Originalveröffentlichung in: Betsy Mryan, Mark Smith, Christina Di Cerbo, Marina Escolano-Poveda, Jill S. Waller (Hg.): One who loves knowledge. Studies in honor of Richard Jasnow (Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt, Bd. 6), Columbus, Georgia 2022, S. 419–438; Online-Veröffentlichung auf Propylaeum-DOK (2024), DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeumdok.00006267

# 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.])

# MARTIN ANDREAS STADLER

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  $hk^3$ - and a  $nh^3h^3$ -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

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<sup>1.</sup> Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "A Demotic Version of the Hieratic Offering Formula in P. BM EA 10209, 4/1–20 (Ostracon 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.

<sup>2.</sup> Compare, e.g., the stela BM EA 8468—British Museum Collection Database "EA8468," 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 Qebehsenuef 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) *`nt n Hr Bhtt ntr '3 nb p.t* (The) perfumer<sup>3</sup> of Horus of Edfu, the great god, the lord of the sky,
- 2) *P3-*<sup>(hm p3 '3 s3 Lykws Pakhom the elder, son of Lykos.</sup>

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):

 sh n hsb.t 12 3bd 3 pr.t 28 Gysrs p3 ntr p3 Hrwm<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup>[s]
 n<sup>1</sup> htmw-ntr hry <sup>c</sup>nt n Hr Bhtt ntr <sup>c</sup>3 nb p.t
 P<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>c</sup>hm s3 Lykws
 Written in the regnal year 12, Phamenoth 28th (of) Kaisaros, the god, the Rhomai[os], for the god's sealbearer, the chief perfumer of Horus of Edfu, the great god, the lord of the sky, 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

lunette is shown, from which three chains of triangles as sun rays connect to a p. thieroglyph that forms the base for two reclining jackals that face one another, each holding a hkt- and a hhthtt: scepter in their paws. A turquoise p to hieroglyph is also the divider that separates this zone from the register beneath, in which an embalming scene is

<sup>3.</sup> 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 (*p3 °nț*)," *BIFAO* 103 (2003): 73–109.

<sup>4.</sup> 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.

<sup>5.</sup> 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* fnt 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 1.4 corresponding to the Demotic 1.7 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>c</sup> al-Ḥiṣâyâ 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.

<sup>6.</sup> 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.

<sup>7.</sup> Andreas Winkler, "On the Longevity of the χοαχύται in Thebes and Elsewhere," JAC 29 (2014): 50–62.

<sup>8.</sup> There is another Behedet, modern day Nag<sup>c</sup> al-Mašayih 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.

<sup>9.</sup> Gaston Maspero, "Sur les fouilles exécutés en Égypte de 1881 à 1885," BIE 2e série 6 (1886): 78-80.

<sup>10.</sup> 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, *Edfou 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* <sup>c</sup>nt 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.

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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<sup>c</sup> el-Ḥiṣâyâ," *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.

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D1	<u>h</u> .t p3 wyt m s <u>h</u> pr- <sup>c</sup> nh <sup>16</sup> n P3- <sup>c</sup> hm p3 <sup>c</sup> 3 s3 Lykws p3 htmw-ntr	The copy of the hieroglyphic stela <sup>17</sup> for Pakhom the elder, son of Lykos, the god's seal bearer:
Н	<	<
D2	pr-3 'ti' 'b3.wt n Wsir hnț Imnț nţr '3 nb Ibt	Pharaoh gives an offering to Osiris, the foremost of the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos,
H	$ ^{1}$ htp di nsw n Wsir hnt $\langle y \rangle$ imn.t.t ntr 3 nb 3bdw	An offering that the king gives to Osiris, the foremost of the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos,
D3	✓ Wsir nṯr '3 'B'ḥt 3s.t mw.t-nṯr ḥr-ib Bḥt Nb.t-ḥw.t ḥr⟨.t⟩-ib	<ul> <li>Osiris, the great god of Behedet, (to)</li> <li>Isis, the god's mother who dwells in Behedet, (to)</li> <li>Nephthys who dwells in</li> </ul>
H	iwn $[n H]r(?)$ hnty Bhd.t n R <sup>c</sup> 3s.t-Hdd.t <sup>18</sup> mw.t ntr $hr\langle .t \rangle$ -ib Bhd.t Nb $\langle .t \rangle$ -hw.t   <sup>2</sup> sn.t-ntr $hr\langle .t \rangle$ -ib	the pillar, <sup>19</sup> [to Hor]us, the foremost of Behedet, to Rê, $\triangleleft$ (to) Isis-Hededet, the god's mother who dwells in Behedet, (to) Nephthys, the god's sister who dwells in
D4	$Wts-Hr^{20} \longrightarrow Hr s^{3} 3s.t$ $s^{3} n Wsir nht it=f m hr-ntr$ $Mtr s^{3} s^{3} s.t$ $Mtr s^{3} s^{3} s.t$	the nome of Edfu, (to) Horus, the son of Isis and the son of Osiris, his father's protector in the necropolis, (to) Anubis

3.2. The Offering Formula: Transliteration and Translation with Annotations

16. See the writings in the sacerdotal decrees: Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana) mit den hieroglyphischen und griechischen Fassungen und deutscher Übersetzung nebst demotischem Glossar (Heidelberg: Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1922), 125.

17. Lit. "stela in the script of the house of life."

18. Variant *3s.t-Hdd.t* (*LGG* I, 76a). All attestations of this deity listed in the *LGG* are from Edfu or its environs. This Isis is even the representative of the Edfu nome according to the geographical procession that is depicted in the *soubassement* on the interior of the enclosure wall—here, the eastern half of the north wall. According to Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VI*, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu Abteilung I: Übersetzungen 3 (Gladbeck: PeWe, 2014), 228, 12 (with pl. 160) she is *3s.t-Hdd.t mw.t-ntr hr.t-ib Bhd.t*, as on our stela.

19. Regarding the determination, "Osiris, lord of Dendera (*Iwn.t*)" or "of Heliopolis (*Iwnw*)" is unlikely. Although both are attested (*LGG* III, 576b–577b), the version given above is to be preferred (see *LGG* I, 193c–194b), the more so as the context fits the mythology of Edfu—Sylvie Cauville, *La théologie d'Osiris à Edfou*, BdE 91 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1983), esp. 186–87—and by this it complements the series of hints indicating a provenance from Edfu that the offering formula also gives.

20. See the writing of the priestly title wts- $R^{e}$  "carrier of Ra," CDD R (2001), 17–18.

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steep ner	$W$ ts.t- $H$ r $w$ d $\langle .t \rangle$ $hh$ = $s^{21}$ $iw$ $sbi.w^{22}$ = $s$ $H$ r $s3$ $3s.t$ $s3$ $n$ $W$ sir $nd$ $iti$ = $f$ $m$ $h$ r.t- $n$ tr $Nw.t^{23}$ $h$ $nw.t$ $imn.t.t$ $w$ d= $s$ $gs.w$ - $pr$ $h$ pt $[.t]^{24}$ $ ^{3}$ $Inpw$	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 necro- polis, (to) Nut, the mistress of the West, while commanding the temples, the embracing one, (to) Anubis,	
D5	m wyt nb t3 tsre ti=f nfr <sup>cc</sup> y.w m w <sup>c</sup> b.t ti=ysn <sup>26</sup>	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 gaiv	imy wt nb t3 dsr snfr ḥ <sup>c</sup> .w n <u>t</u> r m w <sup>c</sup> b.t di=sn <sup>27</sup>	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	
D5bis	- we that share gave		
H West	pr.t-hrw m t hnk(.t) ih.w 3pd.w irp irt(.t) $ ^{4}$ šdh sm.w rnp.w sn <u>t</u> r hr s <u>d</u> .t <sup>c</sup> nty.w hr h(.t)	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</i> $w^{c}b\langle .t\rangle$ $ntm\langle .t\rangle$ $bne\langle .t\rangle$ $^{nh}\langle .t\rangle$ $ntr$ im=ysn	all sweet, pleasant, pure, and beautiful things on	
H s his	$hw.t-nb\langle.wt\rangle nfr\langle.wt\rangle w^{c}b\langle.wt\rangle ndm\langle.wt\rangle bnr\langle.wt\rangle rhb\langle.wt\rangle ntr im=\langle s\rangle n$	which a god lives,	

21. The *s* is inversed 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*.

<sup>22.</sup> According to Penelope Wilson (A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu, OLA 78 [Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 819), hfy. 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 hfy. w=s is also well attested, yet just in Dendera, not in Edfu (LGG II, 625a).

<sup>23.</sup> 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  $\square$  for  $\square$ . 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.

<sup>24.</sup> 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.

<sup>25.</sup> Cf. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, 275, for the writing and phrase  $\widetilde{mn} = \widetilde{mn} + wd\langle t \rangle$  hh r sbi.w r=k, "putting the flame against the rebels against you" (esp. EI, 219, 5–6).

<sup>26.</sup> 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.

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

D7	$\langle n \rangle$ htmw-ntr hry <sup>28</sup> cnt <sup>29</sup> P3-chm s3 Lykws str=f- n=f iw=f	$\langle for \rangle$ the god's seal bearer, the chief perfumer Pakhom, son of Lykos, so that he may go to sleep	
Η	n htmw-ntr <sup>30</sup> hry 'n  <sup>5</sup> .t $\langle y \rangle^{\text{Kg31}}$ P3-'šm s3 n mi nn Ryks <sup>32</sup>	for the god's seal bearer (?), the chief perfumer Pakhom, son of the likewise titled Lykos.	
D8	$thy \ sm=f-n=f \ i.ir \ n3y=f \ it w \ n \ twe \ r \ t3y=f \ rst$ `n' rnp.t	being drunk. He went off to his forefathers in the morning to his dawn <sup>33</sup> in the year	
Η		<ul> <li>He went before<sup>34</sup> Osiris</li> <li>in the year</li> </ul>	
D9	77. $t iw=f n w s n y^{c} b.t bn \langle .t \rangle iw=f ir p 3y=f b 3k$ ti=ysn	77 <sup>35</sup> being free from any evil disease and having done his service so that they gave	
Н	77. <i>t</i> i <sup>c</sup> <i>i</i> iwf=f=sn <sup>36</sup> hr ir $\langle .t \rangle$ k3.t=sn   <sup>6</sup> di=sn	77. They washed his flesh, carrying out their work so that they gave	
D10	-n=f ksi3.t nfr.t ih 'Rsßw' imnt n Bht	him a hourtiful hurial in the nearonalis, the West	
H Sea	$-n=f$ kysr. $t^{37}$ nfr $\langle .t \rangle$ hr $\langle R3-\rangle sB.w$ imn $\langle .t.t \rangle$ n Bhd.t	him a beautiful burial in the necropolis, the West of Beḥedet.	
D11	iw $pr=fmne hr ihy.w ""[.] iw p3y=fpr wd3.?.$	while his house <sup>38</sup> endures with property [] and his house prospers <sup>39</sup>	
Н	$pr=fmn \underline{h}\langle r \rangle \check{s}ps.w=fiw^{c}=fmn \dot{h}r ns.t=fs^{3}.t=fw\underline{d} imy\langle .w \rangle - \underline{h}t=f$	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 *n*<u>t</u>*r*-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  $\sim$  I take it as a  $\bigtriangleup$  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 hr* 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: [n] = [n]

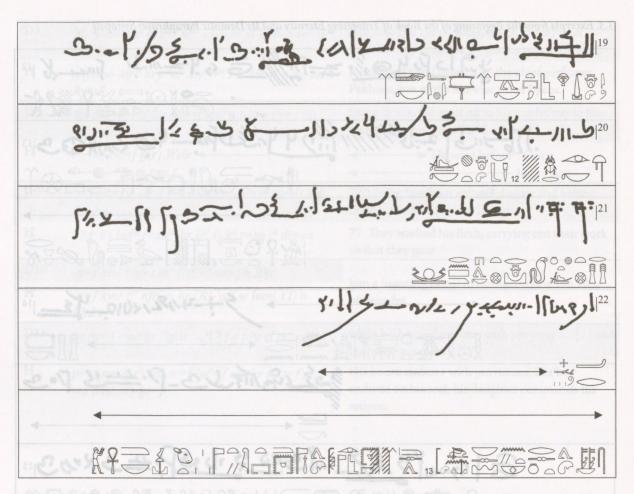
37. Metathesis influenced by the contemporary pronunciation of krs as kys.

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.

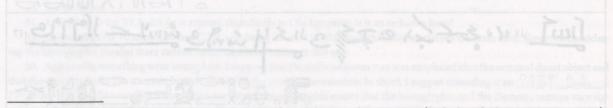
49.1.5 F. 40 1/2 == []" = G 5.4= 11 112 الم الدرم في 4 م الله 19 4 4 . ... الا الل في الم الم الم الم الم الم الله الم الله الم الله الم الله الم الله الم It The solo of the STON B 118/12/12/12 8 in Tir? in a G (1-4/4) / ... / 9 (2) 1/2 / 12-12 生 い メック ひ15 9 Pole Æ OFAN n いくいいろしょ でちにいるが いっ 0 Sui REL!! 9-1/4-2 21:32 4-3-1/112 -G 10 Jur. 4 

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



3.4. Excerpts from the Beginning of the Book of Traversing Eternity and Its Demotic Paraphrase: Transliteration and Translation with Annotations

The translation of the hieroglyphic version follows Mark Smith,<sup>40</sup> unless the stela's reading deviates. I comment on them only if they are not too obvious variants. Furthermore, details of understanding the Book of Traversing Eternity have not been discussed here if I have nothing new to add. For variants see the synopsis by Herbin.<sup>41</sup> Our stela's version omits substantial passages in comparison to what Herbin has collected.



40. Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 405–7.

41. François-René Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, OLA 58 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 382–411. François-René Herbin, *Books of Breathing and Related Texts*, Catalogue of Books of the Dead and Other Religious Texts in the British Museum 4 (London: British Museum Press, 2008), has published further witnesses of this composition. See also Julia Budka, Tamás Mekis, and Marie-Cécile Bruwier, "Reuse of Saite Temple Tombs in the Asasif during the Early Ptolemaic Time: The Tomb Group of *Mw.t-Mnw* from TT 414," *ÄgLev* 22/23 (2012/2013): 217–19, for another excerpt from the Book of Traversing Eternity on a Canopic box.

### A New Version of the Beginning of the Book of Traversing Eternity

D12 $i by-iypn {}^{c}nh {}^{r}py{}^{i}=k r p.t hr R^{c} w3h he\langle .t\rangle = k$		"O you living ba, you shall fly up to the sky to <sup>42</sup>	
Н	$i b3  ^{7} h p3i = k \langle r \rangle p.t h R^{c} w3h h.t = k$	Rê. Your corpse will endure	
D13 H views o	$m tw3.t hr Wsir i^{t}h^{t}sh=k [m-hn]t ihy.w$ $m dw3.t hr Wsir 3h s^{t}=k m-hnt 3h.w$	in the underworld in the presence of Osiris. Your mummy will be magically powerful among <sup>43</sup> the <i>akh</i> -spirits.	
D13bis			
peak to <b>H</b> (the) hal	rwd iw <sup>c</sup> =k m t3 hr Gb[b]   <sup>8</sup> hr ns.t=k hnt <sup>c</sup> nh.w	On earth in the presence of Geb, your heir flour- ishes on your throne at the head of the living. <sup>44</sup>	
D14 <sup>45</sup>	rn=k mne r nḥḥ ḏ.t m R <sup>c</sup> wbn n-m <sup>46</sup> iḥy.wt <sup>c</sup> k=k	Your name endures for ever and ever as Rê. Rise in radiance <sup>47</sup> ! You will enter	
H of a rule bread	rn=k dd m r3.w n wn.w ḥr md3.wt n.t sbi nḥḥ pri=k	Your name endures in the mouths of those who are because of the Books of Traversing Eternity. <sup>48</sup> You will come forth	

42. For the aorist marker or the verb h, "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, "Prätexte funerärer 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: Röll, 2012], 227n14 announcing a new, but still unpublished interpretation of the passage) and Joachim F. Quack ("Rohrfedertorheiten?: Bemerkungen zum römerzeitlichen Hieratisch," 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>	$m hrw wbn.n=w^{50} hr=k hnm fnt=k Bw n ch$	by day, after they <sup>51</sup> have shone on you. Your nose will breathe the breeze of life.
H bins Your bong the	<i>m</i> hrw $\underline{h}nm = k i^{t}tn^{t}  ^{9} \underline{h}3y \underline{h}d\underline{d}.w = f m \underline{h}r = k n \underline{s}p \underline{h}\langle nm \rangle.ty = k\langle y \rangle \underline{t}w n \underline{c}n\underline{h} snsn \underline{f}n\underline{d} = k \underline{m}h.t is-niw srk.n = f^{52} \underline{h}ty.t  ^{10} = k ms\langle.t\rangle \underline{h}^{c}.w r^{c}-nb$	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	$wpy=k r^{3}=k mt=k \langle n \rangle n^{3} ntrw sdm=w hrw=k$ m wsh(.t)	You will open your mouth so that you speak to the gods, so that they hear your voice in (the) hall
H	$wpi=k r^{3}=k mdw=k n ntr.w w^{3}d dd=k m-hnt$	You will open your mouth when you speak to the two gods. Your speech will flourish among
D17	$m3^{\circ}.w^{55} wnm = k m sn^{56} swr = k m {}^{\circ}h^{\circ}nk pr$	of Righteous Ones. <sup>57</sup> You will eat the offering bread and drink beer. Your personality of a ruler
Н	3h.w wnm=k m t <sup>ss</sup> s <sup>c</sup> m=k m hnk $\langle t \rangle$   <sup>11</sup> pri	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  $\bigcirc$  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:  $\underline{hnm} \, cn\underline{h} \, m \, \underline{d.t} = k^{(...)}$  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  $m_3^c$ , t.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  $\square$ .

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.

D18	$hk^{61} = k \ n \ by \ {}^{c}nh \ mne^{62} = k \ n-m^{63} \ ir.t = k \ sdm^{64} = k$ will go forth as a living ba. You will so of your eyes. You will hear by means		
H olloi	$hm = k m b3$ <sup>c</sup> n $h$ m <sup>33</sup> = $k m$ ir. $ty = k\langle y \rangle$ s $dm = k m$ <sup>c</sup> n $h$ . $wy = k\langle y \rangle$	will go forth as a living ba. You will see by means of your eyes. You will hear by means of your ears.	
D19	iw ḥ3.ț=k smne ḥr t3y=f s.t ḥ <sup>c</sup> =k m ßw iw=k ḥl n-m <sup>66</sup>	your heart being fixed in its place. You will appear as wind, while you fly up as	
H	iw ib=k mn ḥr s.t=f šm=k m ßw ᠲy=k m	Your heart endures on its place. You will go as wind and fly up as	
D20	<u>hyb(.t)</u> ir=k <u>h</u> rb-nb nt iw iw=k wh3 <u>h</u> ty=k $\langle r \rangle^{67}$	a shadow. You will assume every form that you will wish. You will fare downstream $\langle to \rangle$	
H	$ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\$	a shadow. You will assume every form your heart is desiring. You will fare downstream to	
D21	$\underline{D}dw hnt = k r Tbt \ k.w^{68} n n \ sm(.t) ntr W \ sir$	Busiris and fare upstream to Abydos, entering <sup>69</sup> the divine <i>neshmet</i> -bark of Osiris	
H	Ddw hnt=k r 3bdw h3i=k r nšm.t	Busiris and fare upstream to Abydos. You will descend to the <i>neshmet</i> -bark	
D22a	hn <sup>e</sup> n3 n <u>t</u> r.w	together with the gods	
Н	hn <sup>c</sup> imy.w-ht=s	together with its retinue.	
D22b	n-irm-n-im <sup>70</sup> =fr nhh <u>d</u> .t	with him <sup>71</sup> for ever and ever.	
н	3h.A. akh-spirits	e⊀ in Demotic with archaizing features which ar	

61. In Demotic, *hm*, "majesty" is rarely attested; Stadler, *Das Soknopaiosritual*, 280–81. The stela here suggests that the word was obsolescent in Demotic or even obsolete. That is why the scribe translated it with *hk*, "ruler." The rendering "personality of a ruler" is the attempt to accommodate the suffix as possessive pronoun without being misleading. "Your ruler" would rather mean the ruler of the addressed person rather than "your rulership" (in analogy to "your lordship") as an aspect of the addressed person. For writing earlier *k* with the *k*3-arms in Demotic see Günter Vittmann, "Zum Gebrauch des *k*3-Zeichens im Demotischen," *SEAP* 15 (1996): 1–12.

62. For *mne*, "to see," see Mark Smith, "On some Orthographies of the Verb *m3*, 'see', and *mn*, 'endure', in Demotic and Other Egyptian Texts," in *Grammata Demotica: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, ed. Heinz Josef Thissen, Karl-Theodor Zauzich (Würzburg: Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 1984), 193–210.

63. See note 46.

64. The group *t3w* is likely to be written here erroneously.

65. This is a yet unattested phonetic writing. The small stroke between *n* and *h* is probably just a scribal error.

66. See note 46.

67. Or is the faded oblique stroke towards the stela's margin the r? The distance to hty=k is admittedly big.

68. Or is the vertical stroke part of the hieraticizing walking legs determinative? The end of line 14 indicates this, where seemingly at the margin a small black stroke may be found. See further note 69.

69. I take 4. w as a congealed qualitative that did not agree in gender and number anymore.

70. This is an extraordinary form, even though *n-irm* and *irm-n-im=* are attested (CDD *T* [2011], 199–200). Possibly it is a phonetic writing to display the pronunciation NMMACI with *irm* being a relic as a historical group—for this phenomenon see Joachim F. Quack, "Bemerkungen zur Struktur der demotischen Schrift und zur Umschrift des Demotischen," in *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies: Leuven, 26–30 August 2008,* ed. Mark Depauw, Yanne Broux, OLA 231 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 207–42. Already Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen,* DemStud 5 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912), 28 no. 29, proposed this interpretation for *irm-n-im=w* in the context there. Looking at the tendency of the stela's Demotic scribe to add an *n* to the preposition *m*, the initial n here is not so surprising anymore.

71. The pronoun is presumably referring to Osiris.

D22bis	••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
y means <sup>14</sup> our ears.	$s_{h}=k r s.t \{nw\} n.t Hb-nb=s \langle d \rangle wn [=k]  _{13}$ $g_{s}\langle .t \rangle m ws_{h}.t Wsir sms=k ntr ~3 m ws_{h}.t M3^{\circ}.$ ty hnty imn.t m nb ~nh	You will arrive at the place of Hapnebes. <sup>72</sup> You will hasten in the hall of Osiris so that you follow the great god in the hall of the Two Truths, the foremost of the West as "lord of life." <sup>73</sup>

## 4. On Some Noteworthy Features: Archaisms and Deviations of the Demotic Version

Apart from P. BM EA 10252<sup>74</sup> and the two Rhind papyri<sup>75</sup> this is, to the best of my knowledge, the only other source from ancient Egypt that provides the two versions of the same text in two different stages of the Egyptian language and, together with the two Rhind papyri, the only one applying two different scripts to each of the versions on one and the same object (be it a papyrus scroll or a stela). Of course, there are more translations from one stage of Egyptian to the other, but they are not on the same scroll. The first sixteen lines of P. BN 149, for instance, provide a Demotic version of several funerary texts, besides another section of the Book of Traversing Eternity spells 125 and 128 of the *Book of the Dead*,<sup>76</sup> albeit not on the same papyrus. The Demotic version on our stela is not a full translation of the hieroglyphic text because it omits several phrases with a very similar predication. Therefore, calling the Demotic version a "paraphrase" would be more appropriate. This raises some issues and gives us valuable insights into how the Egyptians understood their legacy of religious texts. To conclude my article, I am going to share my thoughts with the scholarly public here.

Mark Smith has described the shadings of language in Demotic funerary texts from purely Demotic to purely Middle Egyptian in Demotic script.<sup>77</sup> The Demotic text of Pakhom's stela is clearly an intermediate stage, that is, a text in Demotic with archaizing features, which are:

- 1.  $ntr \Im (D2)$  rather than  $p3 ntr \Im$ ,
- 2. the suffix pronoun of the third person plural = ysn (D5, 6, and 9) vs. = w (D15, 16),

3. the archaizing relative form *`nh.t* instead of *r. `nh*,

- 4. the suffix pronoun in pr=f rather than the possessive article (D11)—in the next phrase the scribe used the Demotic possessive article ( $p_{3y}=f pr$ ) and returned to contemporary grammar,
- 5. repeating the  $m_3^c$ -sign thrice to write the plural (D17) by which the scribe chose to use a graphic archaism. I take  $m_3^c$ . *w* here as the plural of a nominalized participle (lit. "justified ones," rather than emending it to  $m_3^c\langle . t \rangle . w$ ). This would be then additionally an archaizing feature on the linguistic level.

73. Here the stela's version is considerably abridged in comparison to all other parallels that have further sentences after *wsh.t M3<sup>c</sup>.ty* anyway. For this particular passage they have sn=k *Wsir m pr wr n nbw Hnty-Imn.t.t m nb cnh*, "You will join Osiris in the house of gold, the foremost of the West in the 'lord of life' (i.e., the sarcophagus)." (Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 409–11.) The version at hand is a quite mutilated version of this. The translation above tries to get as much sense as possible out of this.

74. Urk. VI:60–144. Pascal Vernus, "Entre néo-égyptien et démotique: La langue utilisée dans la traduction du Rituel pour repousser l'Agressif (Étude sur la diglossie I)," RdÉ 41 (1990): 153–208.

75. Georg Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*, DemStud 6 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913); Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 302–48, with further references.

76. Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month*. For the Book of Traversing Eternity, see pp. 16–17, 27–29, 42–54. Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 437–54, esp. 444–45; Martin Andreas Stadler, "Die Korrektur einer Korrektur: Papyrus Bibliothèque nationale 149 I 24 f. und III 7 f.," *Enchoria* 36 (2018/2019): 211–20.

77. Mark Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, CDPBM 3 (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications Limited, 1987), 28.

<sup>72.</sup> See the parallels that have  $\sum_{n=1}^{n} \sqrt{2} \sqrt{2} \sqrt{2} \sqrt{2} \sqrt{2}$  or similar for the name of the Abydene necropolis (Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 405).

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  $r_k$ , "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  $h^c$ , "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.

Root	Word	Hieroglyphic Writing on the Stela	Demotic Writing on the Stela	Reference
Зħ	<i>3ħ,</i> "to be magically powerful"	P	4.35L ih	D13/H7
	3h.w, "akh-spirits"	le		D13/H7
i3ħ	배 기가 <i>i3h.w</i> , "luminous ones" according to parallels <sup>80</sup>	3 <i>h.w</i> , "akh-spirits"	<b>المجارعة (</b> m3 <sup>c</sup> .w, "righteous ones"	D17/H10
	* <i>i3h,</i> "radiance"	./.	in the ihv.wt	D14/-

The variance in graphematizing words of the roots *3h* and *i3h* requires closer attention:

*Thy.wt* is determined like "thing, property, possessions," but I take it as phonetic writing for *i3h*. Did the scribe want to differentiate between *i3h* and *3h*? 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 ( $R^c$ , 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  $m3^c$ . w. Thus, the stela contradicts Jansen-Winkeln's rule: "Wie oben erwähnt, hat schon H. Brugsch sowohl *3h*, wirksam sein' als auch *3ht*, Horizont' von einer Wurzel *j3h*, leuchten,

<sup>78.</sup> 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.

<sup>79.</sup> 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 <sup>c</sup>*k/pri* is also abundantly found.

<sup>80.</sup> Therefore, Smith, Traversing Eternity, 406, translates "luminous ones" for this phrase.

<sup>81.</sup> Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "'Horizont' und 'Verklärtheit': Zur Bedeutung der Wurzel 3h," 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 3h auch nur im entferntesten passend wäre.<sup>482</sup> Apparently, those who fashioned the stela did not see this strict distinction because 3h.w, "*akh*-spirits" replaces i3h.w, "luminous ones" and the Demotic version supports the understanding of n as 3h and not as a writing of i3h. Thus, in the hieroglyphic version, the stela's painter used a sign that connects the word with 3h rather than i3h, 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.

the present of the second		
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 $[l_{ij}]$ : *wi* is determined like "thing, property, possessions," but I take it as phonetic writing for  $l_{ij}$ . Did the scribe want to differentiate between  $l_{ij}$  and  $l_{ii}$ ? For the latter in H7 he used  $l_{ij}$  or  $l_{ij}$  in D13. This would comborate the distinction of the two voots as jamsen-winkelin has enved out. Regretitably, the hieroglyphic version does not give a direct parallel, and we have to rely on the context  $(R^{\circ}, wbn)$  that suggests a translation as "radiance." However, latter on, the distinction is blurted again because in H10 we find a writing that should be translated "alsi-spirits," for which still be translated acti-spirits. For which the Decode corresponding word seems to be  $m_i^{\infty}$  w. Thus, the stella contradicts Jamsen-Winkeln's rule: "Wie oben the distinction is blurted again because in H10 we find a writing that should be translated "alsi-spirits," for which the Decode corresponding word seems to be  $m_i^{\infty}$  w. Thus, the stella contradicts Jamsen-Winkeln's rule: "Wie oben environ to be more as the Decode corresponding word seems to be  $m_i^{\infty}$  w. Thus, the stella contradicts Jamsen-Winkeln's rule: "Wie oben environt, hat schon H Brugsch sowohl  $i_i$  wirksom sein also and  $l_i$  with the paraon we never the properties of the terms and the set of the schon H Brugsch sowohl  $i_i$  wirksom sein also and the properties of the terms and the properties of the schon H Brugsch sowohl  $i_i$  wirksom sein also and the properties of the schon H Brugsch sowohl  $i_i$  wirksom sein also and the properties of the schon H Brugsch sowohl  $i_i$  wirksom sein also and  $l_i$  which the properties of the schon H Brugsch sowohl  $i_i$  wirksom sein also and the properties of the schon H Brugsch sowohl  $i_i$  wirksom sein also and the properties of the schon  $l_i$  which the properties of the schon  $l_i$  which that the properties of the schon  $l_i$  which the schon  $l_i$  wirksom sein also and  $l_i$  which the properties of the schon  $l_i$  wirksom  $l_i$  which the schon  $l_i$  which the schon  $l_i$  which t

ner l'Agressif (finde au la diglossie 1), Rdf 41 (1990), 153-208.

78. See Martin Andreas Stadler, Weiser und Wesir: Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Illiot im ügypfitelen Tatanbuch, gORAT (Tültingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) pt 3-47, musti genarent To skool adı toT simole et ab arrepagnetet To and ban 79.5 CE Smeletpi Martin Andreas Stadleri "The Bundrary Texts of Papyres Thinn Ne 766: A Demôtic Book of Breatling (Fartal)," Encharia 25 (1999): 99, but "(/pr/16 also abundantly found.

82. Jansen-Winkeln, "'Horizont' und 'Verklärtheit," 205–6.

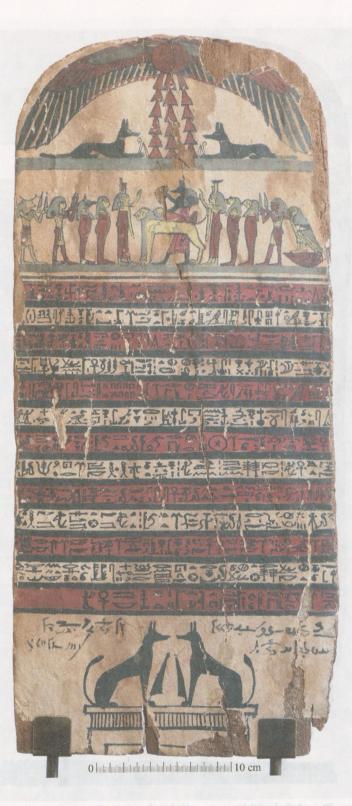


Figure 1. Stela of Pakhom, son of Lykos, from Edfu, hieroglyphic front.

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

A New Version of the Beginning of the Book of Traversing Eternity

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Figure 3. The stela's Demotic colophon. 1 84 II II . 5 1+5 SEI 司 E. 101× 10 1xe -0 6 Kć いたいに、シリ 320 -9-250

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

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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.