

# A New Version of the Beginning of the Book of Traversing Eternity: The Hieroglyphic-Demotic Funerary Stela of Pakhom, Son of Lykos, from Edfu (22 March 18 BCE [greg.])

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Few people effuse such a cheerful enthusiasm when it comes to Demotic. Richard is certainly one of them. The difficulties that Demotic material pose did not turn him into a frustrated, grouchy scholar, rather into the contrary: he is still happy and loves Demotic even more. Thus, there is no need at all to explain why Richard may find interest in the following lines or how it fits to his research—simply look at his bibliography, and you know why! However, shortly before this volume went to the publisher, an article that he co-authored on a Demotic version of the offering formula appeared, and this provides an additional link between his work and my humble contribution.<sup>1</sup> Richard's passion for Demotic is also the reason why the Demotic version precedes the hieroglyphic throughout, although the hieroglyphic side of the stela is certainly the front.

I do not write in English because I would not trust in Richard's capabilities to read, understand, and speak German—everybody knows that he has lived and worked for some years in Würzburg. The reason is rather that the present owner of the funerary stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, that is published here, is an American private collector who wants to understand my publication and to remain anonymous. I thank him for granting me the publication rights and giving me access to the original, as well as his hospitality during my visit.

## 1. Description

The round-topped stela measures 24.2 cm at the bottom, its maximum height is 53.5 cm, and its thickness is 1.8 cm. A carpenter made it from two wooden panels. At the top there is a hole into which a *ba*-bird was originally mortised.<sup>2</sup> The panels were covered with plaster and painted. On one side, most likely the front (fig. 1), a winged sun disc in the lunette is shown, from which three chains of triangles as sun rays connect to a *p.t*-hieroglyph that forms the base for two reclining jackals that face one another, each holding a *hk3*- and a *nh3h3*-scepter in their paws. A turquoise *p.t*-hieroglyph is also the divider that separates this zone from the register beneath, in which an embalming scene is

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6486-3321>. I am grateful to Edward O. D. Love for polishing my English.

1. Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "A Demotic Version of the Hieratic Offering Formula in P. BM EA 10209, 4/1–20 (Ostrakon LACMA M.80.202.200)," *Enchoria* 36 (2018/2019): 67–93. Although the volume bears the years "2018/2019," it actually appeared in March 2021—too late to be exploited for the commentary below.

2. Compare, e.g., the stela BM EA 8468—British Museum Collection Database "EA8468," [www.britishmuseum.org/collection](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection), British Museum (accessed 11/07/2019), or Florence inv. no. 2489 (Sergio Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Le stele egiziane di epoca tarda*, Cataloghi dei musei e gallerie d'Italia [Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1972], 34–35, pl. 23).

found. At the center, Anubis treats the mummy lying on a lion bier. This scene is flanked by five deities on each side. To the left, two mummiform deities—human-headed Amseti and jackal-headed Duamutef—and two further striding gods each raising two knives follow Isis, who is raising her right hand. The first of them is purely anthropomorphic while the second has a bull's head. To the right Nephthys, also raising her left hand, leads the mummiform Hapi and Qebhsenuf to complete the set of the four sons of Horus, behind whom an anthropomorphic god with two knives stands and a falcon sits on a *hb*-basket. All stand on a turquoise band that, in all likelihood, is also a *p.t*-hieroglyph, but damage prevents us from being fully sure. The painter's palette is quite limited: white for the background, and otherwise a pale yellow, turquoise, a brownish red, and black. Beneath these images a hieroglyphic text is written in thirteen lines alternatingly on a red and white background. The bottom zone below the text shows two jackals sitting on a chest, each with one knife held in their paws. Around the jackals two lines of Demotic were inscribed:

- 1)  $\epsilon n\dot{t} n Hr B\dot{h}tt n\dot{t}r \epsilon^3 nb p.t$  (The) perfumer<sup>3</sup> of Horus of Edfu, the great god, the lord of the sky,
- 2)  $P\dot{3}-\epsilon hm p\dot{3} \epsilon^3 s\dot{3} Lykws$  Pakhom the elder, son of Lykos.

The stela's other side is covered with white plaster and inscribed with a Demotic text in twenty-one lines (fig. 2), followed by three more lines after a space that was left empty. Those three lines are in fact a colophon, and provide the following information (fig. 3):

- 1)  $sh n hsb.t 12 3bd 3 pr.t 28$  Written in the regnal year 12, Phamenoth 28th (of) Kaisaros, the god,  
 $Gysrs p\dot{3} n\dot{t}r p\dot{3} Hrwm'y^1[s]$  the Rhomai[os],
- 2)  $'n^1 htmw-n\dot{t}r hry \epsilon n\dot{t} n Hr$  for the god's sealbearer, the chief perfumer of Horus of Edfu, the great  
 $B\dot{h}tt n\dot{t}r \epsilon^3 nb p.t$  god, the lord of the sky,
- 3)  $P\dot{3}-\epsilon hm s\dot{3} Lykws$  Pakhom, the son of Lykos.

### Commentary to Colophon

2) *n*: Seemingly the scribe has made a mistake and corrected it. On the front side the individual is called “Pakhom, the elder” and has a different title. The same titles, however, recur for this Pakhom in both the hieroglyphic and the Demotic text.

*htmw-ntr*: The writing with two *ntr*-signs framing the *htmw*-sign is not the conventional one, but CDD *H* (2006), 177 lists an example. Maria Cannata cites further attestations and discusses this writing.<sup>4</sup> She rightly rejects the reading *hry htmw-ntr* based on evidence to which Pakhom's stela is to be added because *hry* is written here differently (see the following paragraph). While the god's seal bearers are very prominent in Hawara,<sup>5</sup> the title's use is not limited to the Hawara-Memphis area. It is also attested in Middle Egypt. Maria Cannata argues that the title's appearance south of Memphis is part of the so-called disappearance of the choachytes from the textual record (despite one attestation during the Roman period), and that it may be linked to a spread of a “Fayumic” practice, first northward to Memphis, and then southward. She suggests its gradual adoption by the mortuary priests of Middle Egypt around the end of the second and the beginning of the first century BCE. Pakhom's stela is so far the only evidence for the title in Edfu. The attestation of the title at

3. For this title, see Frédéric Colin, “Les Paneia d'El-Buwayb et du Ouadi Minayh sur la piste de Bérénice à Coptos: Inscriptions égyptiennes,” *BIFAO* 98 (1998): 111–13, and esp. Frédéric Colin, “Le parfumeur (*p\dot{3} \epsilon n\dot{t}*),” *BIFAO* 103 (2003): 73–109.

4. Maria Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death: The Egyptian Funerary Industry in the Ptolemaic Period*, CHANE (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 63–66. I thank Maria Cannata for sharing with me the relevant chapters of her book before publication.

5. Cf. George Robert Hughes and Richard Jasnow, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri: Demotic and Greek Texts from an Egyptian Family Archive in the Fayum (Fourth to Third Century B.C.)*, OIP 113 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1997), *passim*.

Edfu by the late first century BCE may fit into this picture.<sup>6</sup> Note also some evidence for a slightly longer persistence of the choachytes than generally assumed.<sup>7</sup> However, it does not fundamentally contradict the general picture of the choachytes' disappearance.

*hry*: At first sight the sign looks rather like an *h* that could stand for *hr(y)* as much it could stand for the preposition *hr*, but looking at some examples of *hry* in CDD *H* (2009), 219–26, a reading *hry* does not seem too bold. The title *hry nṯ* is not yet attested but would not be surprising for a bigger temple with more than just one perfumer, if we consider the Egyptians' hierarchical mind. The hieroglyphic writing of *hry* in l. 4 corresponding to the Demotic l. 7 confirms the reading.

There are some areas where the white background appears lighter than the rest. There, the black writing changes its color to a dark grayish-blue. Apparently, the ancient craftsman tried to fill holes in the wood and the thicker plaster made the ink react differently than on the thinner plaster. This cannot be a modern, somewhat unprofessional restoration because the incised guiding lines that separate each line run uninterrupted through the darker to the lighter and back to the darker areas. Therefore, the lighter areas are to be taken as just as ancient as the rest.

## 2. Dating and Provenance

Thanks to the colophon, the stela is precisely dated to March 22, 18 BCE (greg.). As to the provenance, we must rely on the ancient owner's titles referring to the cult of Horus of Edfu and the internal evidence of the deities whom the offering formula mentions and who are typical for the cultic landscape of Edfu.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the stela is likely to be from the Late to Roman period necropolis of Edfu located near Nag<sup>5</sup> al-Ḥiṣyâ where a mission excavated between 1884 and 1888 on behalf of the Egyptian Antiquities Service.<sup>9</sup> Andreas Effland interprets this area as the ancient Behedet, the burial place of the primordial deities in the nome of Edfu and destination of an annual nautical procession during the feast of Behedet (*hb Bhd.t*).<sup>10</sup> This proposition, however, remains rather hypothetical and does not fully convince me.

According to Jaume Bagot Peix, the art dealer in Barcelona who sold the stela to the present owner in 2016, the previous owner bought the object in the 1970s in London but did not move it to Spain until 1981 because he was the offspring of a republican-minded family that emigrated during the Spanish Civil War to Argentina. I was unable to retrieve any further information on the piece's history before the 1970s and, in particular, to find out how it was brought from Egypt to Britain.

6. Cannata, *Three Hundred Years of Death*, 98–79; Maria Cannata, "God's Seal-Bearers, Lector-Priests and Choachytes: Who's Who at Memphis and Hawara," in *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Études Démotiques: Paris, 31 août–3 septembre 2005*, ed. Ghislaine Widmer, Didier Devauchelle, BdÉ 147 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2009), 58–60, 66–67.

7. Andreas Winkler, "On the Longevity of the  $\chi\alpha\alpha\chi\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  in Thebes and Elsewhere," *JAC* 29 (2014): 50–62.

8. There is another Behedet, modern day Nag<sup>5</sup> al-Maṣayih near This. It is attested in Demotic: Mark Smith, *Between Temple and Tomb: The Demotic Ritual Texts of Bodl. MS. Egypt. a. 3(P)*, SSR 30 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019), 87. However, the deities listed in our stela's offering formula and their clear connection to Edfu rule out the possibility that we are dealing with this lesser known Behedet here.

9. Gaston Maspero, "Sur les fouilles exécutés en Égypte de 1881 à 1885," *BIE* 2e série 6 (1886): 78–80.

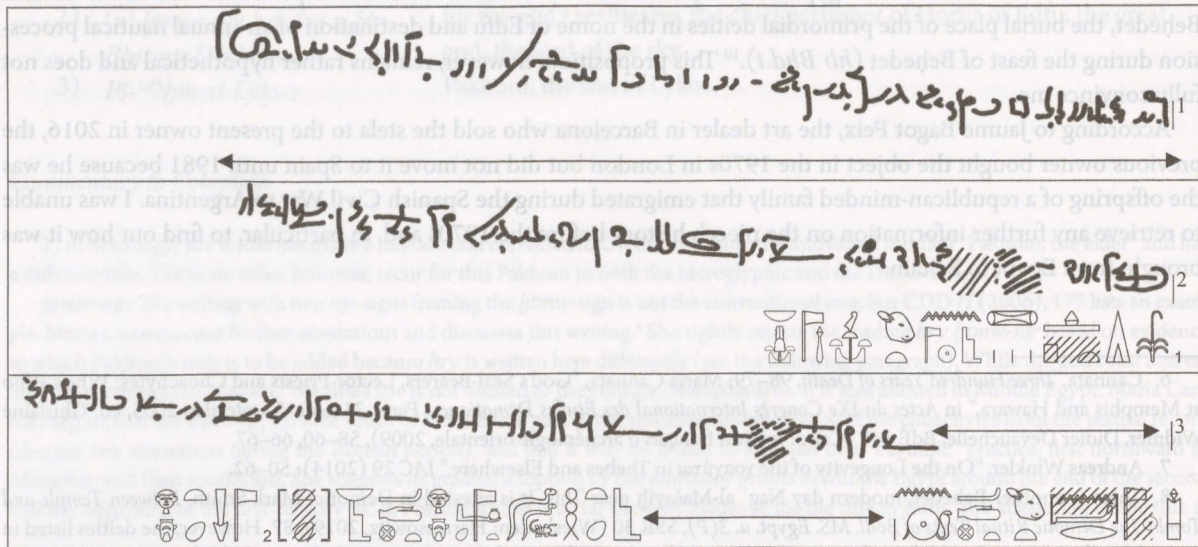
10. Andreas Effland, "Neues zur Lage von Behedet," in "Nunmehr ein offenes Buch..."—*Das Edfu-Projekt: Herausgegeben zum 160. Geburtstag des Marquis Maxence de Rochemonteix (1849–1891)*, ed. Andreas Effland, Jan-Peter Graeff, and Martin von Falck, Informationsbroschüre zum EDFU-Projekt der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 1 (Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 2009), 34–52; accepted by Dieter Kurth, "Die Reliefs der großen Schiffsprozession im Tempel von Edfu: Nautische Realität oder idealisierte Darstellung?," *GM* 257 (2019): 85–96. On the feast itself: Svenja Nagel, "Das Neumond- und Behedet-Fest in Edfu: Eine Strukturanalyse von Text und Bild einer „unregelmäßigen“ Soubassement-Dekoration," in *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien: Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit – Soubassementstudien I*, ed. Alexa Rickert and Bettina Ventker, SSR 7 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 607–84—remarkably ignored by Kurth, "Die Reliefs der großen Schiffsprozession im Tempel von Edfu," 85–96, and then often polemically cited by Dieter Kurth, *Edfu V, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu – Abteilung I: Übersetzungen 4.1* (Hützel: Backe-Verlag, 2019), 51–64, 247–72.

The image programme is typical for what Peter Munro classified as group Edfu III, dating—according to Munro—to the Late Ptolemaic to Roman periods.<sup>11</sup> For Edfu III, Munro lists six objects of which just BM EA 32199 is made of wood, while Herman de Meulenaere is more restrictive and does not accept more than six objects as Ptolemaic-Roman funerary stelae from Edfu in total.<sup>12</sup> The piece in the BM is no longer counted among the Edfu sources. Munro’s argument for dating them to the Roman period is the “very clumsy style of the figures” (“sehr plumper Figurenstil”). Almost fifty years later, such a dating criterion would no longer be accepted. All the more, the exact date on the stela published here is a welcome anchor independent from subjective judgements on style.

Being wooden, this piece much more resembles contemporary Theban funerary stelae. Indeed, Munro has noted connections between the elite of Edfu and Thebes, and these may have led to similarities in the designs of funerary stelae here and there. However, those family connections between Thebes and Edfu date to the Late period, not to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.<sup>13</sup> I even wonder whether Pakhom’s stela was manufactured in Thebes. The writing of *hry* in *hry nṯ* would be an indicator because it is very similar to the form in o. Medinet Habu 3333, 2.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately the date of the ostracon cannot be determined more precisely than 332–30 BCE.<sup>15</sup> Regardless, the material from Edfu is not abundant, and the scarcity of evidence should prevent us from drawing any definitive conclusions.

### 3. Edition of the Texts

#### 3.1. The Offering Formula: Synopsis (fig. 5)



11. Peter Munro, *Die Spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, ÄF 25 (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1973), 74–75, 251–53, pl. 24.  
 12. Herman De Meulenaere, “Les stèles de Nag el-Hassaïa,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 90–07, followed by Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, *Priester im Tempel: Die Rezeption der Theologie der Tempel von Edfu und Dendera in den Privatdokumenten aus ptolemäischer Zeit*, GOF IV/19 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 10–11, 19–34. Further details of the discussion as to the prosopography and dating—see also Peter Munro, “Zur Chronologie der Totenstelen aus Nag` el-Ḥiṣāyā,” *MDAIK* 41 (1985): 149–87—are irrelevant given my article’s subject is the edition of the stela’s text.  
 13. Munro, “Zur Chronologie der Totenstelen,” 149–87.  
 14. Miriam Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, OIP 80 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1957), 69 no. 155, pl. 38.  
 15. Online: [www.trismegistos.org/text/43712](http://www.trismegistos.org/text/43712).







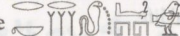
H	<i>Wts.t-Hr wd&lt;.t&gt; hh=s<sup>21</sup> iw sbi.w<sup>22</sup>=s Hr s3 3s.t s3 n Wsir nd iti=f m hr.t-ntr Nw.t<sup>23</sup> hnw.t imn.t.t wd=s gs.w-pr hpt[.t]<sup>24</sup>  <sup>3</sup> Inpw</i>	the nome of Edfu, who puts her flame against her enemies, <sup>25</sup> (to) Horus, the son of Isis and the son of Osiris, who protects his father in the necropolis, (to) Nut, the mistress of the West, while commanding the temples, the embracing one, (to) Anubis,
D5	<i>m wyt nb t3 tsre ti=f nfr °cy.w m w°b.t ti=ysn<sup>26</sup></i>	in Ut, the lord of the sacred land—he will make perfect the bodily parts in the embalming place—, so that they may give
H	<i>imy wt nb t3 dsr snfr h°c.w ntr m w°b.t di=sn<sup>27</sup></i>	who is in Ut, the lord of the sacred land, who perfects the god's body in the embalming place, so that they may give
DSbis ←—————→		
H	<i>pr.t-hrw m t hnk&lt;.t&gt; ih.w 3pd.w irp irt&lt;.t&gt;  <sup>4</sup>šdh sm.w rnp.w sntr hr sd.t °nty.w hr h&lt;.t&gt;</i>	an invocation-offering with bread, beer, beef, fowl, wine, milk, sweet wine, fresh vegetables, incense on a flame, myrrh on a fire, and
D6	<i>ihy-nb nfr.t w°b&lt;.t&gt; ntm&lt;.t&gt; bne&lt;.t&gt; °nh&lt;.t&gt; ntr im=ysn</i>	all sweet, pleasant, pure, and beautiful things on which a god lives,
H	<i>hw.t-nb&lt;.wt&gt; nfr&lt;.wt&gt; w°b&lt;.wt&gt; ndm&lt;.wt&gt; bnr&lt;.wt&gt; wt °nh&lt;.wt&gt; ntr im=&lt;s&gt;n</i>	

21. The *s* is inverted as to the orientation of the rest of the text and similarly curved as the flame sign. Presumably the scribe inadvertently started a second flame, noticed his mistake, and stopped to leave the sign as a half decent *s*.

22. According to Penelope Wilson (A *Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 [Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 819), *hfty.w* would be more likely, but see the combination *wdi hh r sbi.w* that is cited in n. 25, whereas *wdi hh=s r hfty.w=s* is also well attested, yet just in Dendera, not in Edfu (LGG II, 625a).

23. As a determinative does not precede its word and as a full phonetic complementation of an ideographic writing would be strange, I assume a miswriting of  for . Or is the *nw*-pot on the head just not well done, looking instead like the bowl W10? For Nut as mistress of the West, see LGG V, 166b.

24. This is unattested for Nut so far, but for Neith or Hathor. However, it is easily explained, for Nut as sky goddess embraces the world as she does with the deceased in his coffin.

25. Cf. Wilson, A *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 275, for the writing and phrase  *wd<.t> hh r sbi.w r=k*, “putting the flame against the rebels against you” (esp. EI, 219, 5–6).

26. For the writing =*ysn*, see Martin Andreas Stadler, *Das Soknopaiosritual: Texte zum Täglichen Ritual im Tempel des Soknopaios zu Dimê*, ÄOP (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2022), 88–89. See also §4 below.

27. The *pr*-sign is, to my mind, misunderstood as two strokes that should form together with the third one above the plural determinative.

D7	<n> ḥtmw-ntr ḥry <sup>28</sup> ḥn <sup>29</sup> P <sub>3</sub> -ḥm s3 Lykw <sup>30</sup> s <sup>3</sup> r=f-n=fiw=f	<for> the god's seal bearer, the chief perfumer Pakhom, son of Lykos, so that he may go to sleep
H	n ḥtmw-ntr <sup>30</sup> ḥry ḥn <sup>31</sup> s <sup>3</sup> r=f i <sup>5</sup> .t(y) <sup>32</sup> P <sub>3</sub> -ḥm s3 n mi nn R <sup>3</sup> kw <sup>32</sup>	for the god's seal bearer (?), the chief perfumer Pakhom, son of the likewise titled Lykos.
D8	thy šm=f-n=f i.ir nzy=f i <sup>3</sup> .w n twe r tzy=f r s <sup>3</sup> t `n' rnp.t	being drunk. He went off to his forefathers in the morning to his dawn <sup>33</sup> in the year
H	←→ šm=f ḥ<r> Wsir ←→ He went before <sup>34</sup> Osiris ←→ m rnp.t ←→ in the year	
D9	77.t iw=f n wš n y <sup>6</sup> b.t bn<.t> iw=f ir pzy=f b3k ti=ysn	77 <sup>35</sup> being free from any evil disease and having done his service so that they gave
H	77.t i <sup>6</sup> t iw=f=f sn <sup>36</sup> ḥr ir<.t> k3.t=sn   <sup>6</sup> di=sn	77. They washed his flesh, carrying out their work so that they gave
D10	-n=f ks3.t nfr.t ih 'Rsbw' imn <sup>3</sup> n Bḥt	him a beautiful burial in the necropolis, the West of Beḥedet.
H	-n=f kysr.t <sup>37</sup> nfr<.t> ḥr <R3->sb <sup>3</sup> .w imn<.t.t> n Bḥd.t	
D11	iw pr=f mne ḥr ihy.w '.. <sup>1</sup> [.] iw pzy=f pr w d3 .?.	while his house <sup>38</sup> endures with property .... [..] and his house prospers ..... <sup>39</sup>
H	pr=f mn ḥ<r> šps.w=f iw <sup>6</sup> =f mn ḥr ns.t=f s3.t=f wd imy<.w>-ḥt=f	His house endures with provisions. His heir endures on his seat, his daughter commands his retinue.

28. See p. 419.

29. See n. 3 above.

30. This is, to the best of my knowledge, a so far unattested writing which I fail to explain. The following *ntr*-sign indicates that it is the same title as in the Demotic.


31. See p. 420 above with n. 3.

32. Although the *k* looks like *ḳ* I take it as a *ḳ* that became too big and that has been inversed against the general writing direction as much as in l. 6.

33. See §4 below.

34. According to the TLA, *šm ḥr* is attested abundantly in Old Egyptian. Is it an archaism here?

35. The writings for 70 known so far (CDD, numbers [2014], 157–61) look quite different from the form here. However, considering the hieroglyphic parallel there cannot be any doubt in reading it that way.

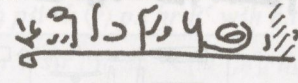
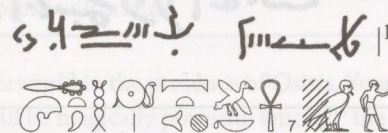
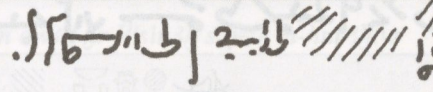


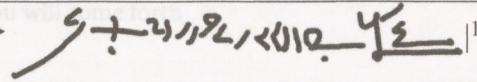
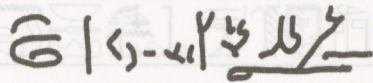
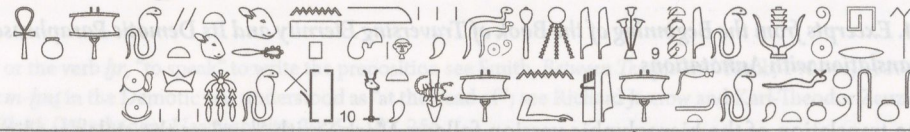
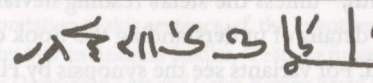

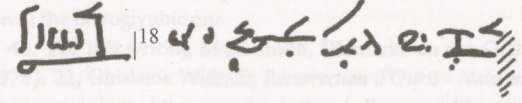

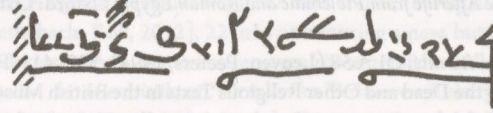
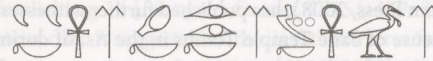
36. Apparently, something went wrong here. I suppose that the suffix pronoun =sn was misplaced after the nominal direct object and that the sign that looks like a square bracket should be the plural determinative. In short, I suggest emending it as:  *i<sup>6</sup>=sn iw=f hr ir.t k3.t=sn* (for a translation see above). However, this means that the hieroglyphic and the Demotic version vary significantly. While the hieroglyphs evoke the god's work on behalf of the deceased's corpse, the Demotic refers to what the deceased has done as a reason for why he merits an eternal life.37. Metathesis influenced by the contemporary pronunciation of *krs* as *kys*.

38. See §4 below.

39. I would tentatively read the final group as *twe.w*, the qualitative of *twe*, "to praise." Thus, the sentence would end "... [..] and his house prospers being praised." The tall *w*, however, has a thickening at the top towards the left which keeps me from being fully certain and leaves me with a residue of doubt. See also §4 below.



3.3. Excerpts from the Beginning of the Book of Traversing Eternity and Its Demotic Paraphrase: Synopsis

<p>12</p> 	<p>12</p> 
<p>13</p> 	<p>13</p> 
	<p>14</p> 
	<p>15</p> 
	<p>16</p> 
	<p>17</p> 
	<p>18</p> 



D12	<i>i by-itypn ḥnh 'py'=k r p.t hr R<sup>c</sup> w3h he&lt;.t)=k</i>	“O you living ba, you shall fly up to the sky to <sup>42</sup>
H	<i>i b3  7 ḥnh p3i=k &lt;r&gt; p.t hr R<sup>c</sup> w3h h.t=k</i>	Rê. Your corpse will endure
D13	<i>m tw3.t hr Wsir i'h' sh=k [m-hnt]t ihy.w</i>	in the underworld in the presence of Osiris. Your mummy will be magically powerful among <sup>43</sup> the akh-spirits.
H	<i>m dw3.t hr Wsir 3h s'h=k m-hnt 3h.w</i>	
D13bis		
H	<i>rwd iw<sup>c</sup>=k m t3 hr Gb[b]  8 hr ns.t=k hnt ḥnh.w</i>	On earth in the presence of Geb, your heir flourishes on your throne at the head of the living. <sup>44</sup>
D14 <sup>45</sup>	<i>rn=k mne r nhh d.t m R<sup>c</sup> wbn n-m<sup>46</sup> ihy.wt ḥk=k</i>	Your name endures for ever and ever as Rê. Rise in radiance <sup>47</sup> ! You will enter
H	<i>rn=k dd m r3.w n wn.w hr md3.wt n.t sbi nhh pri=k</i>	Your name endures in the mouths of those who are because of the Books of Traversing Eternity. <sup>48</sup> You will come forth
D14		
H		
D23		
H		

61. In Demotic, *hr* “to speak” is rarely attested; Stadler, *Das Totenopferbuch*, 200–01. The scribe here suggests that the word was obsolete in Demotic or even forgotten, that is why the scribe translated it with *py* “rule”. The rendering “personality of a ruler” is

42. For the aorist marker or the verb *hr*, “to speak” to write the preposition see Smith, *Between Temple and Tomb*, 140–41, 191.

43. It is also possible that *m-hnt* in the Demotic was understood as “at the head of”; see Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 107, 256.

44. On the interpretation of this sentence, cf. the hypotheses on the origins of the Book of Traversing Eternity in a sort of coronation ritual proposed by Martin Andreas Stadler, “Prätexthe funererer Rituale: Königsliturgie, Tempelliturgie, Totenliturgie,” in *Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late and Greco-Roman Egypt (Liturgische Texte für Osiris und Verstorbene im spätzeitlichen Ägypten)*, ed. Burkhard Backes and Jacco Dieleman, SSR 14 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 75–90.

45. Here it is almost impossible to mark omissions and additions because the Demotic version is rather a paraphrase than a translation of the hieroglyphic one.

46. For this writing Mark Smith, “Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts,” *Enchoria* 8.2 (1978): 22, Ghislaine Widmer, *Résurrection d’Osiris - Naissance d’Horus: Les papyrus Berlin P. 6750 et Berlin P. 8765, témoignages de la persistance de la tradition sacerdotale dans le Fayoum à l’époque romaine*, *ÄOP* 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 39, 395, and Smith, *Between Temple and Tomb*, 127.

47. See §4 below.

48. According to Joachim F. Quack (“Das Dekret des Amun an Isis,” in *Auf den Spuren des Sobek: Festschrift für Horst Beinlich*, ed. Jochen Hallof, SRAT 12 [Dettelbach: Röhl, 2012], 227n14 announcing a new, but still unpublished interpretation of the passage) and Joachim F. Quack (“Rohrfedertorheiten?: Bemerkungen zum römerzeitlichen Hieratich,” in *Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik*, ed. Ursula van Verhoeven-Elsbergen, *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse / Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Einzelveröffentlichung* 14 [Stuttgart: Steiner, 2015], 439n30), Book of Traversing Eternity is an inadequate title for the text. The plural here is noteworthy. It suggests that this is rather a term for a genre of texts rather than the title of a specific composition.

D15 <sup>49</sup>	<i>m hrw wbn.n=w<sup>50</sup> hr=k hnm fnt=k t̄w n ḥnh</i>	by day, after they <sup>51</sup> have shone on you. Your nose will breathe the breeze of life.
H	<i>m hrw hnm=k i'tn<sup>1</sup>  <sup>9</sup> h̄zy hdd.w=f m hr=k nšp h̄(nm).ty=k(y) t̄w n ḥnh sns n fnd=k mh.t is- niw srk.n=f<sup>52</sup> hty.t  <sup>10</sup>=k ms̄(.t) h̄c.w r<sup>c</sup>-nb</i>	by day, when you unite with the sun disc. Its light will shine in your face, while your nostrils inhale the breeze of life and your nose breathes the north wind. The breathing air, it has opened your windpipe <sup>53</sup> that creates appearance every day(?). <sup>54</sup>
D16	<i>wpy=k r̄3=k mt=k (n) n̄3 ntr.w sdm=w hrw=k m wsh̄(.t)</i>	You will open your mouth so that you speak to the gods, so that they hear your voice in (the) hall
H	<i>wpi=k r̄3=k mdw=k n ntr.w w̄3d dd=k m-hnt</i>	You will open your mouth when you speak to the two gods. Your speech will flourish among
D17	<i>m̄3<sup>c</sup>.w<sup>55</sup> wnm=k m sn<sup>56</sup> swr=k m 'h' n̄k pr</i>	of Righteous Ones. <sup>57</sup> You will eat the offering bread and drink beer. Your personality of a ruler
H	<i>̄3h.w wnm=k m t̄<sup>58</sup> s<sup>c</sup>m=k m h̄nk̄(.t)  <sup>11</sup> pri</i>	the <i>akh</i> -spirits. <sup>59</sup> You will eat the offering bread and drink beer. Your majesty <sup>60</sup>

49. Here it is almost impossible to mark omissions and additions because the Demotic version is rather a paraphrase than a translation of the hieroglyphic one.

50. The *sdm.n=f* would have been written with the form of a dative *n=w*. See also §4 below.

51. Who are “they”? Does the pronoun refer to the *ihy.wt*, “rays” = “radiance”?

52. Either  $\triangle$  is a miswriting for  $\bigcirc$ , or  $\bigcirc$  is simply badly written. Regardless, the reading is based on the parallels as Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 87–88, 389–91, has collected them.

53. At the beginning of the line, there are unclear relics of signs that do not fit a current determination of the word but cannot be anything else than that.

54. This participial phrase is not found in other copies of the Book of Traversing Eternity. The parallels have: *hnm ḥnh m d.t=k*“(…) so that the life unite with your body” (Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 389).

55. On the reinterpretation of the “Hall of the Two Truths” as the “Hall of the Righteous Ones,” see Martin Andreas Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month* (P. Bibl. nat. 149), SAT 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 47. In P. Bibl. nat. 149, however, the righteous ones are written *m̄3<sup>c</sup>.f.w*. See also §4 below.

56. Written like the sign in *sn*, “brother”; see Stadler, *Das Soknopaiosritual*, 217–19.

57. See §4 below.

58.  $\otimes$  is presumably just a misreading of the graphically kind of similar  $\text{⊖}$ .

59. See §4 below.

60. This is also a remarkable notion and better understood against the background of the Book of Traversing Eternity as a kind of coronation ritual; see n. 44.



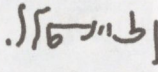


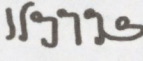





Looking at the archaisms listed above, I fail to recognize a rule. The number of interferences with old forms is higher in the Demotic version of the offering formula than in the paraphrase of the excerpt of the Book of Traversing Eternity. In translating the offering formula, however, the scribe was not consistent in choosing to render the initial sentence differently from the Middle Egyptian. Rather than formulating a headline “An offering that the king gives ...” with a Middle Egyptian relative form, he preferred to express it by using the present I (“Pharaoh gives an offering ...”), while elsewhere (no. 3 in the list of archaisms) he kept the old relative form. The strange phrase of the daughter as a commander has been rendered quite differently in the Demotic (D11). The biographical element that concludes the offering formula has a further remarkable and poetical metaphor for “death” as being the deceased’s morning. Although it fits into the Egyptian world view because the sunset, the sun god’s death on earth is sunrise, is the sun god’s birth for the underworld, it is yet unparalleled. Thus, Pakhom’s death is his birth as the sun’s in the beyond.

The section of the Book of Traversing Eternity contains some exceptional renderings, such as replacing *pri*, “to come forth” with *ḳ*, “to enter,” which cannot be an archaism (D14). It is rather an example of a scribal variation because the translator presumably wrote the Demotic version by knowing the general lines of the funerary text by heart.<sup>78</sup> He mixed then the two directions of movement up, as they are a standard couple anyway.<sup>79</sup> A bit more surprising is why the Demotic scribe rendered hieroglyphic *šm*, “to go” as *hḳ*, “to appear” (D19), for the verb *šm* is not obsolescent in Demotic and also appears in the present text. I cannot but state the fact.

The variance in graphematizing words of the roots *ḳh* and *iḳh* requires closer attention:

Root	Word	Hieroglyphic Writing on the Stela	Demotic Writing on the Stela	Reference
<i>ḳh</i>	<i>ḳh</i> , “to be magically powerful”		 <i>ih</i>	D13/H7
	<i>ḳh.w</i> , “ <i>akh</i> -spirits”		 <i>ihy.w</i>	D13/H7
<i>iḳh</i>	 <i>iḳh.w</i> , “luminous ones” according to parallels <sup>80</sup>	 <i>ḳh.w</i> , “ <i>akh</i> -spirits”	 <i>mḳ.w</i> , “righteous ones”	D17/H10
	* <i>iḳh</i> , “radiance”	./.	 <i>ihy.wt</i>	D14/-


*Ihy.wt* is determined like “thing, property, possessions,” but I take it as phonetic writing for *iḳh*. Did the scribe want to differentiate between *iḳh* and *ḳh*? For the latter in H7 he used *ih* or *ihy* in D13. This would corroborate the distinction of the two roots as Jansen-Winkeln has carved out.<sup>81</sup> Regrettably, the hieroglyphic version does not give a direct parallel, and we have to rely on the context (*Rḳ*, *wbn*) that suggests a translation as “radiance.” However, later on, the distinction is blurred again because in H10 we find a writing that should be translated “*akh*-spirits,” for which the Demotic corresponding word seems to be *mḳ.w*. Thus, the stela contradicts Jansen-Winkeln’s rule: “Wie oben erwähnt, hat schon H. Brugsch sowohl *ḳh* ‚wirksam sein‘ als auch *ḳht* ‚Horizont‘ von einer Wurzel *jḳh* ‚leuchten,

78. See Martin Andreas Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir: Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im ägyptischen Totenbuch*, ORA 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 43–47.

79. Cf. *šm* – *iy*: Martin Andreas Stadler, “The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A Demotic Book of Breathing (Part I),” *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 99, but *ḳpri* is also abundantly found.

80. Therefore, Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 406, translates “luminous ones” for this phrase.

81. Karl Jansen-Winkeln, “‘Horizont’ und ‘Verklärtheit’: Zur Bedeutung der Wurzel *ḳh*,” *SAK* 23 (1996): 201–15.

strahlen' ableiten wollen, und diese Irrlehre hat sich hartnäckig bis heute gehalten.... Auch die Autoren des Wörterbuchs halten ja beide Wurzeln strikt auseinander.... Es gibt keinerlei Belege und Kontexte, in denen die Bedeutung ‚strahlen, licht sein‘ für 3*h* auch nur im entferntesten passend wäre.<sup>82</sup> Apparently, those who fashioned the stela did not see this strict distinction because 3*h.w.*, “*akh*-spirits” replaces 13*h.w.*, “luminous ones” and the Demotic version supports the understanding of  as 3*h* and not as a writing of 13*h*. Thus, in the hieroglyphic version, the stela's painter used a sign that connects the word with 3*h* rather than 13*h*, and the Demotic scribe (whether identical with the painter of the front side or not is open to speculation) consequently translated it with a word that corresponds to *akh*-spirits as being those who have passed the judgment and found to be righteous (see n. 55). By this, the stela reinterprets the standard version as well as it provides an example for confusing the two roots.

Looking at those deviations, they suggest that the scribe understood some notions differently from the traditional meaning. This raises of course the question whether a modern translation according to the original text of the Book of Traversing Eternity is appropriate, or whether it should be approximated to the contemporary Demotic version. In the context of this article, however, this would obscure the differences between the two versions and make the Demotic reinterpretation less obvious. That is why I refrained from approximating the hieroglyphic to the Demotic version.

Reference	Demotic Writing on the Stela	Hieroglyphic Writing on the Stela	Word used in the Text	Root
D13H7			3 <i>h.w.</i> “ <i>akh</i> -spirits”	3 <i>h</i>
D13H7			13 <i>h.w.</i> “luminous ones”	13 <i>h</i>
D17H10			3 <i>h.w.</i> “ <i>akh</i> -spirits”	3 <i>h</i>
D17H10			13 <i>h.w.</i> “luminous ones”	13 <i>h</i>
D17H10			3 <i>h.w.</i> “ <i>akh</i> -spirits”	3 <i>h</i>
D17H10			13 <i>h.w.</i> “luminous ones”	13 <i>h</i>

81. Kind Jansen-Winkel, ‘Horizont’ und ‘Verklärtheit,’ 205–6.  
 82. Jansen-Winkel, “‘Horizont’ und ‘Verklärtheit,’” 205–6.  
 83. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Hieroglyphen*, 100.  
 84. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Hieroglyphen*, 100.  
 85. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Hieroglyphen*, 100.  
 86. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Hieroglyphen*, 100.  
 87. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Hieroglyphen*, 100.  
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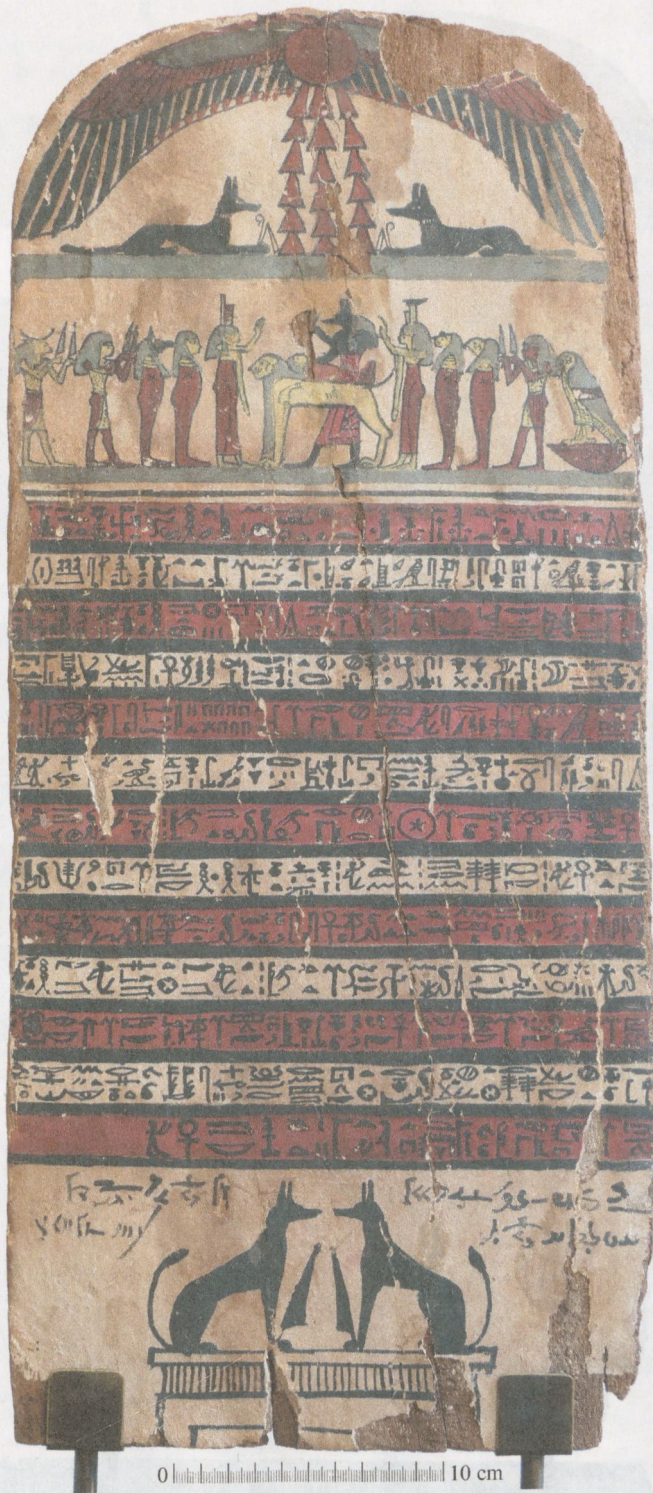


Figure 1. Stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu, hieroglyphic front.

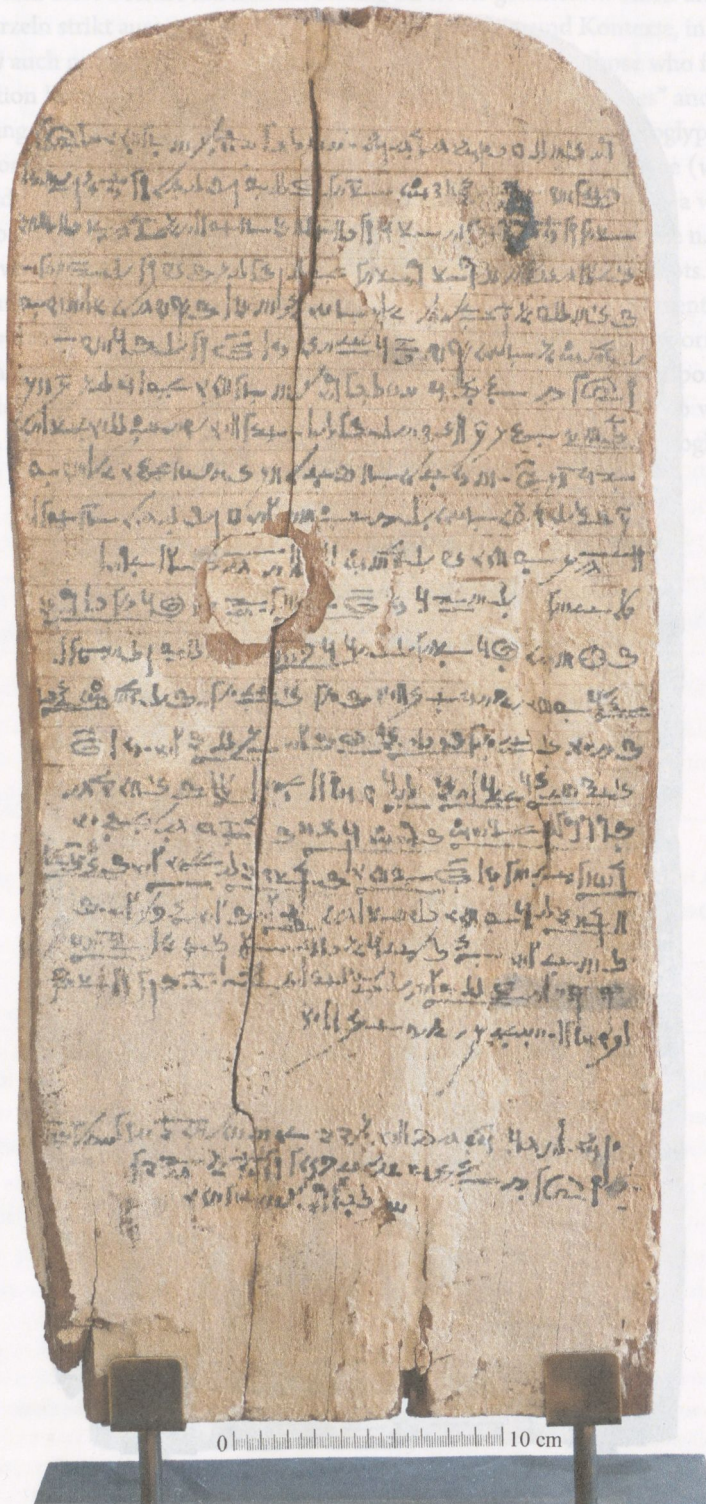


Figure 2. Stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu, Demotic back.

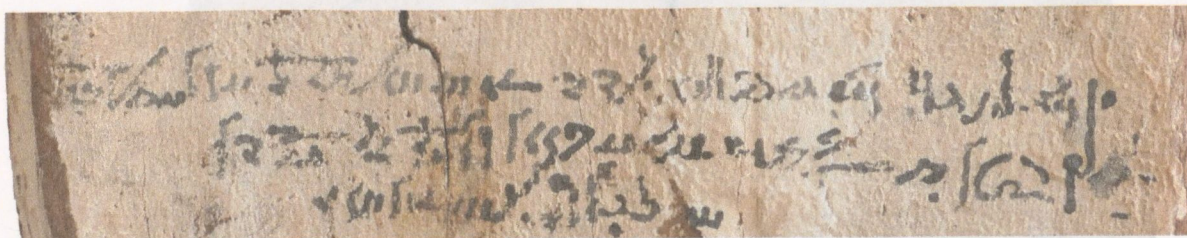


Figure 3. The stela's Demotic colophon.

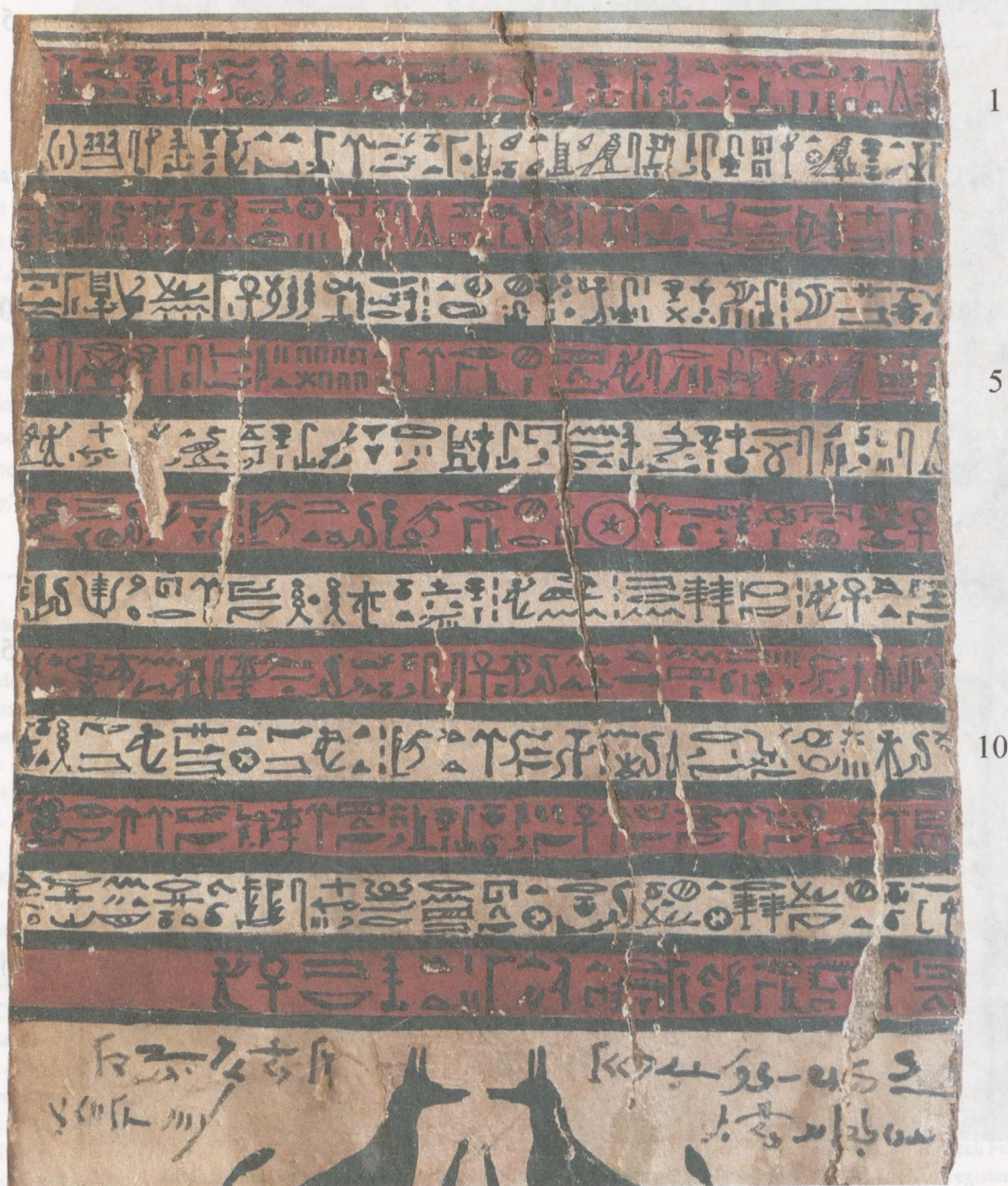


Figure 4. The hieroglyphic text of the stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu.

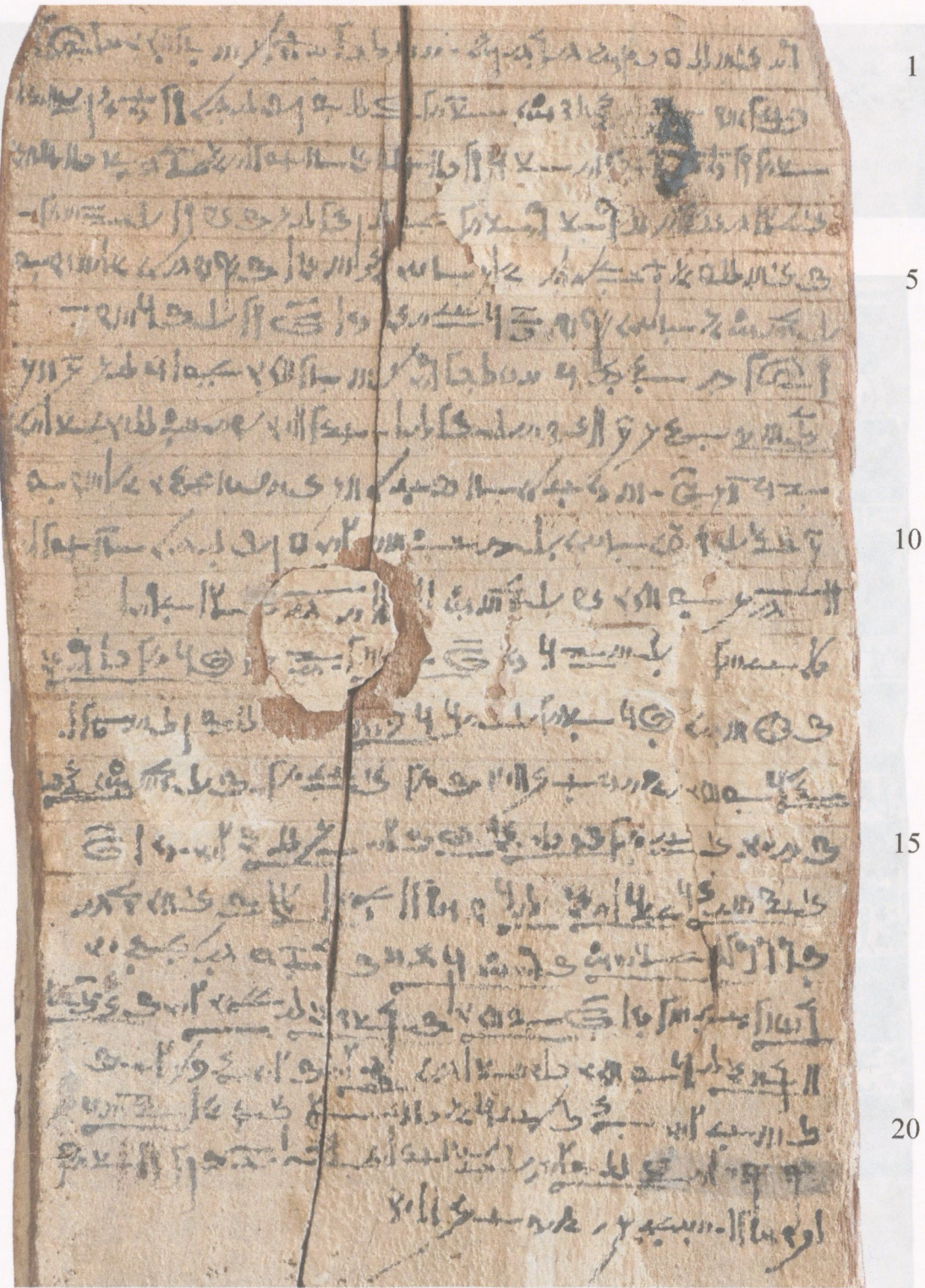


Figure 5. The demotic paraphrase of the offering formula and of the beginning of the Book of Traversing Eternity on the stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu.