

Hieratic Paleography: Written Egyptian

How it developed from the 5th Dynasty to Roman Times

v. 2: From Tuthmosis III to the End of the 21st Dynasty

I. Introduction: the development of hieratic literary script from the 18th to the 21st Dynasty

The Egyptian art of writing achieved perfection at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. The manuscripts of the ensuing period may be of greater beauty, excluding those of lower quality like Papyrus Ebers, but this is considered the period of the apogee of Pharaonic rule. The papyri of the 18th and the first half of the 19th Dynasties are outstanding in the clarity and pleasing simplicity of their signs. *Horror vacui*, which is present even here, is dealt with, but without recourse to fillers and unnecessary flourishes. Texts from the time of Seti I form the last group of manuscripts¹.

Characteristic, from generation to generation, of the following period are the increasing use of fillers, flourishes² and meaningless signs (☩, ☩, ☩) serving only as decoration for empty spaces. These are features of the gradual decline that finds its fullest expression by the 21st dynasty. The gap between literary and non-literary script, discernable since the end of the Old Kingdom, had gone so far by the end of the 20th Dynasty, that a common ancestry is no longer recognisable³; the writing of the 21st Dynasty could justifiably be called either Old Demotic or New Hieratic. The scribes must have been aware of this gap: from the 21st Dynasty literary script is used for recording religious ('Books of the Dead') texts, which had hitherto been done in hieroglyphs. Henceforth it is rightly known as 'hieratic'. Whereas before, numerous interrelations between the literary and non-literary script had come to light⁴, henceforth the hieroglyphs began to influence the latter strongly; signs such as

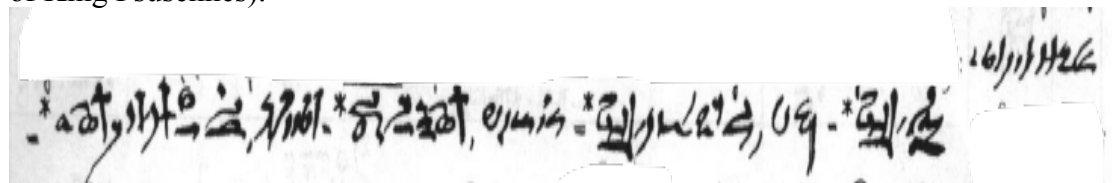


can no longer be called hieratic. The literary script still preserves a certain variability, allowing the scribe to express individuality

¹ As evidence that the division between older and newer hieratic falls in the period after Seti I, compare the examples in the tables, e.g., Nos. 118, 143, 162, 166, 215, 237, 271, 328, 422, 480 and LXXI.

² c.f., for example, the following in the tables: Nos. 197, 205, 266, 268, 279, 300, 326, 456, 432 and LI.

³ As clarification, here is a sample of the most cursive non-literary script known to me from the 21st Dynasty (Papyrus Reinhardt, Berlin P3063) with an added transcription in coeval literary script (forms of the *ndmt*; P Reinhardt was written during the reign of King Psusennes):



A study of non-literary hieratic has yet to be done, c.f., v. 1, Foreword.



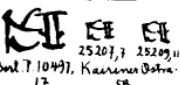




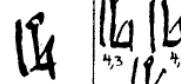

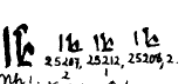





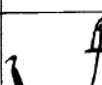


























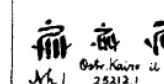




⁴ For cursive forms in the literary script, c.f., v. IV.

through certain features; both disappear by the 21st Dynasty, whose script we designate ‘Late Hieratic’.

II. Features differentiating Theban and Lower Egyptian handwriting.

Texts from the second half of the New Kingdom, especially from the 20th and 21st Dynasties, provide us with an opportunity to determine the origin of the signs, viz., Upper or Lower Egypt.

As Erman first noted (*Zur Erklärung des Papyrus Harris*, published in *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1903, p. 456 *et seq.*), there are in Papyrus Harris (e.g., p. 12) extensive sections concerning the temples of Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis written by different hands. The Memphite and Heliopolitan texts are closer to each other than the Theban. Provided that the peculiarities of the three scribes so far known are not just idiosyncrasies but shared features of scribal schools, the forms characteristic of Harris Thebes must be echoed in other roughly coeval manuscripts of Theban provenance, just like Harris M’s characteristics in the Saqqara papyrus. This is indeed the case, as the following examples show:

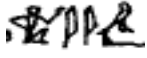


Hierogl.	Harris Th.	P. Abbott	Ndm-1	Sonstige Thebaner	Ennene	Harris M.	Harris H.	Sonstige Unterägypter
22	 9,4			 25207,7 25209,11 Boul. T. 10497, Kairiener Ostraca 17.	 N A 8,9	 47,2	 25,16	
26	 3,11	 4,3 4,1 3,10	 4,2	 16 16 16 16 25207, 25212, 25209, 2. Ndm 1: Kairiener Ostraca aus Birkân el Mulûk	 Orb 12,3	 46,5	 42,6	 Leyden I 308
106	 1,5	 10,14 12	 11,19	 Orb 9,7		 49,4	 26,5	 Boulag 20 n 9 aus Saqqara
438	 7,13	 13,15	 N A 19.		 N A 4,4.	 46,6	 42,6	
469 B	 3,7	 9,3 7,16	 Kairiener Ostr. 25206 4 (aus Birkân el Mulûk)	 Orb 6,4 N A 10,8	 46,9	 27,4	 Boulag 13 n 3 aus Saqqara.	
481	 22,4	 10,1	 Abb 7,4	 N A 7,2	 56 4 10	 27,2		
504	 6,1	 10,4	 N A 1 Orb. Kairiener Ostr. 25208 25212,1 6	 N A 2,9	 48,5	 28,11	 Leyden I 3689	

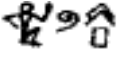
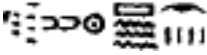
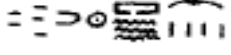
4. The Sources

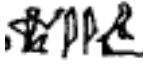


a. Louvre 3226 (Plate 1)

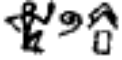
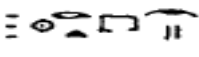

Two papyrus strips of roughly the same length containing invoices for deliveries of dates, published by Brugsch in the *Thesaurus*, v. 5, p, 1079 *et seq.*, discussed in detail by Déveria in his *Catalogue des Manuscrits du Louvre* (Paris 1881), p. 179 *et seq.*

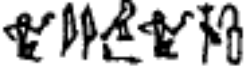
The two strips have hitherto been considered as parts of a roll, but we are undoubtedly dealing with two manuscripts, which may be ascribed to the same writer. It contains:

P. 3226A, p. 1-16 (acc. to Brugsch), frayed vertically, the calculations of  from Year 28  to Year 34 .

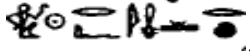
P. 3226A, p. 17-30 (do.), frayed horizontally, the calculations of  from Year 28  to Year 34 .

P. 3226B, p. 46-60 (do.), frayed vertically, the calculations of  from Year 28  to Year 34 .

P. 3226B, p. 31-45 (do.), frayed horizontally, the calculations of  from Year 28  to Year 34 .

Of the two manuscripts the older is therefore the vertically frayed writing, composed by .

Dates

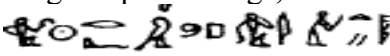
Brugsch was the first to see (q.v. supra, A.Z. 1108) that the well-known vizier , a contemporary of Thutmose III, is mentioned twice in the invoice (44, 1 and 59, 1). The above dates therefore refer to his reign.

Format

Current height 17 cm. (the cut edges are recent), average width 40 cm. Column width a constant c. 10 cm., with 12 being the number of signs on most pages.

The right-hand margin on the frayed page of manuscript A is 7cm., on the others 35 cm are left free, but there is no real protective strip (v. v. 1, p. 5) [?] available.

The following additional texts have been included:

Verso was used only once, recording the proceedings, in the fifth year of Amenophis II's reign, of a complaint by  against his own son (designated **b**)

The following supplementary texts, also from the reign of Amenophis II, have been used:

1. A fragment of a panel, owned by Mr Moir Bryce and published by Griffith (PSBA, v. 30, p. 272), which contains a receipt from the king's fifth year (designated Bryce)
- 2) Papyrus 202 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, dating from the fifth year of



The text, with perhaps 11 lines corrupted and containing the remnants of a Hymn, has been published by Pleyte (Les Papyrus Rollin de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris, 1868, pl. 15). Designated BN 202. For the Moir Bryce plate I have used Griffith (q.v. supra), while the other texts are based on originals.

c. 'Gurob' (Plate 3)

This heading, borrowed from the Medinet Gurob site, refers to a number of manuscripts of a commercial nature from the time of both Amenophis III and IV.

Papyri Gurob I₁ and I₂ comprise a petition, in duplicate, to Amenophis IV, dated to his fifth year. They have been published by Griffith 'Papyrus from Kahun and Gurob, pl. XXXVIII'. In both papyri the script is fairly free of ligatures and evidently written by a professional.

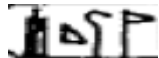
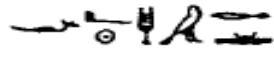
Following the above are the texts Gurob II₁ and II₂ (published by Griffith, op. cit., pl. XXXIX), both from the 33rd year of the reign of Amenophis III, like Berlin P9784 and 9785. These four sources, to which Gardiner has devoted himself (Gardiner, *ÄZ*, v. 43, p. 27 et seq.), all deal with the same theme, viz., the legally processed hiring of slave-girls. P 9785 was written in the 4th year of Amenophis IV, and contains a compilation of records:

1. from the 27th year of Amenophis IV (p. 1-13)
2. from the 2nd (p. 14-19)
3. from the end of the 3rd year of his reign (p. 20-33)

The script of these sources is businesslike and not abbreviated, while the use of ligatures is relatively sparing.

The formats are as follows: P 9784 measures 48 by 18 cm.; P 9785 - 24 by 18 cm.; Gurob I₁ - 25.1 by 17 cm.; Gurob II₁ - 21.5 by 17.5 cm. The format of P 9784 is therefore of double height.

The following supplementary texts have been used:

⁸  calls himself both Amenophis II and IV, but the latter always adds  (or similar) inside or outside his cartouche. The text therefore belongs to the reign of Amenophis II.

1. Filing notes on a cuneiform tablet from Tell Amarna, c.f. *ÄZ*, v. 27, p. 63 *et seq.*; Abel-Winkler *The Tell Amarna Cuneiform Tablets* (Berlin 1889/90), No. 12, No. 23 – VATh 233.
2. Inscriptions on pottery fragments of the same provenance from the reign of Amenophis IV, c.f. Petrie *Tell Amarna*, pl. XXII-XXV.
3. Berlin P 10498, undated scraps containing delivery invoices for hides, acquired by Rubensohn in 1900 together with papyrus fragments from Illahun (v. vol. I, p. 13-14). The script closely resembles that of P 9784. Unpublished.
4. A 9-line visitor inscription in the grave of *sbk-ḥtp*, a contemporary of Thutmose IV, from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (designated Qurna). The script is extraordinarily close to that of Gurob I. Unpublished.

The exemplified Berlin Papyri and clay tablets as well as some ostraca are based on the originals, whereas the Qurna graffito is a tracing and the publications were used for the remaining texts.

d. Papyrus Rollin (Plate IV, 1)

This comprises around a dozen extensive fragments of royal treasury accounts, located in the Bibliothèque Nationale and catalogued as No. 203-13, all of which are from the reign of Seti I, dated precisely to his second and third years.

Their provenance is unknown, but, judging by their content, is to be sought in the Memphis area.

The texts were first but only partially published by Pleyte (*Les Papyrus Rollin de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris*, 1868), but later in full by Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, Strassburg, 1896). Some nondescript fragments belonging to the Paris accounts, which belong to the Amherst collection, were published by Newberry (*The Amherst Papyri*, pl. XXI, 4 and 5).

As Spiegelberg first realized, the Paris accounts are partly neatly executed fair copies and partly rough drafts. In both cases the script is clear with few ligatures, only PBN 209 being fairly cursive. For the account drafts both sides are used, while only recto for the fair copies.

In so far as the state of preservation allows it⁹, their height varies between 35–40 cm. The preparation of the tables for BN 204-206 was based on collotypes (II-V) of Spiegelberg's work, the rest on the originals.

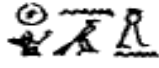
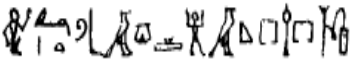
‘Ennene’ and ‘Pentoëre’

What the script looks like and what, towards the end of the 19th dynasty, was considered correct in scribal schools can be seen from a large number of school manuscripts kept in Leyden (I384), Bologna (1094), Berlin (P 3043 [Papyrus Koller]), Paris (P. Raifé) and, especially, in the British Museum (P. Anastasi I-V, VII; P. d'Orbiney; P. Sallier I-IV). They come from young people who, as part of their

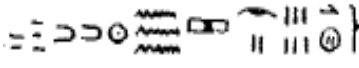
⁹ The edges have been recently trimmed.

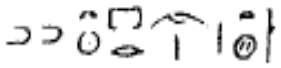
education, busied themselves with administration and at the same time were taught handwriting and elegant style. The texts have mostly been corrected by a teacher, with the corrections in the margin. Some of the manuscripts contain the name of the writer and his teacher.

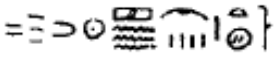
e. 'Ennene'

We owe most of the material, five papyri, to the diligence of , pupil and subordinate of , and the writer of :

1. Papyrus d'Orbiney (c.f. 19,9). The manuscript dates from the beginning of the reign of Seti II, as he is named as prince in column 20 verso.

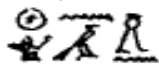
2. Papyrus Anastasi VII (c.f. 7,5), dated  (ibid. 6), obviously Siptah's¹⁰.

3. Papyrus Sallier II, dated  (ibid. 6), probably Seti II's.

4. Papyrus Anastasi IV (c.f. 1a1, 7,9), dated  (col. 1a1), after 5,12 et seq.¹¹.

5. Papyrus Anastasi VI (c.f. Z.7), dated (1/2) 


The collected manuscripts are in the British Museum and published in *Select Papyri in the hieratic Character from the collections of the B.M.*, London 1851, 1842, 1844; v. II, 1860. The provenance is unknown, but according to IVA 4, 11 et seq.

 was from Memphis.

Papyrus d'Orbiney contains the well-known *Tale of Two Brothers* Anpu and Bata; Papyrus Sallier *The Teaching of King Amenemhat I* (1, 1-3, 8), *The Satire of the Trades* (3, 9-11, 5) and a Hymn to the Nile (11, 6 to the end [14,11]); Papyrus Anastasi IV is a collection of sample letters; Anastasi VI probably an original letter; Papyrus Anastasi VII contains a second version of *The Satire of the Trades* (1,1-7, 6) and the Hymn to the Nile (7,7 to the end [12,3]).

Papyrus Anastasi IV has a height of 27-28 cm., while the others are uniformly 21 cm., i.e., half a standard roll.

¹⁰ Seti II did not reign for 6 years, so cannot be considered. Likewise Meneptah, whose sixth year was more than 10 years before the writing of P. Anastasi IV and VI.



The shapes of Anastasi VI are clumsier than the other works of . The manuscript is therefore probably the oldest.

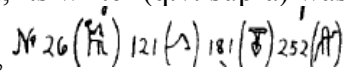
¹¹ C.f. IVA 5, 12 et seq. with IIA 6,3 et seq. (the same text but with Meneptah's name inserted)

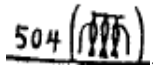
The collected texts have been prepared from the above publications.

f. 'Pentoëre'

(Plate V)

Two manuscripts from the hand of  , pupil of  , have been preserved: Papyrus Sallier I¹² and III¹³, both in the British Museum and published in *Select Papyri*, v. I, Part 1, plates 1-9 and 24-34. A fragment belonging to Papyrus Sallier III, formerly in the possession of M. Raifé, is now in the Louvre (No. 4889, v. Déveria, *Catalogue des Manuscrits*, XI, 2, p. 200), published by de Rougé, *Recueil de Travaux*, I, p. 1 *et seq.*; c.f. Plate V.

The origin of the MS is unknown, but judging by the script, its writer (q.v. supra) was from Thebes, c.f. p. 2 *et seq.* and in the sign list, e.g., 



Papyrus Sallier I, after 8,8, was written in the reign of Meneptah, probably in his tenth year (3,4). Papyrus Sallier III is not dated.

On p. 1-3,3 Papyrus Sallier I contains *The Legend of the Expulsion of the Hyksos* (p. 3, 4 – 9, 11 [the end]), a collection of sample letters, and, from p. 8 verso, the beginning of *The Teaching of King Amenemhat I*. Papyrus Raifé and Sallier III contain the poetic account of the Battle of Qadesh under Ramses II.

Page height is 20 cm., as was normal during the New Kingdom, with 10-11 lines on each page.

The sign lists are taken from a photograph of Papyrus Raifé, while those of Sallier I and III from the above publications.

g. Papyrus Harris

(Plate VI)

This contains the great account of the reign of Ramses III, temple expenditures and his grave goods, composed at the beginning of the reign of his successor Ramses IV, c.f. Erman, *Zur Erklärung des Papyrus Harris* in 'Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Pruss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften', 1903, XXI.

As Erman was the first to see (op. cit., p.7), a considerable number of hands collaborated in the writing of the papyrus. First we can distinguish the writers of the

¹² c.f. 3, 4, 11, etc.

¹³ c.f. Sallier III, 11, 10/11.

three main sections relating to Thebes (3-23), Heliopolis (25-42) and Memphis (44-56)¹⁴. I have often asserted (q.v. supra p. 2 *et seq.*) that the distinctive features of the forms that have come to light are not those of individuals, but of various scribal schools. The remaining text is divided as follows: Introduction (p. 1); Smaller Temples and General Matters¹⁵ (57-60); Lists and Concluding Prayers¹⁶ (61-66); Summaries¹⁷ (67-74); Historical Section¹⁸ (75-79).

As the compilation (v. p. 10 *infra*) of certain characteristic signs shows, the Introduction most probably comes from Thebes, and the Historical Section from Memphis. The Smaller Temples was certainly written in Heliopolis, while the Lists and Summaries resemble a Theban hand.

The production of the book is to be conceived roughly thus: the parts which concern expenditures for Amon, Atum and Ptah were carried out in Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis according to the schema I have set out. The Heliopolite wrote the section about the Smaller Temples, while the Memphite the Historical Section. In Thebes, where the burial of the king was to be carried out, the manuscript comprising the various parts was compiled, while the Lists and Summaries for the memorandum on the smaller shrines was copied out, which for some reason might not correspond to the requirements in the version provided.

Its height is 42-43 cm., and the number of lines usually 8-14, but as many as 17 in the Summaries.

The compilation of the sign lists was carried out according to the publication S. Birch, *Facsimile of an Egyptian hieratic papyrus of the reign of Ramses III, now in the British Museum*, London 1876, from which the sample on Plate VI was also taken.

¹⁴ Henceforth designated as *Th.*, *H.* and *M.*

¹⁵ Designated *Sm. Tp.*

¹⁶ Designated *L.*

¹⁷ Designated *S.*

¹⁸ Designated *Hist.*

22									
			9,4	25,10.	47,2	57,3			
26									
		1,4	3,11	29,3 42,8	46,8	57,11	61a,6	67,3	75,10
155 ba									
			7,9	29,9 31,1	47,9	57,5	61a,1	67,2	76,10
168									
			7,8	25,9	39,1.		61+16.		79,2.
245									
		1,4	7,6	25,2.	50,2	57,3	62a,1.	73,14.	76,4.
358									
		1,5	8,5	25,7	46,4.	57,5		67,4	77,7.
415									
			3,3		56+4.				76,4.
426									
				30,4	48,11	57,10.			77,8.
489 B.									
		1,1.	3,7	27,4	46,9	59,10.	62+12.	70,9	77,8.
480									
			15+3	40+13 28,4.	48,4 55a,11		65c,2	71+14	78,12
504									
			6,1	28,11	48,5	59,4	62a,5		

h. Papyrus Abbott

(Plate VII is from P. Amherst)


It contains court records of the search for graves on the west side of Thebes, is dated to the 16th year of Ramses IX, and published in *Select Papyri ... of the British Museum*, II, 1-8 (London, 1860). The papyrus was acquired in 1857, but contains no details of its origins, which must be in somewhere in the Thebes area.

The script of the first seven pages recto is fairly rich in ligatures, yet is clear and legible. In its elegant and supple forms it offers an excellent example of a calligraphically well-honed official script.

Verso (from p. 8) contains, in two columns, a copy (probably abridged) of a transcript, primarily a list of names of grave robbers held in custody. It deals with proceedings initiated in the first year of Ramses X (= the 19th year of Ramses IX, s8a1). The script is markedly foreshortened, rich in ligatures and irregularities. It falls outside the remit of the present work. As I remarked in the Foreword of v. 1, I am reserving its treatment for a separate presentation of Egyptian cursive.

Its height is the normal 42 cm., while the column width varies between 24 and 32 cm., and the number of lines from 15 to 24 per page.

The sign list from Papyrus Abbott has been supplemented by:

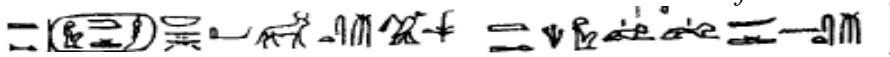
1. Papyrus Amherst, a court record from the same trial, dated  (III, 8, c.f., P. Abbott V, 12) in the reign of Ramses IX, and published by Chabas, *Mélanges* III, 2, p. 1 *et seq.*, and Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri* (London 1899), pl. IV-VII. While P. Abbott describes the course of the trial, P. Amherst supplies the confessions of the apprehended thieves. Both were apparently written by one and the same hand.

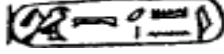
2. Papyrus Harris A, from the 17th year of Ramses IX, contains the names of the grave robbers. The MS, found at Medinet Habu, is now in the British Museum. It has been published by Newberry, based on a tracing made by Miss Harris, in *The Amherst Papyri*, pl. VII-XIV. The script is fairly similar to that of the above mentioned court records.

Work on all three manuscripts is based on the above publications.

i. Nḏmt

(Plate VIII)


Papyrus 10490 of the British Museum contains texts of the *Book of the Dead*, prepared for 

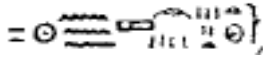
mother of ¹⁹. The manuscript comes from Deir al Bahari and undoubtedly belongs to the great find of mummies of royal personages of the XVIII-XXI dynasties. It has been published by Budge in *The Book of the Dead, Facsimiles of the Papyrus of Hunefer, Anhei, Karasher and Netchemet*, London 1899.

It stands 23 cm. high with 13-20 lines per page.

The manuscript is decorated with vignettes, the first partly on the cover.

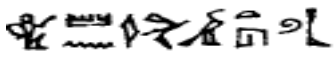
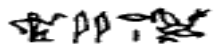
To complete the sign list I have used:

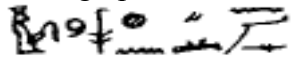
1. The Book of the Dead of , wife of Pinedjem II, published by Maspero, *Les momies royales*, Mém. d.l. Mission I, p. 594 *et seq.*, pl.25-27.

2. The *Plaquette Rogers*, likewise belonging to the grave goods of the above, dated , published by Maspero, *Recueil des travaux etc.*, II, 13 *et seq.*

3. The dated notes, written on their coffins and mummy wrappings, on the re-interment of earlier kings, which took place in the XXI Dynasty²⁰.

4. Texts on the coffin of the scribe  in Turin, published by Schiaparelli in *Il Libro dei Funerali degli antichi Egiziani*, Turin 1881. Spiegelberg, in *Correspondances des temps des rois-prêtres* (Paris, 1895), p. 12, has shown that he was a contemporary of Prince , son of .

5. Papyrus B. N. 196, Leiden 369/70, PSBA, v. XXXI, 5 *et seq.* Items from the correspondence of  with the scribe  and other persons.

Photographs in the Berlin Museum were employed for the Book of the Dead of , while for the rest the above-named publications were used.

¹⁹ Budge's reservations about the identification of our *Ndmt* with the mother of *hrj-hr* (p. 45, *op. cit. supra*), viz. that a *Book of the Dead* of this princess already exists, is untenable.

²⁰ Published by Maspero in *op. cit.*, p. 511 *et seq.*. Later re-issued abridged as *Mom R* with addendum of page numbers.