979, 1999). She has also produced discussions of the relationship between *CT 335* and *BD 17* (Rößler-Köhler 1979, 1995).

⁶¹ For information on the main *CT* and *BD* that are referenced in this dissertation, see Table 4.1, Table 4.2, and Table 4.3 in Appendix C

⁶² Taylor 2010, 51.

⁶³ Although there are no textual attestations in the Roman Period, the vignette associated with *BD 17* appears on p. Krakau dated to the Roman Period (Bommas and Kucharek 2008, 21, TM 115624) and on the tomb wall of Pedubastis at Qaret el-Muzawwqa in the Dakhla Oasis (Osing 1982, 71-81).

known from the *Coffin Text* version of the spell.⁶⁴ This third section begins by again addressing the god Atum, after which the deceased uses a first person narrative to pronounce how he or she has the strength to overcome any obstacles in the afterlife.

2.2.1.3. Middle Egyptian Texts Transcribed into Demotic

In the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, funerary texts continued to be copied and composed in Middle Egyptian and in the Hieratic script, but scribes also started to experiment with new combinations of language and script (see Chapter 6.3). There are a number of Middle Egyptian compositions that were transcribed into the Demotic script. Three of the transcriptions are of *Pyramid Text*, *Coffin Text*, and *Book of the Dead* spells,⁶⁵ one is of a Divine Decree,⁶⁶ and the last is the *Book of Transformations*, a composition that enables the deceased to take on a number of different forms in the afterlife.⁶⁷

2.2.1.4. Papyrus Rhind I and II

While the spells from the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead* are known from numerous sources and were part of the same established tradition of mortuary literature that spanned from the Middle Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period, the compositions on papyrus Rhind I and II are unique. These Roman Period papyri include parallel versions

⁶⁴ In his translation, Thomas Allen uses the same division as in the *Coffin Texts* of the first two sections, labeled A and B, and then adds the third section, C, at the end (1960, 32).

⁶⁵ *BD* 15a on British Museum stela 711 (Vleeming 1990 and Smith 2009b, 665-668), *BD* Pleyte 171 on p. Strasbourg dem. 3 (Smith 1993b, 2009a, 2009b, 389-394), and *PT* 25 and 32 and *BD* Pleyte 171 on p. Bodl. MS. Egy. a. 3 (P) (Smith 2009b, 650-662 and Smith 2014). P. Bodl. MS. Egy. a. 3 (P) also includes a Hieratic version of the *Ritual of Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine*.

⁶⁶ o. Strasbourg Dem. 132-133-134 (Smith 2009b, 607-609)

⁶⁷ Of the manuscripts that exist, two are in Hieratic, but a third, papyrus Louvre E 3452, is written in the Demotic script. The papyrus was the subject of a dissertation by Mark Smith (1979). The three copies of the *Book of Transformations* are texts 55, 56, and 57 in Smith 2009b, 627-649. While the concept of transformations spells is well attested in earlier funerary texts, the composition found in p. Louvre E 3452 is otherwise unknown.⁶⁷ The text of p. Louvre E 3452 has been dated to around 53 BCE and represents the earliest version of the Book of Transformations, while the Hieratic versions are dated to the 1st century CE on paleographic grounds.

of the same funerary composition in Hieratic and Demotic.⁶⁸ Also in contrast with the previous texts, the Rhind papyri have been published only once, by Georg Möller in 1913.⁶⁹ His text edition includes a transcription of the Hieratic into Hieroglyphs, a Demotic transliteration, and translations of both papyri. The volume also contains a short introduction, which introduces the owners of the papyri and a brief linguistic overview. In his publication, Möller points out that the compositions belonged with other later funerary papyri, which addressed similar topics (see Chapter 6).⁷⁰

The papyri were prepared for two individuals: p. Rhind I for Monthesuphis, son of Monkores, and p. Rhind II for his wife, Tanuat, daughter of Kalasiris. They belonged to a prominent family of officials and priests from Armant near Thebes that is attested in several other documents.⁷¹ Monthesuphis held several important religious and bureaucratic titles, including priest of Montu and leader of the army of Heliopolis of Montu.⁷² He was six years older than his wife, and they died only forty-eight days apart in year 21 of Augustus, or 9 BCE. Although she is given no titles, her father Kalasiris was a *strategos*, giving some indication of the status of this family (see Chapter 7).

⁶⁸ The two papyri now housed at the National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh, p. Rhind I and II, were found *in situ* in 1857 in a tomb about 40 yards away from Theban Tomb (TT) 131, as described in the 1862 publication by their namesake Alexander H. Rhind (1862, 77ff). In addition, regarding the date of excavation, see Dodson and Janssen 1989. For TT 131 see Kampp-Seyfried 1996, 420-422 and Plan III. I would like to thank Margaret Maitland and Ross Irving for their assistance in viewing the Rhind papyri and archival materials in March 2013.

⁶⁹ A good overview of the bibliography of these texts can be found in Smith (2009b) who includes translations of the Demotic as Text 14 (p. Rhind 1) and Text 15 (p. Rhind 2) of his collection. He also includes an excellent overview of the rituals described in the texts and how the recitation of the contents would have accompanied the embalming process. Also worthy of note is the work of Christina Riggs, who discusses the burial of the owners of the Rhind papyri and the texts themselves (2003, 2005).

⁷⁰ “Es ist ein verhältnismäßig eng begrenzter Vorrat feststehender Phrasen, aus denen diese spätesten Totentexte mosaikartig zusammengestückt sind” (Möller 1913, 8).

⁷¹ Thissen 1977. For some notes on the dating of documents in Thissen, see Gorre 2009, 42-52.

⁷² Riggs 2005, 181-182.

The compositions of p. Rhind I and II can be divided into sixteen and nine sections respectively based on the content of the text.⁷³ Colored vignettes decorate the upper portion of the manuscript with images of the deceased being mummified, judged by Osiris, and passing into the next life, which are captioned in both cursive Hieroglyphs and Demotic.⁷⁴ P. Rhind II is abbreviated from p. Rhind I, but includes the same sequence of events, which traces the life, death, mummification and transformation of the deceased. Both texts open with biographical sections before the embalming is described. The deceased is then guided by Anubis and welcomed into the underworld. After being purified and judged by Osiris, the eternal afterlife of the deceased is confirmed.

2.2.1.5. Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 149

In contrast with the Rhind papyri where parallel Hieratic and Demotic versions of the same text appear on a single manuscript, p. BN 149 includes only the Demotic translation of excerpts from several funerary spells. It is precisely dated to 17 October 63 BCE and was written for a man named Pamonthes, by his son Menkare. In the latest edition of the papyrus, Martin Stadler provides a full transliteration and translation of the text with line-by-line commentary, and an overview of the language of Demotic texts in relation to classical Egyptian parallels.⁷⁵ The issue of comparing the Demotic text with Middle

⁷³ Smith 2009b, 304. See Table 6.5 in Appendix F. In each case, the scribe took care not to divide a section over more than one column. It appears that the black framing lines were drawn on the papyrus first and that the text was then added into the space provided. This order is supported by the fact that in several columns a gap is left between lines of text when the scribe passes below the frame so that he would not write directly over the horizontal line. See for example column IV of p. Rhind I (Möller 1913, pl. IV) where the last line of Demotic is placed well below the bottom margin of the frame. Column XI (Möller 1913, pl. XI) is an exception where the framing lines were not drawn all the way across and the author simply wrote to the bottom edge of the papyrus.

⁷⁴ Revillout 1914 and Riggs 2005, 42-48.

⁷⁵ 2003. This papyrus was previously published by Lexa and Spiegelberg (1910). For some textual emendations, see reviews by Jasnow 2002/2003, Quack 2005a, and Coenen 2004a. For an English translation, see Smith 2009b, 444-454. Regarding the language, see section “D. Zur Sprache des

Egyptian originals is difficult.⁷⁶ P. BN 149 presents a different approach to translation, as unlike the other texts in my corpus, this papyrus is not written with two language versions on a single manuscript. Instead it represents a completed translation that is permitted to stand alone as its own funerary text (see Chapter 6.4 and Chapter 7.2.2).

The papyrus of Pamonthes is made up of a text that is found appended to the *Book of Traversing Eternity*, *BD* 125 and 128, and descriptions of the weighing of the heart scene and possibly of the vignette of *BD* 148.⁷⁷ The *Book of Traversing Eternity* belongs to a number of new funerary compositions that were written in later periods.⁷⁸ The content expresses the new belief in the return of the deceased to the world of the living.⁷⁹ A separate composition that was sometimes included with the *Book of Traversing Eternity* is what is translated into Demotic in p. BN 149.⁸⁰ It includes an exhortation to Osiris as well as invocations of a number of other deities for the protection of the deceased.

The remainder of the composition is made up of *Book of the Dead* materials.⁸¹ Spell 125 is by far the most recognized section of the *Book of the Dead*, as it includes the

demotischen Textes im Verhältnis zu den klassischen Parallelen,” Stadler 2003, 107-123. For critique of some of Stadler’s conclusions in this section, see Quack 2005a, 192-193.

⁷⁶ Stadler 2003, 15.

⁷⁷ For a breakdown of the texts in p. BN 149, see Table 6.6.

⁷⁸ Herbin includes the section of the *Book of Traversing Eternity* found in Column I, lines 1-16 of p. BN 149 in his volume as text **R** (1994, 79 and 520). The long and short versions of the text are also treated in Smith as texts 21 and 22 (2009b, 395-436). For a general introduction to funerary literature of the post-pharaonic period, see Smith 2009b.

⁷⁹ An excellent detailed analysis of the content of the text is found in Smith (2009b, 395-405).

⁸⁰ As referenced in Smith (2009b) from the review by Quack (2005a, 189), the passage is better considered as distinct from the *Book of Traversing Eternity* rather than an integrated part of it. For his commentary, Martin Stadler follows François Herbin and uses p. Leiden T 32 (**A**) to compare the relevant passages (col. VIII, 2-14 and 17).

⁸¹ For his investigation of the *Book of the Dead*, Stadler discusses parallels from p. Turin 1791, p. Milbank (OIM 10486), and p. Ryerson (OIM 9787), which are dated to the late Ptolemaic Period (Allen 1960, 10-11). Stadler’s dating of p. Ryerson to the Saite-Persian period, which follows Allen (1960), has

negative confessions of the deceased.⁸² It was also one of the most popular spells for the Egyptians, who tended to include it even when other spells were omitted and sometimes used only the associated vignette without the text.⁸³ However, unlike spell 17 that clearly evolved from a *Coffin Text*, BD 125 does not appear in writing before the New Kingdom. BD 125 has three main sections: the negative confessions before Osiris, the confessions before the judging gods and the declaration in the hall of judgment. The visual impact of the spell is accentuated by the unique layout of the negative confessions in vertical columns, as each god is invoked and the deceased professes his innocence. Having passed before Osiris and the tribunal, the deceased is required to prove that he is pure and demonstrate that he or she has the sacred knowledge of the gods in the broad hall of the two truths (*wsh.t tn nt m3^c.ty*). Only then is the deceased allowed to pass through the gate and enter into the afterlife.

Apart from spell 125, the papyrus of Pamonthes also includes BD 128, which is not translated in its entirety but edited down to fit the content of p. BN 149.⁸⁴ With only 96 attestations of the spell, it is not nearly as common as BD 125, but it only appears from the Late Period onward. The spell is a hymn to Osiris in which the deceased is

been corrected in the review by Marc Coenen (2004b, 500-501). However, for his commentary, Stadler includes the hieroglyphic text from p. Ryerson alone because, “er vom 125. Kapitel die vollständigste Version der beiden genannten Papyri gibt, publiziert ist und in der Publikation auch sein Verhältnis zu den Textzeugen des Neuen Reiches behandelt wurde, was hier deshalb weitgehend nicht wiederholt wurde” (Stadler 2003, 15).

⁸² For a German translation, bibliography and statistical information, see Spruch 125 in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014.

⁸³ Based on the records registered in the online *Book of the Dead* database (Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014), BD 125 is one of the most frequently occurring chapters with 462 examples. There are 21 examples of the vignette appearing without the written spell (see “Spruch 125” in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014). Of the total examples, 50 date to the Late Period (17% of manuscripts), 204 to the Ptolemaic Period (60% of manuscripts) and 2 to the Roman Period.

⁸⁴ Quack 2015. For a German translation, bibliography and statistical information of the complete spell, see “Spruch 128” in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014.

placed into the role of his protector and son, Horus. Finally, Joachim Quack has made the connection, correctly in my opinion, between a second vignette description in p. BN 149 and *BD* 148.⁸⁵ However, the description on the papyrus does not include all of the details of the vignette in *BD* 148, and so there is still a possibility that the author was referring to some other lost illustration.⁸⁶

2.2.2. *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*

In contrast with the mortuary literature discussed thus far, the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* began as a temple liturgy. This ritual composition is attested in three copies. It appears first on papyrus British Museum 10252,⁸⁷ which belonged to Pawerem, son of Kiki,⁸⁸ and has been dated to year 11 of Alexander IV, or 307/306 BCE.⁸⁹ Both p. BM 10252⁹⁰ and p. BM 10081, which also belonged to Pawerem,⁹¹ appear to have first been

⁸⁵ Quack 2015.

⁸⁶ For a German translation, bibliography, and statistical information, see “Spruch 148” in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014.

⁸⁷ The papyrus was acquired by the British Museum in 1835 when it was purchased at Sotheby’s from the collection of Henry Salt. Quirke 1993, 12. The exact provenance of the papyrus is therefore unknown, but it was likely excavated in Thebes. Quirke suggests that the papyrus along with the Malcolm and Purnell papyri were discovered in the 1820s (1993, 23). A Theban provenance for the papyri is also supported by Quack, who argues that p. Hohenzollern-Sigmarigen II is written in the same hand as the provenance Theban text p. BM 10209 (2000a, 76).

⁸⁸ Quirke 1993, 56.

⁸⁹ Verhoeven 2001, 78. Schott had originally dated the papyrus to year 11 of Alexander II (*Urk.* VI 2-3) but this dating has since been corrected. Stephen Quirke provides a brief description of the papyrus and discusses the ownership of the piece in connection with several other documents (1993, 81, no. 189).

⁹⁰ The final composition (col. 36-50) is written out in a second hand in careful, clean columns, each of which have a rubricized title at the top. Ursula Verhoeven notes that these columns were likely added to the text and are in “eine andere, kleinere Handschrift” (2001, 79). There are double margin lines in black at the left edge of the last column, which suggest that a further text could have been added to the papyrus. On the right edge of plate 36 there is a blank space of at least 5 cm and then there is a kollesis where the new sheets of papyrus were added to the roll. Because the papyrus was cut and plated it is impossible to know how wide the gap originally was before it was put between glass. Furthermore, the brown tape which holds the glass together covers the edge of the papyrus along the right edge.

⁹¹ Papyrus BM 10252 and 10081 will be subject of the publication of Ann-Katrin Gill (see note 93).

written for use in a temple context, but were later appropriated for funerary use.⁹² P. BM 10252 is the only one of the three sources that includes parallel versions of the composition in Middle Egyptian and later Egyptian.⁹³

The *Ritual* is also found on p. Louvre N 3129, which is a Ptolemaic funerary papyrus that also includes a lengthy, high quality Ptolemaic copy of the *Book of the Dead* and other compositions.⁹⁴ Siegfried Schott transcribed the *Ritual* on p. BM 10252 and p. Louvre N 3129 in the sixth volume of *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*.⁹⁵ As recently discussed by Ann-Katrin Gill in a preliminary report of her research, the papyri of p. BM 10252 and p. Louvre N 3129 were originally meant for very different contexts, despite

⁹² Each sheet of p. BM 10252 has been plated individual in twenty-one frames. For the correspondence between the glass plates and columns text, see Verhoeven 2001, 79. The compositions on p. BM 10252 are: the fragmentary *Spell Against Osiris' Enemies* (Gill 2015), the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* (Schott 1929), the *Ritual to Fell Seth and His Confederates* (Schott 1929, Altmann 2010, 57-178), the *Ritual of Bringing Sokar out of the Shetyt-shrine* (Goyon 1968), the *Ritual to protect the Nesmet-barque* (Goyon 1969), the *Great Ceremony of Geb* (Barguet 1962, 54, Goyon 1974, 78, Herbin 1988, Quack 1999a, Burkard 1995, 179-205, 307-330, Backes 2014), and the *s3h.w I* (Bommas and Kucharek 2008). In contrast, two other texts were written out as new compositions for Pawerem. These are p. BM 10288 (Caminos 1972), and p. Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen II, published by Joachim Quack from the Hofbibliothek of the Fürstenhauses Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (2000a).

⁹³ To date no full edition of that papyrus has been published. As of 2015, two scholars were working on the text. A doctoral student at the University of Oxford and the University of Trier, Ann-Katrin Gill, will include an edition of the text in her thesis. François René Herbin also intends on publishing pieces of the papyrus in the second volume of *Late Religious Texts*.

⁹⁴ For a full bibliography of the *Book of the Dead* Louvre text as well as the other pieces of this papyrus, see the entry for TM 56940 in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014. See also Catalogue #50 of Étienne 2000. The ritual texts follow immediately after the final *Book of the Dead* chapters 163, 164 and 165. The ritual texts include: the *Ritual to protect the Nesmet-barque* (col. A), the *Ritual to fell Seth and his confederate* (cols. B-E), the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* (cols. F-K), the *s3h.w I* (cols. L-O), and *Ritual of bringing Sokar out of the Shetyt-shrine* (cols. O-Q) (Goyon 1968). Column Q is glued to a blue board labeled number 41 and completes the text. The additional unused papyrus, labeled column R by the museum, is surprisingly on board number 31. There is no doubt, however, that this board belongs at the end of the roll and not in position 31 within the document, as the breaks along the upper edge of the papyrus decrease in width indicating that it was at the very center of the roll, where the folds would be smallest. My thanks go to Marc Étienne and Catherine Bridonneau for allowing me to see the papyrus in person at the Louvre.

⁹⁵ Schott 1929, 60-144. Schott only transcribed plates 3 to 18 of the full twenty-one plates in p. BM 10252 and B,39 to K,49 of the seventeen columns (A-Q) of ritual texts in p. Louvre N 3129. The last three pages of Schott's manuscript were not included in the printing of the *Urkunden* volume and were subsequently published by Jean-Claude Goyon (1975). The remaining sections were plate 12,33-35 from p. BM 10252 and K,49-56 of p. Louvre N 3129.

both ending up as part of the funerary equipment of their owners.⁹⁶ The third attestation is on a fragmentary papyrus, which was recently discovered at Tebtunis, p. Hierateb SCA 3460. It includes only four untranslated columns of the *Ritual* (*Urk.* VI 99,7-109,15),⁹⁷ and is dated to the mid to late Ptolemaic Period.⁹⁸

As previously discussed, the *Ritual* was also the principal source for Siegfried Schott's fundamental work on Egyptian translation.⁹⁹ Subsequent work on p. BM 10252 has largely focused on the other compositions on the manuscript.¹⁰⁰ However, in 1990, Pascal Vernus provided a reassessment of the grammar of the translated text, suggesting that rather than belong to the phase of Late Egyptian, it is better considered an early form of Demotic.¹⁰¹ For the purpose of this dissertation, the translation shall be called 'later Egyptian.' Another recent study is by Victoria Altmann, who examines the nature of the transgressions and evil of the god Seth.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ See Gill 2015. P. Louvre N 3129 is evenly written in the same hand throughout the *Book of the Dead* and subsequent additional texts. There are no annotations, and the use of rubrics is consistent throughout the document. Each composition on that manuscript ends in at the bottom of a column and is marked off by the use of a final phrase *iw=fpw* 'It is its end.' The width of the columns is determined by the nature of the text, and the margin lines were drawn after a column was completed. Between columns D and E, the scribe used red ink to draw the double margin lines, while between columns E and F, the scribe used black ink to draw the lines. The ink color suggests that the pairs of column lines were drawn after the column of text was written out. However, it is unclear why the scribe used red ink on the right margins of column E, as neither the last words of column D nor the first of E are written in red ink.

⁹⁷ Thanks are due to Ivan Guerneur for providing me with images of the papyrus fragment prior to its publication. The piece will be fully published in a volume of material from Tebtunis by I. Guerneur, *Les papyrus hiératiques de Tebtynis issus des fouilles récentes (1994-2010)*. For a preliminary description, see Guerneur 2008.

⁹⁸ The text is written on the recto, while a copy of the fourth glorifications is written in palimpsest over a Greek document on the verso. The Greek is paleographically dated to the 2nd century BCE (Guerneur 2008, 117).

⁹⁹ See Chapter 1.2.

¹⁰⁰ The sections of p. BM 10252 and p. Louvre N 3129 are versions of the first set of Osiris Liturgies (Bommas and Kucharek 2008, 37ff).

¹⁰¹ Vernus 1990, 205-207. A recent M.A. thesis by Christopher Waß (2014), entitled "Lexik, Morphologie und Syntax im Wandel: Sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchungen in den zweisprachigen Texten des P. BM EA 10252," also examined some linguistic aspects of the composition.

¹⁰² 2010.

The composition opens with a title in the two complete versions of the *Ritual*.¹⁰³ This heading establishes that the version of the composition on p. BM 10252 is a ‘translation of the mysteries’ (*n3 wh^c sšt3.w*), and it is the only translated document in my corpus that states in the Egyptian that a translation is included.¹⁰⁴ In each line of p. BM 10252, a phrase is first written in Middle Egyptian Hieratic and then in the later Egyptian translation.¹⁰⁵

The *Ritual* is then divided into twenty-seven sections on both p. BM 10252 and p. Louvre N 3129, twenty-three of which have the rubricized phrase *ir p3y=f dd* ‘As for his saying.’¹⁰⁶ A section proclaiming the strength and protections given to the man who recites the composition follows, and then a general introduction to the enemies of Osiris.¹⁰⁷ What follow are self-contained compositions that curse the god Seth in one of his forms. The final two sections of the composition (26 and 27) are set apart in p. BM 10252 both in terms of content and also because the scribe chose to alter the format of the document from a column width of around 14 cm to double that size at nearly 30 cm. In addition, for section 26, the first line of the text is written vertically on the right hand side

¹⁰³ The remains quite short on p. BM 10252 text, but fills a total of eight lines in p. Louvre N 3129 (*Urk.* VI 61,10-63,1). The latter includes additional information on when the Osirian ritual should be recited and its benefit to the deceased individual.

¹⁰⁴ Regarding the Egyptian titles, see Schott, Schott, and Grimm 1990, 53-54. For further discussion on this topic, see Chapter 3, esp. 3.3.

¹⁰⁵ When the original and translation would not fit on a single line, they were sometimes written into the empty space of another line. If the scribe knew that the line could not be completed, but wanted to insure that the reader followed the alternations between original and translation, he marked a small red tick at the end of one line and the start of the next (e.g. col. 4.10-11). These red markings appear mostly at the beginning of the composition, as the scribe either leaves them out or uses black ink in the later sections of the text.

¹⁰⁶ Regarding the use of this title, see Chapter 5.3.3.1. In *Urk.* VI, Schott gave each section a German title related to its content that does not appear in the Egyptian original (1929).

¹⁰⁷ For a discussion of the sacrilegious deeds perpetrated by Seth, see Altmann 2010.

of the column.¹⁰⁸ Section 26 is an invocation of the Enemy, i.e. Seth, followed by a list of things that cannot be permitted to happen in the mythical world, and the final section is the so-called “Festival Calendar,” which lists the deeds that the Enemy commits and the punishment that he receives for each.

2.2.3. *Book of Nut*

The *Book of Nut* is a cosmographic manual that had a long history of transmission from at least the New Kingdom through the 2nd century CE. The most recent synoptic edition is Alexandra von Lieven’s *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, where several new papyrus versions of the composition are identified and a detailed text critical method for dating the composition is applied.¹⁰⁹ The earliest copies of the text are the monumental versions in the New Kingdom Osireion of Seti I at Abydos (**S**) and tomb of Ramses IV (KV2) on the Theban West bank (**R**), and in the Late Period tomb of Mutirdis (**M**) in the Assasif.¹¹⁰ They are all drawn in large scale on the ceilings of their respective tombs (see Figure 2.1). In all instances, the *Book of Nut* is placed on the East portion of the ceiling and is paired with the *Book of Night* on the West portion.¹¹¹ The *Book of Night* includes a

¹⁰⁸ The Middle Egyptian text reads: *i hfty hr sbi pfy n hnty-immtyw NN* ‘O Enemy, villain, that rebel of the Foremost of Westerners NN,’ *hb3.n=k 1/5 n Wd3.t* ‘you have taken away 1/5 of the Wadjet eye.’ *sid.n=k m 3h.t* ‘You have humiliated the horizon.’ *i.hmi -tw m 3d* ‘Get away in (your) wrath.’ (*Urk.* VI 121,18-123,5). Regarding the meaning of this introduction and the translation, see Altmann 2010, 86-90. The Demotic translation of that line is not placed along the side with it, but is instead squeezed in at the far left in a series of short lines.

¹⁰⁹ von Lieven 2007. For reviews of this volume, see Dieleman 2013, Klotz 2011, Leitz 2009, and von Recklinghausen 2012. There are also two previous full textual editions by Lange and Neugebauer (1940), and Neugebauer and Parker (1960), and two further studies of the texts by Bárta (1983) and Quack (2000b). Bold letters in parentheses refer to the source as listed in von Lieven 2007.

¹¹⁰ For the initial publication of the text from the tomb of Ramses IV, see Brugsch 1883, 167ff and for additional bibliography, see von Lieven 2007, 16. Regarding the text of Seti I, see Frankfort 1933. A brief, but useful summary of the text as well as additional bibliography is found in Hornung 1999, 113-116.

¹¹¹ von Lieven 2007, 20-21.

second figure of Nut and the juxtaposition of the two images creates a symmetrical division along the central axis of the tomb.

The most complete version is papyrus Carlsberg 1 (**PC1**); however, many other Carlsberg papyri with adjoining fragments from Berlin and Florence preserve large portions of the text.¹¹² The earliest versions of the text were painted on tomb walls at Abydos and Thebes, and a single papyrus copy in Hieroglyphs is now housed at the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri in Berkeley.¹¹³ Regarding this piece, Alexandra von Lieven notes a modern number “T229” written onto the text.¹¹⁴ These numbers were assigned by Grenfell and Hunt during excavations in 1899-1900 to finds found in the temple area and houses at the site.¹¹⁵ However, it has been established that T-numbers do not guarantee one or the other location, especially a higher number such as 229.¹¹⁶ The remaining versions on papyrus are in Hieratic and Demotic. The papyrus manuscripts were all found in Tebtunis and due to the nature of excavation were dispersed to different institutions that participated.¹¹⁷

¹¹² For a complete list of sources, see von Lieven 2007, 15-19. They are listed in Table 2.1.

¹¹³ The hieroglyphic New Kingdom sources are S, R and M in von Lieven 2007. Regarding the small papyrus fragment with the text in Hieroglyphs, it had the number p. Oxford 79/105 and has now been given the collection number Berkeley, Bancroft Library Oxford 79/105.

¹¹⁴ 2007, 16.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of the numbers, see Hickey 2009a, 71-72 and O'Connell 2007. Regarding the Tebtunis temple library, see Ryholt 2005.

¹¹⁶ See Ryholt 2013. It is at least worth noting those texts that are close sequentially to the *Book of Nut* text fragment. The previous number in the sequence, T228 is p. Tebt. Suppl. 01,241, which has a Greek text on the recto and was reused for a Demotic copy of the Inaros epic on the verso. The papyrus has APIS ID 8893 and the Demotic text is currently under study by K. Ryholt. The document with T230 is a Greek text written only on the recto and identified as six fragments of a will, p. Tebt. Suppl. 01,676-01,680. The text remains unpublished and has APIS ID 9912. Comparatively, the *Book of Nut* fragment is written on much lighter papyrus than either of the other two documents and seems never to have been reused. The fragment of the Inaros epic may well have originated from the same group of finds, but unfortunately it is not possible to determine any more precisely where the material originated.

¹¹⁷ The papyri housed in Copenhagen were purchased by the Carlsberg Foundation between 1931 and 1938 and then donated to the University of Copenhagen in 1939. Further additions were made to the



Figure 2.1 – *Book of Nut* from the tomb of Ramses IV, Chamber J¹¹⁸ (Weeks 1997-2012)

The ritual text is accompanied by a large image of the figure of Nut (see Figure 2.1). In it the body of the goddess, painted in yellow, stretches over the standing figure of Shu, who holds her in the sky. A large red solar disk sits at her mouth where she is about to swallow it. The sun then passes through the night sky (i.e. her body) and is reborn in the morning. The rebirth is illustrated as a smaller disk at Nut’s pubic triangle and as a small winged scarab placed near her knees. To the right, behind the legs of the goddess stands a vulture goddess who sits on top of three blooming lotus flowers and holds a flail. A red solar disk rests on the toes of Nut, and a final smaller disk is placed on the left of

collection in 1954 by Aksel Volten with the assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation. The Berlin and Florence material were likewise purchased following the excavations on site.

¹¹⁸ The tomb of Ramses IV appears to have been accessible at least until the 6th century, as shown by a Christian hymn dated on palaeographic grounds to that time (Derda and Łajtar 1994, 19; Baillet 1920-1926, 71-72). The tomb also contains more than 100 Demotic graffiti (Vinson 2010/2011, 131). Baillet notes at least 656 Greek and Latin inscriptions, records 133-789, and notes that it has the second highest number of texts after KV 9 of Ramses V and VI (1920-1926, 34-167). See also, Hornung 1990, 132-137.

text columns in the bottom right. This disk appears to be placed in an angled space that may represent the *akhet*. Shu stands upon a red mound with black dots in the style of desert land.

The text is placed variously around the body, on top of the body, in vertical columns beneath the body, and so on. In the early publications, the authors used a lettering system to distinguish different portions of texts around the image, which is replaced by numbered paragraphs in von Lieven's publication.¹¹⁹ Each section describes part of the sun's journey through the body of Nut during the night, and the text concludes with the rebirth of the solar disk in the morning. In addition to the journey of the sun, the same path is followed by numerous stars, most notably the decans, which is also elucidated within the composition.¹²⁰

Next to the image of Nut in the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos and in p. Carlsberg 1, 1a, 288 and 496 and the ritual texts surrounding her is a so-called 'dramatic text.'¹²¹ In this section, the conflict between husband (Geb) and wife (Nut) is played out. The disagreement arises from the fact that Nut swallows her children (the stars) every night, i.e. they disappear below the horizon. Shu is called upon to arbitrate the dispute, and a settlement is reached. It is decided that the stars are perpetually reborn after remaining in the 'House of Geb' for seventy days at a time.

¹¹⁹ Lange and Neugebauer 1940, 9-11, Neugebauer and Parker 1960, 38-42 and von Lieven 2007, 45-46. The images with the old lettered system are reproduced in von Lieven (2007, pl. 1).

¹²⁰ Regarding the description of the cosmos, see Allen 1988, 1-7.

¹²¹ The text in question is entitled "II. Das Dekankapital" by von Lieven (2007, 411) and for an overview and discussion of the genre of the 'dramatic text,' see von Lieven (2007, 274-283).

2.2.4. Multilingual Decrees

The only group of texts that do not belong to the genres of Egyptian mortuary and ritual compositions are the multilingual texts. The Ptolemaic trilingual decrees that were dispersed throughout Egypt were generally written in Hieroglyphic Middle Egyptian or *égyptien de tradition*, Demotic, and Greek.¹²² Each decree was set up in multiple copies throughout the Delta and Upper Egypt (see Figure 2.2), and there are variations in the text carved on the copies of the same decree (see Chapter 7.3).

¹²² Regarding the Greek on the Canopus Decree, see Pfeiffer 2004, 48-49.



Figure 2.2 – Distribution of the Ptolemaic Decrees¹²³

¹²³ Locations are derived from Huß 1991 with new texts, which have been discovered or published since his article appeared, added in. See Table 2.2 in Appendix A.

A fundamental study of the decrees is François Daumas' *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien*, which was published in 1952 and has yet to be superseded. Daumas systematically investigates how grammatical features of Greek are rendered in Egyptian, having in mind to determine "les nuances de pensée que peut exprimer la vieille langue égyptienne."¹²⁴ However, he is not so concerned with the translation choices made between Hieroglyphs and Demotic, which is the focus of this dissertation, and it appeared prior to the advances made in the description of the Egyptian verbal system by Hans Jakob Polotsky in the 1960s.¹²⁵ There have also been more recent grammars of the Demotic versions of the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees,¹²⁶ and of Middle Egyptian of the Greek and Roman Periods.¹²⁷

Of all the texts discussed thus far, the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees have been subject to the widest array of research by both Egyptologists and Classicists.¹²⁸ For this reason, the bibliography and discussion that I provide is not meant to be comprehensive, but to introduce the main resources for studying the decrees (see Chapter 7). In chronological order, I present the best preserved of the decrees.

¹²⁴ Daumas 1952, vii.

¹²⁵ For a summary, see Allen 2010b.

¹²⁶ Robert Simpson provides new translations of the texts and comments briefly on some conflicting translation choices made between versions (1996). However, he largely focuses on how the decrees agree or differ with the Demotic grammar of other sources, rather than how the Demotic text relates to the other language versions (Simpson 1996, 57).

¹²⁷ The grammar of *égyptien de tradition* by Åke Engsheden covers only the verbal system, but it nevertheless provides a new discussion on the nature of Middle Egyptian during the Ptolemaic Period (2003). Since the publication of Engsheden's grammar, a grammar of the Ptolemaic temple texts has appeared (Kurth 2008) and the debate continues in Quack 2010c. In a review of Kurth's grammar, Quack rightly acknowledges that the study of Ptolemaic is not a simple task as it is not only a matter of linguistics but a "Kulturphänomen" (2009a, 130).

¹²⁸ See for example Bingen 2007, Pfeiffer 2004 and Huß 1991. For the structure of the Greek honorary decree, see Rhodes and Lewis 1997. Also extremely valuable for the discussion of the function and structure of the decrees are the collected essays in Valbelle and Leclant 2000.

a) *Alexandria Decree (243 BCE)*

The Alexandria Decree was set up under Ptolemy III, in the fifth year of his reign (December 3rd, 243 BCE), and recounts the actions of the king on behalf of the temples, then outlines new honors for the temples as well as several festivals to be celebrated in honor of the king and queen. Several fragments of the decree were discovered throughout the 20th century, but it was not until the discovery of a relatively complete copy of the text at a temple on the site of El-Khazindariya near Akhmim that a full edition of this decree was published.¹²⁹ The new publication includes a line-by-line transcription of the text and is the first truly to take all of the examples into account. The decree was clearly set up in all three languages in antiquity; however, only the Elephantine and Tod fragments preserve the Greek text (see Figure 2.3).¹³⁰ The new decree from El-Khazindariya was written only in the Egyptian languages under the illustrated lunette—first Hieroglyphs and then Demotic. The blank space at the bottom of the decree confirms that a Greek text was probably never inscribed.¹³¹

¹²⁹ el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 12-13. The authors record seven fragments of the decree with other examples from Elephantine, Aswan and Tod (el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 29-30). The temple itself is only partially excavated, as it is now cut through by a modern canal and road. Approximate coordinates: 26.760721, 31.563611 (el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 10). The decree was found “lying on its inscribed face on the ground near the northern end of the temple and broken into eleven pieces, some fragments are large and others very small” (el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 12).

¹³⁰ The stela at Elephantine was carved into diorite with fragments ending up in Sweden and France. Säve-Söderbergh 1945 and Delange 2012. The Louvre fragments were excavated by Clermont-Ganneau and Clédat during their time at Elephantine, as noted in the excavation journal of February 22nd, 1908 (Delange 2012, 405). The stone was broken into numerous pieces, and only parts of the Greek text and a few words in Demotic can be reconstructed from them (Delange 2012, 419-421 and doc. 622). Fragments are Louvre inv. E 33071. See also Bernand 1992, 7-17 and pl. 4. The stela from Tod has the inventory number 1862. The text appears to have been transcribed and then the object was left on site. “On trouvera ci-après un certain nombre d’inscriptions don’t la plupart ont été lues sur les sites” (Schwartz and Malinine 1960, 77). The author also mentions one piece that “est uniquement hiéroglyphique et il n’en sera plus question ici” (1960, 81). This second fragment (inv. No. 1054) is listed as unedited by Huß (1991, 201) and is not mentioned in el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 29-30.

¹³¹ el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 27 and pl. 3. There is no mention of any text on the sides of the decree, which is the other place where the Greek text was sometimes carved. Another interesting



Figure 2.3 – Fragments from Elephantine (Inv. Nos. 1757 and 1758, Stockholm)

b) Canopus Decree (238 BCE)

The Canopus Decree, which is preserved in the most complete copies, was enacted for a synod which took place in Alexandria. The date of the decree is March 7th, 238 BCE. Two well preserved versions of the text were discovered in 1861 and 1881 at Tanis and Kom el-Hisn, respectively.¹³² The Kom el-Hisn stela is perhaps the best example of all the decrees with all three languages fully preserved and only partial damage along the

feature of the layout of the decree is that in carving the Demotic, the incised lines that enclose the text only appear for the first seven lines after which the Demotic is simply added as a block of text. The appearance is somewhat reminiscent of funerary stelae where the Hieroglyphic text appears in rows that are demarked by incised horizontal lines, and the Demotic is added below without any horizontal guiding lines. See for example, CG 22136 where the Demotic is placed within the carved vignettes on the lower portion of the stela (Kamal 1904, pl. XXXVIII). Also, Vienna inv. No. 162, the stela of Djeho, includes a lengthy Hieroglyphic text and the Demotic text is then painted onto space left at the bottom (Munro 1973). Generally the Hieroglyphic script is placed between lines on funerary stelae, probably as a practical means of carving in a straight line. Neither Demotic in its monumental form, nor Greek were likely to become illegible if the lines were not perfectly straight, and it was perhaps simply unnecessary to have lines incised between rows of text.

¹³² Simpson 1996, 2. Regarding the size and materials of the six exemplars, see Tietze, Lange, and Hallof 2005, 1 n.1.

right edge of the inscribed face and lunette. The order of the texts is Hieroglyphs, Demotic, and Greek, with some space at the bottom.¹³³ The stela stands at 2.22 m and places the eye of a reader of average height immediately at the level of the Egyptian texts.¹³⁴ There is a framing line surrounding all of the texts on the bottom and side edges. The Tanis Stela was also written in all three languages but while the Hieroglyphs and Greek are on the front face, the Demotic was placed along the left side of the object.¹³⁵

A further four fragments were known until March 2004, when a fifth additional, extensive piece with the Demotic and Greek texts was uncovered at Bubastis (see Figure 2.4).¹³⁶ A piece of that same stela with the Hieroglyphic text was already known, published and housed at the museum of Port Said.¹³⁷ Of the other copies of the Canopus decree, the text from Karnak never included the Greek and appears to have left space at the bottom for at least the Demotic text.¹³⁸ The fragment from el-Kab is of the edge of the decree and preserves the Hieroglyphs on the front face and a few lines of the Greek inscribed along the side face.¹³⁹

¹³³ Kamal 1904, pls. LIX-LXI.

¹³⁴ From printed images, if the stela was placed directly on the ground a person between the height of 1.5 and 1.8 m (5 to 6 ft) would first look at the Hieroglyphic text. Placed on a block or raised plinth, the gaze would fall on the Demotic text. In all likelihood, the attention of the viewer would also be drawn upward by the illustrated lunette giving the Demotic and Hieroglyphic texts additional emphasis. Issues of the legibility of these stela are discussed in Chapter 7.3.1.

¹³⁵ Kamal 1904, 183.

¹³⁶ Tietze, Lange, and Hallof 2005. This copy of the decree was found during the excavations of the great temple of Bastet in Bubastis, which was originally constructed under Osorkon I and II. The decree was found in the northeast corner of the entrance way into the courtyard of Osorkon I (Tietze, Lange, and Hallof 2005, 3 and fig. 1). The object was found near the floor level of the entranceway at +3.67 m and was buried under approximately 1.13 m of debris and other material. Unfortunately none of the other finds provide further details on the architectural context of the stone.

¹³⁷ Sauneron 1957. A small fragment of the Hieroglyphic text was found in 2003 (Tietze, Lange, and Hallof 2005, 20-21).

¹³⁸ Lauffray et al. 1970, 73.

¹³⁹ Bayoumi and Guéraud 1947.



Figure 2.4 – Canopus Decree from Bubastis (after Tietze and Abd El-Maksoud 2004, 33)

c) *Raphia Decree (217 BCE)*

This decree is named after the battle of Raphia, which took place under the reign of Ptolemy IV and is discussed in the decree. The text is found on three fragments from Tell el-Maskhuta, Memphis, and Tod, but only the Demotic version can be completely read, as most of the Hieroglyphs and Greek are missing.¹⁴⁰ The best preserved copy of this decree is from Tell el-Maskhuta in the Delta, which was uncovered by villagers gathering *sebakh* to fertilize their fields in 1923, and therefore unfortunately lacks a specific provenance.¹⁴¹ The object includes the Hieroglyphic text on the front face, the Demotic on the back, and the Greek in columns along the two edges (see Figure 2.5). The Memphis stela is only a portion of the upper lunette with the image of Ptolemy upon a

¹⁴⁰ Thissen 1966. For a rereading of the Hieroglyphic text, see Klotz 2013, who also includes a recent bibliography for the study of the Raphia decree.

¹⁴¹ Gauthier and Sottas 1925, iii.

horse and the beginning of the Hieroglyphic inscription.¹⁴² The final fragment includes part of the Demotic version, followed by the Greek.¹⁴³



Figure 2.5 – Raphia Decree from Tel el-Maskhuta (after Gauthier and Sottas 1925, pls. 1 and 4)

d) Rosetta Decree (196 BCE)

By far the most famous of the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees, the proclamation that resulted from the synod held at Memphis in 196 BCE was the first to be discovered in 1799 by Napoleon's soldiers at Rosetta. Subsequently two further copies of this decree of Ptolemy V were found: three fragments on the island of Elephantine in 1907-8 and a fragment purchased near Tel el-Yahudiyah in the Delta in 1923. The Rosetta Stela includes first the Hieroglyphic text, followed by the Demotic, with the Greek at the bottom.¹⁴⁴ The

¹⁴² Schwartz and Malinine 1960, 82 and fig. 1. The left edge has the end of the Demotic text followed by the beginning of the Greek (see the diagram in Spiegelberg 1904-1908, 14).

¹⁴³ Schwartz and Malinine 1960, 82 and fig. 1.

¹⁴⁴ The Rosetta Stone has been extensively described in the literature and there is no need to repeat that information at length here. For recent bibliographies, see Huß 1991, Simpson 1996, Parkinson 1999 and Ray 2007.

fragments from Elephantine preserve examples of all three language versions, and the Tel el-Yahudiyah copy has the Egyptian texts on the front face and Greek on the sides.¹⁴⁵

e) Philae II Decree (186 BCE)

The two Philae decrees are unique among those preserved as they were carved directly onto the wall of the Temple of Isis.¹⁴⁶ The inscriptions were later carved over by scenes of Ptolemy XIII (see Figure 2.6).¹⁴⁷ That the inscriptions were left on the walls and figures simply carved over them, might indicate that the decree was painted over and therefore hidden behind the figural scene. The Philae inscription includes only the Hieroglyphic and Demotic versions, and it is written in the upper corner of the wall, making it difficult for anyone to read the text, but placing it in a visible and religiously significant location. A second example of this decree exists in Cairo, but its find spot is unknown. The stela is made of limestone and only ever included the Hieroglyphic version of the text.¹⁴⁸ The object was broken into four fragments, and it has a round topped lunette just as with the other decrees.

¹⁴⁵ For the Elephantine text, see Sottas 1933 and Delange 2012, doc. 617, and for the Delta pieces, see Fraser 1956. The Egyptian texts on the Tel el-Yahudiyah copy were entirely erased by the stone's reuse as an oil press (Fraser 1956, 57). The Greek text was preserved, as it was written along the sides of the stela, which were about 22 cm thick.

¹⁴⁶ PM VI, 212 and 228. The inscriptions are written at nos. 225 and 226 on the plan.

¹⁴⁷ "The Second Decree" in Müller 1920, 57-88.

¹⁴⁸ For bibliography, see the recent study of both texts in Eldamaty 2005.



Figure 2.6 – Philae II on the Temple of Isis (after Eldamaty 2005, pl. 7)

f) Philae I Decree (185 BCE)

The Philae I Decree was erected under Ptolemy V in a similar fashion to Philae II.¹⁴⁹ The same carving techniques, languages, and placement were used, and it was similarly covered over by the scenes of Ptolemy XIII. A second version of the Hieroglyphic version of the decree was found on a low-quality sandstone stela at Dendara.¹⁵⁰

g) Later Decrees

There are a number of decrees, which are often associated with the group of the trilingual decrees, but are either poorly preserved, difficult to date, peripherally related, or found in only a single language version.¹⁵¹ One such text is a fragmentary decree found at Karnak that concludes with instructions to carve a trilingual inscription, but the existing text is

¹⁴⁹ Müller 1920, 31-56. The “First” Decree.

¹⁵⁰ Daumas 1952, 74-75.

¹⁵¹ For further examples, see Huß 1991, 196-200 and 203.

only in Greek.¹⁵² A late stela, dated to 112 BCE, is in the Cairo museum, but does not follow the same formula as the other decrees.¹⁵³ The inscription is the latest text known to have been issued by the Ptolemies, a fact that has elicited a certain amount of discussion as to why the rulers and priests discontinued the practice into the 1st century BCE.¹⁵⁴

Two later non-royal decrees are also worthy of note. The first was set up at Karnak in 39 BCE by the *strategos* Kallimachos to commemorate the aid he provided to the Theban region during a famine.¹⁵⁵ The stela is now at the Egyptian Museum in Turin, and it is of the same shape as the royal decrees with a lunette at the top. The lunette has Hieroglyphic titles and labels within, but the text is only written in Demotic and Greek.

The second is the trilingual stela of C. Cornelius Gallus, who was the first Roman prefect of Egypt. He erected his stela on April 16th, 29 BCE in front of the temple of Augustus at Philae.¹⁵⁶ The round topped stela has an image of the prefect in a similar to pose on horseback as found on the Raphia Decree. The Hieroglyphic text comes first, followed by a Latin text, and finally a Greek text at the bottom. The Greek and Latin texts are parallel versions of the same text, but the Egyptian differs. Gallus maintained the peace and suppressed revolts in Egypt, but he was removed from his post of prefect for over-stepping in his governance of the country, and in 26 BCE, he was forced to

¹⁵² Wagner 1971 and Bingen 2002. Wagner dated the stela to the reign of Ptolemy V, but Bingen has re-dated the object to the reign of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II and rearranges the order of the fragments.

¹⁵³ For a transcription and translation of the Egyptian texts, see Spiegelberg 1904-1908, 20-22. See also Milne 1905, 8-9 and Daumas 1952, 263.

¹⁵⁴ For a bibliography of priestly synods, see Huß 2001, 377 n.37. Regarding the decline in decrees issued after the 2nd century BCE, see Manning 2010, 97.

¹⁵⁵ For the Greek text, see Hutmacher 1965. Van Minnen noted that a Demotic edition had been proposed by Farid but that edition has yet to appear (2000, 444 n.27). See also Vleeming 2001, 130.

¹⁵⁶ Hoffmann, Minas-Nerpel, and Pfeiffer 2009, 10, Hoffmann 2010, and Minas-Nerpel and Pfeiffer 2010.

commit suicide after being tried before the senate.¹⁵⁷ These two examples illustrate that although the trilingual decrees were a discrete product of priestly synods, the importance of establishing Egyptian style monuments within temple precincts, as done in the pharaonic period, did not diminish entirely after 112 BCE.

2.3. Conclusion

The texts for which scribes produced commentary and translation span the 2nd millennium BCE through the 2nd century CE.¹⁵⁸ The mortuary literature is part of an extended tradition of textual transmission that stretches back into the Old Kingdom. These works include, on the one hand, the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead* for which hundreds of copies survive, and on the other hand, the Rhind papyri, which are unique multilingual documents. P. BM 10252 and the papyrus of Pamonthes, p. BN 149, illustrate the trend, which began in the Late Period, of assembling a funerary text out of a number of other sources to create a new composition for the deceased. While p. BM 10252 was original written for temple use and only adapted to fit a funerary setting, p. BN 149 was created from the beginning for the benefit of Pamonthes. The *Book of Nut*, like p. BM 10252, was a manual that priests used to understand astronomical events and relate them to religious concepts. With this corpus, I demonstrate the longevity of Egyptian commentary practices and prove that intralingual translation—from an earlier to

¹⁵⁷ Monson 2012, 259.

¹⁵⁸ Only a few other examples could be added to this group, but they are not available for study at this time. For instance in her list of Egyptian translated texts, Alexandra von Lieven mentions existing Demotic translations of the *Book of the Fayum* and the *Book of the Temple* (2007, 258). However, the Demotic text of the *Book of the Fayum* remains unpublished (Beinlich 1991, Quack 2006, and Jasnow 2013). Joachim Quack is preparing a full edition of the *Book of the Temple* (e.g. Quack 2005b, Quack 2013a). The *Book of the Temple* is also known to have been translated into Greek (Quack 1997).

a later phase of Egyptian—is employed as a new method for scribes to understand and interpret complex religious notions (see Chapter 3).

Like the Rhind papyri, where both the Hieratic and Demotic versions were composed simultaneously, the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees were purposefully written in three languages. There has not been a comprehensive study of the Ptolemaic decrees in Egypt, and new copies of the decrees continue to be discovered that provide us with a better understanding of the social and political function of these public documents. The purpose of translation in the Rhind papyri and the trilingual decrees stands in contrast with what is found in the ritual texts, as while the Demotic versions made the content understandable, the other languages offered authority to the composition (see Chapter 7). By means of a linguistic analysis of this corpus in subsequent chapters, I offer insight into the social context of intralingual translation in Egypt.

Appendix A – Summary of Principle Documents

Table 2.1 – Non-Decree Texts¹⁵⁹

Composition	Date	Findspot	Lang. 1	Lang. 2	Museum Inv. No. or Current Location	Material	TM #
Rhind I	Aug 9, 9 BCE (Augustus, year 21, Mesore 28)	Thebes	Hieratic	Demotic	National Museums Scotland, A 1956.313	Papyrus	57970
Rhind II	Aug 30, 10 BCE – Aug 28, 9 BCE (Augustus, year 21, Pachons 26)	Thebes	Hieratic	Demotic	National Museums Scotland, A 1956.314	Papyrus	57971
<i>Book of Transformations</i>	Sept 6, 57 BCE - Sept 5, 56 BCE	Thebes	Demotic	∅	Louvre E 3452	Papyrus	48524
<i>Book of the Dead</i> Pleyte 171	1 st cent. CE	Akhmim ?	Demotic	∅	p. Strasbourg dem. 3	Papyrus	48898
<i>Book of the Dead</i> 15a	Ptolemaic Period	Panopolis	Hieroglyphs	Demotic	BM EA 711	Stone	48608
Various transcribed Egyptian texts	2 nd half of the 1 st cent. BCE	Akhmim ?	Hieratic	Demotic	Bodleian ms. Egy. 3	Papyrus	56078
Divine Decree	1 st cent. BCE	Thebes	Demotic	∅	o. Strasbourg dem. D132-133-134	Pottery	117695
Text appended to the <i>Book of Traversing Eternity</i> and <i>Book of the Dead</i>	Oct 17, 63 CE (Nero, year 10, Phaophi, 19)	Thebes ?	Demotic	∅	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 149	Papyrus	48882
<i>Book of Traversing Eternity</i>	Mar 26, 65 CE (Nero, year 11, Phamenoth 30)	Thebes	Hieratic	∅	Leiden T. 32	Papyrus	89466
<i>Ritual for Repelling the Evil One</i>	Nov 8, 307 BCE – Nov 7, 306 BCE	Thebes ?	Middle Egyptian	early Demotic	British Museum EA10252	Papyrus	57226
<i>Ritual for Repelling the Evil One</i>	380-200 BCE	?	Middle Egyptian	∅	Louvre N 3129	Papyrus	56656

¹⁵⁹ For the documents related to *CT* 335 and *BD* 17, see Appendix C.

<i>Ritual for Repelling the Evil One</i>	2 nd century CE	Tebtunis	Middle Egyptian	ø	HieraTeb SCA 3460	Papyrus	ø
<i>Book of Nut</i>	Seti I (1290-1279 BCE)	Abydos	Hieroglyphs	ø	Osireion of Seti I (S)	Stone	ø
<i>Book of Nut</i>	Ramses IV (1156-1150 BCE)	Thebes	Hieroglyphs	ø	KV 2 (R)	Stone	ø
<i>Book of Nut</i>	26 th Dynasty (664-525 BCE)	Thebes	Hieroglyphs	ø	TT 410 (M)	Stone	ø
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebutnis	Hieratic	Demotic	Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P.1 (PC1)	Papyrus	55984
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebutnis	Hieratic	Demotic	Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P.1a (PC1a)	Papyrus	55985
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebtunis	Hieroglyphs	ø	Berkeley, Bancroft Library Oxford 79/105 (O)	Papyrus	111739
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebtunis	Hieratic	ø	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 14403 b + Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P. 228 + Florence, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. I 93 (PC228)	Papyrus	102106
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebtunis	Hieratic	ø	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 14407 b + Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 14407 g + Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 29005 + Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P. 496 + Florence, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. I 94 + London, British Museum EA 10973 (PC496)	Papyrus	102107
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebtunis	Hieratic	ø	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 14439 l + Copenhagen, Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P. 497 + Florence, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. I 95 (PC497)	Papyrus	102108
<i>Book of Nut</i>	1 st -3 rd cent. CE	Tebtunis	Hieratic	ø	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 29001 + Copenhagen, Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P. 498 Vo + Florence, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. I 96	Papyrus	102110
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebtunis	Hieratic	ø	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 14947 + Copenhagen, Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P. 393 + Florence, Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' PSI inv. I 74	Papyrus	111738
<i>Book of Nut</i>	2 nd cent. CE	Tebtunis	Hieratic	ø	Carlsberg Papyrus Collection P. 308	Papyrus	112009

Table 2.2 – Decrees¹⁶⁰

Date	Location of Synod	Find Spot	Hiero.	Dem.	Greek	Museum Inv. No. or Current Location	Material	King	TM #
266/5	(Naos)	Sais	Sides	∅	∅	Louvre C. 123	granite	PII	∅
264/3-247/6	(Urk. II 28)	Mendes	Front; Side	∅	∅	Cairo JE 37089	sandstone	PII	∅
243	<i>Alexandria (Alexandria)</i>	El-Khazindariya	Front 1	Front 2	∅	Akhmim storehouse	limestone	PIII	129851
243	<i>Alexandria (Alexandria)</i>	Aswan	?	Front	?	Louvre MG 23093	?	PIII	∅
243	<i>Alexandria (Alexandria)</i>	Elephantine	Front	Front	Front	Louvre E 33071; Uppsala Victoria Museum 1757-8	granite	PIII	6079
243	<i>Alexandria (Alexandria)</i>	Tod	?	?	Front	Tod Inv. 1862	?	PIII	∅
243	<i>Alexandria (Alexandria)</i>	?	Front	?	?	Durham, Oriental Museum 1982.4	limestone	PIII	∅
238	<i>Alexandria (Canopus)</i>	Tanis	Front 1	Side L	Front 2	CG 22187	limestone	PIII	55659
238	<i>Alexandria (Canopus)</i>	Kom el-Hisn	Front 1	Front 2	Front 3	CG 22186	limestone	PIII	6378
238	<i>Alexandria (Canopus)</i>	Cairo	Front 1	Front 2	Front 3	Louvre C 122	basalt	PIII	7221
238	<i>Alexandria (Canopus)</i>	el-Kab	Front 1	?	Side R	Egy. Mus. 17/3/46/1	sandstone	PIII	88492
238	<i>Alexandria (Canopus)</i>	Bubastis	Front 1	Front 2	Front 3	Port Said 493; excavations	granite	PIII	107245
238	<i>Alexandria (Canopus)</i>	Karnak	Front 1	Front 2	∅	In situ	granite	PIII	290106
221-17	Memphis	Cairo	Front 1	?	Front 2	JE 35331	?	PIV	∅
217	<i>Memphis (Raphia)</i>	Memphis	Front 1	Front 2, Side L	Side L, R	CG 31088/JE 35635	basalt	PIV	2985
217	<i>Memphis (Raphia)</i>	Pithom	Front	Back 1	Back 2, Sides	CG 50048/JE47806	limestone	PIV	2984
217	<i>Memphis (Raphia)</i>	Tod	?	Front 2	Front 3	Unknown	?	PIV	∅

¹⁶⁰ Adapted from Huß 1991, 201-203, with texts published since that article appeared. Italicized entries are discussed in Chapter 2. To distinguish between decrees, the text will be referred to using the names by which they are most commonly known that are placed in parentheses in the table. The locations of each language are provided in order. In cases where a text is broken, a ‘?’ indicates uncertainty about the state of the other languages. In February 2015, the Ministry of Antiquities announced that the team working at Taposiris Magna had uncovered another example of a trilingual stela dated to Ptolemy V, but the photograph is not sufficiently legible for it to be included here [<http://luxortimesmagazine.blogspot.com/2015/02/ptolomy-stela-uneearthed-in-taposiris.html>].

199/8-197/6	?	?	Front	?	?	Louvre AF 10077 and 10078	sandstone	PV	∅
196	<i>Memphis (Memphis)</i>	Rosetta	Front 1	Front 2	Front 3	BM EA24	basalt	PV	8809
196	<i>Memphis (Memphis)</i>	Elephantine	Front	Front	Front	Louvre H: E 12677 – Dem: AF 10006 – Gr: AF 10007	sandstone	PV	6311
196	<i>Memphis (Memphis)</i>	Tell el-Yahudiya	?	?	Sides	GR Museum Inv. no. 21352 (Gr. unfinished)	basalt	PV	5958
186	<i>Alexandria (Philae II)</i>	Philae	Wall 1	Wall 2	∅	In situ	N/A	PV	48339
185	<i>Memphis (Philae I)</i>	Philae	Wall 1	Wall 2	∅	In situ	N/A	PV	48335
185	<i>Memphis (Philae I)</i>	Cairo	Front	∅	∅	Cairo Inv. Nr. TR 27/11/58/4	?	PV	∅
185	<i>Memphis (Philae I)</i>	Dendara	Front 1	?	?	Unknown	?	PV	∅
185-180?	?	Aswan	?	Front ?	?	Louvre MG 23093	diorite	PV	∅
182	Memphis?	Naukratis	Front	∅	∅	CG 22188; "Nobairah Decree"	?	PV	∅
182	Memphis	?	Front	∅	∅	Cairo; Daressy 1911	limestone	PV	∅
182	Memphis	Aswan	Front	∅	∅	Cairo; Daressy 1916-17	sandstone	PV	∅
161	?	?	Front	∅	∅	CG 22184; copy of <i>Memphis (Memphis)</i>	limestone	PVI	∅
112	Athribis	Benha	Front 1	Front 2	Front 3	CG 31089	limestone	PXI	∅
39	Stela of Kallimachos	Karnak	Lunette	Front 1	Front 2	Turin, Egyptian Museum 1764	?	Cleo VII	6325
29	Stela of C. Cornelius Gallus	Philae	Front 1	Latin Front 2	Front 3	Cairo CG 9295	granite	Augustus	80859

Chapter 3. Intralingual Translation in Egyptian Society

In contrast with translation and interpretation that served the function of communicating between speakers of different languages (**inter**lingual translation), the function of translation from an earlier to a later phase of Egyptian (**intra**lingual translation) was to clarify and preserve access to the source text. In this chapter, I examine how and why intralingual translation developed in Egypt. To do so, I begin by examining the linguistic situation that led to the appearance of intralingual translation in the Third Intermediate Period. The extensive changes to the written language in the New Kingdom precipitated a significant shift in the social value of different registers of Egyptian. I discuss these changes within the sociolinguistic framework of diglossia, where two language registers exist simultaneously but fulfill different social functions.

In this diglossic society, where Middle Egyptian was the high-register language and Late Egyptian the low-register, I examine the Egyptian notion of translation, which fell under the broader concept of *whꜥ*, ‘to explain, loosen, interpret.’ While it previously referred to solving problems or unraveling complex ideas, I address how *whꜥ* came to encompass translation when it appeared in the Third Intermediate Period. The association of translation with this notion can be explained by the fact that both processes—the explanation of complex texts and their translation into contemporary and understandable idiom—attest to the linguistic and intellectual abilities of an individual. I explore the application of this concept prior to the existence of translation, in Middle and New Kingdom sources. By means of examples from individual biographies and hymns, I demonstrate that the ability to explain (*whꜥ*) complex ideas was a valued skill and part of the proper social behavior of Egyptian elites. I contend that *whꜥ* represented the active explanation of problems, spoken languages, and written texts that went beyond the passive acquisition of knowledge.

Finally, I address the question of why certain texts were translated, while others were not. With the language shift of the New Kingdom, the scribes who previously interpreted texts and compiled variations began translating ritual texts. Their goal was not to create something new that could be widely read, but to complement and expand upon existing compositions. The literary and wisdom texts of the Middle and New Kingdom did not need to be preserved in the archaic Middle Egyptian and were eventually replaced by new compositions, as already evidenced by the wide range of Late Egyptian stories that exist. In contrast, the authority of religious and funerary literature rested upon its association with the original language. For this reason, I would contend that these texts were preserved in translated copies, while others were lost forever.

3.1. Language Use in Egypt

3.1.1. Egyptians Understanding Egyptian

It has been shown that the Egyptian understanding of language extended only as far as ‘parole’ (speech) and not as far as ‘langue’ (language), at least until the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁶¹ For instance, “writing enabled the preservation and codification of information, especially ancient and esoteric information, but it did not produce any more abstract, discursive analysis of what was known, nor any cultural plurality.”¹⁶² The same is true with regard to the awareness of language change. There are no texts in which Egyptian scribes discuss the different stages of their language or how

¹⁶¹ Uljas 2013, 4. For the distinction between ‘parole’ as the meaningful use of written or spoken language and ‘langue’ as a signifying system of rules and conventions that govern such use, see Saussure, Bally, and Sechehayé 1959, 13-15.

¹⁶² Parkinson 2004, 19.

it was evolving over time.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the existence of translation, both interlingual and intralingual, necessitated some awareness of the Egyptian language.

The interpretation of non-Egyptian languages (interlingual translation) no doubt existed in the earliest periods of Egyptian history, but it was written down only in the late Old Kingdom. The most common word for an interpreter is *iꜣ3(w)*.¹⁶⁴ The historical development of this word points to an association with spoken language and oral communication, and it has the dual meaning of “interpreter” and “Egyptianized foreigner.”¹⁶⁵ However, the choice of English translation is based on context, namely an interpreter always referred to an Egyptian who spoke another language, while the Egyptianized foreigner was someone who learned Egyptian.¹⁶⁶ In my opinion, the variation of the meaning of this word depending on the individual under discussion highlights the Egypt-centric view of language use. The concern was always interpreting into Egyptian, rather than looking outward to other languages. The centrality of the Egyptian language within Egyptian culture is further highlighted in the *Story of Sinuhe*, when a foreigner comforts Sinuhe by saying, “It is good that you are with me. You will hear the speech of the Blackland.”¹⁶⁷ There is also evidence that the inhabitants of Northern and Southern Egypt

¹⁶³ The conception of the Egyptian language by the Egyptians themselves has received some attention, and a few summaries of the evidence for linguistic consciousness have appeared (Borghouts 2005 and Uljas 2013). Uljas provides two definitions of linguistic consciousness in a recent article: the “consciousness of language as a medium of communication whose form and use are conditioned by the social and spatio-temporal context,” and the “equaling awareness of language as an abstract entity that constitutes and can be treated as a system” (2013, 1). While the first definition rests upon social constructs and doubtless applies from the earliest use of language in Egypt, the second is more concerned with the philosophical nature of the text and appears extensively only in the later periods of Egyptian history. For a summary of examples of grammatical exercises, see Uljas 2013.

¹⁶⁴ *Wb.* I, 3 (see also “Dolmetscher,” Schenkel, *LÄ I*, 1116 and Gardiner 1948). The term is attested at numerous tombs in Qubbet el-Hawa in Aswan from the Old Kingdom (Vischak 2014, 26 and Bell 1976, 51-52). For the relation of foreign languages with Egyptian, see also Borghouts 2005, 10-12.

¹⁶⁵ Bell 1976, 74-76.

¹⁶⁶ Bell 1976, 90-92. The latter are largely Nubians beginning in the Old Kingdom and peoples of the Near East from the 12th Dynasty onward.

¹⁶⁷ *nfr tw ḥnꜥ=i sdm=k r n Kmt* (p. Berlin 3022, 31-32). For the translation, see Allen 2015, 76. It is important to note that the *Story of Sinuhe* explicitly plays upon notions of Egyptianness of which language is a recognized aspect (Parkinson 2002, 153). There are other clear examples, in which there is an explicit desire for others to speak

distinguished themselves through regional variation (see Example 3.5).¹⁶⁸ Again in the *Story of Sinuhe*, the narrator recalls how it felt to be displaced from his homeland by stating that it was “like a **Deltan** seeing himself **in Elephantine**, a man of the marshland in the Bowland.”¹⁶⁹ Thus the Egyptians recognized the place of their own language both as a defining feature of their own identity, and in contrast to the multitude of other languages that existed at that time.

3.1.2. Registers of Written Language

Despite the limited evidence for the Egyptians’ understanding of their own language, the clear shift in the written language in the 18th Dynasty could not have been effected if there was not an awareness of the increasing separation between spoken and written language. In a society with limited rates of literacy (see Chapter 6.3.2), such an extensive language change would have spread through the speech of individuals before it was written down. This language change, from what James Allen terms Egyptian I (Old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, and Later Middle Egyptian) to Egyptian II (Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic), appeared in the written record during the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (ca. 1350 BCE).¹⁷⁰ The shift from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian at that time has been attributed to a regional variation in language gradually being

Egyptian. One is in the *Instructions of Ani* (p. Louvre E 30144 (G), 5.5-5.6): [tw=tw hr sb3.y nhs] r mdw.t n Km[.t] hr h3s.t nb.t m-mi.tt ‘[One teaches Nubians] the language of Egypt, Syria and all foreign lands likewise’ (Quack 1994, 144-145). Another is in the sorrowful question of Wenamun (p. Moskow 120, 2.77-78): nn mn w^c n-im=tn iw=f sdm mdw.t Kmt ‘Is there not one among you, who understands the language of Egypt?’ For an assessment of the direct speech foreigners in the *Tale of Wenamun*, see Satzinger 1997, and regarding interpreters, see Mairs 2012, 461.

¹⁶⁸ Beyond variations mentioned in literature, it is nearly impossible to discuss issues of dialect within Egypt until Coptic, due to the nature of the writing system (see “Dialekte,” Osing, *LÄ* I, 1074-1075). One example is the attestation of a Napatan dialect of Egyptian (Peust 1999). For a recent overview of the phonology of Coptic dialects, see Allen 2013, 11-21.

¹⁶⁹ *mi m33 sw idhy m 3bw s n h3t m t3-sty* (p. Berlin 3022, 225-226). It is not clear why the scribe chose to rubricate the words for the Delta and Elephantine. For the translation, see Allen 2015, 130.

¹⁷⁰ Allen 2013, 2-4. Allen outlines four main historical developments: the move from synthetic verb forms to analytic ones, the grammaticalization of analytical constructions, the change from VSO to SVO construction, and the increase in specification for temporal and modal reference (Allen 2013, 153-154). For another historical overview, see Loprieno 1995, 5-7, who uses the terms ‘Earlier Egyptian’ and ‘Later Egyptian’ for Egyptian I and Egyptian II respectively.

adopted throughout the country, although the dramatic political and cultural disruption of the reign of Akhenaten are believed to have accelerated the process.¹⁷¹ Whether Late Egyptian originated from the North or South, the linguistic shift led to “a state of broad diglossia”¹⁷² in Egypt when the old and new language phases were used simultaneously.

3.1.3. Diglossia and Digraphia

Diglossia refers to a situation when there is the concurrent use of a high (H) language and a low (L) language with register variation based on social function.¹⁷³ From the original definition of diglossia presented by Charles Ferguson,¹⁷⁴ I adopt the following defining criteria:

1. high (H) and low (L) varieties¹⁷⁵ of language co-exist that can be either genetically related or unrelated

¹⁷¹ The geographic origins of Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian are not clear. Either Middle Egyptian is a Southern dialect that was eventually replaced by the Northern Late Egyptian speech (Loprieno 1995, 8), or Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian both originate from the South in succession (Gundacker 2010, 100 n.271 and Allen 2013, 4 with reference to Edgerton 1951, 12 and Edel 1955/1964, I §22 both of whom already suggested that dialectic variation might explain the differences between Old/Late Egyptian and Middle Egyptian). The lack of agreement is neatly summarized by Stéphane Polis, who states that, “if one puts Demotic aside, Old, Middle and Late Egyptian have all been linked in turn to Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt depending on the linguistic features scholars paid attention to” (In Press, 6-7).

¹⁷² Uljas 2013, 3, and see also Fischer-Elfert 1992c, Jansen-Winkel 1995, Vernus 1996, and Borghouts 2005.

¹⁷³ Polis (In Press, n.33) prefers the term ‘multiglossia’ to diglossia for the situation in ancient Egypt. Some Arabic scholars have adopted “nomenclature such as multiglossia and continuglossia to describe the linguistic situation more accurately, as there are other poles within the Arabic spectrum beside the dichotomy between written standard and vernacular” (Wagner 2013, 262; regarding this terminology, see Kaye 1972 and Hary 2003). I agree that the different varieties of Egyptian may have borrowed more or less from each other, in a manner similar to code-switching. However, for a diachronic study of language use, I see diglossia as a more appropriate concept with which to work. Moreover, in the case of later Egypt, the division in script between Demotic and Hieratic/Hieroglyphs, as well as the labeled division between the two on the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees, better conforms with an Egyptian notion of a two-tiered system (see Chapter 7).

¹⁷⁴ He defines diglossia as, “a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation” (1959, 336). The author provides a revised discussion of this topic in Ferguson 1991.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Register variation’ is defined as “linguistic variation that is stratified by context of use only and not by the social identity of the use” (Hudson 2002b, 3 quoting Halliday 1968).

2. the use of the H and L varieties are governed by context (i.e. use) and not necessarily by the social position of the speaker (i.e. user)
3. in contrast with the L variety, the H variety does not have a body of native speakers, but is instead learned through some kind of formal education¹⁷⁶

More inclusive models of diglossia have been proposed, which extend the notion of diglossia to the point where it applies in nearly every society.¹⁷⁷ However, I choose to follow the definition of diglossia that is restricted by the above criteria, as it proves more representative of the situation in Egypt. Without any record of the spoken language, it is more difficult to outline how and when the H and L variants were used in day to day situations. However, the linguistic change of the New Kingdom, which I described above, led to the differentiation in writing of the H variant (Middle Egyptian) and the L variant (Late Egyptian).¹⁷⁸ This division in use fits the model of a diglossic community.¹⁷⁹

Karl Jansen-Winkel has suggested that diglossia existed from the Middle Kingdom until the linguistic shift of the 18th Dynasty, discussed above.¹⁸⁰ His argument derives from the fact that the spoken language was no doubt already different from the written language during the Middle Kingdom, and there is evidence for later grammatical elements already in Middle

¹⁷⁶ This third criteria is the most important in distinguishing diglossia from societal bilingual (Hudson 2002b, 3-4). Furthermore, diglossia is distinct from dialectic variation or bilingualism, as it is not regionally defined, but applies in general across a broad geographic area. For a discussion of these two phenomena, see Chapter 7.1.3.

¹⁷⁷ See for example, Fishman 2002. For a summary of the arguments concerning diglossia, Hudson 2002a, 2002b.

¹⁷⁸ “[B]ecause of the rules of decorum underlying the use of language in ancient Egypt, it is possible to read many Egyptian texts as a statement on the cultural role of language; it is possible, in other words, to read every text as participating in the debate on diglossia which mostly implicitly, and sometimes even explicitly, accompanies the development of Egyptian civilization as a whole” (Loprieno 2003, 78).

¹⁷⁹ However, the problem with labeling Late Egyptian as a “low variety” of the language is noted in Polis In Press, n.26.

¹⁸⁰ However, he argues that during the Ramesside period, because Late Egyptian, the spoken language, was scripted (*Verschriftung*) the situation changed. Middle Egyptian continued to develop on its own as a written language much as Latin continued to evolve during the Middle Ages, but Late Egyptian was used day to day (Jansen-Winkel 1995, 114-115). It is also mentioned briefly in Loprieno 1995.

Kingdom texts, the best example being papyrus Westcar.¹⁸¹ It is unlikely that the people of the early New Kingdom still used the higher register Middle Egyptian in spoken situations, but rather employed Late Egyptian forms in everyday speech. However, I disagree with the notion that diglossia came to an end in the 18th Dynasty when Late Egyptian took over in letters, accounts, and a range of scribal material, which were once written in the elevated language of Middle Egyptian. Although it is unlikely that Middle Egyptian would then have existed as anything other than a written language, there remained certain functions for which Middle Egyptian was used, namely royal annals, temple decoration, and ritual texts.¹⁸² I agree instead with Pascal Vernus who states that what existed was “une situation de diglossie, limitée à la culture des lettrés, et, au fur et à mesure de l’évolution, de plus en plus particulièrement des spécialistes de la science sacerdotale.”¹⁸³ The continued development of Late Egyptian created a widening gap between the two registers, and the general trend in Egypt was that H lost its place in daily functions of society, while L took over all practical tasks later in the form of Demotic and Coptic.¹⁸⁴ Thereafter, the next major change in Egyptian language use—the increased societal bilingualism—took place in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, a point to which I return in Chapter 7.

¹⁸¹ Jansen-Winkeln 1995, 89-90.

¹⁸² Middle Egyptian stories no longer appear in miscellanies at Deir el Medina after the reign of Ramses IV as it is suggested that knowledge of Middle Egyptian no longer carried the same practical socio-economic rewards that it did in the past (Dorn 2009, 78-80). Although it is true that “[d]ie "klassischen belles lettres" kommen außer Gebrauch, wodurch die bis anhin bestehende Diglossie in der Schreiberausbildung beendet wird” (Dorn 2009, 80), it is important to note that this change does not represent the end of diglossia in Egypt.

¹⁸³ Vernus 1996, 563.

¹⁸⁴ This decreased use of the H variety fits with the situations seen in other diglossic communities: “H can succeed in establishing itself as a standard only if it is already serving as a standard language in some other community and the diglossia community, for reasons linguistic and non-linguistic, tends to merge with the other community. Otherwise H fades away and becomes a learned or liturgical language studied only by scholars or specialists and not used actively in the community. Some form of L or a mixed variety becomes standard” (Ferguson 1959, 248).

Given the importance of spoken and written language being taught in the development of diglossia, there are several instances where digraphia exists concurrently.¹⁸⁵ In the study of digraphia scholars have argued for two definitions:

in the first trend the notion of digraphia covers only the coexistence of two writing systems for the same language; in the second trend the change of writing systems for a language is also considered as being a form of digraphia.¹⁸⁶

The former has been dubbed “concurrent digraphia” and the latter “consecutive digraphia,” and both can be observed in the development of writing systems in Egypt.¹⁸⁷

The early development of the abbreviated and cursive Hieratic script split the writing system of Egypt into two varieties soon after the Hieroglyphic script was developed.¹⁸⁸ However, I agree that “the Egyptians considered those writing systems [=scripts] to be two faces of the same coin, not two distinct systems.”¹⁸⁹ The association between the two scripts remained strong until Demotic brought with it changes in the Egyptian writing system. This led to a state of concurrent digraphia in Egypt.¹⁹⁰ The diachronic shift from writing Late Egyptian in Hieratic and

¹⁸⁵ For an adamant supporter of the link between writing and diglossia, see Coulmas 2002. In most modern cases of diglossia, there are two language varieties but both are written using the same script. The terms *writing system* and *script* need defining, as they are often used incorrectly and interchangeably. A *writing system* is “[a] set of visible or tactile signs used to represent units of language in a systematic way, with the purpose of recording messages which can be retrieved by everyone who knows the language in question and the rules by virtue of which its units are encoded in the writing system” (Coulmas 1999, 560). For example, the full alphabet is a writing system that is represented by the Roman, Cyrillic, and other scripts. A *script* is then “the graphic form of a writing system” (Coulmas 1999, 454).

¹⁸⁶ Grivelet 2001, 3. Early fundamental studies include Zima 1974 and Dale 1980, and the term remains most popular in linguistic studies of Chinese writing systems where Modern Standard Chinese script appears alongside a romanization known as *pinyin* (Rogers 2005, 25-26).

¹⁸⁷ Grivelet 2001, 6.

¹⁸⁸ Early Hieratic appears around the 2nd Dynasty when cursive ink signs are written on the inner surfaces of stone bowls and plates (Regulski 2009, 265-266). Difficulties in detecting change in script overtime with documentary texts are complicated because they “can belong to more than one category of use and can acquire different functions during their existence. Administrative pieces whose subjects appear pragmatic are sometimes found in contexts that suggest otherwise” (Baines 2012, 50).

¹⁸⁹ Quack 2010a, 236.

¹⁹⁰ Demotic appears to represent a change to the Egyptian writing system as well as script, namely the subsuming of two-consonantal, three-consonantal, and word-signs under the category “group” signs, which fuse

Hieroglyphic scripts to the use of Demotic and Greek scripts illustrates a case of consecutive digraphia.

Complicating this situation was the fact that there were numerous ways in which Hieratic and Demotic were interwoven within the same text.¹⁹¹ In the case of p. Carlsberg 1 and 1a, discussed below in Chapter 5, the scribe wrote the commentary in Demotic except for certain culturally or religiously significant words, which were left in Hieratic throughout. The same is true for the 1st century CE medical treatise p. Wien D 6257.¹⁹² Elsewhere, the Demotic script was adopted to write out Middle Egyptian language, which led to the increased use of so-called unetymological writing when a “demotic sign-combination for writing one word is used for the writing quite another, etymologically unconnected word” (see Chapter 6.3).¹⁹³

With the increasingly restricted use of Middle Egyptian, Hieroglyphs, and Hieratic from the Third Intermediate Period onward, the ability for scribes to understand texts written in those languages and scripts became more problematic. As Joris Borghouts points out, “To solve the problem of understanding the grammar and vocabulary of older texts, these were often rephrased in or even translated into the vernacular. [...] In cases of wide divergence, for which the term ‘diglossia’ has been used, the most thorough form became retranslation.”¹⁹⁴ The need for

together the original signs to create new inseparable signs (Quack 2010a, 245-246). See also Loprieno 1996, 525 n.54.

¹⁹¹ It was clearly not necessary to learn anything except Demotic in order to be competent as an administrative scribe from the 7th century BCE onward, but there were those who could make the connection between the Demotic script and individual Hieroglyphic signs (Quack 2010a, 236). See also Quack 2010b.

¹⁹² It is believed to come from Krokodilopolis in the Fayum (see Reymond 1976). A new edition of this manuscript is being prepared by Friedhelm Hoffmann (Hoffmann and Quack 2010, 300). In some instances words are written entirely in Hieratic, and in others they are mixed, as for instance when a Hieratic determinative is attached to a word written out in Demotic (Hoffmann 2013, 30-31). Hoffmann concludes with the suggestion that, “Wir Ägyptologen sind womöglich zu sehr gewöhnt, späte Texte quasi etymologisch korrekt zu verstehen, und verbauen uns vielleicht gerade dadurch einen potentiellen Zugang zur Wirklichkeit und Kreativität der späten ägyptischen Priesterwissenschaft im Umgang mit alten Texten” (2013, 39).

¹⁹³ Quack 2012, 220. As the manuscripts that make use of Demotic for Middle Egyptian language, see Chapter

¹⁹⁴ 2005, 9.

translation was a factor of this new sociolinguistic situation and was driven by the impulse to ensure that certain texts remained comprehensible. However, I contend that because Egyptians were focused on their own language and its cultural value and afforded Middle Egyptian the high register status, intralingual translation was adopted as a means of interpreting textual content, a practice that existed before the linguistic shift of the New Kingdom, and preserving important original texts without any alteration.

3.2. Translation within the Context of Interpretation (*wḥꜥ*)

Therefore, due to the linguistic developments of the New Kingdom, scribes began translating texts, and interpretation was an important part of that process. From the Third Intermediate Period onward, documents were produced, where a Middle Egyptian source text appeared with a later Egyptian translation (see Chapter 5). These bilingual texts were created by scholars who were qualified in Egyptian “historical linguistics” and “required special expertise and training in what may justly be termed “linguistic archaeology.””¹⁹⁵

It has been shown that unlike in English, where the term ‘to translate’ is derived from Latin terminology that evokes movement, conveyance, or change,¹⁹⁶ the Egyptians associated it with the word *wḥꜥ*, untying, loosening, or unraveling.¹⁹⁷ This term, which originally meant to loosen or release ropes, restraints, or knots, was connected to the conceptual ideas of meaning, and language, thus the English translation of ‘interpret, explain, understand’ and ultimately, ‘translate.’ However, interpretation (*wḥꜥ*) was not restricted to acts of translation, but was a broader practice that involved the explanation of complex or ambiguous passages, regardless of

¹⁹⁵ Uljas 2013, 4.

¹⁹⁶ “translate, v.,” OED Online. 1914. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/204841?rskey=dHFxSC&result=2&isAdvanced=false> [accessed January 19, 2015].

¹⁹⁷ *Wb.* I, 348-349. See also Schott 1954, 12-14 and Loprieno 1996, 524-525.

what language they were written in. To illustrate this point, I compare the use of *wh̄c* in the title of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* to examples from papyrus Jumilhac, where explanatory passages are given the heading *wh̄c* (see Example 3.1).

The *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* on p. BM 10252 has the title: “the translations (*wh̄c.w*) of the mystery of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*” (*Urk.* VI 61,10). In contrast, the copy of the *Ritual* on p. Louvre N 3129 begins simply with: “the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*” and then continues to describe where and when this ritual should take place (*Urk.* VI 61, 11-21). The difference is easily explained, as only the British Museum version of the *Ritual* includes two parallel versions: one in Middle Egyptian and an interlinear later Egyptian translation.

In order to better understand the meaning of *wh̄c* in the title given to p. BM 10252, we can examine the use of the word in titles of other Egyptian texts. Although there are no other attestations of the word in connection with a completely translated text, it was frequently used to refer to situations where explanation was provided.¹⁹⁸ This association of *wh̄c* with textual passages that offer some form of clarification is well illustrated by the Ptolemaic papyrus Jumilhac.¹⁹⁹ This manuscript has an earlier composition that collected local religious knowledge regarding the 17th and 18th Egyptian nomes.²⁰⁰ The text was divided into thematic sections, which were generally introduced by the word *rh̄* ‘Knowing X,’ where X was some aspect of the

¹⁹⁸ Schott, Schott, and Grimm 1990, 53-54.

¹⁹⁹ Vandier 1961, 26. Louvre E 17110, TM 56862.

²⁰⁰ Studies on this text include: Zauzich 1974, Derchain 1990, Rößler-Köhler 1990, and Quack 2008. Another important later work, the *Embalming Ritual*, also includes embedded comments (Töpfer 2015, 353ff).

nome, e.g. the names of toponyms or deities, mythology related to a particular god or place, and so forth.²⁰¹

However, in both section XI and XII, the same toponyms of the district were listed (see Example 3.1). In section XI (*rh n rn.w n sp3.t tn* ‘Knowing the names of this district’), the toponyms were enumerated, but then when the list was repeated in section XII (*whc itn.w n rn.w n sp3.t tn* ‘Explaining the difficulties of the names of this district’), explanations were added for each of the thirty-one places mentioned.²⁰² As shown in Example 3.1, the first toponym of section XII, *Dwn-c.wy* ‘Douenawy,’ was associated with several deities, most prominently Shu.

Example 3.1 – p. Jumilhac, pl. VII, 23-VIII, 1

<i>whc itn.w n rn.w n sp3.t tn</i>	Explaining the difficulties of the names of this district.
<i>ir Dwn-c.wy bik dnḥ.wy=f psš</i>	As for Douenawy, the falcon whose wings
<i>Šw pw</i>	are open, it is Shu,
<i>ꜥpy b3=f r pt m s.t tn n Dwn-c.wy</i>	and his ba flying to the sky from this place
<i>ḥ3.t s3=f Gb Hr pw ḥ3 it=f</i>	as Douenawy before his son, Geb, it is
<i>Wsir</i>	Horus behind his father, Osiris.

Each toponym was thus provided with more or less detailed explanations. Sometimes places equated a god, as in the case of Douenawy. Elsewhere some aspect of mythology that happened in that locale was described.²⁰³ This commentary was explanatory and accompanied the original text, just as the translation of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* offered explanation of the ritual in a contemporary language version.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ The scribe differentiated each section on the papyrus by leaving a gap at the end of the previous column and then beginning the new section at the top of the next column (e.g. Vandier 1961, pl. VII).

²⁰² *itn.w* (*Wb.* I, 146) is attested from the Middle Kingdom and refers to difficulties or obscurities in a textual reading. See further examples in the satirical letter where it describes the excellent problem solving abilities of the scribe (pBM EA 10247, 1.7 and 10.9, Gardiner 1911).

²⁰³ See for example, pl. IX, 2-3.

²⁰⁴ For further analysis of the translation of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, see Chapter 5.

Such thorough commentary that was introduced by the phrase *wh^c itn.w* ‘Explaining the difficulties’ is unique to section XII of the text. In two other places in p. Jumilhac the word *wh^c* appears, but it is always a substantive following the verb *rh* in a title, i.e. ‘Knowing the explanation....’²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the function of *wh^c* in introducing section XII in p. Jumilhac was comparable to its use in the title of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* in p. BM 10252, as it announced that information would be added to the original text for the benefit of the reader. Moreover, the purpose of the composition of p. Jumilhac was explanatory, and it has been suggested that due to the additional markings in Hieroglyphs, Hieratic, and Demotic in the margins, it acted as a reference manuscript for the priests, similar to the original function of p. BM 10252.²⁰⁶

The similarities between the expanded commentary on p. Jumilhac and the translation on p. BM 10252 suggest that the production of these interpretations (*wh^c*) was a persistent intellectual pursuit of the well-educated temple scribes. Therefore, I do not consider the practice of intralingual translation to be unique, but rather I argue that it existed within the wider context of providing clarification to textual material. The scribes who undertook these commentary projects had recourse to libraries of Egyptian religious manuals that enabled them to create complex etiologies.²⁰⁷ They could correct and discuss words or concepts within their source material, and ultimately offered the reader a better understanding of the original texts.

²⁰⁵ Vandier 1961, 128 and 136.

²⁰⁶ Regarding the Demotic comments, see discussion by M. Malinine throughout Vandier 1961, revisions in Zauzich 1974, and Quack 2008. Regarding the layout and structure of the text and its use for reference, see Rößler-Köhler 1990 and Derchain 1990, 9-10. For the function of p. BM 10252, see Chapter 2.2.2.

²⁰⁷ Derchain 1990, 10.

3.3. Social Value of Interpretation (*wh^c*)

However, it was not only scribes who displayed their interpretive skills. Before it became associated with the act of intralingual translation, individuals from as early as the Middle Kingdom described themselves as able to unravel (*wh^c*) or solve difficult problems in their biographical texts (see Example 3.2 and Example 3.3). This ability was presented alongside other intellectual pursuits, such as having access to secret or divine knowledge, or having the foresight to plan ahead. From the appearances of the word *wh^c* in individually dedicated texts, I submit that interpretation, whether in the form of translation or other activities, was a significant part of an individual's ideal self-presentation and character, as it proved that an individual was capable of more than just passively following orders, but actively attempted to understand difficult tasks. However, it also belonged to the Egyptian understanding that nothing could ever be fully mastered nor should knowledge be taken for granted. In the opening of his instructions, Ptahhotep warns his reader: "Do not be arrogant because of your knowledge, but take counsel with the uneducated as with educated, for the limit of skill has not been reached."²⁰⁸ Within the context of this social model, the commentaries and translations produced by Egyptian scholars, the "historical linguists," represented the practical application of a skill that was associated with an idealized Egyptian identity.²⁰⁹

Especially during the Middle Kingdom, the verb *wh^c* is used in biographical inscriptions where the individual *wh^c tzz.t* 'unties what is knotted,' i.e. he 'solves difficulties.'²¹⁰ In these cases, the person presented the image of an intelligent, efficient, and competent bureaucrat, who

²⁰⁸ *m ʕ3-ib=k hr rh=k ndnd r=k hn^c hm mi rh n ini.tw dr.w hmw.t* (p. Prisse, col. 5.8-9) (Simpson and Ritner 2003, 131).

²⁰⁹ See note 195.

²¹⁰ Antonio Loprieno translates *wh^c tzz.t* as "unravel phrases" (1996, 524). I maintain that the more general "difficulties" is a better understanding of the literal "knots" that are being untied, particularly as the contemporary phrase *wh^c sp ksn* could certainly refer to a non-linguistic problem (see note 212).

ensured that everything ran smoothly and solved problems as they arose.²¹¹ Two examples are found on the massive (1.81 m high, 1.5 m wide, 0.43 m thick) stela of the vizier of Senwosret I, Montuhotep, dedicated at Abydos (see Example 3.2 and Example 3.3).²¹² The stela, which was endowed by a royal decree of the king (*iw wd.n nswt* ‘The king commanded’ II.b.2), was inscribed on all four faces with titles, offering formulae, and accounts of Montuhotep’s work with the temple priesthood at Abydos.²¹³

Example 3.2 – Cairo CG 20539, II.b.5-6

<p><i>htm r=f hr sdm.t=f</i> <i>sr wh^c tss.t</i> <i>imy-r pr.wy-hd pr.wy-nb</i> <i>imy-r htm(.t)</i> <i>Mn[t]w-htp</i></p>	<p>one whose mouth is sealed at what he hears, an official who solves difficulties, overseer of the double houses of silver and gold, overseer of sealed things, Mentuhotep</p>
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Example 3.3 – Cairo CG 20539, I.b.8-9

<p><i>w3h-ib iw.ti snw(=f)</i> <i>nfr sdm ikr dd</i> <i>sr wh^c tss.t</i> <i>tn.n ntr hnt hḥ.w m s mnḥ rh.n=f rn=f</i></p>	<p>a patient one, who has no equal, one good at listening, excellent at speaking, an official who solves difficulties, one whom god promoted before millions as an efficient man whose name he knows,</p>
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Example 3.2 and Example 3.3 appear on opposite faces of the stelae and were part of descriptive passages that were designed to outline the positive attributes of Montuhotep. The text establishes

²¹¹ Schott 1954, 45.

²¹² Lange and Schäfer 1902-1925, 150-158. For recent transliteration and translation of the stela, see Landgráfová 2011, 167-179. The stela of Sehetepibre (Cairo CG 20538, Lange and Schäfer 1902-1925, 145-150), which appears to have been based on that of Montuhotep, contains the same phrase (line I.c.7). A variation of this concept is found in the tomb of Djefaihapy at Asyut, which is also dated to the reign of Senwosret I (Obsomer 1995, 570-578). Amongst his qualities, Djefaihapy was *wh^c sp [k]sn hpr=f* ‘one who solves a difficult matter when it occurs’ (*Urk.* VII 59,11-15). See also the stela of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4 = AP63, line 10) and the stela of Senwosret (Louvre C170 = E 3110 line A5).

²¹³ The stela was either placed within a chapel (*m^ch^c.t*) along the processional route, the so-called Terrace of the Great God (*rd n ntr^c*), or was perhaps given a remarkably prominent position within the temple of Osiris (Obsomer 1995, 174-177).

that he had a flawless character, was discrete, loyal, trustworthy, and fair.²¹⁴ Montuhotep was the perfect official, theoretically. Highlighting his problem solving abilities twice not only reinforces the social value of this skill within the narrative, but also underlines the broader importance of intellectual creativity. In the Middle Kingdom, the action of interpretation (*whꜥ*) was therefore not so much applied to words or speech, but to the knots (*tss.t*), i.e. difficulties, that arose in high-level administration.

The evidence suggests that the focus on interpreting language became more prominent at the end of the Middle Kingdom.²¹⁵ Following the linguistic transformations of the New Kingdom, the traditional skill of interpretation (*whꜥ*) expanded to include translating texts from older to new phases of the language. There appear several examples in the New Kingdom that stress the connection between the ability to unravel or loosen (*whꜥ*) and linguistic topics.²¹⁶ Although the more common word for the interpreter of foreign languages is *iꜥ3(w)*,²¹⁷ there are a few places where *whꜥ* was also used for translation between two different languages, rather than between two phases of Egyptian.

Once again as part of a biographical text, a 13th Dynasty official proclaims to be a interpreter of foreign languages, as well as efficient and well-prepared.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ See for example, Lichtheim 1988 and Doxey 1998.

²¹⁵ For example the interpreter of foreign languages appears on the 13th Dynasty stela, discussed above (see Example 3.4). Another examples of this association is found in wisdom texts that may have been composed in the Middle Kingdom. The phrase *whꜥ md.t nn snm* ‘interpret the text without altering’ is known from the *Teaching of a Man to his Son* (Fischer-Elfert 1999, §1.9).

²¹⁶ See for example, the inscription of Intef 18th Dynasty, *Urk.* IV 969,7-14

²¹⁷ See Chapter 3.1.

²¹⁸ CG 20765 (Lange and Schäfer 1902-1925, 398). See also Grajetzki 2000, 101.

Example 3.4 – Stela CG 20765, 2-4

<i>wḥꜥ mdw ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	one who interprets the languages of all foreign lands,
<i>w3ḥ-ib dꜥr n m-ḥt</i>	a patient one, who investigates for the future.
<i>n-wn.t s mi-kd=f m t3</i>	There does not exist a man like him in the land,
<i>wꜥ mnḥ n fh.n k3.t=f</i>	an efficient one, his work having no fault.

In listing his qualities, he includes the ability to interpret foreign languages. Here rather than unravel a problem, incomprehensible language becomes the issue. In this example, we find the earliest association of the word *wḥꜥ* with translation practices. However, since it is prior to the linguistic shift of the New Kingdom, the languages in question are foreign.

In the second example, it is the Egyptian language that is subject to misunderstanding, and once again, an interpreter (*3ꜥ.w*) is required to explain (*wḥꜥ*) the situation. Example 3.5 comes from the 19th Dynasty p. Anastasi I, also known as the *Satirical Letter*.²¹⁹ The content of the *Letter* uses humor to espouse the advantages of becoming a scribe, and it is clear from the numerous copies on ostraca that the work was used as a school text.²²⁰

Example 3.5 – p. Anastasi I 28,5-6

<i>n3y=k sdd shw{t}w{t} ḥr ns=i mn ḥr-tp</i>	Your stories are gathered upon my tongue
<i>sp.t=i</i>	and remain upon my lips.
[28.6] <i>iw=w thth m sdm</i>	They are confusing when listening.
<i>bn 3ꜥ.w wḥꜥ=f st</i>	There is no interpreter who can explain them.
<i>st mi mdw.t n s i[d]ḥw ḥnꜥ s n 3bw</i>	It is like the conversation of a man from the Delta with a man from Elephantine.

²¹⁹ P. BM 10247, TM 381199. Presumed to be from Saqqara (Gardiner 1911). Regarding the date of composition, see Fischer-Elfert 1992a, 261-267.

²²⁰ Gardiner 1911, 4*-5*. As with many of these “school texts,” the copy of p. Anastasi I is high quality both in its literary style and in its written hand. The composition itself was no doubt the work of an extremely competent author and it is the repeated copies on ostraca from Deir el Medina in particular, as well as certain didactic features within the text that point to its use in scribal training (Fischer-Elfert 1992a, 268-276).

The implication of this passage is that the individual in question has such convoluted writing that the narrator needs a specialist to help him unravel it.²²¹ The action of the interpreter is expressed with the word *wh^c*, which supports the notion that translation and difficult linguistic work was equated with making sense out of what to most seemed like gibberish.

However, not all associations of *wh^c* with language involved an interpreter. In several instances, interpretation (*wh^c*) referred to understanding sacred texts and creating the commentaries (and translations) that are the focus of this dissertation. In Example 3.6, from the 18th Dynasty tomb of Khaemhat, the owner makes an appeal to the living, which included a category of scribes who possessed advanced linguistic abilities and divine knowledge.²²²

Example 3.6 – *Urk.* IV 1845, 8-10

<p><i>dd=f hr rmt.w hpr.ty=sn</i> <i>hr-t3 m wr.w ky.tw</i> <i>sh(.w) nb(.w) wh^c.w drf</i> <i>spd.w hr m mdw-ntr</i> <i>wnf.w-ib k.w m rh</i></p>	<p>he says concerning the people who will exist upon the earth with the great ones or the others, all scribes who interpret written language, who are clever concerning the god’s language, who are glad, who enter into knowing</p>
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The specific reference to a group of scribes who were trained in the task of reading and understanding divine language points to the importance that their unique abilities held. The connection between interpreting written language and those who sought new information ties in with the interpretation (*wh^c*) of ritual texts, such as p. Jumilhac or p. BM 10252. These same individuals are dedicated not only to having a passive knowledge of the archaic language, but also to the active duty of unraveling it.

²²¹ An earlier passage in p. Anastasi I (1,7) also points to the skill of a trained reader, who is defined as *wh^c itn.w m gn.wt mi iri sn* “someone who can explain the difficult passages in the annals like the one who composed them” (translation after Loprieno 1996, 524, Fischer-Elfert 1992a, 17, 21).

²²² His tomb, TT 57, is dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (Varille 1940, 602). The most significant title held by Khaemhat was Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt (*imy-r šnw.ty šm^c mh.w*)

Those scribes, who were mentioned in Example 3.6, sought to embody the god Thoth, who was the idealization of a knowledgeable and skilled scholar. The hymn to Thoth that is inscribed on a papyrus scroll that sits on the lap of the 18th Dynasty votive statue of Horemheb demonstrates the level of knowledge, which scribes hoped to attain (see Example 3.7 and Example 3.8).²²³ It is also significant that a high ranking, military official like Horemheb should have chosen to present himself in the guise of a scribe (see Figure 3.1).²²⁴ A small scribal palette and pen were etched onto the surface of the sculpture over his heart, from which the individual was thought to derive his intellect (see Example 3.9).



Figure 3.1 – Horemheb in the Guise of a Scribe (MMA 23.10.1)

²²³ MMA 23.10.1. The statue was possibly set up in the temple of Ptah at Memphis (Winlock 1924, 4). For a transcription of the texts, see *Urk.* IV 2091-2094.

²²⁴ Elite Egyptians, whether or not they were specifically scribes, often depicted themselves in such a manner (Leprohon 2015, 321). See also Allon 2013.

Two parallel passages, which are placed at the opening and closing lines of the list of Thoth's attributes, describe the intellectual acumen of the god and his intimate knowledge of secret utterances. The first immediately follows the name and titles of Horemheb, while the second is precedes the hymn itself, which begins with *iry=n i3.w n Dḥwty* 'Let us make praises to Thoth.'

Example 3.7 – Urk. IV 2091,11-14

<p><i>ind-ḥr=k Dḥwty k3 m Ḥmnw</i> <i>ḥr-ib Ḥsrt</i> <i>sš s.t n ntr.w</i> <i>rh sšt3.w</i> <i>smn tp-r=sn</i></p>	<p>Hail to you, Thoth, bull in Hermopolis, in the midst of Heselet, who passes by the place of the gods, who knows the secrets, who causes their utterances to endure</p>
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Example 3.8 – Urk. IV 2093,4-6

<p><i>ḥk šs3 m Ḥwnw</i> <i>ir s.t n ntr.w</i> <i>rh sšt3.w</i> <i>whḥ mdw.t=sn</i></p>	<p>who accesses wisdom in Heliopolis, who creates the place of the gods, who knows the secrets, who explains their words.</p>
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The focal point of this description is that Thoth possesses divine knowledge (*rh sšt3.w*). In the first instance, he causes the words (*tp-r*) of those secret texts to endure (*smn*), while in the second he explains (*whḥ*) their content. These two parallel couplets link the transmission of texts to the work of interpreting them; the concern is both the continuation of knowledge as well as its understanding.

As a final example of the social value of interpretation, problem solving, unraveling (*whḥ*), I draw from the *Teaching of Amenemope*, which was likely written in the New Kingdom.²²⁵ At the beginning and the end, the narrator advises his reader to listen carefully and take his suggestions to heart.

²²⁵ The primary manuscript (p. BM 10474) is dated to the 21st Dynasty reign of Psammeticus I (Simpson and Ritner 2003, 223-224 and Laisney 2007). For a translation, see Simpson and Ritner 2003.

Example 3.9 – p. BM 10474, r^o 3.9-11

imi ^ḥ*nh*.wy=*k sdm i.dd.wt*
imi ^{h3}*ty*=*k r wh*^ḥ=*w*
3h p3 di.t st m ib=k
wg3(.t) n p3 wn st

Give your ears, hear what is said!
Give your heart to interpret them!
Placing them to your heart is beneficial,
but harmful to the one who neglects them.

Example 3.10 – p. BM 10474, r^o 27.13-15

i.mh tw n-im=w imi st m ib=k
mtw=k iri rmt n wh^ḥ=*w*
iw=f (hr) wh^ḥ=*m sb3.ty*²²⁶
ir sh iw=<f> šs3.wy m i3w.t=f
gm=f sw m-s3.wy smr

Fill yourself with them, place them in your heart,
and act (as) a man who explains them,
wherein he explains (them) in a teaching.
As for the scribe who is skilled in his office,
he will find himself suited for being a courtier.

In both Example 3.9 and Example 3.10, the third plural pronouns (=w, st) refer to the words of advice being offered in the composition. The designed purpose of these instructions was laid out by the author in the introduction, which was to offer a guide for one's wellbeing (*wḏ3*) as well as the proper instructions (*tp-rd*) for acting as an official. As with the appeal to the living in Example 3.6, the author stressed not only hearing his words, but also reflecting upon them and interpreting (*wh*^ḥ) their meaning. The ability to recognize the importance of these teachings was considered key to being a successful royal companion (*smr*).

By means of the examples provided, I have demonstrated that the concept of interpretation (*wh*^ḥ), of which intralingual translation was a part, was a valued part of social identity. In biographies of the Middle Kingdom, high-ranking officials claimed, among their many positive attributes, to have the ability to solve problems. In the New Kingdom, this concept became associated with having high-level language skills. The value of interpretation is furthermore supported by the role it plays in Egyptian wisdom literature. The author of *Teaching of Amenemope* endeavored to educate his audience by having people not only take in his words,

²²⁶ The translation of this line is somewhat problematic, in part due to the uncertainty as to whether the last word should be read, as it has traditionally been, *sb3.w* 'teacher' or, in the more recent translation, *sb3.yt* 'teaching' (Laisney 2007)

but also take time to consider them. The translated texts, which are the basis of this dissertation, are the physical manifestation of this abstract idea of interpretation. The scholars who created the interpretative translations alongside the original texts were explaining the words (*whꜥ mdw.t*) in the hopes of better understanding their divine words.

3.4. Choosing What to Translate

The major change in Egyptian written language of the New Kingdom meant that texts composed in the traditional Middle Egyptian language became more and more difficult for many to understand. Scribes reacted to this problem by adopting the practice of intralingual translation around the time of the Third Intermediate Period. However, not all older texts were updated by being translated in contemporary idiom, a point which has been noted by Alexandra von Lieven:

While in the former category texts of old were preserved by faithful copying and comparisons to other versions, as the *Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars* [=Book of Nut] amply demonstrates, this was not the case with narratives and wisdom literature.²²⁷

By the second century CE, she suggests that the scribes of Tebtunis may have been disinterested in Middle Egyptian literature due to the difference in content and style from works in contemporary Demotic. This proposition does not seem likely, for scribes who sought out and maintained archaic texts would tend toward preserving other genres of text as well.²²⁸ In the case of the *Book of Nut*, we know of at least two other works, i.e. the *Book of the Fayum* and the *Book of the Temple*, that were also copied and translated.²²⁹ All three of those works are fundamental

²²⁷ von Lieven 2010, 148.

²²⁸ von Lieven 2010, 148. In her assessment of the *Book of Nut*, von Lieven also argues against the ability of Egyptians of the Roman Period to produce archaizing texts, a position that has been refuted by David Klotz (see Klotz 2011, 489 regarding von Lieven 2007, 245-250). However, I agree with Klotz that it seems unlikely that the same scribes who were able to copy tomb inscriptions from Siut would dismiss earlier literary or wisdom texts, or be unable to understand them, simply because the content and style were no longer current.

²²⁹ For a preliminary overview of the translation in the Demotic/Hieratic fragments, see Jasnow 2013, 86. See also note 158.

texts that preserve religious concepts of cosmology, geography, and temple organization and purpose. A temple library would be incomplete without the knowledge that they contained, and so proper preservation and study of these texts is to be expected.

Nevertheless, the point is valid that the majority of the translations are of ritual texts (see Chapter 2), rather than of works of fiction or wisdom literature.²³⁰ I contend that the focus on certain types of text can be explained by the association between the practice of interpretation and translation that I have already established. The work of interpreting, and thus translating texts, was not about transforming archaic language into modern prose, at least not specifically. The translation of the ritual texts was never meant as a replacement. There is no question, therefore, that the genre of ritual text played a role in determining whether it was appropriate to create a translation that acted in place of the original, or whether the original had to remain next to the interpretative commentary.

In fact, the translation was a convenient way of retaining the older material, while also explaining important concepts within it. As seen in the translated copies of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*, the translation is clearly set apart from the body text and not integrated into it; the authoritative text is the original material. The fact that the original text as well as copies in Hieroglyphs and Hieratic were preserved and even collected, as von Lieven suggests,²³¹ underlines the fact that the untranslated version was the authoritative and valid composition. The temple scribes possessed the valued intellectual ability to interpret and translation (*whꜥ*) ritual texts, which I outlined above. The translation of literature or wisdom

²³⁰ There is one exception to note, which is a short translated text of the early Third Intermediate Period (p. BM 69574), but the composition is not easily classified within a particular genre, belonging perhaps to the category of Egyptian wisdom literature. A further fragmentary translated text, p. BM 10298 has only a few lines of legible text. See Chapter 5.1. The notion that the *Instructions of Ani* are a translation from earlier Egyptian has been refuted by Joachim Quack (1994, 47-50).

²³¹ von Lieven 2010, 147.

texts, on the other hand, which may have taken place, was not a priority within these institutions. It is not that the scribes were disinterested, as von Lieven suggests, but simply that those texts functioned within a different social context.

Moreover, the continued interest in assembling textual variants is evidence for the importance of preserving these texts. One important reason for why few examples of translated texts survive may be that the normal context in which they were used was not conducive to preservation. In other words, the translated temple ritual texts were less likely to be conserved in the archaeological record because they were repeatedly used and eventually replaced with new or expanded interpretations. These working documents were likely never considered equals to the original manuscripts. We have had the good fortune, that in the case of p. BM 10252, Pawerem converted the ritual papyrus into his funerary manuscript and deposited it in his tomb. In this instance, he was not concerned that the copies of the ritual texts included comments, as he proceeded to add his name to the text, where before there was only the generalizing *pr-ꜥ3* ‘pharaoh’ as the recipient of the benefits of the rituals.²³² Under normal circumstances, the text that would accompany the deceased should have looked like the unedited version found on p. Louvre N 3129. Similarly the exceptional material that comes from the Tebtunis temple library has provided unparalleled access to the range and volume of textual material that was held in those Egyptian institutions. However, since these documents were repeatedly replaced and collected over time, there was certainly a high turnover in translated documents as well. The lasting value held by these translations as commentary is further stressed by the fact that those appended to both the *Ritual* on p. BM 10252 and the *Book of Nut* on p. Carlsberg 1 and 1a are not the original versions but were copied from other manuscripts. Furthermore, the use of the

²³² Gill 2015, 133.

annotated version of *Book of the Dead* 17 rather than the unannotated text (see Chapter 4.2) indicates that the added content, which helped to explain the ritual texts, was valued by those who were not directly involved with the temple workshops.

A larger institution, such as the temple of Ptah at Memphis or Karnak Temple employed large numbers of scribes, whose job was to copy and accumulate textual variants, create translations, and continuously interpret ritual texts. The prestige that was offered to those who had gained access to the temple libraries and created the translation had to do with more than just the ability to read older ritual texts. I would argue that there was significant social value to be derived from their work, which was based not only on the fact that they held otherwise secret or restricted knowledge, but also that they had the ability to interpret (*whꜥ*) archaic language and complex ideas. Much as modern scholarship is judged by how much it can contribute to a field or the finesse of the argument presented, a commentary such as that appended to the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* or the *Book of Nut* qualified its author as one skilled in interpreting the god's words (*mdw-ntr*).

3.5. Conclusion

Egyptian intralingual translation was about more than just transforming a text from one phase of the language to another. I have demonstrated the association between interpretation and translation through an analysis of the Egyptian term *whꜥ* in both translated (p. BM 10252) and commented but untranslated (p. Jumilhac) texts. The conflation of translation with a notion of unraveling and solving complex problems, which had existed at least since the Middle Kingdom, took place due to the linguistic shift from written Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian in the New Kingdom. The resulting diglossia within Egyptian society led to the increasingly restricted use of

Middle Egyptian, and consequently a smaller and smaller group of highly trained scribes who could understand and interpret older texts.

It has been shown that textual commentaries, and later translations, were sufficiently valued to be recopied within the temple and distributed more broadly, in the case of the funerary texts *CT 335* and *BD 17*. The continuous accumulation and specification of knowledge was clearly one goal of the scribes who collected and annotated sacred texts, as attested by the multiple copies of the *Book of Nut*. Talented officials boasted of their problem solving abilities, and more generally of their intellect, with this concept of *wḥꜥ* in their autobiographies. The reoccurrence of this notion in biographical texts, tomb inscriptions, and wisdom literature indicates that it was not merely a momentary pursuit for Egyptians, but something that was valued over a long period of time. This idea is supported by the temporal spread of existing commentaries, which also spans the Middle Kingdom all the way through to the Roman Period.

In the next two chapters, I substantiate the observations made in this chapter through a detailed textual analysis of commentary and translation practices over time. I begin by establishing the interpretive techniques of the period prior to the existence of diglossia in Egypt, namely *CT 335* and *BD 17*. Having noted the forms of annotation that appear in those works and how they develop through to the end of the New Kingdom, I compare them to the techniques of commentary and annotation that are found in the translated versions of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*. Through a close reading of these compositions, I prove that the same approaches to commentary that are found prior to the emergence of commentary are applied to the translations. Translation (*wḥꜥ*) was considered an extension of interpretation, which in turn was a valued and venerated skill within Egyptian society.

Chapter 4. Textual Commentary to the End of the New Kingdom

A study of Egyptian intralingual translation must begin before the first translated texts of the Third Intermediate Period are attested. The practice emerged from an interest in creating textual commentary, which can be traced back to the Second Intermediate Period. In this chapter, I establish the precedent for the interpretive techniques used in intralingual translation by determining the form and function of commentary methods up to the end of the New Kingdom. I argue that the purpose of the commentary was to interpret and explain vague, complex, or out of date religious concepts. This goal was attained both by annotating applicable passages and accumulating textual variants, which led to the tendency of layering commentary onto the original text. Marked glosses provided clarifications, and alternate readings, introduced by *ky-dd* ‘otherwise said,’ expanded the understanding of the text by collecting textual variants.

In this chapter, I employ the structures outlined by Jan Assmann and Ursula Rößler-Köhler to examine the mechanics of commentary up to the end of the New Kingdom.²³³ I begin by discussing the codification of commentary in *Coffin Text 335* (*CT 335*). In order to examine the context in which annotations appear in *CT 335*, I discuss the example of coffin T1C^a and tomb T1C^b,²³⁴ where commented and uncommented versions of the spell appear side-by-side within the same burial. I then show how comments were layered onto the body text over time by adding glosses and alternate readings. In particular, I use coffin BH1Br of the later 12th Dynasty, which includes a number of unique alternate readings marked by *ky-dd*.

Interpretive work carried out in order to enhance the ritual content of these funerary texts was valued by the owners of these manuscripts, as proven by the eventual, exclusive adoption

²³³ See Chapter 1.2.2.

²³⁴ For the modern designations of Middle Kingdom coffins, see de Buck 1935 and Willems 1988, 2014.

and regularization of the commented version of *CT 335* in *Book of the Dead 17 (BD 17)*. I consider the change from a variety of different commentary techniques in the Middle Kingdom versions of *CT 335* to the relative standardization of the New Kingdom version of *BD 17*. At this stage, both the body text and formal commentary in *BD 17* was canonized, but new annotations were still appended to the body text using the phrase *ky-dd*. Moreover, I contend that the shift from the coffins of the Middle Kingdom to the medium of papyrus contributed to the fixed commentary in *BD 17*. The change also led to the appearance of marked textual variants in other *BD* spells, which lacked a history of commentary. I point to examples of annotations elsewhere in the *Book of the Dead* to demonstrate how the phrase *ky-dd* expanded beyond its initial use within the glosses of *CT 335/BD 17*. The phrase assumed the independent function of marking glosses and alternate readings.

Based on this textual analysis of commentary techniques that appear in *CT 335/BD 17* and other *BD* spells, I show how the Egyptians used such methods to enhance and interpret ancient ritual texts, without altering the source material. All of the comments were set apart from the original text by words or phrases, which were often written in red ink. The continued interest in creating textual commentary also attests to the value of reworking and interpreting funerary texts as a scribal activity. The commentary in *CT 335/BD 17* was created out of a desire on the one hand to produce the most thorough and effective ritual manual for the deceased individual, and on the other hand to guarantee that the religious text was current by gathering together important and innovative interpretations of the spell.

4.1. Codification of Textual Sources: *CT 335*

To inscribe the *Pyramid Texts (PT)* on the walls of royal tombs, scribes drew on papyrus originals to create different lengths and sequences to these funerary spells.²³⁵ As institutional control over the manuscripts began to wane at the end of the Old Kingdom, *PT* spells quickly appeared in non-royal contexts.²³⁶ The dispersal of texts no doubt multiplied the number of variations in spells, language and content that existed within this corpus—the precursor to the *Coffin Texts* of the Middle Kingdom.²³⁷ The status extended to these texts is evident by the rapid spread and expansion of the *CT* throughout Egypt by the early Middle Kingdom. I contend that this diversification of textual material from the end of the Old Kingdom onward precipitated the creation of new techniques to deal with the appearance of variations between manuscripts. Scribes developed methods of editing the abundance of written sources in order to provide a more precise meaning to a text.

To demonstrate how commentary developed in Egypt, I compare the early commented and uncommented versions found in T1C^a and T1C^b from Thebes. I argue that the initial appearance of uncommented and commented versions side-by-side and the uneven application of the annotations, indicate that Middle Kingdom scribes were still experimenting with how to express their interpretation of the spell. However, the value that the commentary added in terms

²³⁵ Papyrus fragments with *PT* 217 and 690 were discovered in the funerary complex of Pepy I and probably date to the end of the 12th Dynasty when the mortuary temple was abandoned (Berger-el Naggar 2004). The papyrus was made by gluing two pieces of papyrus against one another, which suggests that scribes were interested in consolidating the older papyrus fragments (Berger-el Naggar 2004, 86 and Baines 2012, 57). A few papyri with *CT* material exist, in particular the Gardiner papyri (transcriptions are included in de Buck 1935 with a list of the spells in Lesko 1979, 72-75; see also Lapp 1989 and Willems 2014, 216-219).

²³⁶ For a balanced overview of non-royal funerary practices of the Old Kingdom and how they evolved during the First Intermediate Period, see Allen 2006. See also Morales 2013.

²³⁷ Although there are no known texts with commentary prior to the Middle Kingdom, it has been shown that scribes were reading and correcting *PT* content (Mathieu 1996b). Such careful editing work suggests a clear interest in the preservation of the original text, and is perhaps indicative of the processes taking place within the religious establishments of the time. See also Kahl and von Falck 2000.

of comprehension, clarity, and textual preservation led to the eventual abandonment of the uncommented versions. The glosses were increasingly layered onto the original text and expanded to include the alternate reading. Although few alternate readings appear in *CT 335*, the examples found in BH1Br prove that individual scribes were working to assemble the textual variants. The extensive appearance of alternate readings in the New Kingdom suggests that this commentary technique existed on working copies of *CT 335*, but was only later approved or valued sufficiently to be included on the end product in *Book of the Dead* manuscripts.

4.1.1. Commented and Uncommented Versions of *CT 335*

CT 335 is made up of two sections: a first person narrative where the deceased is identified with several gods, chief among them the solar deities Atum, Amun, and Re, and a largely first person appeal to a variety of gods in the form of a prayer.²³⁸ The spell has been identified by Urusla Rößler-Köhler as the earliest attestation of Egyptian commentary.²³⁹ However, the origin of this spell is unknown, as there are no Old Kingdom *Pyramid Text* precursors. Adriaan de Buck (1935, Vol. IV) includes twenty-six attestations of the spell in his synoptic edition, which date from the end of the First Intermediate Period (e.g. T1C^a) to the end of the Middle Kingdom (e.g. T3Be) and were discovered throughout Egypt from Thebes in the South to Saqqara in the North.²⁴⁰ Scholars disagree on whether the spell was composed in Saqqara or Thebes, as the dating and origin of the text remains unclear.²⁴¹ If the new composition did indeed originate in

²³⁸ See Chapter 2.2.1.1.

²³⁹ 1995. See Chapter 1.2.2.

²⁴⁰ Regarding the date and find spots of the coffins, see Willems 1988 and Rößler-Köhler 1998. It should be noted that the dating of many of the coffins is contested (e.g. Willems 1988 vs. Lapp 1993 vs. Rößler-Köhler 1998), making it difficult to establish relative dates for the stemma of the text critical analysis of Rößler-Köhler (1998) and Jürgens (1999, 2001).

²⁴¹ “There exist two contrary stemmata for this coffin text. Rößler-Köhler locates the archetype in Thebes and sees a dependence of the textual sources from Saqqara on those of Thebes, el-Bersheh or Lisht, and possibly also

the capital, then it is possible that the commentary associated with *CT* 335 came out of royal temple libraries.²⁴² During the process of codifying the text, the scribes experimented with different commentary methods to add their interpretation to the text and make note of variants between manuscripts. Through this commentary the theological concepts expressed in the spell are explained and expanded.²⁴³ The value that the commentary added in terms of comprehension, clarity, and textual preservation led to the eventual abandonment of the uncommented versions.

Although we know that the text of *CT* 335 began as a single uncommented version, already at the end of the First Intermediate Period it existed in commented and uncommented versions on papyrus scrolls throughout Egypt. When preparing a funerary assemblage, the tomb and coffin owner would have contracted a carpenter, decorator, or perhaps a workshop of specialists in the funerary arts.²⁴⁴ Sarcophagi, tombs, and other funerary equipment were decorated from anonymous manuscripts into which the name of the deceased was added.²⁴⁵ There exist six unannotated versions of *CT* 335 (see Table 4.1). As well as the example of T1C^a and T1C^b, coffin B9C includes both an uncommented (B9C^b) and commented (B9C^a) version.²⁴⁶ Because of these pairs, we cannot assume that the progression from uncommented to commented

Meir. Jürgens, on the other hand, sees the archetype native to the region of Memphis/Heliopolis and presumes a distribution from there to Thebes and Middle Egypt” (Kahl and von Falck 2000, 221). Jürgens continues to argue for the distribution of *CT* 335 out of the OK royal residence at Memphis/Heliopolis by arguing that it was associated with the transmission of *PT* 226-243 and *CT* 397 for which he creates a new stemma (2001, 138).

²⁴² Morales 2013, 841-842.

²⁴³ The fact that the commentary is neither a dialogue or a simple association of the sacred to the profane nor is it made up entirely of etiologies explained through word play, places it into a different category of scribal activity. For a discussion of these forms of commentary, see Assmann 1995.

²⁴⁴ Regarding the expansion of the funerary assemblage from the Old to Middle Kingdoms, see Willems 2014, 135-136.

²⁴⁵ An unpublished papyrus from the Louvre (papyrus Weill) has *CT* spells, but in place of the name of the deceased is written only *mn pn* “so and so” (Willems 2014, 218). The omission of a specific name indicates that the scribes were indeed working from generic copies to create unique coffins for their clients.

²⁴⁶ See also Schenkel 1975, 55-57. With B9C, there is also an accompanying piece (B10C), which does not include *CT* 335.

versions in the Middle Kingdom was linear (see Figure 4.1). Nevertheless, by the New Kingdom the uncommented branch appears to have dropped out of the textual tradition, which demonstrates the importance and value of transmitting the interpretive materials along with the body of the spell.²⁴⁷

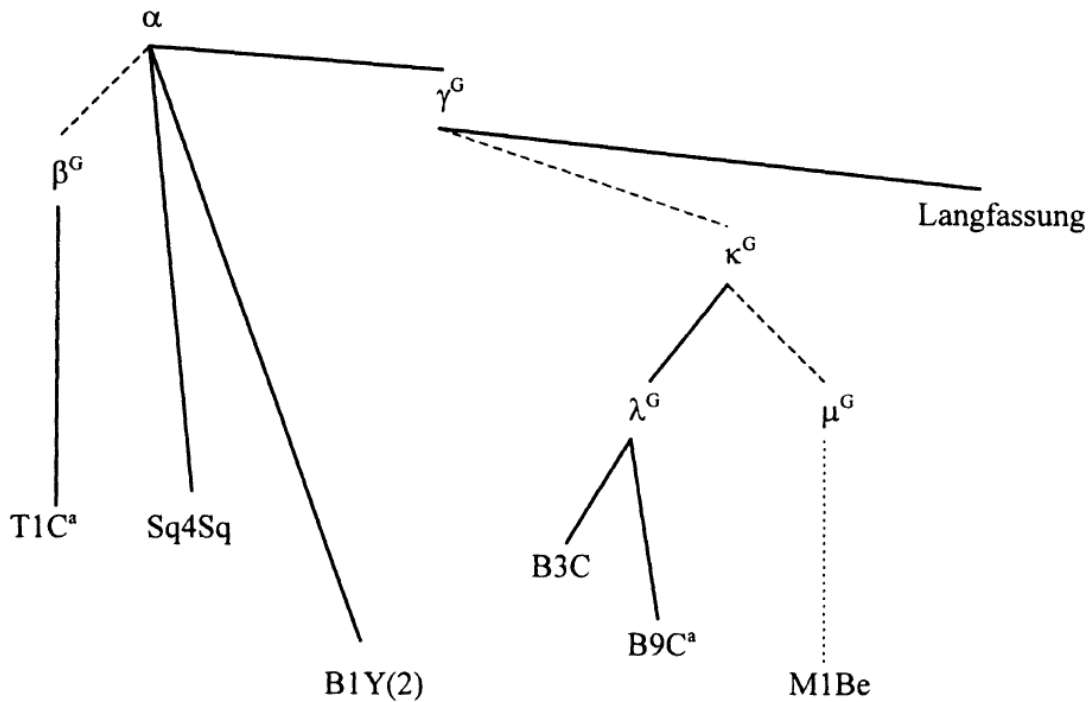


Abb. 2: Stemma der Grundfassung von CT-Spruch 335,
interpretiert auf der Basis des Generalstemmas der Sargtextüberlieferung
Legende: ein hochgestelltes G bezeichnet die entsprechenden Vorlagen im Generalstemma

Figure 4.1 – Unannotated versions of *CT 335*²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ In her text critical approach to *CT 335*, Rößler-Köhler follows Willems' dating scheme to create a stemma of textual sources (1988, 92-93). Jürgens adopts the concept of long and short versions (1999, 39) and then in a second study, he combines the textual sources of *CT 397* to produce a new stemma (2001, 137-138). In so doing, he redates a number of the coffins as well, such as Sq4Sq, which he suggests could date to the end of the 11th dynasty or beginning of the 12th dynasty (1999, 39-40).

²⁴⁸ In his textual criticism of *CT 335*, Peter Jürgens develops a stemma that includes the uncommented texts, the *Kurzfassung*, and the commented texts, the *Langfassung* (1999, 40 Fig. 2). For the most recent stemma of *CT 335*, which is produced in combination with *CT 397*, see Jürgens 2001, 137 Fig. 8.

However, the commentary was not added to the text in a uniform way, nor was a consistent vocabulary of annotation employed.²⁴⁹ In her study of *BD 17*, Urusla Rößler-Köhler also outlines four distinct formulae for adding annotations in the *CT* sources:²⁵⁰

Formula 1: Interrogatory pronoun + demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *pw*

e.g. **What is it?** It is Y.

Formula 2: Formula 1 + repetition of the body text

e.g. **What is X?** It is Y.

Formula 3: *ir*-introduction

e.g. **As for X**, it is Y.

Formula 4: No introduction at all²⁵¹

e.g. It is Y.

Two further formulae should be added that are also found in *CT 335* commentary:

Formula 5: Formula 1 + *ir*-introduction

e.g. **What is it? As for X**, it is Y.²⁵²

Formula 6: *dd-mdw*

e.g. Words spoken: it is Y.²⁵³

This set of formulae provided the tools for adding interpretation to the text, and it was only in *BD 17* that the variety of different words were replaced by standardized phrases.²⁵⁴ It is apparent that the different commentary formulae were meant to provide an explanation, as they highlight a passage in the text and then expand upon it. In my opinion, the use of different annotation techniques and vocabularies is due to the fact that the commentary of *CT 335* was still in development and that no push to regularize the text meant that the comments could be applied by scribes across the country. Since the content of the gloss remained the same even if the question word varies across the source, the selection likely came down to the choice of the individual

²⁴⁹ Rößler-Köhler 1995, 115. For an example of the variation in commentary, see Appendix B.

²⁵⁰ This classification does not cover the insertion of comments following *ky-dd* ‘otherwise said,’ which I term ‘alternate readings.’

²⁵¹ Adapted from Rößler-Köhler 1979, 290-291.

²⁵² See for example de Buck 1935, IV 276-277.

²⁵³ This formulation is only used in T1C^b.

²⁵⁴ See Chapter 4.2.

scribe.²⁵⁵ For example, the scribe of coffin BH1Br appears to have preferred *zy* in question phrases, when other manuscripts frequently use *ptr*.²⁵⁶ Therefore, local scribes were creating copies of this text, which were then passed on to interested individuals for their burials.

In the context of this replacement of the uncommented version of *CT 335* with the commented one during the Middle Kingdom, I examine the earliest example where both are found in a single burial. In many cases *CT 335* was placed on the lid of the coffin,²⁵⁷ but in the tomb of Horhotep (*Hr-ḥtp*) a short version of *CT 335* appears on the South wall of the tomb chamber (T1C^a) and the long version is inscribed on the back of the sarcophagus.²⁵⁸ The tomb owner was a seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt (*htm.ty-bi.ty*), and his burial is dated to the reign of Mentuhotep II on the basis of its location near Deir el-Bahari with other late 11th Dynasty tombs.²⁵⁹

The program of funerary texts from the tomb walls is completed by *Coffin Text* spells that cover all the surfaces of the sarcophagus.²⁶⁰ The walls were inscribed with a combination of *Pyramid Text* and *Coffin Text* spells, which were written continuously without any titles to indicate the start of a new spell.²⁶¹ In contrast, the sarcophagus was decorated only with *Coffin Text* spells, which together with the use of the commented version of *CT 335* suggests that the

²⁵⁵ Rößler-Köhler 1979, 290. They include, *in-m* (*Wb.* I, 96): a question word known from the Old Kingdom, *m* (*Wb.* II, 4): a question word known from the Old Kingdom, *zy* (*Wb.* III, 424): a question word known from the Old Kingdom, and *pw*, *pw-tr* (*Wb.* I, 506): a question word known from the Middle Kingdom; it becomes abbreviated in the form *ptr* (*Wb.* I, 565), which also appears in the Middle Kingdom.

²⁵⁶ de Buck 1935, IV 191c-d, IV 197b-c, IV 198b, IV 209e-g, IV 211c-d, etc.

²⁵⁷ E.g. Sq4Sq, Sq1C, Sq2C, L3Li, BH1Br, M1NY, etc. (see Lesko 1979).

²⁵⁸ The tomb of Horhotep (T1C^a) was discovered in Thebes by Maspero in 1883 (Maspero 1885, 134 and Kampp-Seyfried 1996). The North, South, and East tomb walls are decorated with a *frise d'object* over columns of text with horizontal bands of alternating colors forming a border around them (see the plate between pp.140-141 in Maspero 1885). The excavators discovered the decorated sarcophagus of the deceased, which was created out of pieces of stone assembled together to form a coffin (T1C^b) (Maspero 1885, 155 and Willems 1988, 32 and 113).

²⁵⁹ Willems 1988, 113 and see Table 4.1.

²⁶⁰ See Morales 2013, 572 fig. 190.

²⁶¹ See Morales 2013, 571-572 Fig. 189.

artists copied from a more innovative set of funerary texts than those who worked on the tomb.²⁶²

The two versions of *CT* 335 in the tomb of Horhotep diverge not only with respect to the presence or absence of commentary, but also in their orthography. The first line of the spell reads *ink R^c m h^c.w=f tp.w* ‘I am Re in his first appearances’ (see Figure 4.2). To write *ink*, the scribe of T1C^b includes an additional *i* reed leaf and a seated man. Subsequently, he adds a divine determinative to the name of Re (Gardiner A40) and a cobra determinative to the word *h^c.w* ‘appearances’ (Gardiner I12).



Figure 4.2 – Excerpt of *CT* 335 from Tomb and Sarcophagus T1C²⁶³

Thus despite the fact that the texts are inscribed for a single individual, two distinct versions of *CT* 335 were copied from two different source documents.

²⁶² Another example where the annotated and unannotated texts are found together is on the inner coffin of Amenemhat (B9C) from Deir el Bersha (Kamal 1901, Lacau 1904-1906, 37-64). *CT* cover all of the sides of the coffin as well as the bottom of the case, while the interior of the lid is instead decorated with sequences of *PT* spells (Lesko 1979, 31-32). *CT* 335 appears as the final spell in the corner of both the back (uncommented) and front (commented) of the coffin (Lesko 1979, 33). See also Rößler-Köhler 1995, 127-128.

²⁶³ de Buck 1935, IV 186b.

The early commented version of *CT 335* found on sarcophagus T1C^b also illustrates the preliminary and experimental phase at which the commentary is at that time. The scribe makes only limited and scattered use of the common later formulae (1-5) and instead separates the commentary from the body text by the phrase *dd-mdw* ‘words spoken’ (formula 6).²⁶⁴ As this version represents the earliest example of commentary, it is tempting to see the use of *dd-mdw* here as the first attempt at textual annotation in general. The introductory phrase *dd-mdw* does not point the reader to the exact passage to which the comment refers, in contrast with the later use of a question word (What is X?) and *ir X* (As for X...), which repeat a section of the text before offering a comment. Moreover, since the *Pyramid Texts* there are examples where this phrase was placed at the top of every column of text in order to convey the spoken nature of these ritual texts.²⁶⁵ This practice appears on both the tomb wall and the sarcophagus of Horhotep, and the phrase may simply have been adopted as a visual means of signaling material that was inserted into the body text. The next well-dated coffin with commentary is B9C^a, which is also accompanied by an uncommented version, B9C^b, from the end of the reign of Senwosret I or beginning of Amenemhat II.²⁶⁶ The concurrent use of commented and uncommented versions

²⁶⁴ The phrase appears nineteen times in T1C^b (73% of glosses): de Buck 1935 IV, 196b, 198b, 204b, 212c, 214b, 218b, 222c, 228c, 238d, 246a, 252a, 276b, 286a, 304a, 315a, 317c, 319d, 320e and 325b. This phrase is attested from the Old Kingdom onward where it is used in private as well as royal inscriptions, but T1C^b is the only place where it ever introduces a gloss in a text. For the phrase, see *Wb.* V, 625-626. All other uses of the phrase in other versions of *CT 335* are either in the title of the spell (T1C^b, M4C, and M57C, de Buck 1935, IV 184/5a) or in M1NY in the phrase *dd-mdw in* (de Buck 1935, IV 199d). T1C^b use an *ir*-introduction (formula 3) four times: de Buck 1935, IV 200d, IV 260b, IV 318c and IV 325c. Of the four times that T1C^b uses the *ir*-introduction formula instead, the text is the same as the other copies of *CT 335* in the first two cases, which are in section *a* of the spell. For the other two cases that are in section *b*, they introduce parts of the text that reappear later in *BD 17* but that are otherwise unique to the version of *CT 335* found in T1C^b (IV 318c is similar to Lapp 2006, 274-275 and IV 325c is similar to Lapp 2006, 306-309). It also has no introductory phrase (formula 5) three times: de Buck 1935 IV, 208b, IV 234b and IV 302a. In all cases where T1C^b does not include an introductory phrase, it is replaced by a question word in the other copies of *CT 335*.

²⁶⁵ See for example, the *Pyramid Texts* of Teti I, Pepi II, and Neith (Allen 2005, 65) and the *Coffin Texts* of Djehutynakht (Freed et al. 2009, fig. 74).

²⁶⁶ Willems 1988, 75.

of *CT 335* points to an initial reluctance at this stage to depend solely on the altered text. It may be that the user felt more comfortable with the two versions of the text available to him or her.

4.1.2. Alternate Readings in *CT 335*

The next step in the creation of commentary on *CT 335* was the inclusion of marked alternate readings following the interpretive glosses.²⁶⁷ This technique represents a new means of collecting theological information and retaining alternative material that was relevant to the content of the text. The use of *ky-dd* is limited to *CT 335* during the Middle Kingdom, but appears frequently in other later sources.²⁶⁸ Just as was the case with the glosses, the inclusion of alternate readings only later became standardized in *BD 17*. Moreover, the number of alternate readings within *CT 335* is small and limited to only a few coffins (see Table 4.2), while in *BD 17*, nearly every gloss is followed by an alternate reading. However, the fact that the number of alternate readings increases so significantly at the beginning of the New Kingdom, suggests to me that these readings were being compiled throughout the Middle Kingdom, but only by accident or selectively made their way onto the final text on the coffin.²⁶⁹


With more copies of the spell in circulation, scribes went to great lengths to compare and compile the differences that arose due to repeated transmission of the text. As they read through the text, they examined their sources and retained variations that they felt contributed a different understanding to the text, or provided a better explanation of the content. As continues in later Egyptian commentary, there is a demonstrated interest in accumulating information, as is demonstrated by the layering of commentary in *CT 335*. Rather than be content with a single reading, scribes could combine a variety to provide different options in the interpretation of the


²⁶⁷ See Appendix B for a *CT* example with a marked gloss.

²⁶⁸ See Chapter 4.3.

²⁶⁹ See Chapter 4.2.

text. In combining their sources, scribes required a new vocabulary that would allow them to create a comprehensive version of the spell, while also distinguishing the alternate readings from the interpretive glosses that already existed.

Thus the phrase  *ky-dd* ‘otherwise said,’ commonly translated as “variant,” was introduced to mark the alternate reading.²⁷⁰ The use of *ky-dd* and its earlier form *ky sp n dd*, first appears in a small group of 12th Dynasty coffins (see Table 4.2).²⁷¹ The phrase was often written out in red ink, for instance in coffin M1NY, in order to provide a visual cue for the reader that it is separate from the body text. As shown in Example 4.1 from the part two of *CT* 335, the alternate reading is appended onto an already existing gloss.²⁷² The deceased implores Re to save him from “the god whose forms are hidden and whose eyebrows exist as the arms of the balance.”²⁷³ In order to clarify whom this god is, a gloss identifies him as Horus, foremost of Khem (Letopolis). However, in the texts of M4C, M54C, and L1NY, an alternative reading has been collected, which instead identifies the god as Thoth.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ The only article on the use of *ky-dd* is by Gardiner (1938). The earliest attestation in the *Worterbuch* is from the New Kingdom and it provides the following translations for the phrase: “andere Lesart” and “andere Mitteilung, ferner” (*Wb.* V, 111). It gets abbreviated in later periods to the *k* basket over a crossed horizontal line: .

²⁷¹ For a discussion of the phrase and occurrences in the text, see Heerma van Voss 1963, 9 and van der Molen 2000, 863-864. Dating of the texts is based more on stylistic similarities and changes over time by Willems (1988) and on textual criticism by Rößler-Köhler (1998), who also pays attention to the categories created by Willems.

²⁷² For the full text of this example, see the translation and hieroglyphs provided in Appendix B.

²⁷³ de Buck 1935, IV 298-299.

²⁷⁴ In M57C, Thoth is further qualified as “Nefertem son of Sekhmet, the great one” (de Buck 1935, IV 302d). In the case of M57C, the alternate readings are not distinguished by the use of any phrase, but are simply listed within the gloss. The unmarked alternate readings in that version of the spell may be the result of scribal preference.

Gloss

sy pw ntr pn nty inh=f m ꞗ.wy m h3.t Who is this god whose eyebrows exist
as the arms of the balance?

Hr pw hnty Hm It is Horus, foremost of Khem.

Alternate reading

ky sp n dd Dhwtj pw Otherwise said: It is Thoth.

Given that the original spell does not specify who the god “whose eyebrows exist as the arms of the balance,” it is understandable that the scribes provided interpretations and that their opinions might differ. The inclusion of several options allowed them to weigh the available options and points toward an interest in being comprehensive. This example also illustrates how alternate readings became part of the transmission of *CT* 335 already during the Middle Kingdom, as they appear in sources from two sites—Meir and Lisht—that are nearly 300 km apart.²⁷⁵

However, the Middle Kingdom scribes were not the last to try and identify the god in Example 4.1. The same comment in the later *BD* 17 copies of the spell was substantially extended so that it read:

Who is he? He is Shezmu; he is the mutilator of Osiris.

Otherwise said: He is Apophis; he has one head bearing truth.

Otherwise said: He is Horus; he has two heads, one exists bearing truth, the other bearing falsehood. He gives falsehood to the one who practices it, truth to the one who comes bearing it.

Otherwise said: He is the elder Horus presiding over Khem.

Otherwise said: He is Thoth.

Otherwise said: He is Nefertem, the son of Sekhmet.²⁷⁶

The text that is retained from Middle Kingdom copies is highlighted in blue, and everything else appears only in *BD* 17. Based on the increase in readings, there does not appear to have been a limit on the number of interpretations that could be collected. It is possible that

²⁷⁵ There are two places where the same alternate reading appears on several coffins: de Buck 1935, IV 269 and IV 302.

²⁷⁶ Lapp 2006, 216-225.

these variations were discussed by scribes, and only those that were considered valid were then amalgamated into new versions of the spell. By including an alternate reading along with the commentary and the body text on the coffin, the scribe allowed something that was normally part of the scholarly endeavor of collecting textual variants to appear on a finished product.

The concentration of alternate readings in sources from Middle Egypt and the lack of them in coffins from the religious centers of Thebes or Saqqara could point to a separation of annotated “compiled” versions used for reference and “clean” versions used for coffin decoration. It is then reasonable to assume that variations could be found on other copies in Thebes, which were simply not used by the artists and scribes decorating the coffins.²⁷⁷ The variations found in provincial towns such as Meir, Beni Hassan, or Deir el Bersha, could be evidence for a greater overlap between the people who were responsible for the practical construction, decoration, and inscription of the coffins and those who were tasked with recopying and compiling the texts on papyrus.²⁷⁸ In contrast, the scholars who compiled and transmitted new versions of the spell may have worked independently from the craftsmen who were creating the coffins.

The alternate reading in Example 4.1 is attested in several different coffins, but the coffin of Ma (*M3*) from Beni Hassan (BH1Br) has a number of unique alternate readings preserved in *CT* 335.²⁷⁹ The two *ky-dd* marked variants in BH1Br were likely copied directly from an annotated manuscript, and the alternate readings are attested later in the passages of *BD* 17. We may hypothesize on the reasons why the alternate readings appear only on BH1Br. Was the

²⁷⁷ However, it has been noted that the use of *Coffin Texts* in Thebes decreases markedly after the reign of Amenemhat I and the movement of the royal court to the North (Willems 2014, 172-173).

²⁷⁸ It has been argued that an archive of religious texts moved after the reunification of Egypt from Memphis to Hermopolis in Middle Egypt rather than to Thebes, thereby providing access to the texts for the nearby populations as well as the elite of Thebes, Memphis, and Deir el-Bersha (Gestermann 2004).

²⁷⁹ The coffin was found in tomb 500 at Beni Hassan by John Garstang between 1902-4 (Garstang 2002, 226). The rather modest burial also included two wooden boat models, a variety of pottery, and other small objects. *CT* 335 was inscribed on the interior of the coffin lid and finished on the bottom of the object (Morales 2013, 355 fig. 91) See also Willems 1988, 67.

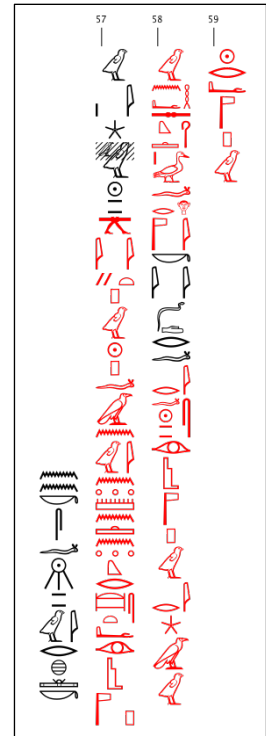
commentary requested by the owner of the sarcophagus? Were individuals in Beni Hassan particularly interested in collecting theological interpretations of *CT* 335? The artist of BH1Br may only have had commented copies of the *Coffin Text* spell available and so produced decorated coffins that included the compiled additions. Or did someone neglect to tell the artist copying the texts that he should omit the comments from the final product? It seems likely, given the proliferation of similar comments in the BD, that the comments were being developed on papyrus originals, but only rarely made their way onto the coffins when they were copied.

Both alternate readings are introduced by *ky-dd* rather than the older *ky sp n dd*. In the first instance, an alternate reading is simply added to the body text without any form of gloss.²⁸⁰ As provided in Example 4.2, the second occurrence of a *ky-dd* alternate reading appears in BH1Br where several other manuscripts already have a gloss.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ The content of this alternate reading is attested with the introductory phrase *ky-dd* in two other versions of *CT* 335, B5C and B1Y. However, at the point where BH1Br has an alternate reading that uses a nominal sentence, B5C and B1Y continue with a subordinate clause *wbn=fm 3h.t* ‘...when he arose from the horizon’ (de Buck 1935, IV 186c). Neither B5C nor B1Y have any form of marked commentary or alternate readings, and they both date to the beginning of the 12th Dynasty (see Table 4.1).

²⁸¹ de Buck 1935, IV 192-193. Additional details after the body text appear in materials from Saqqara (Sq1C, Sq7C), Lisht (L1NY, L3Li), Meir (M8C, M7C, M54C, M1C, M57C, M1NY), Bersha (B1P, B5C), and Thebes (T1C^b, T1Be, T3Be, T3L).

	Body Text	
<i>nnk sf iw rh.kw dw3w</i>		Mine is yesterday, I know tomorrow.
	Gloss	
<i>sy.ty pw</i>		What is it?
<i>hrw pβ n iw= n mn= n</i>		It is that day of “we ourselves remain.”
<i>ḳrs.t Wsir pw ḥn^c šḥḳ3</i>		It is the burial of Osiris and causing his son Horus to rule.
<i>s3=f Hri</i>		
	Alternate Reading	
<i>ky-dd rf ir sf Wsir pw ir</i>		Otherwise said: As for yesterday, it is
<i>dw3w R^c pw</i>		Osiris; as for tomorrow, it is Re.



What makes this alternate reading in BH1Br interesting is that it is created out of text that used to be the gloss in other versions of *CT* 335 (i.e. As for yesterday ... it is Re.). At some point, a scribe either replaced the simple identification of Osiris as yesterday (*sf*) and Re as tomorrow (*dw3w*) with the more extended gloss in BH1Br, or combined two manuscripts: one with the Osiris and Re gloss and the other with the extended gloss. The latter seems more likely since the *BD* version of this passage retains the Osiris as yesterday (*sf*) and Re as tomorrow (*dw3w*) gloss, but has the unique text found in BH1Br (It is the day of ... Horus to rule.) as well.²⁸²

With the progressive development of commentary in *CT* 335, from the uncommented early versions to the extended glosses that included alternate readings, Egyptians scribed created a system by which they could annotate any ritual text. The annotations that existed already at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom were replicated and expanded by scribes who valued the

²⁸² Lapp 2006, 32-37.

explanatory comments. The process of assembling different manuscripts was not confined to one space or group of scribes, but instead spread over time until the complete, layered commentary entirely replaced the older uncommented version. The adoption of such commentary activities demonstrates that scribes were actively concerned with amalgamating textual variants and thoroughly understanding this central Egyptian funerary text.

4.2. Canonization of Text and Commentary: *BD 17*

The division between the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead* is largely based on two facts: the first is the temporal separation between the Middle and New Kingdoms, and the second is the shift in medium from coffin to papyrus. However, the content of many of the spells remained the same and was in essence transferred to the new context.²⁸³ By the New Kingdom, there was an established tradition of scribal commentary that sought to preserve and transmit older sources of the spells. The variation in annotation techniques seen in the Middle Kingdom versions of *CT 335* attests to the fact that this practice was at its beginnings and had not yet adopted a particular methodology. However, it did not take long for a system of annotation to be put in place wherein the glossing of *BD 17* was streamlined and confined within certain parameters. As Ursula Rößler-Köhler has already provided an excellent discussion of the annotation system in *BD 17*,²⁸⁴ I provide only an overview of the framework of commentary in that spell. Instead, I focus on how new *ky-dd* marked comments, which are separate from the canonized commentary, prove that scribal practices of editing became more widespread and continued to provide meaning to misunderstood passages.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ See Chapter 2.2.1.2.

²⁸⁴ She compares the content of the *CT 335* and *BD 17* (Rößler-Köhler 1979, 276-280).

²⁸⁵ It should also be noted that commentary also appears in another several important medical treatise at this period. In the medical papyrus Edwin Smith, there is structured textual glossing similar to *BD 17*. The explanatory clauses adopt the following pattern: *ir* 'As for' + quote from the relevant section of main text + *dd pw* 'It means' +

4.2.1. Standardization of *BD 17* on New Medium

Alternate readings, which as was shown were rare in *CT 335*, quickly became a consistent part of *BD 17*. Much as the commented version of *CT 335* had to have developed in the First Intermediate Period prior to its appearance in T1C^b, there must have been many more alternate readings before their extensive introduction in early versions of *BD 17*. The copy of *BD 17* on the Second Intermediate Period coffin cL1 confirms this observation.²⁸⁶ The use of the Hieratic script and horizontal direction of writing on coffin cL1 suggests that this text was directly copied from a papyrus manuscript with little adaptation to the difference in medium. This format is in contrast with the layout of texts on the coffins of the Middle Kingdom, which were generally written in cursive hieroglyphs within delineated vertical columns. The scribe also included alternate readings in several other spells on cL1 all of which he highlighted in red ink to distinguish them from the body text.²⁸⁷ The regular appearance of such comments in the decoration of this cL1, suggests that the use of *ky-dd* was more common even in the Middle Kingdom funerary literature, but only on library or workshop copies for which we have little evidence.

As mentioned, I argue that these alternate readings were reproduced due to the change in medium from coffin to papyrus. The gradual move from providing the deceased with texts only on the surfaces of coffins, which had a variety of religious and practical functions, to funerary

explanation (Breasted 1930, 61-71 and Westendorf 1966, 22-23). For the references of *dd pw*, see Deines and Westendorf 1961, 1013. Papyrus Ebers, which is dated to the early New Kingdom, also includes commentary, but it is not structured and is similar to what is found in *CT 335* (Westendorf 1999, 22). Jan Assmann describes various features of the commentary in medical texts, namely that the glosses in p. Edwin Smith are uneven because they are meant to explain terms in simple language, while those in p. Ebers are meant to expand and modernize the content so they appear throughout (1995, 104-106).

²⁸⁶ The coffin is that of Mentuhotep, the queen of king Djehuty (Geisen 2004a). The dating for this coffin is alternatively suggested as 13th (Geisen 2004b), 16th (Ryholt 1997), or 17th Dynasty (Schneider 2006, 184-186). More often the king Djehuty is assigned to the later 16th or 17th Dynasty (Marée 2010), but in either case the coffin represents one of the earliest attestation of what is known as *Book of the Dead* materials.

²⁸⁷ The added comments are found in spells *CT 372-373* and *BD 18, 64, 154, and 159* (Geisen 2004a).

papyri, which had the singular function of equipping the deceased with ritual texts, signaled a shift in the conceptualization of funerary literature. Moreover, scribes were no longer bound by the four sides of the coffin, but could create lengthy texts in a fixed order from the beginning to the end of the papyrus scroll. It may also be that there was a higher turnover in papyrus manuscripts of *BD 17*, as the scribes were no longer copying from papyrus to coffin, but from papyrus to papyrus. The higher output may thus have led to more regularization in the commentary found in *BD 17*.

BD 17 has two kinds of marked commentary after the body text: the first are glosses introduced by the phrase *ptr rf sw* ‘Who/what is that?’ and the second are alternative readings, which use *ky-dd*.²⁸⁸ Many papyri highlight these annotations by writing the words in red.²⁸⁹ The rubrics provide a visual cue to the reader that they are reading something different from the body text. There are of course some differences between sources for *BD 17*, and some of the earlier examples still use the question word *zy* on occasion instead of *ptr*.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, the structure of the commentary was clearly not understood by all of the scribes copying texts, as some texts have errors when it came to placing the commenting terms in the appropriate places.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ pC3 (reign of Amenhotep II) and shC1* of Tutankhamun do not include *ky-dd* to separate the alternate reading from the gloss. Instead the alternate reading is an unmarked part of the gloss (Lapp 2006, 34-35). The lack of signaling word may have been the consequence of scribal preference, or it could be that the word was optional and could be left out in formal settings, especially on something like the shrine of king Tutankhamun. However, the texts that do not use the word remain a small minority of all examples.

²⁸⁹ Rubricized texts include for example p. BM 10470, p. Gatseshen, and p. Nebseni. pP5* (early 18th Dynasty), IC1 of Tuthmosis III, pLe2 (20th Dynasty) include no rubrics at all, while pDu1 (Ramses II) simply does not rubricize the introductory phrase *ky-dd* (Lapp 2006, 34-35). Naville does not note which manuscripts are rubricized at all (1971, 36-37). By not highlighting this alternate reading in the texts, the additional material is not separated from the body text and is therefore visual integrated into the spells themselves.

²⁹⁰ Lapp 2006, 126, 128, and 134.

²⁹¹ For example, pV1 (Lapp 2006, 19) inserts the phrase *ky-dd* before what is normally the main text of Allen’s section *a.2*. pL4 (Lapp 2006, 111) does similarly prior to the main text of *a.11* and earlier (Lapp 2006, 31) it includes the phrase *ptr rf sw* before the main text of section *a.3*.

Nevertheless, this framework of commentary in *BD 17* was quickly canonized and transmitted through the end of the Ptolemaic Period.

With regard to how the scribes redacted *BD 17* out of copies of *CT 335*, Rößler-Köhler has identified a number of useful principles.²⁹² The new version was composed by:

1. Drawing on multiple sources
2. Preserving original form and content
3. Collecting traditional material
4. Revising or expanding the text for the purpose of clarity

In other words, the commentary in *BD 17* was constructed over a lengthy period of time and through the compilation of numerous manuscripts. The reader is given the illusion that the body text is ancient, unaltered, and above variation. At the same time as *BD 17* is standardized, however, annotations appear in other *BD* spells directly appended to the body text. The more consistent use of *ky-dd* provided a new literary device for the deceased to acquire additional information regarding the content of the spell. In some instances, instead of adding new readings to the *Book of the Dead* commentary, older material was retained in a subordinate role as an alternate reading to a new gloss.²⁹³ Each of these methods for editing the text supports Rößler-Köhler's conclusion that,

da der Hauptzweck solcher Zusammenstellungen ja die summierende Sammlung von unterschiedlichen Informationen zu bestimmten Themen darstellte und ihre 'Deutung', sollte sie ebenfalls diesem Ziele entsprechen, deshalb nur durch separat gehaltene Informationszusätze und damit durch Glossierung, nicht jedoch durch die Änderung der vorhandenen Informationen geschehen konnte.²⁹⁴

²⁹² "Prinzipien der Redaktionstätigkeit," Rößler-Köhler 1979, 305.

²⁹³ Glosses in the *CT* at IV 200-3, 206/7, 218-20, 222-5, 228-31, 248-51, 260-3, 266-71, 299/302, 304, 315-6 and 325 are all alternate readings in *BD 17* (de Buck 1935). However, retained gloss material is found, for example, at IV 194-5 where the *CT* contains a shortened version of the *BD* gloss and at IV 234-9, which is one of the rare occasions where the *CT* and *BD* contain essentially the exact same text.

²⁹⁴ Rößler-Köhler 1995, 136.

The sacred words of the body text are thus left unaltered and the comments are contained by being marked with regularized terms. Indeed, the compilation of information in the glosses and alternate readings was the primary means for the scribes to interpret the text. In Chapter 5, I prove that these same concepts that were established in the Middle and New Kingdoms were the basis of the commentary that was embedded within the intralingual translations of sacred texts.

4.2.2. Continued Annotation of *BD 17*

As the glosses in *BD 17* were marked by a standard introductory question *ptr rf sw* ‘What is it?’, the reader anticipated that an interpretation or explanation for the body text would follow. However, as the spell continued to be transmitted, new difficulties in readings and disparities between manuscripts appeared. Scribes therefore continued to innovate in new ways of commenting on the body text. In order to do so, they adapted the phrase *ky-dd* ‘otherwise said,’ which had traditionally been embedded within the gloss, to stand on its own. In the two examples of this technique found in *BD 17* (see Example 4.3 and Example 4.4), the author provides two spellings for words that changed as they were transmitted over time.

The first case, Example 4.3, is from the second part of *BD 17*, where the deceased addresses various deities and asks for their assistance in navigating the afterlife. Re-Atum is summoned to dispel a deity who devours people and threatens their corpses.

Example 4.3 – p. Cairo CG 40002 (JE 21369, pC3), lines 82-84²⁹⁵

<p><i>i R^c-tm nb ḥw.t-^c3.t ity ntr.w nb.w nḥm=k NN m-^c ntr pwy nty ḥr=f m tzm inh.f m rmt.w</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ky-dd inm=f m rmt.w</i></p> <p><i>ḥnh=f m ḥr.yt</i></p>	<p>O Re-Atum, lord of the great house, Sovereign of all the gods, may you rescue NN from this God, whose face is as a greyhound, whose eyebrows are as people, otherwise said: whose skin is as people, and who lives on sacrifices.</p>
--	--

²⁹⁵ The text of pP5, pC3, TT82, pL2 and shC1 include an actual alternative with *inm*; cL1, lC1, pC1, pT1, pLe1 all use *inh* in the gloss as well as the main text (Lapp 2006, 250-251). See also Naville 1971, 63.

The confusion appears to have stemmed from a misunderstanding of the word *inm*, frequently translated ‘skin, hide, color,’ which appears in all but one of the *CT* versions of the spell (see Figure 4.3).²⁹⁶ At a certain point, a scribe introduced the similarly spelt word *inh*,²⁹⁷ meaning ‘eyebrows,’ and so two alternatives existed for this line of text (see Figure 4.4).

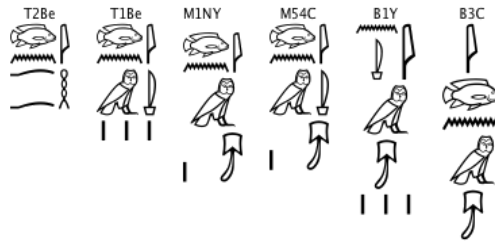


Figure 4.3 – *CT* examples of *inm* and *inh*²⁹⁸

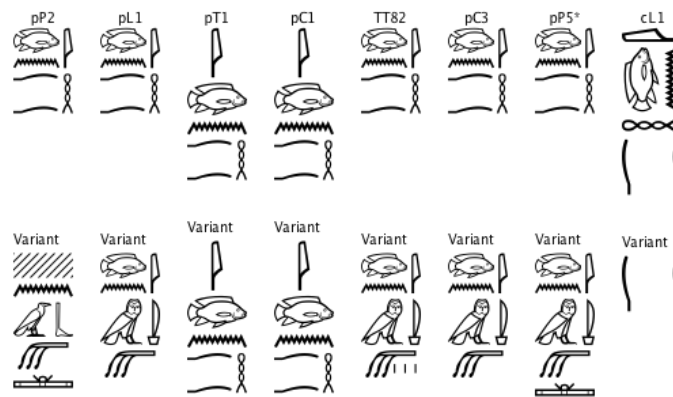


Figure 4.4 – *BD* examples of *inm* and *inh*²⁹⁹

During an examination of several copies of the spell, a scribe must have encountered the two different readings and so used a *ky-dd* marked comment to indicate that both variations existed. His work stemmed from a desire to bring together alternative readings of the text.

²⁹⁶ *Wb.* I, 96. For the *CT* version, see de Buck 1935, IV 313.

²⁹⁷ *Wb.* I, 99. The only *CT* that includes this word is T2Be (de Buck 1935, IV 313).

²⁹⁸ Examples are transcribed from de Buck 1935, and they follow the naming systems of de Buck.

²⁹⁹ Examples are transcribed from Naville 1971, and Lapp 2006, and they follow the naming systems of Lapp. The 18th Dynasty manuscript pP2 (p. Louvre 3074, Naville Pc, TM 134307) has a further alternate reading with *nb3* ‘wig, braid (?)’ (*Wb.* II, 243), which cannot be explained through an association to any other sources but is from Theban manuscript.

Example 4.4 is the second alternate reading that was inserted independently into *BD 17*. It happens to be in part of the spell that is not drawn from *CT 335*, but was taken in part from *CT 708*.³⁰⁰ The focus of the text is on the deceased returning to his house in his home city; there he is looked after and in turn looks after his own people.

Example 4.4 – p. Cairo CG 51189 (JE 295839, pC1)³⁰¹

ḥ3=k rw ḥḏ r3 pds tp ḥm n pḥ.ty=i

Back lion with white mouth and flattened head. Fall back at my strength!

ky-dd ḥm n pḥ(.w)=i

Otherwise said: Fall back at my attack!

Once again, the alternate reading is a slight change from the body text with which it is associated.³⁰² However, rather than introduce an entirely different word, these two are semantically related. The body text uses the substantive *pḥ.ty* and many manuscripts include various forms of the arm determinative.³⁰³ The alternate reading instead uses a nominalized form of the verb *pḥ* with the walking legs determinative.³⁰⁴ The visual parallel between *ḥm* and *pḥ*, which are both determined by the walking legs suggests that the alternate reading is the earlier of the two forms. In this instance, only a diligent scribe, who was concerned with properly accounting for all of the existing alternate readings, could have been picked up the variation and shown an interest in retaining both words.

Therefore, what we find in *BD 17* are two models of commentary. The first is the canonized commentary that forms a regularized meta-text to the body text of the spell through glosses and alternate readings. That material is separated by phrases (*ptr rf sw* and *ky-dd*) to separate the annotations from the body text and create the illusion that the latter has remained

³⁰⁰ For a translation, see Faulkner 2004, vol. II, 268.

³⁰¹ Lapp 2006, 312/3.

³⁰² In this case, there is no exact parallel in *CT 708* to provide some indication of which reading is earlier.

³⁰³ Gardiner signs D36, D37 and D40. *Wb.* I, 539.

³⁰⁴ Gardiner sign D54. *Wb.* I, 533.

unaltered from the original spell. However, the second mode of commenting, exemplified by Example 4.3 and Example 4.4, demonstrates that scribes continued to update and edit the body text as well. Rather than provide full sentences of interpretation, as found in the full commentary, the alternate readings were directly linked with the body text of *BD 17* and introduced variants of single words, which may have become confused or been used in different manuscripts.

4.3. Use of Marked Comments Beyond *BD 17*

By the beginning of the New Kingdom several other *Book of the Dead* spells included comments that were introduced by *ky-dd*.³⁰⁵ Much as was seen during the development of commentary in *CT 335*, the annotations in other *BD* spells are not found in the same place or across all manuscripts. Some become part of the textual tradition, while others are specific to a single surviving manuscript. Once again, the agency for creating these annotations lies in the hands of individual scribes, and the use of *ky-dd* allows them to collect diverse material and create new interpretations of the sacred texts.

It has been shown that in the canonized commentary of *BD 17*, *ky-dd* provided an alternate reading and was associated with the gloss, and that later the same phrase became an independent means of providing an alternate reading. However, when it spread to other *Book of the Dead* spells, it also adopted some of the functionality of the regular gloss (*ptr rf sw*). The *ky-dd* marked comment was thus used to retain old readings of a word or phrase (see Chapter 4.3.1), to compile several *Coffin Text* spells into a single *Book of the Dead* spell (see Chapter 4.3.2), and to interpret or explain ambiguous concepts within the text (see Chapter 4.3.3).³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ The alternate readings appear already in the Second Intermediate Period (e.g. cL1, see note 287), and new examples continue to be inserted into spells through the Ptolemaic Period.

³⁰⁶ In the interest of providing a comparison to the regularized commentary in *BD 17*, I focus mostly on texts of the New Kingdom with a single 21st Dynasty example. From the Ptolemaic Period, the manuscript of p. Turin 1791

4.3.1. Retaining Old Readings

As already shown in Example 4.3 and Example 4.4, scribes were concerned with compiling variants between different manuscripts and used *ky-dd* to insert the older reading into the body text. This function of the marked comment was also applied to *BD* 24, 57, and 71, each of which has a precursor in the *Coffin Texts*.³⁰⁷ In order to illustrate how the *ky-dd* marked comment functioned the same way in other spells, I examine it in *BD* 24.

BD 24 had a single *Coffin Text* precursor (*CT* 402), which was transmitted in its entirety from the *Coffin Text* to the *Book of the Dead* corpus.³⁰⁸ The *Coffin Text* spell is for “not dying again and giving a man’s magic to him.”³⁰⁹ When it appears as *BD* 24, only the second half of the title has been retained and it is “a spell for bringing the magic speech to N in the necropolis.”³¹⁰ The earliest version of this spell that contains the *ky-dd* marked comments is on the coffin cL1.³¹¹ The early adoption of an alternate reading in this spell indicates that it must have existed on papyrus versions of the text, perhaps as early as the Middle Kingdom. However, it is not until versions of *BD* 24 are produced that it becomes a regular part of the spell.

The spell is structured in three verses that each end with the same sentence: “be quicker than a hound, be speedier than a shadow.”³¹² The variation, “otherwise said: speedier than Shu,”

has glossed passages in nearly every spell and illustrates the degree to which the process of annotation progressed over time. For a list of occurrences of the word *ky-dd* in p. Turin 1791, see Backes 2005, 173.

³⁰⁷ *BD* 24 derives its text from *CT* 402, *BD* 57 from a sequence of *CT* 353, 355, 902, and 352, and *BD* 71 from *CT* 691 (Allen 1974, 225ff). A translation of this spell and its *CT* predecessor is in Appendix D.

³⁰⁸ de Buck 1935, V 175-177.

³⁰⁹ Faulkner 2004, vol. II, 46-47.

³¹⁰ Naville 1971, II, 87.

³¹¹ Geisen 2004a and Budge 1910, xxi-xxii and pls. 39-47. The alternate reading also appears in pP7, pL8, pL2 and pNa1 of the 18th and 19th Dynasties.

³¹² de Buck 1935, V 176a, 176i and 177d. In the case of coffin M2NY, which includes *CT* 402, after both 176a and 176i, it has a rubricized *grh* sign for ‘ending.’ The presence of the arm sign supports the idea of a verse structure to this spell.

is appended to this refrain, which describes how the magic of the deceased is collected for him. In each existing version of *CT* 402, the refrain refers to the god Shu (Šw), but in the versions of *BD* 24, Shu is replaced by the near homonym šwy.t ‘shadow,’ and the name of the god is moved to the alternate reading.³¹³ The earlier manuscripts only include the added comment in the last two cases, leaving the first refrain with the reading Shu (Šw).³¹⁴ By moving the older reading (Šw) to the alternate reading, the scribe could preserve the older interpretation and provide a new understanding of the spell at the same time. Thus when the deceased employed this spell in the afterlife, he had access to not only a physical understanding of speed, represented by the greyhound and the shadow, but also its association with Shu, who in embodying the wind was part of the magical process as well. The inclusion of older readings, which stood apart but were integrated at the same time, suited the additive nature of textual transmission that was favored in Egyptian scribal practice.

4.3.2. Compiling Spells

It was not only short phrases and single words that were compiled by scribes early in the New Kingdom. Many more *Coffin Texts* are known than spells from the *Book of the Dead* indicating that at a certain point, scribal scholars had to have decided to keep some of them and discard others. In a few cases, they chose to combine two or more *CT* spells into a single *BD* spell, which they then separated by using the phrase *ky-dd*.³¹⁵ With this use of *ky-dd*, the phrase did not refer to a variation in the language. However, the function was similar in that the scribes were intent on accumulating knowledge and combining related materials.

³¹³ It should be noted that in coffin M2NY, the determinative of the seated god (Gardiner A40) is omitted from the end of the name of the god. Such an omission may have initially led to the confusion of the two words.

³¹⁴ The alternate reading is not applied to all three refrains except in the later Ptolemaic papyrus Turin 1791.

³¹⁵ See for example *BD* 40, 69-71, and 122.

An example is found in *BD* 122, “Spell for entering after going forth.” The spell has two sections but a single title suggesting that they would be read together.³¹⁶ The textual predecessor of section *a* is *CT* 340 and of section *b* is *CT* 395, which previously appear in this sequence on only one Middle Kingdom coffin.³¹⁷ The New Kingdom papyrus of Nu contains both portions of the spell and the phrase *ky-dd* appears between them. The two texts are not related to each other by content, but by theme. The first was originally designed to allow the deceased to get aboard a boat and cross to the West after answering a series of questions. The second was then concerned with the state of the deceased after he had made it to the West, namely that he or she was transformed in order to travel freely to and from the tomb. In this situation, the phrase *ky-dd* linked the journey from this world to the next with the transformative action that then allowed the deceased to return.

By accumulating not only words and phrases, but entire spells, the scribes who created the content of the *Book of the Dead* were intent on providing an effective and thorough funerary manuscript for the deceased. In the function of combining two previously distinct spells, the use of *ky-dd* moves beyond its function within *BD* 17 to become a more general means of editing this ritual text.

4.3.3. Interpreting Information

Thus far, the majority of alternate readings introduced by *ky-dd* result from a scribal process of compilation, with the practical function of preserving textual variations over the course of

³¹⁶ For a discussion of the development of this spell from its *CT* origins, see Lucarelli 2006, 120-122, 125. The spell is relatively uncommon with only 80 occurrences noted by the Totenbuch-Projekt Bonn (<http://awktotenbuch.uni-koeln.de:8080/spruch/122> [Accessed 5-Nov-13]). The spell is not included in Naville’s synoptic edition of the *BD*.

³¹⁷ Coffin L1Li is from Lisht and belonged to a Sesenebenef (de Buck 1935, IV 340-342 and V 68-73). The coffin has been dated to roughly the late 12th or early 13th Dynasty, and is considered unlike other coffins from the cemetery at Lisht (Willems 1988, 105). In the case of B9C, the next spell is in fact *CT* 335, which is the opposite of *CT* 340 as it is a spell for leaving the West.

transmission. However, we now turn to the second role of *ky-dd* added comments, which was to insert an interpretation that somehow illuminates the situation or expands upon the meaning within the text. This function is similar to the glosses in *BD 17*, which illustrates that *ky-dd* moved beyond simply recording ‘alternate readings’ and became an alternative to the question word *ptr rfs*, i.e. it became a means of adding new interpretive commentary.

One means of interpreting a text was through the use of wordplay, especially in the form of puns, which was a well-established practice in Egyptian textual composition from the *Pyramid Texts* onward.³¹⁸ The function of wordplay was often to create an etiology for a place, people, or divinity, and in earlier texts, it was accomplished by means of simple analogy.³¹⁹ Rather than feel the need to incorporate each association directly into the main text, the scribe could use an alternate reading with *ky-dd* to exploit the similarity between Egyptian words and provide nuanced meaning to the text. As discussed above, in *BD 24* the god Shu (*Šw*) is associated with the shadow (*šwy.t*) through the similar sounding words but also the meaning of the text. The use of *ky-dd* makes the relationship between the two words explicit without requiring the scribe to replace one word with the other.

However the alternate reading did not have to be a play on words, but could also be an entirely different reading of the text. For example in *BD 40*, which allowed the deceased to repel a snake who was known as the ‘swallower of the donkey,’ an alternate reading was noted that in no way matches the body text (see Example 4.5).³²⁰ The deceased addresses the snake, who eats wrongdoing, and professes that he or she has committed no sins.

³¹⁸ See for example Loprieno 2000, and for a systematic use of wordplay in Ptolemaic temple texts, see Leitz 2001a.

³¹⁹ See Assmann 1995, 98-99.

³²⁰ The spell has two sections, the first of which appears on a single manuscript, Lb (Allen 1974, 47). He notes that only manuscript includes the first part of the spell, uses the phrase *ky-dd* to connect the two sections. In all of the other examples, the second part of the spell is the entire body text.

nn isf:t=(i) m {imy} d3d3.t ʕ3.t My wrong does not exist in the great court.
ky-dd hsf n=k tw sp-sn Variant: Defend yourself still!

In the original text, the deceased declares his or her innocence, while in the comment an imperative statement nevertheless urges the person to defend him or herself. It appears that the comment was added in order to provide advise to the deceased, as the subject changes from the implied first person (=i) of the body text to the second person singular (=k) in the alternate reading. Unlike the alternate readings that have been discussed thus far, Example 4.5 extends the use of the *ky-dd* marked comment to include more substantial variations from the body text.

In summary, the alternate readings that followed the phrase *ky-dd* could fulfill a number of functions, but that their general task was to retain old or provide new information. The scribes could choose to move older terms into an alternate reading, compile several spells, and create wordplays, while still signaling that it did not belong to the body text. However, these annotations were not consistent, which suggests that these textual emendations were specific to particular textual traditions or scribes. Outside of the canonized commentary in *BD 17*, the author of each individual manuscript had the ability to add or remove whichever comments he chose and throughout the New Kingdom could also organize the spells in whichever order he felt was most effective or how the client wanted. This intellectual work of collecting, redacting, and organizing the *Book of the Dead* was integral to the notion of *whʕ* ‘interpretation.’ The scribes who were involved in these activities conscientiously read through the ritual texts and created copies of the spells, which were the most understandable and effective for the deceased.

Excursus: Propagating the Vocabulary of Interpretation

Already by the early New Kingdom, the semantic function of the phrase *ky-dd* had spread beyond the boundaries of the funerary texts where it was first used. As a tool to create

commentary, it also appears once in the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*³²¹ and within several of the larger medical treatises.³²² Notably the phrase is also attested in personal letters,³²³ where it signals a change in the topic of conversation,³²⁴ and in a few literary texts, namely the Love Poems and the Instructions of Ani, which I discuss below. I contend that the use of this phrase in the latter two sources has the same function of providing an interpretation to an ambiguous situation. However, rather than explain a complex theological concept, the authors endeavored to present the effect or result of a particular situation.

1) Love Poems

There are two examples of the use of *ky-dd* in the so-called Egyptian love poems. The first example is from a series of love songs written onto an ostracon that was discovered at Deir el Medina.³²⁵ The second is in the compilation manuscript papyrus Harris 500 (see Example 4.6).³²⁶ The word fits into the verse scanning that is suggested by Mathieu, and the added comment

³²¹ It is from the version in the tomb of Seti I (KV 17, lines 47-48, see Hornung 1982, 15). It appears in a description of the figure of the cow that is meant to accompany the spell (Hornung 1982, 82, fig. 4). The author of the text uses *ky-dd* to create a couplet describing the two barques that are under the belly of the heavenly cow.

³²² See note 285.

³²³ While no evidence for the use of *ky-dd* appears in Middle Kingdom letters, it appear to fulfill a function similar to that of the Old Kingdom enclitic particle *gr* ‘furthermore, also, now’ (*Wb.* V, 177-178, e.g. p. Berlin 8869, vo. 12, see Möller and Gardiner 1911, pl. III and Wentz 1990, 58), Middle Kingdom *gr.t* (*Wb.* V, 178-179, e.g. correspondence of Heqanakt, see Allen 2002, 281), which continues to appear in later letters. The phrase appears already in the correspondence of the scribe Ahmose, son of Peniati, which is dated to the first half of the 18th Dynasty (Glanville 1928).

³²⁴ Much as we signal a change with a paragraph break in contemporary Western writing, *ky-dd* moves the reader towards ‘a further matter’ to be addressed. It belongs to what Bakir terms “Formulae of Transition or Continuation,” which can be formulated with *ky-dd* or a number of other introductory phrases (1970, 82-83 and 98-99). It can be used in a secondary position where it introduces a new piece of content within the letter, or it can be used immediately following the honorific formulae that open the letter and are comprised of a variety of wishes for the health and piety of the pharaoh before the gods (e.g. p. Anastasi V, col. 24, 1-3, see Gardiner 1937, 70 and Caminos 1954, 266. TM 381201).

³²⁵ For bibliographic information on o. DeM 1266 + o. CGC 25219, see Mathieu 1996a, 95. Regarding the difficulties in translating this stanza, see the note attached to the translation in the TLA, <http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S02?u=guest&f=0&l=0&db=0&wc=66632> [accessed 02-Dec-2014].

³²⁶ For bibliographic information on p. BM EA 10060 known as p. Harris 500 (TM 380901), see Mathieu 1996a, 55. It also includes the text of two Late Egyptian stories on the verso: “The Doomed Prince and “The Capture of Joppa” (Fox 1985, 7).

outlines the feelings of a woman who longs for her lover. The use of *ky-dd*, here spelt *k3-dd*, provides the woman's understanding of the situation. When a messenger announces that she has been wronged, she interprets it to mean that her lover has found someone else.

Example 4.6 – Poem 15, p. Harris 500, col. 5,10-11³²⁷

<i>di=i t3 mrw.t n sn m hr.t=i w^c.kw</i>	The love of my brother is as my sole companion,
<i>hr(=i) (hr) nty n=f</i>	I concern myself with him.
<i>bw gr ib=i h3b=f n=i</i>	My heart cannot be silent, since he sent to me
<i>wpwt(y) 3s rd.wy m k-hr-pr.t</i>	a messenger, quick of feet in coming and going,
<i>r dd n=i d3=f wi</i>	to tell me that he wronged me:
<i>k3-dd gm=f k.t</i>	<i>otherwise said</i> , that he found another!



Figure 4.5 – Hieroglyphic Transcription of p. Harris 500, col. 5,11

In both of the cases in the Love Songs, *ky-dd* provides an explanation for the sentiment being expressed—‘otherwise said’—that is an examination of the pain, in Example 4.6, and desire, on the Deir el Medina ostrakon, of the speaker in the poem. What is implied in the first part of the sentence is interpreted and stated outright within the *ky-dd* marked comment.

2) Instructions of Ani

The author of the Instructions of Ani, a wisdom text that was likely composed as early as the 18th Dynasty, also made use of *ky-dd*.³²⁸ The scribe of papyrus Boulaq 4, which is dated to the 21st Dynasty, employs the phrase once in a passage that encourages the reader to remember their libations for the gods and deceased (see Example 4.7). After the suggestion is given, the author explains why it is the correct (*mti*) thing to do, and the comment confirms that offering libations is the proper thing to do.

³²⁷ After Mathieu 1996a, 63 and 77 n.239.

³²⁸ Quack 1994, 7-8.

*i.w3h mw (n) it=k mwt=k
nty htp m t3 in.t*

*mti mw iri m-dy ntr.w
(m) k3-dd s[t] (hr) šsp*

*imi=k hm m rw.t (hr) ir.t=f
iry s n=k s3=k my.tt*

Offer water for your father and mother,
who rest in the Necropolis.

Correct is a libation, which is presented to the gods,
in short:³³⁰ they accept (it).

Let it not be unknown in public that you do it,
then your son will do it likewise for you.



Figure 4.6 – Hieroglyphic Transcription of p. Boulaq 4, col. 17,4-6

Once again, an outcome of a particular action is elucidated in the text by using *ky-dd* to avoid ambiguity by means of a secondary explanation.

Despite the fact that the function of both the poems and the instruction text is to inform and entertain in contrast with the magical function of the funerary texts, the phrase *ky-dd* is similarly used to explain the outcome of a particular situation. If a lover leaves, it is presumed to be because he has found someone else, and if one offers libations to the gods and ancestors, they will likely accept it. Although these texts are contemporary and carry none of the historical weight of the mortuary literature, their authors nevertheless make use of the interpretive function

³²⁹ For the transliteration and translation, see Quack 1994, 94-95 and for the hieroglyphic transcription, see Quack 1994, 289-290. Although my translation follows that provided by Quack, I recognize that the passage is problematic and could be interpreted otherwise.

³³⁰ *ky-dd* has been translated in a number of ways, including ‘<Mit> anderen Worten/anders gesagt’ (Peter Dils, “Die Lehre des Ani – 3. Weisheitslehren – Literarische Texte – Strukturen und Transformationen des Wortschatzes der ägyptischen Sprache,” Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig in *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* [<http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=1135&db=0&ws=872&mv=4>]) and ‘They will say’ (Lichtheim 1976, 137). However, I follow the translation provided by Quack of “kurz gesagt”, which in my opinion, provides the most accurate understanding of this passage and suits the context of this wisdom text.

of *ky-dd*. Practices of textual commentary have therefore become part of scribal culture and available for use in other genres.

4.4. Conclusion

A tradition of scribal editing existed already in the Old Kingdom, but it only appears in the surviving textual record in the form of the commented version of *CT 335*. Both commented and uncommented versions of the spell were used side by side in the burial of Horhotep in the 11th Dynasty (T1C), which demonstrates that the adoption of the commentary was not linear or immediate. Instead, the Middle Kingdom versions of *CT 335* illustrate the varied and experimental nature of early scribal practices of textual interpretation and commentary. The scribe who wrote the texts on coffin BH1Br included not only interpretive glosses, but new alternate readings marked with *ky-dd* that became a common feature of *BD 17*.

The function of this commentary was accumulative and explanatory even in its earliest forms. Using innovative annotation techniques, scribes were able to retain an unaltered body text, while also providing further information for the reader to understand the religious content. The value of the commented version of the spell was recognized, as the uncommented version fell out of use by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. *BD 17* canonized the text and commentary in a regularized form, which was then transmitted until the end of the Ptolemaic Period. At the same time, the change in medium from coffin to papyrus precipitated the inclusion of many more alternate readings, both in *BD 17* and in other *Book of the Dead* spells. Despite the fact that the commentary became an inflexible and integrated part of *BD 17*, scribes continued to edit and compile textual variants as they copied out the spell onto new rolls of papyrus. They used the alternate reading to ensure that the spells were comprehensive, but also to offer differing interpretations.

At this stage in the development of Egyptian practices of textual commentary and interpretation, Middle Egyptian was the principal language form for all manner of composition. The body text as well as the commentary that was appended to it was familiar to the scribes and scholars who worked with the mortuary literature. So long as the commentary was signaled by the use of a number of set phrases (e.g. *ptr rf sw*, *ky-dd*), there was no need to separate it from the body text. However, during the late 18th Dynasty, the written Egyptian language underwent a fundamental shift, which dramatically altered the linguistic landscape of the country. Through the introduction of Late Egyptian, spoken and written forms were more closely aligned and Middle Egyptian became a high-register taught language. These changes led to the appearance of new techniques for interpreting and commenting on texts, which stood alongside the traditional commenting methods I have discussed in this chapter. In order to provide helpful commentary to later readers, Egyptian scribes began translating their own language.

Appendix B – Example of the Development of Commentary in *CT 335/BD 17*

Body Text: *CT* and *BD*

O Re who is in his egg, rising in his disk, shining in his horizon, floating on his firmament, having no equal among the gods, sailing over the supports of Shu, giving the winds with the breath of his mouth, illuminating the Two lands with his rays, may you save me/this NN from that god whose shape is hidden and whose eyebrows are the arms of the balance on that night of reckoning with the robber,

Gloss: *CT*

M54C: He is “He Who Carried off His Portion”

Gloss: *BD*

Who is he?

He is “He Who Carried off His Portion” And as for that night of reckoning the Robber, it is the night of the cobra and of sacrifices.

Body Text: *CT* and *BD*

who puts bonds on the evildoers at his slaughterhouse, and who kills souls. [*M54C*: It is the day of reckoning with the robber.]

Gloss: *CT*

Who is this god whose eyebrows are the arms of the balance?

He is Horus who presides over Khem

Alternate Reading: *CT*

M54C: Otherwise said: He is Thoth.

Gloss: *BD*

Who is he?

He is Shesemu; he is the mutilator of Osiris.

Alternate Reading: *BD*

Otherwise said: He is Apophis; he possesses one head bearing truth.

Otherwise said: He is Horus; he possesses two heads, one bearing truth, the other bearing falsehood. He gives falsehood to him who practices it, truth to him who comes bearing it.

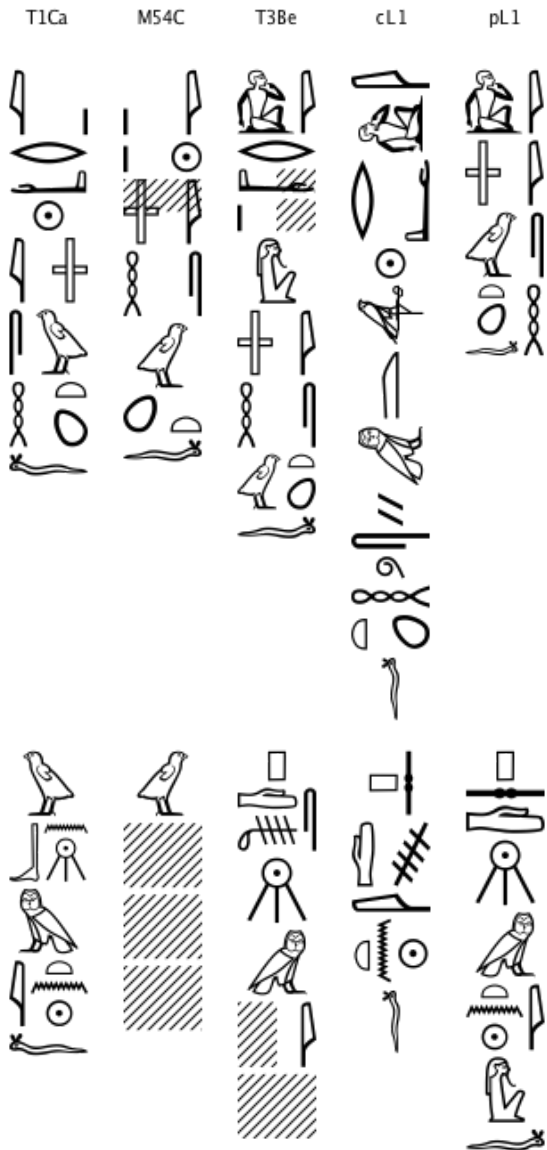
Otherwise said: He is Horus who presides over Khem

Otherwise said: He is Thoth.

Otherwise said: He is Nefertem, son of Bastet/Sopdet, [*cLI*: the Council] who punishes the enemies of the Lord of All.

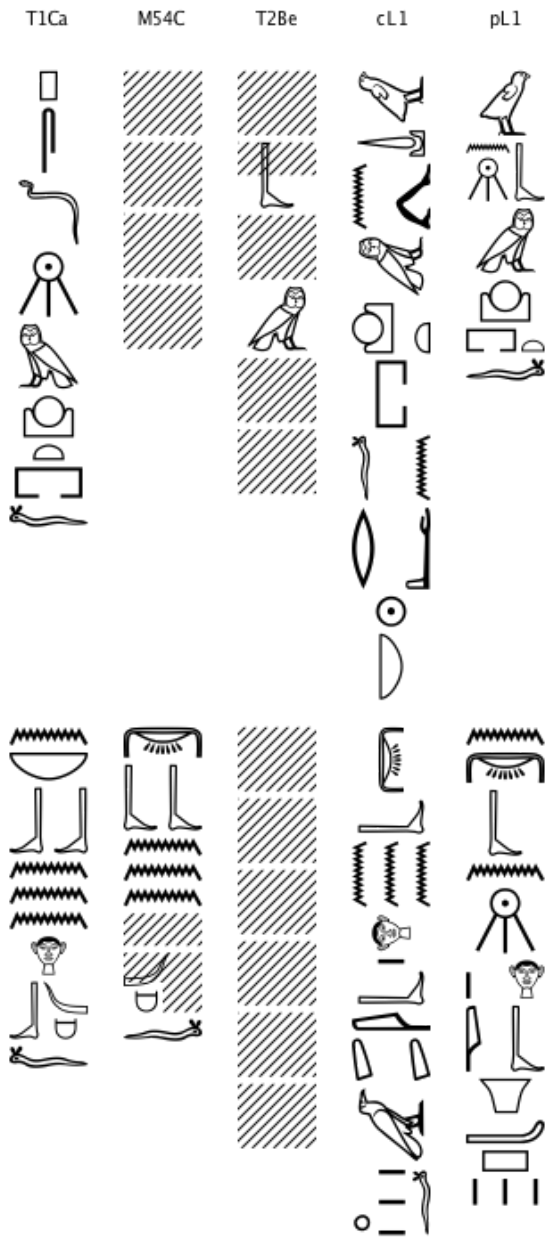
Body Text

- T1C^a – 11th Dynasty
- M54C – mid 12th Dynasty (Amenemhat II or later)
- T2Be – late 12th Dynasty (Senwosret III or later)
- cL1 – 17th Dynasty
- pL1 – 18th Dynasty (Tuthmosis IV)



O Re who is in his egg,

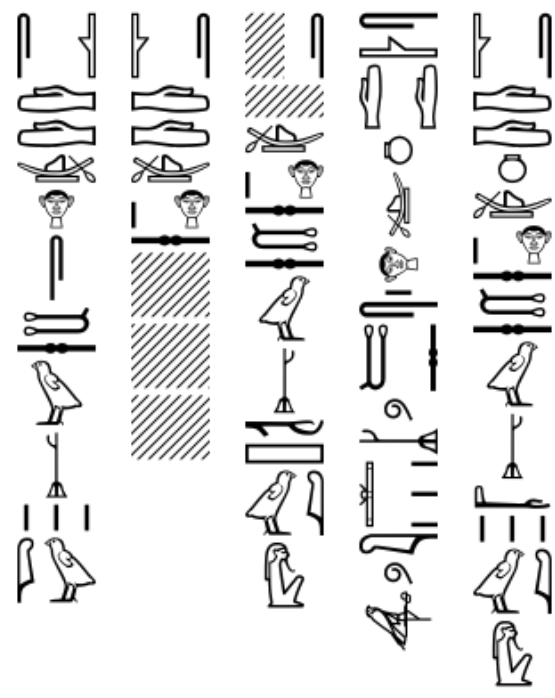
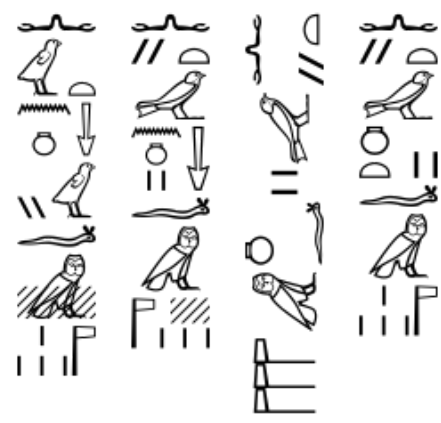
rising in his disk,



shining in his horizon,

floating on his firmament,

T1Ca M54C T2Be cL1 pL1



having no equal among the gods,

sailing over the supports of Shu,

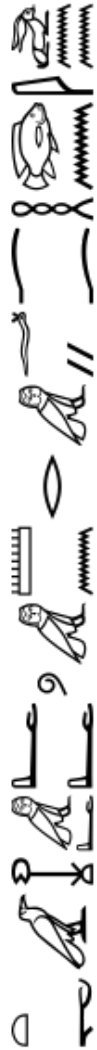
M54C



T2Be



cL1



pL1



and whose eyebrows are the arms of the balance

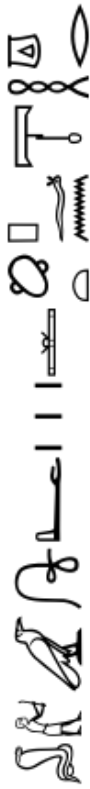
M54C



T2Be



cL1

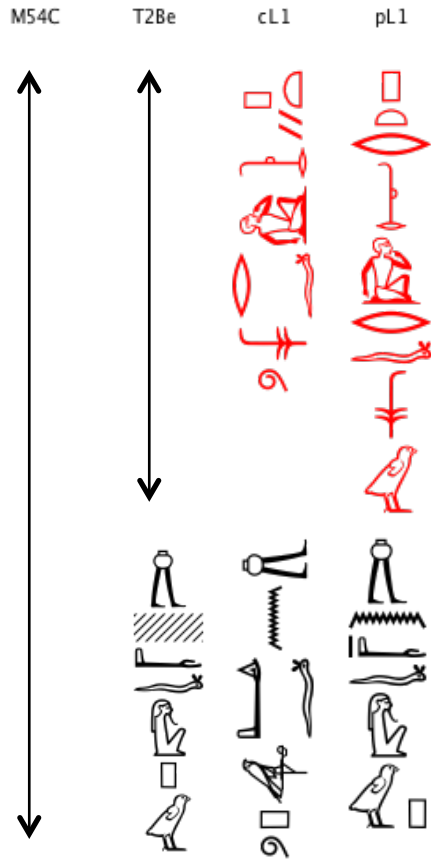


pL1



on that night of reckoning with the
robber

Gloss: Coffin Text 335 and Book of the Dead 17



Who is he?

He is "He Who Carried off His Portion"

M54C



T2Be



cL1



pL1



And as for that night of reckoning
the Robber,

it is the night of the cobra and of
sacrifices.

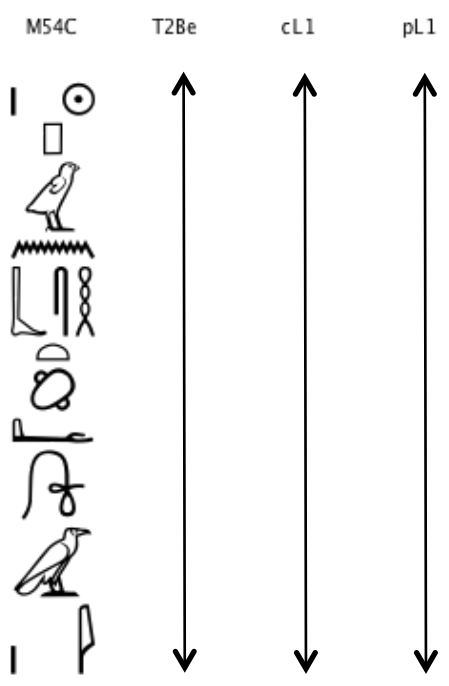
Body Text

M54C T2Be cL1 pL1



who puts bonds on the evildoers at
his slaughterhouse,

and who kills souls.



It is the day of reckoning with the robber.

Gloss: Coffin Text 335 and Book of the Dead 17



CT 335: M54C, T2Be
 Who is this god whose eyebrows are
 the arms of the balance?

BD 17: cL1, pL1
 Who is he?

M54C



T2Be



cL1



pL1



He is Shesemu;
he is the mutilator of Osiris

Alternate Readings: *Book of the Dead 17*



Otherwise said:

He is Apophis;

M54C

T2Be

cL1

pL1



one bearing truth,

the other bearing falsehood.

He gives falsehood to him who practices it,

Alternate Reading: *Coffin Text 335 and Book of the Dead 17*

M54C	T2Be	cL1	pL1	
	↑ ↓			Otherwise said:
				He is Thoth.

Alternate Reading: *Book of the Dead 17*

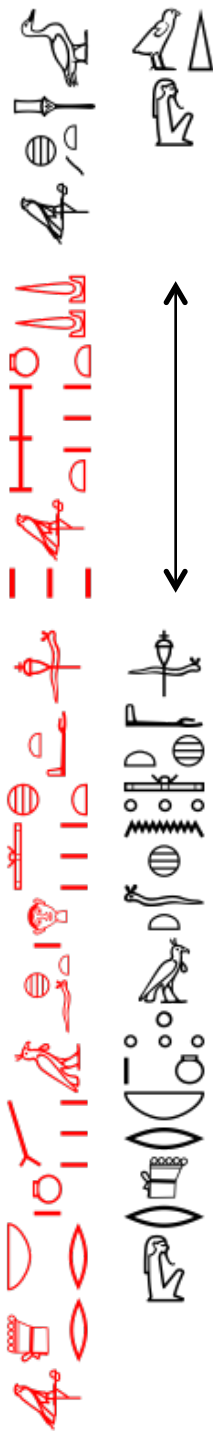
↑ ↓	↑ ↓			Otherwise said:
				He is Nefertem,

M54C

T2Be

cL1

pL1



cL1
son of Sakhmet,

pL1
Sopdet

the Council (*d3d3.t*)

who punishes the enemies of the
Lord of All.

Appendix C – Tables of Sources

Table 4.1 – Coffins with *CT 335* without commentary³³¹

Coffin	Provenance	Current Location	Willems (1988) Dating	Rößler-Köhler (1998) Dating	Morales (2013) Dating
T1C ^a	Thebes	In situ	late 11 th Dynasty	11 th Dynasty	Mentuhotep II
Sq4Sq ³³²	Saqqara	Cairo JE 39052	Later 12 th Dynasty (?)	Late 12 th Dynasty	Late 12 th Dynasty
B1Y	Deir el-Bersha	Yale University 1937.5903	Senwosret II-III	Amenemhat I-Senwosret I	Amenemhat I to Amenemhat II
B3C	Deir el-Bersha	Cairo CG 28085	2 nd half of Senwosret I	Amenemhat I-Senwosret I	N/A
B9C ^b	Deir el-Bersha	Cairo CG 28091	Senwosret I or early Amenemhat II	Amenemhat II to Senwosret III	Senwosret I-Amenemhat II
M1Be	Meir	Berlin 70/71	Amenemhat II	N/A	N/A

³³¹ Coffins below the double line are part of a secondary branch (γ^G) of the stemma of Peter Jürgens (see Figure 4.1).

³³² Rößler-Köhler dates the uncommented version found on coffin Sq4Sq to the late 11th-early 12th dynasty (1995, 128). However, she later changes dates the coffin to the late 12th Dynasty (1998, 87 and fig. 1a). It is not clear why she changes the date, but the original dating is then reconfirmed by Jürgens who states, “Nach gegenwärtigem Stand der Diskussion ist aber wahrscheinlich, daß Sq4Sq nicht jünger als T1C ist, nämlich wie dieser in die späte 11. bis frühe 12. Dynastie datiert” (1999, 39, esp. n.19).

Table 4.2 – Coffins with examples of *ky-dd* in CT 335³³³

Coffin	Provenance	Current Location	Willems (1988) Dating	Rößler-Köhler (1998) Dating	Morales (2013) Dating
L1NY	Lisht	New York MMA 32.1.133	Amenemhat II or later	Amenemhat I or Senwosret I	Amenemhat II or later
M4C	Meir	Cairo JE 42950	Amenemhat II	Senwosret I or Amenemhat II	N/A
M54C (lid)	Meir	Cairo CG 28074	late Amenemhat II or later	Amenemhat II	N/A
M1NY	Meir	New York MMA 12.182.132	late Amenemhat II or later	Amenemhat II or later	Amenemhat II
BH1Br	Beni Hassan	Brussels E. 5037	late Amenemhat II to early Senwosret III	Amenemhat II to Senwosret III	Amenemhat II to Senwosret III
B1P	Deir el-Bersha	Paris, Louvre E 10779 A	Senwosret II-III	Amenemhat II to Senwosret III	Senwosret II-III

³³³ All of the objects are from Middle Egypt and all, except the lid M54C, are full coffins with case and lid preserved.



Table 4.3 – *BD* Manuscripts with *ky-dd*³³⁴

Book of the Dead	Find Spot	Current Location	Neville (1971) Number	Lapp (2006, 2008) Number	<i>BD</i> Spells with <i>ky-dd</i>	Date
Sarcophagus of Mentuhotep [TM 135249]	Thebes	Unknown		cL1	<i>CT</i> 372-3, 24, 64, <i>CT</i> 154 (=BD 115)	End 13 th Dyn
p. Louvre 21324 [TM 134311]	Thebes	Louvre	Ca	pP7	24, 93	Hatchepsut-Thutmose III, 18 th Dyn
p. Tui [TM 133546]	Thebes	BM EA 79431, 9913; Bologna KS 3168; Moskau I, 1b, 122	Ab + Ie	pL8	24	Tuthmose III-Amenhotep II, 18 th Dyn
p. Louvre 3073 [TM 134306]	Thebes	Louvre	Pa	pP4	78	Tuthmose III-Amenhotep II, 18 th Dyn
p. Maiherperi [TM 134265]	Thebes	CG 24095		pC2	105	Amenhotep II, 18 th Dyn
p. Amenhotep [TM 133589]	Thebes	CG 40002	Cc	pC3	<i>CT</i> 372-3 (w/ <i>BD</i> 54); 93	Amenhotep II, 18 th Dyn
p. Amenhotep [TM 134272]	Thebes	CG 40003	Cd	pC4	105	Amenhotep II, 18 th Dyn
p. Louvre 3074 [TM 134307]	Thebes	Louvre	Pc	pP2	34	Amenhotep II, 18 th Dyn
p. Neferwebenef [TM 134308]	Thebes	Louvre 3092; Montpellier fragments	Pb	pP3	69-70, 71	Thutmose IV, 18 th Dyn
p. Nebseni [TM 134286]	Saqqara	BM EA 9900	Aa	pL1	71	Thutmose IV, 18 th Dyn
p. Nu [TM 134299]	Thebes (?)	BM EA 10477	Ea	pL2	24, 34, 57, 71, 93, 105, 122	Amenhotep III, 18 th Dyn
p. Neapel 2322 [TM 134373]	Unknown	Neapel 2322	Ih	pNa1	24	19 th Dyn
p. Leiden T. 5 [TM 134348]	Saqqara	Leiden	Lb	pLe3	40	19 th Dyn
p. Campbell [TM 134515]	Royal Cache, Deir el Bahri	BM EA 10793			24, 40, 105, 122	Siamun, 21 st Dyn

³³⁴ Note that this is by no means an exhaustive list of the *BD* manuscripts with *ky-dd*. It is meant to act as a sample of the number of annotations that are yet to be found in the *Book of the Dead*. For additional bibliography on any of these manuscripts, see the relevant entries in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014.

p. Suitmes [TM 134567]	Thebes	BN 38-45	Pd		105	early 21 st Dyn
p. Louvre 3132 [TM 133523]	Thebes	Louvre N 3132, E. 18965, New Haven P. Ct YBR 2754 1-6	Pe	pP11	24	late 21 st Dyn
p. Gatseshen [TM 134448]	Royal Cachette, Deir el Bahri	Cairo JE 95838			34, 57, 69-70	late 21 st Dyn
p. Greenfield [TM 134519]	Royal Cachette, Deir el Bahri	BM EA 10554	Ec		31	end 21 st begin 22 nd Dyn
p. Turin 1791 [TM 57201]	Thebes	Turin			194 <i>ky-dd</i> in a variety of spells	Ptolemaic
p. Ryerson [TM 48470]	Unknown	Chicago OIM 9787, New York CUL 784			34	30 th Dyn-early Ptolemaic

Appendix D – Coffin Text 402 and Book of the Dead 24

	<i>CT 402</i> ³³⁵	<i>BD 24</i> ³³⁶
Title	Not dying again and giving a man's magic to him.	A spell to bring the magic of N to him/her.
Stanza	I am Khepri who created himself upon his mother's lap, who gave the jackals to those who are in the Nun and the predators (<i>wḥs.wt</i>) to those who are on the Council.	I am Khepri, who created himself on the water of hereafter of his mother, while giving jackals to those who are in the Nun, and hunting dogs (<i>bḥs.w</i>) to those who are on the Council.
Refrain	See, I have gathered together this magic of mine in every place in which it may be; I knew every <place> in which it may be; faster than a greyhound, quicker than Shu. 	See, I have gathered this magic in every place in which it is, from whomever they are with, faster than a greyhound, quicker than a shadow.
Stanza	O you who bring the barque of Re, strengthen your warp, launch the ferry-boat over to the Island of Fire in the necropolis.	O you who bring the barque of Re, your sail-rope is taut in the north wind when you sail to the Lake of Fire in the necropolis.
Refrain	May you gather together this magic of mine for me in every place in which it may be. Now anyone with whom it is, be faster than a greyhound, quicker than Shu. 	I have gathered this magic in every place in which it is, from whomever it is with, faster than greyhounds, quicker than a shadow; otherwise said , quicker than Shu.
Stanza	The <i>nwr</i> -bird is in distress; the gods are silent, having caused the <i>nwr</i> -bird to cry aloud (<i>wbg</i>), so that it may make announcement to the gods.	The <i>nwr</i> -bird is in distress, while the gods are silent; it was made by the cries (<i>wbg.w</i>) of the <i>nwr</i> -bird.
Refrain	See, I have gathered together this magic of mine in every place in which it was. Now anyone who is with it, be faster than a greyhound, quicker than Shu. I am a festal bull, pure of mouth, living on milk of the god's mother.	These my magic belongs to me in every place in which it is, from whomever it is with, faster than greyhounds, quicker than a shadow; otherwise said , quicker than a shadow.

³³⁵ Translation after coffin M2NY, except the title, which is only found in T1C. See de Buck 1935, V 175-177 and Faulkner 2004, vol. II, 46-47.

³³⁶ Translation after cL1. See Geisen 2004a, 40 and 92-93.

Chapter 5. Textual Commentary after the New Kingdom

The methods of annotating a text, which were established in the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Text* 335 and streamlined in the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* 17, continued to evolve as the Egyptian language underwent significant change. In this chapter, I show that textual annotation was a constant concern for temple scribes until the ritual texts became immaterial with the end of traditional Egyptian religion in the later Roman Period. I contend that the practice of Egyptian intralingual translation – the translation from an earlier to a later phase of the language – emerged as an effective technique for textual commentary due to the language change of the New Kingdom. Translation offered a solution to interpreting and annotating texts that were written in a language phase that was becoming increasingly difficult for many to understand.

However, translation did not replace earlier commentary techniques; it offered an alternative. On the one hand, I establish that scribes continued to use the longer glossing methods regularized in *BD* 17 to annotate older texts in Middle Egyptian, as established by the notes in papyrus Jumilhac. On the other hand, I outline the emergence of intralingual translation in the Third Intermediate Period, in particular through an examination of two shorter translated texts. In order to prove that intralingual translation continued the Egyptian custom of annotation, I then identify the commentary techniques first used in the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead* within the translated versions of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* (papyrus BM 10252) and the *Book of Nut* (papyrus Carlsberg 1 and 1a = PC1 and PC1a). These forms of commentary remained distinct from the body text due to the use of added phrases, such as *dd* or *ky-dd*. Although these comments are inserted into the translation rather than the body text, they served the same purpose as in *CT* 335/*BD* 17, namely they add specific details to ambiguous passages.

Next, I show that the inclusion of a translation provided a number of new ways for interpretation to be added to a text. I argue that the scribes used the translated text as a basis for extending their interpretation. These new techniques included paraphrasing, creating complementary pairs between the two texts, omitting or adding material, and making paratextual references to other written or visual works or their own remarks. I examine each of these practices in turn and find that rather than being restricted to demarcating comments with additional words or phrases, authors manipulated the translated text, thus leaving the original ritual language undisturbed.

By means of this textual analysis, I demonstrate that the translated texts can be considered commentary, as they fulfill the three criteria, which were outlined by Jan Assmann.³³⁷ Uncommented versions of both compositions were in circulation before the translation was added (=Nachträglichkeit), the translation had an inherently interpretive function (=Deutungsfunktion), and the translations add and omit material from the Middle Egyptian, making them dependent on the original text (=Textbezug). I also contend that the function of this commentary remained the same as in *CT 335/BD 17*, but was executed with the new techniques: paraphrased translation (p. BM 10252) and commented translation (PC1 and PC1a). In both cases, the scribe was intent on adding details relevant to sacred texts, which would facilitate later readers. The translated version provided the means for the scribe to communicate his understanding and interpretation of complex theological concepts in a language phase that was more familiar to contemporary readers.

³³⁷ Assmann 1995, 103. See Chapter 1.2.2.

5.1. Continuity and Translation

For *CT 335/BD 17*, I established that there were two levels of commentary that could be added to a text and that each was always signaled by means of an introductory phrase.³³⁸ The first was a gloss in which the text was explained and was inserted by asking a question and then answering with a nominal sentence—for example, “What is it? (*ptr rf –sw*) It is Re (*R^c pw*).” The second was an alternate reading (*ky-dd*) by which a linguistic or interpretive variant could be recorded. In later periods, texts continued to be written in the traditional idiom. New commentaries were also composed in Middle Egyptian because of the prestige and traditional value it held as a ritual language by scribes who were trained in the temple scriptoria.

Papyrus Jumilhac is one example of a later text with Middle Egyptian annotations.³³⁹ Just as the function of the commentary in *CT 335/BD 17* was to expand the reader’s understanding of religious concepts, the author of p. Jumilhac used similar explanatory forms (i.e. *ir ... pw...* “As for X, it is Y”) to cause the reader to know (*rh*) relevant cult information. For example, in the 25th section of the text, *rh hpr.w n hst.t* ‘Knowing the forms of the Sacred Dog,’ each animal is listed in turn and equated with the relevant deity: *ir tsm dšr ḥ^c=f n Sth* ‘As for the Red Hound, he is a manifestation of Seth’ (pl. XVI, 4-5). Following a number of short mythological narratives about the dogs, a commentator added: *rh wh^c n p3 tsm dšr nty iw.t(w) sm3=f m hrw hb Dḥwty* ‘Knowing the explanation of the Red Hound who is sacrificed on the day of the Festival of Thoth:’ *ir p3 tsm dšr B3b3 pw ir B3b3 Nbty pw* ‘As for the Red Hound, it is Baba. As for Baba, it is Nebty’ (pl. XVI, 21-22).³⁴⁰ Both the initial descriptions of the dogs and the added comment at the end of the section provide details for the reader, which align with the goal of organizing

³³⁸ For *CT 335*, see Chapter 4.1, and for *BD 17*, see Chapter 4.2.

³³⁹ See Chapter 3.2. The comments in the *Embalming Ritual* equally follow the pattern of *ir ... pw...* “As for X, it is Y,” but they are introduced by the phrase *dr-nty* (Töpfer 2015, 354).

³⁴⁰ Regarding the transliteration and translation of this passage, see Vandier 1961, 197 n.560.

cult information about a particular geographic region. The author of p. Jumilhac also included additions of alternative readings, much as the additions with *ky-dd* found in *CT 335/BD 17*.³⁴¹ The way in which the explanation was layered onto the original text of p. Jumilhac was part of an Egyptian tradition of exegetical commentary and demonstrates that the means of accumulating and adding new information, as I found in *CT 335/BD 17*, was equally relevant to later compositions in Middle Egyptian.³⁴²

Translation emerges at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period to help some readers understand Middle Egyptian due to the significant change in the Egyptian language in the New Kingdom from Middle to Late Egyptian. Parallel translated texts appeared even as new texts were composed in Middle Egyptian. The earliest example of intralingual translation is a fragmentary papyrus in the British Museum, p. BM 10298, dated to the 22nd Dynasty.³⁴³

Although p. BM 10252 contains the first lengthy translated text, a few of the same techniques of later commentary are found on a shorter text, p. BM 69574, which is unfortunately also quite fragmentary and tentatively dated to the 26th or 27th Dynasties.³⁴⁴ As in p. BM 10252, the translated version of each line of text continued after the original with “a small empty space within each line, separating the two different versions of basically the same text.”³⁴⁵ The Middle

³⁴¹ There are two passages where extended variants to the text are noted (Vandier 1961, 117 and 124-125).

³⁴² I do not agree with the suggestion that that the practice of collecting information displayed on p. Jumilhac exhibits Hellenistic influence (Derchain 1990, 11).

³⁴³ The short text, broken at the beginning, includes fourteen lines of text of which the last ten are mostly legible. Only the last six lines of text (ll. 9-14) are legible enough to confirm that they are alternating Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian. For a translation of the passage and further discussion, see Caminos 1968, 115. Caminos also notes the differences in vocabulary between the two versions of the text (1968, 117 n.4 and 119). A photo of the text and its place in the language development of ancient Egypt is found in Fischer-Elfert 1992c, 44-47. “It would be absurd to parallel our wretched little text to the stately *Ritual* papyrus (=p. BM 10252), except in that the Middle-Egyptian language to be found in both of them is not the genuine thing, but an idiom which was already *passé* at the time when it was used in them” (Parkinson 1999, 49-50).

³⁴⁴ Fischer-Elfert 1992b, 46. Joachim Quack rejects the earlier identification of the piece as a copy of a section of the *Instructions of Ani* (1999b, 153).

³⁴⁵ Quack 1999b, 153 n.6 and 163.

Egyptian text was still placed first and given priority in the chosen layout, and as Joachim Quack suggests, the text was likely important enough that it warranted the creation of a double version.³⁴⁶ The hand is the same in the two versions, suggesting that the same scribe wrote both, also as is p. BM 10252.

The translation of the text is not word-for-word. The author forfeited a literal translation in the interest of interpreting the content. For instance, following the restoration by Joachim Quack, the Middle Egyptian [*hnp-*]k3 pw ‘He is a cattle[-thief]’ is juxtaposed with the early Demotic phrase *n3-wnš=f* ‘He is wolf-like.’³⁴⁷ Pairing ‘cattle-thief’ with ‘wolf-like’ does not create a literal translation. Instead, the author added further nuance to the description of the individual by means of the translation. This layering of information is similar to what was seen in CT 335/BD 17 and is found extensively in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*.³⁴⁸

Moreover, the words with cultural significance in p. BM 69574 are replaced by alternatives in the contemporary idiom. The historically relevant term is retained, but the reader can follow the text (e.g. Constantinople, now known as Istanbul). An example is on fragment A, line 9, where the name of the toponym of Pe is written *P* in Middle Egyptian, but the early Demotic offers *Pr-w3d.yt* ‘House of Wadjet,’ an alternate name for the same city.³⁴⁹ Pe is indeed the older (*Wb.* I, 489) with attestations as early as the Pyramid texts. The toponym is frequently

³⁴⁶ “In spite of its digressions, the present text has a discernible thread of thought and is likely to come from a coherent and organized text. The fact that it was translated points to this text’s being regarded as of an important kind” (Quack 1999b, 134). The original is Middle Egyptian in late orthography, and the translation is grammatically early Demotic written in Late Period Hieratic (Quack 1999b, 154). Quack also points out two later features which appear in the Middle Egyptian text: a possessive pronoun and a preposition.

³⁴⁷ For the restoration and commentary, see Quack 1999b, 154.

³⁴⁸ See Chapter 5.3.1.

³⁴⁹ The same pair of terms appears in p. BM 10252 col. 12, 7 (*Urk.* VI 135, 10-13).

paired with its partner city Dep in ritual texts as one of the important cult cities in Egypt.³⁵⁰ The latter is a newer form (*Wb.* I, 268), which is attested only from the Third Intermediate Period onward. The techniques found in this short text prove that translation played an interpretive role even in the earliest texts. Due to the linguistic changes in Egyptian, translation became an effective way to guarantee that a text could be understood even by those without advanced training in the older language.

5.2. Traditional Interpretive Techniques

The practice of sign-posting comments from *CT 335/BD 17* continued to be used as a means of annotating translated ritual texts. In order to demonstrate the continuity between the earlier practices and those employed in the translated texts, I discuss the use and distribution of marked comments in p. BM 10252 and p. Carlsberg 1 and 1a.³⁵¹ The *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* makes only limited use of marked comments, while the *Book of Nut* is replete with marked comments on nearly every line of text. This disparity points to a similar accumulation of annotations over time, as was seen with the development of *CT 335* into *BD 17*.

5.2.1. P. BM 10252

Rather than utilize a question/answer situation, the author of the translation on p. BM 10252 employs the verb *dd* to signpost his comments.³⁵² Although it is not entirely clear why, the marked comments in the translation of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* are all clustered in

³⁵⁰ However, the term remains in use in ritual contexts (e.g. temple texts at Dendur, ritual manuals from Tebtunis, etc.) until the Roman Period (e.g. Dendur pronaos ceiling, line Dd, G22 and p. Florence PSI inv. I 72, line x+5,6 (*TLA*)).

³⁵¹ Preliminary work on the commentary strategies of each of these texts has been done separately by Siegfried Schott (1954) and Alexandra von Lieven (2007, 268-273).

³⁵² Both *ky-dd* and *dd* are used to insert comments into later texts, but the former does not appear in the p. BM 10252 copy of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, only in the later papyrus from Tebtunis. See below.

sections 5-8 of the composition.³⁵³ The close proximity of these comments would suggest that these sections of text were more closely analyzed by the author of the commentary, or that he became less concerned with the annotations as he progressed in his work. Moreover, the commentary is not consistently applied; some comments were added with *dd r* and others *hr dd*.³⁵⁴ The function is, as before, to explicate ambiguous words (see Example 5.2 and Example 5.3) or phrases (see Example 5.1) in the text, but the annotations are by no means regularized or organized at the level of *BD 17*. These marked comments were also attached to the translation, not the original, and were never meant as discrete units of their own.

The first comment (Example 5.1), which occurs in section 5 of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, is somewhat enigmatic, as the text to which it is appended is difficult to interpret.³⁵⁵ The passage opens with a repeating phrase that invokes Seth as the enemy (*hfty*) of Osiris, foremost of Westerners (*hnty-imntyw*). The premise seems to be that the witness (*mtr*), most likely Seth, is being forbidden from stealing the regalia of Osiris—his white crown (*hd.t*) and flail (*nhh*)—that remain safe within their hole. However, the objects are safe, and the perpetrators of any such crimes are punished.

³⁵³ The sections are determined by rubricized titles on p. BM 10252 (see Schott 1929 and Chapter 2.2.2). Sections 5-7 occupy parts of cols. 4 and 5 of p. BM 10252 (pls. 20-19) and columns F and G of p. Louvre 3129. For a summary discussion of these passages, see Schott 1954, 16-19.

³⁵⁴ Schott calls these marked comments, “neuägyptisch formulierte ‘Erklärungen’ in Form eines Kommentars” and discusses their forms (1954, 17).

³⁵⁵ For an alternate translation of this passage, see Altmann 2010, 60-62. She does not discuss or translate the comment. Altmann translates the verbs in the Middle Egyptian version (*pgʒ, šdi, tkk*) as positive *sḏm.n=f* forms. However, a reading of the Middle Egyptian as *mtr m pgʒ.n=k* ‘Witness that you have opened,’ is difficult to replicate in the Later Egyptian.

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<p><i>i hfty hr sbiw pfy n hnty-imntyw</i> <i>mtr m pg3 n=k b3y.t³⁵⁶ šd n=k imy=s</i> <i>[tkk] n=k h.wt m wr pn</i></p> <p><i>hd.t ʿd<.ti> nhh b3k<.w> kn wd kn=f</i></p>	<p><i>mtr m-di.t b3=k t3 b3y.t 2.t iw=k in p3 nty</i> <i>im=w r[-r=k] r-dd iw=i r (i)t3i nkt n hwr</i> <i>m-di.t p3 ntr ʿ3</i> <i>t3 hd.t wd3.ti p3 nhh wd3<.ti> dd r gm=f n-</i> <i>im=w i.ir=w p3 bt3 r p3 i.ir ir=f</i></p>
<p>O enemy, villain, that rebel of the foremost of Westerners! Witness, may you not open the hole, remove what is in it and [steal] the things from this great one for yourself.</p> <p>The white crown is safe and the flail is bright, and the one who does evil will be punished.</p>	<p>Witness, do not let yourself open the two holes, that you shall bring what was in them for [you,] saying, ‘I shall take the things by force belonging to the great god.’</p> <p>The white crown is whole and the flail is whole, this means, he found them, and it is against the one who did it that the wrong is done.</p>

The subject of the comment, ‘he’ (=f), may refer to the Great God (*wr pn*) or Seth and the object, ‘them’ (=w), to the two holes (*t3 b3y.t 2.t*) or the regalia. Despite this ambiguity, the author intended for the comment to clarify what it meant that the white crown and flail were safe. This example is the only one where a phrase is inserted as the comment, and that may be due to the fact that the passage was particularly difficult for the ancient author as well.³⁵⁷

While Example 5.1 is longer and somewhat difficult to understand, the translation and function of the other comments are not. In Example 5.2 and Example 5.3, I provide two places in

³⁵⁶ Altmann addresses the identification of the word *b3y.t* with ‘box’ and instead proposes the translation ‘cavern’ (2010, 61-62). I would like to thank Ann-Katrin Gill for sharing the preliminary results of her forthcoming research with me. She has also identified the term in the compositions of *Sealing the Mouth of the Enemies* (p. BM 10081, col. 36, 24) and the *Great Ceremonies of Geb* (p. BM 10252, col. 34, 7), as well as at Edfu in relation to digging foundations (PL 301-302).

³⁵⁷ In the *Great Ceremonies of Geb* the author used similar formulations at particular difficult passages (Ann-Katrin Gill, personal communication).

which the author identified ambiguous deities by a specific name.³⁵⁸ Section 7 opens with the same invocation of Seth as in Example 5.1, and then the author lists a number of ways in which the god is punished.

Example 5.2 - p. BM 10252 col. 5, 4-6 (*Urk.* VI 77, 9-16)

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<i>i hfty hr sbi pfy n hnty-imntyw nšn wr.t r=k r sbi ḥꜥ.w=k ḥtm -tw m nmi.t n.t ḥtm.yt</i>	<i>p3 ḥdn n t3 ʕ3 r-r=k r di 3k=k \dd/ r t3 wd3.t tw=k ḥtm -tw n t3 nmi.t n ʕ3pp</i>
O enemy, villain, that rebel of the foremost of Westerners. The Great One storms against you to destroy your limbs, and you are destroyed in the slaughtering place of execution.	The displeasure of the Great One is against you to cause that you perish, said concerning the wadjet, ³⁵⁹ and you yourself are destroyed in the slaughtering place of Apophis,

In this instance, the author uses the comment to specify that the ambiguous ‘Great One’ (*t3 ʕ3*) is the female Uraeus, i.e. the wedjat. Within the same section, further punishment is proposed for the enemy (*hfty*). However, the original text does not provide the name of this enemy. Instead, the author inserts a comment after the vague reference to ‘**your** company’ (*t3y=k*).

³⁵⁸ The comments are: *B3-nb-dd* (BM 4, 24; *Urk.* VI 73, 19), *t3 wd3.t* (BM 5, 3; *Urk.* VI 77,8), *t3 wd3.t* (BM 5, 5; *Urk.* VI 77,14), *ʕ3pp* (BM 5, 11; *Urk.* VI 79,5), *p3 ḥrw n Twnw* (BM 5, 13; *Urk.* VI 79,10), *p3 ntr nty di ḥ3.ty n s n=f* (BM 5, 15; *Urk.* VI 79,18), *n3 ntr.w nty i.it b3w r tp=f* (BM 5, 17-18; *Urk.* VI 79,22). A further example may be noted at BM 3, 30 (*Urk.* VI 67,16), but the text is broken and the comment is lost.

³⁵⁹ The author added *dd* above the line (see image below). Perhaps he corrected or added it later, or intentionally wrote the signs vertically to avoid passing into the column margin. The latter might also explain the compact writing of *Wd3.t*, with the Eye of Horus sign.



p. BM 10252 col. 5, 5 (*Urk.* VI 77, 14)

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<p><i>ḥꜥ.w=k m ssf nn wn {m} b3=k m ḥ n Mwt ḥr Šns ḥr-ib Hk3-ꜥnd nty m šn n rmt ꜥw.t nb(.w) hwt=sn m nbi n.t ir.t Rꜥ dr- nty sbi.w n=k imy</i></p>	<p><i>mtw n3y=k iwꜥ ir ssf iw bn p3y=k b3 pr n p3 ḥ n Mwt ḥr Šns nty m Twnw³⁶⁰ nty i.ir=w mḥn rmt nb i.ir ir sbi.w r d3ꜥ=w n t3 sd.t n t3 ir.t Rꜥ y3 t3y=k sm3 t3w ḥr=w dd n ꜥ3pp</i></p>
<p>Your limbs are on fire, without there being your ba on the censor of Mut under <i>Shenes</i> in the midst of <i>Heka-Anedj</i>, which encircles all evil men, while they burn in the flame of the Eye of Re, since they are your rebels.</p>	<p>and your flesh burns, while your ba does not come forth on the censor of Mut under <i>Shenes</i> which is in Heliopolis, which is encircling all men who make rebellion, to burn them up on the flame of the Eye of Re, for it is your company, thus is said to Apophis,³⁶¹</p>

None of the marked comments in p. BM 10252 are as long as those in *CT 335/BD 17*, but they are a practical way for the scribe to provide the reader with missing information. They make concrete what was formerly ambiguous but do so only within the translation without ever disrupting the original text.

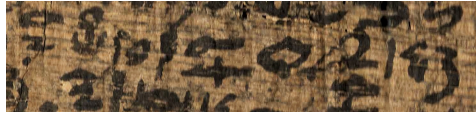
The *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* in p. BM 10252 was only glossed with *dd* and has no alternate readings that were marked with the phrase *ky-dd*. However, the presence of alternate readings in the copy on p. HieraTeb SCA 3460, dated to the 1st century CE, proves that over time such variations made their way directly into the original Hieratic text.³⁶² On this papyrus the alternate readings are for two place names, which is unlikely to be a coincidence. In much the same spirit as the translation of cultural words in p. BM 69574, Example 5.4 illustrates how the alternate reading qualifies the toponym *Herwer*.³⁶³

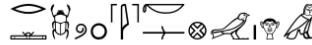
³⁶⁰ Ann-Katrin Gill, personal communication.

³⁶¹ The syntax of the gloss is different from Example 5.2, since *ḥr* is used as a verb (Vernus 1990, 169).

³⁶² All images are from Ivan Guerneur and are copyrighted to the IFAO Tebtunis project (see Guerneur 2008). The papyrus was found in a large deposit of garbage material near the *temenos* wall at Tebtunis, which included mostly Greek and Demotic papyri. Few Hieratic pieces were found in the debris (I. Guerneur, personal communication, Dec. 2013).

³⁶³ This passage corresponds to p. BM 10252, col. 8,14. The translation of *Hr-wr* in the later Egyptian is *t3 s.t fnd i.ir=k* ‘the place of fear that you made.’




m Hr-wr ky-dd Ir.w-hpr

... in *Herwer*, namely *Irw-Kheper*³⁶⁴ ...

These marked comments are added in a similar way as those that appear in other *Book of the Dead* spells in the new Kingdom.³⁶⁵ They provide a contemporary reference for readers so that they could understand the context of the ritual.

The annotations marked with *dd* in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* are limited in number and distribution, and suggest either that the author was not interested in making those kinds of comments or that his commentary was in its early stages. *ky-dd* annotations only appear in the Hieratic version of the text after centuries of transmission and recall the natural increase in comments found in *Book of the Dead* throughout the New Kingdom and later.

5.2.2. *Book of Nut*

While the author of the translation of p. BM 10252 restricted his comments to one portion of the text, the author of the translation of the *Book of Nut* used marked comments in nearly every line of text. The difference no doubt reflects both the lengthier process of transmission undergone by the *Book of Nut*, as well as the genre of the *Nut* text. While the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* was composed as a series of short ritual texts, which were used to curse the enemy, i.e. Seth, the *Book of Nut* was a cosmographic treatise, which was central to the Egyptian understanding of the

³⁶⁴ For the toponym *Hr-wr* (*Wb.* III, 139), see Kessler 1981, 120-185, esp. 151-157. The transcription of the tall narrow sign in the first word following *ky-dd* is not entirely clear, but it may read *ir.w* ‘form.’ Unfortunately neither is attested in combination with *hpr* as a toponym. It is likely that the alternate reading provides another name for the toponym but not guaranteed, as there is a book-roll rather than city determinative following *ir.w-hpr*.

³⁶⁵ See Chapter 4.2.

cosmos. The importance of the *Book of Nut* as a kind of reference manual is attested by the number of translated, Hieratic, and Hieroglyphic copies that were found at Tebtunis.³⁶⁶ The priests had a vested interest in interpreting the ancient text as well as ensuring that it remained comprehensible to later scholars. Furthermore, it has been shown that the scribe of p. Carlsberg 1 (PC1) and 1a (PC1a) was not the author of the compositions, proving that the translation and commentary were valued enough to be copied alongside the original text.³⁶⁷

The annotation of PC1 and PC1a, which were written by the same scribe, was not identical, but given the excellent condition of PC1, I focus on this manuscript in my analysis. Each Hieratic section of the original (§) was copied onto a new line of papyrus and was followed by either a translation, commentary, or both.³⁶⁸ The marked comments were mostly embedded within the Demotic translation of the original Hieratic and flagged by the phrase *dd*.³⁶⁹ In the composition on PC1 there are 128 instances where the scribe used *dd* to introduce commentary (see Example 5.5 and Example 5.6).³⁷⁰ In rare cases, the body text was followed immediately by marked or unmarked commentary without a translation (see Example 5.16).³⁷¹ Unlike, p. BM 10252, the

³⁶⁶ See in Table 2.1 Appendix A.

³⁶⁷ von Lieven 2010, 145.

³⁶⁸ This systematic interpretation is similar to what was noted for *BD* 17. See Chapter 4.2.1 and Appendix B.

³⁶⁹ See Glossar in von Lieven 2007, 371. Syntactically the phrase is understood to be acting as a conjunction. The Demotic use of *dd* includes a range of possibilities, as discussed by Quack (Section 9.4 “Konjunktionen”). “*dd* kann auch zur Einleitung von Glossen und Erklärungen in der Bedeutung „das heißt“ stehen, z.B. *bw-ir.rh=t p3y=f hmm p3y=f hdy dd p3y=f ʿnh p3y=f mwt* „Du kennst seine Hitze und Kälte nicht, d.h. sein Leben und seinen Tod“ *Mythus Leiden* 4, 7f.” The phrase is translated in German editions with ‘das heißt, nämlich’ and English ones have ‘that is to say, namely.’

³⁷⁰ § 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 44a, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 73, 76, 78, 80, 84, 101, 99a, 99b, 100, 97a, 96, 97b, 93a, 94a/87, 93b, 88, 89, 92, 85, 86, 103, 104, 106, 109, 110, 113, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 127, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 142, 143 (von Lieven 2007). Some passages are too damaged to tell if there is a translation as well as commentary: § 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 95, 140, (von Lieven 2007).

³⁷¹ See § 0, 44b, 44c, 79, 81, 82, 102, 130a (von Lieven 2007). The omission of translation will be discussed further below in Chapter 5.3.3.

commentary on PC1 also includes *ky-dd* marked comments, which are discussed below (see Example 5.7).

The most common function of embedding comments into the translation was to provide a degree of specification to a word or concept that was otherwise vague or obscure, as with the marked comments in p. BM 10252. Single words or short nominal phrases provided additional clarity (see Table 5.3 in Appendix E). Less frequently seen are adverbial phrases following *dd*.³⁷² These phrases cover a fairly clear set of topics: deities, geographical features or locations, time phrases, and astronomical information. The insertions were generally made as minor specifications and clarifications (see Example 5.5). If a god (*ntr*) was mentioned, then he was identified by a specific deity (*R^c*), or if a place was given, a contemporary or alternate location was indicated. Comments following *dd* also included verbal or pseudoverbal clause, which could be used to append more extensive interpretations (see Table 5.4 in Appendix E).³⁷³ As expected, rather than add details to a single word, these comments explain longer passages of text, which may (see Example 5.6).

In section §55 there are two examples where the translation is interrupted by *dd* comments using nominal forms. The passage in question recounts how the sun is swallowed by Nut, which represents the physical setting of the sun. On the illustrated versions, this line of text is written directly next to the disk at the face of Nut, but on PC1, which lacks an accompanying image, the author adds that the sun is drawn at the mouth of the goddess (see Figure 5.3).³⁷⁴

³⁷² There are a few examples each with *m-s3* (§106, 109), *n* (§29, 57, 86, 101, 120, 121), and *r* (§48), which like the nominal phrases provide specification.

³⁷³ There appears to be no restriction on the verbal forms used after *dd*, again in line with its use as a conjunction (see note 369).

³⁷⁴ See Chapter 5.3.4.1.

Example 5.5 – p. Carlsberg 1, col. 3.31-32, §55

Middle Egyptian	Demotic
ϣ̣ḳ ḥm [n] ntr pn m r=s ḥn dw3.t	i.ir p3 ntr <u>dd p3 Ṛ</u> ϣ̣ḳ [r] t3 dw3.t m r=s <u>dd t3 p.t</u> m33 r p3 tky p3 [i]tn nty i.ir r=s
The person [of] this god enters into her mouth in the Duat.	The god, namely Re , enters [into] the Duat into her mouth, namely the sky . See on the image, the sundisk that is in her mouth.

These short insertions explain who the god (*ntr* = *Ṛ*) in question is and what the mouth of the goddess represents (*r* = *p.t*). There is also evidence that the author did not add the comments haphazardly but was aware of the structure of his annotations. In the following section §56 (PC1, col. 3.33) the sun continues to travel *ḥn=s dd t3 p.t ϣ̣n* ‘in it, namely the sky, again.’

The *Book of Nut* chronicles the death (setting), journey through the Duat (nighttime), and rebirth (rising) of the sun god, which is further associated with the death and resurrection of the god Osiris. In section §18 the author strengthens the connection between these two mythological cycles by using a longer verbal comment following *dd* (see Example 5.6). The source text is translated quite literally; the sun god (3rd ms, =*f*) is purified in his passage through the underworld and unification with Osiris at midnight.

Example 5.6 – p. Carlsberg 1, col. 1.43, §18

Middle Egyptian	Demotic
[w ^c b=f m-ḥnw] ϣ̣.wy it=f Wsir	w ^c b=f ḥnw dr.t p3y=f it=f Wsir ³⁷⁵ <u>dd ḥr iri=f s p3 mw nty-iw=f ḥ̣i ḥn=f p3y</u>
[He is pure in the] arms of his father Osiris.	He is pure in the hand of his father, Osiris, namely, he does it (repeatedly). It is the water in which he appears. ³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ Regarding the orthography of this phrase and the use of the suffix pronoun =*f* after ‘father,’ see von Lieven 2007, 54 n.219.

The comment adds two important details. First, this cycle of death, unification, and rebirth is experienced continuously (*hr iri*, aorist). Second, the rebirth of the sun in his youthful form is connected to the waters of Osiris, which is likely the appearance of the Nile flood each year. The author has thus included his knowledge of the interconnected Egyptian mythologies with each of these examples that use *dd* marked comments.

There are relatively few examples of the phrase *ky-dd* in the translated text of the *Book of Nut*.³⁷⁷ Rather than being used to provide a simple alternative word or phrase, as was the case with *dd*, the phrase *ky-dd* for the author of the PC1 and PC1a commentaries seems to be reserved for the insertion of lengthier explanation of the text that it accompanied. Section §25 offers an illustrative example of how the *ky-dd* phrase functions in a similar manner to examples seen in the *BD 17* by retaining an alternate translation of the original text. The text continues to discuss the movement of the sun through the Duat in the hours of the night.

³⁷⁶ As the second sentence ('It is the water...') is not in the original Middle Egyptian version, it is clearly an interpretation (von Lieven 2007, 135). However, it is not clear whether it was added as part of the marked comment or as an addition to it.

³⁷⁷ PC1 includes eight examples: § 3, 15, 25, 38, 47, 99a, 113, 118. In section §99a, the phrase *ky-dd* is at the end of the text without any comment following. It appears that the author may have begun adding the text but then decided to leave it out or forgot to complete it. Further examples in other manuscripts are PC1a: §13 and PC496: §88a, 94aa (von Lieven 2007). The situation of the two examples in PC496 is somewhat different in that the alternate readings are written entirely in Hieratic rather than Demotic. The example at §94aa uses a verbal addition and at §88a uses a nominal one. The exclusive use of Hieratic may explain why these two examples of *ky-dd* are similar to additions made with *dd* in PC1 and PC1a. The author of that commentary simply used the more traditional phrase (*ky-dd*) since he was adding his comments in Hieratic.

Middle Egyptian	Demotic
<p><i>sw hpr wd.t s[h]r=f r p^c.t³⁷⁸ m wnw.t nty shtp.n=s³⁷⁹</i></p>	<p><i>hpr=s iw=f wd.t p3y=f w3y r n3 rmt.w hn t3 dw3.t n t3 wnw.t n shtp.n=s p3 dd wnw.t 9.t n grh p3y</i></p> <p><i>i.ir=f dd=s hpr dd t3 gb.t p3.t t3 sbh.t mh 8 [n] t3 dw3.t dd rmt.w imy=s</i></p> <p><i>ky-dd iw=f hpr n hwy p3y=f w3y r n3 rmt.w dd i.ir=f h^ci tm</i></p>
<p>That is how the command comes into being that he remove himself from the people in the hour ‘which Satisfies.’</p>	<p>It happens that he commands his self-removal from the people in the Duat in the hour ‘which Satisfies,’ that is the 9th hour of the night.</p> <p>When he said this, it is because ‘(the Book) the Sky of Primeval Times’ said, “The Eighth Portal of the Duat, namely the people who are in it.”</p> <p><i>Otherwise said: he begins to cast his self-removal from the people, namely he rises completely.</i></p>

After the translation, the author quotes another astrological work, which references people in the Duat, and then he includes an alternate translation of the first part of the Middle Egyptian text. The variation in the translation may have been drawn from another source and included because it offered the distinct translation of *wd.t* ‘command’ by *hwy* ‘throw, cast’ as well as the marked comment *i.ir=f h^ci tm* ‘he rises completely,’ which confirms that his self-removal refers to the rising of the sun. The author is decidedly interested in accumulating information from other versions of the *Book of Nut* and using other resources, such as the Book of the Sky of Primeval Times to enhance his understanding of the text.

The examples presented thus far have all provided interpretations or alternate readings of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* or the *Book of Nut* in a way that is similar to the commentary in *CT 335/BD 17*. The compilation of older materials and variable translations, and

³⁷⁸ In version **R**, the text reads *p.t* ‘sky’ rather than *p^c.t* ‘people,’ which makes more sense in this context.

³⁷⁹ In this complex section, I have followed the translation of Alexandra von Lieven particularly closely (2007, 56). I agree with her conclusion that the author of the commentary was confused by the hours of the night mentioned in the text and attempted to rectify the situation by referencing other sources (von Lieven 2007, 139-140).

the addition of precise details are all in the spirit of transmitting the most comprehensive manuscript possible. However, the translation of these Hieratic ritual texts into contemporary language represents a step further in the scribal exercise of text comprehension. With the ability to leave the original text unaltered, new ways of introducing additional clarity were employed.

5.3. New Interpretive Techniques

While an author could embed marked comments into the text, the translation was also transformed to serve an interpretive function. Much as the marked comments added specificity or clarity to the text, a non-literal translation could be used to the same effect. For instance, an ambiguous noun (e.g. the God, *p3 ntr*) that could be defined by a marked comment (e.g. namely, it is Re. *dd R^c pw*) is instead transformed in the translation (e.g. It is the God. *p3 ntr pw = It is Re. R^c pw*. See Example 5.11). The translation thus functioned on two levels: the first was to facilitate a linguistic understanding of the text, and the second was to explore the meaning of the religious rituals. Siegfried Schott recognized that intralingual translation was a form of interpretation in his 1954 study of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* from p. BM 10252.³⁸⁰ In the following sections, I aim to build off of his work by systematically analyzing the ways in which scribes used translation to interpret the text. These techniques include the variation of lexicon and syntax, the use of complementary pairs, the addition and omission of translation, and the appearance of paratextual references. They provide additional accuracy to the reader without interfering with the original text, which retains the religious and ritual authority. Although each of these practices is attested in the translations of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut* and both fulfill an interpretive function, the creative freedom of the individual authors is demonstrated by their preference for one or another technique.

³⁸⁰ 1954, esp. 39ff.

5.3.1. Paraphrase

The subtlest way of enhancing the meaning of the translation is by means of lexical or syntactic changes. In many instances, the author paraphrases the source text in the target text.³⁸¹ Rather than insert, remove, or otherwise alter the text by means of intrusive comments, the base text was edited to fit the updated lexicon or grammar of the later period and at the same time to convey the author's understanding of a passage. This paraphrase often resulted in a simplified reading of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* (see Example 5.1, Example 5.8, and Example 5.9) or a more precise reading of the *Book of Nut* (see Example 5.10). The author of the latter used paraphrase less often, due in part to the higher frequency of marked comments, as discussed above.

The use of paraphrase in p. BM 10252 is extensive. Entire sentences were rewritten to the point where they add substantial additional text, but not every alteration was as long or explicit.³⁸² I provide two examples to demonstrate the range of these interpretations. In cases such as Example 5.8, the sense of the word in the Middle Egyptian is translated with a different turn of phrase. In the first section of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, the magician is described emerging from Heliopolis with a number of enviable qualities.

³⁸¹ The concept of 'paraphrase' has a long and complex history (see Venuti 2012, 18 and 38-42). Roman Jakobson uses the term to define intralingual translation (1959), a concept that I discuss in Chapter 1.1.2. For the purpose of my study, I use the definition, "To express the meaning of (a written or spoken passage, or the words of an author or speaker) using different words, esp. to achieve greater clarity; to render or translate freely" ("paraphrase, v.1.a," *OED* Online. June 2005. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/137578?rskey=GFBYV&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed May 14, 2015]).

³⁸² See Chapter 5.3.3.2.

Example 5.8 – p. BM 10252 col. 3, 4-5 (*Urk. VI 63, 7-10*)

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<i>m3^c.t r ḥḥ=i sn.ty m ḥ3.t=i ddf ḥ^c.w n m33 -wi</i>	⁴ <i>iw t3 m3^c.t r ḥḥ=i iw t3 wd3.t 2.t n d3d3=i iw n3 nty nw r=i snd.ti</i>
The truth is for my throat, the two sisters are at my front, so that the limbs crawl of those who see me,	The truth is for my throat, the two eyes are on my head, while the ones who look at me are afraid .

Most of the Middle Egyptian is translated as expected (*ḥ3.t > d3d3, m33 > nw*, etc.).³⁸³ However, the translation of *ddf ḥ^c.w* with *snd.ti* is much like changing the metaphorical English phrase “His skin crawled” to the straightforward “He was afraid.” The author offers a single word for the phrase and at the same time removes the imagery associated with the Middle Egyptian rendering.

In Example 5.9, the author goes beyond translating a single phrase and creates a number of changes in order to explicate the original text. Where the Middle Egyptian version uses two terms for the concept of ‘hidden’ (*imn, št3.t*), the translation for both is *ḥ3p*.³⁸⁴ The use of the same word reinforces the connection between the god and the cult topography, and simplifies the text for the reader. The Great pavilion (*siḥ-ntr*) becomes the general ‘place’ (*t3 s.t*), another simplification, which nevertheless allows the author to create a couplet with the next line (*t3 s.t nty... the place that...).*

³⁸³ For the creation of complementary pairs through the equivalence of *sn.ty* ‘the two sisters’ and *t3 wd3.t 2.t* ‘the two eyes,’ see Chapter 5.3.2.

³⁸⁴ The latter is translated using the adjective verb *n3-ḥ3p* (Vernus 1990, 170 ex. 65).

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<i>i imn d.t=f m ḥw.t bnbn.t</i> <i>m siḥ-ntr wr nty m Ddw</i> <i>s.t šṯ.t dsr sšm</i>	<i>i p3 iry ḥ3p=f n ḥw.t bnbn.t</i> <i>n t3 s.t nty n3-ʿ3=s n pr B3-nb-dd</i> <i>t3 s.t nty n3-ḥ3p=s i.ir sʿš3 r-r=f</i>
<p>O one who hides himself in the mansion of the benben, in the great pavilion that is in Djedu, the secret place, whose nature is sacred,</p>	<p>O the one who hides himself in the mansion of the benben, in the place that is great in the house of Ba-neb-djed, the place that is hidden, which multiplies for him,</p>

The last phrase (*dsr sšm*) is translated in a way that appears in other texts of later periods.³⁸⁵ It appears that the secret place (*s.t šṯ.t*) is sacred on account of it being greatly beneficial to the hidden god, or that the god derives his greatness from this hidden location. These examples illustrate the kind of creative reimagining that often simplified or paraphrased the text as the author deemed necessary.

As discussed above, the author of the translation and commentary on PC1 and PC1a often used marked comments to create his interpretations, but his translation was not always a literal rendering of the original. There are a few places where translation appears on its own without any commentary intruding into the text.³⁸⁶ In those instances and elsewhere, the Demotic text adds clarity for the reader by simplifying the lexicon of the original text.³⁸⁷ The author also uses the translation to highlight the dual nature of scientific and mythological discourse.

³⁸⁵ For the equivalence between *dsr* and *sʿš3* and the ritual significance, see Kucharek 2010, 91-94.

³⁸⁶ § 34, 36, 50, 59, 65, 66, 67, 98, 94b, 90, 91, 105, 107, 108, 111, 112, 116, 123, 130, 141, 144d (von Lieven 2007). In the cases where the end of the text is damaged, it is impossible to know if there was commentary placed at the end of the line or not (see note 370).

³⁸⁷ This type of interpretive translation is discussed by von Lieven, and she uses §141 as an example (2010, 144).

For example, in Demotic, the terms *ḥtp* ‘to set’ and *ḥꜥi* ‘to rise’ replace a number of Middle Egyptian words. In §50 they replace the words *mt* ‘to die’ and *ꜥnh* ‘to live.’ The original pair refers to the personification of the stars, and the translation to their physical setting and rising in the sky as astronomical bodies.³⁸⁸ The verbs of motion *ꜥk* ‘to enter’ and *pr* ‘to come out’ are also replaced in Demotic with *ḥtp* and *ḥꜥi* in §90.³⁸⁹

The translation given for §141 is another good example of providing specification by means of the translation. With the final word of the ME, *im* ‘here,’ the reader is given no indication of the location to which that refers. Thus in the translation, the author has filled in *ḥn t3 p.t* ‘in the sky’ thereby defining what was undefined.

Example 5.10 – p. Carlsberg 1 col. 7.15-16, §141

Middle Egyptian	Demotic
<i>m33 ꜥnh=fpw im</i>	<i>p3y=k nw r n3y=f ḥꜥi[.w] ḥn t3 p.t</i>
It is seeing his life here .	Your looking at his risings in the sky

Most of the variations between the source and target texts of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut* are explained by the linguistic difference between Middle Egyptian and later phases of Egyptian. However, the need to render the original into understandable contemporary language provided the perfect opportunity for the authors of the translations to insert more information on a topic or clarify something that was left unsaid without affecting the source material. The associations they created by paraphrasing the original offered the reading a glimpse into their understanding of the religious ritual. The author of p. BM 10252 made extensive use of this technique, while the author of PC1 and PC1a restricted his changes to

³⁸⁸ The same replacement is found in §104, 112 and 134.

³⁸⁹ The pair of terms are also replaced in §57. When the words appear individually, they are also translated as *ḥtp* or *ḥꜥi* respectively (e.g. §59, 65, 104 and 135), see Example 5.10.

simplifications and the interpretation of astronomical phenomena, as we would expect in a text of that genre.

5.3.2. Complementary Pairs

In several of the examples that I have already discussed (see Example 5.8 and Example 5.9), changes were often made to names of deities and geographical locations with cultural significance. This practice of creating complementary pairs served a similar function to the general lexical changes; the translation provides the precise name of an unspecified god or place or to update the name of a god or place to contemporary idiom in a way that leaves the original text unaltered. Once again, this practice is more common in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, as the *Book of Nut* frequently has marked comments that fulfill the same function.³⁹⁰

To list all the examples of this interpretive technique in p. BM 10252 would replicate the work of Siegfried Schott.³⁹¹ Instead, I examine the distribution of the complementary pairs of the names of deities (see Figure 5.1) and note an informative example (see Example 5.11). Of the references to more than sixty gods, the instances where the name is the same in both the Middle and later Egyptian and those that use different words is split fairly evenly. Moreover, I have found few patterns that explain why an author decided to retain the same word or change it.

³⁹⁰ See Chapter 5.2.2.

³⁹¹ In his glossary is a section called “6. Theologische Deutung” in which he collects all god, place, and festival names and their translation in p. BM 10252 (Schott 1954, 50-51, 80-83).

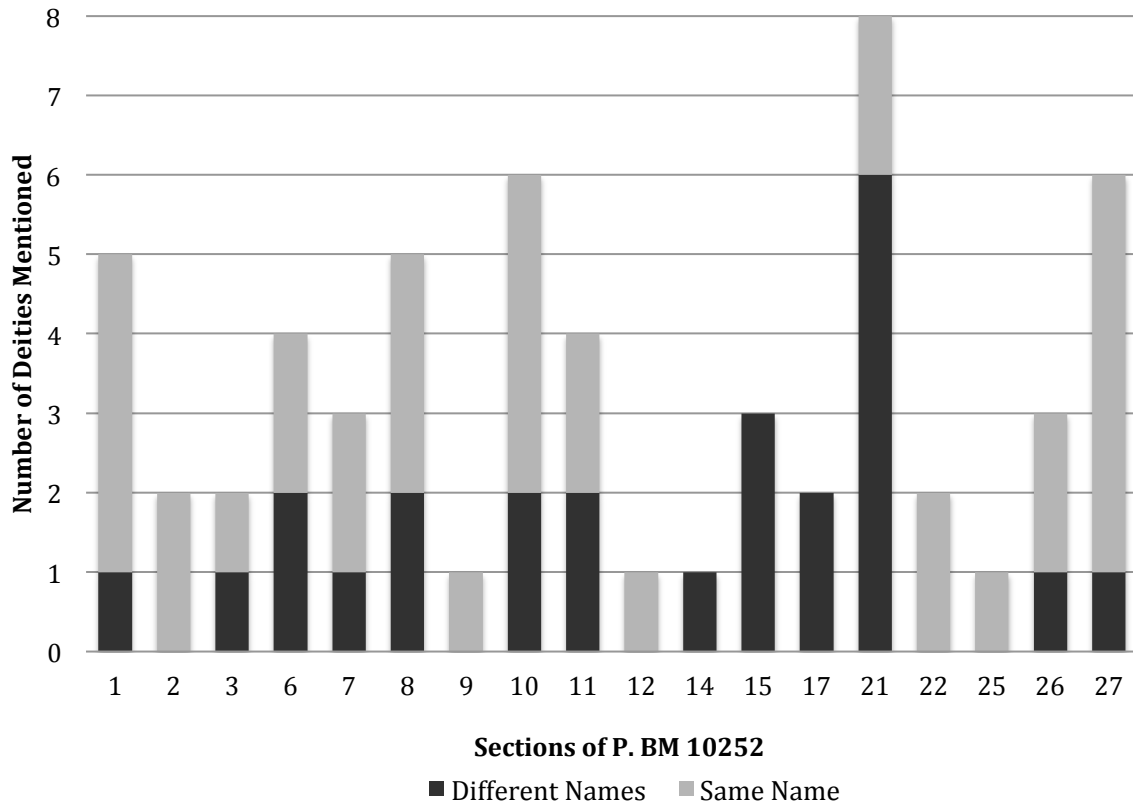


Figure 5.1 – Distribution of Divine Names in p. BM 10252³⁹²

Nevertheless, there are a few sections in which the author purposely used more complementary pairs rather than the same word in the source and target texts.³⁹³ Example 5.11 illustrates this technique from section 21 of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*. This section is particularly informative, as it includes many references to the goddess Hathor and describes her attributes by means of a variety of epithets and mythological allusions.

³⁹² I have chosen to count the references to deities based on the sections outlined in Schott 1929, as the use of titles to divide the composition into sections suggests that they are individual units. Only complete sections are included in this distribution.

³⁹³ In particular, sections 14, 15, 17 and 21 use primarily complementary pairs. See Figure 5.1.

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<i>ind hr=t wsr.t m Twnw</i> <i>Hw.t-hr stwt r R^c</i> <i>3h.t pw n.t Hr-3h.ty</i> <i>hnw.t n imy 3t=f³⁹⁴</i> <i>Bhd.ty pw s3b-šw.t</i> <i>R^c.yt thnw im</i>	<i>wšb r-r=t h^cw=t i t3 wsr(.t) nty m Twnw</i> <i>t3 ntr.t nty mh3 n P3-r^c</i> <i>t3 wd3.t n P3-r^c-hr-3h.ty</i> <i>t3 hr.t Dhwtj</i> <i>p3 bik nty n3-^cn t3y=f šw.t</i> <i>P3-r^c t3w nty thnw p3y=f k3i</i>
Praise to you, O Powerful one in Heliopolis, Hathor, who makes resemblance to Re, she is the Effective eye of Horakhty, the mistress of the one in his moment, she is Behedety of many-colored plumage, the female Re, dazzling of form,	Answer for yourself, O Powerful one who is in Heliopolis, the goddess who is a match to Pre, the Sound eye of Prehorakhty, the chief one of Thoth, the falcon whose plumage is beautiful, she is Pre, whose form is dazzling,

In each instance highlighted in blue, the name in the Middle Egyptian is replaced in the translation. The passage lends itself perfectly to this interpretive technique, as the layering of epithets in praise of the Goddess Hathor was the purpose of the source text and can be carried over into the target text. The translation adds additional space for the author to display his theological knowledge and worship the goddess Hathor. As discussed by Schott, the translation is not solely about overcoming linguistic change, but about expanding upon religious knowledge that was available to the scholars.³⁹⁵ As noted before, the important point is that the use of complementary pairs offers clarification when the author felt it was necessary.

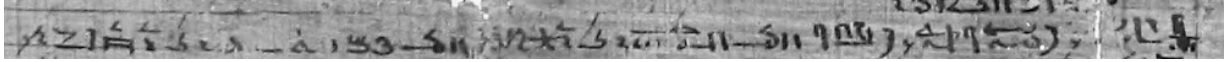
Once again, the situation in the *Book of Nut* is somewhat different due to the high number of marked comments that appear in the translated versions of that text. Not only do fewer complementary pairs appear, but in some instances not only is the same word used in the original and translation, but the Hieratic script is retained within the Demotic text. PC1 and PC1a are full of Hieratic words, which have been skillfully transcribed by the most recent editor, Alexandra

³⁹⁴ LGG V, 165.

³⁹⁵ 1954, 47-48.

von Lieven.³⁹⁶ Example 5.12 illustrates how this combination of scripts occurs within the translation as well as in the marked comments.

Example 5.12 - p. Carlsberg 1, col. 3.33, §56



Middle Egyptian	Demotic
<i>wb3=f m-ht skd=f m-hnw=s</i>	<i>i.ir=f pr n-im=s dd t3 Dw3.t i.ir=f ms^c hn=s dd t3 p.t n</i>
When he pours out afterward, he journeys inside it.	When he comes out from it, namely the Duat , he travels in it, namely the sky, again .

The Hieratic words are highlighted in blue. The translation into Demotic uses contemporary syntax and alters some of the basic vocabulary in the sentence. However, due to the significance of Hieratic as the traditional language of religious texts, key theological terms, such as the words *dw3.t* ‘Duat’ and *p.t* ‘sky,’ are always written out in Hieratic.³⁹⁷

There are nevertheless examples in the *Book of Nut* where pairings are made of gods or toponyms to provide precision and updated the text. For instance, Example 5.13 is part of a section, which discusses the limits of the sky and what does or does not exist beyond them.³⁹⁸ The Demotic parallels the syntax of the original phrase and provides updated vocabulary in the form of *p3 h^ci* and *n.im=w* for *šw* and *im* respectively.

Example 5.13 - p. Carlsberg 1, col. 2.27, §34

Middle Egyptian	Demotic
<i>nn šw n b3 im</i>	<i>mn p3 h^ci n P3-R^c n.im=w</i>
There is no rising of the Soul there.	There is no rising of Pre there.

³⁹⁶ von Lieven 2007, 373ff. For some corrections to the Hieroglyphic transcription, see the review by Klotz (2011). For a similar orthographic practice in the Demotic Magical Papyri, see Dieleman 2005, 48.

³⁹⁷ Even in the three comments (§56, 99a, and 142) that read *dd t3 dw3.t* ‘namely the Duat,’ the word is written out in Hieratic.

³⁹⁸ Another is reflected in §105 in the form of the toponym, *pr-Gb* ‘the house of Geb,’ which does not exist at all in the New Kingdom texts.

When it came to translating the word *b3* ‘the Soul,’ the author supplied the god Re instead. Throughout PC1, the author of the commentary translates the Middle Egyptian term *b3* or *b3.w* with different Demotic terms, which are more appropriate for the given context.³⁹⁹ Once again the author uses his knowledge of theological concepts to add clarity to his translation.

The unsystematic but extensive use of complementary pairs in the translation of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* stands in contrast with their more limited use in the *Book of Nut*. The differences that I have noted between the translation and commentary preserved on p. BM 10252 and that on PC1 and PC1a are thus a matter of degree rather than technique. The authors both worked toward the same goal: to use their knowledge of the Middle Egyptian language and traditional religious concepts to produce an accessible translation.

5.3.3. Untranslated Passages

5.3.3.1. Omissions

In this section and the following, I turn from an examination of specific language use to structural decisions in omitting or adding in the translation. With the existence of untranslated copies of both the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*, the direction of translation is easily established with a source and target text. We can therefore discuss the individual translation choices made by the author and contemplate why certain decisions were made. Once again, the author of p. BM 10252 and of PC1 and PC1a did not go about creating their translations and commentaries in the same way. Instead, the author p. BM 10252 is much freer in his omissions and additions to the text. On the contrary, the author of the *Book of Nut*

³⁹⁹ In §116 and §135 the *bas* are specifically equated with *sb3.w* ‘stars’ in the Demotic translation. However, *sb3.w* is written in the Hieratic script in both sections. The only appearance of the term within the Demotic translation is in section §77a, which does not exist in the New Kingdom versions and is unfortunately damaged in the Hieratic texts. In that instance, *b3.w* is also written in the Hieratic script.

compositions translated and/or commented on nearly every section of text.⁴⁰⁰ This contrast suggests that the commentary and translation of the *Book of Nut* had been regularized over its transmission history, while that of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* was at an earlier stage. Furthermore, the closer proximity of two language versions and the use of Hieratic in both the original and translation might have been due to a better contemporary understanding of Middle Egyptian.

Before proceeding further with the analysis, one point needs to be addressed. One of Jan Assmann's criteria for commentary is that the original text must exist before the commentary is created (=Nachträglichkeit).⁴⁰¹ For the *Book of Nut*, the existing versions of the text from the New Kingdom onward point to the presence of uncommented copies prior to the appearance of the translations and commentaries. With the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, the evidence is not so clear. Our two earliest manuscripts, p. BM 10252, dated to 307/306 BCE, and p. Louvre N 3129, dated to the early Ptolemaic Period, both include some elements of commentary, though only the former has a translation. The main element of the commentary that appears in the Louvre version is the repeated title: *ir p3y=f dd* 'As for his saying.'⁴⁰² Since the scribes of both papyri rubricized this title throughout, it was likely seen as a convenient way of organizing the series of shorter ritual texts. As suggested by Schott, the author of p. Louvre N 3129 may have copied his version of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* from a working, annotated copy, such as p. BM 10252.⁴⁰³ As the Louvre papyrus also incorporates a number of other Osirian ritual

⁴⁰⁰ For the list of untranslated passages in PC1, see note 371.

⁴⁰¹ Assmann 1995, 103.

⁴⁰² The title is preserved in p. BM 10252, col. 3.19, 3.29, 4.15, 5.2, 5.16, 6.9, 6.17, 7.13, 7.26, 8.1, 8.16, 9.7, 9.16, 10.2, 10.12, and 11.1. Note that this phrase is grammatically later Egyptian, as it uses the possessive pronoun *p3y=f*. In p. Louvre N 3129, this is written with the abbreviated *pf*.

⁴⁰³ Schott 1954, 19. Apart from the title, Schott notes a number of other minor features of the Louvre papyrus, which he claims must have come from a commented version of the text (1954, 15-19). These include the appearance

compositions, some of which are also found in p. BM 10252, it was probably created from temple ritual texts that had become popular funerary compositions.⁴⁰⁴

Nevertheless, two important facts support the existence of an uncommented copy of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* before the commentary was added. First, there are two other compositions on p. BM 10252, which illustrate how the translations were made; they are the *Ritual to Protect the Nesmet Barque* and the *Great Ceremony of Geb* (see Table 5.2). The scribe who copied the various ritual texts onto p. BM 10252 left significant gaps next to each of these compositions, which in the case of the *Great Ceremony of Geb* was later filled in with a translation of the original.⁴⁰⁵

Col. #	BM Pl. #	Contents	
x+1-2	21	<i>Spell Against Osiris' Enemies</i> (beginning lost)	No commentary
3-12	15-20	<i>Ritual for Repelling the Evil One</i>	Full translation
13-19	11-14	<i>Ritual to Fell Seth and his Confederates</i>	No commentary
20-21	11	<i>Ritual of Bringing Sokar out of the Shetyt Shrine</i>	No commentary
22-23	10-11	<i>Ritual to Protect the Nesmet Barque</i>	Space for translation
24-35	6-10	<i>Great Ceremony of Geb</i>	Partial translation
36-50	1-5	<i>s3ḥ.w I</i>	No commentary (different hand)

Table 5.1 – Contents of p. BM 10252

of several A *pw* nominal sentences (It is A) and a passage where he argues the scribe misinterpreted the commentary (Urk. VI 69,5). While I agree that the commentary may have been part of the text from which the scribe copied, I do not see this evidence as specifically indicative of comments that had become integrated into the original text at this stage.

⁴⁰⁴ Backes 2015. The other unparalleled passages in the Louvre *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, which I do not examine here, point to the difference in use between the Louvre and BM versions of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*. The BM papyrus originated in a temple library and was adapted to funerary use, while the Louvre version was intended from inception to benefit the deceased. Thus several passages invoke Osiris and the deceased more explicitly in the Louvre text (e.g. *Urk.* VI 69,1-5).

⁴⁰⁵ The gaps between columns 22/23 and 23/24 are approximately 7 cm wide, which is around the same width as the writing in columns 22 and 23. The text is quite cramped at the bottom of column 23, suggesting that the scribe did not want to write out a third column. A double red margin line separates the *Ritual to Protect the Nesmet Barque* from the *Great Ceremony of Geb* (Goyon 1969).

The difference in ink saturation and the size of the signs between the original and the translation of the *Great Ceremony of Geb* suggests that the latter was added after the scribe had finished writing out the source text (see Figure 5.2).

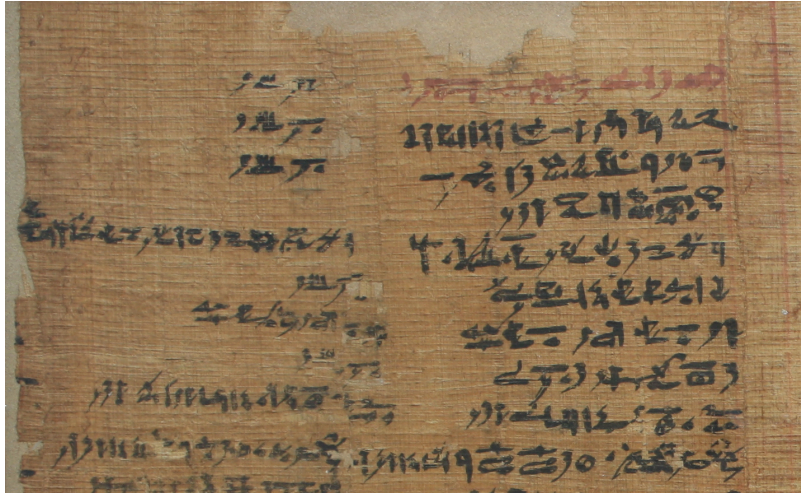


Figure 5.2 – Top of column 24 (p. BM 10252 pl. 10). Beginning of the *Great Ceremony of Geb*

It therefore seems likely that this version of the *Great Ceremony of Geb* was the first version to receive a new commentary, or at the very least a compilation of a commentary and the original text, if they were drawn from two different sources.⁴⁰⁶ The commentary, like that of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, involved a translation of the text, but not of every line. When the text needed no translation, the author simply wrote *ntf pw* ‘It is so.’ In column 28, the author no longer wrote out *ntf pw* in full, but used a long horizontal stroke with a short vertical at the end (i.e. |———) to indicate that the line did not require a translation. The presence of a ‘working’ translation of the *Great Ceremony of Geb* and blank space for the translation of the *Ritual to Protect the Nesmet Barque* on the same manuscript as the parallel translation of the *Ritual for*

⁴⁰⁶ Schott 1954, 152. This composition remains largely unpublished, and I would like to extend my thanks to Ann-Katrin Gill for sharing her preliminary transcriptions and thoughts on the text with me. Burkhard Backes was also kind enough to share his Habilitationsschrift on p. Schmitt (p. Berlin 3057) with me, which contains another attestation of the *Great Ceremony of Geb*.

Repelling the Evil, in my opinion, strongly suggests that the latter composition previously existed in untranslated copies.

Secondly, the Tebtunis text provides clear evidence for the existence of uncommented versions of this composition, as it does not include the section titles, which are found in both the British Museum and Louvre copies.⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, while I acknowledge that the translation may have been written very soon after the original text was composed, I contend that there is sufficient proof that it fulfills the requirement of *Nachträglichkeit*.

Within p. BM 10252, two repeated phrases are not translated in the text. They are the aforementioned *ir p3y=f dd* ‘As for his saying’ and the invocation *i hfty hr sbi pfy n hnty-imnty* ‘O Enemy, villain, that rebel of the Foremost of Westerners.’⁴⁰⁸ These phrases divide the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* into shorter thematic compositions and therefore act as a form of commentary on the structure of the text. However, within the text itself there are other untranslated passages, which demonstrate how the translation was used as a platform for commentary rather than as a complete composition of its own. Example 5.14—the opening lines of section 8—illustrates the interpretive function of the translation. In this section, entitled by Schott, “the Dismemberment of Evil by the Gods of Life” (*Urk.* VI 78, 19), each body part of the Enemy is assigned to a different deity. In the source text, the head is listed first and offered to Horus. However, the target text does not include a translation of these lines.

⁴⁰⁷ See for example, col. x+2, 9-10 where a title appears in the BM and Louvre versions.

⁴⁰⁸ The phrase is preserved in p. BM 10252, col. 4.9, 5.4, 6.30, 7.6, 7.20, 9.3, 10.23, and 11.11.

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<i>ir p3y=f dd</i> <i>rd.t(w) tp=k n Hr 3 hk3.w m dndn n.t imy 5nti</i> <i>dšr.t Skr m Inb-ḥd r=k šhr -tw Wsir m t3-wr</i> <i>rd.(tw) wsr.t=k n Nḥb-k3(.w)</i>	<i>i.ir=f dd r n3 ntr.w nty i.it b3w r-</i> <i>tp=f</i> ⁴⁰⁹ <i>i.ir=w di.t nḥb.t=k n Nḥ(b)-k3</i>
As for his saying: Your head is given to Horus, the great one of magic in the rage of the one in Busiris, the rage of Sokar in Memphis is against you, while Osiris in Abydos overthrows you. Your neck is given to Nehebkau,	It is concerning the gods who are angry at him, which it speaks. ⁴¹⁰ Your neck is given to Nehebkau,

Despite not agreeing in content, grammatically both the Middle and later Egyptian use an emphatic form, which integrates the annotation into the translation that follows (*i.ir=w di.t...*). The comment provides extra information on the content of the entire section; it explains that the Evil One is being given in pieces to these other gods because they are angry with him. The author of the translation and commentary decided that this introductory explanation would be more valuable to the understanding of the text than a translation of the original. Were a complete new edition of the text the central purpose of the author’s work, then the lack of translation would be problematic. However, when the translation is recognized as a commentary, which functions as a way of clarifying aspects of the text, then the missing lines are acceptable.

Section 27, the last of the composition and the so-called “Festival Calendar of the Wicked Deeds of the Evil One” (*Urk.* VI 128,17), also shows that the author did not consider the translation as an independent composition. The structure of this section is a series of couplets. The first line provides the description of a particular heinous act committed by the Evil One, and the second line reveals the sacred effect that action would have. Rather than translate the entire

⁴⁰⁹ Vernus reasonable suggests that the =f of *i.ir=f* refers to the original text (1990, 186). It would follow that the =f of *r-d3d3=f* would refer to the one being dismembered and given to the gods in this section.

⁴¹⁰ There is a faint red line before this section of translation, which suggests that the author recognized that it was not part of the translation of the original text (Schott 1954, 19).

section, the author mostly omitted the second line from his translation. For instance, in Example 5.15, the author describes how the Evil One led rebels in attacks against sacred objects. As a result, the great ruler (*sr-wr*) became angry.

Example 5.15 – p. BM 10252 col. 12.3-4 (*Urk.* VI 133,13-18)

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<p><i>s3ḥ-t3.n=k tp-^c sbi.w ḥn.t w-pg3 sftt=k</i> <i>m3ḥ n m3^c-ḥrw ^cr.n=k ^cr št3</i> <i>ḥbd.tw p3 sr-wr nty m Ḥw.t-sr</i></p>	<p><i>mšī=k irm n3 sbi.w m-ḥnw w-pg3 rmn=k p3</i> <i>m3ḥ n m3^c-ḥrw ir=k ḥnhn r p3 ^cr.w št3</i></p>
<p>You moved upon the earth at the head of the rebels in the nome of Pega, while cutting down the crown of justification, and you approached the secret tree. <i>The great ruler who is in Hut-ser has been displeased.</i></p>	<p>You walked together with the rebels in the nome of Pega, and you cut down the crown of justification, and you approached the secret tree.</p>

The omissions are unlikely due to scribal error or laziness, since not every line is left untranslated. Nor is it due to lack of space, given that the ends of the lines are left blank on the papyrus. I would suggest that the reason lies instead in the ritual nature of the text. The translations were provided only in p. BM 10252 and not in the Louvre or Tebtunis versions and were not meant to make the ritual more effective, but comprehensible. Thus the descriptions could be translated since they are statements of facts, while the second line may have had to remain untranslated, as they contain information that was restricted to those who were initiated and had training in the traditional Middle Egyptian language. In some cases, the translation may simply have been too substantial an alteration to the religious mechanism.

There are no systematic or lengthy untranslated passages in the *Book of Nut*, as there are in p. BM 10252.⁴¹¹ The author of this comment, as already attested by his extensive use of *dd* marked comments, was very thorough in translating and annotating the original text.

⁴¹¹ See note 371.

Nevertheless, there are a few places where the translation was left out and only a comment was supplied. In some cases, including both the translation and commentary would have proven redundant, as most of the information was translated within the comments themselves. In Example 5.16, which is two sections that discuss migratory birds, the author connects the birds that come to Egypt with Nut as the sky.

Example 5.16 – p. Carlsberg 1, col. 4.28-29, §81-82

Middle Egyptian	Demotic
<i>iw nn m gs mh.t imn.t</i>	<i>dd i.ir hr hpr n3y dd n3 3pd.w⁴¹² nty iyi r Kmt n [p3 m3^c mh.ti imn.ti]</i>
<i>rmn m-gs ršy-i3b.t</i>	<i>dd p3 m3^c nty-iw=w n.im=f r hn r p3 m3^c rsi i3b.ti n t3 p.t</i>
These ones are by the Northwest.	Namely they always exist, namely the birds, which come to Egypt, in [the Northwest place].
The length of her Southeast side.	Namely the place in which they are to the far part of the Southeastern place of the sky.

The comments in §81 and §82 come first and conclude with text, which is quite similar to the original composition. In §77a (PC1, col. 4.23), the one instance where the Middle Egyptian original is followed immediately by an unmarked comment, the author also omits the translation in order to avoid redundancy. Since the original text was a single word with no Demotic equivalent, *Srk-ht[yt]* ‘The One who lets the throat breath,’⁴¹³ the author chose to provide an explanation instead.

Once again, the patterns of omission in the translated versions of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*, demonstrate the different translation choices being made by the two authors. While in p. BM 10252 translation was expendable (Example 5.14) or perhaps even restricted (Example 5.15), PC1 and PC1a included a comprehensive and systematic

⁴¹² In this instance and all future words with broken underlining, the word in question is written in Hieratic rather than Demotic.

⁴¹³ *Wb.* IV, 202.9 and *LGG* VI, 434-435.

translation, with only minor omissions, where the comments fulfilled the function of making the archaic Hieratic version understandable (Example 5.16).

5.3.3.2. Additions

I have already discussed marked comments (Chapter 5.2) and the use of paraphrase (Chapter 5.3.1), both of which are ways of expanding upon the original text. However, there are some instances where unmarked emendations to the text are outright additions, which the author of the translation chose to add in order to clarify his interpretation of the original text. Minor, such as providing alternatives to single words or phrases, I consider to be cases of paraphrasing, but in other cases (Example 5.17 and Example 5.18), more dramatic changes are made to the text in order to make the meaning more precise or add detail. For instance, in Example 5.1, discussed above in the context of marked comments, the author added an entire line of direct speech to the translation.⁴¹⁴ Specific words are placed into the mouth of the Evil One by extending the translation. This interpretation is permitted since it does not affect the original text, but instead specifies exactly what the Evil One might say in that situation.

In section 8, which describes how the body parts of the Evil One were distributed among various deities, the author adds text that is reminiscent of commenting practices in *BD* 17. Near the end of the section (Example 5.17), the thighs of the Evil One are given to Isis and Nephthys (*Sn.ty*). The Middle Egyptian already provides an explanation in the next line (*sid is ir=k...*), and so the author adopts a familiar phrase ‘As for X...’ (*ir...*) and What is it? (*ptr –sw*).

⁴¹⁴ The god reportedly says, ‘I shall take the things by force belonging to the great god’ (*iw=i r (i)βi nkt n ḥwr m-di.t p3 ntr ʿ3*).

Middle Egyptian	Later Egyptian
<p><i>rd.t(w) mn.ty=k n Sn.ty nw pw dp hr</i></p> <p><i>sid is ir=k n=sn hsf=sn n=k m shw</i>⁴¹⁶</p>	<p><i>mtw=w <di.t> n3y=k mn.ty n 3st Nb-hw.t n3</i></p> <p><i>i.ptr mr=f</i></p> <p><i>ir n3 id.wt i.ir=k n=w</i>⁴¹⁷ <i>ptr -sw ʕn=w</i></p> <p><i>wšb=k</i>⁴¹⁸ <i>n-im=w dr.w sp-sn</i></p>
<p>Your thighs are given to the two sisters, these are the ones who have felt the face.</p> <p>For the humiliations you have made for them, they opposed you in the assembly.</p>	<p>And your thighs have been <given> to Isis and Nephtys, the ones who saw his illness.</p> <p>As for the subjugations which you have done to them, what is it, they made you account for them entirely!</p>

The translation remains close to the original, but the interpretive function of the sentence is highlighted by using the traditional question/answer construction. The author of p. BM 10252 was adept at using different techniques to explicate the original composition, and his extensive use of paraphrase and additions served the purpose of inserting his own ideas into his translation.

In the *Book of Nut* translation, the most substantial addition to the translation is the introduction (§0) to the composition (see Example 5.18), which is purely explanatory in nature.

⁴¹⁵ See also Schott 1954, 45.

⁴¹⁶ The Middle Egyptian sentence is formed by an initial marked adverbial phrase (i.e. *is ir=k*) followed by the main clause with a perfective *sdm=f* form (i.e. *hsf=sn*) (section 12.16.3, Allen 2010b, 145). For the *sdm=f* form with past meaning in later Middle Egyptian, see Engsheden 2003, 129-137.

⁴¹⁷ The translation is made up of a topicalized noun phrase introduced by *ir* followed by a perfect *sdm=f* form. Regarding this construction, see Junge 2001, 250-258.

⁴¹⁸ The main clause of the translation uses a verbal phrase *ʕn wšb* to translate the Middle Egyptian verb *hsf* (Junge 2001, 326).

Example 5.18 – p. Carlsberg 1, col. 1, 1-5, §0

<i>[...d]m^c p3y</i>	It is [...] book roll.
<i>t3 rpi.t nty khr3.t dd d3d3[=s n pr]- imn.ti [ph.t=s n pr-i3b.]ti Nb- hw.t t3y</i>	The female image, who is bent over, namely the one whose front part is in the West [and whose back part is in the East], is Nephthys.
<i>t3 p.t mh.t t3y</i>	It is the North heaven.
<i>i.ir=f dd n=s [...].y</i>	If he says to her [...].
<i>[...] nt mh.t nty n3.w-h.t=s t3y</i>	It is [...] of the North, who spreads out.
<i>dr.t p3 nty-iw bn-pw=f ph r p3 [... mtw=s] fy n3y=s tbs.w m-s3=f</i>	The land of the one who does not reach to the [...] and she] lifts her heels after it.
<i>[... ph.t=s]s nt i3b.t dd t3 rpi.t</i>	[... her back part] is in the East, namely the female image.
<i>i.iri=f di.t iri ph.t h3.t dd p3 ^c.wy n msi p3y</i>	When it was preceded by the back part, namely it is the place of childbirth.

This section was no doubt copied and expanded many times, as even though it was written in Demotic, *dd* marked annotations were added throughout. Much as was the case with *BD 17*, the sections added to the translation and the embedded marked comments became a fixed part of that composition and were transmitted along with the original text.

Elsewhere in PC1, small additions to the translation specify information that does not exist within the original text.⁴¹⁹ For instance, in Example 5.19, the name of the pillared house (*pr-iwn.w*) is provided.

Example 5.19 - p. Carlsberg 1, col. 3.39, §59

Middle Egyptian	Demotic
<i>pr-iw[n.w] bw.t ^ck R^c im=f</i>	<i>pr-iwn.w p3 ^c.wy nty-iw p3 R^c htp n-im=f <i>rn=f p3y</i></i>
The pillared house, ‘the place into which Re enters.’	The pillared house, ‘the house in which Re rests’ <i>is its name</i> .

⁴¹⁹ These can also take the form of a smaller group of unmarked comments, which follow immediately after the translation within the word *dd*. They are: § 1, 3, 6, 21, 26, 61, 83, 114, 118, 125, 126, 128, 138, 144 (von Lieven 2007).

However, the author of the original text gave no indication that he was providing a name. Therefore, in the translation, the author adds *rn=f p3y* ‘is its name’ so that the reader knew precisely what was being discussed.

Thus although the examples provided from BM 10252 and the *Book of Nut* are not marked explicitly as comments, they add information for the reader and specify the content of the ritual text. These additions use the translation as a means of introducing new details without intruding on the original text and corrupting the sacred language. They also required a scribe with creativity and ingenuity who was interested in better understanding and transmitting a text.

5.3.4. Paratextual References

The final interpretive technique that was embedded within the translation was the use of paratextual references. These are limited to the translation and commentary of the *Book of Nut*, as there are no references to other written or visual works in p. BM 10252. Again, the appearance of such commentary in the *Book of Nut* points to both its central role as a source of knowledge of Egyptian astronomical events as well as the longer history of textual transmission that it underwent. As Alexandra von Lieven has already provided an excellent outline of many of these features in the *Book of Nut*,⁴²⁰ I restrict myself to an analysis of how these comments contribute to the interpretive function of the translation.

5.3.4.1. Change in Media

The *Book of Nut* first appears as a visual composition, where the meaning of the text was inherently dependent upon the image that it accompanied (see Figure 5.3). In creating the translation and commentary on PC1, PC1a and PC496, the authors were aware that by altering the medium on which the text was written, and creating a purely textual structure, they had to

⁴²⁰ See for example, “2.1.2 Papyrus vs. Monumentaltext – Das Nutbuch” (von Lieven 2007, 218-222) and “2.5 Die im demotischen Kommentar des Nutbuches genannten Bücher” (von Lieven 2007, 284-290).

provide cues for the reader to understand the text's context. The opening passage, which appears only in the translation, references the female image (*t3 rpi.t*) as well as specific parts of the image of Nut (see Example 5.18). This appended introduction offered the reader access to the missing visual context from which the composition was drawn.

Further illustration of the connection between the text and image is through the use of introductory phrases throughout the text, which resituate particular sections of text in their appropriate location on the large image of Nut (see Table 5.2). These sentences are also not part of the original and are written only in the Demotic translation.

	§	Transliteration	Translation
A	3	^{1.15} <i>[n3 sh.w nty iw]t p3 b3k iwt t3 nri.t</i>	[The writings which are between] the falcon and the female vulture.
C	6	^{1.24} <i>[...] nri.t n p3 tky</i>	[...] vulture, which is in the image.
H	13	^{1.27} <i>n3 sh.w nty hr p3 ʕpy nty hr t3y=s mn.t</i>	The writings which are under the winged one and which are under her thigh.
D	15	^{1.32} <i>n3 sh.w nty n p3 mte n t3y=s mn.t</i>	The writings which are to the side of her legs.
	15a	^{PC496} <i>[n3] sh.w nty ʕhʕ [...]</i>	[The] writings which stand [...]
J	21	^{2.3} <i>n3 sh.w nty n p3 mte n t3y=s mn.t</i>	The writings which are to the side of her legs.
T ₂	39	^{2.35} <i>n3 sh.w nty [n] t3 rd.t hr.t n p3 twt nty-iw dr.t=f hr [t3] p.t</i>	The writings which are [on] the upper side of the human figure whose hand is above [the] sky.
Bb	55	<i>m33 r p3 tky</i> ^{3.32} <i>p3 [i]tn nty i.ir r=s</i>	See on the image, the sundisk which is in her mouth

Table 5.2 – Passages added to the Carlsberg papyri to indicate the placement of the text

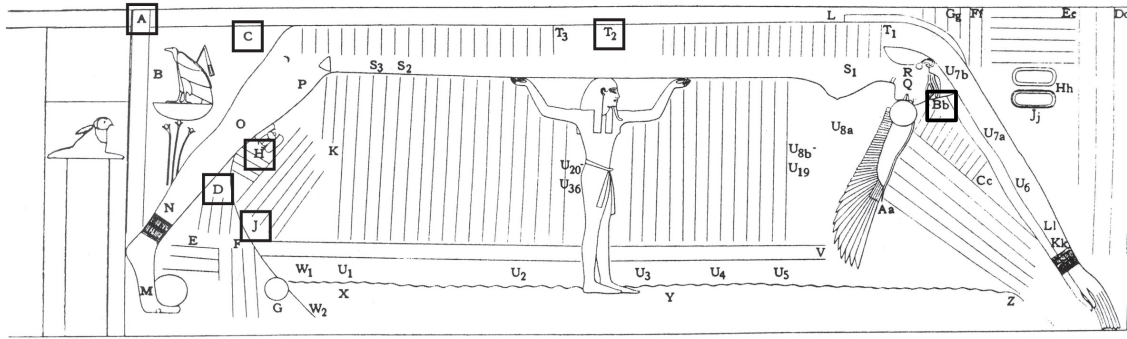


Figure 5.3 – *Book of Nut* from the cenotaph of Seti I with corresponding captions in PC1 (letters in squares)

As illustrated by Figure 5.3, the passages that are provided with headings occur across the image, but they are more focused toward the feet of the goddess Nut. The first four headings all appear one after the other in the transcription of image to text, while the latter three are then dispersed in later passages. As suggested by von Lieven, the source text of the commentary “war eindeutig illustriert, kryptographisch geschrieben und wies einen Mindestumfang von Nutbild, Dekankapitel und Mondkapitel auf.”⁴²¹ The translation and commentary were written not to stand on their own, but to be used in conjunction with the beautifully illustrated, Hieroglyphic copies of the text that were held in the temple library.⁴²²

5.3.4.2. Scribal Presence

It has been shown that the author of the *Book of Nut* translation and commentary was diligent in his annotation of the text. Not only did he translate and/or comment on every line of the composition and add references to the associated image of Nut, he also provided citations to other important scholarly texts⁴²³ and added first person remarks to refer back to his earlier

⁴²¹ 2007, 222.

⁴²² Although no illustrated *Book of Nut* papyrus has survived, the preserved illustrated copies of the *Book of the Fayum* (p. Boulaq/Hood/Amhearst) as well as the small Hieroglyphic fragment of the *Book of Nut* (Berkeley, Bancroft Library Oxford 79/105, O) suggest that a full illustrated *Book of Nut* would have existed at Tebtunis in the Roman Period.

⁴²³ Alexandra von Lieven illustrates how the scribe made use of other scholarly material to create informed commentary on the text. For references to textual citation in Egyptian literature, see von Lieven 2007, 284 n.1532.

work⁴²⁴ or to note where he had difficulties.⁴²⁵ From the opening section (see Example 5.18), the scribe makes himself heard within the manuscript of PC1. As he proceeds with a description of the image from which the text is derived, he states *n3y mw r-dd=y* ‘these waters of which I have spoken’ (PC1, col. 1.9) to make it easier for the reader to follow his commentary.

These features of scribal agency, which are found throughout PC1 and PC1a, suggest that the editor was attentive in his work. He thoroughly annotated the text, collected comparable sources, and did not attempt to hide places where he himself had difficulty. The scholarly work that he pursued served the purpose of explicating a complex and central text of Egyptian astronomy, so that its contents were not rendered unintelligible within the shifting linguistic and religious practices of Roman Egypt. The scribe who later copied the translation and commentary in the 2nd century recognized the value of transmitting an annotated reference copy as well as the unaltered ceremonial copies of text. The preservation of the original text depended upon having the translated version at hand when the archaic Middle Egyptian proved difficult to follow.

5.4. Conclusion

From the Third Intermediate Period onward, the practice of creating and transmitting textual commentary expanded beyond the reproduction and annotation of Middle Egyptian texts. Intralingual translation offered a means of creating contemporary versions of sacred texts and

As noted by von Lieven, all of the direct quotations use Middle Egyptian forms and are written out in Hieratic, save for a quote in Demotic at §103 (PC1 5,33) (2007, 290). Note that in her discussion, von Lieven provides a reference to PC1 4,33, but this appears to be a mistake for 5,33 as there is no quotation at the former.

⁴²⁴ See §0, 33, 49, 89 and 144.

⁴²⁵ In section §144, the final phrase of the text reads *bn-pw=y gm=f* translated literally as “I have not found it” (trans. after Neugebauer and Parker 1960, 80). However, a convincing argument is made that rather than having lost the remainder of the text, instead the author or copyist did not ‘understand’ the text (von Lieven 2007, 95 and 175). The translation and commentary proceed no further in the manuscript, which would suggest that the author was truly lost with the next section of text and omitted it from his transcription of the text. It is unlikely to be the case that he could not find a copy of the text, since PC228 and PC497 preserve fragments of the sections related to the moon and planets (von Lieven 2007, 431-452).

inserting relevant interpretation at the same time. The techniques that were developed from the Middle Kingdom onward to mark inserted comments were adapted for use within the translated version of the text. At the same time, the source materials were transformed through a variety of new techniques, which included paraphrase, complementary pairs, omissions and additions to the translation, and paratextual references. Due to the presence of these traditional and innovative techniques, the translated versions of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut* should be considered commentary.

Although both translations include examples of each of the annotation techniques, which I have outlined, each author applies them to a greater or lesser extent. On the one hand, the author of the earlier p. BM 10252 made greater use of the unmarked comments, such as paraphrase, complementary pairs, and omissions and additions. On the other hand, the *Book of Nut* commentary is replete with *dd* marked comments, which fulfill some of the same purposes, and included numerous paratextual references. Both authors were interested in ensuring that vague or ambiguous passages were made specific and in accumulating information associated with the content of the original text. At the same time, they were intent on updating references to sacred locations and providing a contemporary language version for readers whose language abilities were not as advanced as their own.

The differences in the use of annotation between these two translations are particularly interesting. A parallel can be drawn to the evolution of commentary in *CT 335* and *BD 17*, where the unsystematic commentary of the former was regularized into the latter. While in this instance we are not dealing with the evolution of a single text, the translation of p. BM 10252 omits passages and paraphrases in a way that suggests the target text was produced largely for the examination of the ritual and when the practice of intralingual translation was in its infancy. The

author of PC1 and PC1a, however, had access to traditions of Greek textual commentary and was more methodical in his translation. His translation was also a step further removed from the original, as he was moving both between languages (Middle Egyptian = Demotic) and scripts (Hieratic = Demotic). The freedom exhibited in the translation of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* thus represents the initial enthusiasm for using translation as interpretation, while that of the *Book of Nut* functions within guidelines that were established over time. With the full publication of the fragments of the Demotic translations of the *Book of the Fayum* and *Book of the Temple*, it will be possible to determine which features of this second phase of translation and commentary were a product of regularized scribal practice in the Roman Period, versus how much influence individual authors had over the creation of these works.

Appendix E – Grammatical forms with *dd* marked commentary in PC1

§	Phrase	Details
0, 84	namely the female figure	
97a	namely Nut	
20, 30, 55, 64	namely Re	30 includes further info
92	namely the West	
76, 80, 81	namely the birds that come to Egypt	81 has extra
113	namely Orion and Sopdet	
47, 49, 85, 89, 92, 93a, 97a, 97b, 99b, 100, 101, 103, 117, 127, 134	namely the stars...	47, 49, 93a, 99b, 101, 117, 134 – additional information with the stars 89, 92 – 7 stars 85 – other stars
24, 115, 122, 135	namely the appearance...	of the stars (24 – ‘his’)
55, 56, 88	namely the sky	56 ‘again’
56, 99a, 142	namely the Duat	
32, 38	namely the darkness	
19, 37, 62	namely the water(s)	
15, 16, 33, 35, 38, 82	namely the place(s)...	15, 16 = place of appearing; 33 self reference; 35 place of darkness; 38 by itself
132, 133	namely the 70 days	132 – extra
44a	namely the 10 th day	
25	namely in the 9 th hour of the night	two occurrences – one with <i>p3y</i> and the other without

Table 5.3 – Nominal Comments with *dd*

§	Verb Form	
100	<i>bn-iw p3 sdm</i>	negative existence
117	subj. <i>sdm.w</i>	preposed subject stative
131	<i>sdm=f</i>	past
13, 14, 25, 44a-c, 88, 97a, 119, 127	<i>i.ir=f sdm</i>	second past
17, 18, 102, 113	<i>hr sdm=f</i>	aurist
94a/87	<i>bw-ir=f sdm</i>	negative aurist
79, 81, 93b	<i>i.ir hr sdm=f</i>	second aurist ⁴²⁶
48	<i>r sdm</i>	purpose
124, 137	<i>nty-iw=f sdm</i>	present relative
103	<i>mtw sdm=f</i>	conjunctive

Table 5.4 – Verbal forms following *dd*

⁴²⁶ §93b uses *r-ir* instead of *i.ir* as the converter.

Chapter 6. Translation as a Final Product

The unique compositions on papyrus Rhind I and II are part of the expanded corpus of Egyptian mortuary literature that appeared from the Late Period onward. The presence of two versions of the texts—one in Hieratic and the other in Demotic—on these documents is unparalleled in the existing record.⁴²⁷ In this chapter, I examine the interplay between the two language versions, and I discuss the purpose for pairing them together. To do so, I compare and contrast the translation techniques to those found in papyrus BM 10252 and papyrus Carlsberg 1 and 1a. With each of the techniques that were outlined in Chapter 5, I present examples from papyrus Rhind I and II that correspond to or contrast with the processes involved in creating a textual commentary. Then I briefly discuss the place of other funerary compositions that are written in Middle Egyptian but employ the Demotic script. Finally, I turn to papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 149, the mortuary text of Pamonthes, which I consider the final stage of intralingual Egyptian translation. This composition is a compilation of translated excerpts of several different sources, such as the *Book of the Dead*, as well as descriptions of funerary vignettes.

From my analysis I demonstrate that while the author of the Rhind papyri incorporated traditional techniques from the practice of textual interpretation (*wḥꜥ*) into his text, it was not his goal to produce a true commentary.⁴²⁸ The translation of the Rhind compositions is to be understood as necessitated by the lack of textual authority of Demotic and the influence ascribed to traditional textual commentary and intralingual translation in the early Roman Period. The Hieratic version provided the Demotic with the cultural and religious influence that that high-

⁴²⁷ See Chapter 3.2.

⁴²⁸ As the papyri are unique and personalized, it is tempting to assume that the scribe and author of the text were one and the same person. However, since we cannot know for certain if this is true, I consider the author as the person(s) who composed the works and the scribe as the individual who wrote out the Rhind manuscripts.

register language offered and the veneer of a history of textual transmission for the text that otherwise did not exist. The author created a ‘pseudo-historical’ translation. He could therefore include a contemporary Demotic version without compromising the magical efficacy of the documents for the deceased. The Middle Egyptian texts transcribed into Demotic fulfill a similar purpose of using contemporary script but retaining the traditional language. Finally, we witness the complete maturity of Egyptian intralingual translation with the appearance of papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 149, as the text stands on its own without any indication to the reader that he or she is dealing with a translation. There are no visual or textual cues that this work is a translation of earlier Egyptian texts, and so the owner must have been satisfied by the authority of the Demotic text itself.

6.1. Translation as composition?

I have demonstrated that translation in Egypt is part of a complex tradition of textual annotation and transmission, which developed out of processes that were already in existence at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Furthermore, the creation of commentary was a valued intellectual undertaking. The translations of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut* provided precision in reading those ritual texts. Both compositions have a history of transmission that is proven by the existence of many versions of the text and the continued interest of the scribes and priests into the Roman Period.

In the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, changes in the linguistic landscape of Egypt and years of innovation in textual editing and transmission led to the appearance of a new usage for intralingual, Egyptian to Egyptian translation. The compositions on the Rhind papyri exemplify this adaptation of translation and commentary techniques from temple commentary to personalized individual documents. In order to provide religious authority to his original

compositions, the author of the Rhind papyri created parallel language versions that mimic the products of temple scriptoria. However, when the content of the Rhind texts are assessed based on the criteria for defining commentary, as outlined by Jan Assmann, the parallel versions do not qualify.⁴²⁹ The condition of *Nachträglichkeit* (=added afterwards) is lacking, as the manuscripts are the work of a single scribe, and no other copies are known to exist. The Rhind papyri therefore satisfy only two criteria, namely the *Deutungsfunktion* (=interpretive function) and the *Textbezug* (=text dependency). The presence of marked annotations and the use of complementary pairs explicate the content of the composition and create a link between the two versions. Each version can be read separately, but there is knowledge to be gained by bringing them together.

It appears that the texts were created simultaneously, with translation to and from both languages.⁴³⁰ For the most part the two versions conform with the expected correspondence between script and language (Hieratic and Middle Egyptian, Demotic and Later Egyptian).⁴³¹ The versions are expertly integrated, and it proves extremely difficult to determine whether a portion of text derives from Hieratic or Demotic originally. The very fact that we are at a loss to determine the original again differentiates these texts from the translation of the ritual texts in p. BM 10252 and p. Carlsberg 1 and 1a. The Rhind Hieratic version is given the prominent position at the top of the column, and no attempt is made to distinguish the origin of the different sections

⁴²⁹ Assmann 1995, 103.

⁴³⁰ Smith 2009b, 303-304. There are certain sections that seem likely to stem from one or other language. For example, the opening biographical information (sections 1 and 2) was no doubt originally written in Demotic. For an outline of Georg Möller's attempt to determine the language of origin, see Table 6.4 in Appendix F. Foy Scalf has also addressed this issue in his analysis of Demotic funerary literature and suggests that, "Based on the elements in the texts, it seems most likely that the scribe was pulling from many different sources, probably mostly hieratic, combining elements together and then transposing it into Demotic" (Scalf 2014, 266). I tend to agree with his assessment, but further analysis of these two papyri will help determine exactly how the author crafted the texts.

⁴³¹ The language of the two versions is *Égyptien de tradition* with some traces of later Egyptian influence and Demotic with a few Classical Egyptian forms (Möller 1913, 11 and Smith 2009b, 303-304).

of text. The reader may assume that the Hieratic is original, but the direction of translation is intentionally obscure. Truly the translation is an integral part of the composition process of the Rhind papyri. Although there is much to be said about the details of the translation, such a study is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For the purpose of my analysis, I do not presume to discern the direction of translation, but I comment on it when it is relevant.

My approach has therefore been to adopt the concept of ‘pseudo-historical’ translation. I have drawn on the translation studies idea of pseudo-translation, where an author attempts to pass a text off as a translation either to provide it with an exotic and appealing origin, or to give it authority that it otherwise lacked.⁴³² In the case of the Rhind texts, the translation is genuine, but an element of the historical is added through the use of parallel texts. Even if the original material were mostly Hieratic, the author need only have kept the original or translated it entirely. Instead, the Hieratic provided the authority that the Demotic lacked, while the reader could understand the Demotic.

6.2. Interpretive Techniques in the Rhind Papyri

6.2.1. Additions with *ky-ḏd* or a Relative Clause

The earliest interpretive techniques are the marked annotations found in the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead*, which are attested in later material as well. In the Rhind texts, all such additions are concentrated in sections 8 and 9 (cols. 5 and 6), much as was the case in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, where all marked additions appeared in sections 5 to 8 of that composition.⁴³³

There are no marked additions in Rhind II. The inserted comments appear in both versions of the

⁴³² This notion was first discussed by Gideon Toury in 1984 and then developed in his theory of descriptive translation studies (Toury 2012, 47-59).

⁴³³ For an overview of the contents of p. Rhind I and how the division of the composition into sections, see Table 6.5 in Appendix F.

text, but the same technique is not used in Demotic and Hieratic. It is therefore likely that the comments, especially those in the Hieratic version, were drawn from source material, rather than composed by the author of Rhind I and II.

The comments added to the Hieratic are inserted using the traditional *ky-dd* phrase. In Example 6.1 and Example 6.2 individual words are added to the text in a manner that is reminiscent of the process of providing synonyms in *BD 17*, and later in the Tebtunis fragment of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*.⁴³⁴ Each of the alternate readings offers a synonym for a term associated with funerary ritual: in the first instance the grave of the deceased, and in the second, the necropolis. However, it is not clear as to why these two words in particular were chosen.

Example 6.1 – p. Rhind I, col. 5 Hieratic 4 and Demotic 3-4

Hieratic	Demotic
⁴ <i>hnd=k Hnm.t-^cnh⁴³⁵ snsn=k im=f mn=k m hry=k ky-dd (m)^ch^c.t=k m-hnw db3t=k</i>	<i>mš^c=k r Dm3^c iw=k snsn hn=f mn=k hn t3y=k h.t hn t3y=k tib.t</i>
You will walk over Henemetankh, and you will breathe there. You will remain in your tomb, otherwise said your cenotaph , in your sarcophagus.	You will go to Djeme, while breathing there. You will remain in your tomb, in your sarcophagus.

⁴³⁴ See Chapters 4.2.2 and 5.2.1 respectively.

⁴³⁵ *Wb.* III, 379.1. The word is used to refer to the necropolis in general and in reference to Medinet Habu. The word is only attested from the Ptolemaic Period onward.

Example 6.2 – p. Rhind I, col. 6 Hieratic 1-2 and Demotic 1

Hieratic	Demotic
<i>r3 n sw^cb in Hr Dḥwty dd-mdw sw^cb.tw=k Hr m ^ck=k r hr.t-ntr ky-dd dw3.t dsr.t iw m33 ntr ʕ3 m hr.t-ntr iw nn Stš nb im=k</i>	<i>r3 n sw^cb n Hr Dḥwty dd-md sw^cb.t=k Hr m ^ck=k r dw3.t tsre.t r wšde p3 ntr ʕ3 nty n Imnt</i>
Spell for the purification by Horus and Thoth. Words spoken: Horus will purify you in your entering into the necropolis, otherwise said the sacred Duat , to see the great god in the necropolis, without any Seth in you. ⁴³⁶	Spell for the purification of Horus and Thoth. Words spoken: Horus will purify you in your entering into the sacred Duat to greet the great god who is in the West.

In Example 6.1 the alternate reading is *hry=k ky-dd (m)^ch^c.t=k* “your tomb, otherwise said your cenotaph” (I5h4).⁴³⁷ The Demotic does not use either of the terms from the Middle Egyptian, but instead has a third variation, *h.t*. Example 6.2 gives a synonym for *hr.t-ntr* “necropolis,” which is *dw3.t dsr.t*. In this instance, the Demotic and the alternate reading of the Hieratic are equivalent.⁴³⁸ The use of a noun (*Dw3.t*) and adjective (*dsr.t*) combination in the alternate reading and the Demotic suggests that the author may have created a semantic calque of the Hieratic: *ntr* > *dsr.t* and *hr.t* > *Dw3.t*.

In the comments added to the Demotic text in Example 6.3 and Example 6.4 *ky-dd* is not used. Instead the added comments identify an object with a nominal phrase in a relative clause.⁴³⁹ The use of the relative clause rather than an introductory phrase *dd* or *ky-dd* is not

⁴³⁶ Möller suggests that this section was originally written in Demotic due to the appearance of wordplays in that language version (1913, 10 n.10). See Appendix F. This last phrase that does not appear in the Demotic for reasons which are not entirely clear. It would seem to refer to the effect of the purification of the deceased, namely that he will be in a state of being free from evil and wrongdoing. On phrases that appear in only one of the two language versions, see Chapter 6.2.4.

⁴³⁷ When a textual reference is given as ‘I5h4,’ it should be read ‘papyrus Rhind I, col. 5, hieratic, line 4.’

⁴³⁸ The term *hr.t-ntr* is attested in Demotic, but is not common (*CDD* (*h*): 60).

⁴³⁹ There are three examples in p. Rhind I: 5d6, 6d4, and 6d5.

attested in the other documents of this study, but the practice of specifying a particular god for an otherwise ambiguous term is known from all of the textual commentaries.⁴⁴⁰

Example 6.3 – p. Rhind I, col. 5 Hieratic 8 and Demotic 6

Hieratic	Demotic
<i>sw3š=k p3 nfr nty htp m nfr.t=f</i>	<i>š=k r p3 nfr nty-iw Wsir p3y nty htp n t3y=f cḥḥ3.t</i>
You will praise the good one, who rests in his tomb.	You will recite to the good one, who is Osiris , who rests in his tomb.

In Example 6.3, an ambiguous term is specified as a particular god. The deceased is invited to view and participate in the afterlife and is rewarded by Osiris who will act on his behalf. The god is identified as *p3 nfr* “the perfect one,” and the Demotic text adds the comment in order to make it clear to whom the text is referring.

In Example 6.4, the association between the constellation Orion and Osiris is made clear through an alternate reading. The comments in section 9 (col. 6) are introduced by *r-tw*, which is a variation of the relative converter *nty*.⁴⁴¹

Example 6.4 – p. Rhind I, col. 6 Hieratic 6 and Demotic 5

Hieratic	Demotic
<i>6 pr b3=k r pt ḥnḥ S3ḥ ḥ3bs.w m šms Spd.t</i>	<i>tw=w šm p3y=k b3 irm Swḥ r-tw (nty) Wsir p3y irm n3 sjw.w nty šms n Spd.t</i>
Your ba will come out to the sky with Orion, while the stars are following Sopdet.	Your ba will be caused to travel with Orion, who is Osiris , and the stars which follow Sopdet.

These inclusions follow a pattern of use that is different for the two language versions, which may suggest that they were added to different source material for the Rhind papyri. Together

⁴⁴⁰ For instance, see Example 5.2 and Example 5.3 in Chapter 5. The Hieratic comments in the *Embalming Ritual*, however, are introduced by *dr-nty* (see note 339).

⁴⁴¹ See Möller 1913, n.93 and *CDD* (*n*): 139-140. I5d6: , I6d4: , and I6d5: .

with the restricted distribution of these comments in sections 8 and 9, it is likely that they were copied from elsewhere rather than created by the author of the Rhind papyri themselves. The author of the compositions on papyrus Rhind I and II collected materials from different sources, some of which may have included textual commentary. He may not have been interested in writing a formal commentary himself, but he nonetheless understood the value of these marked comments and therefore included them in the final versions of Rhind I.

6.2.2. Lexical Variation

Unlike the translations of the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*, the Demotic on the Rhind papyri is a simplification, but does not add specificity or explanation to the text for the reader. The purpose of the Demotic version is not to comment on the Hieratic, as was the case in p. BM 10252.⁴⁴² Instead, the Demotic lexicon is a reflection of contemporary language, while the Middle Egyptian vocabulary is varied and creatively chosen.⁴⁴³ The author intentionally selected words in Demotic that were in common use and were easily understandable to create an approachable version of the ritual text. At the same time, the lexicon of the Hieratic version highlights the ‘pseudo-historical’ nature of translation in the Rhind papyri. The elevated vocabulary is meant to point to the composition’s ancient origin, but instead reflects the contrived lexicon of contemporary Ptolemaic temple inscriptions.

The Middle Egyptian often uses a number of cultural terms where Demotic only uses one, such as with words related to writing, death, and burial and drinking and eating. The author

⁴⁴² See Example 5.8 and Example 5.9 in Chapter 5.3.1.

⁴⁴³ Even without knowing the direction of translation, I can comment where one or the other version has more lexical variation than the other. It is impossible to know for certain whether the author was creative and embellishing the Middle Egyptian, or practical and simplifying the Demotic. Terms such as “simplification” or “embellishment” imply that the author made particular lexical choices based on one existing language version.

also varies the Demotic vocabulary, but much less frequently.⁴⁴⁴ As with the marked comments, some of the variation may also be due to borrowing materials from a variety of sources. However, the lexicon diverges throughout the compositions, not only in specific sections.

The first two sections of the text must have been composed during or shortly after the lifetime of the deceased, as they include concepts that are traditionally found in biographical texts. Therefore, the author could easily have used the same words in both the Hieratic and Demotic. Instead, the Demotic uses common words and the Hieratic draws upon vocabulary that is largely used in the context of temple inscriptions.⁴⁴⁵ From the first line of text in column 1 of Rhind I, there are words in the Hieratic version, which might have been rendered in simpler terms. For instance, in the sketch of Monthesuphis' life, the author chose to equate the verb *bh* 'to give birth' (I1h1)⁴⁴⁶ in Hieratic with the very common verb *ms* 'to give birth' in the Demotic (I1d1). Later in section 1, the author uses the phrase *hmsi m wh^c* 'to rest in leisure' in Hieratic (1h6) instead of the simple verbs *swr* 'to drink' and *wnm* 'to eat' in Demotic (1d5-6).⁴⁴⁷ With

⁴⁴⁴ For example, the vocabulary is inconsistent in both the Hieratic and Demotic versions in his translation of verbs of motion. For example, of the twenty-one occurrences of *pri* 'to come out' in Hieratic, ten also have *pr* in Demotic (I2d5, I3d1, I6d10, I8d3, I10d4, I10d13, I10d15, I11d11, II3d3, II8d3), three have *ii* 'to come' (I2d13, I6d3, I6d11), three have *sm* 'to go' (I2d1, I6d5, I9d2), three have *h^c* 'to appear' (I3d9, I6d10, II3d7), and one each have *ppy* 'to be young' (II9d2) and *ir* 'to make' (I2d6). Considered in reverse, of the twelve occurrences of *pr* in Demotic, ten of course are the same in Hieratic, but Demotic *pr* is also used for Middle Egyptian *pr* 'to equip' (I3d10, II3d7). It appears as if the author understands a range of semantic values of earlier *pri* to fit the particular context. A full study is needed to understand the equivalence of Middle Egyptian and Demotic words, but that is not within the scope of this dissertation.

⁴⁴⁵ The variety is noted already by Georg Möller, who states: "Bemerkenswert selbst für einen Text der späten Ptolemäerzeit ist aber der Reichtum an seltenen, gewiß z.T. sehr altertümlichen Worten, von denen sich mehrere sonst anscheinend überhaupt nicht nachweisen lassen" (1913, 11).

⁴⁴⁶ *Wb.* I, 472.3-8, *PL* 328. The author of the Rhind papyri uses a variety of Middle Egyptian terms where Demotic generally has *msi* (see the Glossar in Möller 1913, 25*-26*). The first *Wb.* attestation is from a Dynasty 22 statue found at the Temple of Luxor (CG 559, line 5). The inscription reads, *bh km3.t=f (>tm3.t) m ntr* 'whose mother gave birth as a god' (Borchardt 1911-1936, 106). All of the other attestations of this word are found in temple texts referring to the birth of gods or the king. It is also used for cattle and symbolically with reference to the Nile flooding over the land. The word is not attested in Demotic with this meaning. The similarity to the name *Bh* 'Buchis' (*DG* 121) may be significant given the connection of Monthesuphis and his family to the cult of the Buchis bull.

⁴⁴⁷ *Wb.* I, 349, *PL* 648. It is a set phrase with the meaning 'to eat offerings, sit in leisure.' It is of course interesting that this set phrase includes the word *wh^c*, but it is no doubt a coincidence, rather than any relation to the

each of these verbs, the author deliberately moves away from simple Egyptian terms in favor of new and creative alternatives.

The same trend is attested not only in the open sections, but throughout the Rhind compositions. A good example concerns the use of the verb “to write,” which appears five times in the Demotic of Rhind I and three times in Rhind II, always in a relative clause.⁴⁴⁸ Rather than limit himself to a single translation, the author varies his choice of words throughout the manuscript. The common verb *sh* ‘to write’ never occurs in the Hieratic of either papyrus.⁴⁴⁹ Instead, the Middle Egyptian provides nuance in each individual context, using *ht*, *ir*, *wd* and *hsb*.⁴⁵⁰ The decision to vary the vocabulary in the Hieratic seems deliberate, as the verb *sh* is obviously attested in other Middle Egyptian texts of this period and remains the most common verb for ‘to write’ even in Coptic.⁴⁵¹

translation included in the Rhind text. The words *swr* and *wmm* are both frequently attested from at least the Old Kingdom and appear later in Coptic as Ⲫⲱ (Crum 318a and Cerný 1976, 146) and ⲠⲮⲱⲙ respectively (Crum 378a and Cerný 1976, 212).

⁴⁴⁸ The examples in Rhind II are exact parallels to lines in Rhind I, so only the Rhind I examples are included in Table 6.1.

⁴⁴⁹ It does occur as both the nouns “writings” (11h4) and “writer” (2h6, 2h7) (Möller 1913, 53*).

⁴⁵⁰ *hti* – *Wb.* III, 347-348, ‘to carve, inscribe’; *iri* – *Wb.* I, 108-112, ‘to do, make, create’; *wd* – *Wb.* I, 394-395, ‘to command, commit’; *hsb* – *Wb.* III, 166-167, ‘to count, reckon, distribute.’

⁴⁵¹ *Wb.* III, 475-476, *PL* 920. Coptic Ⲫⲉⲗⲓ (Crum 381b and Cerný 1976, 172-173).

#1	Hieratic (1h8)		Demotic (1d7)
<i>r ht n=f Isdn</i>	which Iseden inscribed for him	<i>r sh n=f Dhwtj</i>	which Thoth wrote for him
#2	Hieratic (1h11)		Demotic (1d9)
<i>iry r sp3.t-igr.t (in Dhwtj)</i>	which was made for the Necropolis (by Thoth)	<i>r sh Dhwtj r Imnt</i>	which Thoth wrote for the West
#3	Hieratic (2h2)		Demotic (2d2)
<i>wd.tw=s hr mshn.t</i>	which was decreed upon the birth-brick	<i>r sh=w s hr t3y=k dbi-ms</i>	which was written upon your birth-brick
#4	Hieratic (4h10)		Demotic (4d10)
<i>r hsb n=k smsw-wd</i>	which the Eldest of the Decree reckoned for you	<i>r sh n=k Dhwtj</i>	which Thoth wrote for you
#5	Hieratic (5h2)		Demotic (5d1)
<i>r ht n=k Isdn</i>	which Iseden inscribed for you	<i>r sh n=k Dhwtj</i>	which Thoth wrote for you

Table 6.1 – Use of the verb *sh* in p. Rhind I

Each of the examples in Table 6.1, except #2,⁴⁵² concern the record made by Thoth at a person’s birth of the number of years he or she shall live. The number of years is then written out on the birthing-brick, as a record of the prediction. This practice is attested elsewhere, most famously in the earlier papyrus Westcar, but also on temple reliefs of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.⁴⁵³ The use of both *hti* and *wd* implies that Thoth’s projections were not just written *onto* the birthing-brick, but inscribed *into* it. The word *hsb* on the other hand is attested in temple texts in reference to counting the length of a lifetime, which fits the context of the passage in p. Rhind I.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² #2 is instead a relative clause attached to the word “*wd.t/s.t*” to describe the letter of recommendation, which the deceased took with him to enter the underworld. See Scalf 2014, 196-197.

⁴⁵³ The birthing-brick is called *mshn.t* in Hieratic (1h8) (*Wb.* II, 148) and *dbi-ms* in Demotic (1d7-8) (*DG* 178 and 617). Meskhenet is a personification of the word for ‘birthing-brick’ in the story of p. Westcar, where she foretells the destiny of the children of the woman Rudjedet. After each child is born to Rudjedet, the goddess predicts its future. *h.c.n ms.n sy Mshn.t r=f h.c.n dd.n=s nswt iri.t(y)=fy nsw.yt m B pn r-dr=f* (p. Westcar 10,12-14), “Then Meskhenet approached him, and she said, ‘A king who shall rule over this entire land.’” For references to the birthing-brick in Ptolemaic temple texts, see *PL* 465 and *LGG* III, 437-438, and concerning the word ‘brick’ in Demotic, see Thissen 1984.

⁴⁵⁴ Thoth frequently has the title *Hsb-h.c.w* ‘Reckoner of Lifetimes’ (*PL* 677 and *LGG* V, 484).

Therefore instead of using the translation as a framework for adding textual commentary, the author of the Rhind papyri created a word-for-word translation between the two versions. He creatively expanded the lexicon of the Hieratic text with words that would evoke the texts on Egyptian temple walls, but provided a comprehensible companion text in contemporary Demotic idiom. The use not only of Hieratic, but of an elevated, high-register of Middle Egyptian guaranteed that Monthesuphis and Tanuat had a prestigious funerary text and an effective tool in their journey to the afterlife, while the Demotic version ensured comprehensibility.

6.2.3. Complementary Pairs

One of the most important features of Egyptian commentary is the interest in adding specificity to a text. From the earliest annotations in the *Coffin Texts*, this was accomplished through the use of nominal sentences, which were generally marked by a question or other introductory phrase (e.g. As for X, it is Y).⁴⁵⁵ The introduction of translation into the commentary process provided the authors with a new way of adding details. The original and age-old names of sacred locations, deities, or cult objects were replaced by contemporary terms or epithets in the translation.⁴⁵⁶ These complementary pairs linked the two versions of a text by providing additional information to anyone who read them together. In terms of annotation techniques in the Rhind papyri, this process is closest to what is found in the ritual texts, where the translation served the function of textual commentary.

The Rhind papyri include many pairings of this type. The two papyri have over 150 individual examples of the names of 20 major deities throughout the compositions. Of these,

⁴⁵⁵ See Chapter 4.1.

⁴⁵⁶ Siegfried Schott draws upon examples from the Rhind papyri in his study of translation in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, e.g. in comparing the names and epithets of deities (Schott 1954, 46). For the discussion of complementary pairs in the ritual texts, see Chapter 5.3.2.

there are 55 instances where the two versions are not identical. The use of the epithet is mostly in the Middle Egyptian text, while the Demotic uses the simple name of the god (see Figure 6.1). Four of those simply lack any immediate equivalent in one of the versions. In the remaining 51 cases, the author pairs the name of a deity with a divine epithet of that god. The deities to whom this applies are listed in Table 6.2. The two most common deities whose names do not match in both versions are Thoth and Osiris, and they are also the most frequently mentioned in general.⁴⁵⁷

Deity	Other Name
Thoth	<i>'Isdn</i> , Iseden (LGG I, 558-560) <i>smsw-wd</i> , The Elder of the Decree (LGG VI, 351)
Isis and Nephtys	<i>sn.ty</i> , The Two Sisters
Anubis	<i>tpy-dw=f</i> , One Upon His Mountain (LGG VII, 393-394)
Ennead	<i>ntr.w</i> , The Gods
Four Sons of Horus	the equivalent body parts (see Table 6.3)
Re	<i>b3 m hrt</i> , The Ba in Heaven (LGG II, 693)
Sokar	<i>R^c-šr</i> , The Little Re (LGG IV, 639) <i>Skr-Wsir</i> , Sokar-Osiris
Osiris	<i>3h</i> , The Akh (LGG I, 35) <i>wrd-ib</i> , The Weary Hearted (LGG II, 512-513) <i>fnd=f-^cnh</i> , One Whose Nose Lives (LGG III, 193) <i>nb-imntt</i> , The Lord of the West (LGG III, 583-584) <i>nb-nhh</i> , The Lord of Eternity (LGG III, 667-669) <i>ntr</i> , The God <i>ntr-^c3</i> , The Great God <i>hnty-imnty</i> , Foremost of Westerners

Table 6.2 – Frequently Mentioned Deities and their Other Names

Of the gods mentioned in p. Rhind I, 76 examples (68%) are the same in the Hieratic and Demotic versions. As illustrated in Figure 6.1 below, sections 4, 7, and 8 use the most

⁴⁵⁷ Thoth is mentioned 12 times in p. Rhind 1 and 6 times in p. Rhind 2, and Osiris is mentioned 25 times in p. Rhind I and 6 times in p. Rhind 2.

complementary pairs. However, as with p. BM 10252, there does not appear to be an explicit pattern in their use.⁴⁵⁸ Contrary to the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, the section with an invocation of a list of deities and the most deities mentioned (section 14) has the same name in both versions.⁴⁵⁹

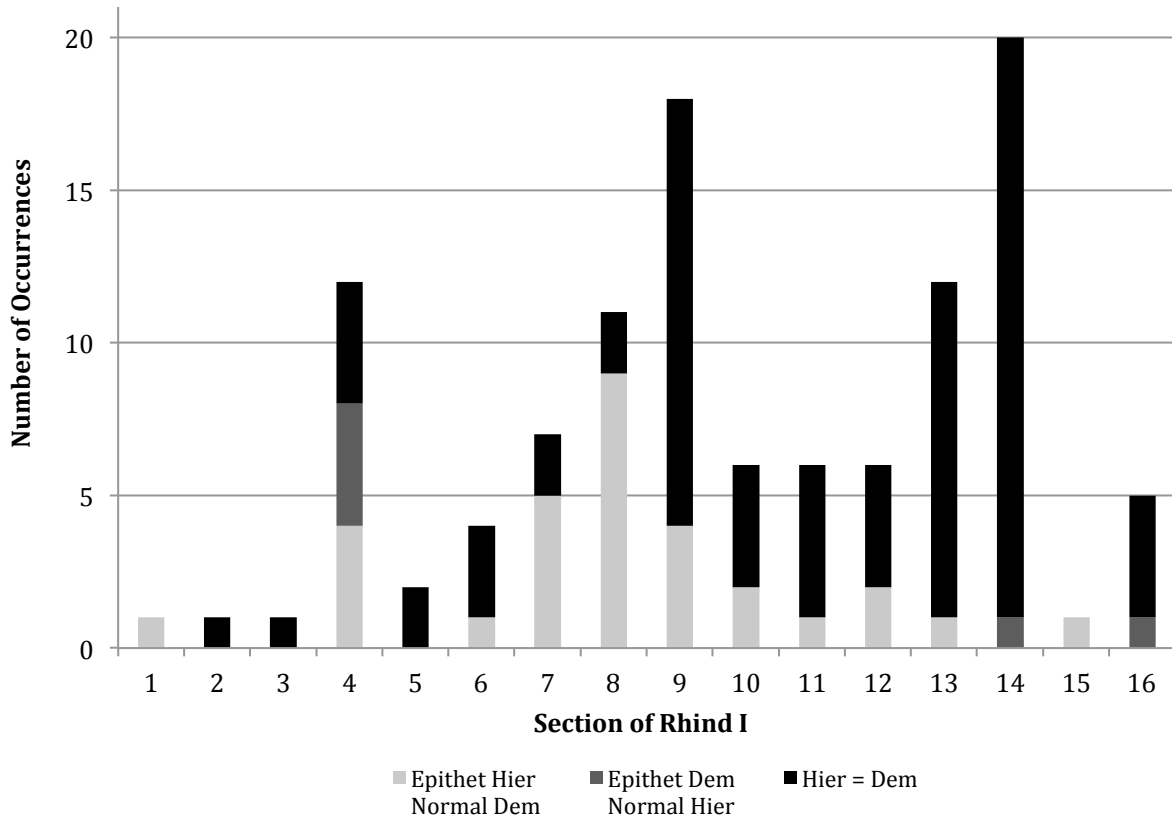


Figure 6.1 – Distribution of deities mentioned by section in Rhind I⁴⁶⁰

A notable instance where the name of the god is used in the Hieratic version and the epithet in the Demotic is in section 4 of p. Rhind I (see Table 6.3). A priest, who acts as Anubis,

⁴⁵⁸ Unfortunately there is no clear correspondence between the use of an epithet in one or other language and the supposed direction of translation (see Appendix F). Nevertheless, a complete study of the Rhind papyri may indicate otherwise.

⁴⁵⁹ The single exception is a reference to the Ennead (*psd.t*) in the Hieratic (I10h13) that is equated with the Gods (*n3 ntr.w*) in the Demotic (I10d15).

⁴⁶⁰ ‘Normal’ refers to the common name of a god, e.g. Thoth, Osiris, etc. ‘Epithet’ refers to a variation, e.g. the God, Iseden, etc. See Table 6.2.

welcomes the deceased, equated with Osiris, into the necropolis for the mummification process. The author has created four parallel sections between the two versions to illustrate this point. The Hieratic contains the names of the sons of Horus, while the Demotic replaces each name with the internal organ with which the god is associated. The traditional pairing is respected with the liver and Imsety, the lungs and Hapy, and the intestines and Qebhsenuf. The last set, the stomach and Duamutef has been altered here for the spleen.⁴⁶¹ The text then recounts the joy felt by each god/organ of the deceased because it is being protected and removed from danger through the mummification process. This passage clearly illustrates how the two versions are more than just equivalents; they are complementary.

Hieratic (I2h10-12)		Demotic (I2d11-13)	
<i>Imsti m ḥꜥꜥ m sdwḥ</i>	Imseti is rejoicing because of embalming.	<i>p3 mws rši mtw 3l=w s r siḥ</i>	The liver rejoices because it is lifted up in the embalming pavilion.
<i>Ḥp m trḥḥ.w(t) m rg3y bn.w=f</i>	Hapy is in exultation because of being removed (from) his woes.	<i>p3 wf(?) m d3ḥḥ mtw ḥlg=f s ḥn n3y=f b(i)n.w</i>	The lungs are in exultation because he removed it from its woes.
<i>Dw3-mwt-f m 3w.t-ib m sn.n=f mnt</i>	Duamutef is in joy because he has passed by (his) troubles.	<i>p3 nyš (?) m rši dd w3ḥ=f sni n3y=f dḥr.w</i>	The spleen is rejoicing, because it has already passed its troubles.
<i>Ḳbh-sn.w=f m nh3m dr pr.n=f m wꜥb.t wrḏ.w</i>	Qebhsenuf is jubilant since he has emerged from the pure place and (his) weariness.	<i>p3 mhṯe ʿ3 nhm dd w3ḥ=f ii r-bnr n t3 wꜥb.t m his</i>	The large intestine is jubilant because it comes out from the pure place and (its) troubles.

Table 6.3 – Complementary Pairs of the Sons of Horus and Internal Organs in p. Rhind I

The pairs were created quite deliberately using parallel words for the feeling of joy (written in green in Table 6.3) and parallel syntactic structure in the Hieratic and Demotic.⁴⁶² By taking

⁴⁶¹ Taylor 2001, 65-66.

⁴⁶² A parallel may be drawn to the exclamations of joy in p. Harkness where we have a Demotic use of the word *stwṯ* ‘to embalm’ (Smith 2005, 67-68).

nhm n3 m3nw n-t3y pḥ=t st ir ʿny

The western mountains will rejoice when you have reached them every day.

ršy n3 ity.w (11) n-t3y nwe=w r-ḥr=t

The spirits will exult (11) when they have seen you.

advantage of the fact that both versions were going to be written out in full, the author had the freedom to use the name of the god in one, and the name of the organ in the other. It is only by combining the two, that the knowledge is brought together and the deceased has full access to the magical protection for the afterlife.

The use of epithets shows a marked similarity to the interpretive techniques used in the translation of the ritual texts. Just as the author of the commentary to the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* used the various epithets of Hathor in section 21 of that composition, the author of the p. Rhind I made use of the two versions to juxtapose the sons of Horus to the human organs.⁴⁶³ However, the context is different. In the former, the author was adding to the text to show his knowledge of the forms of the goddess in praise of her, while in the latter, the text is a creative attempt to connect the divine and human worlds. Monthesuphis invested in a papyrus that had the traditional religious authority to get him from this world to the next. By reading the two language versions together, he accessed different knowledge and could effectively complete his journey into the afterlife.

6.2.4. Unparalleled Passages

With the ritual texts, it was possible to determine what was added or omitted in the translation because the direction of translation is known.⁴⁶⁴ We cannot use the terms ‘added’ or ‘omitted’ with the Rhind papyri, as it assumes that one language version was the source and the other the

h⁵y n3 in-mwt.w n-t3y hpr=t iw⁵=w

The deceased will be jubilant when you have come to be among them.

mne n=t Inp ir=f stwt=t tm=f t⁵=t kse.t m wy.t=f ts=f

Anubis will endure for you. He has embalmed you and wrapped you (in) bandages with his own hands.

⁴⁶³ See Example 5.11 in Chapter 5.3.2.

⁴⁶⁴ See Chapter 5.3.3.

target text. Therefore, I refer to passages that exist in only one language version as ‘unparalleled.’

When compared to the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*, the two language versions of the Rhind papyri are very consistently equivalent. This regularity is unsurprising given that they are the work of the same author and were made concurrently. Moreover, the function of the two versions was not to provide an examination of a ritual text, which might require omitting some passages in the translation or extending the existing text, but rather to create a plausible authoritative version in Hieratic and a clear, comprehensible version in Demotic.

For the most part, unparalleled passages are only minor variations, and they occur throughout the texts in both the Hieratic and Demotic versions.⁴⁶⁵ There are 30 unparalleled passages each in the Hieratic and Demotic versions of p. Rhind I (see Figure 6.2).⁴⁶⁶ Most of them are single words⁴⁶⁷ or instances where the name of the deceased varies.⁴⁶⁸ The variation in the name and titles of Monthesuphis and Tanuat is likely due to the fact that the scribe could write their names and titles by memory rather than have to copy and translate them individually.

⁴⁶⁵ There are a total of 91 unparalleled passages in the two Rhind papyri: 60 in p. Rhind I and 29 in p. Rhind II. In p. Rhind II, there are 16 unparalleled passages in Hieratic and 13 in Demotic. I discuss only this larger sample found in p. Rhind I.

⁴⁶⁶ Of those, the five comments with introductory phrases are discussed above (see Chapter 6.2.1). Those five cases are not included in the totals in Figure 6.2. Omitting them leaves 55 unparalleled passages: 28 in the Hieratic and 27 in the Demotic.

⁴⁶⁷ E.g. I1h11, I3d1, I3d3, I3h10, I4h9, I5h5, etc.

⁴⁶⁸ I1h2-3, I2d5, I3d5, I5d12, I7d13, I8d12, and I9h11. Given the personal nature of the Rhind funerary papyri, the scribe was likely familiar with the deceased and his family. The same variation can be found in p. Rhind II (1d4, 2h1, 2h3, 2h8, 4d3, 5d5, and 8d9).

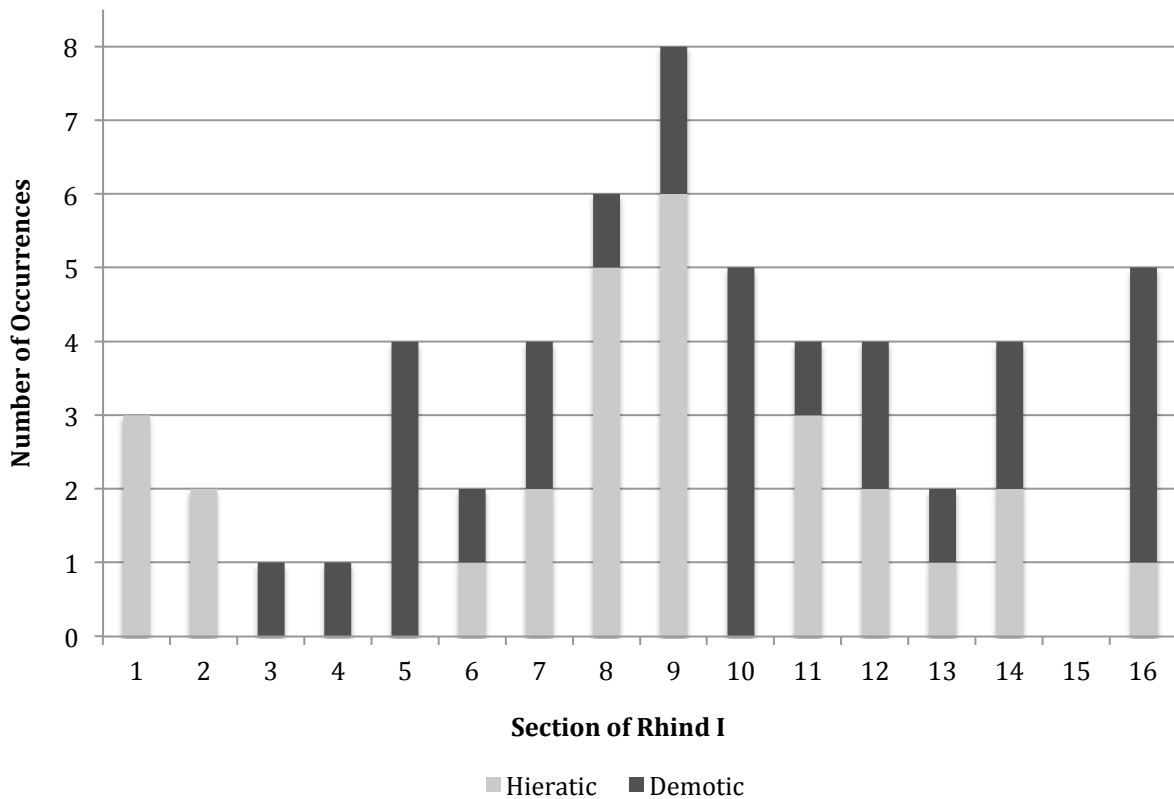


Figure 6.2 – Distribution of unparalleled passages that exist only in one version by section in p. Rhind I

The unparalleled passages in the sections 1 and 2 appear in the Hieratic. These two sections contain biographical information about the deceased, and all but one are minor variations that add no important information to the text. However, the last unparalleled passage in section 2 (I1h11-12, see Example 6.5) is more extensive. The divergence between the two language versions is all the more significant, as it occurs in the title of the entire composition.⁴⁶⁹ Given that the author of p. Rhind I wanted to ensure the composition’s authority when he included the ‘pseudo-historical’ Hieratic version, it is logical that he should then also embellish the name of the divine ‘author’ of the work, Thoth.



⁴⁶⁹ Smith 2009b, 304.

Hieratic	Demotic
<p><i>wḏ.t⁴⁷⁰ iry r sp̄.t-igr.t⁴⁷¹ r di.t ntb imy.w dw̄.t in sh̄ p.t sm̄</i> <i>R̄ h̄ry-tp n Psd.t ʿ̄.t D̄h̄wty ʿ̄ nb H̄mnw h̄pr w̄b.t n NN</i></p>	<p><i>t̄3 š̄.t r-sh̄ D̄h̄wty r’Imnt̄ [r di.t] s̄dm n̄3 nt n t̄3 dw̄.t dd̄</i> <i>h̄pr w̄b.t n sn n NN</i></p>
<p>the decree made by the scribe of the sky who conducts Re, he who is in charge of the Great Ennead, Thoth the great, lord of Hermopolis, for the Underworld to cause that the ones who are in the Duat hear that NN died (lit. embalming exists for NN).</p>	<p>The letter which Thoth wrote for the West [to cause] that the ones who are in the Duat hear told that NN died (lit. embalming exists for NN).</p>

It is simultaneously plausible that the unparalleled passage is a result of the different structure of the two language versions.⁴⁷² Although the meaning in the Demotic and Hieratic are parallel and the composition is attributed to Thoth in both versions, the Middle Egyptian employs a passive form (*iry... in...*), which contrasts with the relative form used in the Demotic (*r-sh̄*). The introduction of the agent of the passive with *in* ‘by X’ offers more space to expand on his name without affecting the flow of the text. A combination of the syntax and the religious importance of the Hieratic text probably led to the longer passage appearing in the Hieratic but not in the Demotic version.

There is again little by way of pattern in the distribution of unparalleled passages throughout p. Rhind I. Sections 3 to 6, which describe the embalming of the deceased, include minor unparalleled passages mostly in the Demotic version. The deceased is welcomed into the underworld and purified in sections 7 to 9, which include a number of minor unparalleled

⁴⁷⁰ For the significance of this term see note 452.

⁴⁷¹ Möller transcribes  but this is more likely:  based on the fact that the third downward stroke goes beyond the horizontal line and is not ligatured to this horizontal bar, both of which are features when the scribe writes the desert determinative. An alternative reading of *h̄s.t* also makes more sense, as *sp̄.t-igr.t* is a combination attested since at least the Middle Kingdom (*Wb* 4, 98.22).

⁴⁷² A less likely explanation is that the shorter Demotic version is due to a lack of available space at the end of the column. The author may have hoped to fit the rest of the text within the margin lines, but even with the shortened text, the final eleventh line is written in the bottom margin (Möller 1913, pl. I).

passages in both language versions.⁴⁷³ These sections also contain all of the previously discussed marked comments in p. Rhind I. The unparalleled passages in section 10 are single words in four out of the five instances, while the final example is simply an extension of the titles of the deceased in Demotic.⁴⁷⁴ Sections 11-14 and 16 are again a mix of unparalleled passages in both language versions.

The lengthy, Hieratic passage in Example 6.6 illustrates how an unparalleled passage in the Rhind papyri could be a function of scribal omission rather than interpretive action.⁴⁷⁵ The passage appears at the beginning of section 16, which ends the composition of p. Rhind I by outlining the writings around the figure of Nut.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷³ For example, the opening line of section 8, which is its title, is missing from the Demotic (I5h1). The Hieratic reads, “The Great God will open his mouth to speak his utterance.” *w p p3 ntr 3 r3=f r mdw dd=f*. Mark Smith raises the issue as to whether the speaker should be considered Anubis or Osiris (2009b, 324 n.120). When the scribe began column 5 of the manuscript, perhaps the title was left out of the Demotic version to allow for a smooth transition between column 4 (*\$m=k iw=k m-b3h Wsir* (I4d13) ‘You will come and go before Osiris’) and column 5 (*iw=k iw-iw=k hr.w* (I5d1) ‘May you come contented...’).

⁴⁷⁴ I7d13.

⁴⁷⁵ There are a few corrections to the text where minor insertions are made, but there are no substantial alterations to the material. For example, the scribe writes *pw* ‘that’ above the line at RI2h1, and at RI5h1 he inserts the phrase *ii m hww.t* above the line to complete the phrase *ii m hww.t-mn* ‘one who has come to the earth,’ perhaps due to having read the second word *hww.t* further along the line and leaving this section out.

⁴⁷⁶ Nut is often drawn with her arms outstretched over the deceased on the lid of the sarcophagus (Taylor 2001, 215).

unparalleled passages all appear within the p. Rhind I and II, but the author did not employ them to create a textual commentary on an ancient text. Instead he used them to invoke a sense of history for a new addition to the corpus of mortuary literature. Moreover, the occurrences of the techniques reflect the fact that the two versions were composed at the same time. The Hieratic and Demotic versions do not significantly deviate from one another, and minor unparalleled passages, or the longer case of Example 6.6, can be explained by scribal error. This consistency also confirms that the function of the parallel versions in the Rhind papyri was to create a false sense of textual history rather than act as a means of annotating a text.

6.3. Linguistic Variation in other Funerary Texts

While the author of the Rhind papyri used translation to fabricate a textual history for his compositions, no others went to such lengths. Instead, authors experimented with retaining the magical efficacy of the older Middle Egyptian language, but transcribing it into contemporary script. Some *Book of the Dead* spells were reworked as well as other funerary texts of the period.⁴⁷⁹ To illustrate how these compositions were transcribed, I briefly examine the process and the notion of ‘unetymological writing.’ I agree with Sven Vleeming when he points out that the rarity of transcribed texts is due to “the prestige of the hieroglyphs, in the intrinsic values attributed to them, which simply could not be matched by demotic.”⁴⁸⁰ Such documents represent a middle ground between full intralingual translation and the original text.

⁴⁷⁹ A hymn to the Uraeus could be added to this list, but it is not attested in a funerary context (Widmer 2004). The composition exists in several versions in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions at Dendara and in Demotic transcription on a single wooden writing board (Louvre E 10382). Ghislaine Widmer also lists and provides extensive references to other non-funerary Middle Egyptian texts rendered in Demotic script in her work (2004, 672-673).

⁴⁸⁰ Vleeming 2004, 626. See also Quack 2010b. For further bibliography, see Chapter 2.2.1.3.

6.3.1. Middle Egyptian Texts in Demotic Script

Two of the documents with Middle Egyptian written in Demotic are not written on papyrus and were clearly meant to be displayed publicly. The first is arguably also the earliest, namely the Ptolemaic stela BM 711 from Akhmim. A version of spell 15a of the *Book of the Dead* appears beneath a standard *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula.⁴⁸¹ The offering formula is carved in Hieroglyphs and written in Middle Egyptian. It is followed immediately by the name of the deceased and *BD* 15a carved in a Demotic transcription of Middle Egyptian syntax. However, Foy Scalf has shown that the scribe did not simply transcribe the text, but rather edited the composition of *BD* 15a to the local *Book of the Dead* tradition of Akhmim.⁴⁸² The second short text is written onto a series of ostraca, o. Strasbourg 132-133-134. The text is an abbreviated version of the Divine Decree that “reduces the edict to its bare essentials.”⁴⁸³ The linguistic preference may have been personal, as a parallel Divine Decree in Hieroglyphs has been identified on o. Vienna Nat. Bib. Aeg. 6 and may have belonged to the brother of the Strasbourg ostraca.⁴⁸⁴ However, in contrast with the language of the Akhmim stela, the ostraca appear to be written without alteration or creative choices in the Demotic script.

Both the decree and the funerary stela were objects of public display, which would have been viewed by family and friends in front of the tomb of the deceased. The visual aspect of language would have been important, in particular on the stela, where the contrast between the Hieroglyphs and the Demotic would be immediately apparent to the audience. Although a

⁴⁸¹ For an image of the stela, see Vleeming 2004, 628 and pl. LVIII. For a recent translation of the text, see Smith 2009b, 665-668. It has been noted that the Hieroglyphic and Demotic texts on this stela can be read continuously rather than as parallel versions or unconnected compositions (Smith 2009b, 666). For the decline of the *Book of the Dead* tradition in the late Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, see Töpfer and Müller-Roth 2011.

⁴⁸² On how *BD* 15a was altered, see Scalf 2014, 256-258

⁴⁸³ Smith 2009b, 608. The ostraca come from Thebes and are dated to the 1st century BCE.

⁴⁸⁴ Smith 2009b, 607 and Goedicke 1963/1964.

limited number of people would have seen these documents, it is important to recognize the shift that they represent. There was sufficient interest among individuals for some to choose Demotic as the language of a central piece of funerary equipment. Perhaps scribes were experimenting with various means of linguistic representation and convinced the owners of these texts that the language was appropriate. Whether the change in script meant that more people could read the document is a point to which I return below.

At the same time, there are a number of funerary papyri that include similar use of Middle Egyptian language and Demotic script. Two of them—p. Bodl. MS. Egy. a. 3 (P) and p. Strasbourg 3, both from Akhmim—are mixed compositions with texts in Hieratic and others transcribed into Demotic.⁴⁸⁵ As stated by Mark Smith, “the various texts inscribed in Bodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P), although of disparate origins, collectively form a logical sequence which exhibits a considerable degree of ritual coherence.”⁴⁸⁶ All but the the *Ritual of Bringing Sokar out of the Shrine* were transcribed into Demotic, including versions of *Pyramid Text* Spells 32 and 25 and *Book of the Dead* 171, Pleyte numbering,⁴⁸⁷ and all six texts were written by the same scribe. In contrast, the Strasbourg papyrus is written in a number of hands on the verso of a papyrus with accounts and lists of payments.⁴⁸⁸ The reused Strasbourg papyrus is clearly of lesser quality than the custom made Bodleian papyrus, and only contains three texts, also including a transcribed text of *Book of the Dead* spell 171.

All of the Demotic texts on both papyri use unetymological writing, which together with the collection of ritual texts on p. Bodl. MS. Egy. a. 3 (P) points to the work of scribes who were

⁴⁸⁵ P. Bodl. MS. Egy. a. 3 (P) is the earlier of the two, dated to the second half of the 1st century BCE on palaeographic grounds (Smith 2009b, 650). Mark Smith and François Herbin are currently preparing a full edition of this papyrus. P. Strasbourg 3 is dated to the 1st century CE (Smith 2009b, 377).

⁴⁸⁶ Smith 2009b, 654.

⁴⁸⁷ Smith 2009b, 389 n.3. See also Pleyte 1881 and “171 (Pleyte)” in Rößler-Köhler and Thissen 2014.

⁴⁸⁸ Smith 2009b, 377. For a photograph of the Strasbourg papyrus, see Smith 1993a, pl. 11.

interested in assembling and editing texts. These texts again indicate that there were scribes producing annotated texts that people were willing to retain as effective funerary texts. Much as the Rhind texts adopted elements of textual commentary into the composition, the transcribed texts employ complex writing systems to transcribe the Middle Egyptian texts into Demotic script. Furthermore, the composite nature of these texts recall the funerary function of p. BM 10252 and 10081, which were both temple collections of ritual texts that were deemed acceptable for use in the burials of the brothers Pawerem and Psherkhonsu, sons of Kiki.⁴⁸⁹

Finally, one copy of the *Book of Transformations*, papyrus Louvre E 3452, is written entirely in transcribed Demotic.⁴⁹⁰ This papyrus includes only the single composition, which like the Rhind papyri, is illustrated by vignettes. While the concept of transformations spells is well attested in earlier funerary texts, the composition of p. Louvre E 3452 is otherwise new.⁴⁹¹ Moreover, the language of the text reflects contemporary writing from temple inscriptions, as was the case in the Rhind papyri, and includes some Hieratic words. The appearance of “a distinctive form of enigmatic script” and other orthographic idiosyncrasies are a further attestation of the kind of intellectual creativity that was involved in writing this funerary manuscript.⁴⁹² Although no information exists on where this papyrus was discovered, the use of the third person singular throughout has led Smith to conclude that, “it was buried alongside [the deceased] in his tomb so that he would have ready access to it when needed.”⁴⁹³ It is likely that

⁴⁸⁹ See Chapter 2.2.2.

⁴⁹⁰ There are three copies of the *Book of Transformation*, which are texts 55, 56 and 57 in Smith 2009b, 627-649. The text of p. Louvre E 3452 has been dated to 57-56 BCE and represents the earliest version of the *Book of Transformations*, while the Hieratic versions are dated to the 1st century CE on paleographic grounds. See also Smith 1979.

⁴⁹¹ Smith 2009b, 610.

⁴⁹² Smith 2009b, 635-637 and Smith 1979, 39-41.

⁴⁹³ Smith 2009b, 634.

the text was approved by the owner before his passing, but a display to friends and family would have been impracticable given the inventive use of script and the archaic language.

6.3.2. Literacy and ‘Unetymological Writings’

Although new texts in Hieratic continued to be composed, the transcribed texts illustrate how scribes were interested in experimenting with adaptations in language and script. With low levels of literacy, it is unlikely that the purpose of these Demotic transcriptions was only to extend the possible readership of the funerary documents.⁴⁹⁴ Literacy is estimated as low as 0.5% up to as high as 10% in Pharaonic Egypt, and it does not appear to have improved greatly among the indigenous population in the Late through Roman Periods.⁴⁹⁵ Despite a broader familiarity with Demotic, scribes who could read archaic Middle Egyptian grammar had to have undertaken specialized training.⁴⁹⁶ Language instruction took place largely in the temples, but there is limited evidence for a curriculum or how teaching was carried out.⁴⁹⁷

The problem is further complicated by the use of so-called ‘unetymological writing’ within these texts. The purpose of these creative Demotic spellings is debated; some believe that they provide a tool for theological exploration, while others see them as a means of retaining

⁴⁹⁴ Though I am critical of the idea of these texts were read **by** friends and family of the deceased, I do agree that the texts were read aloud, as many of them were used in ritual, or that the visual impact of using Demotic and/or Hieratic was important in the choice of script. See Chapter 7.2.

⁴⁹⁵ See Ray 1994 and Thompson 1994. Mark Depauw points to the declining use of Demotic in early Roman Period evident from documentary papyri; however, he notes that it continued to be used in literature (2012, 494-495). Baines and Eyre 2007, 69 reference the work of Zauzich (1968) when they suggest that Demotic literacy rates were not much higher than in earlier periods and may have been as low as 0.5% of the indigenous population. Their estimates have been disputed, however, and at Lahun and Deir el Medina literacy rates as high as 10% have been suggested. In his recent summary, James Allen but focuses on the New Kingdom and does not touch on literacy rates of later periods (2010a, 661).

⁴⁹⁶ Depauw 2012, 499-500. Richard Parkinson aptly points out that literacy is “never a monolithic phenomenon and such estimates can only model an order of magnitude for a complex and varied range of usage” (2002, 67).

⁴⁹⁷ Criboire 2001, 22-23. Christopher Eyre further stresses that literacy was not only limited, but a defining feature of hierarchy in Egypt that restricted access to certain circles of society (2013, 349).

accurate pronunciations of archaic words that are unknown in Demotic.⁴⁹⁸ I favor the former interpretation, as it is in the same spirit as the creative and complex word plays and intertextuality found in the numerous temple and ritual texts of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. The unetymological writings are “dans une tradition égyptienne, poussée à son extrême, qui n’est pas sans rappeler les jeux d’écriture ptolémaïque, en particulier ceux des textes des temples d’Esna.”⁴⁹⁹ Both the Rhind papyri and the Demotic *Book of Transformations* make use of contemporary idiom in their Middle Egyptian grammar, and the collected works on p. Bodl. MS. Egy. a. 3 (P) and p. Strasbourg 3 exhibit an advanced knowledge of ritual texts. It follows that the scribes who created all of these documents were deeply invested in the processes of textual annotation and transmission that were carried out in temple workshops.

6.4. Complete Translation in the Roman Period

The Rhind papyri and the transcriptions of Middle Egyptian works into Demotic script are innovative in their use of language in funerary texts. The Demotic versions on those documents do not qualify as textual commentary, but rather represent a new function of Egyptian intralingual translation. The final stage in the development of such translation practices is represented by papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 149.⁵⁰⁰ The pretense of commentary that is found in the Rhind papyri is dispensed with, and in its place the purpose of translation is closer to what

⁴⁹⁸ An interpretive function is supported by Mark Smith, Martin Stadler, and Ghislaine Widmer, while Friedhelm Hoffmann, Alexandra von Lieven, and Joachim Quack suggest a practical understanding. A full discussion of this debate is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For references to the key works on the subject, see Depauw 2012, 495.

⁴⁹⁹ Widmer 2004, 682 and Widmer 2014. For the language use at Esna, see Sauneron 1982 and Leitz 2001b. Mark Smith (2014, 152-154) has also suggested that the orthography itself acts as a form of commentary, a idea that I support, as it again connects these funerary compositions to practices of scribal interpretation and textual transmission.

⁵⁰⁰ Without a parallel text on the same manuscript, any comparison to Hieratic source material is speculative. I do not provide a detailed analysis of the translation of this text, as comparisons with Middle Egyptian parallels are provided elsewhere (Stadler 2003, Quack 2015). See Chapter 2.2.1.5.

might be expected of **inter**lingual translations. The variability of language use among funerary texts, as demonstrated by the transcribed texts of the Ptolemaic Period and the decrease in use of *Book of the Dead* in favor of new compositions, provided the means of validating a Demotic translation of the classic text.

To demonstrate this change in the status of translation, I examine two aspects of p. BN 149. The first is the fact that the composition is created from a number of sources, which are indicated visually by physical gaps between the various excerpted passages. The second is the absence of drawn vignettes, but the inclusion of verbal descriptions of relevant imagery. With these features, I show that despite being a translation, the text on p. BN 149 operated as an independent composition that did not depend on a source text to equip the deceased for his journey into the next life.

6.4.1. Excerpted Sources

Much like the author of the Rhind papyri, who drew on a number of traditional themes and compositions to create new work, the author of papyrus BN 149 assembled and translated known works of funerary literature into something original.⁵⁰¹ However, in contrast with the earlier composition, the author of p. BN 149 did not feel obliged to obscure the diversity of sources that he used. Instead, sections of text are demarcated by blank spaces, which make it immediately apparent that the papyrus is an amalgamation of various materials.⁵⁰² The majority of the three columns of p. BN 149 are filled with the Demotic translation of spell 125 of the *Book of the*

⁵⁰¹ On the concept of ‘scribal bricolage,’ which involved the creation of funerary compositions out of a variety of sources, see Dieleman 2015. Quack has also suggested that the author of the translation used a version where the excerpts from different texts had already been assembled (Quack 2015, 393).

⁵⁰² See the facsimile in Stadler 2003. Small gaps occur on col. I, lines 16 and 24 and col. III, lines 2 and 7, and a full line is left blank between lines 26 and 27 on col. III.

Dead (see Table 6.6).⁵⁰³ However, the text opens with a passage that is sometimes attached to the *Book of Traversing Eternity*, and the excerpt from *BD 125* is punctuated by a description of the vignette of *BD 148* and a translation of *BD 128*.

Most of the various sections in the text are differentiated by titles, which further serves to highlight the patched together nature of the composition. The entire text opens with the phrase: [n3] *sh.w n n3 pyr m hrw* ‘[The] writings of the comings forth by day’ (col. 1, 1), which is traditionally the Egyptian title for the *Book of the Dead*.⁵⁰⁴ The title is sometimes also used for the *Book of Traversing Eternity*,⁵⁰⁵ and therefore it seems appropriate to head this composite work with it as well. As illustrated in Example 6.7, the title of *BD 125A* is translated from the more common title, as found in the Ptolemaic p. Turin 1791, rather than the extended version that is found in p. Ryerson.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰³ *BD 125* is divided into 125A, the introduction, 125B, the negative confessions, and 125C the closing speech (Allen 1974, 97-101). See Chapter 2.2.1.5.

⁵⁰⁴ Whether this line is the title of the entire compositions or just of the opening excerpt associated with the *Book of Traversing Eternity*, to which this title is sometimes appended, is not clear.

⁵⁰⁵ For example, manuscript **B** of a *Book of Traversing Eternity* has this title (Herbin 1994, 7).

⁵⁰⁶ The majority of examples of *BD 125* that are assembled in Naville’s synoptic edition also use the short version of the title (Naville 1971, vol. II, 275).

Hieratic Versions
<i>md3.t n.t ʕk r wsh.t-m3ʕ.ty dw3 n3 ntr.w kr.ty hft spr r=sn ʕk ntr pn m hw.t dw3.t ph3 s m hw.w=f ir=f r m33 hr.w ntr.w</i>
The book of entering to the Hall of the Two Maats, praising the gods of the caverns after approaching them, and entering (to) this god in the house of the Duat, that the man separates from the evils, which he has done, in order to see the faces of the gods. (p. Ryerson col. XCII, 1-3)
<i>md3.t n.t ʕk r wsh.t-m3ʕ.ty ph3 s m hw.w iri.n=f r m33 hr.w ntr.w</i>
The book of entering to the Hall of the Two Maats, that the man separates from the evils, which he did, in order to see the faces of the gods. (p. Turin 1791)

Demotic
<i>n3 sh.w nty šm r t3 wsh3.t n n3 ntr.w nty wpi²⁵ r di.t n3-nfr p3 rmt r lk n3y=f b(i)n.w r di.t nw=f r p3 hr n n3 ntr.w</i>
The writings of coming to the Hall of the gods who judge to cause that the man be perfect, to purify his evils, and to cause that he look upon the face of the gods.

The shorter text should therefore not be regarded as an omission of typical materials from *BD* 125. It appears that the Demotic translation simply follows a different tradition of textual transmission than that found in p. Ryerson.⁵⁰⁷

Finally, the last title that accompanies the continuation of the closing speech in *BD* 125C is otherwise unparalleled (see Table 6.6). It precedes the section of *BD* 125C where the deceased provides the secret names of parts of the door so that it opens for him and he can enter the afterlife. The author may have added this title because the excerpt is abbreviated from more complete versions of *BD* 125C that are known to exist.⁵⁰⁸ It may also be due to the intrusion of *BD* 128, a hymn to Osiris, in the midst of *BD* 125C. While the division of *BD* 125 into two sections may at first seem unwarranted, as stated by Joachim Quack:

⁵⁰⁷ Regarding the interesting translation of Middle Egyptian *wsh.t m3ʕ.ty* into Demotic *wsh3.t n n3 ntr.w nty wpi*, see Smith 2005, 303. Note that in the vignette description, the author uses the phrase *wsh3.t m3ʕ.t* instead of the longer translated form (col. 1, 16 and 17).

⁵⁰⁸ See for instance the text provided by p. Ryerson col. XCIV, 1-29, which does not appear in p. BN 149.

the position of *BD* 128 is not simply haphazard but that, while evidently being a distinct unit, it makes sense as it is presented here: The deceased utters a hymn to Osiris after being permitted by the judges to come in and be in contact with Osiris.⁵⁰⁹

The use of *BD* 128 adds an element that is associated with cult practice, while also providing a convenient mask to the omitted text from *BD* 125C.⁵¹⁰ The author of p. BN 149 was therefore clearly interested in creatively combining elements of various mortuary literatures in order to create his text. However, rather than take the path of the Rhind papyri and outwardly disguise the excerpts of text, p. BN 149 marks each section in a way that constructs a series of steps for the deceased to proceed through the all-important judgment and into the afterlife.

6.4.2. Vignette Descriptions

The translations of visual material into written description are another integral feature of p. BN 149.⁵¹¹ Rather than being written with reference to a Middle Egyptian illustrated manuscript, the text has the authority to stand alone and to accomplish the task of fulfilling the rituals on behalf of the deceased. There are two places where a description is inserted (see Table 6.6). The first is given a title, stands on its own, and precedes the opening of *BD* 125A,⁵¹² and the second, believed to be a description of *BD* 148, precedes *BD* 128.⁵¹³ Although these descriptions are reminiscent of the inclusion of short titles in the *Book of Nut* (see Chapter 5.3.4.1), the text is not referring to sections within an image, but recreates the vignette in writing. Just as the Demotic

⁵⁰⁹ Quack 2015, 392.

⁵¹⁰ Luft 2015.

⁵¹¹ I need not expand this point, as it has been covered by Martin Stadler (2003) in his publication, and more recently by Joachim Quack (2015).

⁵¹² For reconstructions of the vignette, see Stadler 2003, 19-20.

⁵¹³ Quack has identified this passage as a description of the vignette for spell 148, which is further reinforced by the frequent use of the vignette by itself in later papyri (2015). Regarding the use of this vignette to represent the entire spell, see Mosher 2001, 13. For examples of this vignette, see Mosher 2001, pl. 23.

translation is at this stage independent from the Middle Egyptian source materials, the written words are independent from the original image they depict.

The only section that does not have a title is the second vignette description. The second vignette appears before *BD* 128 (see Example 6.8). As with the insertion of *BD* 128 between sections of *BD* 125C, the inclusion of this vignette is appropriate to the context and represents the clear intention of the author to build a text that will guide the deceased through the steps of entering the afterlife.

Example 6.8 – p. BN 149, col. 3, 1-2

<i>w^c twtw n Skr-<i>W</i>sir n hr n bik</i>	An image of Sokar-Osiris with a face of
<i>iw wn w^c.t ntr.t hwi n.im=f iw</i>	falcon, there being one goddess shielding
<i>wn w^c bik n shn n d3d3=f² iw</i>	him and a falcon with a crown on his head,
<i>t3 m3^c.t mht n p3 rmt i.ir-hr=f</i>	while Maat takes the man before him.

The cult worship of Osiris invoked with *BD* 128 is complemented by the vignette of *BD* 148 in which the deceased is brought before Sokar-Osiris. By spelling out the contents of the vignette, the author turns the static illustration into an action. The reader does not need to see the image in order to visualize the content and understand the importance of the scene. The use of these descriptive sections in p. BN 149 again point to the self-contained nature of the manuscript.

The funerary papyrus of Pamonthes is translated fully into Demotic, and the author felt no reason to include a Hieratic version, as did the scribe who created the Rhind papyri. The text assembles appropriate passages to send the deceased into the next life; he has the text appended to the *Book of Traversing Eternity* and *BD* 128 to offer praise to Osiris, and the majority of *BD* 125 to avoid a negative outcome at his judgment. With p. BN 149, the scribe has not produced a translation as an exercise in personal piety or religious investigation. The translation took the place of the authoritative version, rather than preserve the source material. Thus as the tradition of preserving the original text in religious manuals continued, for example in the Roman Period

translations of the *Book of Nut*, translations of Middle Egyptian into mortuary literature Demotic proved at the same time to be religiously effective.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that although at first the Rhind papyri appear to have undergone similar processes as the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*, the use of translation served a different function. The translation of the Rhind papyri was ‘pseudo-historical’ and offered a means of legitimizing the Demotic version of the text by elevating it next to the Hieratic. Of the commentary techniques discussed in chapters 3 and 4, only the use of complementary pairs is similar to what is found in the ritual texts. The few marked comments may originate from source material in both versions, the lexicon of the Hieratic version reflects the contemporary idiom of temple texts, and the two versions remain remarkably equivalent with few unparalleled passages. The author thus borrowed from that earlier form of translation, which integrated textual commentary, but did so to fulfill a role much closer to the translation of two different languages.

The funerary texts, which were transcribed into Demotic, were also part of this linguistic experimentation and exercise in legitimization. Again, the original language was preserved, but transformed by being written in Demotic. In these texts, the Demotic script is manipulated and written in ‘unetymological writings,’ which provided further opportunity for the authors to express religious concepts without discarding the valued Middle Egyptian language of the source material.

Finally, the complete translation of p. BN 149 displays how the notion of Egyptian intralingual translation moved past the stage where it was dependent on the original text. It is a testament to the fact that a translation from Middle Egyptian into Demotic could function as

effectively as the parallel texts of the Rhind papyri and ensure its own passage into the next world. This assembled text completely transfers the authority of the funerary text to the translation and no longer depends on a Middle Egyptian version to indicate the antiquity of the spells.

The Rhind papyri, the Middle Egyptian texts transcribed into Demotic, and p. BN 149 were all written by authors who were highly skilled linguists, and who possessed the ability to interpret (*wh*^c) archaic materials. The amalgamation of sources from classical texts as well as temple ritual would also suggest that they were also well integrated in the scribal culture of Egyptian temples. However, the practice of Egyptian intralingual translation passed beyond the realm of temple scribal culture, and translation was now used for more than the annotation and interpretation of ancient texts.

The scribe who created the Rhind papyri is unknown, but the manuscripts were commissioned personally by Monthesuphis and his family, and it is possible to examine the context in which those papyri functioned in early Roman society. The papyrus of Pamonthes, in contrast, concludes with a colophon wherein the scribe identifies himself as the son of the deceased, Menkaure (col. 3, 27). Neither scribe gives any indication as to whether or not he translated and/or composed the text, or just transcribed it from another copy. Nevertheless, having determined that the function of translation differed in the Rhind papyri and p. BN 149 from other ritual texts, I explore how the new purpose for Egyptian intralingual translation fit into the social context of Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt in the next chapter.

Appendix F – Compositional Sections of the Rhind Papyri

Division of Papyri								Similar Passages									
Möller Sections (Hier) ⁵¹⁴				Smith Sections (Dem) ⁵¹⁵													
<i>RI</i>		<i>RII</i>		<i>RI</i>		<i>RII</i>		<i>RI</i>		<i>RII</i>							
								<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Dem.</i>						
a	1.1-1.10 ⁵¹⁶	a	1.3-2.5	1	1.1-1.8		1	1.1-1.7		1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1				
										1.1-3	1.1-3	1.2-5	1.1-4				
				1.3-1.5	1.3-4	1.5-6	1.4-5										
				1.5-9	1.4-8	1.6-7	1.6-7										
	1.11-2.5			2.5-3.9	2	1.8-1.9		2	2.1-2.3		1.10	1.8-9	2.1-5	2.1-3			
											1.9-1.11	1.11-12	1.9-10	2.5-8	2.4-6		
					1.12-13	1.10-11	2.8-9	2.6-7									
					3	2.1-2.5		3	3.1-3.3		2.1-2	2.1-2	3.1	3.1			
											2.2-5	2.2-5	3.1-3	3.1-3			
					b	2.5-3.4			4	2.5-2.14				2.5-14	2.5-14		
5	3.1-3.4			3.3-3.8					3.1-5	3.1-4	3.4-9	3.3-8					
c	3.5-3.10	c	4.1-4.6	6	3.4-3.11		4	4.1-4.9		3.5-8	3.5-7	4.1-5	4.1-5				
d	3.10-3.13	d	4.6-4.8							3.8-13	3.8-11	4.5-8	4.5-9				
e	4.1-4.12	e	5.1-5.8	7	4.1-4.13		5	5.1-5.7		4.1-4	4.1-4	5.1-2	5.1-3				
										4.4-6	4.4-7	5.3-8	5.3-7				
													4.6-12		4.7-12		
												5.8			4.12	4.13	5.8
f	5.1-5.5	f	6.1-6.4	8	5.1-5.12		6	6.1-6.8		5.1-6	5.1-4	6.1-5	6.1-4				

⁵¹⁴ Möller 1913, 10-11.

⁵¹⁵ Smith 2009b, 318-332 and 341-347.

⁵¹⁶ Text believed to be originally written in **Hieratic** or **Demotic** based on Möller 1913, 10-11.

g	5.5-5.13	g	6.4-6.8					5.6-10	5.5-8	6.5-9	6.4-8
								5.10-13	5.8-12		
h	6.1-6.14	h		9	6.1-6.10			6.1-10	6.1-9		
						7	7.1-7.4			7.1-3	7.1-3
			7.3-4		6.9-6.13			6.10-11	6.9	7.3-4	7.3-4
i	7.1-7.7			10	7.1-7.13			6.11-13	6.10-13		
k	7.7-7.10							7.1-10	7.1-10		
l	7.11-8.7	l	7.5				7.4-7.9	7.11-13	7.11-13	7.4-5	7.4
										7.5-9	7.4-9
				11	8.1-8.6	8	8.1-8.9	8.1-3	8.1-3	8.1-4	8.1-3
								8.3-6	8.3-5	8.4-6	8.3-6
				12	8.6-8.12			8.6-7	8.5-6	8.7	8.6-7
m	8.7-8.14	m	8.7/8					8.7-12	8.6-10	8.7-8	8.7
								8.12-13	8.10-12	8.8-9	8.7-9
n	9.1-9.2	n	9.1-9.3	13	9.1-9.14	9	9.1-9.8	9.1-2	9.1-2	9.1-3	9.1-3
o	9.3-9.11	o	9.3-9.8					9.2-11	9.2-9	9.3-5	9.3-8
p	9.12-11.3							9.12-14	9.12-14		
				14	10.1-10.6			10	10		
				15	11.1-11.4			11	11		
q	11.4-11.13			16	11.4-11.13						

Table 6.4 – Division and Comparison of Rhind Papryi

Papyrus Rhind I	Papyrus Rhind II
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Biography of deceased (1) 2. Date of death (1) 3. Description of embalming (2) 4. Address of Anubis (2) 5. Ceremonies during embalming (3) 6. Protection of Isis during embalming (3) 7. Anubis guides deceased (4) 8. Welcome of deceased to underworld (5) 9. Purification spell of Horus and Thoth (6) 10. Joining the spirits (7) 11. Letter for Breathing (8) 12. Praise of four children of Horus (8) 13. Admitted by Osiris (9) 14. Invocation by Isis (10) 15. Statement of eternal life for deceased (11) 16. Writings of Nut (11) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Biography of deceased (1) 2. Date of death (2) 3. Description of embalming (3) 4. Protection of Isis during embalming (4) 5. Anubis guides deceased (5) 6. Welcome of deceased to underworld (6) 7. Invocation of Hathor of deceased (7) 8. Letter for Breathing (8) 9. Admitted by Osiris (9)

Table 6.5 – Content of Sections of Rhind Papyri⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁷ Smith 2009b, 318-332 and 341-347. Sections in blue in the table include titles within the papyrus that demarcate a new section. Column numbers are indicated in parentheses.

Column	Section	Egyptian Title
I, 1-16	Excerpt of text associated with the <i>Book of Traversing Eternity</i>	[n3] <i>sh.w n n3 pyr m hrw</i> (col. 1, 1) [The] writings of the comings forth by day.
I, 16-24	Description of the Weighing of the Heart scene	<i>n3 ntr.w n t3 wsh3.t m3c.t.w</i> (col. 1, 16) The gods in the Hall of the Truths.
I, 24-III, 1	Excerpt from <i>BD</i> 125 - Introduction - Negative confessions - Closing speech	<i>n3 sh.w n{ty} sm r t3 wsh3.t n n3 ntr.w nty wpi²⁵ r di.t n3-nfr p3 rmt r lk n3y=f b(i)n.w r di.t nw=f r p3 hr n n3 ntr.w</i> (col. I, 24-25) The writings of coming to the Hall of the gods who judge to cause that the man be perfect, to purify his evils, and to cause that he look upon the face of the gods.
III, 1-2	Description of Vignette <i>BD</i> 148	
III, 2-7	Excerpt from <i>BD</i> 128	<i>n3 mt.w(t) nty-iw=f d.t=w m-dr Wsir NN iw=f sm3c r Wsir</i> (col. III, 2) The words which he should speak, namely the Osiris of NN, while praising Osiris.
III, 7-III, 26	Excerpt from <i>BD</i> 125 - Closing speech (cont.)	<i>n3 sh.w n{ty} ii m-s3 p3 c.wi n pts nty htm</i> (col. 3, 7-8) The writings of coming out from the house of key, which is locked.
III, 27-30	Colophon	

Table 6.6 – Division of excerpted passages in p. BN 149 with associated titles

Chapter 7. Contextualizing Translation in Graeco-Roman Egypt

It has been shown that intralingual translation—the translation of earlier to later Egyptian—was integrated into the production of interpretive textual commentary due to the linguistic shift of the New Kingdom. However, despite presenting the same outward appearance as the other translated texts, I have demonstrated that the translations on the Rhind papyri do not belong with them, as they instead employ what I have termed ‘pseudo-historical’ translation. The use of Hieratic and Demotic text versions created the illusion that the manuscripts were ancient, while in fact both were assembled at the same time from various source materials. This new function of translation in the Rhind papyri was born out of larger social and linguistic changes that occurred during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.

In this chapter, I continue my diachronic discussion of language change by examining the transformations in the social function of language varieties due to population changes as well as the replacement of native by foreign rulers. After the emergence of diglossia in the New Kingdom, the situation was relatively stable, despite the fact that both high and low varieties of Egyptian continued to evolve over time. However, with the increased population of non-Egyptian speakers, Egyptian diglossia had to compete with societal bilingualism. I contend that the increased use of Greek as a language of political power led to a loss of prestige and authority for traditional Egyptian language. This shift took place alongside broader modifications to social infrastructure, such as legal, economic, and administrative systems, where language policy played an important role in changing perceptions toward Greek and Egyptian.

Within this context, I examine the cultural and religious purpose for the translated Rhind papyri and p. BN 149. These unique texts reflect the changes in Egyptian taste for funerary

documents, which included the decline in use of the *Book of the Dead* and the increase in new compositions and ones that drew together excerpts of other texts. In many cases, Egyptian scribes seemed distinctly concerned with the continued use of ancient scripts, languages, and content in new and innovative ways. Such work went hand in hand with accommodating and experimenting with Greek language and texts that included translating many important Egyptian works into Greek.⁵¹⁸ I contend that within the context of the funerary assemblage of Monthesuphis and Tanuat, the Rhind papyri acted as a means of displaying a connection with traditional Egyptian culture. When the text was recited aloud, the original Middle Egyptian language could have been read but understood only with the help of the Demotic translation. The latter served a communicative function, while the former validated and authorized the religious content. At the same time, the Rhind papyri also illustrate how despite being involved in the Ptolemaic and then Roman administration of Thebes, Monthesuphis and Tanuat chose to associate themselves with the scribal practice of intralingual translation that was carried out within temple complexes.

With the shift in demographics and increase in societal bilingualism, especially from the beginning of Macedonian rule, the relatively stable diglossia of earlier periods began to shift so that Demotic appeared in contexts previously reserved for Hieroglyphs and Hieratic. I consider the political and social functions of the different languages on the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees. With this change, the nature and place of translation also expanded to include the creation of independent texts in their own right and not simply parallel versions that were meant to

⁵¹⁸ West 1969, Thissen 2011. For recent discussions of the Greek and Egyptian versions of the *Myth of the Sun's Eye* and the preparation of a new synoptic edition of both versions, see Prada 2012, 2014. This text has been dated to the 2nd half of the 2nd century (Prada 2012, 628). A plausible explanation for the translation of Egyptian texts into Greek is that the priests were at this later stage as comfortable, if not more, in Greek as in Demotic (Hickey 2009b, 203-207).

accompany an authoritative original. With the transition to an absentee Roman ruler, Hieroglyphs was stripped of its political rank as a language of authority and display. This conclusion was cemented by the execution by suicide of C. Cornelius Gallus, who set up the final multilingual decree known from Egypt, written in Hieroglyphs, Greek, and Latin. Although Hieroglyphs remained prominent in temple inscriptions, the figural association of the Hieroglyphic script, the Pharaoh, and his absolute control over Egypt were ultimately broken.

7.1. New Contexts for Translation

The changes in funerary literature outlined in Chapter 6 from the Late through Roman Periods took place during a time of tremendous social and demographic reorganization in Egypt. The documents were not created in an isolated environment, but were affected by the pressures of population growth, ethnic diversification, and linguistic variation. Multilingualism became a part of day-to-day life due to the increase in immigration from the Late Period onward. By the time that the Ptolemies assumed control of Egypt, generations of bureaucrats had had to navigate foreign rule under the Assyrian and Persian Empires. The new religious and political functions of language were affected by these social changes from the Late Period onward.

I contend that the personal benefits—political, social, etc.—of knowing Greek led to it replacing high-register Egyptian during the Ptolemaic Period. In order to connect social change to the evidence, I begin by examining how Egypt became more linguistically diverse and how that affected language policy. Subsequently, by examining the function of both the ritual texts and the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees, I demonstrate that while diglossia persisted, Greek-Egyptian societal bilingualism became the dominant social force until Egyptian diglossia was eliminated completely by the adoption of Coptic.

7.1.1. Language Diversity

When pharaoh Psammeticus I expelled the Assyrian conquerors and regained control of Egypt in the mid-7th century BCE, Greek speaking mercenaries arrived in large numbers, and if we believe Herodotus, the pharaoh endeavored to train interpreters “to be taught Greek.”⁵¹⁹ The literary accounts of this time are supported by the archaeological evidence from sites such as Daphnae and Menea,⁵²⁰ as well as the famous merchant city of Naukratis.⁵²¹ The renewed stability of the country under Psammeticus I and open policies toward foreign trade reintroduced Egypt to the Mediterranean. Although Naukratis had a somewhat unique status because of its position as a trading colony, there is evidence of Greek settlements elsewhere in the country. Apart from Daphnae which had a military role, Memphis is known to have had Greek and Carian population.⁵²²

Until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE, Greeks continued to conduct trade with Egypt, but the conquest of the country by the Persians brought new structures and foreign populations to the country. Athens and Sparta offered aid to the Egyptian revolts, but the agreements did not involve any lasting movement of Greek speaking populations.⁵²³ From 525-

⁵¹⁹ “[T]he oracle answered that [Psammeticus I] should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze come from the sea... [H]e made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him” (Herodotus, *His.* II, 152.3-5). Regarding the training of interpreters, see Her. *His.* II, 154.2.

⁵²⁰ Daphnae is probably the archaeological site of Tell Dafanna which has large finds of Greek pottery and other objects similar to the Greek merchant city Naucratis. It seems to have been built by Psammeticus, but it has been ruled out as one of the stratopeda mentioned by Herodotus (Boardman 1999, 133).

⁵²¹ Regarding the importance for trade and position of this city, see Colburn 2014, Chapter 6.

⁵²² Braun 1982, 44-46 and Thompson 2012. The interactions of such populations and the native Egyptians are noted most prominently in Herodotus’ *Histories*, and he states that the attitude of Egyptians towards foreigners was to “shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever” (Her. *His.* II. 91).

⁵²³ The first occasion for such an alliance was with the revolt of Inarus, a Libyan from the Delta, who rebelled following the assassination of Xerxes and the ascension of his brother Artaxerxes I (see Ray 1988, 276 and Briant 2002, 591). The Egyptians eventually did regain their independence, and there is the possibility of Greek incitement, if not direct help (Briant 2002, 653).

404 BCE and again between 343-332 BCE, Persian kings administered Egypt as a satrapy of the Persian Empire.⁵²⁴ During this period, there were clear movements of people between Egyptian and Persian courts with a system of administration implemented in Egypt that required immigrant officials, soldiers, and no doubt other segments of the population.⁵²⁵ The statue of Udjahorresne, which was inscribed with autobiographical inscriptions recounting his journey to the Persian court in Susa, illustrates the exchange of elite personnel and information between the governed and governing.⁵²⁶

The defeat of the Persians at the hand of Alexander the Great ended their second domination of Egypt after only a short period of time. As Ptolemy was made governor of Egypt and then later appointed himself as the legitimate successor to Alexander IV as pharaoh of Egypt new immigrants arrived. Many soldiers were given land in return for their service in the Ptolemaic army and often settled in the Fayum region, although not exclusively.⁵²⁷ Extensive trade contact also increased the number of non-military immigrants in Egypt, though again most settled in the Delta, Fayum, or Memphis, with a much smaller population in Upper Egypt.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁴ Cambyses successfully conquered Egypt, and established himself as the pharaoh, even adopting a full Egyptian titulary. For a discussion of the sources related to Cambyses' Egyptian campaign, see Kuhrt 2007, 104-106. For an example of the titulary of Cambyses, see Kuhrt 2007, 127.

⁵²⁵ Thompson 2009, 396-399 and Porten 2011. Regarding the organization of these bureaucratic structures, see Briant and Chauveau 2009.

⁵²⁶ Vatican Museum 158. For a translation of the inscriptions, see Kuhrt 2007, 117-122. For more detailed discussion of the object, its context, and bibliography, see Moyer 2006, 244-247, and Baines 1996. Regarding the tomb of Udjahorresne, see Colburn 2014, Chapter 2, and his statue, see Colburn 2014, Chapter 4.

⁵²⁷ Christelle Fischer-Bovet convincingly argues for a lower number of Greek immigrants at the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period than previously assumed, e.g. in Rathbone 1990, based on a reevaluation of source material and a shift in the modern understanding of the Hellenistic states (2011, 135-138). She arrives at an estimate of Greek population of 4.6% or around 184,000 Greeks to a total Egyptian population of 4,000,000 in the early Ptolemaic Period (Fischer-Bovet 2011, 150-152). See also Thompson 2009, 399-406.

⁵²⁸ For instance, for the Greek population in Ptolemaic Thebes, see Clarysse 1995. See also Lewis 2001. The southern city of Thebes became a secondary religious center, while Memphis maintained a position of preeminence among the priesthood and was used by the Ptolemaic kings to strengthen their position in Egyptian society (Hölbl 2001, 78).

Nevertheless, from the attestation of Greek individuals in 3rd century BCE Thebes, it is safe to assume that throughout the more urbanized areas of Egypt, individuals were likely to have to interact with people of different linguistic backgrounds.⁵²⁹

After the Battle of Raphia in 217 BCE, the number of new Greek immigrants dropped off substantially, but the population of foreigners—at least those who were identified as ‘Hellenes’⁵³⁰—remained high.⁵³¹ It has been shown, however, that a Greek or Egyptian name does not mean that the individual was ethnically Greek or Egyptian.⁵³² Intermarriage was a common practice and some people employed double names for use in different social context.⁵³³

This environment created by the continuous arrival of immigrants and the new government of the Ptolemies ushered in a period of significant linguistic exchange between speech communities in the country. With the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty and establishment of Egypt as a province in the Roman Empire, Sofia Toralles Tovar states that “[t]he [Egyptian and Greek] ethnic groups had by now melted into a bilingual society, where integration was variable.”⁵³⁴ There were no doubt new arrivals of various ethnic and linguistic background, including an influx of Roman soldiers and administrators who produced the Latin papyrological material that is known from Egypt.⁵³⁵ The changes in administration were largely based on a deliberate attempt to curb the influence of traditional Egyptian elite hierarchies and structures

⁵²⁹ For a recent overview of the language use in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Vierros 2012, 2014.

⁵³⁰ It is clear that the people who fell into this category did not necessarily have to be in origin ethnically Greek (Clarysse and Thompson 2006, 154-157). See also La’da 2002.

⁵³¹ Regarding the drop in Greek immigrants, see Fischer-Bovet 2011, 144.

⁵³² Vierros 2012, 40-45.

⁵³³ E.g. Vandorpe and Waebens 2009 and Vierros 2012, 45-49.

⁵³⁴ Tovar 2010, 24.

⁵³⁵ Depauw 2012.

within the province.⁵³⁶ However, the use of Greek as the language of lower levels of government was reinforced through the Roman provincial administrative system.⁵³⁷

7.1.2. Language Policy

Language policy refers “to the tacit habits and to the set of explicit rules and laws which, whether established by a government or by any other institution or human group, are concerned with the use of languages, dialects and registers in a community.”⁵³⁸ Despite the arrival of people from Persian conquered territory, there was no attempt at direct control within the country that led to the widespread adoption of Aramaic as an official language in Egypt. Nevertheless for enterprising officials who sought positions within the Persian administration, learning Aramaic would have proven beneficial, and perhaps even necessary.⁵³⁹ A larger than life-size statue of Darius I demonstrates how complex the use of languages was during this period, as a Hieroglyphic inscription is on the base and front of the statue, and a trilingual cuneiform text in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian over the body of Darius.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁶ Monson 2012, 259-262.

⁵³⁷ Capponi 2005, 25. The further privileging of Greek ethnics under the Roman system further influenced the use of Greek by provincial administrators (Bowman 1996b, 125-126).

⁵³⁸ Crespo 2014.

⁵³⁹ Bilingual Demotic/Aramaic tags and clay sealings from Memphis, and the unprovenanced Aramaic correspondence of the satrap of Egypt in the latter half of the 5th century, Arshama, point toward societal bilingualism primarily functioning within the administrative contexts of economic transactions and military operations (Colburn 2014, Chapter 2). As part of the context of trade and military organization, Henry Colburn also suggests that the Aramaic/Demotic bilingualism was a natural extension of already existing procedures associated with the Greek speaking merchants and mercenaries who no doubt already lived in Memphis (2014, Chapter 2).

⁵⁴⁰ Yoyotte 2010, 261. For a discussion of the statue and a recent bibliography, see Colburn 2014, Chapter 4. The use of trilingual inscriptions in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian is also found on cylinder seals bearing the name of Darius I, and belongs to an iconographic program that was utilized by the king to sanction a court style and confirm his control over the broad Achaemenid Empire (Finn 2011, 228-234). The Egyptian text is written by itself on stela Cairo JE 48855. In her article, Jennifer Finn also provides an appendix with all of the known trilingual texts from the world of Achaemenid Persia (2011, 253-264).

The same languages are also found on the Tell el-Mashkhuta stelae.⁵⁴¹ They recount the construction of a canal to the Red Sea in order to move goods from Egypt to the Persian Empire more easily.⁵⁴² A drawing of the Kabret stela of this text indicates that the lunette above the continuous text included the Egyptian winged solar disk and the name of Darius I within cartouches in the center. However, the name of the king was written in cuneiform and the figures flanking them were dressed in Persian robes and Persian style crowns.⁵⁴³ The Egyptian text was written in Hieroglyphs and included a relatively long portion of text that has been correctly identified as a form of the *Königsnovelle*, as it presents a narrative of the king's ability to plan and execute his project without, or better in spite of, his high officials and courtiers.⁵⁴⁴

Within Egypt, during the Late Period, bilingual monuments with Hieroglyphs and Demotic also begin to appear, where previously Hieroglyphs had held precedence.⁵⁴⁵ The most public of these were funerary stelae, some of which adopted aspects of international style, for instance with the stela of Djedherbes.⁵⁴⁶ On that object, the Hieroglyphic text was placed in vertical columns along the two edges and the Demotic text, with similar content, ran horizontally between an images of the deceased being mummified and on of him receiving offerings. The inclusion of both Hieroglyphs and Demotic on these funerary stelae demonstrates an acceptance of Demotic writing into the previously restricted realm of funerary inscriptions.

⁵⁴¹ Lloyd 2007 and Colburn 2014, Chapter 4.

⁵⁴² Kuhrt 2007, 485-486.

⁵⁴³ Colburn 2014, Chapter 4. For a line drawing, see Ménant 1887, 145.

⁵⁴⁴ Lloyd 2007, 104.

⁵⁴⁵ Regarding the interchangeable use of these two scripts, see Quack 2010b.

⁵⁴⁶ Loprieno 1996, 528. For collections of later funerary stelae, see Kamal 1904, Munro 1973, and Abdalla 1992. For the stelae with the influence of foreign styles, see Mathieson, Bettles, and Davies 1995, Miller 2011, and Colburn 2014, Chapter 4.

Under the Ptolemies, although Greek was prioritized by the administration, there is little direct evidence for the government stepping in to regulate language use in Egypt.⁵⁴⁷ The few existing texts suggest that there was a change around 146 BCE when Ptolemy VI Philometor required that all documents registered with the government be summarized in a Greek list.⁵⁴⁸ This change in the registration policy led to a decrease in the number of contracts that were fully written up in Demotic and an increase in the number of Greek subscriptions written in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE.⁵⁴⁹

The other instance where the bilingual situation in Egypt was addressed in an official capacity was in the separation of the Greek and Egyptian legal systems. The division was guaranteed by the so-called ‘Amnesty Agreement’ between Ptolemy VII, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III in 118 BCE.⁵⁵⁰ The written language in which Greeks and Egyptians conducted business determined which court, and importantly which set of laws, the parties would need to address. In each of these cases, the Ptolemaic government was addressing issues of civic administration where language was applied in a practical context and understanding was

⁵⁴⁷ For a summary of the evidence, see Crespo 2007 and Crespo 2014.

⁵⁴⁸ A Greek letter from a Paniskos to a Ptolemy that was found in Memphis and dates to February 8th, 145 BCE mentions such a regulation: ἡ μὲν οὖν οἰκονομία ἐπιτελεῖται καθότι ὑποδέδειχεν ὁ Ἀρίστων τὸ ἐπενεχθισόμενον ἡμῖν γεγραμμένον συνάλαγμα ὑπὸ τοῦ μονογράφου εἰκονίζειν τοὺς τε συνηλλαχότας καὶ ἦν πεπονηται οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματ’ αὐτῶν πατρόθεν ἐντάσσειν καὶ ὑπογράφειν ἡμᾶς ἐντεταχέναι εἰς χρηματισμὸν δηλώσαντες τὸν τε χρόνον. (p. Paris 65, 10-15). “The management, as Ariston has reported, consists of drawing up an official description of the following items: the contract that will be brought by the Egyptian solicitor to us, those that have made the agreement, and the legal transaction they have made; of registering their names and those of their fathers, and of subscribing that we have registered it in the public deeds indicating the date at which we have made the subscription of the produced contract and the duration of the proper contract” (trans. from Crespo 2007, 41-42).

⁵⁴⁹ Depauw 2009, 130.

⁵⁵⁰ “...with regard to all categories of people except those cultivating royal land, the workers in government monopolies and the others who are involved with the revenues, that the Egyptians who have made contracts in Greek with Greeks shall give and receive satisfaction before the *chrematistai*, while the Greeks who have concluded contracts in Egyptian (i.e. with Egyptians) shall give satisfaction before the *laokritai* in accordance with the laws of the country (i.e. Egyptian laws). The suits of Egyptians against Egyptians shall not be taken by the *chrematistai* to their own courts, but they shall allow them to be decided before the *laokritai* in accordance with the laws of the country” (trans. from Austin 2006, 501-508). See also Pestman 1985.

fundamental to the orderly running of the Egyptian *chora*. Language use was adapted to individual circumstances, where the most effective system could be chosen for reasons of understanding, prestige, legality, etc.⁵⁵¹

With the end of the Ptolemaic government and the installation of Roman rule, newly created regulations stipulated the use of Greek or Latin and thus the number of Egyptian documents decreased.⁵⁵² Regarding the interest of the Roman Empire in foreign languages in general, “the Romans appear to have had no official linguistic policy *per se*, even regarding languages for which they must have had little respect.”⁵⁵³ Even with limited evidence for **official** language policy in Ptolemaic or Roman Egypt, the practical reality of living and working in a multilingual society required the constant presence of interpretation and translation.

7.1.3. Diglossia and Social Bilingualism

In Chapter 3, I established how the diglossic separation of Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian led to the appearance of intralingual translation in post-New Kingdom Egypt. Translation belonged to the Egyptian scribal practice as the language varieties of the country diverged and annotation was embedded into full intralingual translation of ritual texts within a temple context. Through the diachronic development of the language situation, diglossia remained in place, but also came up against the forces of societal bilingualism.

While the move from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian syntax and orthography seems to have been precipitated by a conscious top-down decision to use more contemporary speech by

⁵⁵¹ At the site of Pathyris, there does not seem to have been an advantage or prestige associated with the use of Greek in documentary materials (Vierros 2012, 225). It is unclear whether the same would be true in Lower Egypt and especially in Alexandria where the use of Greek was the norm within the higher levels of Ptolemaic administration (Thompson 2009, 408).

⁵⁵² Fewster 2002.

⁵⁵³ McElduff 2013, 18.

Akhenaten, the changes of later periods occurred due to a variety of factors, including the reorganization of social structures, widespread language contact, and governmental language policy that I discussed above. The resulting linguistic environment was multiglossic, multigraphic, and multilingual, and the choice of language variety in any given situation became increasingly complex. Where Hieroglyphic and Hieratic scripts and *égyptien de tradition* used to fill the role of a high-register written language, the social value Greek offered under the Ptolemaic administration led to it assuming the place of prestige language.⁵⁵⁴ There thus came to exist a situation of societal bilingualism in combination with the already present diglossia.⁵⁵⁵

It is important briefly to touch upon the definition and theoretical understanding of these two concepts, as the boundaries of each are a matter of debate.⁵⁵⁶ To compare societal bilingualism, I reiterate my criteria for diglossia from Chapter 3.1.3:

1. high (H) and low (L) varieties of language co-exist that can be either genetically related or unrelated
2. the use of the H and L varieties are governed by context (i.e. use) and not necessarily by the social position of the speaker (i.e. user)
3. in contrast with the L variety, the H variety does not have a body of native speakers, but is instead learned through some kind of formal education

⁵⁵⁴ In situations of diglossia, the high language is the more likely to be replaced by either the colloquial variety or by another language entirely, although this is not without exception (Hudson 2002b, 7-8).

⁵⁵⁵ Loprieno 1996, 527. See also Kurth 2011 and Quack 2013b.

⁵⁵⁶ It is well beyond the scope of this dissertation to delve into the discussions that have surrounded these concepts since Ferguson (1959) brought the term diglossia into common use. In many instances, the separation of diglossia from societal bilingualism is a matter of the breadth or narrowness that one accepts for diglossia itself. A good summary of research in the field is found in the articles of Hudson (2002a, 2002b), and an important earlier study of the boundaries between diglossia and bilingualism is that of Fishman (1967). For a succinct summary of the differences as related to Egyptian linguistics, see Loprieno 1996, 515-516.

It is primarily points 1 and 2 that differentiate diglossia from the notion of societal bilingualism. In contrast with the former, the latter is likely to include two speech communities that both possess native fluency, e.g. native Egyptian and Greek speakers, and the languages involved can be used in the same social context, e.g. Demotic and Greek in local administrative institutions.⁵⁵⁷ Under the pharaohs of the Late Period, the Egyptian diglossia that had been characterized by two language varieties but a single language system also evolved, as Demotic became the script of choice for day to day business, replacing Hieratic and the short-lived Abnormal Hieratic of Upper Egypt.⁵⁵⁸ With the Ptolemies, the L variety Egyptian (Demotic) was used in contexts of daily transactions, while in contexts of religious significance the H varieties (Hieratic and Ptolemaic Hieroglyphs) were employed. In order to demonstrate first that the state of diglossia shifted, I discuss the situation of the Egyptian funerary documents, and then to illustrate the replacement with societal bilingualism, I examine the political function of language in the multilingual decrees.

7.2. Funerary Texts and Religious Authority

Private funerary texts were not created to be hidden away when the deceased was buried, for at the very least the compositions would have been recited during the embalming process. As stated by Mark Smith, “the [Rhind papyrus] was intended to be functional in two distinct spheres: that

⁵⁵⁷ For the purpose of this dissertation, bilingualism is defined as “the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual” (Mackay 2000 [1962]), although regarding the variation in definition, see Romaine 1995, 11-12 and 23-25 and Hamers and Blanc 2000, 6-8. Also important is the question as to whether bilingualism extends to individuals who speak two varieties of a language or only those who speak two genetically different languages (Romaine 1995, 28), which similarly concerns the definition of translation as intra- or interlingual. I believe that if two language varieties are considered separate in a society, then an individual can be bilingual by being proficient in both. For literature on bilingualism in Roman Egypt, see Depauw 2012 and Mairs 2013. Note that here I am dealing with societal bilingualism, as without knowing the authors of any texts in my corpus, I cannot speak to the specific social context of their individual bilingualism. My definitions are therefore in contrast with, for example, Marja Vierros, who understands “diglossia is societal and public by nature, and bilingualism is private and individual” (2012, 25 following Langslow 2002).

⁵⁵⁸ Depauw 2012, 493.

of the embalming chamber and that of the underworld.”⁵⁵⁹ While the ritual efficacy of the texts in the afterlife concerned only the deceased, the funeral preparations would have involved contributions from a large number of individuals. Monthesuphis and Tanuat had the opportunity to display their religious beliefs and cultural affiliations to their community. Local participation in and witnessing of this event would have drawn an audience in their home city of Armant and in Thebes, where the couple was buried.

The innovative choice of mortuary composition, written not only in Hieratic but also Demotic would not have gone unnoticed among the friends and family of these high-ranking members of Egyptian society. I would argue that although the papyri belong to a new and innovative group of texts, which were created as the *Book of the Dead* was going out of style,⁵⁶⁰ the use of a ‘pseudo-historical’ translation created an important link to traditional practices of commentary and textual transmission. The deliberate association with Egyptian culture by a high-ranking official in the Hellenistic, and later Roman, administration aligns with the practices of other elite Egyptians throughout the Ptolemaic Period.

Such expansive funerary displays gradually diminished during the Roman Period.⁵⁶¹ Although Pamonthes and his son Menkaure did not consider themselves part of a culture in decline,⁵⁶² they did belong to a society where the pharaoh lived abroad and the economic basis of the temple was weakened by the new Roman administration. As aptly stated by Andrew Monson,

⁵⁵⁹ Smith 2009b, 313.

⁵⁶⁰ Regarding the end of the *Book of the Dead* tradition and its replacement with new forms of Demotic mortuary literature, see Töpfer and Müller-Roth 2011, Herbin 2013, Scalf 2014, 26, and Dieleman 2015.

⁵⁶¹ I would agree that the reuse of tombs and older materials does not point to decline in tradition or practice (Riggs 2003, 185 and Riggs 2005). However, the smaller number of individual or family burials in the Theban area suggests that there were fewer available resources for large-scale funerary assemblages (Strudwick 2003, 182).

⁵⁶² In reference to late Ptolemaic self-presentation, John Baines states: “It will be wise to avoid hindsight and to accept that people who presented themselves so extravagantly in statuary did not see themselves as belonging to a ‘dying’ culture” (2004, 55).

Despite its innovations, Ptolemaic Egypt retained many characteristic Egyptian institutions that can be traced back for centuries and even millennia, from the organization of temple estates to royal ideology. Within a relatively short span of time, one or two centuries, these became almost unrecognizable under Roman rule.⁵⁶³

Nevertheless during this upheaval, Egyptian temples remained the source of religious knowledge and the scholar-scribes who worked in them continued to produce funerary texts for the Egyptian population. It has been shown that while Demotic was employed for funerary compositions from the mid-1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE, an entirely new range of texts were created.⁵⁶⁴ Therefore, I suggest that in contrast to the Rhind papyri, which looked backward, the papyrus of Pamonthes, with its complete Demotic translation of Middle Egyptian texts, looked forward. The social environment in which it was written and put to use no longer required dependence on the older phases of the Egyptian language for authority. Instead, as this papyrus and other new Demotic funerary literature show that Demotic took on the role of high-register Egyptian, which scribes continued to experiment with until the adoption of Coptic.⁵⁶⁵ In his recently completed dissertation, Roy Scalf has provided a discussion of the development of Demotic funerary literature.⁵⁶⁶ I therefore restrict myself here to comments that relate directly to the Rhind papyri and p. BN 149 as well as to interpretations of their broader social context.

⁵⁶³ Monson 2012, 3. Monson also demonstrates that the Roman administration did not simply confiscate temple land holdings, but were “undermining the temples as independent bases of power while encouraging private ownership and retaining modest privileges for the Egyptian priesthood” (2012, 141).

⁵⁶⁴ See for instance, Smith 2009b, 17.

⁵⁶⁵ Regarding the creative use of different scripts in ritual texts, see Dieleman 2005 and Widmer 2014. The decline in the use of Demotic and the translation of Egyptian texts into Greek intensify in the 3rd century CE (Hoffmann 2012, 557). At the same time, experimentation with the Greek script in magical texts (Dieleman 2005) and temple documents (e.g. the Narmouthis Ostraca, see Menchetti 2005, 2008) foreshadowed the appearance of Coptic by the beginning of the 4th century CE (Fournet 2009, 430-434).

⁵⁶⁶ See Scalf 2014.

7.2.1. Drawing Authority from Tradition

The Rhind papyri owe their existence to innovations that began already during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Periods, when changes to the economic and political stability of the country forced individuals to seek new methods of producing funerary texts. Compositions that had previously appeared on tomb walls, papyri, and funerary objects were abbreviated, excerpted, and adapted for use on sarcophagi and composite manuscripts.⁵⁶⁷ The scribe who composed the Rhind funerary documents drew from this history of creating innovative works of literature for the benefit of his customers, which drew upon a variety of different sources.

Moreover, the discovery of the Rhind papyri in a secured tomb context provides us with the rare opportunity to say more about the individuals who owned these texts.⁵⁶⁸ The Rhind texts were likely written out just after the death of Monthesuphis and his wife in 9 BCE during the consolidation of Egypt as a province of the Roman Empire. Monthesuphis and his immediate family belonged to the elite of the Theban regional bureaucracy, and several of them were *strategos* (Monkores, Pamonthes-Plenis, and Kalasiris) as well as holding numerous other titles (see Figure 7.1).⁵⁶⁹ He and his two brothers made notable donations to temple foundations and served as high priests, which showed their attentiveness for Egyptian religious traditions.⁵⁷⁰ The clear preference for Egyptian style, language, and religious ritual was accentuated by their burial goods, as the Rhind papyri were another means for Monthesuphis to display that tradition.

⁵⁶⁷ Backes 2015, 29. A good example, in fact, is the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One*, as it was originally for use as a temple liturgy, but was adapted for funerary use on the Louvre papyrus. As a mortuary text, the commentary was largely removed, and it was included with a copy of the *Book of the Dead* by the scribe (see Chapter 2.2.2).

⁵⁶⁸ See Chapter 2.2.1.4. The majority of earlier Egyptian papyri with translation and commentary originated in the temples, and that remained the case into the later Roman Period as well. These other bilingual texts were created for use in the libraries by the ritual specialists associated with them (see Chapter 3.3).

⁵⁶⁹ See Thissen 1977, Smith 2009b, 302-303 and 335-336, and Fischer-Bovet 2014, 344 and 370-371.

⁵⁷⁰ For the religious affiliations of this family and a reconsideration of the documents, see Gorre 2009, 42-52.

Bilingual texts, something otherwise known only from temple contexts and used by elite scholar-priests, would have made a strong statement in this regard. The scribe responsible for creating these texts drew from a repertoire of annotated texts, copying some of them into the composition, but created something new, with figurative language and interwoven references.

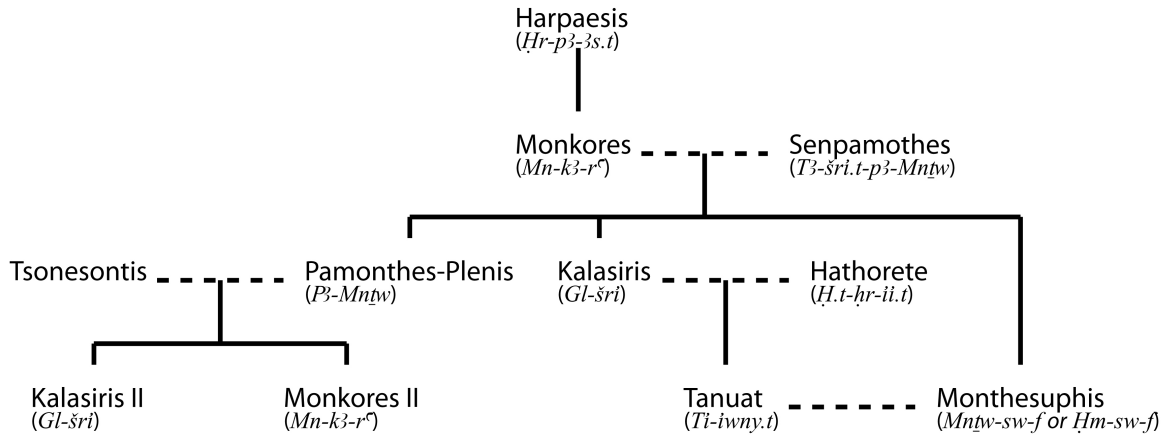


Figure 7.1 – Family Tree of Monthesuphis (after Thissen 1977)

By either specifically requesting or giving his approval for the use of parallel Hieratic and Demotic versions, Monthesuphis thus demonstrated his affinity for traditional practices of translation and textual composition. However, his accommodation of the Egyptian language was not the only way he chose to display his cultural identity. All but one of the objects in his funerary assemblage—a golden chaplet—were explicitly Egyptian in style and iconography (see Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3).⁵⁷¹ Rather than adopt Greek or hybrid iconography, as seen for example in the tomb of Petosiris, he remained largely within the realm of Egyptian artistic

⁵⁷¹ The ring of gold leaves was laid on top of the mummy in the sarcophagus and bitumen was then poured over it (Rhind 1862, 104-109 104-109 and Manley and Dodson 2010, 127 127).

practice for the objects included in his burial.⁵⁷² In much the same way, the burial of his wife, who had an equally individualized funerary document,⁵⁷³ presented no outward traces of Hellenized style.⁵⁷⁴ Similarly Tanuat is shown in an archaic Egyptian style sheath dress in all of the vignettes on her papyrus.



Figure 7.2 – Monthesuphis led before Osiris in Egyptian dress (p. Rhind I, col. 10)

Another object within the burial of Monthesuphis that demonstrates his interest in the visual display of Egyptian culture is the beautiful funerary canopy in the shape of a shrine that was discovered in situ in the upper passage of the tomb (see Figure 7.3).⁵⁷⁵ This wooden object would have served to house the mummy of the deceased before his body was taken down into the burial chamber, and therefore it provides a highly visual and decorative function during the

⁵⁷² For a description of the objects buried with Monthesuphis, see Rhind 1862 and Manley and Dodson 2010, 121-127.

⁵⁷³ Riggs 2005, 45-48 and Cole 2013, 212-213. She also has personal information added in biographical sections in the papyrus, and she is closely associated with various female deities throughout.

⁵⁷⁴ It should, however, be noted that several mummies in the tomb of Monthesuphis and Tanuat had painted shrouds although to which individuals from the tomb those shrouds belonged is unknown (M. Maitland, personal communication).

⁵⁷⁵ NMS A.1956.353. See Manley and Dodson 2010, 123-124.

funerary ceremony. Were it laid over the mummy during the procession to the tomb, the front façade with its ornate row of seventeen painted uraei, nesting cavetto cornices, and broken lintel would immediately evoke temple architecture and focus attention upon the deceased.⁵⁷⁶

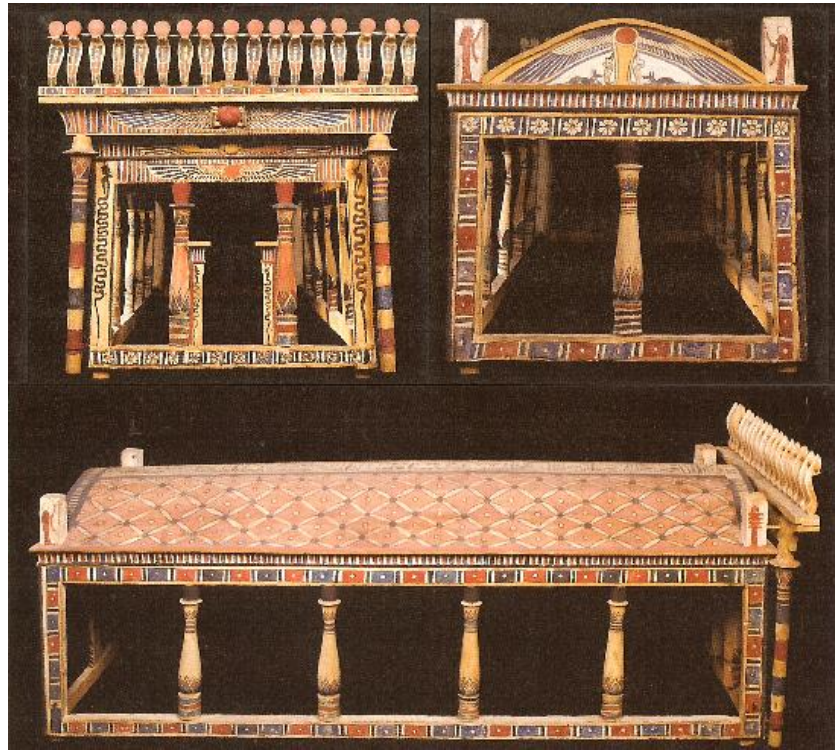


Figure 7.3 – Canopy of Monthesuphis (after Manley and Dodson 2010, 124)

As mentioned, other members of the family were equally concerned with the presentation of Egyptian culture. Pamonthes-Plenis, usurped the sarcophagus of the daughter of pharaoh Psammeticus II, the Divine Adoratrice of Amun Ankhnesneferibre, for his own use.⁵⁷⁷ However, in contrast with Pamonthes and Tanuat’s beautiful and well-composed texts, the work done to personalize the sarcophagus of Akhnesneferibre for Pamonthes-Plenis suggests hasty

⁵⁷⁶ A comparison to the aspect of visual display created by this canopy can be drawn to the so-called “coffin cupboard” of Padichons from 1st century CE Abusir el-Malek in Middle Egypt (Germer 2009, 183 and Fig. 289). Rather than display the mummy horizontally, as with the canopy, the mummy was positioned upright in a wooden box that was surmounted by a row of uraei over a cavetto cornice.

⁵⁷⁷ Thissen 1977, Riggs 2003, 193 and pl. 99, and Strudwick 2006, 276-277. The coffin is BM EA 32. For a full publication of the text, see Sander-Hansen 1937.

workmanship. The repurposing was clumsy; it included the quick replacement of feminine suffix pronouns in the text (=t and =s replaced with =k and =f respectively), which also resulted in changes to the same signs in other completely unrelated words, and the addition of an inscription along the upper edge of the sarcophagus.⁵⁷⁸

In connection with their support of local temples, the family held economic stakes in temple land management.⁵⁷⁹ Gilles Gorre has recently suggested that “les membres [de la lignée Mencherès-Pamônthès] restent localement bien implantés après leur éviction des charges territoriales, grâce à leur maintien dans les temples comme prophètes de Montou.”⁵⁸⁰ His presumption that the family lost its administrative power is based on his doubt that Kalasiris II held the position of *strategos*. In line with the fact that the family fell in rank in the early Roman Period, but retained social authority through their ties to the temple at Armant, an overt display of Egyptian religious practice and elaborate funerary texts of Monthesuphis and Tanuat might have helped to confirm their place in the religious institutions. At the same time, they demonstrated piety and ritual devotion in arranging a purely Egyptian funeral, which would furthermore have required patronizing Egyptian scribes and craftsmen. The combination of group membership within priestly ranks and religious devotion appears to have surpassed any interest in displaying Hellenic identity, for instance through the use Greek or integration of Greek stylistic elements into their funerary assemblage.

⁵⁷⁸ Sander-Hansen 1937, 4-5. It also recalls an earlier failed attempt at creating traditional Egyptian text, namely that of the sarcophagus of the *dioiketes* Dioskourides from the mid-2nd century BCE (Baines 2004, 42-43 and Rowlandson 2007, 43). In that instance, the suggestion has been made the Dioskourides was content with the problematic text since he himself could not read Egyptian.

⁵⁷⁹ Monthesuphis' grandfather, Monkores, was a documented local benefactor of Buchis cult at Armant, as shown by the donation of a stela to the Buchis bull (Goldbrunner 2004, 157 and Gorre 2009, 42-43). See also notes 446 and 570.

⁵⁸⁰ Gorre 2009, 538.

7.2.2. Translating Tradition

By the time that Pamothes' papyrus was written on 17 October 63 CE during the reign of Nero, the changes that were instituted by Augustus, including the permanent garrisoning of soldiers, the creation of new positions within the administrative hierarchy, and the increased focus on private land ownership, had become regular features of Egyptian life.⁵⁸¹ Unlike the other texts in my corpus, p. BN 149 does not have two versions on a single manuscript.⁵⁸² Instead, it demonstrates that by the mid-1st century, a translated text had the religious authority to usher the deceased into the underworld on its own.⁵⁸³ Unlike the situation with the Rhind papyri where only the owners of the papyrus were named, the scribe who was at the very least responsible for copying out the text, but perhaps also composed it, signed the text in a colophon (see Example 7.1). In those lines, the scribe identified himself as the son of the deceased, and included his reason for producing the manuscript, namely so that his father praise (*sm*) him before Osiris. Although the composition was written to convey the deceased on his post-mortem journey, there was a certain degree of pride that the son took in producing this work.

⁵⁸¹ For the correct date, see Smith 2009b, 437. Regarding the changes between the end of the Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods, see Monson 2012, 259-261. For an overview of the historical events in 1st century Roman Egypt, see Bowman 1996a.

⁵⁸² It has been suggested that the family named in this papyrus is related to that of Monthesuphis and Tanuat; however, there is no other evidence to prove this idea. Thissen includes the papyrus under the number T.16 in his study of the documents of the family, and the names are of course similar to those of the well-known family (1977, 189 and Stadler 2003, 15).

⁵⁸³ See Chapter 6.4.

²⁷ *r-sh Mnḳ-r^c s3 P^c-mnt s3 sp-sn n* There has written Monkores, son of Pamonthes, son of
p3y=f it^c3 mr.t P^c-mnt s3 sp-sn s3 the likewise-named, for his father greatly beloved,
Hrmwtwrs r-ms T3-šr.t-p3-šr-mnt Pamonthes, son of the likewise-named, son of
 Hermodorus, born of Tasheretpashermonthes,

²⁸ *r di.t mn p3y=f bi m-b3h Wsir* in order to cause that his *ba* endure before Osiris,
wn-nfr pr-^c3 n p3 t3 dr=f pr-^c3 n t3 Wennefer, the Pharaoh of the entire land, the Pharaoh of
dwt3.t p3 hri n²⁹ imnt the Duat, the Overseer of the West,

mtw=f sm r Mnḳ-r^c p3y=f šr m- so that he might praise Monkores, his son, before Osiris,
b3h Wsir p3 ntr-^c3 irm n3y=f hrt.w the Great God, with his children forever.
š^c d.t

sh h3.t-sp 10.t n³⁰ (n3r3n)| ^cnh- Written year 10 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus
wd3-snb (glwtis)| ^cnh-wd3-snb Germanicus Autocrator, <month> 2 of Akhet, day 19
(gsri)| ^cnh-wd3-snb sbste[s] (=19 Paope).
grm^cnig^cs 3wtwglit3ls <3bd> 2
3h.t sw 19

The unusually long genealogy that Monkores included at the beginning also points to a focus on continuity, and local tradition. At the same time, translating the text and equipping his father with the appropriate funerary texts, would also have been regarded as a pious act. At a time when the West bank of Thebes was regarded as a holy site, the act of crafting this document may have in itself been an important display of religious dedication and of reverence for a son towards his father.⁵⁸⁴ Although Monkores includes no titles, his high level of linguistic ability and his confident hand suggests that he was in some way related to the activities of the region's temples. The fact that he personally copied out the funerary texts would further support this idea.

From a pragmatic point of view, this composition moves beyond the pseudo-historical texts created for Monthesuphis and Tanuat, as it is no longer accompanied by the source text. Even though in this case the contents, especially the *Book of the Dead*, are truly old texts, there is

⁵⁸⁴ On the Theban necropolis in later periods, see Riggs 2003 and Strudwick 2003.

no attempt to validate the composition by including a Hieratic version.⁵⁸⁵ The translation is sufficient for its audience, i.e. the deceased, his son, and those who would participate in the funeral. Despite being a translated and composite manuscript, spell 125 was retained, as it was considered the most valuable component of the *Book of the Dead*. As Mark Smith points out, p. BN 149 “arguably represents a further stage in the [process of replacing old texts with new ones], in which this core has become a substitute for the *Book of the Dead* itself.”⁵⁸⁶ Further support for this statement is the fact that the translation of p. BN 149 was characterized as having a degree of “reinterpretation,” similar to the ritual texts and the Rhind papyri.⁵⁸⁷

The translation on the papyrus of Pamonthes is the manifestation of the next step in the complex linguistic changes that were taking place from the 4th century BCE through the 1st century CE. The author no longer felt the need to derive authority from the texts, which at this point, were largely incomprehensible to most readers. Instead, Demotic language and script assumed a greater cultural value to Egyptians who were experiencing the reorganization of their social structures and a new exploitation of their country. Rather than abandon earlier traditions, scribes developed new ways of communicating them. The innovation that took place in the funerary literature of the early Roman Period addressed the reality that fewer people were trained to read Middle Egyptian, Hieroglyphs, and Hieratic by creating more accessible ritual texts.

7.3. Trilingual Decrees and Political Authority

The religious validation provided by translation of funerary texts in the early Roman Periods finds comparison in the earlier political function of translation in the Ptolemaic trilingual

⁵⁸⁵ Furthermore, the fact that the person who translated the text copied the negative confessions incorrectly points to a different level of understanding of the original manuscript (Stadler 2003, 25 and Smith 2009b, 440-441).

⁵⁸⁶ Smith 2009b, 443.

⁵⁸⁷ For a very brief survey of “reinterpretation” in p. BN 149, see Stadler 2003, 122-123.

decrees. Just as the Demotic and Hieratic versions of the Rhind papyri had different functions, so too did the languages on the decrees. They drew upon different sources of authority: the Greek was based in the Hellenistic monarchs ruling Egypt, while the Hieroglyphs were symbolic of pharaonic power and its support in the upper elite and priestly ranks, which the Ptolemies were distinctly looking to court and control.⁵⁸⁸ In contrast with the symbolic aspects of Greek and Hieroglyphs, the Demotic had only a pragmatic function that represented the need to communicate with priests and other elite Egyptians throughout the *chora*.⁵⁸⁹

In my discussion, I agree with Joe Manning that, “Ptolemaic rule in Egypt represents something of a revival in Egyptian kingship, and there can be little doubt that it was the active participation of the Egyptian priesthoods that was largely responsible.”⁵⁹⁰ Beyond the content of these decrees, which he discusses, I would argue that the distinct language choices further support this position.⁵⁹¹ The inclusion of the Hieroglyphs highlights traditional notions of kingship with its associations to the temples, which by this point in time would be the most visible manifestation of this script. On the other hand, the practical inclusion of Demotic underlines the new societal reality and suggests the need to spread the contents of the decrees in a way that was not relevant in earlier monuments. I argue that by combining all three languages, the king and priests drew attention to the balance of power that existed between them. Much like

⁵⁸⁸ See Manning 2010, 74-75 and Monson 2012, 263.

⁵⁸⁹ The definition of the Ptolemaic Egyptian elite still requires further study. The state of the discussion is summarized in Manning 2010, who references the studies of Baines 2004 and Rowlandson 2007. The latter in particular does an excellent job in distinguishing between the Greek elite in Alexandria, whose interests looked outward toward the Hellenistic Mediterranean, and the Egyptian elite, whose power rested in land management and temple institutions within Egypt itself. See also, Quaegebeur 1995 and Lloyd 2002.

⁵⁹⁰ Manning 2010, 94.

⁵⁹¹ Manning focuses on the hybrid imagery of the Raphia Decree and states that it provides “the visual equivalent of Manetho’s Egyptian history” (2010, 87). I would extend this argument to include the *languages* visible on the decrees, in particular on the stelae of the Raphia, since two out of them relegate the Greek versions to the back and sides of the monument (see Table 2.2 in Appendix A).

with the funerary texts, the inclusion of both Hieroglyphs and Demotic fused the ritual with the practical function of Egyptian languages.

In analyzing how language use was fundamental to the political message of decrees, I begin by discussing earlier examples of multilingual inscriptions as well as the monolingual Satrap Stela of Ptolemy I. As outlined above, the Persian rulers set a clear precedent for the use of multilingual inscriptions as a means of demonstrating authority over other nations. At the same time, before he became pharaoh, Ptolemy recognized the importance of gathering support from the Egyptian priests and using the Egyptian language to his advantage, no doubt a political maneuver observed in the policies of Alexander the Great.⁵⁹²

Next, I examine the trilingual decrees themselves from two perspectives: first to determine the state of diglossia in the Hieroglyphic and Demotic versions, and second to demonstrate that societal bilingualism was increasingly important by comparing the Hieroglyphs to the Greek and Demotic versions. Just as with the validation of Demotic in funerary literature, this public and high-level use of the administrative language was evidence for shifting authority of Egyptian language throughout this period. When the Egyptian versions of the multiple copies of the Canopus Decree are compared, the Demotic is noticeably more variable than the Hieroglyphs. The variations reflect not only different orthographies and scribal preferences, but also include different translation choices. In contrast, when the formulaic language of the decrees is compared over time, the Hieroglyphic version displays variation, where the Demotic and Greek remain much more consistent. Much as was the case with the Hieratic version of the Rhind papyrus, the Hieroglyphs on the decrees exhibit a high degree of lexical variation and

⁵⁹² The most famous example of course being his trip to the Siwa Oasis and his association with the Egyptian god Amun (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 199).

similarity to the expansion of lexicon in the Egyptian temple texts of the period. The Hieroglyphs thus offered a means of creative expression that could not be replicated in either of the other language versions, but which also made the text incomprehensible to all but the most accomplished of Egyptian linguists.

However, the practice of holding priestly synods and the symbiotic relationship between the Greek kings and the Egyptian priests came to an end with the annexation of Egypt to the Roman Empire. Not only did this result in a loss of power on the part of the priests and the removal of a direct ruler within the country, but it also led to the end of that revived traditional pharaonic model, which included the use of high-register Egyptian hieroglyphs. The final appearance of Hieroglyphs on a multilingual stela, that of C. Cornelius Gallus in 29 BCE, was an important signal for the diminished authority of Hieroglyphs for those in power, and the use of Hieroglyphs and high-register Egyptian was henceforth relegated to temple inscriptions and ritual texts until Christianity replaced traditional Egyptian religion.

7.3.1. Monolingual vs. Multilingual

Decrees had long played a role in Egyptian culture, where they were part of publishing high-level administrative rulings in a public way.⁵⁹³ Information on decisions that had already been reached was disseminated to a wider audience, and decrees were likely read aloud for the benefit of the large segment of the population that was illiterate (see Chapter 6.3.2). Those who read these documents would have recognized that political machinations and negotiations lay behind them. While the focus of this dissertation is on the translated texts, it is nevertheless important to

⁵⁹³ For Egyptian decrees, see Weill 1912 and Hayes 1946. Regarding royal stela, including decrees, of the first half of the New Kingdom, see Beylage 2002. There is also the so-called ‘Famine Stela,’ which is carved on a rock outcropping on the island of Sehel near Elephantine in Upper Egypt (Barguet 1953). The text was dated to the Late Period but is now thought to be of Ptolemaic date (Simpson and Ritner 2003, 386).

remember that the Ptolemies also issued monolingual decrees in Hieroglyphs and in Greek.⁵⁹⁴ A famous example is of course the Satrap Stela of general Ptolemy, which was issued in 311 BCE prior to assumption of the Egyptian throne as Ptolemy I Soter.⁵⁹⁵ The stela provides a precursor to the relationship between Ptolemy and the priests, but does so with only a hieroglyphic text.

The adoption of a trilingual formula was therefore a conscious decision to create something that moved beyond a purely Egyptian context by inserting the priesthood into a Hellenized relationship with the king. The Ptolemies and priests were, however, not the first to use and manipulate local and foreign languages to their benefit. Persian kings used multilingual texts to demonstrate their control over their large empire (see Chapter 7.1.2). This technique is most famously demonstrated in the monumental inscription at Bisitun in Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, which was set up by Darius I after he became king in 522 BCE.⁵⁹⁶ In this instance, the physical monument was illegible where it was carved into the rock, but an Aramaic version on papyrus from Egypt supports the claim that Darius had copies of the inscription sent throughout the empire.⁵⁹⁷ There the role of translation was to promote the political supremacy of Darius I and demonstrate his military might over those he had subordinated.

⁵⁹⁴ For the Greek decrees, see Rhodes and Lewis 1997.

⁵⁹⁵ The Satrap Stela (JE 22182) is a round-topped stela dated to year 7 of the reign of Alexander II (Kamal 1904, 168-171 and pl. LVI). See also Manning 2010, 95. A later example of an Egyptian decree is the stela of Ptolemy VIII from Herakleon (Thiers 2009).

⁵⁹⁶ Briant 2000, Briant 2002, 124-128 and Finn 2011, 221-228. The abbreviation DB (“Darius, Bisitun”) is used in the literature. For the language versions, see Schmitt 1991 (Old Persian), Voightlander 1978 (Babylonian), and Grillo-Susini, Herrenschmidt, and Malbran-Labat 1993 (Elamite), and on the significance of these languages, see Finn 2011, 235. The relief of Darius I at Bisitun is unique in its narrative account and the fact that it refers to specific events in time (Briant 2002, 171). The Elamite language was the first inscribed, but the Old Persian version was most important, as this inscription was the earliest written version of that language (Finn 2011, 224). The various language versions do not agree entirely with one another (Briant 2002, 115). In 519 BCE after Darius returned from campaigns against the Elamites and Saka, he altered the text by adding a new Old Persian inscription and moving the Elamite text (Briant 2002, 127).

⁵⁹⁷ Briant 2002, 123. For the Aramaic version, see Greenfield and Porten 1982. This version of the text is dated to the reign of Darius II, by accounts that follow the copy of the inscription, although it is not clear how much earlier the accounts were added (Greenfield and Porten 1982, 2-3). The Aramaic text also contains additional translated text

In Egypt, the function was less one of dominating a subjected culture, than bargaining with an audience that included both a substantial Greek bureaucracy and royal court, as well as the native population, including nobility and priesthood. Translation viewed as a form of intercultural communication is key to the discussion of the Ptolemaic decrees.⁵⁹⁸ They demonstrate a clear appropriation of Greek decree forms, but rather than reflecting the honoring of a king by a city, they presented the outcome of interactions between the priests and the Ptolemaic administration.⁵⁹⁹ Much scholarly interest in the texts has been in understanding which language version derived from the other.⁶⁰⁰ In this regard, I agree with Willy Clarysse when he concludes that the Egyptian priests were sufficiently integrated into the Hellenized administration to have been able to compose all three versions themselves.⁶⁰¹ Rather than include a translation of an older, previously existing monolingual text, the texts of the trilingual decrees were composed simultaneously.

from the tomb-inscription of Darius I that are not part of the Bisitun inscription, making this text somewhat of a compilation of Old Persian materials rather than an exact copy (Greenfield and Porten 1982, 3).

⁵⁹⁸ Schäffner 2001, 255. Numerous studies have highlighted the intercultural role played by the decree. See for example Goudriaan 1988, 110-111, Samuel 1993, Bingen 2007, 265, and Manning 2010, 97-102.

⁵⁹⁹ In following the work of John Ma on city decrees and letters of kings from Western Asia Minor under Antiochus III, it is useful to use a ‘text-aware’ approach, which takes “the inscriptions seriously as texts, whose language matters to us as interpreters, because it mattered to the power actors who uttered them” (1999, 19, based on ideas from Millar 1992). Ian Moyer has also made insightful observations on the relationship between the king and priests in comparison with the relation of king and city demonstrated elsewhere in the Hellenistic world. He states, “Egyptian priests take the position in the deictic field normally occupied by the introducer of a motion in the assembly or council of a *polis*; they are the ones who collectively “speak” the decree” (Moyer Unpublished, 7-8).

⁶⁰⁰ See for example Clarysse 2000, Pfeiffer 2004, 52-55, Gozzoli 2006, 148-149, Bingen 2007, 262-265, and el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 185-187.

⁶⁰¹ Clarysse 2000, 48, 52-58. Egyptians responsible for helping to draft the decrees would also have brought with them a knowledge and awareness of Egyptian texts and textual genres. Thus, the issue of translation from Greek or Egyptian is here considered only as a matter of influence rather than the primary issue of consideration. I further agree with Moyer’s assessment that the politics of translation represented “terminological barter” and that the positioning of the decrees within temple space represents a deliberate statement of power on the part of the priests (Moyer Unpublished, 20).

The symbolism of the languages and their placement on the decrees was therefore more important to many views than the ability to read the details.⁶⁰² The readers, whether mono- or bilingual, would have recognized that three texts were being presented to them on the physical object from the different scripts, and they might implicitly have considered them to be copies without reading them. Though the promulgation formula at the end of each text required that the decree be written in three languages, no mention is made of the translation process, and in many instances the instruction that the decree be written in Hieroglyphs, Demotic, and Greek was not followed.⁶⁰³ Copies of the Alexandria, Canopus, Memphis, and both Philae Decrees have survived that omit the Greek version of the text.⁶⁰⁴ The frequent omission of the Greek or its relegation to the side or bottom of the stela strongly suggests that those who carved the decree were prioritizing the Egyptian versions.⁶⁰⁵ Given the placement of these decrees within Egyptian temple precincts, the omission may have been practical, i.e. fewer Greek speakers would see them, and less money was needed for a smaller stela. However, I would contend that there was also a level of subversion involved. The Greek version served its purpose in Alexandria, but in the *chora*, the priests had good reason to promote the traditional source of the king's authority without acknowledging that they were beholden to a Hellenistic ruler. The discussions were

⁶⁰² It is not always necessary in multilingual contexts for the receiver of the text(s) to note which is the source and which the target text, as is traditionally understood in translation studies (Schäffner 2001, 250). A disadvantage in the ancient material is of course the lack of a paper trail. The synods would likely have had minutes kept and then from there the decrees would have been drafted and reworked by men acting as priests, administrators and scribes. All that is available is the final product, "the decision attained, and firmly imposed on the community as authoritative by the canonical forms of the decree" (Ma 1999, 22).

⁶⁰³ Interestingly, this formula is omitted from the end of the Demotic text of the Tanis version of the Canopus decree, although that may be due to space constraints as the Demotic is written on the left side of the stela.

⁶⁰⁴ See Table 2.2.

⁶⁰⁵ Regarding the physical positioning of the languages, see note 134. The omission or sidelining of the Greek text largely takes place on stelae from Upper Egypt. However, the Tell el-Yahudiya Stela of the Memphis Decree also omits the Greek (see Table 2.2). The Tanis Stela of the Canopus Decree is the only case where the Greek is given priority over the Demotic version. In that instance, the Demotic is placed on the left side while the Egyptian is first on the front and the Greek second.

between the highest levels of elite society, but the public nature of the decrees once they were published within temple walls had the additional purpose of demonstrating the reciprocal relationship between the gods and the king. Having established the precedent for trilingual inscriptions and considered some of the ramifications of using multiple languages, I now use comparisons of the different language versions to demonstrate the changing sociolinguistic environment in Ptolemaic Egypt.

7.3.2. Diglossia: Hieroglyphs vs. Demotic

I begin by considering the differences and similarities between the Hieroglyphic and Demotic versions. To do so, I focus on the Canopus Decree, as it is attested in the greatest number of text versions.⁶⁰⁶ The high degree of variability between the Demotic copies of the text is in stark contrast with the regularity of the Hieroglyphic and Greek versions of the Canopus Decree. This discrepancy points to an interest in a regularized symbolic presentation of Greek and Hieroglyphs, but a practical interest in disseminating information with the Demotic.

It is also possible that a different process was involved in the composing of the Demotic version of the decree. While the Greek and Hieroglyphic versions were carefully crafted to fit the political and cultural messages promoted by the decree, the Demotic may have been less restricted. Perhaps it was copied out as the text was read out loud by a single person. As the priests gathered together wrote down the text, they did so in their own handwriting and with their own idiosyncrasies including the use of *n/r*, use of number and gender markers, and even choice in verbal forms, which I discuss below. The same may be true if the scribes copied the text from a single master copy. Less likely, but worth suggesting nonetheless, is that the scribes were sent

⁶⁰⁶ See Table 2.2.

the Hieroglyphic and Greek versions, and then were allowed to create individual Demotic translations. I would argue that significant portions of the text would vary more between versions were this the case. Regardless, copies of the Demotic versions of the decree were not regulated or rigorously compared to each other, which allowed a number of alternatives to appear.

There are more than 335 variations between the Demotic texts of the Tanis Stela (T), the Kom el-Hisn Stela (K), and the Bubastis Stela (B). There are cases where words are omitted, the syntax does not agree between texts, or the word order has been changed in some way.⁶⁰⁷ There are around 200 cases which could be qualified as errors, for example, where an *n* or *r* is left out of the text, the gender and/or number are not correct, or a syntactic element is omitted. In the other 135 cases, the texts vary, but represent different choices in the translation rather than a simple scribal error.

There are a few things that I would argue represent individual scribal peculiarities. For instance, on the one hand, the scribe of the Kom el-Hisn Stela preferentially added the formulaic *ᵚnh wḏᵚ snb* ‘may he live, prosper, and be health’ after the name of the king or queen when the other stelae add them only after the words king (*pr-ᵚ3*) or queen (*pr-ᵚ3.t*).⁶⁰⁸ On the other hand, with regard to the omission of the feminine ending *-t*, it is the scribe of the Tanis Stela that

⁶⁰⁷ A difference in word order is found between the Tanis Stela (line 5-6: *irm n3 sh.w (n) Pr-ᵚnh n3 sh.w (n) mḏy-ntr*) and the Kom el-Hisn Stela (line 2: *irm n3 sh.w (n) mḏy-ntr irm n3 sh.w (n) Pr-ᵚnh*) “...and the scribes of the house of life and the scribes of the sacred speech...” The Kom el-Hisn Stela follows the Hieroglyphic and Greek versions, while the Tanis Stela deviates from them. Similarly towards the end of the motion clause (Tanis, line 69 and Kom el-Hisn, line 19), the scribe of the Tanis Stela reverses the festivals (*hb.w*) and the processions (*hᵚ.w*) from the order in the Kom el-Hisn Stela and in all of the Hieroglyphic (*hb.w hᵚ.w*) and Greek (ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν) versions.

⁶⁰⁸ There are twenty-seven examples where *ᵚ.w.s* is added after a royal name or *pr-ᵚ3(t)* in at least one version of the Canopus Decree. In the case of the names Berenike (lines 6, 13^{x2}, 15, 16, 17^{x2}, 18^{x2}, 20), Arsinoe (line 1), and Alexander (line 1), the scribe of the Kom el-Hisn Stela adds *ᵚ.w.s* to their names. The same is also true for the name of Ptolemy (1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 13) except in one instance (line 1) where the scribe replaces *ᵚnh ḏt* ‘lives forever’ (Tanis, line 1) with *ᵚ.w.s*. This variation can quite clearly be considered an orthographic difference between the scribes of the different stelae and are unsurprising given the transliteration of Greek names into Egyptian (Clarysse 2013, 1-2).

frequently omits it. In particular, the word for queen *pr-ꜣ.t* does not have its ending.⁶⁰⁹ For the plural endings, however, it is the again the scribe of the Kom el-Hisn Stela that is less consistent, and its author leaves out thirteen plural endings where other stelae include them.⁶¹⁰ The scribe of the Kom el-Hisn Stela also has the most omissions of *n* and *r* throughout the text, with over sixty examples where he left the word out, while the scribe of the Tanis Stela included around thirty-five errors of this kind.

In terms of the word order of nouns modified by numbers (e.g. ten fields), it appears that the Tanis Stela scribe consistently wrote out the number first followed by an indirect genitive construction (*n*) and the noun. The scribe of the Kom el-Hisn Stela instead placed the noun first, followed immediately by the number. The scribe of the Bubastis Stela uses both word orders in the two examples that are preserved in that text.⁶¹¹ These sorts of variations, however, are frequently found in Demotic, and due to the nature of the script it is not surprising that they were introduced.⁶¹² Were it only for the smaller variations, we might conclude that a text was simply being dictated to scribes with specific orthographic tendencies. However, there are also three

⁶⁰⁹ The word queen is written *pr-ꜣ* seven times (lines 34, 45, 46, 48, 53, 57, 62) and properly as *pr-ꜣ.t* only once (line 21). Other omissions include the feminine ending on the number 9 (lines 27, 38), the Uraeus (*ꜣrꜣ.i.t*) (line 55), the word (*md.t*) (line 21), and so forth. The Canopus and Bubastis Stelae record only nine errors of gender each, although the Bubastis Stela is of course incomplete.

⁶¹⁰ For instance at the Kom el-Hisn Stela ('one priest' *wꜣ wꜣb*) leaves out the plural and the indirect genitive ('one of the priests' *wꜣ n nꜣ wꜣb.w*) that are found in the other stelae (K, line 16; T, line 59; B, line x+18). In this instance, the Demotic differs from the Hieroglyphic version ('one from among the priests' *wꜣ imy.tyw wꜣb.w*), and the Greek version has been restored by editors ('one of the ... priests' <τις τῶν ... ἱερέων) versions of the text.

⁶¹¹ There are four places where numbers modify nouns and different word orders are used:

T	Tanis	K	Kom el-Hisn	B	Bubastis	Translation
29	<i>pꜣ 20 n wꜣb</i>	8	<i>pꜣ wꜣb 20</i>	x+7	<i>pꜣ 20 n wꜣb</i>	the 20 priests
29-30	<i>pꜣ 4 (n) sꜣ.w</i>	8	<i>pꜣ sꜣ 4</i>	-	-	the 4 phyles
30	<i>25 n wꜣb</i>	8	<i>wꜣb 25</i>	-	-	25 priests
32	<i>pꜣ 4 (n) sꜣ.w</i>	9	<i>pꜣ kj 4 sꜣ.w</i>	x+8	<i>pꜣ kj sꜣ.w 4</i>	the (other) 4 phyles

⁶¹² Quack 2010a, 244-249. Regarding the variability of rendering Greek words into Demotic and, see Clarysse, Veken, and Vleeming 1983 and Clarysse 1987, 2013.

cases where the text is complete on all three stelae, but the grammatical structure differs between the copies.⁶¹³ The latter underlines the fact that the Demotic was translated and copied out by different individuals. The function of the Demotic was not to represent the pharaoh, the priests, or the elite, but was a concession to the contemporary linguistic situation in which Demotic was the most effective way of communicating with an Egyptian elite, who had long since forgone formal training in Middle Egyptian for political purposes.⁶¹⁴

7.3.3. Societal Bilingualism: Hieroglyphs vs. Greek-Demotic

It is clear that the Demotic translators used their own orthography, and in some instances, they altered the text between different versions of the same decree. However, when compared to the Hieroglyphic version of the text, both the Demotic and Greek versions are diachronically much more stable across the different decrees. The lexical variation in the Hieroglyphic versions is similar to what was noted in the Rhind papyri, and demonstrates the creative manipulation of high-register Egyptian by the priests (see Chapter 6.2.2). Although they were careful to ensure that copies of the same decree were consistent, like the Greek, each group of priests at the various synods was able to make decisions on the language of the decree.

For example, when the different types of priests are listed, the Greek and Demotic text use the same terms from the earliest to the latest decrees.

“the chief priests, and the priests, and the priests who enter the sanctuary to perform clothing rituals for the gods, and [the scribes of the divine book](#), and [the scribes of the House of Life](#), and [the other priests](#) who came from the temples of Egypt”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹³ These occur at Tanis Stela, lines 41, 60, and 62. A fourth case may occur at line 50-51, but the Kom el-Hisn Stela is broken, and so a clear comparison is not possible.

⁶¹⁴ See note 182.

⁶¹⁵ Canopus Decree, Tanis Stela, Demotic version, lines 5-6.

	Greek	Hieroglyphs	Demotic
Alexandria	πτεροφόροι	<i>hri.w-hb hri.w-tp</i>	<i>n3 sh.w mdj-ntr</i>
Canopus		<i>sh.w md3.t-ntr</i>	
Raphia		<i>sh.w md3.t-ntr</i>	
Memphis		<i>sh(.w) md3(.t)-ntr</i>	
Alexandria	ἱερογραμματεῖς	<i>rh.w-ih.t</i>	<i>n3 sh.w pr-^ϵnh</i>
Canopus		<i>rh.w-ih.wt</i>	
Raphia		<i>ky.w pr-^ϵnh</i>	
Memphis		<i>ty pr-^ϵnh</i>	
Alexandria	οἱ ἄλλοι ἱερεῖς πάντες ⁶¹⁶	<i>it.w-ntr mi kd=sn</i>	<i>n3 kj.w w^ϵb.w⁶¹⁷</i>
Canopus		<i>it.w-ntr mi kd=sn</i>	
Raphia		<i>ky.w w^ϵb.w</i>	
Memphis		<i>n3 ky.w <w^ϵb.w></i>	

Table 7.1 – Priestly Titles in the Trilingual Decrees

The first three priests are always the same, but in the case of the last three, it is only the Hieroglyphs that change, and in each case, they align themselves more with the Demotic titles over time. This change is visible in the shift from the more general *rh-ih.t* ‘Wise man’ to *t.t pr-^ϵnh* ‘Personnel of the House of Life,’ and the move from the title of *it-ntr* ‘God’s Father’ to the general *ky w^ϵb* ‘other priest.’⁶¹⁸ The Alexandria Decree is the only one that does not mention temple scribes (*sh.w*) in the Hieroglyphs. It is worth considering whether the authors of the decrees, themselves temple scribes, were interested in being recognized in all three languages, and so after the earliest decree, changed the language to accommodate themselves.

⁶¹⁶ The Canopus Decree omits πάντες from this title on all three examples (Tanis, line 5; Kom el-Hisn, line 3; Bubastis, line 3).

⁶¹⁷ The Alexandria Decree appends *tr=w* to this title (line 23).

⁶¹⁸ On these titles, see el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 187. For a discussion of priestly classes, see Dieleman 2005, 205-208.

Another example is terms that designate sacred locations. Several of the synods take place at Memphis, and in the decrees, the Demotic consistently uses *Mn-nfr* and the Greek Μέμφις. However, the Hieroglyphs use three different terms:

- *Hw.t-k3-Pth* Ka-house of Ptah (Raphia, line 4)⁶¹⁹
- *Mh3.t-t3.wy* Balance of the Two lands (Raphia, line 5; Memphis Decree, N. line 9)⁶²⁰
- *Inb.w-ḥd* White Walls (Memphis Decree, N. line 22)⁶²¹

The Hieroglyphs never use *Mn-nfr* to refer to Memphis, and the variation in terms is reminiscent of the variation of vocabulary seen in the Rhind papyri. There appears to be a deliberate effort to experiment with the expanded lexicon of *égyptien de tradition* at this time.

A final example shows that there was also a degree of variation in the verbal forms of the Hieroglyphs, in comparison to the Demotic and Greek. After the greeting, the Greek decrees use either δεδόχθαι ‘be it resolved...’ or ἔδοξεν ‘resolved (by)...’ to signal the opening of the motion.⁶²² The Demotic text remains unaffected by this difference, and it reads *ph=s n h3t n n3 wcb.w* lit. ‘it reaches the heart of the priests’ in all four decrees. The Hieroglyphic versions of the text use a similar phrase to the Demotic, but the authors used a variety of different syntactic constructions and different words for ‘to reach’ (the heart of the priests).⁶²³

Therefore, what I observe is that within the process of creating a single decree, the copies of the Demotic version were not regulated at the level of personal scribal practice, i.e. orthography, morphology, and to a lesser extent, syntax. However, it is plausible that the

⁶¹⁹ *Wb.* III, 5.

⁶²⁰ *Wb.* II, 130.

⁶²¹ *Wb.* I, 95.

⁶²² δεδόχθαι: perfect infinitive passive, dependent on εἶπαν of the prescript, or ἔδοξεν: 3rd singular aorist indicative active (Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 18). Only the Memphis Decree uses the indicative form (Rosetta Stela, line 36).

⁶²³ See note 625. Alexandria: nominal sentence, Canopus: narrative infinitive, Memphis: unmarked past *sdm=f*. A discussion of the verbs used in the Hieroglyphic texts can be found in el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 120-121 for. Regarding the translation of the Greek verb, see also Daumas 1952, 196.

elevated vocabulary required in writing Egyptian decrees was established within the Demotic repertoire early on and did not vary substantially over time. On the other hand, the Hieroglyphic versions of the decrees were carefully composed. Whether papyrus copies were written in Hieratic or Hieroglyphs, we cannot say. Regardless, the variations between the Hieroglyphic copies of the same decree are far fewer than in the Demotic.

The experimentation with the Hieroglyphic versions of the text are not that dissimilar to the creative composition of extensive texts found on the walls of the temples, which were also decorated with images of the Ptolemaic kings and queens in full Egyptian regalia. With a vast and expanding lexicon of political and religious texts, the authors of the Hieroglyphic versions of the different decrees could choose from new and innovative terms, phrases, and constructions, or they could draw upon the extensive collection of historical texts that were available to temple personnel. It is likely that the authors had copies of earlier decrees available for reference, and with the Hieroglyphic versions, they chose to deviate from—perhaps in their eyes, improve upon—the translation of their predecessor.

The Ptolemaic trilingual decrees are a unique genre, which illustrate how a Hellenic model could be appropriated within another cultural milieu. The choice of languages offered a great deal of information on the nature of the negotiations between the king and his priestly elite. Although it might be expected for the Greek to take precedence on the stela for being the language of Hellenistic governance, that is in fact never the case. In several cases, the Greek is left out despite the instructions contained within the decree to inscribe the text in three languages. As noted above, the Ptolemaic Period also witnessed the extension of Demotic into the realm of funerary and divine literature. The regularity of the Demotic texts over time again points to the new use of the language in the context of a royal decree. New terms were created to

address the elevated language of the Hieroglyphic versions, and these were consistently perpetuated over time. Demotic, however, remained the most fluid of the inscribed versions on the various stelae of a single decree, as it was included for the practical purpose of textual comprehension.

An examination of the formulaic language of the decrees indicates that there were significant differences between the composition of the texts over time. It is tempting to suggest that the decrees of Alexandria and Canopus (of Ptolemy III) can be set in contrast with the later decrees of Raphia and Memphis, although this fact is not universally true.⁶²⁴ However, what can be observed is a shift in translation technique. In particular, by placing the Alexandria Decree in contrast with the later three, there are two approaches to translation being carried out between the Hieroglyphs and Greek. On the one hand, an idiomatic equivalency is applied when both Egyptian and Greek manifestations of concepts are placed side-by-side in the text. Little alteration is made to either text when compared to earlier decrees in Egypt and the Hellenistic world. On the other hand, the later decrees were produced by scribes who were more comfortable finding a linguistic equivalency between the texts. Idioms are expanded or altered to fit a more streamlined linguistic form. To accomplish the latter, the Greek version is sometimes altered to fit with the Egyptian versions of the decree.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁴ For example, in the composition of the prescript and the inscription of the king's name, the Greek versions of the decrees shift from using the short Greek formula "Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy..." (Alexandria, Canopus, and Raphia) to using the full Egyptian titulary (Raphia and Memphis). The Demotic versions do the same; Alexandria and Canopus use the shorter, and Raphia and Memphis use the longer name. However, the Hieroglyphic versions demonstrate more variation in the use of one or the other name of the king. The earliest example—the Alexandria Decree—includes both names, Canopus uses only the shorter Greek name, and then Raphia and Memphis both use the full Egyptian titulary.

⁶²⁵ An example of a change to the Greek text is found in the change in the designation of the priests who are designated in the motion clause to align with what is more commonly found in the Egyptian versions (el Masry, Altenmüller, and Thissen 2012, 120-121):

Although there is no way to know exactly why this shift took place, it is possible to provide a few suggestions. The first is very practical and would necessitate strong agency on the part of the authors. If it is assumed that Greek language competency increased over time, or at least familiarity with Greek phraseology, then the authors may simply be exercising their new abilities.⁶²⁶ Rather than hold on to a rigid antiquated form, the authors take different liberties with the Egyptian texts, and to some extent with the Greek ones when crafting them for publication. A similar outcome can be suggested for scribes with differing writing styles. An alternate theory would require more political or cultural influence. Rather than pushing greater Egyptianizing/Hellenizing in one direction or another, the adaptation of Greek and Egyptian formal structures to a blended style, which appeals to both segments of the population, as well as those who may fall somewhere in between, could also be responsible for the shift in translation practices.

The ideas need not be mutually exclusive. There were no doubt individuals who were responsible for the creation of the documents, and I would certainly argue that a certain amount of individual agency was in place at the inception of the decrees. Moreover, those individuals would have been influenced by the social, political, and economic climate in which they existed,

	Greek	Hieroglyphs	Demotic
Alexandria	δεδοχθαι τοις κατὰ τὴν [χώραν ἱερεῦ]σ[ι]ν (A 22)	<i>m3w pw m ib=sn in it.w-ntr nw gs.w-pr.w B3k.t (A 13-14)</i>	<i>ph=s n h3t (n) n3 w^cb.w n n3 irpy.w (n) Kmy (A 32)</i>
Canopus	δεδοχθαι τοις κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερεῦσιν (Tanis 20-21)	<i>rdi.t m-ib=sn in w^cb.w n T3- mrt (Tanis 11)</i>	<i>ph=s n h3t (n) n3 w^cb.w nty (n) Kmy (Tanis 21)</i>
Raphia	δεδοχθαι [τοις κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερεῦ]σιν (Raph. 28-30)		<i>ph=s h3t n n3 w^cb.w n n3 ir[py.w] (n) Kmy (Raph. 30-31)</i>
Memphis	ἔδοξεν τοις ἱερέσιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερῶν πάντων (R 38)	<i>ḳ=s n ib n w^cb.w n itr.ty šm^c.t mh.t (R 5)</i>	<i>ph=s n h3t (n) n3 w^cb.w (n) n3 irpy.w (n) Kmy dr=w (R 21)</i>
Memphis	It was resolved by the priests of all the temples in the land...	It entered the hearts of the priests of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt...	It has seemed fitting to the priests of the temples of all Egypt...

⁶²⁶ Vierros 2012, 229 and Rémondon 1964.

and the impact of their environment may have transferred to the rhetoric and style, which was employed in the texts.

It should be noted, that the bulk of these observations hold true primarily for the Greek and Hieroglyphic texts. With regards to the Demotic text, I believe that the situation was not the same, as the symbolic value assigned to that language, particularly in the earlier Ptolemaic Period, was not the same. Instead, some of the changes found in the Hieroglyphs are also found in the Demotic, and it is used, as elsewhere, in contrast to the Hieroglyphic text. It is therefore worth considering the place of these languages and what variations we can see across them.

7.4. Hieroglyphs' Loss of Authority

I began this dissertation by illustrating how intralingual translation was part of a traditional process of interpretation that had existed since at least the Middle Kingdom. The word that was used to define that process was *wḥꜥ* 'to unravel, loosen' (see Chapter 3). These practices were carried out on Hieratic texts, intralingual translations, and in the Ptolemaic Period, on Demotic texts.⁶²⁷ When the word *wḥꜥ* is adopted in Demotic, it is used to introduce a gloss in a manner similar to the marked glosses in p. Carlsberg 1 and 1a (see Chapter 5.2.2).⁶²⁸ However, in the Memphis decree a different word is used in Demotic to translate Middle Egyptian *wḥꜥ*, namely *wḥm*. This word has the historical meaning of 'to repeat, transmit.'⁶²⁹ This meaning of *wḥm* persists in the word's use in Demotic, but there are examples where it clearly appears in the

⁶²⁷ A later example of interpretive additions are in the Demotic version of *The Myth of Horus and Seth*, which if we accept the dating to the reign of Ptolemy VI, was written in 150 BCE (Gaudard 2005, 23-28). This text belongs to the tradition of interpreting dramatic texts that is discussed by Jan Assmann (1995).

⁶²⁸ Demotic *wḥꜥ*, *DG 77* and *CDD (w)*: 13-15. See also *PL 250-251*. The word in Demotic is also associated with the interpretation of oracles, which points to the continuity in meaning from the Middle Egyptian word (Ray 1976, 187).

⁶²⁹ *Wb. I*, 340-343. The title *wḥm.w* refers to a herald or a transmitter of words (*Wb. I*, 344).

context of translation.⁶³⁰ However, on the Rosetta Stela *wḥꜥ* is substituted by *wḥm* (see Example 7.2).⁶³¹ The translation of the Middle Egyptian is thus even extended to the terms for translation itself, and *wḥm* is associated with the interpretation (*wḥꜥ*) of Egyptian languages.

The passage where this word appears belongs to the motion of the decree, when the decisions from the priestly synod are listed so that they might be carried out throughout the country. The text outlines how a named statue of Ptolemy should be set up.

Example 7.2 – Memphis Decree, Rosetta Stela

Line	Text
Hieroglyphs 6	<i>k3.tw rn=f (Ptwlmys) nd n B3k.t</i> which one should call (the statue), ‘Ptolemy who has saved Egypt,’ <i>wḥꜥ=f pw (Ptwlmys) nḥt Kmt</i> its interpretation is ‘Ptolemy who has preserved Egypt,’
Demotic 23	<i>mtw=w dd n=f (Ptlwmj3s) nd Bky</i> which (the statue) should be called, ‘Ptolemy who has saved Egypt,’ <i>nty-iw p3y=f wḥm (Ptlwmj3s) i.ir nḥt.t Kmy</i> the meaning of which is ‘Ptolemy who has preserved Egypt,’
Greek 39	ἡ προσονομασθήσεται Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπαμύναντος τῆι Αἰγύπτωι, (the statue) which shall be called that of ‘Ptolemy, the defender of Egypt’

The ‘interpretation’ provides two alternative words. The first is for *B3k.t/Bky* ‘the Shining Land,’ which is translated as *Kmt/Kmy* ‘the Black Land,’ which is easily the more common, contemporary word for Egypt. The second replaces the word *nd* again with a more common word *nḥt*.⁶³² The older word *nd* is part of traditional epithets of the king and is associated with

⁶³⁰ Demotic *wḥm*, *DG* 97 and *CDD* (*w*): 141-144.

⁶³¹ Schott 1954, 154-155. Daumas provides a theoretical Greek translation [σημαίνοντα] ‘which signifies’ (*LSJ* 1592-1593), which does not appear on the stela (1952, 238).

⁶³² *nd*: *Wb.* II, 374, *CDD* (*n*): 157, and *DG* 235. *nḥt*: *Wb.* II, 314, *CDD* (*n*): 115-117, and *DG* 226. In the Raphia Decree, where the Hieroglyphs read, *nd.ty n ḥnmm.t* “for the protection of the people,” the Demotic version reads, *r di.t nḥt.t n n3 rmt.w* “in order to give protection to the people,” and the Greek ἀνθρώπων δὲ σωτήρος “for saving the people” (Hieroglyphs line 1, Demotic line 2, Greek line 2). Earlier in the Memphis Decree, the same words appear to describe the actions of the king when he is in the role of Horus defending Osiris: in the Hieroglyphs, *ind it=f* “who protects his father,” in Demotic, *i.ir nḥt.t p3y=f it.t wsir* “who protections his father, Osiris,” and ὁ ἐπαμύνας τῶι πατρὶ αὐτοῦ] Ὀσίρει “who defends his father, Osiris” (Hieroglyphs line 10, Demotic line 6, Greek lines 49-50). For further discussion of this translation, see Daumas 1952, 191-192.

the protective actions of the pharaoh. In this instance, the use of an interpretive comment in the Hieroglyphs is out of place. We would assume that if the reader could follow the Hieroglyphic text, he had to know the meaning of *nd*, which is used, unglossed, elsewhere in the same decree.⁶³³ Thus I would argue that the interpretation here is for purely communicative reasons. Furthermore, the fact that there is no attempt at “interpretation” in the Greek also points to the linguistic function for this added comment.⁶³⁴

Due to the changing demographics that I outlined above, the two linguistic phenomena—societal bilingualism and diglossia—appeared side-by-side in Egypt, where Greek was increasingly a native language for many of the country’s inhabitants and entered into almost all aspects of Egyptian society.⁶³⁵ As the language of the Ptolemaic rulers, Greek was used by the governing elite to administer the country at all levels of government. This new influence meant that so long as the Ptolemies controlled Egypt, societal bilingualism would be a balance of Greek as the H variety language in administrative and political contexts, and any form of Egyptian as the L variety language.

A conflict thus developed between different options for the high level prestige register of language in Egypt: Greek versus Middle Egyptian (Hieroglyphs and Hieratic). Greek was quickly cemented as the dominant language of the Hellenistic monarchs and their courtiers, only to be reinforced by later Roman rulers. The Egyptian H persisted in the extensive temple

⁶³³ See for example the Hieroglyphs on the Rosetta Stela, line 4.

⁶³⁴ It does not appear that the Greek participle, ἐπαμύναντος ‘the one who defends,’ influenced the translation, as the verb ἐπαμύνω is used both in reference to defending a physical place (e.g. a wall, city, country, etc.) or a particular person in Greek literature. ἐπαμύνω, come to aid, succour. **2.** apologetic arguments to prove that... **3.** ward off (LSJ 606).

⁶³⁵ Religious writing remained most strongly outside the influence of Greek, even as medicine, astronomy, and other scientific areas, which were part of religious practice in Egypt, were clearly influenced by the influx of Greek work. For an example of Greek-Egyptian religious writings from the Roman Period, see the Hymns of Isidorus at Medinet Madi (Moyer 2010). See also Bagnall 1993, 263 and Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 268.

building and decoration program under the Ptolemies as well as in the trilingual decrees. I would argue that the priests were aware of and propped up the symbolic power that lay in the extremely visual aspect of Hieroglyphs. The power of the traditional language lay in its associations and, by this point, in its exclusivity. As the language connected with the cultural and religious traditions of the temples, engraved on private statues of important individuals, and used to honor the pharaoh, even those who could not read the texts would have recognized the authoritative value of the script.

This point is amply demonstrated by the stela of C. Cornelius Gallus, which was written in Hieroglyphs, Greek, and Latin. It has already been shown that the stylistic depiction of Gallus on horseback in the lunette as well as the appropriation of the trilingual form mimicked the practices of the Ptolemaic decrees.⁶³⁶ He did not assume a royal titulary, but his self-presentation went too far and he was the head of one of the most powerful provinces in the Roman Empire. Moreover, he included an Egyptian text, which painted him into the traditional guise of the conquering pharaohs of the past.⁶³⁷ The fact that the Hieroglyphic text was not even a translation of the Greek and Latin, but was added and again placed in the prominent position directly below the illustration also points to an interest in adopting the authority that the traditional Egyptian language offered. The backlash against Gallus and his subsequent suicide could therefore not have gone unnoticed by the Egyptian elite and priests of Egypt. No further attempts were made to politicize the use of hieroglyphs at the same level or to create a multilingual monument for

⁶³⁶ See Minas-Nerpal and Pfeiffer 2010 and Manning 2010, 97.

⁶³⁷ Minas-Nerpal and Pfeiffer contend that “in the Hieroglyphic text Gallus is praised with royal epithets, but this might be excused since the Egyptians priests did not know how to deal with a prefect and his status” (2010, 292). However, I would argue that it was knowingly done. While individual titles such as ‘prefect’ might have posed more difficulty, the priests had adapted to the Ptolemaic administration and could have done the same for the Roman general.

any king within Egypt. That, however, did not stop Augustus from manipulating language for his own ends, as aptly demonstrated by the bilingual *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.⁶³⁸

The traditional connotations of Hieroglyphs helped to prolong its existence on public monuments and in temple scriptoria, as shown by the last dated Hieroglyphic inscription in 394 CE and the last Demotic dated to 452 CE both from the temple of Philae at the southern border of Egypt.⁶³⁹ However, in the mid-2nd century CE the Greek script appears in the record as part of a process of experimenting with the Egyptian language.⁶⁴⁰ Toward the end of the Roman Period, the Greek script was adopted to write out Egyptian, and Coptic was widely adopted. The language was produced by transcribing Egyptian into Greek letters and so could accommodate a high number of Greek loanwords. Although this feature emerged from the long-standing contact between Greek and Egyptian, it is largely absent from earlier Demotic,⁶⁴¹ which instead occasionally borrowed Greek words and transcribed them into traditional Egyptian texts, as in a medical document with Greek plant and mineral names written in Demotic script from the Fayum.⁶⁴² Apart from being a simpler, and for many, more familiar script, the diminished knowledge of *Égyptien de tradition* and its associated writing systems meant that the older language was gradually abandoned. The end of traditional Egyptian religion and widespread conversion to Christianity proved fatal to H register Egyptian, as it had been replaced by either Demotic (e.g. funerary texts, monuments, ritual texts, etc.) or Greek (e.g. some temple inscriptions, royal monuments, etc.) in many functions. Without further use for Middle Egyptian

⁶³⁸ See Cooley 2009 and Larson 2011.

⁶³⁹ Lewis 1993, Tovar 2010, 27.

⁶⁴⁰ E.g. Betz 1986, Gallo 1997, Dieleman 2005, Menchetti 2005, 2008.

⁶⁴¹ Clarysse 1987.

⁶⁴² E.g. Reymond 1976, Devauchelle and Pezin 1978.

and with the loss of prestige it held at least until the end of the Ptolemaic Period, there was nothing to promote its use among Egyptians or Greeks when the temples eventually closed.

7.5. Conclusion

The Rhind papyri and other later funerary papyri were produced after several centuries of experimentation with scripts and languages that involved blending different registers and generally crossing many of the boundaries of functional language use that had once existed. The spread of societal bilingualism into the Egyptian sociolinguistic landscape no doubt played a part in encouraging the experimentation in all levels of language, and led to the use of both Demotic and *Égyptien de tradition* in areas that had previously been restricted to the latter.

It is out of this period of innovation that the Rhind papyri emerge. The use of the Hieratic, and its placement at the top of the manuscript—similar to the prominent placement of the Hieroglyphs on the decrees—demonstrates the ritual authority that that language provided. The Rhind texts must be distinguished from other instances of intralingual translation, such as the earlier p. BM 10252 or the later p. Carlsberg 1, as they used the translation for the purpose of communication without the interpretive aspect. Where the ritual texts provide translation as part of a process of textual interpretation, the Rhind papyri and the trilingual decrees are about creating authority in a text. While with the Rhind texts, that authority derives from its imitation to the ritual texts, and they no doubt hoped to exploit some of the value of earlier textual commentaries. In both cases, the individuals involved in commissioning these texts—the king and priests, and Monthesuphis and Tanuat—all use traditional Egyptian culture to promote an identity with historical authority despite the changes taking place in society.

For the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees, the need for authority was politically motivated, and the different languages were used to reference different levels of society. On the one hand, the

Greek and Hieroglyphic versions presented the authority of the Ptolemaic rulers and their place in the traditional Egyptian hierarchy. On the other hand, the Demotic provided a new means of communicating with a broader audience. The fact that Demotic was included alludes to the fact that these decrees were not dictated by the king, but represented the published result of complex negotiations between the Pharaoh and the priests. This relationship was dissolved and Hieroglyphs lost its political authority with the institution of Roman rule.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have drawn together and analyzed the evidence for intralingual translation in Egypt in order to demonstrate the social prestige of this practice both within the closed structures of scribal culture and broader society. I have highlighted both the longevity of the techniques that scribes used to reflect on complex theological concepts in ancient texts and the innovation that took place, as those techniques were adapted to changes in the Egyptian language.

The Egyptians traditionally had two notions of translation. *wḥꜥ* ‘to interpret, loosen’ was embedded within the intellectual practice of explaining information through commentary and analysis. This dissertation is about translation as *wḥꜥ* and about how translation acquired additional functions over time. I have demonstrated that textual interpretation (*wḥꜥ*) was respected as a social skill that literate, elite individuals could possess. The social value of interpretation lay in an individual’s problem-solving, intellectual abilities, as demonstrated by the appearance of *wḥꜥ* in biographies of the Middle Kingdom and hymns to Thoth in the New Kingdom.

The practice of creating textual commentary (*wḥꜥ*), which originated before the Middle Kingdom, persisted until the compositions of traditional Egyptian culture were made obsolete by the abandonment of Egyptian religion in favor of Christianity. I have shown that the tradition of interpreting texts can be traced to the First Intermediate Period or earlier through the annotated copies of *Coffin Text 335*. The continuous enhancement of the commentary first associated with *Coffin Text 335* and its progressive standardization in *Book of the Dead 17* provide evidence for the social significance of this intellectual work. Scribes equipped readers with specific details

and crafted explanations for theological concepts that were vague, complex, or out of date. Furthermore, there was a conscious effort to accumulate textual variants and original readings, which spread beyond the unique *CT 335/BD 17* to other texts and genres. To reasonably judge whether these annotations constituted meta-textual commentary, I have found the theoretical framework of Jan Assmann to be useful. It has been shown that the additions to *CT 335/BD 17* can justifiably be referred to as commentary, and I have shown how that commentary is layered onto the original text over time.

In the New Kingdom, the Egyptian language underwent a significant change from the everyday use of Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian. This linguistic shift propelled the use of intralingual translation to aid in understanding—and interpreting—texts. By means of a linguistic analysis of the interpretive techniques used in the *Ritual for Repelling the Evil One* and the *Book of Nut*, I have proven that these texts represent a new stage in the process of textual transmission seen in *CT 335/BD 17*. The earlier methods for interpreting a text were retained within the translation. I have shown that the function of the translation was not to replace the source text, but to fulfill the requirements of a meta-textual commentary. The translation expanded and explained the original ritual texts and was thus inherently linked to them. This intellectual work was respected, and copies of commentary, such as those of p. Carlsberg 1 and 1a, prove that these texts had long-term use for the scribes working in temple libraries. Throughout Egyptian history, the worthy pursuit of textual analysis involved wrestling with complicated concepts and, most importantly, unraveling the traditional Egyptian language.

In my work, I began by discussing the debt of historical translation studies to scholars of the Septuagint. I remain convinced that there is much to be gained from their observations on the social function of the translation of the Hebrew Bible and its accompanying commentary. Just as

Tessa Rajak has revealed the central role of translation in the survival of Jewish culture among Hellenized Jews, I have found that the place of Egyptian translation during the Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods was similarly fundamental. The function of translation in the Rhind papyri, for instance, was to produce an understandable piece of work in Demotic, but it required the authority of a traditional Hieratic version to be considered an efficacious ritual text. At the roots of this authority were the persistent commenting and translating activities that had taken place within temple scriptoria for more than 2000 years. I have identified this phenomenon as ‘pseudo-historical’ translation, for the act of translation is a façade designed to present the fiction of a history that did not exist. The owners of the Rhind papyri were more interested in the cultural-religious authority that intralingual translation supplied, than in the interpretive function translation previously held.

I further contend that when the linguistic situation in Egypt underwent its second major shift to widespread societal bilingualism in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, intralingual translation became a way for public documents to gain cultural-political authority. The translation choices made on the Ptolemaic trilingual decrees were in many ways the same as in the Rhind papyri. However, the function of the Hieroglyphic version was also to suggest an unbroken link with the pharaonic past to serve the political ambitions of the Ptolemies and to legitimize their place within Egyptian culture. As such the Demotic and especially the Greek texts were frequently placed less prominently on the stela in favor of the archaic Middle Egyptian version. Each language version reflected its social influence. On the one hand, a comparison of the Hieroglyphic versions of the decrees over time with the Greek and Demotic showed greater variation in vocabulary and translations of Greek idiom. On the other hand, an analysis of the Canopus Decree revealed that while the Hieroglyphs and Greek were carved

almost identically, the Demotic varied orthographically and in some cases syntactically between the multiple copies of the decree. This distinction points to the practical function of the Demotic version in contrast with the political-cultural authority attributed to the Greek and Hieroglyphs. Thus the three language versions embody both the diglossia and societal bilingualism that existed in Egypt at the time.

However, I have shown that this need to validate a text through intralingual translation was short lived. Although the Egyptian practice of interpreting (*wḥ*) lasted into the Roman Period, communicating (*wḥm*) in language that was understandable became more important. The completely translated funerary papyrus of Pamonthes represents the culmination of intralingual translation practices in Egypt. I have shown that this text could stand on its own without referring to an original because the Demotic version now also held religious authority. The social requirement for deriving authority from translated Hieratic–Demotic texts no longer existed, because Hieroglyphs, Hieratic, and Middle Egyptian lost much of their high-register status. In the Roman Period, the changes to the political administration of Egypt and the eroding of priestly power meant that public displays of Hieroglyphs decreased, and individuals continued to lose touch with the traditional Egyptian language. Nevertheless, temple libraries continued to function and expand. Despite the fact that the individuals who continued to interpret sacred compositions by means of translation remained anonymous, their contributions were valued and integrated into a scheme of Egyptian textual transmission.

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