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ARCHAEOLOGY OF DISCOURSE:  
THE SCRIBAL TRADITION IN THE ROMAN FAYYUM  
AND THE HOUSE OF LIFE AT DIME<sup>1</sup>

Keywords

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1. The House of Life in Dime: Obstacles on the Way to Understanding an Egyptian Institution

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### Abstract

A series of manuscripts dating to the Roman period are assumed to come from Dime although, in terms of palaeography, they are quite different from the ones that are securely and well provenanced as Dime-papyri. This superficial impression indicates that we are dealing with at least two or more places of origin for both groups. Before the work of the house of life at Dime can be assessed, the provenances of the papyri are to be scrutinized. To this end, the article is divided into five steps: After briefly highlighting the problem of the House of Life (1), an attempt follows to systematically dissect the excrescences of attributions (2) and, basically, to discuss the idea of a «second hand in Dime» now and then expressed implicitly or explicitly (3). To the discourses of the House of Life of the temple of Soknopaios as being fossilized in the surviving literary, religious and – by Ancient Egyptian standards – scientific texts I will turn briefly towards the end (4). It will be a mere overview rather than a detailed summary of all the texts.

### Keywords

Karanis, palaeography, Satabous, Serpot, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tebtynis

## 1. The House of Life in Dime: Obstacles on the Way to Understanding an Egyptian Institution.

The House of Life, in Ancient Egyptian *pr-ḥnh*, is an almost mythical institution due to the lack of archaeological evidence of any once existing houses of life, and due to the famous image of the Abydene House of Life in Papyrus Salt 825 and its description that identifies its parts with deities thus mythologizing the building, the equipment, the personnel and the entire institution<sup>2</sup>. The comparison with the depiction in the *Book of the Fayyum* in which the areas of knowledge and – with some likelihood – learning are mentioned with

<sup>2</sup> P. DERCHAIN, *Le Papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*, Bruxelles 1965, pp. 48-61. I use capital letters when referring to the House of Life as a concept, small letters when talking about its concrete manifestations, the shadows of their idea in a Platonic sense.



reference to the house of life in the temple of Ra-Sehui allows for some hypotheses concerning its structure in departments that might be comparable to the faculties of a modern university<sup>3</sup>. Still the exact way of functioning of the House of Life, its physical appearance and its organizational structure are largely unknown, but it may be supposed to be the institution of an ancient Egyptian temple in which the priests formed, transformed and transmitted the religious traditions of their country<sup>4</sup>. Consequently it must have been much more than just a place where books were stored. It was rather the place where scholars, *i.e.* priestly scribes, worked with the texts. In the *Book of Thoth*, to which I will return briefly in the fourth part, this may be expressed in a metaphor that could be taken as the Egyptian wording for the Latin root of «study», *studium* «zeal, eagerness, application, enthusiasm» – if the interpretation is correct: «I have completed the offering formula through pronouncing my name in the darkness, while I fought with the *ba*-souls»<sup>5</sup>. The darkness may refer to the House of Life, the «chamber of darkness» in the *Book of Thoth*, while the *ba*-souls could be the imagery for the sacred writings, which are called «*ba*-souls of (the sun god) Ra» elsewhere. Teaching and learning was perceived as a sort of an intellectual *agôn*.

However, those undoubtedly oral scholarly discourses in the House of Life are, as a matter of fact, lost. For us today it is only the surviving textual evidence that allows us to gain insights into those presumed debates. Thus the character of our sources forces us to reconstruct it from its library aspect with the additional hurdle of the most incomplete documentation that has been preserved from any house of life aggravated by the patchy publications of their former contents. It is the wealth of papyri which have been unearthed at both sites, Dime and

<sup>3</sup> H. BEINLICH, *Das Buch vom Fayum. Zum religiösen Eigenverständnis einer ägyptischen Landschaft*, ÄA, 51, Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 122-130, 231-249, Taf. 27-29. ID., *The Book of the Faiyum*, in ID.-R. SCHULZ-A. WIECZOREK (eds.), *Egypt's Mysterious Book of the Faiyum*, Detelbach 2013, pp. 66-69.

<sup>4</sup> C. EYRE, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents, Oxford 2013, pp. 311-315.

<sup>5</sup> *ir-y p3 r' n <h̥tp> -t3-nsw n tm rn-y hn p3 kky iw-y ir 3h irm n3 b3.w.* R.A. JASNOW/K.-T. ZAUZICH, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth. A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 240 f. ID., *Conversations in the House of Life. A New Translation of the Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, Wiesbaden 2014, p. 123. This sentence follows the end of a hymn. Therefore and because of the abundance of attestations of *h̥tp-di-nsw* in the context of the temple ritual, I do not translate <*h̥tp*> -t3-nsw as «funerary offering», but take it as the class designation of what preceded, *i.e.* a liturgical text (here the hymn) accompanying the act of offering.



Tebtynis<sup>6</sup>, that makes those two provincial temples so important to get a vague idea what the issues might have been with which the priests and their pupils dealt or – as the *Book of Thoth* put it – fought. Scholars with a more Upper Egyptian focus might argue that the inscriptions on the walls of Upper Egyptian temples surpass by far what we have got from both Tebtynis and Dime and those texts should originate in the milieu of the House of Life as well. Hence such temples as Edfu, Dendara, Kom Ombo and Philae would be more appropriate starting points to approach the problem. This might be true, but:

- a. a large part of those temple texts is highly standardized and repetitive, whereas the papyri appear to be more multifaceted in terms of subjects treated in them and in terms of their linguistic form so that their contents complement the epigraphic evidence in many cases;
- b. I do not search for an antagonism of, e.g., Edfu on the one hand and Dime on the other hand, and finally
- c. the workshop and its proceedings are about Dime and not about the House of Life in general, here being a metaphor in the sense that I have just explained.

The problem with the house of life at Dime is that we lack a neat documentation as to where the papyri, which are now mostly in European collections, have been found. There are three major phases of papyrus discoveries at Dime:

- (1) The majority of the best preserved manuscripts was acquired on the antiquities market in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and found its way to Europe through various channels and ended up in a series of collections, in particular Vienna, London, Paris and Berlin. There is no record at all which would indicate the find-spot so that in many cases scholars have to rely on internal evidence such as the explicit reference to Soknopaios or his priesthood.
- (2) In 1909/1910 the Royal Museums Berlin dispatched a mission to the site with the objective to find papyri, preferably inscribed with Greek, whereas demotic was considered as by-catch<sup>7</sup>. The directors of this mission, Zucker

<sup>6</sup> For Tebtynis see K. RYHOLT, *On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtynis Temple Library. A Status Report*, in: S.L. LIPPERT-M. SCHENTULEIT (Hrsg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos, Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 141-170. A. von LIEVEN, *Religiöse Texte aus der Tempelbibliothek von Tebtynis – Gattungen und Funktionen*, in: LIPPERT-SCHENTULEIT (Hrsg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos* cit., pp. 57-70.

<sup>7</sup> F. ZUCKER-W. SCHUBART, *Die Berliner Papyrusgrabungen in Dime und Medinet Mâdi. Das Grabungstagebuch. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Müller*, «APF» 21 (1971), pp. 5-56.



and Schubart, do not conceal their disappointment in their diary when demotic dominated the finds of a day. Those notes are a welcome source to learn about the original contexts, but when it comes to the details and one tries to compare the situation as described in the diary with what can be seen at the site nowadays, questions and doubts concerning the reliability of Zucker's and Schubart's information arise<sup>8</sup>. Altogether they discovered – in comparison to what has been found during phase 1 – just a few manuscripts mostly fragmented.

- (3) In the 1930s only a small number of papyri was unearthed by the Michigan excavation, which chiefly worked in the area of the town and explored two dwelling blocks of houses, thus in an area that is certainly not the location of the house of life<sup>9</sup>. However, they found pMichigan 6128 that belongs to pLouvre E 10488 plus various fragments in the Louvre and in Berlin being a manuscript of the *Book of Thoth*<sup>10</sup>. This composition would be a key text for the House of Life in any Egyptologist's opinion<sup>11</sup>, but the papyrus was kept in a house of the village, house or structure I-112 to be precise<sup>12</sup>. It allows us to determine where the other parts of this manuscript of the *Book of Thoth* were found during phase 1, the phase of the clandestine diggings at Dime. Furthermore, this papyrus is problematic in some respects to which I shall return later.

As material of phase 1 dominates the demotic papyrological documentation of Dime, the essential question that has to be answered is: How can we provenance the major part of demotic papyri that are said to be from Dime?

<sup>8</sup> M.A. STADLER, *Demotica aus Dime. Ein Überblick über die in Dime während der Kampagnen 2001-2009 gefundenen demotischen Texte*, in M. CAPASSO-P. DAVOLI (eds.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I (2003-2009)*, Pisa-Roma 2012, pp. 264-267.

<sup>9</sup> A.E.R. BOAK, *Soknopaiou Nesos. The University of Michigan Excavations at Dime in 1931-32*, Ann Arbor 1935.

<sup>10</sup> JASNOW, ZAUZICH, *Book of Thoth* cit., pp. XX, 86 f., and APIS ([<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-10004/6128r.tif>], accessed 14 June 2013): «Excavated at Dime by Boak during 1931-1932 field season; returned to Egypt in 1951».

<sup>11</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>12</sup> BOAK, *Soknopaiou Nesos* cit., plan 7 and p. 5 (cf. also p. 18). I owe that information to Richard Jasnow and Terry Wilfong. See also I. CHIESI-P. DAVOLI-S. OCCHI-N. RAIMONDI, *I rilievi topografici del sito*, in: CAPASSO-DAVOLI (eds.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I* cit., p. 57.



## 2. The Provenance «Dime» as a Problem in Demotic Studies.

In fall 1998, before I became deeply involved with Dime due to my PhD-thesis for which I had just begun to do research<sup>13</sup>, Sandra Lippert and I had a Demotic class taught by Prof. Zauzich. He projected slides of unpublished papyri from the collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna and our task was to give as much information as possible – such as provenance, kind of text, maybe even reading passages – from seeing the texts for the first time. It was like a quiz show with a buzzer because the quicker of us won the price of Zauzich's appreciation. I was proud to identify a Dime hand on the first slide and called out accordingly, but received Zauzich's knockdown comment: «Everything in Vienna comes from Soknopaiou Nesos». Thus my finding was apparently banal, and I felt stupid. That was my first encounter with the easy and widespread equation Vienna = Dime. Yet, the equation is dangerous because it leads into a *circulus vitiosus*, since some scholars turn it around by assuming that every demotic papyrus in the Austrian National Library derives from Dime; thus they may disregard evidence for further complexes from other sites. Whether this is the case for the data base Trismegistos or not, I cannot say, but state that some papyri which Reymond has described in her overview of demotic literary works in the Vienna collection and for which she had given Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë and Dime<sup>14</sup> as provenance appear there uniformly as coming from Dime<sup>15</sup>. Reymond on the contrary has not specified which of those papyri belongs to which town.

Since many of them are still unpublished a neat and reliable specification cannot be set without looking at the papyri themselves on-site because the history of the collection, as being exposed in Helene Loebenstein's article published in 1983, shows that the equation of Vienna with Dime is clearly wrong<sup>16</sup>. According to her for the Vienna collection the aforementioned phase 1 can be refined in sub-phases:

<sup>13</sup> M.A. STADLER, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung. Neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 recto*, MPER NS, 28, Wien 2004.

<sup>14</sup> E.A.E. REYMOND, *Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna*, in Generaldirektion der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Hrsg.), *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer. Cent.), Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien 1983, pp. 42-60 esp. 47.

<sup>15</sup> [<http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/search.php>]: Search for, e.g., pVienna D 6208 or D 6290.

<sup>16</sup> H. LOEBENSTEIN, *Vom «Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer» zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren*, in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer. Cent.)* cit., pp. 3-39.



- i. the First Fayyum Find gathered by Theodor Graf from ancient Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë<sup>17</sup> and Heracleopolis Magna comprises almost 10,000 papyri and was in Vienna by 1881/1882,
- ii. the Second Fayyum Find from 1884 onwards said to be additions to the First Find,
- iii. from 1886 onwards papyri from Hermupolis Magna, and
- iv. 1893 from Dime, among them, however, pieces from other sites in the Fayyum and from Hermupolis Magna.

Löbenstein points out how it has been attempted to keep the information concerning the provenance with the particular objects on envelopes or in inventory lists, but nevertheless in many cases notes went lost. And she does not mention the Memphite and Theban regions from where Books of the Dead came to Vienna in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>.

The situation is aggravated by the change in the inventory system, from numbering all papyri with a *numerus currens* to splitting up the collection in groups determined by script and/or language and to apply the *numerus currens* within each group separately. However, the Aeg-, D- and K-numbers are an exception and must be conceived as one group. Aeg-numbers refer to hieroglyphic and hieratic papyri, D means demotic, and K denotes Coptic, but the numbers run through all three groups. Thus one cannot say anymore whether the Demotic papyri D 1 to, e.g., D 487 came from the acquisition of X, and D 488 to, let's say, D 1056, from the acquisition of Y. Even the most thorough attempt to cut a swath through the thicket, Löbenstein's article, did not fully succeed and gives in some cases wrong details<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, the collection of sub-phase iv was not acquired entirely by Vienna, but another part went to the British Museum. Apparently the Royal Museums in Berlin also got some objects, as the join indicates that Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit could show for pBerlin P 23783+pVienna D 6822<sup>20</sup>, yet the number 23783 of the Berlin fragment suggests that it was registered after World War II. Therefore, this piece could have been excavated after the late 19<sup>th</sup> century acquisitions were made in Europe, put in a box from which it was retrieved

<sup>17</sup> See also P. DAVOLI, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*, Napoli 1998, p. 150.

<sup>18</sup> A. ZDIARSKY (Hrsg.), *Wege zur Unsterblichkeit. Altägyptischer Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube*, «Nilus» 20, Wien 2013, passim.

<sup>19</sup> I discussed this matter with Angelika Zdiarsky.

<sup>20</sup> S.L. LIPPERT-M. SCHENTULEIT, *Quittungen*, DDD, 2, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 203-205.



after 1945 and inventoried in the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection in Berlin West, while the part in Vienna may stem from the famous 19<sup>th</sup> century clandestine digs. Again from another case it is evident that Löbenstein's statement that the Dime papyri were split among Vienna and London is incomplete. Of the lengthy papyrus pBerlin P 8043+30030+Vienna D 6396+ST05/238/1034, with an account on the recto and a manuscript of the Daily Ritual of the Soknopaios-temple in Dime on the verso, pBerlin P 8043 was demonstrably in Berlin before 1902 and thus before Zucker's and Schubart's activities at Dime<sup>21</sup>. The same is true for pBerlin P 8027+pVienna D 12438+12439, manuscript B04 of the *Book of Thoth* that consequently proves that Berlin has received parts of the very same Dime-find as Vienna<sup>22</sup>. Although the history of the Berlin collection is even more opaque concerning Dime<sup>23</sup>, such a finding is not a surprise because around the same time when Vienna established its papyrus collection, the papyrus collection in Berlin grew through the acquisition of Fayyum-papyri between 1877 and 1879 in Egypt and then through donations of private collectors such as the demotist Heinrich Brugsch<sup>24</sup>. In her publication of Greek documents from Dime in the Louvre Jördens speaks of a single find, and her description suggests an even wider distribution naming the collections of the Louvre, the British Library in London and the John Rylands Library in Manchester<sup>25</sup>. In fact a demotic contract over a sale of parts of a house is kept in Paris (pLouvre E 10346), Berlin (pBerlin P 7057 – a low number, indicating an acquisition in the 19<sup>th</sup> century before the excavations of Zucker and Schubart – and P 23869 that was inventoried in March 2001 and part of the Reinhardt collection until

<sup>21</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1902, pls. 87-93. For my work on that text see M.A. STADLER, *Textmobilität. Versatzstücke im Täglichen Ritual von Dime*, in A.H. PRIES (Hrsg.), *Die Variation der Tradition, Modalitäten der Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten*, OLA, Leuven in press, citing previous research on that text.

<sup>22</sup> JASNOW- ZAUZICH, *Book of Thoth* cit.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. LIPPERT-SCHENTULEIT, *Quittungen* cit., p. 1, and EAED., *Urkunden*, DDD, 3, Wiesbaden 2010, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> W. MÜLLER, *Die Berliner Papyrussammlung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, «Das Altertum» 29 (1983), p. 136.

<sup>25</sup> A. JÖRDENS, *Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P. Louvre I)*, Bonn 1998, pp. VI f. Jördens' referring to the British Library rather than the British Museum is due to her being a Greek papyrologist because the Greek papyri were transferred to this institution whereas the papyri inscribed in Egyptian languages remained at the British Museum. There are, however, exceptions, cf. M.A. STADLER, *Eine neue Quelle zur Theologie des Sobek aus Dime. Papyrus British Library 264 recto*, in J. HALLOF (Hrsg.), *Auf den Spuren des Sobek, Festschrift für Horst Beinlich*, Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel, Dettelbach 2012, pp. 265-273.



1896)<sup>26</sup>, and Heidelberg (pHeidelberg dem. 798g)<sup>27</sup>, giving an impression of the wide dissemination of this find or rather these finds. Apart from Vienna, Berlin, London, and Paris, the Papyrus Collections of the Institutes of Papyrology of the Sorbonne in Paris and the University of Heidelberg are to be included, as well as the University of Aberdeen where a series of small fragments of demotic Dime-papyri are housed. In all likelihood they were acquired together with the Greek papyri from Dime which are now in Aberdeen. Those are said to have been bought in 1887 in Cairo from undocumented digs<sup>28</sup>. The Sorbonne papyri were transferred to the Sorbonne in 1982 from the Centre Golénischeff and nobody knows how they came there<sup>29</sup>.

To cut a long story short: most collections with Dime-papyri have a core of material with opaque provenances. This is also true of the Vienna collection: it is far less homogenous than many scholars think, and this has its repercussions for supposedly safely identified provenances. In the light of those imponderabilia the distribution of fragments for a ritual for Sobek of Krokodilopolis is less puzzling than one might think because Vienna should not be seen as suggestive for Dime as it is currently done<sup>30</sup>. The major parts of the two surviving manuscripts of this text are preserved in Vienna<sup>31</sup>. Fragments pertaining to one of them are housed in the Carlsberg-collection in Copenhagen that is dominated by material from Tebtynis. Thus, I would think, the question whether it is from Tebtynis or Dime should be confidently an-

<sup>26</sup> I owe that information to K.-Th. Zauzich. On Dr. Carl Reinhardt (1856-1903) and his collection see K. RYHOLT, *A Demotic Narrative in Berlin and Brooklyn concerning the Assyrian Invasion of Egypt* (Pap. Berlin P. 15682 + Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.21-B), in V. LEPPER (Hrsg.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung, Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum, Ägyptische und orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung*, 1, Berlin 2012, p. 352.

<sup>27</sup> LIPPERT-SCHENTULEIT, *Urkunden* cit., pp. 315-325.

<sup>28</sup> E.G. TURNER, *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen 1939, p. V.

<sup>29</sup> Marie-Pierre Chaufray kindly provided me with this information.

<sup>30</sup> Thus VON LIEVEN, *Religiöse Texte aus der Tempelbibliothek* cit., pp. 66 f., who is inclined to attribute the manuscripts to Dime, but points out that some facts contradict such an identification.

<sup>31</sup> pVienna Aeg 8420 and Aeg 12482. VON LIEVEN, *Two Ritual Papyri for Sobek of Krokodilopolis. A Preliminary Report*, in J. F. QUACK (Hrsg.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit, Orientalische Religionen in der Antike*, 6, Tübingen 2014, pp. 25-28, esp. 27, modifies her position, «In the case of pVienna Aeg 8420, indeed nothing speaks against this assumption» (of a Dime provenance) as it is put forward by EAD., *Religiöse Texte aus der Tempelbibliothek* cit., pp. 66 f.



swered with Tebtynis<sup>32</sup> because the Carlsberg-collection seems to be more uniform than the one in Vienna. A hieratic papyrus from Dime is in itself a rather exceptional piece, since there are only a few hieratic papyri of which it is known that they are certainly from Dime, pBerlin P 23071, the unpublished pVienna D 6332 and maybe an unspecified piece whose Dime-provenance Quack regards as rather uncertain<sup>33</sup>. A fourth one, pBerlin P 14490+Vienna Aeg 4851a+6666 (a manuscript of the *Book of the Temple*) has been mentioned as a hieratic Dime papyrus without giving an illustration or explanation<sup>34</sup>. However, I don't believe it until I see it. The original find-spot of pVienna Aeg 8426, a ritual for protecting pharaoh's body, is uncertain, although Hermupolis or Dime have been proposed as the likeliest options<sup>35</sup>, but its hieratic has nothing in common with the hieratic of pBerlin P 23071. Therefore I would exclude Dime.

While Alexandra von Lieven is still cautious and wisely wonders about the available, for her inconsistent evidence, others are more audacious and conclude from Vienna a Dime-provenance. Such conviction sometimes grows from one publication to the next. In 2005 Quack «provisionally» postulated that all manuscripts of the *Book of the Temple* in Vienna come from Dime but weakens his case in the same article when describing pVienna D 6319 as a luxury edition that is – according to him – not attested in the material from Dime<sup>36</sup>. Actually pVienna D 6319 is inscribed in a hand that associates it with a group of papyri which will be listed below and should be kept apart. In other words Quack differentiates and did not take the entire Vienna corpus as coming from Dime. In 2009 he gives up on his prudence in defending himself against my criticism<sup>37</sup> of his provenancing the pVienna D 6165+6165A+Heidelberg dem. 691 [776b], in short Serpot<sup>38</sup>. He perpetuates Hoffmann's conclusion that Ser-

<sup>32</sup> Thus in the meantime also VON LIEVEN, *Two Ritual Papyri for Sobek of Krokodilopolis* cit., p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> See below. The recto of pVienna D 6332 is reported to bear demotic in the typical Dime-hand, the verso to be inscribed in hieratic similar to pBerlin P 23071. For the unspecified papyrus: J. F. QUACK, *Die Überlieferungsstruktur des Buches vom Tempel*, in LIPPERT-SCHENTULEIT (Hrsg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos* cit., p. 112.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>35</sup> N. FLESA, «(Gott) schütze das Fleisch des Pharaos». *Untersuchungen zum magischen Handbuch pWien Aeg 8426*, CPR, 27, München, Leipzig 2006, pp. 8 f.

<sup>36</sup> QUACK, *Die Überlieferungsstruktur* cit., pp. 110 f. and 114. For pVienna D 6319 see below.

<sup>37</sup> M.A. STADLER, *Eine neue Orientierungshilfe für die demotische Literatur*, «Enchoria» 29 (2004/2005), p. 116.

<sup>38</sup> F. HOFFMANN, *Ägypter und Amazonen. Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri. P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A*, MPER N.S., 24, Wien 1995. Id., *Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten*, «Enchoria» 22 (1995), pp. 27-29.



pot was found in Dime<sup>39</sup>. In the second edition of his introductory book, Quack contradicts my remark, insists on Serpot being a Dime manuscript, and cites his 2005 article on the tradition of the *Book of the Temple* as proof for having things right<sup>40</sup> – and closes a circle by stiffening his position. The provenance of Serpot as it is defined by Hoffmann serves for many other papyri as the chief witness for determining their place of origin on the basis of comparing their similar palaeographies. Hoffmann's hypothesis, presented as a firm result caused a considerable confusion to which, in particular, Ryholt has already pointed. A list of sources, which Ryholt has discussed and which is expanded here, comprises:

- (1) In a collection with material predominantly from Tebtynis, Ryholt discusses the hand of pCarlsberg 555 verso in comparison with the similar or almost identical one of Serpot<sup>41</sup>. The entire volume bears the title *Narrative Literature from the Tebtynis Temple Library* and implies Ryholt's assumption that pCarlsberg 555 derives from Tebtynis, but Ryholt compares it with a text that in many publications is seen as a Dime manuscript. He confronts the various proposals for Serpot (Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë and Dime) with his own observations and the evidence that emerges from the Carlsberg collection and rightly concludes: «It is, at any rate, clear that the hand is quite distinct from the more common hand attested in texts from Soknopaiou Nesos in Vienna and elsewhere. While a Fayumic provenance for all the papyri is assured by the lambdacisms and the fact that several texts in this hand formed part of the Tebtynis temple library, a more exact location of the hand in question must remain uncertain until more material or records become available.»
- (2) By comparing pBerlin P 15682 verso with Serpot, Zauzich swiftly attributes the papyrus to Dime, whereas Ryholt in his corrections of the *editio princeps* (including the addition of a series of fragments to the piece published by Zauzich) argues similarly as for pCarlsberg 555<sup>42</sup>. His wording suggests his skep-

<sup>39</sup> J.F. QUACK, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, EQTÄ, 3, Münster 2005, p. 52. HOFFMANN, *Ägypter und Amazonen* cit., p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> J.F. QUACK, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, EQTÄ, 3, Münster, Berlin 2009<sup>2</sup>, p. 60 n. 107.

<sup>41</sup> K. RYHOLT, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtynis Temple Library*, CNI publications, 35, Copenhagen 2012, pp. 144 f.

<sup>42</sup> K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Semiramis und Serpot*, in J.C. FINCKE (Hrsg.), *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, Dresden 2010, pp. 451-465. RYHOLT, *A Demotic Narrative* cit., pp. 337-353. Additional fragments belonging to the same scroll are, according to Ryholt, pBrooklyn 47.218.21-B, pBerlin P 23502, 23532, 23533.



ticism about Zauzich's attribution and in 2004 he tentatively suggested Tebtynis as the place where the scribe of pBerlin P 15682 went to school<sup>43</sup>. The script does resemble the one of Serpot, that is true, but it is rather different from those which are typical for Roman Dime. Therefore the Fayyum should be given as provenance rather than a more precise location within that area. In fact the evidence points to a domination of some dealers in the Fayyum from which, through diverse channels, the papyri came to Europe<sup>44</sup>. And those dealers seem to have obtained papyri from various places in the Fayyum.

(3) For divinatory handbooks, such as pBerlin P 8769 and pVienna D 6633–6636, Prada still insists on Dime as place of origin. The reason for doing so concerning both papyri is the script's resemblance with the one of Serpot<sup>45</sup>. Looking at the *nw*-sign in pVienna D 6633 x+4 confirms this association (see the table 1 at the end of the article).

(4) According to Hoffmann the pVienna D 6257, a medical text, was inscribed in Dime during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD because its palaeography is similar to the Serpot-manuscript<sup>46</sup>, whereas Reymond assumes Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë<sup>47</sup> and notes the resemblance with Serpot, too. Yet, Reymond does not give any proof or evidence for why it should be Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë.

<sup>43</sup> K. RYHOLT, *The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition. A Survey of the Narrative Source Material*, in J.G. DERCKSEN (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond, Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden, 100, Leiden 2004, p. 499 n. 70.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.

<sup>45</sup> L. PRADA, *Papyrus Berlin P. 8769. A New Look at the Text and the Reconstruction of a Lost Demotic Dream Book*, in LEPPER (Hrsg.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung* cit., pp. 309–328, esp. 311 f., who despite his acknowledging that the hand does look different from the Roman Dime-hands dismisses the idea of assigning a provenance other than Dime to the papyri in question. More cautiously, but still assuming Dime, Id., *Visions of Gods. P. Vienna D 6633–6636, a Fragmentary Pantheon in a Demotic Dream Book*, in A. DODSON–J. JOHNSTON–W. MONKHOUSE (eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man, Studies in Honour of W.J. Tait*, London 2014, pp. 251–270.

<sup>46</sup> F. HOFFMANN, *Die Verwendung hieratischer Zeichen in demotischen medizinischen Texten*, in: S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Orthography*, *Studia Demotica* 2013, 25. Id., *Zur Neuedition des hieratisch-demotischen Papyrus Wien D 6257 aus römischer Zeit*, in A. IMHAUSEN–T. POMMERENING (eds.), *Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Rome, and Greece, Translating Ancient Scientific Texts*, BzA, 286, Berlin–New York 2010, pp. 201–218. F. HOFFMANN–J.F. QUACK, *Demotische Texte zur Heilkunde*, in B. BÖCK–B. JANOWSKI–D. SCHWEMMER (Hrsg.), *Texte zur Heilkunde*, TUAT, Neue Folge, 5, Gütersloh 2010, pp. 300–305.

<sup>47</sup> E.A.E. REYMOND, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum I. A Medical Book from Krokodilopolis – P. Vindob. D. 6257*, MPER N.S., 10, Wien 1976.



Further papyri are to be added, but the reasons for their attribution to Dime are not made explicit in their editions or subsequent publications mentioning or studying them:

- (5) Angelika Zdiarsky gives Dime as place of origin for pKrall, the *Contendings for the Armour of Inaros*. Presumably it is the similarity of the Serpot hand which is at the roots of such information, yet Zdiarsky does not explain it<sup>48</sup>. Hoffmann, whose exhaustive edition is the basis for all further research on pKrall, rightly restrained himself in merely assuming Fayyum as the place where the papyrus had been inscribed<sup>49</sup>, whereas Krall suggests a Dime-provenance by arguing that it came to Vienna together with Dime material<sup>50</sup>.
- (6) Likewise pVienna D 6343, 6336, 12146+6652A–C+13138 and pVienna D 12440 are relics of scrolls that have been inscribed with versions of the *Book of Thoth* (manuscripts V01, V02, V03.1–5, and V04 in the editors' sigla), which seem to have been identified as Dime-papyri on the basis of either the argument that the Vienna collection must exclusively be a Dime find or through the comparison with Serpot. However, Jasnow and Zauzich just give «Dime» without saying why<sup>51</sup>.
- (7) The same is true of the so-called festival song or rather excerpts thereof which are preserved in demotic between the lines of a Greek text inscribed on pBerlin P 8279<sup>52</sup>. The low inventory number already suggests that it came to Berlin before 1900 and thus from those dubious sources which I have described above. Therefore, being associated with Dime-material cannot be an argument here. Although it is true that many Dime-papyri are kept in Berlin, it suffices to draw attention to pBerlin P 8278 to highlight the problems<sup>53</sup>: pBerlin P 8278 is from the Fayyumic Pelusium and pBerlin P

<sup>48</sup> ZDIARSKY (Hrsg.), *Wege zur Unsterblichkeit* cit., p. 104.

<sup>49</sup> F. HOFFMANN, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros. Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*, MPER N.S., 26, Wien 1996, p. 32.

<sup>50</sup> J. KRALL, *Ein neuer historischer Roman in demotischer Schrift*, «MPER» 6 (1897), p. 20.

<sup>51</sup> JASNOW- ZAUZICH, *Book of Thoth* cit., pp. 87 f.

<sup>52</sup> J.F. QUACK, *Ein Festlied aus Soknopaiu Nesos*, in S.L. LIPPERT-M.A. STADLER (Hrsg.), *Gehilfe des Thot, Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 75. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 2014, pp. 91-96.

<sup>53</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus Berlin* cit., pp. 20 f., pls. 94-96. F. GAUDARD, *The Demotic Drama of Horus and Seth (P. Berlin 8278 a, b, c; 15662; 15677; 15818; 23536; 23537 a, b, c, d, e, f, g)*, Ann Arbor 2005. ID., *Le P. Berlin 8278 et ses fragments. Un « nouveau » texte démotique comprenant des noms de lettres*, in I. RÉGEN-F. SERVAJEAN (éd.), *Verba manent, Recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks*, CENiM, 2, Montpellier 2009, pp. 165-169. ID., *Pap. Ber-*



8279 from elsewhere. According to Quack pBerlin P 8279 is from Dime, and he refers the reader to Prada's explanations<sup>54</sup> thus insinuating that the papyrus should be seen as part of a coherent complex. Yet, if we accept that for a moment, then still two papyri with consecutive inventory numbers may come from different places and different periods (the reign of Ptolemy VI for pBerlin P 8278 and the Roman period for pBerlin P 8279). In fact both papyri were acquired together by Heinrich Brugsch in Giza from Farag Ismail and Ali Abdel-Hai, and such an interstation should make us cautious<sup>55</sup>. I shall return to those two dealers below. In other words, there is no clear association just with Dime-papyri in Berlin. For pBerlin P 8279 rather the contrary is the case. Furthermore, there is nothing – neither in the Greek nor the Egyptian texts themselves – which indicates Dime<sup>56</sup>.

Among the published papyri further ones are to be added as belonging to the same group. In contrast to the nos. 1–7 they are not explicitly classified as coming from Dime:

(8) pVienna D 6319: a manuscript of the *Book of the Temple*<sup>57</sup>

lin P. 8278 and Its Fragments. Testimony of the Osirian Khoiak Festival Celebration during the Ptolemaic Period, in LEPPER (Hrsg.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung* cit., pp. 269–286.

<sup>54</sup> See note 45.

<sup>55</sup> I owe this information to Jan Moje who also directed my attention to H. BRUGSCH, *Mein Leben und mein Wandern*, Berlin 18942, where on p. 387 Brugsch briefly mentions his acquisition of papyrus in Egypt. The information given by É. BERNAND, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques du Fayoum I. La « méris » d'Hérakleïdès*, Leiden 1975, p. 142, that Brugsch brought the famous stela of the Neiloupolitan shepherds from Dime, is wrong as long as it is based on F. KREBS, *Griechische Steininschriften aus Aegypten*, «Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen» (1892), p. 536, to whom Bernand refers the reader in this matter. Krebs just says that he got the squeezes of the stela from Brugsch and that the stela is now in the museum in Giza, nothing about Brugsch's presence in Dime.

<sup>56</sup> QUACK, *Ein Festlied* cit., 91, argues that *t3y-y m3y <.t>* 'my island' as unetymological variant of *tmy* 'town' also indicates a Dime provenance because Dime bears *t3 m3y.t* in its Egyptian name. However, this is not compelling since other towns in the Fayyum refer to an island in their name as well (e.g., Alexandrou Nesos = *T3-m3y.t-n-P3-whr*, Aristarchou Nesos = *T3-m3y.t-n-P3-tw(?)*, Dikaiou Nesos = *T3-m3y.t-n-Dygys*). Those nesiotēs could also playfully develop *t3y-y m3y.t* from *tmy*. For the Greek the Duke Databank even assumes Theadelphia as findspot of pBerlin P 8279 [<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;3;802/>].

<sup>57</sup> E.A.E. REYMOND, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings. From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum II*, MPER N.S., 11, Wien 1977, pp. 45–105, pls. 1–3: «Krokodilopolis». J.F. QUACK, *pWien D 6319. Eine demotische Übersetzung aus dem Mittelägyptischen*, «Enchoria» 19/20 (1992/93), pp. 125–129. Id., *Die Überlieferungsstruktur* cit., p. 114.



- (9) pVienna D 6330: another manuscript of the *Book of the Temple*<sup>58</sup>  
 (10) pVienna D 6321: a magico-medical text, the text (not the papyrus!) possibly being of Memphite origin, since it refers to «Ptah, who is over the protection of White Walls, the Lord of Ankhtawy» in its title<sup>59</sup>.

It should have become clear by now that Serpot is a key manuscript for provenancing quite a few other papyri, and the comparison with Serpot leads to identifying a rather homogenous group of papyri which share a similar hand. It is therefore worthwhile to look at Hoffmann's argument and to see how he reached the conclusion that Serpot is a Dime-papyrus. In fact it is just the comparison with pVienna D 6319+Heidelberg dem. 691 that, however, Reymond has identified as coming from Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë – again without any conclusive evidence, just on the basis of the similarity with pVienna D 6257 and Serpot<sup>60</sup>. The similarities were – rightly – confirmed by Hoffmann in his edition, but the conclusion on the basis of that, namely «Wir dürfen also die Aufzeichnung der Sarpotttexte im Fajjum, und zwar in Soknopaiu Nesos (= Dime) vermuten.» as Hoffmann put it<sup>61</sup>, jumps over a considerable gap of evidence. For how conclusive is provenancing a papyrus by comparison with other papyri which also lack any additional unambiguous clues as to their provenance except for their palaeography? Being in Vienna does not say anything, as I have pointed out above. Thus Serpot must not be used as a reference manuscript for determining Dime as the place of origin of other papyri. A year later Hoffmann is more cautious – see his aforementioned statement concerning pKrall and his assessment of pVienna D 6920–6922. For the latter he considers Dime possible<sup>62</sup>, an option that I would exclude.

The dossier of papyri, which for the sake of clarity and shortness shall be called the Serpot group, has a clear character: literary, narrative texts dominate, a few others dealing with matters of omen telling and divination alongside a magico-medical text plus a copy of the *Book of the Temple*. Implicitly

<sup>58</sup> REYMOND, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* cit., pp. 107-110, pl. 4: «Krokodilopolis».

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111-116, pl. 4: «Krokodilopolis». J. H. JOHNSON, *Review of Reymond*, *From the Contents of the Suchos Libraries I, II*, «JNES» 41 (1982), p. 302.

<sup>60</sup> REYMOND, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* cit., p. 47. For pVienna D 6319, a fragment of a manuscript of the *Book of the Temple*, see QUACK, *pWien D 6319* cit., pp. 125-129, and HOFFMANN, *Neue Fragmente* cit., p. 27 n. 3.

<sup>61</sup> HOFFMANN, *Ägypter und Amazonen* cit., p. 15.

<sup>62</sup> F. HOFFMANN, *Der literarische demotische Papyrus Wien D 6920-22*, «SAK» 23 (1996), p. 168.



or explicitly the Serpot group has been assumed as the attestation of a second school (or hand) at Dime<sup>63</sup>. Except for the last composition the Serpot group gives the impression of a collection of texts that could well be kept in a residential house. The *Book of the Temple* should have its primary place within a temple's library, but it is not excluded that a person might own a private copy, as in Dime a copy of the *Book of Thoth* was found in a residential house<sup>64</sup>.

### 3. The «Demotic Documentary Dime Hand» vs. the «Second Hand of Dime».

Considering Reymond's ambivalent fame in the field of Demotic studies<sup>65</sup> compared to Hoffmann's, who is rightly esteemed as a thorough and careful scholar, it is of course brave to follow Reymond's proposal rather than Hoffmann's, but to me hers seems to be slightly more probable in this matter. Yet, Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë is just a variable because lacking any external information such as notes on the findspots we should rather say «Fayyumic town x» with  $x \neq$  Dime and Tebtynis. At the end of this section I will propose an identification. The Serpot group might belong to a complex of this Fayyumic town x, for which we would have a considerable dossier, but things are more complex than that.

Looking at the palaeography of the Serpot group and comparing it with manuscripts of which we can be sure that they were written by scribes in or from Dime, there can be no doubt about two distinct groups among others, such as the typical Tebtynis group that is not the subject of this article<sup>66</sup>. Demotists do not disagree about that; the dissent concerns the problem whether both groups in question were produced in Dime. For the Roman period an abundant dossier of documentary texts from Dime is at hand. Only the minor part is published. Almost all receipts and contracts are available through the work of Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, whereas the accounts and evidence of other documentary genres still largely await scholarly treatment apart from some articles presenting isolated specimens. Those published papyri as well as the unpublished papyri of which I have seen a good portion show a remarkable consistency in palaeography. This palaeography has long been recognized as being typical for Dime. It caused particular problems until Zauzich

<sup>63</sup> E.g., J.F. QUACK, *Die Überlieferungsstruktur* cit., pp. 110 f.

<sup>64</sup> See below.

<sup>65</sup> See JOHNSON, *Review of Reymond* cit., pp. 301-303.

<sup>66</sup> For the Tebtynis hand see RYHOLT, *Scribal Habits* cit.



published his studies on a series of receipts<sup>67</sup>. Reymond designated it as the hand of Satabous<sup>68</sup> or rather of Satabous' school. Considering how popular this name in Roman Dime was, such a designation might be correct, even though Reymond was referring to the particular Satabous on whom Schentuleit has written an article<sup>69</sup>. This Satabous, son of Herieus the Younger and Satabous the Elder, dwelled in Dime during the reign of Augustus, and it is this period in which the distinctive Dime-hand spreads. Therefore, Reymond's hypothetical nomenclature might come close to truth because this Satabous was quite active as a scribe of religious and other texts and thus might have had a great influence on the scribal tradition in Roman Dime. Yet Reymond's attribution of a series of other manuscripts to the same person goes too far. In this sense I would modify her designation «hand of Satabous» to «the hand of Satabous' school» as Reymond did later herself<sup>70</sup>. The development of such schools is part of a general tendency of regionalization in the Roman period<sup>71</sup>.

Be this as it may, what are the characteristics of this hand (see the table 1 at the end)? It is again the much-reproached Reymond who gave a good general description and also observed that in Vienna clearly different hands are represented. She describes the hand of Satabous' school as follows: «The writing is bold, ligated, though individual strokes are finely traced.»<sup>72</sup> In contrast, she says on the other, to her mind Krokodilopolitan hand:

«(...) this one is small, unligated, and of generally high standard of technique. This second type of Demotic hand mainly appears in literary texts, and in the material published is represented by the writing in the *Romance of Serpot* (...) The comparison of this writing with the hand in the *Prophecy on Bocchoris* indicates marked differences of such an extent that it is impossible to agree that these two types of writing could have existed either side by side, or in consecutive chronological order in the same place. It is entirely out of the question, on purely palaeographical

<sup>67</sup> K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden I*, «Enchoria» 1 (1971), pp. 29-42. Id., *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden II*, «Enchoria» 2 (1972), pp. 65-84. Id., *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden III*, «Enchoria» 4 (1974), pp. 71-82. Id., *Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV*, «Enchoria» 7 (1977), pp. 151-180.

<sup>68</sup> REYMOND, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples* cit., p. 26.

<sup>69</sup> M. SCHENTULEIT, *Satabus aus Soknopaiu Nesos. Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit*, «CdE» 82 (2007), pp. 101-125.

<sup>70</sup> REYMOND, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* cit., p. 143.

<sup>71</sup> QUACK, *On the Regionalisation* cit. See the abstract on [<http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:88b579b5-50d3-456e-948f-a2ebb5d4ab3b>].

<sup>72</sup> REYMOND, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples* cit., p. 26.



grounds, that the *Prophecy* and the *Romance of Serpot* could have been written in the same place even if we admit the difference in time which may lie between these documents.»<sup>73</sup>

The work of Lippert and Schentuleit through which documentary sources from Dime from the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD have been published has confirmed Reymond's assessment, since in Dime the 2<sup>nd</sup> century hands show a clear relationship to their counterparts in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Their works also show that this specific Dime ductus developed around 25 BC and thus 13 years before the first known attestation of the particular Satabous<sup>74</sup>. Quack, too, has observed that the roundness is a characteristic of Dime's demotic when describing the only published hieratic papyrus (pBerlin P 23071 verso) that can be determined as coming from Dime because: a. it was excavated there by Schubart and Zucker and b. on its recto the rest of an account in the typical Dime Demotic is given<sup>75</sup>. Quack recognizes that it is written in a «recht typischen rundlichen späthieratischen Duktus, der sich von den in Tebtynis dominierenden Händen deutlich unterscheidet»<sup>76</sup>. In other words the scribal habits are not restricted to a certain script, but are applied to hieratic as well.

Yet arguing with a general impression of a ductus is subjective. A methodologically clean approach would rather be to identify certain typical and distinctive features and to look for them in all available manuscripts to demonstrate the palaeographical homogeneity of a certain group of papyri and to flank it with samples from a broad selection of papyri. To conduct such an investigation is obviously beyond the limits of an article such as this, but I would like to show exemplarily what I mean in table 1 at the end<sup>77</sup>. From this it is apparent that, although one has to allow for scribal individuals with their own hands, it is pos-

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>74</sup> M. KRUTZSCH-S.L. LIPPERT, *Papyrus Berlin P 23724. Eine ungewöhnliche Verkaufsurkunde aus Soknopaiu Nesos*, in LIPPERT-STADLER (Hrsg.), *Gehilfe des Thot* cit., pp. 61-80, esp. 64 f. The papyrus published there shows the transition from the Ptolemaic to the Roman ductus in Dime.


<sup>75</sup> QUACK, *Die Überlieferungsstruktur* cit., p. 111. G. BURKARD, *Frühgeschichte und Römerzeit. P. Berlin 23071 vso.*, «SAK» 17 (1990), pp. 107-133. QUACK, *pWien D 6319* cit., pp. 125-129.

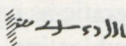
<sup>76</sup> QUACK, *Die Überlieferungsstruktur* cit., p. 111. The unpublished pVienna D 6332 (see note 33 above) verso has a very similar hieratic.

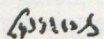
<sup>77</sup> This table replaces the one given in STADLER, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung* cit., pp. 25-27, which I have composed without critically reflecting the state of research and thus under the assumption that all texts displayed there are Dime hands. For the purpose of dating pVienna D 12006 rt, it still holds true though.

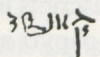


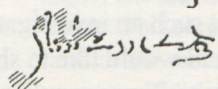
sible to distinguish groups which share typical features that are not found in other groups. The table brings together the ‘school of Satabous’ from Dime, confronts it with the Serpot group and – just to provide two further well attested Fayyumic forms of writing for comparison and to illustrate the characteristics of Dime’s demotic – some texts from Tebtynis<sup>78</sup> and Narmuthis.

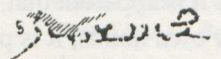
In general the demotic of the Satabous school may be termed ornamental which is expressed in bending horizontal strokes convexly, such as the *n* in  -*n=k* «for you» (pVienna D 12006 rt.) or – as in the case of *hpr* (for ex. see table 1 below) – concavely. Vertical strokes often (but not always) have a little arch at the bottom to the left (e.g., in *ntr* in *ntr* ʕ, the determinative of some *whz* – examples or the first sign in *nw*, see table 1) whereas in the Serpot-, Tebtynis-, and Narmuthis-groups horizontal and vertical lines remain strictly straight or – as in the case of *nw* – are bent into the opposite direction. The Satabous school even bends short vertical strokes either to the left and/or to the right as in *iw* or *y* – in the other traditions they are still in most cases straight. For *y* see in addition to table 1 below:

 *y*<sup>c</sup>*by* «sick» (pCarlsberg 400),

 *h*<sup>c</sup>*y* «to fall» (*Book of the Gecko* x+II 7),

 *š*<sup>c</sup>*y* «lake» (DDD II 65, 3),

 *š*<sup>m</sup>*ty* «Smithis» (DDD III 3 DA 3),


 *šty.t* in *ʕs.t-nfr-šty.t* «Isis-Nephersatis» (DDD II 26, 2).

A *y* that is formed in this manner can be easily confused with the tripartite *b*, a feature that is unique to the Satabous school and that can be found in a se-

<sup>78</sup> Among the Tebtynis scribes the scholars studying predominantly demotic papyri from Tebtynis tend to identify a «notorious scribe of the Nun» – A. von LIEVEN, *Grundriß des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, CNI Publications, 31, Copenhagen 2007, p. 17 –, whom W. J. TAIT, *Papyri from Tebtynis in Egyptian and in Greek (P. Tebt. Tait)*, EES Texts from Excavations, 3, London 1977, pp. viii f., has identified as type I – in table 1 here he is represented through the line termed «On the Primaeval Ocean». However, the fragmentary state of preservation of *On the Primaeval Ocean* prevents us from getting good examples in every case for the selected signs and groups in table 1. RYHOLT, *Scribal Habits* cit., will be a detailed study of the Tebtynis paleography, see in the meantime the abstracts on [<http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:88b579b5-50d3-456e-948f-a2ebb5d4ab3b>].



ries of different words. This tripartite *b* has evolved through an analytic tendency of the Satabous school from the originally bipartite *b* (11 — > 1b — > 1b — > 11 —) that has been preserved in the other Fayyumic groups, thus the double line in table 1 beneath the Satabous school here to separate it from those schools. The example from the *Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* in this column is damaged, but the traces still visible show clearly that this scribe wrote a bipartite *b*.

In some cases the first stroke of the tripartite *b* forms a loop in hands that were trained in the Satabous school which opens up the possibility for the confusion with parts of yet another word, the *nt iw*-relative converter. There the hook for *nt* is ligated with the first stroke of *iw* and looks like the first part of the tripartite *b*, compare in table 1 especially *bzk* «farmer»<sup>79</sup> in the line «contracts *DDD* III», *bw-ir-tw* in the line «*hn.w*-agreements», *bn* in the lines «pVienna D 10000» and «Book of the Gecko», *bzk* and *bw-ir* in the line «pVienna D 12006». The relative converter *nt iw* plus suffix for the third person plural =*w* displays a peculiar form in the Satabous tradition which mislead scholars to read something with *ḥr* because of the similarity with *hr* and is to be taken as a distinctive characteristic as well<sup>80</sup>. *nt iw* and the tripartite *b* are also similar to *bw* in, e.g., *bw-ir*  (in *bw-ir rh* *Book of the Gecko* loose fragment x+7). The ligation is exemplified by *nṯr ʿz* where both words are linked through the vertical stroke of *ʿz* that – unlike in the Serpot and Tebtynis groups whose scribes keep every sign separately – ends to the left in a loop bending downwards to ligate to the three strokes beneath. In addition to those general tendencies there are many words of which I have selected a few examples (*whz*, *nfr*, *ḥzʿ*, *ḥpr* and *tm*) to illustrate the marked differences of Dime on the one hand and of the other Fayyumic towns on the other hand by a contrasting juxtaposition. In the instance of *ḥpr* in pBerlin P 15682+..., and maybe in *Book of Thoth* ms. L01 a similarity to the Satabous form might be discerned. Either this should be explained by their scribes' individual hand or – particularly remarkable for *Book of Thoth* ms. L01 having been found in Dime – to an influence of the environment which could indicate that the scribe of *Book of Thoth* ms. L01 was trained somewhere else before moving to Dime and settling there where his copy of

<sup>79</sup> This word can also be written without the tripartite *b* as phonetic complement, e.g. (2) ~~48~~ (DDD III no. 34 DG 8).

<sup>80</sup> K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Das Ende der Form hr-n3.w-stm – eine Selbstkorrektur*, «Enchoria» 27 (2002), pp. 207-208.



the *Book of Thoth* was discovered. However, looking at the examples from *Book of Thoth* ms. L01 in table 1 at the chapter's end the writing of  $h_3^c$  is striking: It is rather the Tebtynis form (to a lesser extent the related Narmuthis form) than the one typical of Serpot or Satabous. Bearing in mind that the scribe drew lines as in some Tebtynis Demotic literary papyri, its scribe seems to have been trained in the Tebtynis rather than the Serpot school.

As for a historical development of the hands which were trained in the school of Satabous the question arises whether a change can be observed from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and how this might compare to demotic papyri from Dime in pre-Roman times. If one really wants to identify decisive features in this matter, it is perhaps skinnier lines, although also for the 1<sup>st</sup> century skinny pens are attested, or the shaky, a bit stiff ductus that does not show the round and smooth elegance of the individual signs and ligatures in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but the roundness is increasingly edgy, yet still revealing the wish to form curly signs. On the other side of the time line, Dime's demotic in the Ptolemaic period shows less marked specific features than in the Roman period, but in some cases the one or the other characteristic seems to be prefigured.

The relatively homogenous and consistent appearance of almost all safely provenanced Dime-papyri renders palaeography in this case a rather precise instrument to determine where a scribe was trained. Yet, it is not possible to say with certainty whether a given papyrus was found where the scribe was originally educated. There are two examples which can be explained by considering at least three aspects of human life in antiquity which should make us very cautious to draw simple conclusions. To identify the findspot of a given manuscript from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century clandestine excavations even within a certain area such as Dime, a bit of luck is required. This luck brings us to a specimen of the *Book of Thoth*, the first of the two foreshadowed examples. Jasnow and Zauzich designated this particular scroll L01 because the main part, the aforementioned pLouvre E 10488, has been kept in the Louvre since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, *i.e.* it stems from the infamous diggings by locals which I have mentioned quite often in this article. This scroll's hand is clearly not one typical for Dime, rather for the one of the Fayyumic town x. But pMichigan 6128 belongs to this scroll and was discovered by the Michigan mission in Dime. Thanks to the detailed documentation that the American archaeologists have produced, it is possible to identify where the scroll has been deposited in antiquity, a house in the village of Dime<sup>81</sup>. The modern history of L01 can

<sup>81</sup> JASNOW-ZAUZICH, *Book of Thoth* cit., p. XX.



be reconstructed as follows: The major part was found during the undocumented digs of locals in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and sold to Europeans. One part came to the Louvre (pLouvre E 10488) and was first published by Revillout<sup>82</sup>; the other one (pBerlin P 15499) was acquired from Heinrich Brugsch who might have bought it in Giza and whose papyri became part of the Berlin collection. During the excavations of Schubart and Zucker in Dime 1909/1910 a fragment (pBerlin P 23513) was unearthed, put into the metal box XX and brought to Berlin<sup>83</sup>. Some 20 years later the Michigan mission found another fragment that belongs to the same scroll. On the basis of these details the activities of Schubart and Zucker as shown on the map by Chiesi et al. in *SNP I* should be modified<sup>84</sup>: It is larger than shown there, and encompasses the house where Boak and his team worked as well.

Does the hand of Fayyumic town x turn out to be the second, the literary hand of Dime under these circumstances? Is Dime town x after all? The answer, to my mind, is no, it is not town x, although the manuscript L01 of the *Book of Thoth* is safely and precisely determined as to its place of preservation in antiquity. I would argue that the papyrus scroll was evidently not kept within the *temenos*, but in a residential house. Thus it would give witness to the private use of the text (aspect 1). This could indicate that the scroll came somehow to Dime from another place, to my mind the village or town around Fayyumic temple x. The pCarlsberg 21 and pCarlsberg 22 attest such a mobility of papyri, even the habit of lending and borrowing papyri<sup>85</sup>: in pCarlsberg 21 a certain Mayhes, son of Horudja, apologizes for not having returned two scrolls earlier to a high priest of Thoth, called Paēnaset, son of Wennefer, whereas the writer of pCarlsberg 22 asks for further information which text the letter's addressee would like to have copied for him. Thus one papyrus inscribed in one place can travel to another one, where it could have been found by excavators. Such a case could be pCarlsberg 159+PSI inv. D 10 verso (see table 1 at the end of the Serpot group). In the Greek text on the recto Karanis is mentioned, which could

<sup>82</sup> E. REVILLOUT, *Papyrus démotiques du Louvre*, Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti, I Fascicule IV, Paris 1902, pp. 5-8; pls. 30-33.

<sup>83</sup> Communication Jan Moje who also points out that in the inventory books there is another note by Kaplony-Heckel saying «Slg. Brugsch (Nr. 7 und 2)», but it is unknown what the numbers signify. To his mind the information concerning the metal box is more reliable. K.-Th. Za-uzich told me that it is from box XX.

<sup>84</sup> CHIESI-DAVOLI-OCCHI-RAIMONDI, *I rilievi topografici cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>85</sup> K.-T. ZAUZICH, *P. Carlsberg 21 und 22. Zwei Briefe von Bücherfreunden*, in P.J. FRANDSEN-K. RYHOLT (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies, The Carlsberg Papyri 3*, CNI Publications, 22, Copenhagen 2000, pp. 53-57.



indicate that the papyrus was inscribed there, and came to Tebtynis later on. However, it is also possible that the scribe moved to Tebtynis and took the papyrus with him. Which brings us to the second option, the mobility of scribes (aspect 2). It is hard (or even excluded) to decide for sure whether it was just the scroll or the scribe who moved from one place to the other. For pCarlsberg 400, the Nakhthorshena-story and second of the two foreshadowed examples, it has been proposed that it was the scribe who migrated. The «manuscript [*i.e.*, pCarlsberg 400; M.A.S.] was evidently found at Tebtynis where it formed part of the temple library» as Ryholt explains<sup>86</sup>. The evidence is twofold: Some fragments which belong to pCarlsberg 400 are in Florence among the material excavated in the temple library deposit at Tebtynis, plus a few fragments in Oxford excavated by Grenfell and Hunt in Tebtynis. Finally, on the verso of the papyrus a hieratic hymn to Soknebtynis is written<sup>87</sup>. Quack concludes that a scribe who was trained in Dime worked later on in Tebtynis<sup>88</sup>. That could well be the case, but it is also possible that a literary papyrus was sent to Tebtynis and later on complemented by a Soknebtynis hymn. However, this remains speculation. For pCarlsberg 498 plus various fragments both alternatives have been assumed because the characteristics of its hieratic hand are untypical for Tebtynis, but similar to hieratic papyri in Oxyrhynchus; either the scroll or the scribe might have travelled to Tebtynis<sup>89</sup>. But this is again arguing on the basis of simple equations, in this case Copenhagen = Tebtynis, despite the evidence of having papyri in Copenhagen which are clearly from other places, such as Edfu or Akhmim<sup>90</sup>. From Demotic documentary sources persons are known who have connections to more than just one place, such as a certain Sokonoppmois. He bore priestly titles that associate him with both Tebtynis and Dime<sup>91</sup>. I could imagine that such a person might have left his traces in either town.

The third possibility (aspect 3) would be the trade with used papyri for which, however, the evidence is scarce<sup>92</sup>. An example for such potentially traded recycling papyrus could be PLond II 260 with a Greek account on the recto

<sup>86</sup> RYHOLT, *Narrative Literature* cit., p. 145 n. 119.

<sup>87</sup> See also RYHOLT, *Scribal Habits* cit.

<sup>88</sup> QUACK, *Einführung*<sup>2</sup> cit., p. 70.

<sup>89</sup> VON LIEVEN, *Grundriß des Laufes der Sterne* cit., pp. 302-310.

<sup>90</sup> M. SCHENTULEIT, *Aus der Buchhaltung des Weinmagazins im Edfu-Tempel. Der demotische P. Carlsberg 409. The Carlsberg Papyrus 9*, CNI Publications, 32, Copenhagen 2006. K. RYHOLT, *A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565)*, in DODSON-JOHNSTON-MONKHOUSE (eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man* cit., pp. 271-278.

<sup>91</sup> A. MONSON, *Sacred Land in Ptolemaic and Roman Tebtynis*, in LIPPERT-SCHENTULEIT (Hrsg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos* cit., p. 81.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. E.G. TURNER, *Writing Material for Businessmen*, «BASP» 15 (1978), pp. 163-169.



written in Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë, as its content suggests, and a demotic account written on the verso by a scribe who was trained in Dime. Another example is pVienna D 4893+10014+10103<sup>93</sup>. The demotic writing on the verso is clearly older than the Greek text on the recto because the papyrus has been cut horizontally into two pieces and the Greek respects the smaller format, whereas the demotic inscription is cut through a line. The brown colour also indicates that a preceding writing was washed away. It has been argued that a third of the personal names listed in the Greek is Jewish and that hence a more urban milieu has to be assumed, thus Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë would be a possibility<sup>94</sup>. For the demotic, however, Reymond has rightly recognized a Dime-hand. Did a dealer trading with «used paper» buy the papyrus in Dime and sell it in Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë? In the case of pBM EA 10822 two scrolls bearing Greek land registers from the Upper Egyptian Krokodilopolis were pasted together to create a new roll, before the second Setne tale was written on its verso. The papyrus was bought in Assuan but is believed to come from Gebelein<sup>95</sup>. Of course, the other two options (mobility of scribes and of manuscripts) cannot be excluded for sure, but the combination of having a re-used papyrus that has been inscribed probably in Dime before it received a second text elsewhere renders the trade with used papyri a little more likely.

The L01-manuscript of the *Book of Thoth* with a non-Dime hand and yet a proven Dime provenance and the pCarlsberg 400 with a Dime-hand, but an almost certain Tebtynis provenance show either the mobility of papyri (aspect 1) or the mobility of scribes (aspect 2). Both is hardly surprising, the pCarlsberg 21 and 22 testify the former, and the warnings of demotic instructions against migration and the argument of the small dog-headed ape in the *Myth of the*

<sup>93</sup> REYMOND, *Demotic Literary Works* cit., p. 56, and EAD., *From the Contents of a Temple Library*, in G. GRIMM-H. HEINEN-E. WINTER (Hrsg.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten, Akten des internationalen Symposions. 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier*, Aegyptiaca Treverensia, 2, Mainz 1983, pp. 81–83, who has got the wrong inventory number 10102, see G. MESSERI SAVORELLI, *Registro di pagamenti del συντάξιμον (in un quartiere ebraico?)*, in B. PALME (Hrsg.), *Wiener Papyri, Als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer (P. Harrauer)*, Wien 2001, pp. 81–92. pVienna D 4893 has been identified by myself as pertaining to the manuscript. I am preparing a publication of this unpublished text (see below). For pBM EA 10822 see the bibliography given by QUACK, *Einführung*<sup>2</sup> cit., p. 41–47.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81–92, for the Greek recto as well as A. JÖRDENS, *VII. Griechische Texte aus Ägypten*, in B. JANOWSKI-G. WILHELM (Hrsg.), *Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben, Texte aus dem Umfeld des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge*, Gütersloh 2004, pp. 349–351. Therefore, [www.trismegistos.org/text/56053] (September 2013) gives Krokodilopolis as provenance.

<sup>95</sup> The remark «or 00a Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh) (2157) (?)» in [http://www.trismegistos.org/tewt/48854] is to be deleted.



*Sun's Eye* give indirect witness to the latter<sup>96</sup> being presumably a basic feature of human existence. Such imponderabilia of human life in combination with the imponderabilia of the collections' histories might result in an aporia: of course it cannot be excluded for sure that Serpot was extracted from the sand in Dime, and of course other manuscripts with a clear Dime hand might have wandered elsewhere. However, the sheer amount of papyri in Vienna that can be attributed either to the Dime group or to the group of Fayyumic town x makes it likely that we are dealing with two places. Because of the consistency of those two groups plus Tebtynis as a third homogenous group it is by far more probable that we are getting closer to the truth to accept those three provenances. I propose to work on the following basis to get an idea of the intellectual atmosphere in the house of life that was once attached to the temple of Soknopaios: all papyri with a clear Dime-palaeography should be taken as emanations of its education and discourse, even though one or the other scribe might have left Dime and settled elsewhere, but it is hard to believe that the training in Dime took place without debating contents and that it did not coin a certain Dime school influential to a scribe's mind for the rest of his life. Thus the hand might migrate, but the spirit is still Dime. In lucky, but rare cases the findspot can exactly be pinpointed, yet in particular for all scrolls of the Serpot group it would be wise to keep them apart and form them to one complex.

Up to now I have termed their provenance as «Fayyumic town x» to be as neutral as possible. Is there a chance to determine the findspot of the Serpot group more precisely than that? Reymond thought that it is Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë, and – hence – it entered the Trismegistos database as the provenance of some papyri<sup>97</sup>. That principal town of the Fayyum would be virtually absent from the demotic documentation of Roman date otherwise<sup>98</sup>, and the archaeological documentation for Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë does not correspond to the town's importance in antiquity<sup>99</sup>. Still I have doubts that it is Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë, as

<sup>96</sup> PInsinger esp. 22nd instruction – XXVII 22–XIX 11. 'Onkhsheshonqi XV 15, XXI 25. *Myth* x+V 10–x+VIII 9.

<sup>97</sup> pVienna D 6319, 6330

<sup>98</sup> Looking up «demotic» in the field «language/script», «Krokodilopolis» in «provenance» and «00» (for Fayyum) in «region» on [<http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/search.php>] yields 35 records, 12 of them date to the Ptolemaic period (the date given in the list of records is not always correct, one has to consult the record itself!), 6 are to be excluded because the information is based on Reymond and would lead to a circular argument, 17 dating to the Roman period have been described, but not published.

<sup>99</sup> The review of the archaeological research on the Fayyum given by DAVOLI, *L'archeologia urbana* cit., devotes 10 pages to Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë (pp. 149–159), whereas, e.g., Dime



Reymond believed, because only literary and scientific texts are present in the Serpot group, and normally one would expect a broader spreading of genres. It could be the case that due to the accidents of unsystematic and incomplete excavations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë *sebakhin* or *fellahin* discovered an area where in antiquity just demotic literary and scientific papyri were deposited. Yet Greek documentary papyri from Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë are well-attested from (possibly) the same find. Why should they be kept with demotic literary papyri, but apart from the demotic documentary manuscripts? On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that demotic was increasingly less frequently used for documentary texts in the Roman period – and that is what we are talking about. Thus maybe we must not expect to have too many, if any demotic documentary papyri from the Fayyum's metropolis certainly being more in line with Roman administration than Dime<sup>100</sup>. This would raise the possibility of being right in identifying the Serpot group as a dossier from Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë. According to Paola Davoli the papyrus finds of 1877 to 1878 were not made in the *temenos*, but somewhere in the settlement. The current situation of the site does, I am afraid, prevent us from excluding Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë for sure because the area of ancient Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë that Paola Davoli reproduced in her book on the urban archaeology in the Fayyum has almost completely disappeared beneath modern buildings<sup>101</sup>. Scientific excavations which could answer the questions raised here cannot be conducted there anymore.

Yet, the pCarlsberg 159+PSI inv. D 10 verso, whose hand shows strong resemblances with the Serpot group (see table 1), which has been found in Tebtynis, and to which I have referred in illustrating potential models to explain papyri in unexpected places, may indicate that Karanis could be Fayyumic town x since the Greek on the recto once refers to Karanis. Lacking a precise context of this toponym's occurrence in the yet unpublished Greek text, it is hard to say how conclusive this is. Ryholt refers to a manuscript of the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, pCarlsberg 600, on whose verso again Karanis appears in the Greek, but the papyrus remains unpublished and at the moment I cannot say whether its palaeography associates it with the Serpot group, too<sup>102</sup>. Prada has

and Tebtynis receive thrice as much each. This does not indicate Davoli's disrespect for the site, but clearly reflects the situation of previous research.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. LIPPERT-SCHENTULEIT, *Urkunden* cit., pp. 4 f.

<sup>101</sup> DAVOLI, *L'archeologia urbana* cit., p. 159. Compare [<http://goo.gl/maps/pSriz>].

<sup>102</sup> Cf. RYHOLT, *Narrative Literature* cit., p. 2. In a Festschrift edited by R. Jasnow and G. Widmer, to be published in 2016, Ryholt will present a Demotic Papyrus excavated by the University of Michigan in Karanis (personal communication). We shall see how this will change our picture of Fayyum palaeography.



already briefly considered Karanis as an option but dismissed it without convincing reasons<sup>103</sup>. In the course of his argument concerning – as he thinks – a Dime provenance for his Demotic dream book pBerlin P 8769 he points to the dealer Farag Ismail who is reported to have «excavated» in the area of Dime around 1890, but at the same time papyri from Karanis flooded the market as much as papyri from Dime. This coincidence would explain why the complexes have been so intimately mixed up that many scholars were inclined to see both groups as one find.

#### 4. The Corpus of Egyptian Non-documentary Sources from Dime.

Under the premise of what has been said so far – places where scribes were trained rather than the manuscripts' find spots and the assumption of a coherent scribal tradition at Dime – we can collect all the demotic non-documentary texts which share the same ductus typical for Dime and which have been published, mentioned somewhere or are known to me through my own work. From this we can gain an impression of which topics and subjects were taught or discussed in the house of life in Dime (cf. also table 2).

It does not come as a surprise that religious texts are a substantial group among which many still quite long scrolls contain hymns to Sobek which describe him as a solar-cosmic creator god:

- pVienna D 6951<sup>104</sup>,
- pStrassbourg dém. 31 and pBM EA 76638<sup>105</sup>,
- pBritish Library 264<sup>106</sup>.

Other deities are present, but less prominently. There is a hymn to Isis as universal deity (pVienna D 6297+6329+10101 recto) and one that praises

<sup>103</sup> PRADA, *Papyrus Berlin P. 8769* cit., p. 312 note 19.

<sup>104</sup> F. HOFFMANN, *Die Hymnensammlung des P. Wien D6951*, in K. RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications, Copenhagen 2002, pp. 219-228. ID., *Der demotische Papyrus Wien D 6951*, in QUACK (Hrsg.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit* cit., pp. 121-132.

<sup>105</sup> G. WIDMER, *Sobek who arises in the Primaeval Ocean* (pBM EA 76638 and pStrassbourg dém. 31), in M. CAPASSO-P. DAVOLI (eds.), *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum*, Lecce 2007, («Papyrologica Lupiensia», 14, 2005 [2007]) pp. 347-354.

<sup>106</sup> STADLER, *Eine neue Quelle* cit., pp. 265-273.



Thoth (pBM EA 76126)<sup>107</sup>. Whether pVienna D 4869+6910+6963–67 and pVienna D 12277+12495 which are fragments of parallels to a festival song during a feast of drunkenness in honour of Bastet are from Dime is unknown to me because those texts have just been cited and still remain unpublished<sup>108</sup>, thus their ductus is not commonly accessible at the moment. The chief manuscript that is most complete comes from Tebtynis (pCarlsberg 69[+pTebtynis Tait 10?])<sup>109</sup>.

Hymns have a cultic setting and were used in the ritual. Rituals are also attested from Dime, such as the *Daily Ritual* for Sobek, the Lord of Pai, in a series of manuscripts<sup>110</sup>. This ritual's function is fairly well known through parallels from other temples, although its decipherment poses serious problems. In contrast to this, pBerlin P 6750 that is equally difficult to read and whose interpretation requires some explanation as put forward by Ghislaine Widmer and modified by myself lacks such parallels<sup>111</sup>. The papyrus refers to Osiris in the first and to Horus in the second part, and Widmer originally suggested that it may contain a ritual that could be celebrated for the funeral of the deceased divine crocodile (= Osiris, part I) and the enthronement of its living successor (= Horus, part II). However, it is a lot easier to assume an Osirian cult at Dime, as one would expect for any proper Egyptian temple during that period<sup>112</sup>. Con-

<sup>107</sup> M.A. STADLER, *New Light on the Universality of Isis* (pVienna D. 6297+6329+10101), in J.F. QUACK-C. WITSCHER (eds.), *Religious Flows in the Roman Empire, The Expansion of Oriental Cults (Isis, Mithras, Iuppiter Dolichenus) from East to West and Back Again*, *Orientalische Religionen in der Antike*, Tübingen in press. ID., *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*, EQTÄ, 7, Berlin, Münster 2012, p. 100. For pVienna D 6297+6329+10101 recto see also below.

<sup>108</sup> F. HOFFMANN-J. F. QUACK, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, EQTÄ, 4, Berlin 2007, pp. 305-311 and 370. J. F. QUACK, *Quelques apports récents des études démotiques à la compréhension du livre II d'Hérodote*, in L. COULON/P. GIOVANNELLI-JOUANNA/F. KIMMEL-CLAUZET (éds.), *Hérodote et l'Égypte, Regards croisés sur le Livre II de l'Enquête d'Hérodote*, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 51, Lyon 2013, pp. 76-79.

<sup>109</sup> QUACK, *Einführung*<sup>2</sup> cit., pp. 102-105.

<sup>110</sup> Most recent preliminary report: STADLER, *Textmobilität* cit. See also ID., *Einführung* cit., pp. 114-116.

<sup>111</sup> G. WIDMER, *On Egyptian Religion at Soknopaiu Nesos in the Roman Period*, in LIPPERT-SCHENTULEIT (Hrsg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos* cit., pp. 171-184. M.A. STADLER, *Interpreting the Architecture of the Temenos. Demotic Papyri and the Cult in Dime*, in CAPASSO-DAVOLI (eds.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I* cit., pp. 379-386.

<sup>112</sup> In the meantime G. WIDMER, *La stèle de Paësis (Louvre E 25983) et quelques formes d'Osiris dans le Fayoum aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine*, in L. COULON (éd.), *Le culte d'Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C., Découvertes et travaux récents*, Bibliothèque d'Étude, Le Caire 2010, pp. 91-94, seems to have changed her mind and rather to think along those lines. See



sidering the presence of Osirian liturgies in the Dime material<sup>113</sup>, relics of an Osirian cult at Dime in the archaeological documentation<sup>114</sup>, a processional feast for Osiris (*p3 h<sup>c</sup> Wsir*)<sup>115</sup> and the attestation of priests of Osiris, among them individuals bearing the title of a *hm-ntr Wsir* «prophet (= high priest) of Osiris», this is not too farfetched<sup>116</sup>, whereas a projection of the contents of pBerlin P 6750 to constellations of the Sobek mythology, as proposed by Widmer and basically accepted by myself in the past, is unnecessarily complicated.

Particularly in Vienna many fragments of further liturgical texts are preserved whose Middle Egyptian language is written down in an unetymological and/or phonetic orthography<sup>117</sup>. Because of both this kind of writing and the fragmentary state of preservation those papyri are not easily deciphered and classified as to their precise ritual context within the religious life of the Soknopaios sanctuary unless, they are identified by parallels, joined with other fragments or connected with a wider context, such as the *Ritual of Opening the Mouth*. How dangerous it is to identify papyri before they were closely and carefully studied shows Reymond's article of 1983, where she described the Isis-hymn of pVienna D 10101 recto as «Glorification of Cleopatra Philopator»<sup>118</sup>. Apparently between 1983 and the year of her death 1986, she found further fragments belonging to the same scroll that is now pVienna D 6297+6329+10101 recto because, when I first saw the papyrus, all those fragments were laid out in one glass frame accompanied by her handwritten notes and guidelines drawn with a pencil which are familiar from her monographs in which she published demotic texts in the Vienna collection<sup>119</sup>. This extension

also what the *Book of the Temple* says about this matter: J.F. QUACK, *Les normes pour le culte d'Osiris. Les indications du Manuel du Temple sur les lieux et les prêtres osiriens*, in COULON (éd.), *Le culte d'Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C.* cit., pp. 23-30, and in general the entire volume.

<sup>113</sup> See the unpublished pVienna D 6013, 6640, 6486+12338 and 6039. The last one, as Quack informs me, bears a spell for censuring which is attested in the *Ritual of Opening the Mouth*. All papyri are to be published by Quack.

<sup>114</sup> See the contribution by Davoli this volume.

<sup>115</sup> S.L. LIPPERT-M. SCHENTULEIT, *Ostraka*, DDD, 1, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 9 f. (no. 1, l. 3).

<sup>116</sup> See the contribution by Lippert this volume. STADLER, *Demotica* cit., pp. 258 n. 6.

<sup>117</sup> E.g., pVienna D 6333+6488g (unpublished), pVienna D 6334 (unpublished). For the terminology «unetymological» versus «phonetic orthography» in demotic see STADLER, *Einführung* cit., pp. 118-122. Id., *Textmobilität* cit., note 17.

<sup>118</sup> REYMOND, *Demotic Literary Works* cit., p. 46.

<sup>119</sup> REYMOND, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples* cit. EAD., *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* cit. For my work on that papyrus: STADLER, *Einführung* cit., pp. 106-112.



of available text changes its identification considerably. It is rather a hymn to a universalistic goddess, in all likelihood Isis, although her name is not given in the surviving fragments and proves how fanciful the designation as «Glorification of Cleopatra Philopator» is.

Another factor increases the difficulties in deciphering and understanding many of the non-documentary texts. Apart from some liturgical texts (including hymns) which are to be expected for a temple library or a house of life, there are not many standard texts found in the corpus. In fact compositions dominate the sources from Dime that appear to be exceptional at first sight, whereas the funerary literature that is so prominent in Egyptologists' minds is virtually absent from those papyri. This is not surprising because the necropoleis of Dime are largely unexplored, and some of them have humid conditions, which are disadvantageous for the preservation of papyri<sup>120</sup>. The unusual variety of the contents beyond the funerary themes makes the surviving papyri from Dime so important for Egyptology in general rivaled only by the finds from Tebtynis: we are not dealing with a corpus from a necropolis, but with texts from a living sanctuary. Thus the Dime papyri necessarily provide us with new, hitherto unknown texts, since in all likelihood they are the relics of the so seldom, if not uniquely surviving temple libraries or libraries of the temples' houses of life. Some of the compositions were apparently copied from scrolls in other temples, such as Thebes and Memphis. In a first line of one fragmentary surviving column of pVienna D 6094+6338+6614+6672+6696+6702+6704+6708+6714+6715 a rubricized title refers to «[...] which he writes .?. of the temples of Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, of the great god» (D 6614 l. 1) and might indicate that the scribe drew directly or indirectly on a master copy from Karnak<sup>121</sup>. pVienna D 4893+10014+10103 verso on the other hand evokes Hermupolitan or Memphite associations, when the text refers to the world's creation during which both Ptah and Thoth play a central role and then equating four manifestations of Ptah with emanations of Thoth<sup>122</sup>. Likewise

<sup>120</sup> B.P. GRENFELL-A.S. HUNT, *Englische Ausgrabungen im Faijûm 1900/01*, «APF» 1 (1901), p. 561. G. CATON-THOMPSON/E.W. GARDNER, *The Desert Fayum*, London 1934, I, pp. 157 f.

<sup>121</sup> [...] *iw=f sh' in..* n *hw.wt-ntr n Imn-R' nb nsw n ts.w<y> n p3 ntr 'z*, with *ns.wt* «thrones» written unetymologically/phonetically as *nsw* «king». Cf. JOHNSON, *Review of Reymond* cit., p. 302. Reymond's *hk* – REYMOND, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* cit., p. 144 – is mistaken by the flaking off of ink so that the *in* looks like a long *n* plus a loop = *h*. The phonetic and unusual writing of *ts.wy* has been misread as *n3 hrt.w* in CDD i 128 [[http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/CDD\\_%27I.pdf](http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/CDD_%27I.pdf)] and CDD h 19 [[http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/CDD\\_H2.pdf](http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/CDD_H2.pdf)].

<sup>122</sup> Unpublished. A publication of the papyrus is being prepared by the present author. See also above for that papyrus.



pBerlin P 11912 verso and pVienna D 12006 verso make me think of references to primaeval events in mentioning the Nun, but this may also be part of a hymn to Sobek who could be characterized as a solar cosmic creator<sup>123</sup>. I cannot make definite statements until I have studied those badly preserved papyri more closely.

Consequently, among the papyri from Dime manuscripts of treatises are found which for a long time have been unknown and thus did not enter the Egyptological canon of important Egyptian texts, such as the *Book of the Temple* or the *Book of Thoth*, the former still awaiting its full publication<sup>124</sup> and the latter having been made available to Egyptologists almost 200 years after the birth of Egyptology<sup>125</sup>. Both, however, are to be expected for the House of Life, the *Book of the Temple* being a manual on the ideal temple and its organization, the *Book of Thoth* being a handbook of ancient Egyptian mythology and through its complexity, which forces the reader to ponder about the contents, a good introduction to the Egyptian religious thinking. Although I doubt that all the manuscripts proposed to come from Dime were written by scribes graduating from its school, for these two compositions specimens are attested which show the typical Dime hand<sup>126</sup>. The concern of Dime priests with constructing a temple – in the Roman period a new building phase was inaugurated – may have

<sup>123</sup> Both papyri are unpublished. A publication of the papyrus is being prepared by the present author. For pVienna D 12006 verso see STADLER, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung* cit., pp. 253-256, for the time being.

<sup>124</sup> See among the many preliminary reports – the most recent one known to me is QUACK, *Les normes* cit., pp. 23-30 – for this text see, in particular for the purpose of the article at hand, the remarks of ID., *Die Überlieferungsstruktur* cit., pp. 105-115, whose explanations I would modify according to the reservations which I have expressed above. See also ID., *Vom Dekret des Neferkasokar zum Dialog des Imhotep*, «Sokar» 27 (2013), pp. 64-81.

<sup>125</sup> JASNOW-ZAUZICH, *Book of Thoth* cit. For a summary of the scholarly discussion on the *Book of Thoth*: STADLER, *Einführung* cit., pp. 177-187. In the meantime are to be added to the literature cited there: R.A. JASNOW, «Caught in the Web of Words». *Remarks on the Imagery of Writing and Hieroglyphs in the Book of Thoth*, «JARCE» 47 (2011), pp. 297-317; ID., *Birds and Bird Imagery in the Book of Thoth*, in R. BAILLEUL-LESUER (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth, Birds in Ancient Egypt*, Oriental Institute Museum Publications, 35, Chicago 2012, pp. 71-76. C. LEITZ, *Die Geierweibchen des Thothbuches in den 42 Gauen Ägyptens*, «RdÉ» 63 (2012), pp. 137-186. JASNOW-ZAUZICH, *Conversations in the House of Life* cit.

<sup>126</sup> For the *Book of the Temple* the hieratic pBerlin P 23071 mentioned above is to be cited. For the *Book of Thoth*: pBerlin P 15652 verso with a – for Dime – not terribly typical hand, but the recto bears a version of the Daily Ritual of Soknopaios (explicitly mentioning Soknopaios) in the typical Dime hand. Furthermore pBerlin P 8027+Vienna D 12438+12439, possibly also pBerlin P 15798 verso, pBerlin P 8933 and pVienna D 12240.



prompted the description of a temple wall as well (pVienna D 10100)<sup>127</sup>, but its exact function is not so clear: was it the draft for a sanctuary's decoration or rather an *aide-mémoire* for a visitor to keep a record of the decoration<sup>128</sup>? The hieroglyphic pVienna Aeg 9976 would be a comparable papyrus whose designation as a «blueprint» for a gate raises similar questions<sup>129</sup>. The latter is one of the rare hieroglyphic texts from Dime, and its provenance is backed by the explicit reference to «Soknopaios (...) who listens to the prayers», although Erich Winter remains cautious and deems the Dime-provenance «most likely», and admittedly Soknopaios may be invoked elsewhere as well, such as in the minor sanctuaries of Soknopaios in Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë, Dionysias, Neiloupolis and in Pelusium in the Fayyum<sup>130</sup>. The other potential Dime-papyrus inscribed with hieroglyphs is a manuscript of the *Book of the Fayyum* of which now pieces are kept in Vienna, Paris and Berlin<sup>131</sup>. Beinlich does not venture to propose a provenance, but it would be surprising if no copy of this text, which explains the cult topography of the Fayyum and presents this region as an Egypt *en miniature*<sup>132</sup>, existed in the priestly community of Dime at all. Here it should be mentioned that the Lecce mission to Dime has found very small fragments of hieroglyphic papyri within the *temenos* of the Soknopaios temple<sup>133</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> G. VITTMANN, *Ein Entwurf zur Dekoration eines Heiligtums in Soknopaiu Nesos* (pWien D 10100), «Enchoria» 28 (2002/2003), pp. 106-136. STADLER, *Interpreting cit.*, pp. 379-386. H. KOCKELMANN, *Die „Grammatik des Tempels“. Wie Religion und Kult Architektur und Dekoration bestimmen*, in D. von RECKLINGHAUSEN-M. A. STADLER (Hrsg.), *KultOrte, Mythen, Wissenschaft und Alltag in den Tempeln Ägyptens*, Berlin 2011, pp. 23 f.

<sup>128</sup> STADLER, *Interpreting cit.*, pp. 379-381.

<sup>129</sup> E. WINTER, *Der Entwurf für eine Türinschrift auf einem ägyptischen Papyrus. Papyrus Aeg. 9976 der Papyrus-Sammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, «NAWG» 3 (1967), pp. 59-80.

<sup>130</sup> For those see the contributions by Capasso and Lippert this volume.

<sup>131</sup> pBerlin P 14406a+Louvre AF 13421+Vienna Aeg 9975: BEINLICH, *Buch vom Fayum cit.*, pp. 24 f. ID., *Ein Fragment des Buches vom Fayum (W/P) in Berlin*, «ZÄS» 123 (1996), pp. 10-17; ID., *Der Mythos in seiner Landschaft. Das ägyptische „Buch vom Fayum“*, Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel, 11, Dettelbach 2013. The intellectual context of the text has been briefly summarized by R.A. JASNOW, *Greco-Roman Period Demotic Texts from the Fayyum and their Relationship to The Book of Faiyum*, in H. BEINLICH-R. SCHULZ-A. WIECZOREK (eds.), *Egypt's Mysterious Book of the Faiyum*, Dettelbach 2013, pp. 79-87.

<sup>132</sup> S.L. LIPPERT, *Das Fayyum als Abbild Ägyptens. Zu den topographischen Abschnitten des Buches vom Fayyum*, in C. ARLT-M.A. STADLER (Hrsg.), *Das Fayyum in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit, Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike*, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 95-118.

<sup>133</sup> P. DAVOLI, *Lo scavo archeologico: 2003-2009*, in CAPASSO-DAVOLI (eds.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I cit.*, p. 136. M. CAPASSO, *I papiri e gli ostraka greci, figurati e copti (2001-2009)*, *ibidem*, p. 232 n. 5.



The *Book of the Temple*, the *Book of the Fayyum* and the *Book of Thoth* have also survived elsewhere, whereas other texts are almost uniquely preserved from Dime. One of them – if one leaves the hieratic parallel of pBerlin P 23057a-j possibly from Hermupolis Magna aside – is pVienna D 12006 recto and the fragment of a parallel, pVienna D 12194. Despite its rather complete state of preservation the classification of pVienna D 12006 recto is a difficult question<sup>134</sup>. If it is to be interpreted as a ritual of Isis interrogating her son about the future of the country, then it could be part of a ritual similar to the one contained in pSalt 825<sup>135</sup>. Such a ritual for the maintenance of life in Egypt would have had its place in the House of Life, and the *Book of the Fayyum* mentions it as being performed in the temple of Rasehui<sup>136</sup>. If that is correct – and I would not categorically exclude such an interpretation –, it should be cited here. However, the function of the text is controversially discussed and some scholars prefer to see it as a divinatory handbook for everyday use<sup>137</sup>. On the other hand, the evidence for a cult of Harpocrates in Dime, who would be the deity answering Isis' questions<sup>138</sup>, could corroborate the interpretation of Isis being in a dialogue with her son.

The other text that survives solely from Dime is pVienna D 10000, the *Lamb of Bocchoris*<sup>139</sup>, written by the famous Satabous who also may have been the scribe of pVienna D 12006. PVienna D 10000 is possibly just the only surviving manuscript from a longer tradition of an oppositional text announcing the coming of a reign corresponding to the ideals of Egyptian kingship. The *Lamb of Bocchoris* may have been adapted during its history of transmission to match the several un-Egyptian (in the sense of ideology rather than ethnicity) reigns since the Late Period to which Egyptian priests could have been in opposition.

Apart from the mytho-political occupation with a more distant and happy

<sup>134</sup> STADLER, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung* cit. ID., *Einführung* cit., pp. 165–177, for a critical review of the scholarly debate.

<sup>135</sup> DERCHAIN, *Le Papyrus Salt 825* cit.

<sup>136</sup> BEINLICH, *Buch vom Fayum* cit., pp. 240f., ll. 1021–1038.

<sup>137</sup> See the summary in STADLER, *Einführung* cit., pp. 165–177.

<sup>138</sup> See the contributions by Arlt, Capasso and Lippert this volume on documentary and Greek evidence for installations of some Horus (Arlt) or a chapel of Horus, son of Isis, (Capasso, Lippert) and A. CERVÍ, *L'arredo ligneo del tempio di Soknopaios*, in CAPASSO-DAVOLI (eds.), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I* cit., pp. 269–314, esp. 311–313.

<sup>139</sup> K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Das Lamm des Bokchoris*, in Generaldirektion der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (ed.), *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer. Cent.)* cit., pp. 165–174. H.J. THISEN, *Das Lamm des Bokchoris*, in A. BLASIUS-U. SCHIPPER (Hrsg.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten, Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, OLA, 107, Leuven-Paris-Sterling 2002, pp. 113–138; HOFFMANN-QUACK, *Anthologie* cit., pp. 181–183. See STADLER, *Einführung* cit., pp. 27–29, for a summary of the scholarly discussion.



future as it appears in the *Lamb of Bocchoris*, the interpretation of *omina* and divination, *i.e.*, the occupation with the nearer future was an issue at Dime as well. The temple of Soknopaios served as a place of future telling as can be concluded from the oracle tickets found in Dime<sup>140</sup>. Whether more scientific methods were used at Dime, such as the observation of the sky is partly questionable. In his edition of the demotic papyrus on eclipse and lunar *omina* (based on a Babylonian model)<sup>141</sup> in Vienna, Parker recognizes similarities to pKrall, *i.e.* affinities to the Serpot group, but the general ductus also has some remote similarities with Dime, although typical forms of signs and groups are missing. However, pBerlin P 8345 is an astrologer's handbook written in a clear Dime hand, and it aims at predicting general tendencies of a person's life based on the planets' constellations at the moment of his or her birth<sup>142</sup>. Furthermore, the observation of animal behaviour or accidents that is given, *e.g.*, in the *Book of the Gecko*, is documented in a papyrus surely from Dime<sup>143</sup>: the way a gecko falls down, an unusual albeit not impossible occurrence, is taken as an omen. The aforementioned pVienna 6094+... (p. 22) looks as if it were a horoscope, and would belong to this category as well<sup>144</sup>. The genre is also attested in Greek from the site (if the papyrus was not sold as recycling papyrus from Dime to some other place where the horoscope was written): pBerlin P 6864 bears on the recto a Demotic account, whereas the verso is inscribed with a Greek horoscope<sup>145</sup>. If pVienna D. 12006 recto is a handbook of technical divination, as proposed by Quack<sup>146</sup>, it could also shed light on the cult of the

<sup>140</sup> E. BRESCIANI, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford I*, Mailand 1975, pp. 2-12. C.J. MARTIN, *Questions to the Gods. Demotic Oracle Texts from Dime*, in F. HOFFMANN-H.J. THISEN (Hrsg.), *Res severa verum gaudium, Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, Studia Demotica, 6, Leuven-Paris-Dudley 2004, pp. 413-426. CAPASSO, *I papiri e gli ostraka cit.*, pp. 236, 238, 240, 246 f. STADLER, *Interpreting cit.*, pp. 382-384.

<sup>141</sup> R.A. PARKER, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina*, Brown Egyptological Studies, 2, Providence 1959.

<sup>142</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1902, p. 28, pl. 97; J.F. QUACK, *Demotische magische und divinatorische Texte*, in B. JANOWSKI-G. WILHELM (Hrsg.), *Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörungen*, Texte aus dem Umfeld des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge, Gütersloh 2008, pp. 368-370.

<sup>143</sup> pBerlin P 15680, K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Das demotische «Buch des Geckos» und die Palmomantik des Melampus*, in LEPPER (Hrsg.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung cit.*, pp. 355-370.

<sup>144</sup> JOHNSON, *Review of Reymond cit.*, p. 302.

<sup>145</sup> Unpublished. A photograph, to which Marie-Pierre Chaufray drew my attention, is kept in the archives of the Chair of Egyptology at Würzburg University.

<sup>146</sup> QUACK, *Demotische magische und divinatorische Texte cit.*, pp. 362-365.



temple as an institution of pastoral care, and consequently on the education of priests in Dime.

The dossier of literary texts in the sense of *belles lettres* is, in comparison to the religious (mythological and ritualistic) corpus quite slender. Of narrative literature I am only aware of the story of Hor, son of Pawenesh, which is preserved in two demotic manuscripts, both unpublished<sup>147</sup>. The Nakhthorshenastory has been inscribed by a scribe who went to school in Dime, but the relics of its scroll, pCarlsberg 400, were found in Tebtynis<sup>148</sup>. Thus one might get the impression that those who were interested in juicy stories left the holy and religious Dime to settle in Tebtynis where fleshly matters were more *en vogue*<sup>149</sup>. For wisdom literature there are at least two manuscripts known to me. One has been published by Quack, a little fragment with parallels to maxims found in pInsinger<sup>150</sup>. Another one is pBerlin P 15709 recto that combines sentences from 'Onksheshonqi and pInsinger<sup>151</sup>.

## 5 The «Second Hand» of Dime – did it Exist?

Egyptologists have often set apart two schools from the other ones in the Roman Fayyum by localizing both at Dime, one that may be called the Satabous school and one whose manuscripts have been compared with the De-

<sup>147</sup> In classes taught by K.-Th. Zauzich I saw: pBerlin P 15675+23725+30023, pBerlin P 30007. See also K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Neue literarische Texte in demotischer Schrift*, «Enchoria» 8.2 (1978), p. 36, who mentions three manuscripts in Berlin. Aramaic version: B. PORTEN-A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. Literature, Accounts, Lists*, 3, [Jerusalem], Winona Lake, Ind op. 1993, pp. 54-57; A. GIANITO, *A New Edition of Aramaic Texts from Egypt (Ahiqar, Bar Punesh, Bisitun, Accounts and Lists)*, «Biblica» 76 (1995), pp. 90 f.; B. PORTEN, *The Prophecy of Hor bar Punesh and the Demise of Righteousness. An Aramaic Papyrus in the British Library*, in HOFFMANN-THISSEN (Hrsg.), *Res severa verum gaudium* cit., pp. 427-466. See also QUACK, *Einführung*<sup>2</sup> cit., pp. 73 f; ID., *The Interaction of Egyptian and Aramaic Literature*, in O. LIPSCHITZ-G.N. KNOPPERS-M. OEMING (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period, Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, Winona Lake, IN 2011, pp. 375-401. RYHOLT, *Narrative Literature* cit., p. 14.

<sup>148</sup> See above.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. LIPPERT- SCHENTULEIT (Hrsg.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos* cit., p. VII, for the background of these notes which ought not to be taken too serious.

<sup>150</sup> pBerlin P 29007: J.F. QUACK, *Eine neue Berliner Handschrift des demotischen Weisheitsbuches (Papyrus Berlin 29007)*, «Enchoria» 28 (2002/2003), pp. 85-88.

<sup>151</sup> Unpublished, mentioned by K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Ein antikes demotisches Namenbuch*, in P. J. FRANDSEN-K. RYHOLT (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies. The Carlsberg Papyri 3*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications, Copenhagen 2000, p. 28.



motivic narrative *Egyptians and Amazones*, in short Serpot. Those papyri I have classified as the «Serpot group» *faut de mieux*. The Satabous group can be safely connected with Dime because this school produced a plethora of documentary papyri that deal with Dime-matters. Through them the religious, literary and scientific texts with a similar ductus can be attributed to the same school. The Serpot school is only known through literary and scientific texts which do not offer any information from their contents concerning a clear connection to any place. Therefore, the view that both schools were based at Dime has to be questioned simply due to the lack of sources supporting this hypothesis. Rather the documentation from two places has been preserved, Dime and a Fayyumic town x. At Dime scribes were trained in a great variety of genres, whereas the other school is to be localized in Fayyumic town x from where only individuals denoting literary and scientific texts are known. This finding does not mean that in Fayyumic town x no documentary texts have ever been written – that is quite unlikely –, but that either the area where the documentary Demotic papyri were kept has not been discovered or that those texts were exclusively written in Greek in this town during the Roman period.

Occasionally a papyrus of the Serpot school (or is it rather the Tebtynis school?) can be found in Dime (*Book of Thoth* L01), but also in Tebtynis (pCarlsberg 159+PSI inv. D 10 verso, pCarlsberg 555). Maybe the migration of a scribe or a papyrus is an explanation, but whether the bulk of material written in this school's hand came from either site must remain uncertain due to the circumstances of discovery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I would prefer another, third place, maybe Karanis as the evidence of pCarlsberg 159+PSI inv. D 10 verso suggests. However, the vicissitudes of life already in antiquity prevent us from being too certain. Therefore, I propose not to look primarily for a place where a papyrus has or might have been found, but at which temple school its scribe has learnt writing. Thus, for the material that entered the European collections in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, we would move from determining the provenance of scrolls to determining the provenance of scribal individuals. Nevertheless, a concentration of material from a particular site in a given collection indicates the possibility of having to deal with a find from there. In this sense, if we look at the dossier of non-documentary Egyptian papyri that were most likely discovered in Dime, the diversity of texts still bears witness to an impressive intellectual milieu at the temple of Soknopaios in the Roman Period.

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Table 1: Comparison of selected signs, groups, and words in various hands

presumably found in Dime											
«School of Satabous»											
contracts DDD III	conjugation basis fw (plus Suf- fix)	wlj3 «to wish, desire»	tripartite b	nwe	nfr «beautiful, perfect»	relative converter nt- tw	nfr ʕ3 «great gods/ nfr and/or ʕ3	lj3* «to throw, leave»	ljpr «to exist, come into being»	lm «not»	
	𐤀𐤋𐤍 lwj3, no. 40 DE 11.	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 no. 36 DE 9	𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤓 bsk «farmers», no. 8 DG 2 𐤇𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓 Hbbs «Satabous», no. 23 DA 10	.	.	𐤍𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤕 nt-lw-n, no. 2 DA 18	𐤍𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓 no. 2 DG 6	.	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 no. 36 DT 16 𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓 no. 39 DE 17	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 no. 40 DE 9	
lm, w- agrec- ments <sup>152</sup>	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 lw-w, pBerlin P 7059, 12	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 7059, 13 𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 15669+30011 II 5	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 bw-lr-fw negative perfect, p Vienna D 4857, 9	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 «time», pLouvre E 10341+ 10342, lower half x+7	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 7059, 14	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 7059, 4	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 7059, 1	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 7059, 2	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 7059, 12	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 pBerlin P 7059, 9	
receipts DDD II	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 lw-w, no. 48 E 13 𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 lw-w, no. 44, 8	.	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 Hbbs «Satabous», no. 7 A 5 𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 Hbbs «Satabous», no. 13, 15	.	.	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 nt lw-w, no. 49 IV 7 𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 nt lw-w, no. 45, 14	𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤓 no. 65, 2	.	.	.	

<sup>152</sup> pBerlin P 7059: SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus Berlin* cit., pl. 45. – pBerlin P 15569+30011: unpublished. – pLouvre E 10341+10342: unpublished. – pVienna D 4852: E. BRESCIANI, *Un documento demotico dell'anno 15° di Domiziano dall'archivio templare di Dime*, in Gen-eraldirektion der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (ed.), *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (P. Rainer. Cent.) cit., pp. 181-184. K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Die Be-dingungen für das Schreiben von Soknopaiu Nesos*, «Enchoria» 12 (1984), pp. 87-90.



Found at		presumably found in Dime										"School of Satabous" (cont.)									
		Technis																			
pVienna D 10000	𐤀𐤁𐤁 x+III 10 hwf.	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 x+II 3	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 in <i>fr-bn</i> «evil», x+III 2	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 «to see», x+II 19	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 x+III 4	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 x+II 5	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 (just <i>nfr</i> ) x+IV 2	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 x+II 7	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 x+III 3	./.											
pVienna D 12006 (see the glossary of the <i>editio princeps</i> )	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 hwf.	𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁																			

<sup>153</sup> The plates in the publication are in the wrong order: p. 372 labeled as «Tafel 2 Pap. Berlin P. 15680, 2» shows column 3, and on p. 373 labeled as «Taf. 3 Pap. Berlin P. 15680, 2» we see column 2.

<sup>154</sup> For this form of *nfr* see J.F. QUACK, *Balsamierung und Totengericht im Papyrus Insinger*, «Enchoria» 25 (1999), p. 28. M.A. STADLER, *Weiser und Wesir. Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im ägyptischen Totenbuch*, Orientalische Religionen in der Antike, 1, Tübingen 2009, p. 437 n. 50.



Serpot group	Karanis?	Serpot									
		𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hwj</i> , x+VII 40 𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hwj</i> , x+II 24	𐩀𐩢𐩨 XII 44	𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hby</i> «killing, slaughters», x+VII 40	𐩀𐩢𐩨 «to see», IX 6	𐩀𐩢𐩨 VI x+25	𐩀𐩢𐩨 x+VII 36	𐩀𐩢𐩨 x+II 22	𐩀𐩢𐩨 VII 35	𐩀𐩢𐩨 II 6	𐩀𐩢𐩨 IX 2
pKral		𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hwj</i> , IX 29	𐩀𐩢𐩨 IX 7 𐩀𐩢𐩨 VIII 32	𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>bn</i> «evil», IX 9 𐩀𐩢𐩨 VIII 7 𐩀𐩢𐩨 XI 10 <i>hby</i> «to send»	𐩀𐩢𐩨 «to see», XVIII 3	𐩀𐩢𐩨 VI 2	.	𐩀𐩢𐩨 IX 10	𐩀𐩢𐩨 VIII 5	𐩀𐩢𐩨 XXII 22	𐩀𐩢𐩨 IX 15 𐩀𐩢𐩨 XXII 29
pBerlin P 8769, P 15683 <sup>155</sup>		𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hwj</i> , P 8769x+11 𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hw</i> , P 8769x+12	.	𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>bn</i> «evil», P 8769 x+14	𐩀𐩢𐩨 «to see», P 15683 x+II 2	𐩀𐩢𐩨 P 8769 x+111	𐩀𐩢𐩨 P 15683 x+II 2	𐩀𐩢𐩨 (just 's) P 8769 x+III 8	.	𐩀𐩢𐩨 P 8769 x+IV 3	.
pVienna D 6257 <sup>156</sup>		𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hwj</i> , x+VIII 4	.	𐩀𐩢𐩨 <i>hw</i> - <i>hr</i> negative acorist, x+XI 18	𐩀𐩢𐩨 «to see», x+XIII 25	𐩀𐩢𐩨 x+V x+4	𐩀𐩢𐩨 x+VI 35	𐩀𐩢𐩨 (just or 's rather 's) x+ XVI 1	.	𐩀𐩢𐩨 x+V x+11	𐩀𐩢𐩨 x+XIV 3

<sup>155</sup> About the question whether those two papyri belong together or not PRADA, *Papyrus Berlin P. 8769* cit., pp. 315 and 324, is rather self-contradictory: compare «But there is evidence to prove beyond all doubt that Pap. Berlin P. 8769 is an *oneirocriticon*, and this comes from further fragments that belong to this same handbook (...). Amongst them, there are two, Pap. Berlin P. 15683 (...), which still preserve rubrics (...), and these headings clearly show that the text is a dream book.» (p. 315) versus «Particularly complex is the case of another Berlin papyrus that belongs to this same dream book. This is Pap. Berlin P. 15683 (...). Although this fragment too is written in a hand very similar to that of Pap. Berlin P. 8769, I am not quite convinced that it belongs to the same manuscript.» (p. 324) Does he differentiate between the handbook as *text* and the pBerlin P 8769 as a *copy* of this text? Prada's arguments in n. 72 are not conclusive except maybe for the scripts' differing sizes. For pBerlin P 15683 see K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Aus zwei demotischen Traumbüchern*, «APF» 27 (1980), pp. 91–98.

<sup>156</sup> To find the word or sign in the current publication the numbering of columns follows REYMOND, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples* cit., although this will change with the re-edition in preparation by Friedhelm Hoffmann.





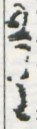










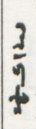




Serpent group (cont.)	Found in	pBerlin P 15682 (+pBrooklyn 47.218.21-B <i>inter alia</i> )	𐎎𐎎 <i>hw-y</i> , 36	<i>. .</i>	𐎎𐎎 <i>bw-h3y</i> , 5	<i>. .</i>	𐎎𐎎 31	<i>. .</i> <i>nt-hw-y</i> , 39	𐎎𐎎 41	<i>. .</i>	𐎎𐎎 10	<i>. .</i>
	Found in	pCarlsberg 159+PSI inv. D 10 verso	𐎎𐎎 <i>hw-y</i> , x+11	<i>. .</i>	𐎎𐎎 <i>sbk</i> «small», x+15	𐎎𐎎 «times», x+17	<i>. .</i>	<i>. .</i> (written <i>mnw</i> here)	𐎎𐎎 x+11 17	<i>. .</i>	𐎎𐎎 x+15	<i>. .</i>
Tebtuinis group	Found in	<i>Book of Thoth</i> ms. L01	𐎎𐎎 <i>hw-w</i> , x+VI 21	𐎎𐎎 VT x+IV 6	𐎎𐎎 <i>b-sk</i> , II 5	𐎎𐎎 «to see», VT x+IV 21	𐎎𐎎 VT x+II 6	<i>. .</i> <i>nt-hw-y</i> , VT x+1 20	𐎎𐎎 <i>nr</i> , IV 12 𐎎𐎎 <i>nr</i> , VT x+III 19	𐎎𐎎 IV 12	𐎎𐎎 IV 21	𐎎𐎎 IV 5
	Found in	<i>Petese Son of Pete- tum</i> <sup>157</sup>	𐎎𐎎 <i>hw-y</i> , VIII(?) 12	𐎎𐎎 IV 23	𐎎𐎎 <i>bw-lr</i> negative aorist, B 5	𐎎𐎎 «to see», VI 26 𐎎𐎎 «times», VIII (?) 27	𐎎𐎎 VIII (?) 30	<i>. .</i> (written <i>mnw</i> here)	𐎎𐎎 V 1	𐎎𐎎 V 5	𐎎𐎎 VIII(?) 12	𐎎𐎎 V 13 V 14
Tebtuinis group	Found in	<i>Petese Sto- ries</i> II <sup>158</sup>	𐎎𐎎 <i>hw-y</i> , D20 x+3	𐎎𐎎 C1 III 7	𐎎𐎎 <i>sby-f</i> «preparations», D3 x+8	𐎎𐎎 «to see», C1 III 22	𐎎𐎎 D7 x+11 2	<i>. .</i> (written <i>mnw</i> here)	𐎎𐎎 <i>nr</i> , C39 x+3 𐎎𐎎 <i>nr</i> , C2 1.1	𐎎𐎎 C2 1.7	𐎎𐎎 C1 III 11	𐎎𐎎 C2 1.1 C2 1.1
	Found in	pCarlsberg 459+... <sup>159</sup>	𐎎𐎎 <i>hw-y</i> , fig. 6 II 4	(all three occur- rences too damaged to be illustrative)	𐎎𐎎 <i>bm</i> «evil», fig. 2.1.5	𐎎𐎎 «to see» fig. 1 I 20	<i>. .</i>	<i>. .</i> (written <i>mnw</i> here)	𐎎𐎎 fig. 11 21	<i>. .</i>	𐎎𐎎 fig. 11 11, 13, 15, 21	<i>. .</i>

<sup>137</sup> N.B: the facsimiles in the indexes of K. RYHÖLÄ, *The Story of Petese Son of Petetum. The Carlsberg Papyri 4*, Copenhagen 1999, pp. 93-115, are not sufficiently precise for a palaeographical study. Therefore, I have drawn the facsimiles in the table above afresh.

<sup>158</sup> K. RYHOLT, *The Petese Stories II (P. Petese II)*, The Carlsberg Papyri, 6, Copenhagen 2005. The facsimiles are mine.

<sup>159</sup> RYHOLT, *Narrative Literature* cit., pp. 35-72. The facsimiles are mine.



Tebtuini group (cont.)	On the Pri- maeval Ocean <sup>160</sup>	 hw-y, frg. 5 II 3	 frg. 38 l. x+9	 hb «send», frg. 5 II 3  hb «send», frg. 20 l. 2	 «to sec», frg. 7 l. x+3	 J.	 frg. 3 l. 17 nt hw-f, frg. 2 l. 12	(combination in frg. 11 l. 2 too damaged to be illustrative)  nt, frg. 4 l. 13  c <sub>2</sub> , frg. 6 l. 6	J. 	 frg. 4 II 8	J.
	Narmuthis <sup>161</sup>	 hw-y  hw-f	J.	 hw- <i>fr-nw</i> , negative perfect	 «to sec»	J.	 hw-w for conjunctive <i>ntw-w</i>	nt, 's not attested in the Mencheh corpus			J.

<sup>160</sup> M. SMITH, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, The Carlsberg Papyri, 5, Copenhagen 2002.

<sup>161</sup> Facsimilia taken from the glossary in A. MENCHEH, *Ostraka demotici e bilingui da Narmuthis. ODN 100 - 188*, Biblioteca di studi egittologici, 5, Pisa 2005, 131-149.



Table 2: Egyptian Papyri Discussed in the Article and Their Provenance  
as Being Proposed Here

«Presumably» signifies a higher degree of likelihood than a question mark. Because of the provisos that I have expressed in this chapter and that limit the possibilities to securely identify a find spot in most cases, «presumably» dominates the column «Find spot».

Inventory No.	Script	Text	Place of the Scribe's School	Find spot
- pBerlin P 6750	demotic	ritual	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 7057	see pLouvre E	10346+Berlin P 7057+Heidelberg	dem. 798g	
- pBerlin P 8027+Vienna D 12438+12439	demotic	<i>Book of Thoth</i>	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 8043+30030+Vienna D 6396+ST05/238/1034	demotic	recto: account verso: ritual	Dime	Dime
- pBerlin P 8278	demotic	Drama of Horus and Seth	presumably Pelusium in the Fayyum	Pelusium in the Fayyum
- pBerlin P 8279	demotic	festival song	?	Theadelphia?
- pBerlin P 8345	demotic	astrologer's handbook	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 8769	demotic	divinatory handbook	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pBerlin P 8933	demotic	<i>Book of Thoth</i>	Dime?	Dime?
- pBerlin P 11912	demotic	cosmogonic or hymnic	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 14406a+Louvre AF 13421+Vienna Aeg 9975	hieroglyphic	<i>Book of the Fayyum</i>	Dime?	Dime?
- pBerlin P 14490+Vienna Aeg 4851A+6666	hieratic	<i>Book of the Temple</i>	?	?
- pBerlin P 15499	see pLouvre E	10488+Berlin P 15499+23513+Michigan 6128		
- pBerlin P 15652	demotic	recto: ritual verso: <i>Book of Thoth</i>	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 15675+23725+30023	demotic	narrative of Hor, son of Pawenesh	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 15680	demotic	<i>Book of the Gecko</i>	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 15682+Brooklyn 47.218.21-B+Berlin P 23502+23532+23533	demotic	Narrative concerning the Assyrian Invasion	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pBerlin P 15709 recto	demotic	wisdom text	Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 15798 verso	demotic	<i>Book of Thoth</i>	presumably Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 23071	recto demotic, verso hieratic	<i>Book of the Temple</i>	presumably Dime	presumably Dime
- pBerlin P 23502	see pBerlin P 15682+Brooklyn 47.218.21-B+Berlin P 23502+23532+23533			



- pBerlin P 23513	see pLouvre E 10488+Berlin P 15499+23513+Michigan 6128			
- pBerlin P 23532+23533	see pBerlin P 15682+Brooklyn 47.218.21-B+Berlin P 23502+23532+23533			
- pBerlin P 23725	see pBerlin P 15675+23725+30023			
- pBerlin P 23783+pVienna D 6822	demotic receipt	Dime	Dime	
- pBerlin P 29007	demotic wisdom text	Dime	presumably Dime	
- pBerlin P 30007	demotic narrative (Hor, son of Pawenesh)	Dime	presumably Dime	
- pBerlin P 30023	see pBerlin P 15675+23725+30023			
- pBerlin P 30030	see pBerlin P 8043+30030+Vienna D 6396+ST05/238/1034			
- pBM 10822 (II kh)	demotic narrative (second tale of Setne)	Gebelein?	bought in Assuan	
- pBM EA 76126	demotic hymns to Thoth	Dime	presumably Dime	
- pBritish Library 264 recto	demotic hymns to Sobek	Dime	presumably Dime	
- pBrooklyn 47.218.21-B	see pBerlin P 15682+Brooklyn 47.218.21-B+Berlin P 23502+23532+23533			
- pCarlsberg 69(+pTebtunis Tait 10?)	demotic festival songs	Tebtynis	presumably Tebtynis	
- pCarlsberg 159+PSI inv. D 10 verso	demotic narrative	Karanis?	presumably Tebtynis	
- pCarlsberg 400	demotic Nakhthorshena Narrative	Dime	presumably Tebtynis	
- pCarlsberg 498	hieratic dramatic text	Oxyrhynchos?	Tebtynis?	
- pCarlsberg 555	demotic narrative (Pharaoh and the Persians)	Karanis?	Tebtynis?	
- pHeidelberg dem. 691 [718]	see pVienna D 6319+Heidelberg dem. 691 [718]			
- pHeidelberg dem. 691 [776b]	see pVienna D 6165+6165A+Heidelberg dem. 691 [776b]			
- pHeidelberg dem. 798g	see pLouvre E 10346+Berlin P 7057+Heidelberg dem. 798g			
- pKral	see pVienna D 6521-6611+6616A+6720+12041A.B+12042+ 12043A.B+12044A.B+12046A.B+12743			
- P.Lond. II 260	recto: Greek account	recto: Kroko-dilopolis Arsi-noë?	Dime?	
	verso: demotic	verso: presumably Dime		
- pLouvre AF 13421	see pBerlin P 14406a+Louvre AF 13421+Vienna Aeg 9975			
- pLouvre E 10346+Berlin P 7057+ Heidelberg dem. 798g	demotic contract	Dime	Dime	
- pLouvre E 10488+Berlin P 15499+23513+Michigan 6128	demotic <i>Book of Thoth</i>	Karanis?	Dime	
- pMichigan 6128	see pLouvre E 10488+Berlin P 15499+23513+Michigan 6128			
- pPSI inv. D 10 verso	see pCarlsberg 159+PSI inv. D 10 verso			
- pST05/238/1034	see pBerlin P 8043+30030+Vienna D 6396+ST05/238/1034			
- pStrasbourg dém. 31	demotic hymns to Sobek	Dime	presumably Dime	
- pVienna Aeg 4851A	see pBerlin P 14490+Vienna Aeg 4851A+6666			



- pVienna Aeg 6666	see pBerlin P 14490+Vienna Aeg 4851A+6666			
- p Vienna Aeg 9975	see pBerlin P 14406a+Louvre AF 13421+Vienna Aeg 9975			
- pVienna Aeg 9976	hieroglyphic	description of agate in a temple	presumably Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 4669+6910+6963-67	demotic	festival songs	?	?
- pVienna D 4893+10014+10103 verso	demotic	mythological	Dime	Krokodilopolis-Arsinoë?
- pVienna D 6013	demotic	(Osirian) ritual	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6039	demotic	(Osirian) ritual	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6094+6338+6614+ 6672+6696+6702+6704+670 8+ 6715+6715	demotic	horoscope?	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6165+6165A+ Heidelberg dem. 691 [776b]	demotic	Serpot Narra- tive	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6257	demotic	medical	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6297+6329+10101 recto	demotic	hymn to Isis	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6319+Heidelberg dem. 691 [718]	demotic	<i>Book of the Temple</i>	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6321	demotic	magico- medical	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6329 recto	see pVienna D 6297+6329+10101 recto			
- pVienna D 6330	demotic	<i>Book of the Temple</i>	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6332	recto: de- motic verso: hiera- tic	recto: account verso: <i>Book of the Temple</i>	presumably Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6333+6488g	demotic	liturgical	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6334	demotic	liturgical	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6336	demotic	<i>Book of Thoth</i>	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6343	demotic	<i>Book of Thoth</i>	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6396	see pBerlin P 8043+30030+Vienna D 6396+ST05/238/1034			
- pVienna D 6486+12338	demotic	(Osirian) ritual	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6488g	see pVienna D 6333+6488g			
- pVienna D 6521-6611+ 6616A+6720+ 12041A.B+ 12042+ 12043A.B+ 12044A.B+12046A.B+12743	demotic	Contendings for the Armour of Inaros	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6633-6636	demotic	divinatory handbook	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6640	demotic	(Osirian) ritual	Dime	presumably Dime
- pVienna D 6652A-C	see pVienna D 12146+6652A-C+13138			
- pVienna D 6910	see pVienna D 4669+6910+6963-67			
- pVienna D 6920-6922	demotic	mythological narrative	Karanis?	Karanis?
- pVienna D 6951	demotic	hymns to Sobek	Dime	presumably Dime



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|---------------------------------|---|--|----------|-----------------|
| - pVienna D 6963–67             | see pVienna D 4669+6910+6963–67         |  |          |                 |
| - pVienna D 10000               | demotic                                 | <i>Lamb of Bok-choris</i>                                  | Dime     | presumably Dime |
| - pVienna D 10014 verso         | see pVienna D 4893+10014+10103 verso    |  |          |                 |
| - pVienna D 10100               | demotic                                 | description of wall in a temple                            | Dime     | presumably Dime |
| - pVienna D 10101 recto         | see pVienna D 6297+6329+10101 recto     |  |          |                 |
| - pVienna D 10103 verso         | see pVienna D 4893+10014+10103 verso    |  |          |                 |
| - pVienna D 12006               | demotic                                 | recto: ritual or divinatory<br>verso: cosmogonic or hymnic | Dime     | presumably Dime |
| - pVienna D 12146+6652A–C+13138 | demotic                                 | <i>Book of Thoth</i>                                       | Karanis? | Karanis?        |
| - pVienna D 12194               | demotic                                 | recto: ritual or divinatory                                | Dime     | presumably Dime |
| - pVienna D 12240               | demotic                                 | <i>Book of Thoth</i>                                       | Dime?    | Dime?           |
| - pVienna D 12277+12495         | demotic                                 | festival songs   | ?        | ?               |
| - pVienna D 12338               | see pVienna D 6486+12338                |  |          |                 |
| - pVienna D 12438+12439         | see pBerlin P 8027+Vienna D 12438+12439 |  |          |                 |
| - pVienna D 12495               | see pVienna D 12277+12495               |  |          |                 |
| - pVienna D 13138               | see pVienna D 12146+6652A–C+13138       |  |          |                 |