## Takelothis II Papyrus 3048 in the Berlin Museum "A Palaeographical Comparative Study with Contemporary Texts"

بردية تاكلوت الثانى بمتحف برلين رقم 3048 "دراسة خطية مقارنة"

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#### **Abstract**

The project studies the administrative texts on the verso of P. Berlin 3048 – dating to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (998/997 – 730 BC) – written in both Late Hieratic and Abnormal Hieratic, interspersed with some drawings representing a jackal and human heads. The document consists of seven sheets, numbered A-G, sometimes with horizontal lines dividing the text into columns. Possibly, the document is a part of the archive of *Dd Mnt iw.f cnh*, from somewhere in Karnak.

Although P. Berlin 3048 has been studied by many scholars, an explanation for the mixture of the aforementioned two different scripts was not given - the figures of jackals and humans remains equally enigmatic.

The aim of the PhD project is to explain why there are two different scripts present on the same papyrus, and try to understand the reason of the different topics discussed on the same sheet. An important part of the research includes comparisons with other contemporary texts. These include P. Reinhardt, P. Wilbour, P.BM EA 10800, P. Prachov and P. Brooklyn 47.218.3. In addition, classification for Abnormal Hieratic texts with contemporary Early Demotic texts in Upper Egypt will be made, based on a list compiled by El Aguizy among which JE P. 30657, JE P. 50151 and P. Tsenhor) with the intention to study the abbreviated procedures of the development of the script from Abnormal Hieratic to Early Demotic (Upper Egypt).

Keywords: Normal Hieratic, Abnormal Hieratic, Demotic, Takelothis II, Palaeography

#### الملخص

يتضمن هذا البحث دراسة النصوص الإدارية بظهر بردية برلين رقم 3048- تؤرخ بعصر الأسرة الثانية عشر ( – 998/997 ق.م.) - و التي تتضمن نصوص إدارية مكتوبة بخطين مختلفين؛ هما الخط الهيراطيقي المتأخر والخط الهيراطيقي الغير مألوف، يتخللها وجود بعض الرسومات التي تمثل هيئة ابن آووي، و رؤوس آدمية. تنقسم ظهر البردية إلى سبع ورقات مرقمة من G - A محفوظة بمتحف برلين، ذو خطوط أفقية مقسمة إلى أعمدة. إن هذة البردية قد تشكل جزءا من أرشيف لـ "جد-منت إو إف-عنخ"، في مكان ما في الكرنك. بالرغم من دراسة تلك الردية من قِبل بعض الدارسين؛ إلا أنه لم يتم تفسير تداخل كلا الخطين المذكور أعلاه و كذلك الرسومات التي تُمثل هيئة ابن آووي و الرؤوس الأدمية.

إن الهدف من هذا المشروع هو محاولة شرح اختيار الكاتب تلك الخطين المختلفين – الهيراطيقي المتأخر والهيراطيقي الغير مألوف - في نفس البردية، و محاولة شرح وجود المواضيع المختلفة على نفس ذات البردية. كذلك عمل مقارنة لنص المكتوب

في هذه البردية سواء الخط الهيراطيقي الغير مألوف أو الخط الهيراطيقي المتأخر مع النصوص المعاصرة الأخرى مثل: P. Prachov P.BM EA 10800 ، P. Reinhardt ، Wilbour بالإضافة إلى ذلك؛ عمل المصوص ذو الخط الهيراطيقي الغير مألوف و مقارنتها مع نصوص الخط الديموطيقي المُبكر لمصر العليا مثل: JE P. 50151 ، P. 30657 و لك لدراسة كيفية تطور العلامات من الخط الهيراطيقي الغير مألوف إلى الخط الديموطيقي المبكر، و عما اذا كانت اختلفت تماما أم اشتقت من الخط السابق لها.

الكلمات الدالة: الخط الهير اطيقي – الخط الهير اطيقي الغير مألوف – الخط الديموطيقي – تاكلوت الثاني – علم الخطوط (الباليوجرافي)

#### 1-Introduction:

King Takelothis II, after whom this papyrus is named and dated, is the 6<sup>th</sup> king of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (ca. 850-825 BC) according to the traditional historiography <sup>(1)</sup>, although some Egyptologists recently argued that he is the 1<sup>st</sup> king of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty <sup>(2)</sup>. His royal name is: hd-hpr-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup> s3 Ist ntr-hk3-W3st, and his name is: Mry Imn s3 Ist T3klt. <sup>(3)</sup>

The division of the state of Egypt during the Libyan era, lead to the development of the writing scripts into two types: Demotic in the north and Abnormal Hieratic in the south. This lasted up till the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. <sup>(4)</sup>

Malinine <sup>(5)</sup> defines Abnormal Hieratic as the final stage of development of ancient Egyptian, which was used since the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty up till the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the south of Egypt, while Archaic Demotic started to be used since the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty up to the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the south of Egypt. By the end of 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Abnormal Hieratic disappeared and Demotic became predominant. <sup>(6)</sup> Malinine divides the Abnormal Hieratic script into two eras: Those dated to the 24<sup>th</sup> Dynasty include administrative documents, tax contracts and name lists (such as P. Berlin 10459, 3063 and P. Vienna

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>- Jansen – Winkeln, k., *Inschriften der Spätzeit: Teil II ,Die 22-24 Dynastie*, Wiesbaden 2007, xxxv ff; Von Beckerath, J., "The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII-XXIII)", in: *JARCE* 5, 1966, 43-55; Thijs, AD., "The Lunar Eclipse of Takelot II and the Chronology of the Libyan Period", in: *ZÄS* 137, 2010, 172

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>- Carmen Pérez Die, M., "The Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Herakleopolis Magna", in: *EU* 23: Leiden 2009, pp.1-28; Thijs, AD., "The Lunar Eclipse of Takelot II and the Chronology of the Libyan Period", 171-190

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>- Von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der Agyptischen Konigsnamen, Munchn 1999, 192-193

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>- Tylor, T.H., "Coffins As Evidence for a 'North-South Divide' in the  $22^{nd} - 25^{th}$  Dynasty", in:  $EU\ 23$ , 375

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>- Malinine, M., Choix de Textes Juridiaues en Hiératiques Anormal, 1ere Partie, Paris 1953, vii <sup>6</sup>- El Aguizy, O., A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign King Taharka to the End of Ptolemaic (684-30 B.C.), 2

12011, 12013), and those dated to the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty till 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty which include legal texts and letters (e.g. P. Louvre E 3228).<sup>(7)</sup> Thebes (modern-day Luxor) is the only source for Abnormal Hieratic scripts - no texts, be it on papyri or another medium, are found elsewhere. <sup>(8)</sup>

#### Why Studying P. Berlin 3048?

The aim of the study is to explain why two different scripts were used on the same sheet, to investigate if they were written in the same period, to understand the reason for the different topics and to elucidate on the figures, which are usually not included in such texts. The main methodology consists of comparisons with other contemporary texts in one of the same scripts as found on P 3048. These include P. Reinhardt, P. Wilbour, P.BM EA 10800, P. Prachov and P. Brooklyn 47.218.3. Also, a classification for Abnormal Hieratic texts with contemporary Early Demotic texts in Upper Egypt will be made, based on a list compiled by El Aguizy, <sup>(9)</sup> among which JE P. 30657, JE P. 50151 and P. Tsenhor with the intention to study the abbreviated procedures of the development of the script from abnormal hieratic to early demotic (Upper Egypt), focusing on the main features and differences between both scripts. Though the content of the papyrus has been published by several scholars (Möller <sup>(10)</sup>, Wolf <sup>(11)</sup>, Donker Van Heel, <sup>(12)</sup> and Verhoeven <sup>(13)</sup>), no satisfying explanation was given for the two different scripts, nor for the figures. The palaeography of this text has not been dealt with before, which might give insight in the aforementioned challenges. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>-Malinine, M., "L'Hiératique Anormal", in: *Textes et Langages de l'Égypte Pharaonique, Cent Cinquante Années de Recherches 1822-1972, BdE 64*, 1972, 32

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>- El Aguizy, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri*, 219; Depauw, M., *A Comparison to Demotic Studies*, Bruxelles 1997, 22f

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>- El Aguizy, O., A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign King Taharka to the End of Ptolemaic (684-30 B.C.), MIFAO 113, Cairo 1998, pp. 227-228

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>- Möller, G., "Zwei\_Ägyptische\_Eheverträge\_aus Vorsaïtischer Zeit", in: Abhandlungen (Der Preussischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1918-1921, 3-31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>- Von Walther, W., "Der Berlin Ptah – Hymnus (P. 3048, II-XII)", in: ZÄS 64, 1929, 17-43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>- Donker Van Heel, K., "The Scribbling-Pad of Djemontefankh Son of Aafenmut, Priest of Amonrasonter and Overseer of the King's Treasury (P. Berlin 3048 Verso)", 139-147

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>- Verhoeven, U., *Untersuchungen zur Späthieratischen Buchschrift*, in: *OLA* 99, Leuven 2001, 6ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>- I am grateful to Prof. Vittmann, who kindly allowed me to use his unpublished study for my palaeographical study of the different scripts.

#### 2- Kinds of texts on P. Berlin 3048 verso

The texts on the verso of the seven sheets of the papyrus labeled A-G consists of horizontal lines divided into columns. Sometimes the text is written vice-versa i.e. upwards rather than downwards. It measures  $25.5 \times 355$  cm. Donker van Heel's classification of the texts was done according to numbers 1.2.3. My classification was done according to fragments A.B.C, and topics of each text which we have on the verso. This latter classification will be highlighted in the following table: The fragments (A - G) in the following schedule:

No. of Fragment	Contents			
Fragment A	Marriage contract [texts 36&37]			
Fragment B	Divided in four parts (from right to left):			
	1- Sale of house [right part, text 35]			
	2- Fragmentary texts [middle part vice versa]:			
	(a) Signature of <u>D</u> d-Mn <u>t</u> -iw.f- <sup>c</sup> n <u>h</u> [text 34]			
	(b) Column of numbers [text 33]			
	(c) Date [text 31]			
	(d) Figures of jackal (looks the same on the recto),			
	drawing of human head [text 31]			
	(e) Note ends with name [] S.f-n-Mwt [text 30]			
	3- Column of names and titles [text 32]			
	4- Account mentioned bty and hd [text 29]			
Fragment C	This fragment may prove that this papyrus is palimpsest			
	There are traces of jackal and erased texts. It is divided into			
	three columns:			
	1- Note about building and several dates [text 24]			
	2- Note about a carpenter <i>Wn-nfr</i> and several dates			
	[text 25]			
	3- Date year 16 and beginning of contract (?) [text 27]			
Fragment D	This fragment also shows some traces of the original text.			
	There are three columns of texts:			
	1- Heading and names [text 21]			
	2- Names, the rest is obscure [text 22 & 23]			
	3- Four lines of dates (?) and traces of the original text			

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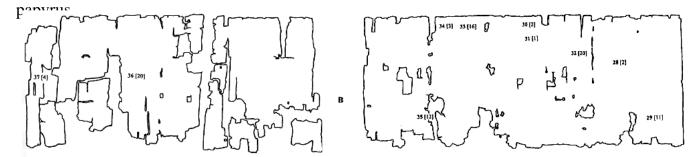
 $<sup>^{15}\</sup>text{-}\,$  Donker Van Heel, K., "The Scribbling-Pad of Djemontefankh", 144-145

	[not mentioned by Donker van Heel]				
Fragment E	Divided into three parts [right to left]:				
	First part:				
	(a) Two incomplete lines ends with:t3y.k [those				
	lines have not been noted by Donker van Heel]				
	(b) Note mention <i>Ḥr-s3-Ist</i> [text 16]				
	(c) Traces of jackal figures while others are very clear				
	(d) Below jackal figures: date and beginning of contract				
	(?) [ text 15]				
	Middle part: list of names started by hm-ntr n Imn-R <sup>c</sup> nsw				
	ntrw imy-r pr-ḥd pr-3 Dd-Mnt-iw.f-nh s3 3.f-n-Mwt [text				
	17]				
	Left part:				
	(a) Faded line (?) [text 18]				
	(b) Date and beginning of contract [text 19]				
	(c) Numbers in two columns (?), then two lines				
	starting with dd.t n hm-ntr [text 20]				
Fragment F	Various texts, respectively [right to left]:				
	(a) Three lines mentioning <i>Ḥr-s3-Ist</i> [text 6], with traces of jackal below it.				
	(b) Three columns of different numbers (?) [text 7]				
	(c) Beneath; five lines of list headed by 'h', names i.e.				
	Wn-nfr and P3-di-Mwt and a figure of human head [text 8].				
	(d) At the top; faded line and traces of what might be				
	the original text (?) [text 9]				
	(e) Two lines: Hymn to Rahorakhty [text 13]				
	(f) Bottommost; note mentioning name <i>Ḥr-s3-Tst</i> and others [text 10]				
	(g) Line with the name of <i>Ḥr-s3-Ist s3 Bs-Mwt</i> , with a				
	figure of jackal [text 11]				
	(h) Line mentioning: hm-ntr n Imn-R <sup>c</sup> -nsw-ntrw ending with				
	traces and drawings of jackal [text 12]				
Fragment G	Various texts, respectively [right to left]:				
	(a) Incomplete line: beginning of hymn to				
	Rahor[akhty] (The same handwriting as in fragment F)				

[text 1]

- (b) Below, two incomplete columns showing numbers (?) and traces of drawings (may be the figure of Horus) with other unclear drawings [text 2]
- (c) Above the figure of Horus, there is incomplete line mentioning the name: *Dd-Imn-iw.f-*<sup>c</sup>*nh* [text 3]
- (d) Nine incomplete lines representing list of names (?), followed by traces of jackal drawing [text 4].
- (e) Promissory note (loan) as published by Möller (SPAW 15) [text 5]

Partial texts of this papyrus have been studied and published by Jansen-Winkeln, (16) Donker van Heel, (17) Möller, (18) Kaplony-Heckel (19) and Sauneron. (20) That helped the scholar to identify and doing taxonomic comparisons for the whole palaeography of the



(Fig.1 Examples of the papyrus itself A&B)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>-Jansen-Winkeln, K., *Inschriften der Spätzeit, Teil II: Die 22.-24. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden 2007, 169, 170-171

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>-Donker Van Heel, K., "The Scribbling-Pad of Djemontefankh Son of Aafenmut, Priest of Amonrasonter and Overseer of the King's Treasury (P. Berlin 3048 Verso)", in: (ed.), Ryholt, K. *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies*, Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999 (CNI Publ 27), 2002, 139-147

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>- Möller, G., "Ein ägyptischer Schuldschein der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie", in: *SPAW*, 1921, 298-304

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>-Kaplony-Heckel, U., *Ägyptische Handschriften*, Teil 3, Wiesbaden ; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986, 27-28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>- Sauneron, S., "L'hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048", in: BIFAO 53, 1953, 65-90

### 3-Palaeographical comparisons:

The tables below show the palaeographical comparisons with Late Hieratic texts, Abnormal Hieratic  $[22^{nd} \text{ dynasty} + 26^{th} \text{ dynasty}]$ , and Early Demotic as to study the developments of the signs and understand how the signs are abbreviated from Late Hieratic to Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic.

**3.1- Papyrus Reinhardt** (known as P. 3063) is written by several scribes. Vleeming suggests that the dating of this papyrus could be determined through its palaeography. Malinine also observed that the handwriting of P. Br. Mus. (BM EA) 10730 resembles the writing of P. Reinhard, and therefore dates it to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. The provenance of this papyrus is the town *In-Mut*, probably related to fields in the same Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome, but it may have been found at Thebes. (21)

Hieroglyphic sign	P. Berlin 3048 vs (A) NH	P. Reinhardt (22)
	x+4 $x+5$ $x+8$ (F) Text 13 $x+1$	1,9,93

The comparison shows that the palaeography of the sign falcon of Horus on the standard in P. Berlin 3048 may looks the same as on P. Reinhardt, except that the scribe in P. Reinhardt wrote the part of the head with the vertical stroke in one movement from left to right.

Hieroglyphic sign	P. Berlin 3048 vs (A) NH	P. Reinhardt (23)	
₩ <u>d</u> 3	X+	1,2,20	

The palaeography of the sign wd3 is totally different: The sign was written upside down. It should have been written like that of P. Reinhardt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>- Vleeming, S.p., *Papyrus Reinhardt: An Egyptian Land List from the Tenth Century B.C.*, Berlin 1993, 4,8-9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>-Gasse, A., Données Nouvelles Administratives et Sacerdotales sur L'Organisation du Domaine d'Amon: XXe-XXIe, Le Caire 1988, pl. 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>- Gasse, A., Données Nouvelles Administratives, pl. III

**3.2- The Wilbour Papyrus** <sup>(24)</sup> was offered for sale in several pieces, but they were grouped together and acquired by Charles Edwin Wilbour fund for the Brooklyn Museum. Gardiner published them in 1941-1948. Although it dates to Ramesses V, scribes C-D wrote in cursive hieratic which is supposed to be the earlier stages of Abnormal Hieratic scripts, as suggested by Gasse and Parker <sup>(25)</sup> through the palaeographical parallels.

Hieroglyphic sign	P. Berlin 3048 vs (G) AH	P. Wilbour (Scribe C&D) (26)
	Line 4 Line 7 Line 11	٧٠٩٩٠٠٤ ٧٠٩٩٤١٥ ٧٠٩٩٤١٤ ٩٠٩٩١٤ حـمعوع خـمعورة

The palaeography of the sign of a sitting man is exactly the same in P. Wilbour scribe, C&D which suggests that the scribe of P. Berlin was a comencement of learning abnormal hieratic.

**3.3 BM EA 10800** <sup>(27)</sup> was obtained by the British Museum London in 1966. It provides interesting information about the sale of a set of Ushabtis to the son of a deceased. This papyrus is drafted as a legal document despite comprising a short petition of magical characteristics. Due to the date mentioned in this papyrus (which is Year 14, second month of inundation, eighth day [c. 1085-730 B.C.]), the dating of the papyrus is determined between the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and the end of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. Its palaeography refers to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty.

Hieroglyphic sign	P. Berlin 3048 vs (G) AH	BM EA 10800 <sup>28</sup>	
$\bigcirc$ $\uparrow$ $h3t$ -sp	Line 1 Line 4	Line 1	
Imn	Line 2	Line 2	
The word h3t-sp somewhat resembles that in BM EA 10800, except for the writing of the			

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>— ①</u>

24- Von Bomhard, A., *Paléographie du Papyrus Wilbour: L'écriture Hiératique Cursive dans les* 

Papyri Documentaires, Paris 1998, 6 ff., 20
<sup>25</sup>-Parker, R., A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum, Brown University,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>- Von Bomhard, A., *Paléographie du Papyrus Wilbour*, 25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>- Edward, I.E.S, "Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis", in: *JEA* 57, 1971, 120-122

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>- Edward, I.E.S, "Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis", pl. XXXII

sign : The scribe of P. Berlin 3048 wrote it in two movements (line 1), but the scribe of BM EA 10800 wrote it as a half circle in one movement with a dot from right to left. The word *Imn* differs but the calligraphic's idea of the sign looks the same. The scribe of P. Berlin 3048 selected the smallest part of the sign *I* and the sign *mn* to merge it with the stroke of the falcon in one movement. Otherwise, the scribe of BM EA 10800 select the smallest part of the sign *I* and merge it with the two horizontal strokes of the sign *mn* into two movements, then wrote down the stroke of the falcon. That suggests that BM EA probably represents the primary stage of the abnormal hieratic script.

**3.4 P. Prachov** <sup>(29)</sup> was published by Touraiev in 1927 and then studied by Gasse in 1988. The papyrus has long lists of cultivated lands that belong to Theban foundations. Moreover, it provides us with a particular aspect of the administrative economy of Amun's temple in Thebes, dated to the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

Hieroglyphic sign	P. Berlin 3048 vs (G) AH	P. Prachov (30)	
₫d	Line 2	(Gasse 1988: XII)	

The word  $\underline{dd}$  in P. Berlin 3048 is somewhat similar to the technique of P. Prachov, but it is not exactly identical. The scribe extent the stroke of the sign  $\square$  in P. Berlin.

**3.5 P. Brooklyn 47.218.3** <sup>31</sup> (also known at the Oracle Papyrus) was written in the reign of King Pesmatik I – 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty – by Amenemhet (prophet of Montu). He wrote an account, followed by 49 names of other prophets of Amun who recorded them in their own handwriting, as is common with witness lists. It is one of the largest papyrus rolls and fragments, which was collected by Charles Edwin Wilbour and is housed in the Brooklyn Museum. This papyrus is very important and essential to the present study. It has the same characteristics of P. Berlin, where it is observed that 17 priests wrote Normal Hieratic, 27 wrote Abnormal Hieratic, and six used a mixture between both scripts. <sup>(32)</sup> That is the same in P. Berlin 3048.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>-Gasse, A., Données Nouvelles Administratives et Sacerdotales sur L'Organisation du Domaine d'Amon: XXe-XXIe, 123, 174

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>- Gasse, A., Données Nouvelles Administratives, pl. XII

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>- Parker, R., A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum, Brown University, 1962, 1ff

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>- Parker, R., A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes, 14

Hieroglyphic sign	P. Berlin 3048 vs (A) NH	P. Brooklyn 47.218.3 33
A ☐ Imn	(NH) (AH) x+12	(NH) (AH) line 18

The word *Imn* in Normal Hieratic is written exactly the same as in P. Brooklyn despite of the different dates of the papyri. But as for the Abnormal Hieratic, the scribe of P. Berlin write the sign *mn* into two semicircular strokes which is different from how it is written in P. Brooklyn: here it is written in a half circular stroke ending with a dot in one movement.

	P. Berlin 3048 (G) AH	2	T: 0 (34)
<i>m-b3ḥ</i>	Line 7		Line 8 (34)
		-	

The word m-b3h is somewhat similar to the technique of the script of P. Brooklyn but it is not exactly identical. In P. Berlin, the scribe conjunct the sign m (its usual abbreviation) with the sign b3h into two movements, he took the most distinctive part of the sign in triangular shape with a long stroke, then represent the papyrus roll sign as usual abbreviated in normal hiertic. In P. Brooklyn, the scribe only wrote the sign m as semi circle, opened the triangle shape of the sign b3h with the long stroke, and then papyrus roll represented as small dote.

**3.6 P. Tsenhor** is one of the Theban papyri (556-487 BC) <sup>(35)</sup> of the records of the families of the Choachytes, which is compiled by Tsenhor. The archives of the Lady Tsenhor included 15 papyri which were purchased in Egypt by collectors and travellers, and were then acquired by five institutions: Museo Egizio Turin, Louvre Paris, National Library of France (BnF) Paris, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, and the British Museum London. <sup>(36)</sup>

Hieroglyphic	P. Berlin 3048	P. Berlin 3048	P. Brooklyn	P. Tsenhor
	A(NH) & (AH)	G (AH)	47.218.3	(Demotic)
	x+7 (NH) x+14 (AH)	Line 2	P1. 5	Pl. 4

The comparative studies between the various scripts shows the different hands. The word

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>- Parker, R., A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes, pls. 2&6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>- Parker, R., A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes, pl. 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> - Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor: A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt*, AUC Cairo New York 2014, 10-11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>-Pestmann, P.W., Les papyrus Démotiques des Tsenhor (P. Tesnhor); Les Archives Privée d'une Femme Égyptienne du Temps de Darius Ier, Leuven 1994, 3ff.

'nh in Demotic looks like how it is written in P. Berlin (NH) but not identical. That means that Demotic scripts sometimes keep the main features of the sign derive from Late Normal Hieratic.

#### 4. Conclusion:

Although P. Berlin 3048 has been studied by many scholars, they could not explain the reason for this mixture of two different scripts on the same sheet nor the presence of the Jackal and human figures. This new study, however, suggests that P. Berlin 3048 is a palimpsest, which means that a later text is superimposed on an earlier, original text. Thus, some of the Normal Hieratic texts related to the hymn are written on the recto as mentioned by Sauneron. (37) The Jackal and human figures relate to the hymn on the recto too, as they have the same style as the Jackals and Falcons written on the recto (see also P. 3056 and P. 3049). (38)

An example – one of P. Berlin fragments (fragment F) – clarifies my suggestion: Fragment (F) the original photo:



This fragment includes various texts (discussed above), composed of a clear mixture between Normal Hieratic and Abnormal Hieratic, combined with traces of Jackals and human figures. By separating the Abnormal Hieratic texts from the Normal Hieratic one, insight was obtained about the mentality of the scribe of P. 3048. The palaeography shows that the texts were written by different scribes — one wrote the original text with Normal Hieratic but a different scribe wrote the Abnormal Hieratic texts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>- Sauneron, S., "L'hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048", in: *BIFAO* 53, 1953, 65-66

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> - Hinrich, J.C., *Hieratische Papyrus aus des Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol.2, Leipzig 1905, 20-23,35,42



After removing Abnormal hieratic texts (Hieratic texts)

According to Verhoeven;  $^{(39)}$  Late Period papyri in hieratic books (Buchschrift) are characterized by religious texts, rituals, mythological treatises, and funerary writings. Those copied in the Pr – ankh "house of life" and kept in the temple as the "Oracle Papyrus", are written in both Normal and Abnormal Hieratic date to  $26^{th}$  Dynasty. This is exactly the same as in P. Berlin 3048 which holds hymns dated to Ramesses IX and were kept in the Karnak Temple. They were thrown away, and then reused for administrative purposes by scribes writing in Abnormal Hieratic for the archive of  $\underline{D}d$   $\underline{Mnt}$   $\underline{iw}$   $\underline{f}$   $\underline{$ 

Although there are texts written by Hr-s3-Tst in Normal Hieratic, there are other texts related to the handwriting of the recto as shown above. Furthermore, mixing between Late Hieratic and Abnormal Hieratic is logical as those scribes had started to learn writing in Abnormal Hieratic. Thus, it is logical to use both scripts.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>- Verhoeven, U., Untersuchungen zur Späthieratischen Buchschrift, 7ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>- Verhoeven, U., Untersuchungen zur Späthieratischen Buchschrift, 6-13

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