Abstract
The project studies the administrative texts on the verso of P. Berlin 3048 – dating to the 22nd 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 *nhkh, 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

ملخص
يتضمن هذا البحث دراسة النصوص الإدارية بظهر بردية برلين رقم 3048. تؤرخ بعصر الأسرة الثانية عشر (998/997 - 730 ق.م.) - و التي تتضمن نصوص إدارية مكتوبة بخطين مختلفين؛ عم النص الهيراطي المتاخر والخط الهيراطي الغير مألوف، يتبخلا وجود بعض الرسومات التي تتمثل هيئة ابن آوو، و رؤوس آدمية. تنقسم نص الورقة إلى سبع ورقات مرقمة A- G من محفوظة بمتحف برلين، ذو خطوط أفقية مقسمة إلى أعمدة. إن هذه الورقة قد تشكل جزءا من أرشيف ل- "جد-مست- إروف- عنح"، في مكان ما في الكرنك. بالرغم من دراسة تلك الورقة من قبل بعض الدارسين؛ إلا أنه لم يتم تفسير تداخل كلا الخطين المتكون أعلاه، وكذلك الرسومات التي تتمثل هيئة ابن آوو، و الرؤوس الآدمية.

إن الهدف من هذا المشروع هو محاولة شرح اختيار الكاتب تلك الخطين المختلفين - الهيراطي المتاخر والهيراطي الغير مألوف - في نفس الورقة، و محاولة شرح وجود المواضيع المختلفة على نفس ذات الورقة. كذلك عمل مقارنة لنص المكتوب
1-Introduction:

King Takelothis II, after whom this papyrus is named and dated, is the 6th king of the 22nd Dynasty (ca. 850-825 BC) according to the traditional historiography (1), although some Egyptologists recently argued that he is the 1st king of the 23rd Dynasty (2). His royal name is: ḫd-ḫpr- R sītm-n-R s3 1st ntr-hk3-W3st, and his name is: Mry İmn s3 İst T3kl.] (3)

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 7th century BC. (4)

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

3- Von Beckerath , J., Handbuch der Ägyptischen Konigsnamen, Munchn 1999, 192-193
4- Tylor, T.H., "Coffins As Evidence for a 'North-South Divide' in the 22nd – 25th Dynasty", in: EU 23, 375
5- Malinine, M., Choix de Textes Juridiaues en Hiératiques Anormal, 1ere Partie, Paris 1953, vii
6- 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

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Takelothis II Papyrus 3048 in the Berlin Museum
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12011, 12013), and those dated to the 25th Dynasty till 26th Dynasty which include legal texts and letters (e.g. P. Louvre E 3228).\(^7\) Thebes (modern-day Luxor) is the only source for Abnormal Hieratic scripts - no texts, be it on papyri or another medium, are found elsewhere. \(^8\)

### 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, \(^9\) 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 \(^10\), Wolf \(^11\), Donker Van Heel, \(^12\) and Verhoeven \(^13\)), 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. \(^14\)

\(^7\)-Malinine, M., "L'Hiératique Anormal", in: Textes et Langages de l'Égypte Pharaonique, Cent Cinquante Années de Recherches 1822-1972, BdE 64, 1972, 32
\(^8\)- El Aguizy, A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri, 219; Depauw, M., A Comparison to Demotic Studies, Bruxelles 1997, 22f
\(^9\)- 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
\(^10\)- Möller, G., "Zwei Ägyptische Eheverträge aus Vorsaïtischer Zeit", in: Abhandlungen (Der Preussischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1918-1921, 3-31
\(^11\)- Von Walther, W., "Der Berlin Ptah – Hymnus (P. 3048, II-XII)", in: ZÄS 64, 1929, 17-43
\(^12\)- 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
\(^14\)- 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 25.5x355 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.\(^\text{15}\) This latter classification will be highlighted in the following table: The fragments (A – G) in the following schedule:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Fragment</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fragment A</td>
<td>Marriage contract [texts 36&amp;37]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 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 $Dd-Mnt-\text{iw.f-snh}$ [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 [...] $f-n-Mwt$ [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 $Wn-nfr$ 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 |

\(^{15}\) Donker Van Heel, K., "The Scribbling-Pad of Djemontefankh", 144-145
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fragment</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **E** | Divided into three parts [right to left]:
(a) Two incomplete lines ends with: .....
(b) Note mention *Hr-s3-Ist* [text 16]
(c) Traces of jackal figures while others are very clear
(d) Below jackal figures: date and beginning of contract

Middle part: list of names started by *hm-ntr n Imn-R* nsw ntrw imy-r pr-hd pr-*c* Dd-Mnt-lw.f-*nh s3 *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

| **F** | Various texts, respectively [right to left]:
(a) Three lines mentioning *Hr-s3-Ist* [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 Raharakty [text 13]
(f) Bottommost; note mentioning name *Hr-s3-Ist* and others [text 10]
(g) Line with the name of *Hr-s3-Ist s3 Bs-Mwt*, with a figure of jackal [text 11]
(h) Line mentioning: *hm-ntr n Imn-R* nsw-ntrw ending with traces and drawings of jackal [text 12] |
| **G** | Various texts, respectively [right to left]:
(a) Incomplete line: beginning of hymn to Rahor[akhty] (The same handwriting as in fragment F) |
(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-$iw$-$f$-$\delta$-$n\eta$ [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, Donker van Heel, Möller, Kaplony-Heckel and Sauneron. That helped the scholar to identify and doing taxonomic comparisons for the whole palaeography of the papyrus.

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

18. Möller, G., "Ein ägyptischer Schuldscchein der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie", in: SPAW, 1921, 298-304
3-Palaeographical comparisons:

The tables below show the palaeographical comparisons with Late Hieratic texts, Abnormal Hieratic [22nd dynasty + 26th 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 22nd 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hieroglyphic sign</th>
<th>P. Berlin 3048 vs (A) NH</th>
<th>P. Reinhardt (22)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image 1" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image 2" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F) Text 13</td>
<td>x+4</td>
<td>x+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x+8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(F) Text 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x+1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hieroglyphic sign</th>
<th>P. Berlin 3048 vs (A) NH</th>
<th>P. Reinhardt (23)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image 3" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image 4" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palaeography of the sign $w\delta^3$ is totally different: The sign was written upside down. It should have been written like that of P. Reinhardt.

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23- Gasse, A., *Données Nouvelles Administratives*, pl. III
3.2- The Wilbour Papyrus \(^{(24)}\) 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 \(^{(25)}\) through the palaeographical parallels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hieroglyphic sign</th>
<th>P. Berlin 3048 vs (G) AH</th>
<th>P. Wilbour (Scribe C&amp;D) (^{(26)})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Line 4" /> <img src="image" alt="Line 7" /> <img src="image" alt="Line 11" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palaeography of the sign of a sitting man \(\text{HAt-sp}\) is exactly the same in P. Wilbour scribe, C&D which suggests that the scribe of P. Berlin was a commencement of learning abnormal hieratic.

3.3 BM EA 10800 \(^{(27)}\) 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 \([c. 1085-730 \text{ B.C.}]\)), the dating of the papyrus is determined between the 21\(^{\text{st}}\) Dynasty and the end of the 22\(^{\text{nd}}\) Dynasty. Its palaeography refers to the 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) half of 22\(^{\text{nd}}\) Dynasty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hieroglyphic sign</th>
<th>P. Berlin 3048 vs (G) AH</th>
<th>BM EA 10800 (^{(28)})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Line 1" /> <img src="image" alt="Line 4" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Line 2" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Hieroglyphic sign" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word \(\text{h3t-sp}\) somewhat resembles that in BM EA 10800, except for the writing of the \(\text{Imn}\).


\(^{25}\) Parker, R., *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum*, Brown University, 1962

\(^{26}\) Von Bomhard, A., *Paléographie du Papyrus Wilbour*, 25

\(^{27}\) Edward, I.E.S., “Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis”, in: *JEA 57*, 1971, 120-122

\(^{28}\) Edward, I.E.S., “Bill of Sale for a Set of Ushabtis”, pl. XXXII
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hieroglyphic sign</th>
<th>P. Berlin 3048 vs (G) AH</th>
<th>P. Prachov (30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="sign" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="sign" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="sign" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Line 2</td>
<td>(Gasse 1988: XII)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word ḫd 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 in P. Berlin.

3.4 P. Prachov (29) 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 21st Dynasty.

3.5 P. Brooklyn 47.218.3 31 (also known at the Oracle Papyrus) was written in the reign of King Pesmatik I – 26th 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. (32) That is the same in P. Berlin 3048.

29-Gasse, A., Données Nouvelles Administratives et Sacerdotales sur L’Organisation du Domaine d’Amon: XXe-XXIe, 123, 174
30-Gasse, A., Données Nouvelles Administratives, pl. XII
31-Parker, R., A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum, Brown University, 1962, 1ff
32-Parker, R., A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes, 14
The word *Imn* in Normal Hieratic is written exactly the same as in P. Brooklyn despite 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.

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 hieratic. 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 dot.

### 3.6 P. Tsenhor

is one of the Theban papyri (556-487 BC) 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.

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

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33. Parker, R., *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, pls. 2&6
34. Parker, R., *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, pl. 4
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.

After removing Abnormal hieratic texts (Hieratic texts)

According to Verhoeven; (39) Late Period papyri in hieratic books (Buchsschrift) 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 26th Dynasty. (40) 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 Ḫr-md Ṣḥ-Mn ḫ ḫ nb and his family dated to 22nd Dynasty.

Although there are texts written by Ḫr-sḥ-Iṣ 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.

Acknowledgments

My study was done under supervision of Prof. Ola El-Aguizy and Prof. Robert J. Demarée. I am grateful for all their support and advice. Further, I like to thank Dr. André J. Veldmeijer for his help in editing this text.

39- Verhoeven, U., Untersuchungen zur Spähieratischen Buchsschrift, 7ff.
40- Verhoeven, U., Untersuchungen zur Spähieratischen Buchsschrift, 6-13
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