

# A study of Abnormal Hieratic Dots, Ticks, and Strokes

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You can't connect the dots looking forward; you can only connect them looking backwards.

– Steve Jobs

## Abstract

Dots found in administrative texts are known from the Old Kingdom onwards. Sometime during the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate period the occurrence and functions of dots augment and form a new system that reaches its pinnacle in the abnormal hieratic documents of the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties. In one abnormal hieratic text of 26 lines over 100 dots are written with 10 different functions, such as ending sentences, introducing relative clauses, indicating a suffix pronomen and more. The system of dots is still partly noticeable in the early demotic material. This thesis analyses the different dots, strokes and ticks in 19 abnormal hieratic texts and includes a transcription of each one, as well as a list of corrections to readings from previous publications.

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## Introduction

Hieratic was the cursive writing script used alongside monumental hieroglyphs throughout the history of ancient Egypt. It was utilised for writing administrative texts (business hand hieratic) and literary texts (book hand hieratic),<sup>1</sup> particularly on ostraca and papyri.<sup>2</sup> While hieratic started out as a simpler and faster way to write hieroglyphic signs, sometime during the Naqada III period (approx. 3200 BCE),<sup>3</sup> over the course of its development hieratic signs became more cursive and less straightforward to trace back to their hieroglyphic equivalent. This is especially the case for abnormal hieratic which was in use during the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties (8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BCE) and is known within the field of Egyptology as the most difficult to read derivative of hieratic, hence the adjective ‘abnormal’.<sup>4</sup> The cursive and abbreviated writing style of abnormal hieratic made it possible for scribes to produce documents in a much more efficient manner than if they were written in “normal” hieratic. The development of hieratic into abnormal hieratic can be followed from the end of the New Kingdom up to the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty when the first fully developed abnormal hieratic texts were written.<sup>5</sup> However, more aspects than just the way in which the script was written evolved during this time period. Since its conception hieratic was used to draw up documentary texts. These texts not only contained words but also dots and ticks which were used as checkmarks or ditto signs. While hieratic developed over time these dots developed alongside it, ultimately reaching their peak in the abnormal hieratic documents of the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties. During these dynasties, the amount of dots, strokes and other ticks used in texts is significantly higher than before. In order to comprehend such a complex aspect of this writing system, one must have a good understanding of the shape of abnormal hieratic signs. As will be shown below, it can be difficult to differentiate between ink that belongs to an abnormal hieratic sign and a stroke which is part of punctuation and thus has no hieroglyphic value if we were to transcribe it. The dots and strokes used in abnormal hieratic texts had different functions. They could be used by scribes to differentiate between male and female versions of words, separate word groups, mark the end of sentences, introduce direct speech, and more.<sup>6</sup> Despite the plentiful occurrences of these sentence markers their exact meaning and function have been severely underrepresented in the literature.<sup>7</sup> As such, these dots, ticks, and other strokes will be the focus of this thesis. The goal of our research will be to try and answer the following deceptively simple question: what was the function, or functions, of the dots, strokes, and ticks that were used in the abnormal hieratic administrative papyri from the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties?

At the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a separate cursive writing called demotic competed with abnormal hieratic and ultimately became the exclusively used administrative script. During this tumultuous period in Egypt, the central power was split into a northern and southern region. After years of struggle between the Kushite and Saite kings, Egypt was finally reunited under Psamtek I, and presumably, around that time the choice was made to only use demotic as the official juridical

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<sup>1</sup> For the terms business hand hieratic (Geschäftsschrift) and book hand hieratic (Buchschrift), see VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> A list of the abbreviated titles used in this work can be found in the bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> HOFFMANN, in: RIGGS (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, p. 543.

<sup>4</sup> The first person to coin the term abnormal hieratic was Francis Llewellyn Griffith, for which see GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the demotic papyri*, pp. 12-15.


<sup>5</sup> Note that texts dated to the early Third Intermediate Period already show some abnormal hieratic features, most notable are the texts on P. Berlin 3048 verso for which see, DONKER VAN HEEL, in: RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies*, pp. 139-147; For the development of New Kingdom hieratic into abnormal hieratic, see chapter I below.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter III for an overview of all the functions of dots.

<sup>7</sup> See section problematics below.

language which resulted in abnormal hieratic becoming obsolete.<sup>8</sup> Demotic has a long history as a field within Egyptology which resulted in properly published sources and in depth studies by a wide variety of scholars. However, that same scientific development is only recently commencing with respect to the abnormal hieratic material.<sup>9</sup> The steps that the field of abnormal hieratic had to take to become a thriving and more accessible discipline were set out by Koen Donker van Heel.<sup>10</sup> The research presented here is a tribute to, and an outcome of, that plan.

## Methodology

In order to answer the research question that was posed above, a suitable list of sources which we can analyse will need to be chosen. The Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book (from now on: *AHRB*), which is freely available online,<sup>11</sup> has a manageable amount of representative texts to include in a master thesis and, as such, will be used as the source material to our study. We will solely concern ourselves with the administrative documents in the *AHRB*, however, passages from other papyri outside of the *AHRB* will sometimes be mentioned when needed. From this point forward, each document in the *AHRB* will only be referred to by its document number marked in **bold**.<sup>12</sup> Any reference to line numbers will follow after the comma. For example, P. Louvre E 7851 recto line 7 will be referred to as “**10**, 7”. Documents outside of the *AHRB* will be cited by their inventory number. Specific line numbers will be written after the comma. For example, a passage on line 3 of the unpublished P. Louvre E 7860 will be cited as “P. Louvre E 7860, 3”. In the examples presented below several abnormal hieratic signs will be discussed. These abnormal hieratic signs will be referenced according to their hieroglyphic equivalent and numbering in the sign list by Gardiner.<sup>13</sup> For example, the abnormal hieratic sign for the man with hand to mouth  will be referred to as “Gardiner A2”.

The abnormal hieratic signs used in this work are rendered as facsimiles. The relevant passages have been cut out from the images available in the *AHRB* using Adobe Photoshop CC 2015 and filled in black. For the purpose of clarity additional hieroglyphic transcriptions,<sup>14</sup> as well as arrows in the images are occasionally used to point to the dot type that we are discussing. Two images cut out from papyri in the section “problematics” below have been intentionally left in colour for reasons of clarity.

There are a total of 21 documents in the *AHRB*, although we will only use 19 of them and also exclude all of the witness subscriptions on versos or second columns of texts. The two eliminated texts are the last ones of the *AHRB* docs. **20** and **21**. The reason to not include **20** is that it is only a small excerpt from an unpublished papyrus. The limited amount of lines of this document included in the *AHRB* will not be able to give us a clear picture of how dots are used in the rest of the papyrus. The reason to exclude **21** is that we only have a facsimile drawing, thus no photo of the actual object to compare with the drawing. As not every editor of abnormal hieratic texts is actively looking for

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<sup>8</sup> MALININE, *Choix*, I, pp. vii-xxi.

<sup>9</sup> Abnormal hieratic has a longstanding scholarly history as well, with known Egyptologists such as Černý, Möller and Malinine dedicating attention to the script. However, abnormal hieratic has always been a niche discipline; For the history of abnormal hieratic studies see chapter I.

<sup>10</sup> DONKER VAN HEEL, in: VERHOEVEN (ed.), “*Binsen*”-*Weisheiten* I-II, pp. 371-381.

<sup>11</sup> These materials can be found on the new website of The Abnormal Hieratic Global Portal: <https://lab.library.universiteitleiden.nl/abnormalhieratic/understanding-ah/> (accessed on 12-10-2019)

<sup>12</sup> The document numbers to each text can be found in the table of contents of the *AHRB*.

<sup>13</sup> GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 438-548.

<sup>14</sup> The hieroglyphic transcriptions in the tables below (thus not the full text transcriptions in the appendix) only include dots that are relevant to the type that will be currently discussed. This means that other dots that are from a different type not relevant to the example will not be included in said transcription to avoid unnecessary confusion on part of the reader. In contrast, the transcriptions of every text in the appendix are compiled including every dot type present in the respective texts.

dots and dashes or simply does not wish to mark them, this document will not be used for our analysis. The witness subscriptions will not be included for the simple reason that they are too short for fruitful research. Each subscription is, usually, written by a different witness and consists only of names and filiation written over one or two lines.<sup>15</sup> Instead, it seems more beneficial to analyse the use of dots and dashes in the main texts and compare them with one another. The remaining 19 texts will be the core sources of our research. To initiate our study we will first need to make an inventory of every occurrence of dots, strokes, and other kinds of ticks. From this data, an analysis will be made to see if there is any consistency or inconsistency in the placement of the dots and strokes by the scribes of the texts in question. These findings are presented in chapter III and IV where we will discuss the 11 different functions of dots and the 3 different functions of the ticks and strokes using excerpts of texts from the *AHRB*. In order for the reader to easily follow the discussions presented in those chapters, the location of the dots from the 19 documents will also be marked in transcriptions which can be found at the end of this thesis.<sup>16</sup> All of the transcriptions in this work have been created by the present author. Although the most current publications of these papyri have been consulted, the readings provided by said editions have, in most cases, been significantly corrected and modified by me.<sup>17</sup>

## Problematics

The current state of research on abnormal hieratic dots is almost nonexistent. Some abnormal hieratic scholars took the trouble of documenting dots in their transcription or have written a short palaeographical note on the presence of a tick on top of a sign that is not always there, but that sums up most of the work done on this subject. This puts the present author in a privileged but difficult position as there is practically no frame of reference to study the material from.<sup>18</sup> One might suggest enlarging our framework from marks in abnormal hieratic texts to marks in hieratic texts throughout ancient Egyptian history. Still, this does not necessarily improve our framework as the systems of dots, ticks, and dashes used in abnormal hieratic are different from the marks used in earlier hieratic documents.<sup>19</sup> There are a handful of exceptions in administrative texts throughout Egyptian history that do agree somewhat with the system used in abnormal hieratic, however, these had to be found by the present author's own efforts as there is also no all-encompassing work that tried to inventorise or find a consistent system in the dots and strokes present in said earlier hieratic documents.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the earliest hieratic documents using dots are the only logical starting point for this study.<sup>21</sup>

Another problem with our subject is that of definition. Dots in literary texts have a separate term, either called “verse points” by the older literature, or “Gliederungsmittel” by the newer editions.<sup>22</sup> Administrative dots and stroke, on the other hand, are just called dots and strokes. While there exist a handful of terms that specify their functionality such as “checkmark dot” or “ditto sign”, these few

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<sup>15</sup> An exception are the full witness copies which can be several lines long and include an almost exact copy of the main contract. However, such full witness copies are not included in the *AHRB*.

<sup>16</sup> See appendices I-XX below.

<sup>17</sup> The argumentation to these corrections and new readings can be found in appendix XXI.

<sup>18</sup> While we can assume that the script—and presumably the use of dots as well—derived from New Kingdom hieratic, the function and quantity of dots and strokes per text between the two scripts differ significantly.

<sup>19</sup> The dots that are present in the later demotic material is shortly commented on at the end of chapter III.

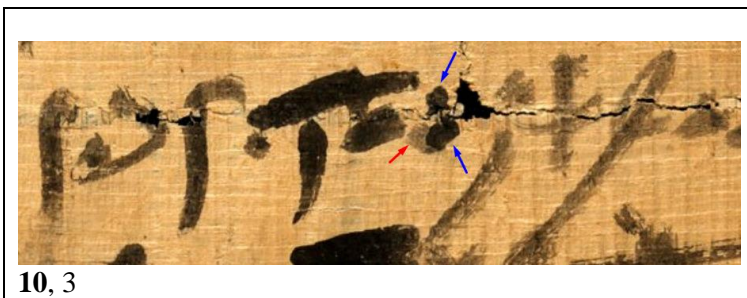
<sup>20</sup> Such a work has been made by scholars studying literary texts. Here we find the so-called “verse point”, which in certain occasions show a surprising similarity in function with the dots that we find in abnormal hieratic. For the correlation between literary hieratic dots and abnormal hieratic dots, see chapter III.

<sup>21</sup> On the history of dots in ancient Egyptian texts, see chapter II.

<sup>22</sup> TACKE, *Verspunkte als Gliederungsmittel*.

terms are rather the exception. Otherwise, no distinction in terminology is made between a dot that is high or low on the line, above a sign, behind a sign and so forth. One could argue that the currently available terminology impedes us from distinguishing the functionality of dots which might have the same appearance, but have a different purpose as is the case with most of the dots in abnormal hieratic. It would thus be better if we subdivided the terms dot and stroke further into different categories, which is something that will be undertaken in the section terminology below and in chapter III.

Due to the great number of ligatures and bunched up writing that characterises abnormal hieratic, it is sometimes difficult to notice these dots and strokes. Excellent knowledge of the hieratic script is needed to know where one abnormal hieratic sign ends and a new one begins. The following two examples show how difficult it can be for an untrained eye to find these dots in the first place. In **10, 3**. There is a dot (marked with the red arrow) written between *it* “father” and the following name starting with *ir.t*. However, this dot is almost totally masked by the two ticks for the multifunctional sign *sꜣ* “son” that is written on top of it (marked by the blue arrows). The difference is only visible because of the fading ink. The scribe finished writing the word *it* with a dot while his ink was running low. Afterwards, the scribe redipped his pen and wrote the two ticks for the multifunctional sign with a fresh batch of ink slightly on top of the aforementioned dot with faded ink.<sup>23</sup>





**10, 3**



In the following example from **11, 4** the faded ink of a dot that has been written after *wꜣꜣ.t r=w* is still visible (marked by the red arrow). After writing this dot the scribe redipped his pen and wrote *iw* on top of it, thus partly covering up the dot.



**11, 4**

To make things more complicated, dots and strokes are not only written behind signs to indicate punctuation, sometimes these marks are hieratic signs themselves. Or better said, abnormal hieratic

<sup>23</sup> While the multifunctional sign sometimes looks like a dot underneath a stroke such as in **10, 3**  this is merely a graphic abbreviation. In contrast, most abnormal hieratic scribes write the multifunctional sign in its full form, as in **19 recto, 2** . Thus the multifunctional sign written with two ticks on top of each other is not seen as part of the system of dots, ticks and strokes that we will research in this work.

signs can be rendered so small that they become a dot or a stroke. It is thus difficult to distinguish on the one hand a dot that is used as a sign with hieroglyphic value, such as here in P. Louvre 7858 + E 7845 fragments 6-7 + E 7857C, 4  where the dot should be understood as the tusk sign  (Gardiner F18) in *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*. Or on the other hand, when a dot is used which has no hieroglyphic value at all such as in **12**, 6. Here *iwd.t-w* is followed by a dot which is used to mark the end the sentence. Behind the dot, the scribe left a sizeable gap of several centimetres and started the next sentence with *dd*.



Another issue we face is the inconsistency in which modern editors indicate the presence of dots in their transcriptions, as their documentation is always incomplete. Indeed, it is difficult to notice the abnormal hieratic dots and strokes so it is not surprising that editors miss a few of these markers if they were not consciously looking for them. However, the difference between the dots that are included in editions and the actual number of dots that are on the original text can vary greatly. For example, in doc. **16** there are several dots that are clearly visible on the papyrus. Still, the editor of this document only chose to transcribe 21 dots,<sup>24</sup> while the present author sees 40% more dots in this text. As will become clear later on, the inconsistent marking of dots leads to a loss of information which we could otherwise use to better understand how we should read passages in which these marks occur.

In contrast, one of the abnormal hieratic editors who did notice a plethora of dots in his text edition was Černý's publication of our doc. **19**.<sup>25</sup> He even tried to interpret what some of the dots might mean.<sup>26</sup> Černý put a lot of effort in marking each dot in his transcription accurately. In total, he marked 112 dots on the recto of his transcription, which is almost the same amount as the present author sees, namely 116. Fortunately, more recent publications pay better attention to the rendering of dots and strokes.<sup>27</sup> While they do not specifically comment on the function of the dots they at least transcribe them correctly. Nevertheless, the abovementioned argumentations show that the lesson to be learned here is to personally go over the original text and not rely on the published transcriptions in order to get a better overview of the quantity of dots that were used in each document.

### Notation of dots, ticks, and strokes in transcriptions

In the same way that Vleeming encountered problems when transcribing early demotic into hieroglyphs for his manuscript of papyrus Hou,<sup>28</sup> it is sometimes equally difficult to transcribe abnormal hieratic signs accurately because of their cursive and ligatured nature. However, we should still make an effort to transcribe these cursive scripts into hieroglyphs, or as Vleeming eloquently

<sup>24</sup> See PERNIGOTTI, BIFAO 75, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> ČERNÝ, in: GLANVILLE (ed.), *Studies Griffith*, pp. 46-56; however Černý did not comment on the peculiar high number of dots that are used throughout this document.

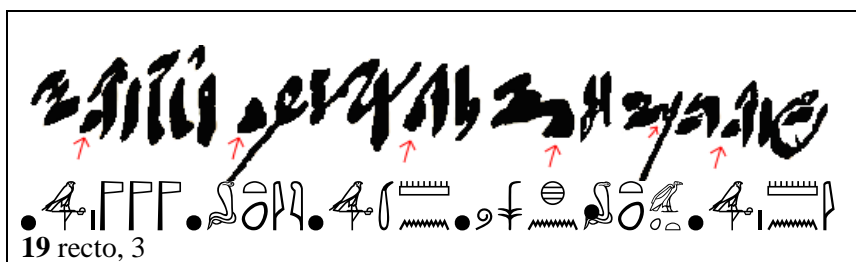
<sup>26</sup> E.g. ČERNÝ, in: GLANVILLE (ed.), *Studies Griffith*, p. 51, note 12 and p.54, note 38.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. VITTMANN, in: DONKER VAN HEEL – HOOGENDIJK – MARTIN (eds), *Studies Vleeming*, pp. 81-100, p. 88, especially note 13 and p. 90, note 28. Vittmann renders dots and ticks such as the ones above fractions.

<sup>28</sup> VLEEMING, *Gooseherds*, pp. 12-15.

argued: “only hieroglyphic transcription can fully and explicitly render the graphic information of demotic.”<sup>29</sup> To which I would add hieratic, abnormal hieratic, Ptolemaic and Roman demotic scripts. The transcription of cursive scripts into hieroglyphs (in combination with a transliteration) is an intrinsic part of communication between one scholar to another. Unfortunately, the notation of dots, strokes, or other marks that are not part of real signs derived from hieroglyphs are often omitted in the transcriptions of scholars. By not transcribing these small ink marks, which have clearly been added by the scribe to serve some purpose, we are losing valuable information in this communication process. Thus, as was mentioned before, in the appendix of this work an effort will be made to transcribe all of the dots and strokes present in the discussed papyri.

The present author makes a distinction between dots on one hand and strokes or other types of ticks on the other hand. Points of ink relevant to our research on dots will be reproduced in the transcription as “•”, so the passage in the example below from **19** recto, 3 would be transcribed as follows.



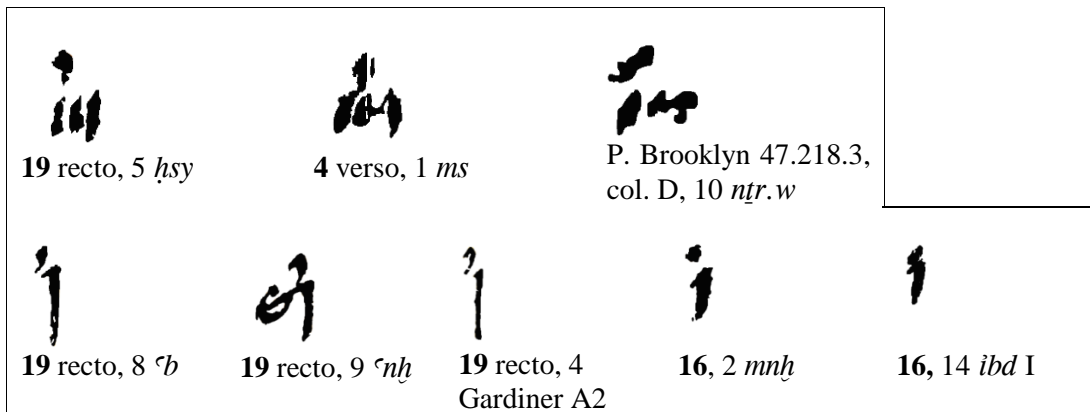
These dots, unlike the strokes and ticks which will be covered in detail below, have more nuanced functions and are not part of the root of how a hieratic sign or sign group is written. Rather, they are a separate addition following behind the signs. The dots can be placed after a word, a group of signs, or even behind a full sentence. The function of the dots varies, but two main categories can be distinguished. The first category consists of dots “•” that are used in the same way as we would use our modern punctuation. This includes cases where we would render a comma “,” full stop “.” or colon “:” in our translation. The second category consists of situations where the dot “•” has hieroglyphic value. As has been mentioned above these are the cases when hieratic signs are rendered so small that they are only visible as dots on the papyrus or other writing supports.




Alongside the dots, there also exists a system of strokes and ticks which are rendered in our transcription in several different ways. This is due to the varying shapes of these strokes and ticks, even though their functions might sometimes overlap. Strokes usually found in the top left corner of a sign will be rendered as “●” (Gardiner FF100). Ticks and large strokes are rendered as “/” (Gardiner FF1). Small ink marks and strokes will be rendered as “/” (Gardiner Z5, sometimes in combination with Gardiner FF100 = /●). All three of these types are usually a characteristic part of the root of the hieratic sign or themselves and would not be rendered separate from said signs by the abnormal hieratic scribe. They are thus, in contrast to the dots, not found as additional marks following after a sign or sign group.<sup>30</sup>

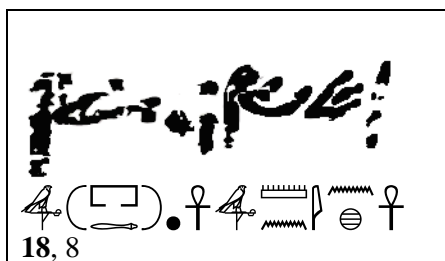
The most common function of “●” is that of the diacritical stroke, which is used to differentiate visually between one hieratic sign and another having the same shape. These diacritical marks are almost always written in the top left corner of a sign as can be seen in the examples below.

<sup>29</sup> VLEEMING, *Gooseherds*, p. 12.







<sup>30</sup> The functions of these ticks and strokes are treated in chapter IV.



While these diacritical marks do not necessarily change the meaning of a sign, they are still useful to track in our transcriptions because not every scribe adds a diacritical mark on top of the same sign. A good example is *nh* which is written with a diacritical stroke on top by the scribe of doc. 19  (19 recto, 9) as well as the scribe of doc. 15,  (15, 10). However, the scribe of doc. 12 and many others write *nh* without a diacritical stroke.  (12, 6). Interestingly enough, the scribe of doc. 18 used both the abbreviated and the full form of *nh* in the same sentence.




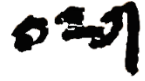








The preferences of a scribe to include a tick on top of a sign or not is also noticeable when looking at the writing of the heart (Gardiner F 34).




 with diacritical stroke	 without diacritical stroke
 19 recto, 22	 8, 8
 10, 4	 P. Louvre E 3228 E D, 4



The large stroke “J” is used in our transcription to show the difference between a scribe that fully writes out a hieratic sign and one that abbreviates one or multiple signs to a tick J. Compare the examples for the seasons and ʿnh wdʒ snb below.

Abbreviated writing with J	Full writing
 8, 1 šmw	 18, 1 šmw
 P. Louvre E 3228 C C col. II, 8 šmw	 P. Louvre E 3228 C C col. I, 1 šmw
 10, 13 pr.t	 11, 1 pr.t
 2, 1 ʿnh, wdʒ, snb	 19 recto, 6 ʿnh, wdʒ, snb
 16, 1 ʿnh, wdʒ, snb	 18 col. I, 1 ʿnh, wdʒ, snb

Lastly, the “/” stroke and combined “/” are used as abbreviated writings of the book roll and tick in certain words such as *ms*, *hr*, *wʒh* and *šp*.

 19 recto, 8 wʒh	 15, 4 hr	 P. Vatican 38595, 4 šp
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A more in depth look at the functions of the three different strokes and ticks ●, J, / can be found below in chapter IV.

In this thesis, all of the dots, strokes, and other ticks will be transcribed. This includes the ones that may actually function as a representation of a hieratic sign. The reason for transcribing marks as what is rendered in the original document instead of their hieratic equivalent is twofold. Firstly, in order to document all of the instances of these marks from the *AHRB*. Secondly, to easier communicate to the reader where each mark is written.<sup>31</sup> To illustrate, in this writing of the name ʿnh=f-hnsw

 the sign after ʿnh is a mere dot on the papyrus, while we know that this dot

<sup>31</sup> Thus, one should note that the transcriptions in this work are not meant as a replacement to the original publications, but as an aid to the reader.



should represent the abnormal hieratic *n* and *h* complements we will still render it as  $\bullet \overset{\circ}{\text{f}}$  in the transcription instead of  $\ominus \overset{\circ}{\text{f}}$  for the two reasons mentioned above.<sup>32</sup>

## Terminology

The fact that no scholar has profoundly studied abnormal hieratic dots means that there is no real terminology for these marks other than “dot”. The dots used in the *AHRB* remind much of the verse points found in literary texts. The term “verse point”, however, has had some critique as they are not only encountered in verses but also in other literary genres and can be used for more varied functions. A more inclusive term that has been proposed is “Gliederungspunkt” or “structuring point” in English.<sup>33</sup> In search of terminology to use for the abnormal hieratic dots one might be tempted to adopt the terminology structuring point as they share certain features with the dots in abnormal hieratic. For example, in an enumeration of nouns, each noun is separated by a structuring point in hieratic literary texts,<sup>34</sup> a practice which is also used in abnormal hieratic documents.<sup>35</sup> Several more functions such as the separation of main-, subordinate-, and relative clauses are also shared between the two systems.<sup>36</sup> There are, however, a fair amount of differences that would argue for a distinct terminology between literary dots and the administrative abnormal hieratic dots. The main one being that structuring points were added to the text after it was finished,<sup>37</sup> while there is no such evidence in regard to the abnormal hieratic dots.<sup>38</sup> Also, note that structuring points are drawn high on the line in contrast to the abnormal hieratic dots which are usually found on the baseline. That being said, the first attestation of red structuring points are found in the Middle Kingdom wisdom text P. BM EA 10755, here the points were actually written in the bottom left corner of a sign at the height of the baseline.<sup>39</sup>

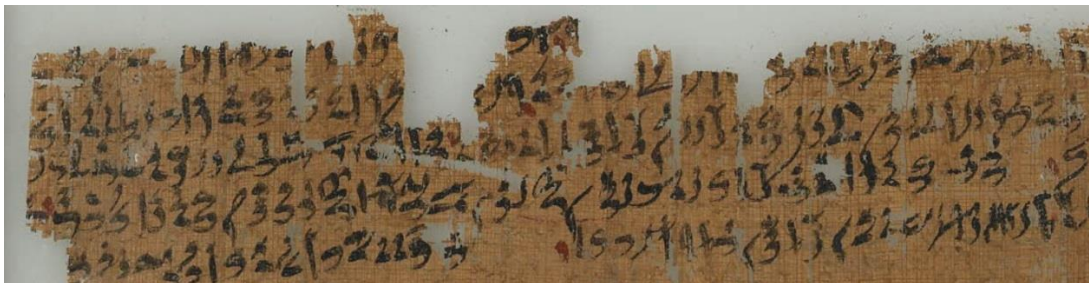


Figure 1. BM EA 10755, photo courtesy of the British Museum

<sup>32</sup> Note that ligatures will not be treated according to this method, so the composite canal determinative which can be written as  $\overset{\circ}{\text{a}}$  will still be rendered in the transcription as  $\overset{\circ}{\text{a}}$  and not as  $\bullet \overset{\circ}{\text{a}}$  even though the bottom left of this ligature is a dot. This is done because ligatures are complex and require more research to be certain of the fact that they can be included in the system of abnormal hieratic dots.

<sup>33</sup> BURKARD, SAK 10, p. 106.

<sup>34</sup> WINAND, in: DEFAYS – ROSIER – TILKIN (eds), *À qui appartient la punctuation*, p. 170.

<sup>35</sup> See doc. 19 recto, 3.

<sup>36</sup> For a comparison between the dots used in abnormal hieratic and literary texts, see the case study of doc. 19 below.

<sup>37</sup> WINAND, in: DEFAYS – ROSIER – TILKIN (eds), *À qui appartient la punctuation*, p. 169-170.

<sup>38</sup> As we have seen above, several abnormal hieratic dots overlap with other dots in the same sentence. This points to the fact that dots were added while writing the text, not afterwards. The only exception to this is one type of dot namely the checkmark which was, logically, added after the text was finished. For the checkmark dot, see chapter III.

<sup>39</sup> WINAND, in: DEFAYS – ROSIER – TILKIN (eds), *À qui appartient la punctuation*, p. 169.

Another difference between the two systems is that abnormal hieratic dots have other purposes than dividing sections of texts, they can also be used for as abbreviations of hieratic signs and even for the first person suffixes. These are functions for which the structuring points in literary texts are not used. Thus, as the dots in abnormal hieratic texts use some but certainly not all functionalities of the structuring point, it seems reasonable to use a different kind of terminology. I would suggest we keep the term dot as the overarching term and I suggest to use the term “abnormal hieratic dot” to differentiate our dots from dots used in other scripts. Furthermore, I would argue that the abnormal hieratic dot is to be divided into two categories, namely punctuation marks and dots with hieroglyphic value. These two categories can then be subdivided into terms according to the function of the dot, as is done in chapter III, therewith solving the problem of only using the restrictive term dot for a system that has many different functions.

## Chapter I: Abnormal hieratic

### The discipline

Scholarly interest in abnormal hieratic started with the first publications of demotic catalogues in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> These catalogues included some texts that were abnormal hieratic, but at that time were not identified as such.<sup>41</sup> The translations of these wrongly identified abnormal hieratic documents were incorrect and are now obsolete.<sup>42</sup> The true origin of the study of abnormal hieratic can be placed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Griffith identified this script as being separate from demotic.<sup>43</sup> He was also the one to label the script as “abnormal hieratic” based on its palaeographical peculiarities.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Griffith recognized several of the features that distinguish abnormal hieratic administrative documents from those written in demotic; this includes the characteristic abnormal hieratic oath to Amun and Pharaoh, the formula used by witnesses, and the tendency of reserving the first line of a document for the date.<sup>45</sup> Arguably the biggest steps in the advancement of abnormal hieratic studies were undertaken in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Malinine. His work titled: “Choix de textes juridiques en hiératiques ‘anormal’ et en démotique” is still used extensively up to this day. The rest of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a peak in the number of contributors to this field with publications by, among others, Cruz-Uribe, Černý, Donker van Heel, el-Aguizy, Edwards, Jasnaw, Parker, Pernigotti, Malinine, Menu, Vittmann, and Vleeming. Unfortunately, the number of people publishing abnormal hieratic documents diminished. To wit, only Vittmann and Donker van Heel still published actively in the last 30 years. Donker van Heel stated that the few people that were left in the field of abnormal hieratic had to be the ones providing tools to attract new students to this discipline. Thus, the second decennium of the 21<sup>st</sup> century marked the beginning of a big step in laying the groundwork so that a future generation would continue working with this script.<sup>46</sup> A crash course, reading book and interim palaeography were developed. Following the foundation that was already implemented by Vleeming, Donker van Heel reinstated a school for abnormal hieratic studies in Leiden as part of the Leiden Papyrological Institute tradition. As a result, new blood is contributing to this field again.<sup>47</sup> The next step is now necessary to continue this positive development. Innovative projects from Egyptologists interested in this script have to be stimulated to move the field away from just publishing text-editions to more diverse works. Being aware of this, one of the most recent steps that have been taken by the Papyrological Institute in Leiden under Donker van Heel’s supervision is

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<sup>40</sup> The most up to date summary of abnormal hieratic research is, VITTMANN, in: VERHOEVEN (ed.), “*Binsen*”-*Weisheiten I-II*, pp. 383-433.

<sup>41</sup> A few notable examples are: DEVERIA, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens*; CHAMPOLLION – MAI, *Catalogo de Papiri Egiziani*.

<sup>42</sup> For example, the many translations of abnormal hieratic texts by Revillout were already seen as erroneous and obsolete by Griffith, for which see GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the demotic papyri*, p.14 note 2.

<sup>43</sup> GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the demotic papyri*, pp. 12-15.

<sup>44</sup> Other authors have termed this script differently, e.g. MÖLLER, *SPAW* 16, p. 298 as “späthieratische Kursive”; VITTMANN, *LÄ* IV, pp. 748-750 as “kursivhieratisch”; VLEEMING, in: SCHOSKE (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, p. 212 as “cursive late-hieratic”; MARTIN, in: LOMAS – WHITEHOUSE – WILKINS (eds), *Literacy and the State*, p. 26 as “late cursive hieratic”; However, the denotation “abnormal hieratic” has remained the most prominent.

<sup>45</sup> GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the demotic papyri*, p. 13; Some of the characteristics of abnormal hieratic were also shortly commented on by MÖLLER, *SPAW* 16, pp. 298-304.

<sup>46</sup> See DONKER VAN HEEL, in: VERHOEVEN (ed.), “*Binsen*”-*Weisheiten I-II*, pp. 371-381.

<sup>47</sup> I.e. VAN GOMPEL, HOOGENBOOM, in: DONKER VAN HEEL – HOOGENDIJK – MARTIN (eds), *Studies Vleeming*; ARCHIDONA RAMÍREZ, *RdE* 69; ARCHIDONA RAMÍREZ, *BMMGP XXXVI*; The publication of the abnormal hieratic papyrus Louis de Vaucelles will be an international collaboration undertaken by 8 different people.

the development of the very first abnormal hieratic database.<sup>48</sup> The database, developed by Leiden University Library; Center for Digital Scholarship,<sup>49</sup> allows people all over the world to take their first steps in studying abnormal hieratic by their own merit.<sup>50</sup> It combines the information of an onomasticon, dictionary and palaeography as well as all the necessary images, transcriptions, comments and translations to published abnormal hieratic papyri into one interactive website.<sup>51</sup>

## The script

Abnormal hieratic was predominantly used for writing documentary texts during the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties, a timeperiod which was at the advent of a change in administrative scripts. Abnormal hieratic stood on one side as the linear successor to New Kingdom administrative hieratic from Thebes.<sup>52</sup> The other side was taken by demotic; a script that presumably originated in the north of Egypt. While demotic had hieratic influences, it ultimately broke ties with the hieratic scribal tradition and developed into a completely different writing system. During the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty demotic coexisted with abnormal hieratic. The oldest demotic documents we currently know of,<sup>53</sup> P. Rylands 1 and 2, are dated to 644 BCE, a time when abnormal hieratic was still in use. The latest dated abnormal hieratic text —read, hybrid text including abnormal hieratic and demotic scribal features— is P. Cairo CG 30665 (doc. 6), from 544 BCE. Meaning that the two scribal traditions were used side by side during at least one century. Ultimately, demotic phased out abnormal hieratic completely. This was most likely as a result of the Saite reunification of Egypt under Psamtek I.<sup>54</sup> Interestingly enough, the early demotic material uses dots with the same functions that we already find a century earlier in abnormal hieratic.<sup>55</sup> It is, however, too ambitious to suggest that the use of dots in abnormal hieratic shows its remnants in the early demotic documents as demotic could have invented its own system of dots autonomously.

The limited amount of abnormal hieratic sources that came to light during trade with antiquities dealers at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century originated from Thebes.<sup>56</sup> This resulted in subsequent authors categorizing newly found abnormal hieratic texts as being Theban as well, even though the provenance of most of the texts were in fact unknown.<sup>57</sup> Conversely, the recent archaeological finding of abnormal hieratic texts from Qasr-ibrim,<sup>58</sup> Abydos,<sup>59</sup> and Dakhla Oasis provide us enough evidence to suggest that some abnormal hieratic documents originated outside of

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<sup>48</sup> Accessible at: <https://lab.library.universiteitleiden.nl/abnormalhieratic/>.

<sup>49</sup> Encoded by the present author together with Elena Hertel.

<sup>50</sup> The abnormal hieratic database was an idea already set forth in 2013, for which see DONKER VAN HEEL, in: VERHOEVEN (ed.), *“Binsen”-Weisheiten I-II*, p. 373.

<sup>51</sup> Currently the website is in open beta. Five papyri have been fully transcribed and a basic search function is now accessible. The amount of available material will increase while the database is under development.

<sup>52</sup> Some of the Late Rammeside Letters already show palaeographical similarities to signs which would later become characteristic ligatures in abnormal hieratic. The legal language used in abnormal hieratic documents can even be traced back further to formulas used in 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty Deir el-Medina. Between the 21<sup>st</sup> dynasty until the beginning of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty cursive hieratic script looks like, what is now for lack of better terminology, called “proto-abnormal hieratic”. Petra Hoogenboom is currently working on a PhD thesis studying the origin and development of abnormal hieratic.

<sup>53</sup> There exists one papyrus that is dated 5 years before P. Rylands 1 and 2 but this text has not yet been published, see VITTMANN, in: VERHOEVEN (ed.), *“Binsen”-Weisheiten I-II*, p. 383 note 3.

<sup>54</sup> MALININE, *Choix I*, p. vii-xxi; VLEEMING, *CdE* 56, pp. 31-48; VLEEMING, *Gooseherds*, p. 192.




<sup>55</sup> See the end of chapter III.

<sup>56</sup> MALININE, *Choix I*, p. ix.

<sup>57</sup> GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the demotic papyri*, p. 14.

<sup>58</sup> VITTMANN, in: VERHOEVEN (ed.), *“Binsen”-Weisheiten I-II*, p. 404.

<sup>59</sup> AYRTON – CURRELLY – WEIGALL, *Abydos III*, p. 52 plate XXXA.

Thebes.<sup>60</sup> Still, it is clear that abnormal hieratic originated in the south of Egypt around the Teban area based on the fact that its New Kingdom hieratic roots came from the exact same geographical location. Demotic, on the contrary, originated in the north from a separate cursive branch of hieratic.<sup>61</sup> el-Aguizy argues contra Malinine,<sup>62</sup> that the origin of early demotic in Lower Egypt developed from a branch of hieratic that was not cursive. In other words, abnormal hieratic developed from a branch of Upper Egyptian hieratic that was very cursive, while demotic originated from a branch of Lower Egyptian hieratic closer to hieroglyphs. el-Aguizy also notes that on the Lower Egyptian Serapeum stelae from the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty a script similar to abnormal hieratic was already visible, suggesting that the development of abnormal hieratic spread northward from the Theban area during that time.<sup>63</sup> However, the way the evidence for this theory, and in fact the whole article, is put forth is substantially lacking and at times farfetched for the slim amount of sources that are provided. Table 10.1 in the article is too restrictive and limited in quantity to justify any macro-sized argumentation such as the one el-Aguizy proposes. Firstly, the criteria for ticking either the box “Similar to Abnormal Hieratic” or “Similar to Early Demotic” are not clearly presented. It seems that el-Aguizy settled for only using seven abnormal hieratic sources to compare the signs on the stela against,<sup>64</sup> while she used four times as many demotic sources.<sup>65</sup> The proper use of abnormal hieratic examples, to fill out the now empty registers in the table, would substantially disprove the theory that is presented in this article. For example, the first sign in table 10.1 is the man with the raised arm (Gardiner A26), the abnormal hieratic box is empty while we do have abnormal hieratic texts that use this sign. In 19 recto, 6 we have one such instance , which looks the same as the sign on the stela  (St. 42) and is fairly similar to the early demotic example (C. 50071, 1). In this case, both the boxes should have been ticked. Secondly, the abnormal hieratic *nfr* sign used by el-Aguizy in table 10.1 has no determinative, which I presume prompted the checkmark in the “Similar to Early Demotic” box. In her description of this sign she argues that *nfr* “has no abnormal hieratic parallel in the documents”,<sup>66</sup> but this is not the case. In fact, there is a *nfr* sign in one of the texts that el-Aguizy chose herself as part of her abnormal hieratic corpus, namely P. Leiden F1942/5.15 (doc. 7). If we look at l. 4 in this papyrus we find a writing of *nfr*  that looks identical to the examples on the stelae. Thus both boxes should have been ticked in table 10.1 for *nfr*. The rest of the signs el-Aguizy compares in this table are subject to the same flaws. Furthermore, the criteria for choosing which signs to incorporate in the table in the first place are not clear. Most of the signs used by el-Aguizy, I would argue, are unfit to be compared to each other as most of them do not show any significant graphic variation between early demotic and abnormal hieratic.<sup>67</sup> It should also be noted that the “early demotic” papyri from Cairo that el-Aguizy uses as a corpus contain papyri that are actually a hybrid form of demotic and abnormal hieratic.<sup>68</sup> Lastly, some of the papyri are not early demotic, but

<sup>60</sup> An abnormal hieratic ostrakon was found in the Dakhla Oasis (O. Amheida 16003) for which see, VITTMANN, in: CLAUS – BADER – ASTON, *Studies Leahy*, pp 491-503.

<sup>61</sup> MALININE, *Choix I*, pp. vii-xxi.

<sup>62</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>63</sup> EL-AGUIZY, in: JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society*, pp.91-94.

<sup>64</sup> Namely, P. Louvre E 3228 E,D,B, P. Louvre E 2432, P. BM EA 10113, P. Vienna D 12003, and P. Leiden F 1942/5.15.

<sup>65</sup> Namely, P. Cairo CG 30601, 30657, 30665, 31045, 31054, 31061, 31062, 50058, 50059, 50064, 50065, 50066, 50068, 50071, 50079, 50080, 50097b, 50100, 50144, 50146, 50150b, and 50151.

<sup>66</sup> EL-AGUIZY, in: JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society*, p. 92.

<sup>67</sup> For example, the *mn* group and the house sign with ideogram stroke.

<sup>68</sup> See our doc. 6. P. Cairo CG 30657 is undeniably a hybrid papyrus. We can follow the genealogy of this scribal family and their transition from abnormal hieratic to demotic, for which see DONKER VAN HEEL, *EVO* 17, pp. 116-118; P. Cairo CG 30665 is also a hybrid papyrus, for which see the publication of CRUZ-URIBE, in:

actually Ptolemaic demotic, such as P. Cairo 30601 which is dated to 231/230 BCE.<sup>69</sup> In short, the theory proposed by el-Aguizy is one that we cannot prove with such a small study. The many similarities between the forms of the abnormal hieratic and demotic signs would sooner argue for the origin of demotic as being from a similar hieratic branch to abnormal hieratic than from a separate uncial hieratic branch from Lower Egypt, but this is something that should be studied more in depth.<sup>70</sup>

## Chapter II: A history of dots

The most common method used by ancient Egyptian scribes to highlight a particular part of a text was the incorporation of red ink as the rest of the text was usually written in black ink. Although red ink was mostly used for literary documents, its use in administrative texts is not uncommon. However, red ink was not used in the abnormal hieratic documents of the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties. Instead, those scribes used other methods to alert someone reading through the document, such as the practice of including uncial signs to highlight important passages of the text.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps, as will be argued throughout this thesis, the inclusion of dots and strokes was another method used by the abnormal hieratic scribes to alert the reader, most clearly seen when going through doc. **19**.<sup>72</sup>

Small points of ink have been used by hieratic scribes in administrative documents at least since the Old Kingdom Abusir Papyri.<sup>73</sup> The dots in this papyrus were used as checkmarks in black or red and occur at the beginning of several lines.<sup>74</sup> They were written by the scribe after the document was finished in order to denote whether a transaction had been paid (black) or still needed to be paid (red). This was a practice still in use during the New Kingdom.<sup>75</sup> From the Middle Kingdom onwards we have more sources on papyrus that use dots. P. Reisner I and III, are accounts from the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty both found in tomb N 408 at Nag` ed Deir.<sup>76</sup> In these collections of accounts, dots and diagonal strokes are used as checkmarks in lists of names. According to Simpson, a distinction is made between dots written in red and in black, most probably to separate the entries marked in one colour from the other.<sup>77</sup> In P. Brooklyn 35.1446, dots written in black are also primarily used as checkmarks in front of lines like in the Old Kingdom. Hayes suggests that these dots functioned “as an aid for spacing the papyrus”.<sup>78</sup> Another use of dots in this text is to indicate a ditto sign such as in lines 55 until 80.<sup>79</sup> In papyrus Boulaq Nr. 18, we have more evidence for the abundant use of dots as ditto signs.<sup>80</sup> However, all of the aforementioned dots are restricted to lists or have to do with ordering and overall layout of a text, they do not appear as part of the main body of the text. For the latter type of dots, we will have to wait until the New Kingdom.

Since the literary and administrative papyri from the New Kingdom and the early part of the Third

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THISSEN – ZAUZICH (eds), *Studies Luddeckens*, pp. 41-46 (who, erroneously, classifies this document as being strictly abnormal hieratic).

<sup>69</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Demotischen Denkmäler II*, p.1.

<sup>70</sup> This subject will be covered in a PhD by Petra Hoogenboom.

<sup>71</sup> ARCHIDONA RAMÍREZ, in: DONKER VAN HEEL, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*; A similar method was later used by demotic scribes, e.g. by writing *dd* in such a large way that a reader could immediately see where the actual content of a contract began.

<sup>72</sup> See the excursus on doc. **19** in chapter III.

<sup>73</sup> HELCK, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde*, p. 63; POSENER-KRIÉGER – DE CENIVAL, *The Abu Sir Papyri*.

<sup>74</sup> POSENER-KRIÉGER – DE CENIVAL, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 22C, 29B, 48A, 52A, 57, 70E, 76K.

<sup>75</sup> HELCK, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde*, p. 63.

<sup>76</sup> SIMPSON, *Papyrus Reisner I,III*.

<sup>77</sup> SIMPSON, *Papyrus Reisner I*, p. 60.

<sup>78</sup> HAYES, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, p. 58 and plate II.

<sup>79</sup> HAYES, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, p. 59 and plate VI.

<sup>80</sup> MARIETTE, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq II*, pl. 14-55.

Intermediate Period (before the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties) have very similar functionality to the dots that are used in abnormal hieratic, these papyri will be discussed in a more extensive manner in the section just below.

While the use of dots (in a quantitative sense) reached its pinnacle in the abnormal hieratic sources, they are still attested after abnormal hieratic fell out of use. In the Temple library from Tebtunis there are unpublished manuscripts written in demotic that use dots to mark corrections by rendering them in a circle around words that should not be read.<sup>81</sup> Demotic documents from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE use a system of dots that is closer in nature to the one we see in the abnormal hieratic material such as in P. Mattha. Here, dots are used at the end of sentences and sometimes even written in front of a blank space that marks the end of a passage.<sup>82</sup> Jordan argues that these dots are not included without reason but coincide with emphasising a certain passage, mark important sentences, or parts of sentences.<sup>83</sup> Coptic documents use dots in front of or behind several grammatical elements in a sentence. The characteristic way in which the scribe Frangé uses dots after prepositional syntagma, relative clauses and adverbs have enabled Dellaitre and Vanthieghem to ascribe an anonymous Coptic ostrakon to said scribe.<sup>84</sup> As we have seen, dots are present throughout the entire history of ancient Egypt. However, due to the limited size of this work, we will only be able to analyse the hieratic material from the New Kingdom up until the end of abnormal hieratic, including a brief look at the early demotic material that appears after abnormal hieratic fell out of use.

### Dots in the New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period sources:

The study of dots from the New Kingdom and the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period is large enough to merit a study on its own. However, the scope of this thesis does not permit us to include every text from the New Kingdom that used dots. Accordingly, what is presented below is only a small selection that is relevant to the types of dots that are later used by the scribes of abnormal hieratic texts.

Some functions of the dots which were used in the Middle- and Old Kingdom continue to be present in the New Kingdom, such as the red and black checkmarks,<sup>85</sup> or the dot used as a ditto sign.<sup>86</sup> More importantly, an increase in the number of dots as well as several new functions of dots clearly appears towards the end of the New Kingdom.<sup>87</sup> For example, the dot that is written behind the divine determinative originates from this time,<sup>88</sup> as well as the reduction of the complements of *ꜥnh* to a dot,<sup>89</sup> the dot written after *dd* to introduce direct speech,<sup>90</sup> the dot for the first person suffix pronomen,<sup>91</sup> and the dot as a generic determinative.<sup>92</sup> All of the aforementioned functions would later

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<sup>81</sup> See RYHOLT, in: CROMWELL – GROSSMAN (eds), *Scribal Repertoires*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>82</sup> This also occurs in our doc. 12, l. 6 where a dot is written in front of a small gap where nothing is written.

<sup>83</sup> JORDAN, *Die Demotischen Wissenstexte*, pp. 112-113.

<sup>84</sup> DELAITTRE – VANTHIEGHEM, *JCS* 18, p. 14; In abnormal hieratic we can use the same principle to identify scribes thanks to their characteristic use of dots, for which see the case study on *p3-di-hr-rsn.t* below.

<sup>85</sup> Red checkmarks are used in the Griffith fragments found alongside P. Reinhardt, for which see VLEEMING, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, p. 70; Checkmarks in black are found throughout many texts such as P. Turin Cat. 1880, P. Turin Cat. 1932, and P. Vienna AS 10321 recto col. IV+V. For the latter see HÖLZL – NEUMANN – DEMARÉE, *The Notebook of Dhutmose*, p. 15 and pl. 4.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. P. Turin CGT 54022 verso col. II and P. Turin Cat. 2044.

<sup>87</sup> The new functions of dots in the New Kingdom administrative papyri presented here have not been noticed in their original publications or by other authors, as far as I am aware.

<sup>88</sup> They are attested in several papyri e.g. P. Reinhardt col. III, l. 24 and col. X, l. 1.

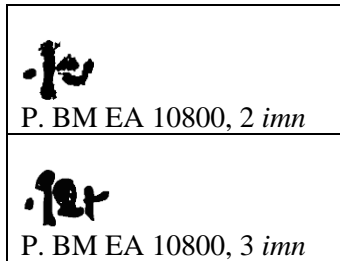
<sup>89</sup> E.g. in P. Reinhardt col. II, l. 42.

<sup>90</sup> P. BM EA 75015 recto, 3, 6, 9; P. BM EA 75020 recto, 6.

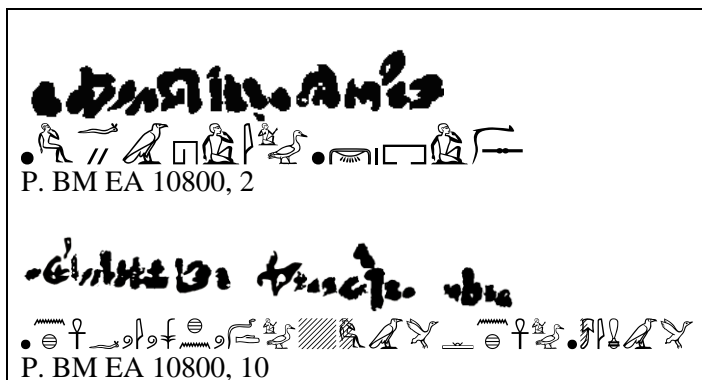
<sup>91</sup> P. BM EA 75015 recto, 17 behind *t3y* for *t3y=i*.

also be used by the scribes of abnormal hieratic documents. The present author hopes to conduct further research on the origin of these new functions in the New Kingdom as part of a separate study somewhere in the near future.

The sources from the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period continue the trend set at the end of the New Kingdom. The number of dots present in the texts grows and several features that are inherently connected with abnormal hieratic are already noticeable. To illustrate, we will look at P. BM EA 10800 dated to the 21<sup>st</sup> or 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty.<sup>93</sup> In this text, *imn* is written in two distinct ways, as will become the norm in abnormal hieratic. The dot that is always written behind the divine determinative in abnormal hieratic sources is already present in this text.<sup>94</sup>



Another dot that shares its function with later abnormal hieratic examples, is the one added behind names such as here in l. 2 where it is used as a separation marker behind the names *ns-pr-nbw* and *ihzfy* and l. 10 where it occurs behind *p3-mi* and *dd-hnws-iw=f-ϥnh*.<sup>95</sup>



Even the diacritical strokes on top of the *ϥnh* sign and *šp*, as well as the two ticks following *šp* for the *p* and book roll are used by the scribe of this papyrus.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> E.g. in P. Turin Cat. 1891 and P. Turin Cat. 1972.

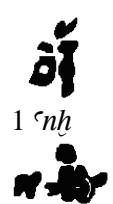



<sup>93</sup> The exact dating of this text is disputed, for which see, EDWARDS, *JEA* 57, pp. 121-122.

<sup>94</sup> See dot type *b* below.




<sup>95</sup> See dot type *e* below.

<sup>96</sup> This same diacritical stroke can be used in abnormal hieratic for the complements of *Sp*, for which see chapter IV.


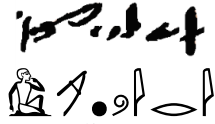



P. BM EA 10800	Abnormal hieratic sources
 <p>1 ᵑḥ</p>  <p>8 šp</p>	 <p>1, 1 ᵑḥ</p>  <p>10, 4 šp</p>

The second text from this period that we will analyse is P. Berlin 3048. On the verso of this papyrus, there are several unpublished texts which resemble proto-abnormal hieratic writing. Text number 35 (abbreviated as n. 35),<sup>97</sup> uses dots in places where we would also expect them in the abnormal hieratic documents. Firstly the characteristic dot following the divine determinative which we already saw in P. BM EA 10800 is present throughout the text, also note the two distinct ways of writing *imn*.

 <p>P. Berlin 3048 n.35, 1 <i>imn</i></p>
 <p>P. Berlin 3048 n.35, 2 <i>imn</i></p>
 <p>P. Berlin 3048 n.35, 9 <i>pr</i>-ᵑ</p>

A dot type included in P. Berlin 3048 n. 35 which was not used by the scribe of P. BM EA 10800 is the one that can be used as the first person suffix.<sup>98</sup>

Dot for suffix =i		
 <p>P. Berlin 3048 n. 35, 4 <i>iw=i b3k</i></p>	 <p>P. Berlin 3048 n.35, 5 <i>ir iw=i mr</i></p>	 <p>P. Berlin 3048 n.35, 8 <i>bn iw=i rh</i></p>

The New Kingdom papyri, as well as the two papyri presented here from the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period clearly show that dots were used in administrative texts already before abnormal

<sup>97</sup> See DONKER VAN HEEL, in: RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>98</sup> See dot type *g* below.

hieratic existed. The origin of the systematic practice involving dots and strokes should thus be looked for in the time period before abnormal hieratic was fully developed.

### Chapter III: Abnormal Hieratic Dots

Dots are present in the earliest dated abnormal hieratic text and stay in use until the latest dated text.<sup>99</sup> Dots in abnormal hieratic are prevalent on different writing supports such as papyrus,<sup>100</sup> ostraca,<sup>101</sup>, wooden tablets,<sup>102</sup> and graffiti on walls.<sup>103</sup> The fact that the first dated abnormal hieratic text already includes a fully developed system of many different types of dots suggests that this system was already developed in the period before abnormal hieratic came into being. Moreover, in the approximately 200 years that abnormal hieratic was in use this system of dots did not develop further. Of the 19 texts from the *AHRB*, each one uses several types of dots. The only apparent difference between the texts is that one scribe limits his use of dots to 4 types,<sup>104</sup> while another scribe might use 10 different dot types.<sup>105</sup> It would not be feasible to go through every text in detail in this thesis. Instead, the different types and uses of dots will be presented below and accompanied by examples from the documents in the *AHRB*.

#### Types of dots in the documents of the Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book

The dots found in abnormal hieratic documents are more than just points of ink, they are markers with a specific purpose. For this thesis, every dot that occurs in the *AHRB* has been noted and analysed. The results show that dots have, in fact, several different functions when rendered behind abnormal hieratic words and sign groups. These are listed below and separated into two categories. Category I includes all dots that are used to signify a break in running text. These dots are the equivalent to modern interpunction.<sup>106</sup> Category II includes any kind of dot that we interpret as something that could have hieratic or hieroglyphic value.

#### Category I – interpunction

*Type a. Dot as a checkmark.* This type should not be confused with dot *type c*, for which see below. After a scribe finished a text and went back to review what he had written he could put a dot behind the sentence to indicate that it had been reread and deemed correct. If something needed to be altered in the sentence this dot was not added behind the line in question. It has to be noted that the checkmark dot can even be written at the end of a sentence that coincidentally already ended with a

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<sup>99</sup> Doc. 7 (726 BCE) is the earliest surviving dated abnormal hieratic text. Doc. 6 (547 BCE) is the last surviving dated abnormal hieratic text.

<sup>100</sup> E.g. doc. 7.

<sup>101</sup> E.g. O.Amheida 16003, for which see VITTMANN, in: CLAUS – BADER – ASTON, *Studies Leahy*, pp. 491-503.

<sup>102</sup> E.g. doc. 19 and tablet MMA 35.3.318.

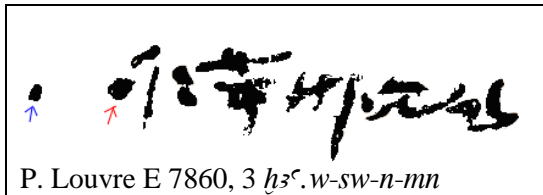
<sup>103</sup> There is one abnormal hieratic graffito that uses dots, it was found in the Theban area, for which see, VLEEMING, *Demotic Graffiti*, pp. 120, entry 1479. The one line inscription has not been deciphered yet, but it uses three dots in between abnormal hieratic signs.

<sup>104</sup> E.g. the scribe of doc. 16.

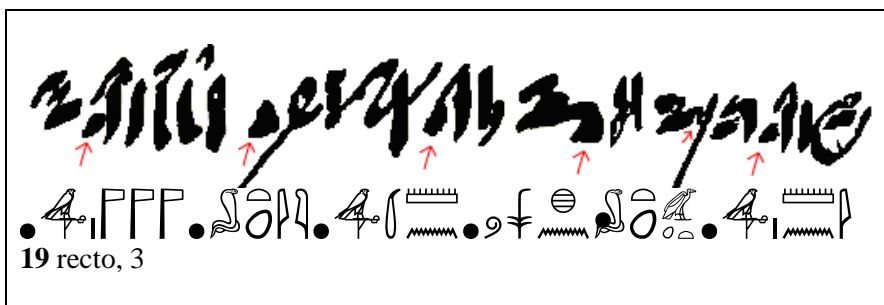
<sup>105</sup> E.g. the scribe of doc. 19; See the case study on doc. 19 in chapter III.

<sup>106</sup> Some of the uses of the dots belonging to category I strikingly correspond with what is already known from earlier literary sources. Nikolaus Tacke has written an excellent work on structuring points in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies, for which see TACKE, *Verspunkte als Gliederungsmittel*. His edition will be referenced in the case study on doc. 19 below for any type of abnormal hieratic dot that has a function corresponding to that of the literary structuring points.

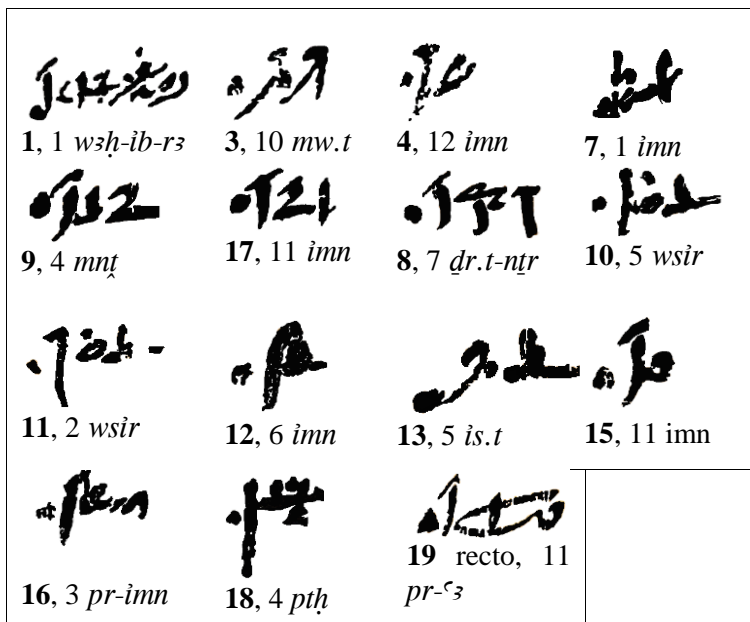
dot of a different type. For example, in P. Louvre E 7860, 3 the name *h3<sup>c</sup>.w-sw-n-mn* is written with the divine determinative and includes a dot that characteristically follows after this specific determinative (see dot *type b* below). Even though the sentence already ended with dot *type b* the scribe, after reviewing the document, added another dot several centimetres behind the one belonging to the divine determinative. This means that he made a conscious decision to differentiate the function of our checkmark dot *type a* (marked in the example below with a blue arrow), from the divine determinative dot *type b* (marked with the red arrow). While dot *type a* only clearly occurs in one of the documents of the *AHRB* (doc. 18) it is known from other abnormal hieratic sources, such as in P. Louvre E 3228 C|C and P. Brooklyn 47.218.3 col. E.



*Type b. Dot after divine beings.* As we saw in the example above, a dot can follow after a divine determinative. It can also be written after the composite *t + egg + cobra* determinative for female goddesses, or even behind a phonetic spelling of a god without a determinative. It is not entirely clear to the present author why this dot is written after divinities. I would suggest it has something to do with group writing and the way a scribe would have learned how to compose these hieratic groups, although it is difficult to provide evidence for this theory. Nevertheless, the constant occurrence of this dot behind divinities is reason enough to include it as a separate type of dot. In the example below from 19 recto, 3 we can observe that a dot is written after each divinity in a summation, reinforcing the idea that the dot is used as interpunction between each separate divinity.

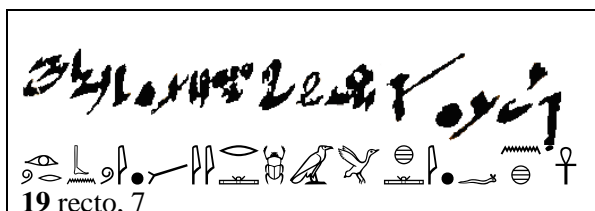


Furthermore, to clarify that this dot type, almost always, occurs behind divinities one example from each document in the *AHRB* that uses dot *type b* is included in the table below.



Type c. Dot to mark the end of a grammatical unit. In abnormal hieratic literature, dots at the end of sentences have only been interpreted as checkmarks up until now (see dot *type a* above). However, after analysing all of the texts in the *AHRB* it became clear that most of the dots that are interpreted as checkmarks are actually dots that are used to mark the end of a grammatical sentence, which coincidentally appear more often at the end of a line. That being said, this type of dot also occur in the middle and the beginning of lines. The three main sentence structures that can be marked by this dot are as follows: to signify the end of a sentence, to change from a main clause to a subordinate clause, and lastly to mark the beginning of a relative clause. It is quite surprising to find such a dot in administrative texts, as to my knowledge the use of dots to separate grammatical units from one another only occurs in literary texts from the Middle and New Kingdoms onward, not in documentary texts.<sup>107</sup> A more detailed explanation of this type of dot can be found in the case study of doc. **19** just below. The following examples demonstrate the versatile use of this dot:

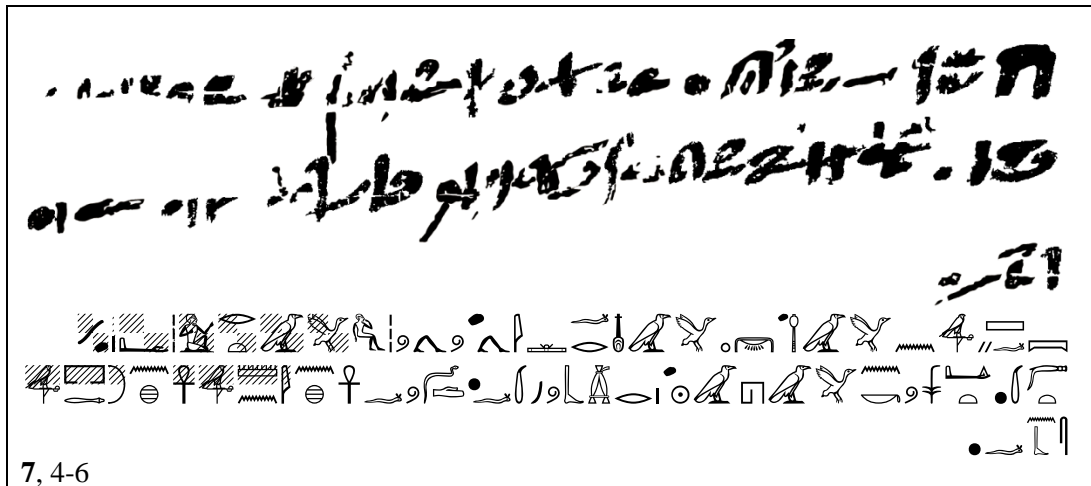
In **19** recto, 6-7 a dot follows after *nh=f* to signify the end of the sentence which started on the previous line: “May Amun give him life •!”. The following sentence starts with *ih p3 hpr* after which another dot is written by the scribe to signal the start of a subordinate clause with *iw bn*. “What has happened • that I do not know...”.



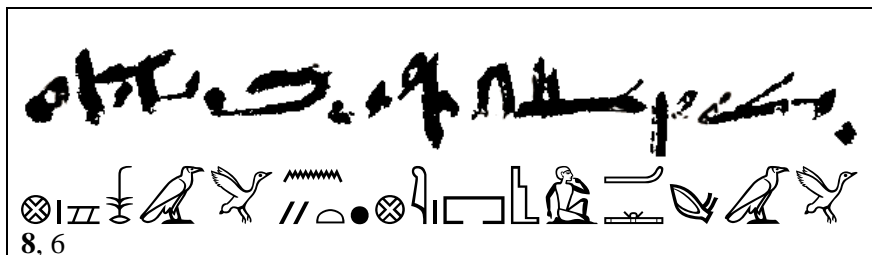
In doc. **7**, 4-6 the occurrence of this dot type is consistently used to mark the end of grammatical entities. The dot after *mh.ty* on l. 5 signals the end of the previous sentence ... *p3 hd p3-nfr-ih p3 rmt c*

<sup>107</sup> For the equivalent of this type of dot in literary texts, see TACKE, *Verspunte als Gliederungsmittel*, pp. 146-158.

*mh.ty* • “...as the silver for *p3-nfr-ìw* the man from the North•”. The text then continues with a new sentence that is also concluded with a dot, *dì.t sw n-k p3 h3w r-db3.t=f* • “I have given him to you today in exchange for it•”. Then follows the sentence *ñh imn ñh pr-3 snb=f* • “May Amun live, may Pharaoh live, may he be healthy•!”. For the third time in three consecutive lines, a dot is used to mark the end of a sentence.



Dot *type c* is also used to indicate relative clauses. In doc. 8, 6 a dot follows *st m3<sup>c</sup>.t* before the start of a relative clause introduced by *nty*.<sup>108</sup>



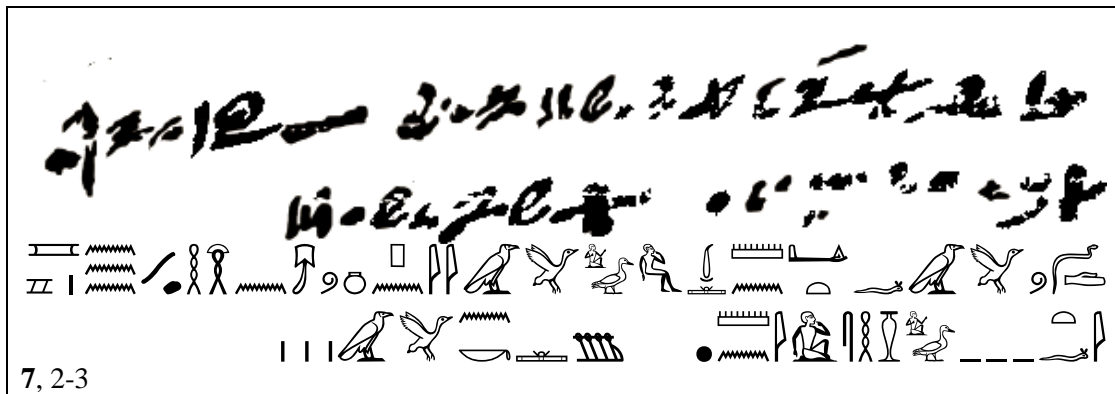
As is the case before *nty* in doc. 5, 2.



This dot type can even occur between sections of a contract to separate the introduction from the actual content of the contract. A gap following this dot is usually included to further reinforce the fact that a new section of the text is following. In doc. 7, 2-3. After introducing party A and party B, a

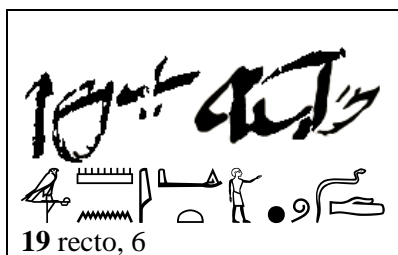
<sup>108</sup> Note that this dot is not present after *st m3<sup>c</sup>.t* in l. 2. In the latter case there is no relative clause following, thus it was not necessary for the scribe to write a dot.

sizable dot is written behind the last member of party B together with a small gap that is left blank. The actual content of the contract is written after the dot and gap starting with *šp=i n=k*.



Type d. Dot to introduce direct speech. This type of dot is, unsurprisingly, found after abnormal hieratic signs that can introduce speech such as *dd*. The function of this dot is simply to indicate that the following passage is to be interpreted as direct speech and would work as our modern colon “:”.

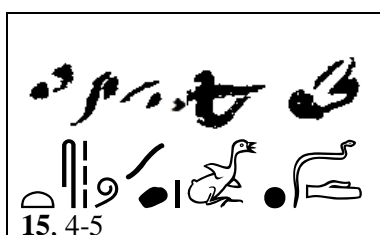
In doc. 19 recto, 6 a dot follows after *dd* to introduce the wish “May Amun give him life!”.



In doc. 5, 17 *dd* is followed by a dot introducing direct speech in the sentence: “you were born a nobody”.<sup>109</sup>

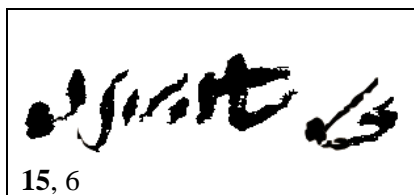


In doc. 15, 4-5 the dot after *dd* is again used for direct speech: “we took them”.



<sup>109</sup> For the interpretation of this sentence as *ms=k hm*, see the notes in the *AHRB I*, p. 35.

This passage is repeated in l. 6 of the same document.



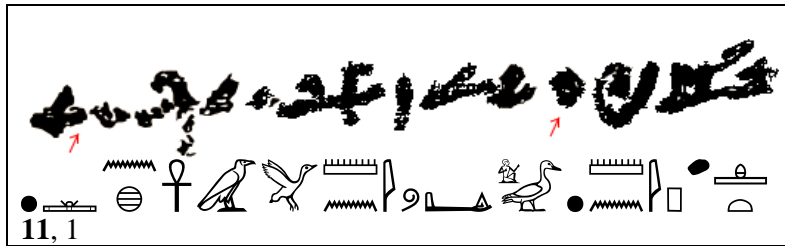
Besides following *dd*, another typical place where this type of dot is found is after the introductory formulas of letters. In the following examples direct speech is introduced by the dot that is situated right after the passage ending with ...*pzy(=i) hry*.<sup>110</sup>

Dot after <i>hry</i> followed by direct speech
<p>P. Cairo CG 30865, l. 2; “Now, look you, I pray for you...”</p>
<p>19 recto, l; followed by: “I send (my) voice...”</p>
<p>5, 2; followed by: “Very numerous are the misfortunes...”</p>

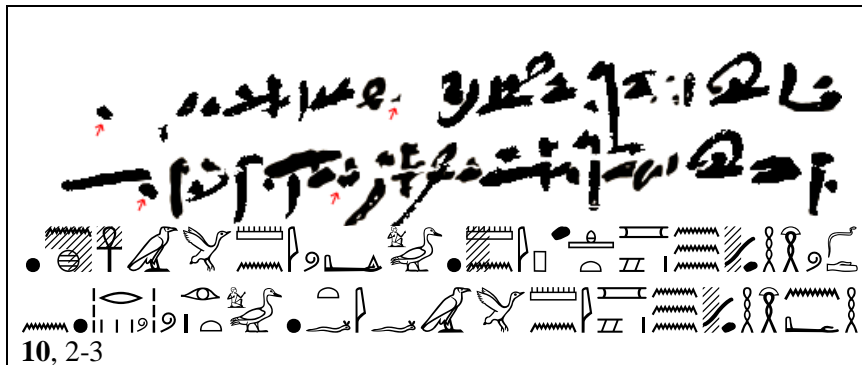
*Type e. After names.* This dot type is written after a name, usually in a series of names before the filiation sign. My interpretation for this dot type is that it was written by the scribe to differentiate one name from the following in a series, as it is not mandatory to end names with a person determinative in abnormal hieratic.<sup>111</sup> In the case highlighted below from **11**, 1 a dot that is otherwise untranscribable were we to try and interpret it differently in our transcription is added after the name *hṭp-ìmn* and then again behind the name *dì-ìmn-pz-ḥnh*.

<sup>110</sup> The fact that most of these letters end their introduction with this phrase was already noticed in JASNOW – VITTMANN, *Enchoria* 19-20, p. 29 note h.

<sup>111</sup> Although one would presume that the filiation sign would be a clear enough marker to show that we are transitioning from one name to another. However, some scribes suppress the writing of the filiation sign, perhaps the dot would, in those cases, be a tool to differentiate between the signs of one name and the next one.



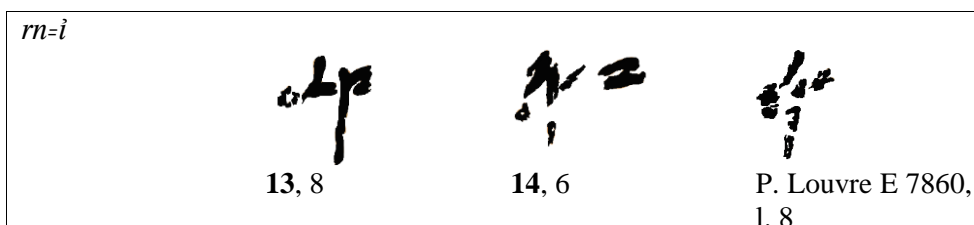
In doc. 10, 2-3 every name in the introduction is followed by a dot.



Type f. Dot after the vertical plural strokes (Gardiner Z3). This dot type only appears consistently in doc. 19, see the case study there.

### Category II – dots with hieratic/hieroglyphic value









Type g. Dot for the first person suffix pronomen =*i*/=*t*. While most scribes suppress the writing of the first person suffix entirely, some scribes still mark the end of the word group that should include the suffix by including a dot. However, the passages where these dots occur have still always been transliterated by their respective editions as having a suppressed suffix pronomen,<sup>112</sup> thus *iw*(=*i*) is transliterated instead of *iw=i*. I would suggest that we read the instances in which this dot type occurs as having a full writing of the suffix pronomen. Thus, as has been done in the examples below, one should consider transliterating *iw=i* without brackets from now on.<sup>113</sup>






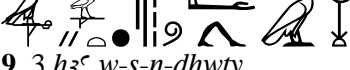

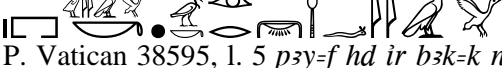


<sup>112</sup> Vleeming already noticed that a dot could be used for the suffix pronomen =*i* in demotic texts, for which see VLEEMING, *Gooseherds*, pp. 253-254.



<sup>113</sup> We know of enough writings where the suffix pronomen is suppressed, also excluding any following dot. It would be better to differentiate the graphical variation of *iw* writings with and without dot from one another. Thus if no suffix is written out and no dot is included behind the word, we should transliterate *iw*(=*i*). However, if this dot does follow behind the word we should consider transliterating *iw=i*.




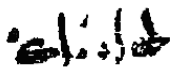






<i>di=i</i>	 5, 12	 17, 4	
<i>iw=i</i>	 5, 4	 1, 3	 19 recto, 2
<i>šp=i</i>	 1, 2	 7, 3	 5, 12

*Type h. Dot for a preposition.* In certain sentences, a dot is placed between two words exactly where one would expect a preposition. The dot linking these two parts of the sentence should thus be interpreted as the preposition itself instead of a meaningless or untranscribable dot as has been suggested up until now. In fact, Donker van Heel already uses this type of dot as the preposition *n* in his editions.<sup>114</sup> This dot can also be used for prepositions other than *n*. In the following examples the dot is used as *n* or *r*.

  P. Louvre E 7859, l. 4 <i>h3<sup>c</sup>.w-sw-n-wsir</i>	  9, 3 <i>h3<sup>c</sup>.w-s-n-dhwty</i>
  P. Vatican 38595, l. 5 <i>p3y=f hq ir b3k=k n p3y=k pr</i>	  5, 6 <i>šm r n3y=f it.w</i>









*Type i. Dot to differentiate between male and female words.* This dot type is included behind words to change them into their respective female form. It is probably an extension of the classic hieratic writing of a dot behind the seated man  in order to change it into its female form . Yet, in abnormal hieratic, this dot can be used to make more signs female other than the seated person determinative. For example, this dot type is often found in the *bn iw rh* clause of contracts, in which a long summation of people is mentioned in male and female written form. The female variants often have a dot following behind the sign in question. We will look at some examples from *šr* and *šr.t*.

<sup>114</sup> DONKER VAN HEEL, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*, p. 192 palaeographical notes to text 1, note (h).












<i>šr</i> and <i>šr.t</i> without vertical stroke	<i>šr</i> and <i>šr.t</i> with vertical stroke
 1, 6	 6, 4
 7, 6	 P. Turin Cat. 2118, recto, 31
 15, 9	 P. Louvre E 3228 C C, 22
 18, 11	 P. Louvre E 3228 D A, 6

Interestingly enough the writings of *šr* and *šr.t* in abnormal hieratic are rather inconsistent. There seem to be two variants. The one without stroke is consistently written with a dot or a seated woman determinative (Gardiner B1) behind the second writing of the seated child sign. The variant with a stroke can be written in many different ways. Both seated child signs can have a stroke following them, such as in our doc. 6 and P. Louvre E 3228 C|C. The male variant *šr* can have a stroke following it, while the seated child for *šr.t* does not, as in P. Turin Cat. 2118, recto. It can also be written the other way around, with the seated child for *šr.t* having a stroke following it, while the male one for *šr* does not, such as in P. Louvre E 3228 D|A. One thing is certain, in both the variant with and without stroke, a dot or a seated woman determinative has to follow the second writing of *šr* in order to signify it as the female version *šr.t*.

This dot type also occurs after *s.ḥm.t* and replaces the fully written seated woman determinative.

<i>s.ḥm.t</i> with fully written determinative 	<i>s.ḥm.t</i> written with a dot as determinative 
 doc. 10, 4	 doc. 17, 4
 doc. 11, 2	 doc. 18, 5
 P. Louvre 3228 E D, 6	 P. Turin Cat. 2118 recto, 2

*Type j. Dot for a generic determinative.* This type of dot is written behind sign groups of which the determinative has been reduced to a dot. The determinatives that are most often represented by this dot type are the book roll, flesh determinative, and city sign.



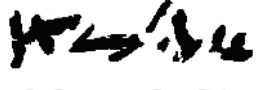

Flesh ρ (Gardiner F51)	Bookroll ≡ (Gardiner Y1)	City sign ⊗ (Gardiner O49)
 5, 3 <i>m-dr.t</i>	 5, 13 <i>nh</i>	 5, 14 <i>dmy</i>
 3, 13 <i>m-dr.t</i>	 2, 7 <i>nh</i>	 2, 9 <i>zh</i>
 19 verso, 9 <i>ir.t</i>	 13, 7 <i>w</i>	 12, 5 <i>zh</i>
 7, 9 <i>ir.t</i>	 9, 3 <i>w</i>	

Type *k*. Dot for a generic one- or two consonantal sign. Just as with the previous type, hieroglyphic signs can be reduced to a dot. In the following examples the dot is used as one or two consonantal signs.

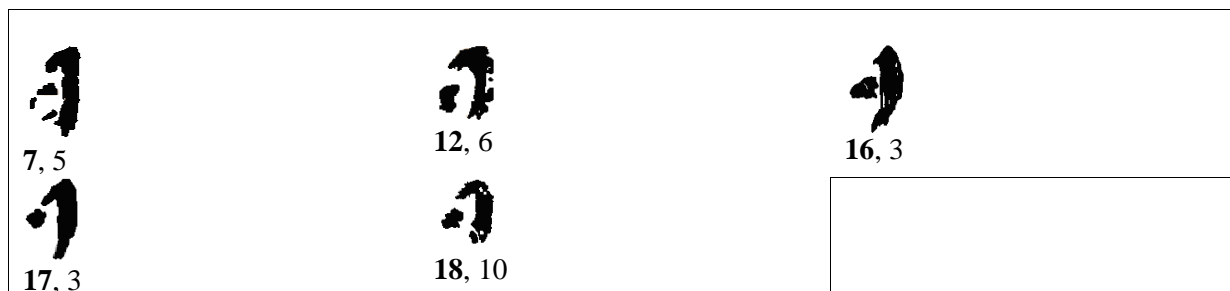
For *y* (mostly found underneath the *h*).

Dot for <i>y</i> // (Gardiner Z4)		
 1, 2 <i>dd-hy</i>	 8, 3 <i>dd-hy</i>	 9, 4 <i>dd-hy</i>
 5, 17 <i>mhy</i>		

The aleph can also be reduced to a dot.

Dot for <i>h</i> (Gardiner G1)		
 1, 5 <i>hw3</i>	 5, 9	 8, 2 <i>p3-hr-hnsw</i>
 19 recto, 4 <i>k3(y)</i>		

The complements  $n$  and  $h$  in  ${}^c nh$  are often abbreviated to a dot.



### Overview of dot types

The types of dots that occur in each separate document in the *AHRB* are shown in the table below. The numbers on the left side represent the document numbers from the *AHRB*, while the letters at the top refer to the dot types from the section above. The green squares are the types included in the document, while the red squares represent types that do not occur in that specific text. If we compare the different documents to each other, at first glance, it seems as if certain patterns emerge. There are many documents that only differ slightly in the types of dots when compared to each other, such as docs. **1** and **8**, **3** and **4**, **5** and **19**, **10** and **11**, **11** and **12**, **13** and **14**. However, I am reluctant to conclude anything at all based on the comparison between texts using this table. I have this hesitation because of several reasons. Firstly, such a small sample size does not offer us enough data to make any valid assumptions about the relationship between dot types being present or absent in one or more texts. Secondly, every text in the *AHRB* is of varying length which influences, if, and how many times a dot will occur in a text. For example, doc. **19** uses the most types of dots but this is easily explained by the fact that it also is the document that uses the most total number of dots (116) and that is only counting the recto side of the text. Thirdly, dot types and the amount of times they occur is also influenced by the text type and content in question. If no names are written in a document dot *type e* would not be represented in that text. The same can be said about *type d* which is used to introduce direct speech. If no part of the document in question mentions a quote this dot would not be included in said text. Lastly, some texts that are written in a plural form because one party consists of several people will not use dot *type g* for the suffix  $=i/=t$  as all the suffixes would be represented by the plural  $=w$  or  $=n$  which are never reduced to a dot. The dynamic between the arsenal of dots that were available to a particular scribe and what kind of text type he was writing should thus not be underestimated as the two had a large impact on which kind, and how many, dots could be used per text. Thus, trying to compare these texts to one another is more complicated than can be represented by a table such as the one below. For future research on the topic of dots and strokes, it is the opinion of the author that we should first have a better understanding of this system before it is possible to compare documents from different scribes with each other. That being said, there is one way in which we can still use our data; not by comparing the texts from different scribes to one another, but by looking at the text as an individual entity or by comparing texts written by the same scribe with one another. The fact that we can prove that one scribe uses the same types of dots across several texts is presented in the case study of *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t* below and has provided acceptable results.

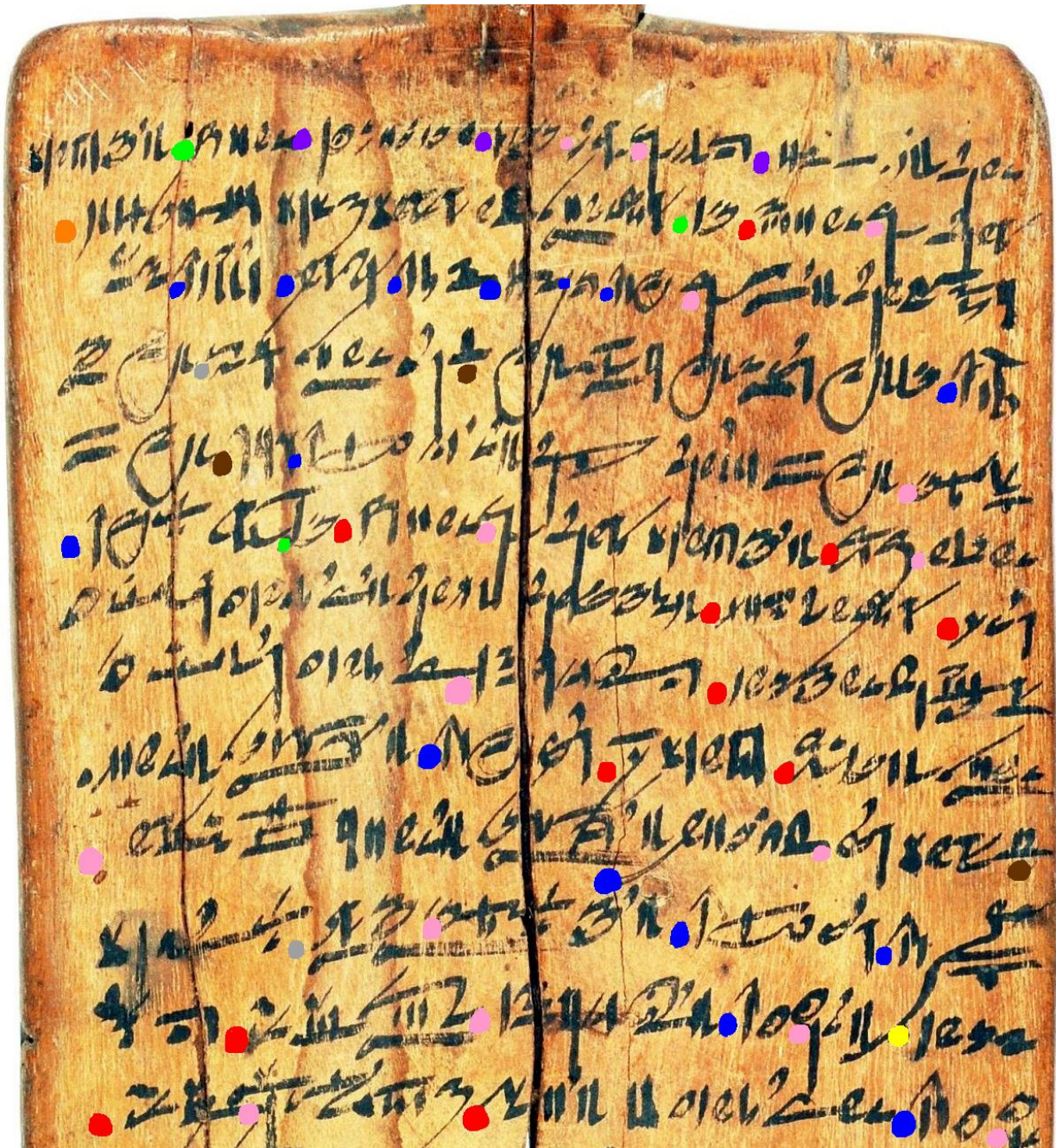
	Category I – interpunction						Category II – dots with hieratic/hieroglyphic value					
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
1	Red	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green	
2	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	
3	Red	Green	Green	Green	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Green	Red	
4	Red	Green	Green	Green	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Green	Red	
5	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green	Red	Green	Red	Red	Green	Green	
6	Red	Green	Green	Red	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green	
7	Red	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	
8	Green	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Green	Green	
9	Red	Green	Green	Red	Green	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green	
10	Red	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Red	
11	Red	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Red	
12	Red	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	
13	Red	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Green	Red	
14	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	
15	Red	Green	Red	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Red	Green	
16	Red	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	
17	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green	
18	Green	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green	
19	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	

Table 1. Type of dots present in the 19 texts from the *AHRB*



The use of dots in Tablet Leiden AH 155 recto (case study: doc. 19)

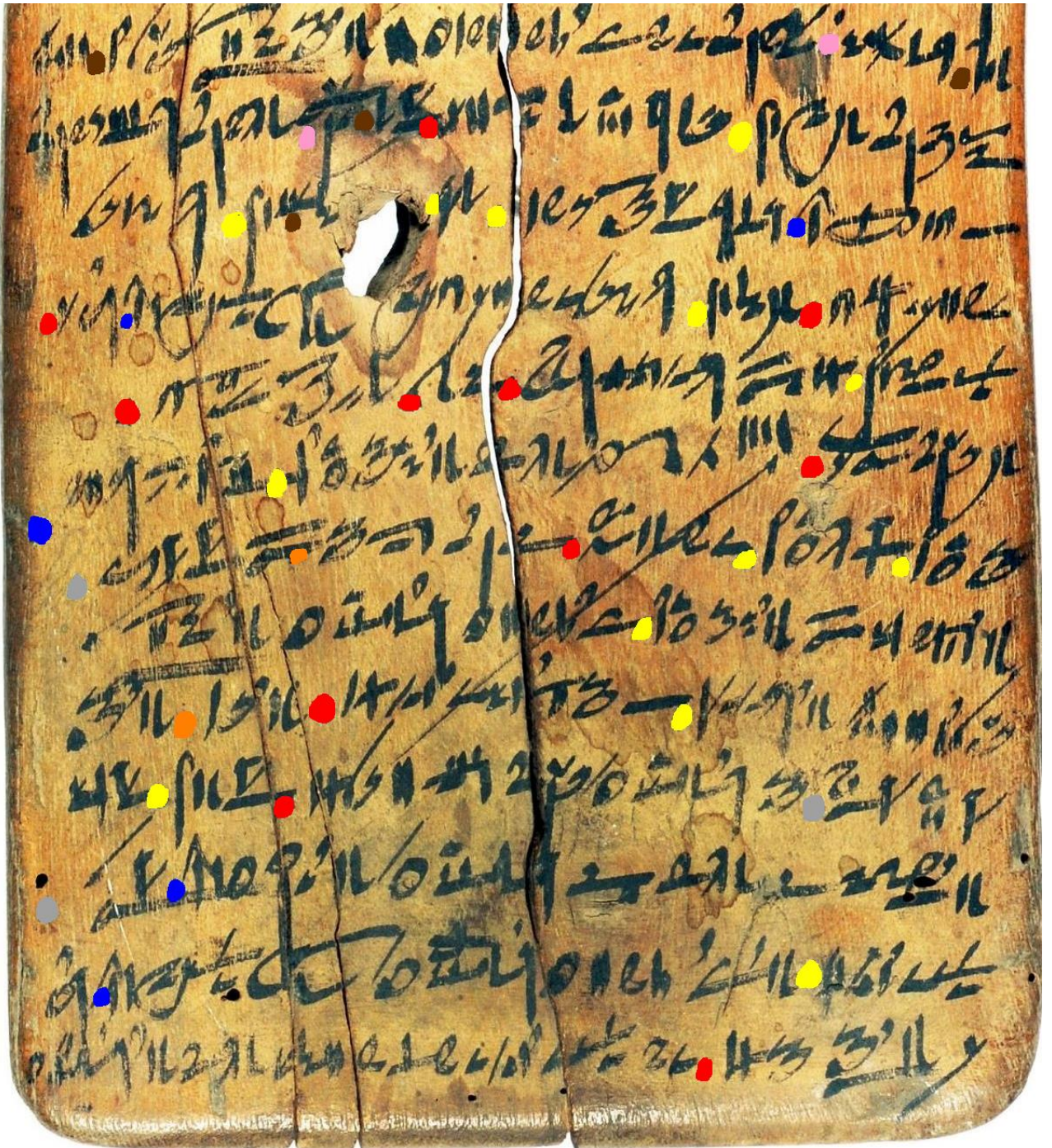
Now that we are familiar with the different types of dots that one can encounter in a text it is time to look at one text to see how the dynamic between dot types behave in one document. The fact that different types of dots can be used in one single text is best illustrated by looking at the recto of doc. 19.<sup>115</sup> In the image below from the *AHRB* the various functions of dots have been highlighted by adding coloured circles on top of the dots where they occur on the original tablet. Each colour corresponds to a certain type of dot.<sup>116</sup> Note that dot *type a* is not present in this document as is shown in the table above.



<sup>115</sup> For the complete transcription of this text into hieroglyphs see appendix XIX.

<sup>116</sup> The colour corresponding to each function of the dot can be found in the analysis below.





- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  Type b |  Type f |  Type k |
|  Type c |  Type g |  |
|  Type d |  Type h |  |
|  Type e |  Type j |  |

*Type b. Dot after divine beings* (highlighted in dark blue).<sup>117</sup> This type of dot occurs 19 times on the recto of this text. The most striking application of this dot is seen on l. 3 where each god is followed by a dot. As was mentioned above, perhaps the function of this dot is to separate the nouns from one another when they are written in succession. This is a common feature of the structure points found in literary texts.

*Type c. Dot to mark the end of a grammatical unit* (highlighted in red). The function and frequency in which this dot occurs are one of the more interesting ones from this text. A total of 22 dots of this type were used, namely 8 times at the end of a main clause,<sup>118</sup> 10 times before a subordinate clause,<sup>119</sup> and 4 times in front of *nty* to mark the beginning of a relative clause.<sup>120</sup> The numerous occurrences of this type of dot in doc. 19 suggests that we should reconsider the prevalent argumentation that interpunction was not used in ancient Egyptian administrative texts. The fact that this dot shows up a total of 22 times on the recto of this text at the exact spot where we would put a comma or full stop in our translations seems reason enough to investigate this matter further in other documentary texts from the Third Intermediate Period.

Below follows an example from l. 8-9 where dot *type c* occurs three times. We will use the translation by Černý and mark this dot type with “●” in the translation. The first dot in our example is used to introduce the relative sentence starting with *nty*, while the second and third dots are used to mark the end of their respective sentences, comparable to Černý using the interpunction “?” and “!” to divide these sentences.



Is it silence which makes a man ● who administers the town of Elephantine in your stead●? Send to him●!<sup>121</sup>

*Type d. Dot to introduce direct speech* (highlighted in green).<sup>122</sup> These dots appear behind verbs of speech and are used to signal the following content as direct speech in the same way a modern editor would use a colon sign. Dot *type d* only occurs 3 times in this text, however, this type is also present in five other papyri in the *AHRB*.<sup>123</sup> In doc. 19 it occurs on l. 1-2 and l. 6 at the exact spot where direct speech is introduced. We will, again, illustrate the use of this dot using the translation provided by Černý from l. 1-2. A “●” has been inserted in the transcription and translation of these passages relating to the type of dot we are currently dealing with.

<sup>117</sup> The fact that Tacke’s type F.2.2 “Apposition” and type F.3 “Anreden” examples in §37-38 have a dot occurring after the names of divinities might indicate that this dot type was already in use during the New Kingdom. Unfortunately, Tacke does not comment on the function of the dots behind these divinities, only about the apposition in which they are used.

<sup>118</sup> This use corresponds to Tacke’s type A “Haupsätze”, Tacke, *Verspunkte als Gliederungsmittel*, pp. 148-152.

<sup>119</sup> This use corresponds to Tacke’s type B.2 “Umstandssätze”, Tacke, *Verspunkte als Gliederungsmittel*, pp. 153-155.

<sup>120</sup> This use corresponds to Tacke’s type B.3 “Relativesätze”, Tacke, *Verspunkte als Gliederungsmittel*, pp. 155-158. In the New Kingdom literary texts presented by Tacke, the dot to mark the relative clause can appear in front of *nty*, just as in our examples, but it can also be used at the end of the relative clause which is something that does not happen in abnormal hieratic.

<sup>121</sup> ČERNÝ, in: GLANVILLE (ed.), *Studies Griffith*, p. 48.

<sup>122</sup> This dot type corresponds to Tacke’s type E “Satzesinschübe: Direkte Rede”, Tacke, *Verspunkte als Gliederungsmittel*, p. 163.

<sup>123</sup> See the table on p. 33 above.





The memorandum of *iw=f-hnsw* which is destined for the divine father *rrw*, son of *hr-hby.t*, my lord●: I send forth (my) voice before our [lord] saying●: May your condition be satisfactory.<sup>124</sup>

*Type e. After names* (highlighted in purple). The only line which uses this type of dot is the first line, no other names are mentioned on the recto of the tablet. As has been explained at the beginning of this chapter, the function of this dot is to separate names from one another.

*Type f. Dot after the vertical plural strokes* (highlighted in yellow). The scribe of doc. **19** has a tendency to put a dot after the vertical plural strokes (Gardiner Z3). The function of this dot is, just like dot *type b* not clear to the present author. Perhaps, just as with dot *type b* the placement of this dot behind long vertical signs might have something to do with group writing, but this argument can, not be sufficiently substantiated. However, it is clear that we should see this dot as a separate type as it also occurs in other abnormal hieratic papyri outside of the *AHRB* and is known from earlier Third Intermediate texts such as P. Berlin 3048 verso. Interestingly enough, it is also present in demotic Papyrus Rylands 9.<sup>125</sup>

*Type g. Dot for the first person suffix pronomen =i/=t* (highlighted in orange). This dot type occurs 3 times in this tablet. It can be used instead of the seated person or seated woman sign as their respective suffix pronomen. In l. 2 and l. 22 it is used as the suffix pronomen behind *iw* for *iw=i* and *i.r* for *i.r=i* respectively.

*Type h. Dot for a preposition.* (highlighted in grey). L. 11 has a dot between *iw=k* and *di.t* which we should be interpreted as an *r*. Reading a preposition here fits in the context of the sentence: “You shall send men to Thebes”. The dot for *r* is also used in l. 24 behind *iw=k* at the end of the line. Here it also fits in the context as a preposition introducing the future tense with *r* “You will draw their attention”.

*Type j. Dot for a generic determinative* (highlighted in pink). This type of dot is mostly used for the book roll in this text. It occurs in *m-b3h* (l. 1 seq.), *nfr* (l. 5, 11), *wd3* (l. 6), *smn* (l. 8, 12), *nh* (l. 10), and *w<sup>c</sup>* (l. 13, 15). In two cases it is also used for the city sign in the word *niw.t* (l. 12-13).

*Type k. Dot for a generic one- or two consonantal sign* (highlighted in brown). In this document a dot is used for the aleph in *k3(y)* (l. 4, l. 10) and *hrw* (l. 14); for the *t* following *c.w.s* (l. 5); for the *w* in *iw*, (l. 15) and *bn pw* (l. 16).

*Dots with uncertain meaning* (unmarked). There are three dots of which I am not certain what their function might be. One is written at the end of l. 9, the other is located at the beginning of l. 17. Both times they are written after *p3y=f*. The last dot with uncertain meaning is found at the beginning of l. 18 after *sw*.

### Dots as personal scribal traits








At the end of section “overview of dot types” it was commented that we are able to observe the consistent use of dots within one text or in several texts written by the same scribe. However, when

<sup>124</sup> ČERNÝ, in: GLANVILLE (ed.), *Studies Griffith*, p. 48

<sup>125</sup> See the end of this chapter.

comparing texts from different scribes against each other there are too many factors to consider that make our data unusable. It has been argued that this step should be taken after we have collected more data from other texts and become more familiar with the overall system of dots. Instead, what does fall within the scope of our possibilities in this thesis is to look at one particular scribe that has written several texts. While we have mostly considered the overarching functions of the different dot types in the sections above, the following dots have been written with an added personal trait of one individual. He preferred to write some of his dots, not behind a sign as is usually the case, but below them.

In the *AHRB* there are several individual scribes that can be identified.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, there is one scribe who wrote three documents and it is this scribe that we will choose as our primary example to analyse. This individual is the scribe *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t* son of *p3-di-imm-ḥp*, who also held the title overseer of the necropolis. He is part of a well-known family of scribes that have been extensively studied.<sup>127</sup> He wrote docs. **8**, **9**, and (presumably) **15** in 552, 559, and 568 BCE. We will use the characteristic way in which this scribe writes dots and strokes to further reinforce the idea that *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t* was the author of doc. **15**.<sup>128</sup> As is illustrated in the tables below, the dot usage in doc. **15** agrees with specific dots included in docs. **8** and **9**. For example, in all three of the mentioned texts a dot is written underneath *ibd* II as a spacefiller. As this characteristic is only seen in these three texts, and not in any other abnormal hieratic document, this is one argument to ascribe doc. **15** to *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t*. Even his son *ns-ḥr-p3-ḥrd*, who presumably was trained as a scribe by his father, did not write a dot under the sign for *ibd* II in P. Louvre 7839, l. 1.

<i>ibd</i> II written by <i>p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t</i>	<i>ibd</i> II written by the other scribes of the <i>AHRB</i>
 8, 1	 13, 1
 9, 5	 1, 1
 15, 1	 3, 1
	 7, 1

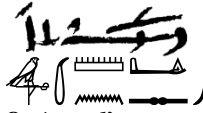



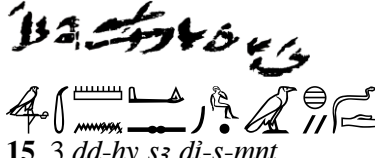

However, one case is not enough to claim that doc. **15** was indeed written by *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t*. In the next example we will notice how *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t* strongly deviates from the general abnormal hieratic scribal tradition by writing the sign for *s3* as a large stroke in docs. **8** and **9** even though the accepted

<sup>126</sup> Docs. **1**, **3**, **4**, **6**, **7**, **8**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **14**, **16**, and **17** all include the name of the scribe who wrote the document. The remaining documents are anonymous, or the line where the name of the scribe would have been written is damaged.

















<sup>127</sup> See PESTMAN, *Tsenhor* I, pp. 158-160; and more recently, DONKER VAN HEEL, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts*, pp. 51-55; DONKER VAN HEEL, *EVO* 17, pp. 115-124.

<sup>128</sup> The text has already been assigned to *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t* by Donker van Heel who used palaeographical similarities to adequately argue his case, for which see DONKER VAN HEEL, *EVO* 17, pp. 115-124, especially p.124. However, we will show that the personal traits integrated into a scribe's dots and strokes usage can be adopted alongside palaeographical research to further reinforce such a claim.

way of writing *s3* in abnormal hieratic is by using the multifunctional sign.<sup>129</sup> Interestingly enough this large stroke for *s3* is also present in doc. 15.

<i>s3</i> written by <i>p3-di-hr-rsn.t</i> 𓂏	<i>s3</i> written by the other scribes of the <i>AHRB</i>
 8, 4 <i>s3 di-s-mnt</i>	 3, 3
 doc. 9, 3 <i>dd-hr s3 imn-i.ir-di-s</i>	 13, 2
 15, 3 <i>dd-hy s3 di-s-mnt</i>	 16, 2

Lastly, another personal trait of *p3-di-hr-rsn.t* is the dot he writes underneath the seated child sign 𓂏 (Gardiner A17).

Gardiner A17 by <i>p3-di-hr-rsn.t</i>	Gardiner A17 by <i>p3-di-imn-ip</i>	Gardiner A17 in the rest of the <i>AHRB</i>
 8, 3	 8, 11	 1, 1
 8, 9	 6, 5	 3, 4
 9, 1	 P. Louvre E 7845 B, 11	 6, 1
 9, 4	 2, 3	 12, 4
 9, 8		 17, 2
 15, 3		 18, 11

Writing a dot underneath this determinative might actually have been a family trait as none of the other scribes in the rest of the *AHRB*, or outside of it, include a dot in this peculiar way. The only exception to this is his son *p3-di-imn-ip*, who actually writes an even more elaborate stroke underneath the seated child instead of a small dot as his father did. The way the seated child is written in doc. 15 agrees more with the writing by *p3-di-hr-rsn.t* than his son.

<sup>129</sup> Another possibility is to write *s3* in an uncial way. However, writing *s3* as just a large stroke is something that is, up until now, only found in the texts written by *p3-di-hr-rsn.t*.

In short, based on the previous palaeographical study of Donker van Heel on the identity of the scribe of doc. 15,<sup>130</sup> as well as the information on the dots that we gathered above from docs. 8, 9, and 15 points to the fact that doc. 15 should be ascribed to *p3-di-hr-rsn.t*.

### Dots in the Saite Oracle Papyrus:

The Saite Oracle Papyrus (P. Brooklyn 47.218.3) is an exceptional source that allows us to compare the use of dots between many scribes in one document without dealing with the problems that were posed in the section “overview of dot types” above.<sup>131</sup> This is because all witnesses to this text are writing mostly the same sentences word by word as part of their subscription to the oracle question proposed by Pemou son of Harsiese. This means there is only a slight variation in content and the differences in dot usages are purely based on the scribe himself. The papyrus is dated to year 14 of the reign of Psamtek I and now housed in the Brooklyn Museum. Analysing this text gives us the unique opportunity to compare many different scribal practices from “normal” hieratic-, hybrid-,<sup>132</sup> and abnormal hieratic scribes. In this document, all of these different hieratic scripts were in contact with each other which provide us with several interesting aspects to analyse. In the Saite oracle papyrus, there are 50 witnesses in total of which, 17 wrote in “normal” hieratic, 27 in abnormal hieratic, and 6 in a mix of both scripts.<sup>133</sup> The most striking aspect that came forward when analysing the different subscriptions in this text is the high quantity of dots used by the abnormal witness scribes and the low quantity of dots used by the normal hieratic witnesses. When comparing all of the subscriptions, abnormal hieratic scribes use, on average, two or up to four times the amount of dots than their normal hieratic scribal counterparts. As an example, there are ten abnormal hieratic scribes that use 15 or more dots in their subscriptions. In contrast, there is only one normal hieratic scribe that use 7 dots, while the rest of the normal hieratic subscriptions contain fewer dots or none at all.

Another interesting observation that can be extrapolated from this papyrus is the role of hybrid scribes. While their handwriting is definitely closer to normal hieratic than that of the pure abnormal hieratic scribes, the amount of dots that they use, in turn, is significantly higher than the normal hieratic scribes. Based on the average calculated at the end of the table below they are close to the abnormal hieratic scribes in the frequency of dots that they use.

	Abnormal hieratic scribe	Normal hieratic scribe	Hybrid scribe
Col. A		7 dots (1)	
		0 dots (2)	
Col. B		5 dots (3)	1 dot (4)
Col. C	6 dots (5) <sup>134</sup>	2 dots (6)	
	10 dots (7)		
	2 dots (8)		
Col. D	4 dots (9)		
	17 dots (10)		

<sup>130</sup> DONKER VAN HEEL, *EVO* 17, pp. 115-124, especially p.124.

<sup>131</sup> The edition of this text is PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*.

<sup>132</sup> The so called “hybrid” scribes used signs and scribal conventions from both normal hieratic and abnormal hieratic scripts. PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*, p. 14, note 1; ARCHIDONA RAMÍREZ, in: DONKER VAN HEEL, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste*; HELCK, in: THISSEN– ZAUZICH (eds), *Studies Lüddeckens*, pp. 71-74.

<sup>133</sup> PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*, p. 14.

<sup>134</sup> It has to be noted here that several of the subscriptions in this papyrus are very damaged and have influenced the amount of dots that are left on the papyrus. The subscriptions in question are noted here according to their witness number in PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*. Witness 5, 8, 9, 13, 20, 28, 32, 38, and 43 are damaged and the dot count of those scribes in the table above should thus not be taken at face value.



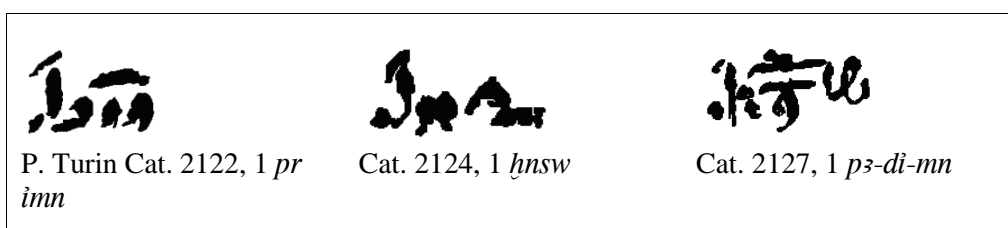
Table 2. The amount of dots used per scribe separated by script.<sup>138</sup>

What kind of conclusions we can extrapolate from the difference in dot usage between abnormal hieratic, normal hieratic and hybrid scribes presented in the table above is difficult to argue. What seems clear is that most of the abnormal hieratic scribes wrote their witness subscriptions by using an abundance of dots while the normal hieratic scribes in this document only used a handful or none at all. The hybrid scribes either use many dots or few dots depending on how much their handwriting leaned towards abnormal hieratic or normal hieratic.

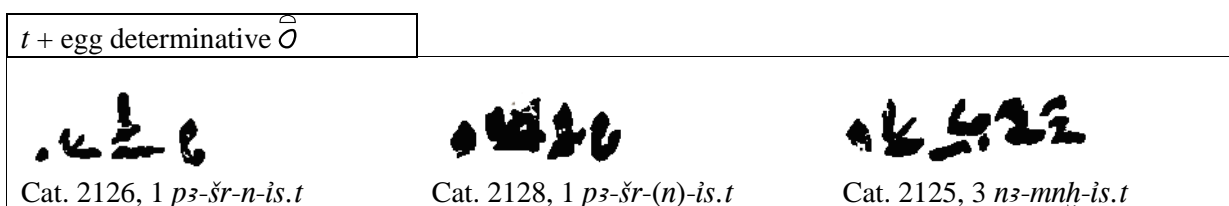
If we look at the average dots per script this agrees with what is set out above. We can clearly see the large difference in the quantity of dots an abnormal hieratic scribe uses versus that of a normal scribe, while hybrid scribes are somewhere in between. In short, by comparing the averages to each other we can note that abnormal hieratic scribes in the Saite Oracle Papyrus use around four times as many dots as their normal hieratic scribal colleagues and 1.3 times the amount of dots that a hybrid scribe uses.



### What happens with dots after abnormal hieratic?

While dots are noticeably less present in the early demotic material, they can still be found in certain documents. The early demotic Tsenhor archive still uses dots in places where we already encountered them in abnormal hieratic.<sup>139</sup> In the following examples a dot is placed behind the divine determinative just as our dot *type b*.










Certain determinatives in the Tsenhor archive can be reduced to a dot, such as our *type j* dot.




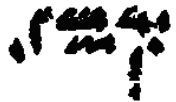
The dots for the *t* + egg determinative resemble uncannily the same dots as in our abnormal hieratic doc. 5, 3 after *is.t*  and 6, 3 after *is.t* . These two documents are one of the later dated ones from the *AHRB* and were already influenced by certain aspects of demotic writing.

<sup>138</sup> The number in bold between brackets indicates the witness number in PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*.



<sup>139</sup> For the edition of this text see PESTMAN, *Tsenhor*.

sun determinative ☉		
 Cat. 2126, 1 <i>pr.t</i>	 Cat. 2128, 4 <i>wsir</i>	 Cat. 2122, 5 <i>p3-di-wsir</i>
city determinative ☐		
 Cat. 2126, 2 <i>sh.t</i>	 Cat. 2123, 3 <i>imnt</i>	 Cat. 2125, 3 <i>šc</i>
jar determinative ☉		
 Cat. 2128, 1, 2 <i>mhn</i>		

Lastly, the documents in the Tsenhor archive use the dot behind the plural strokes, equivalent to our *type f* dot as seen in doc. 19 above.

 Cat. 2127, 3 <i>hrd.w</i>	 Cat. 2128, 1 <i>h3s.wt</i>
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From about the same period of time (513 BCE) is Papyrus Rylands 9, this papyrus is written in a mix of hieratic and demotic. Dots are prevalent throughout the text, but they occur most often at the end of words. Vittmann, who edited the text most recently,<sup>140</sup> has not commented on these dots. He renders dots in his transcription and mentions the term “Schlußpunkt” for the dots present in this papyrus, but without explaining what this term would exactly mean.<sup>141</sup> There are two types of dots present in P. Rylands 9 which are also included in our abnormal hieratic material. The first one reminds much of dot *type f* present in doc. 19 behind the vertical plural strokes. For example, both times after *iw=w* in col. II.

 P. Rylands 9, col. II, 11
 P. Rylands 9, col. II, 15

The second type of dot that is used in Papyrus Rylands 9 is for the first person suffix pronomen =*i*, which is equivalent to our dot *type g* in abnormal hieratic. The reduction of the suffix pronomen =*i* to a dot in Papyrus Rylands 9 was already noticed by Vleeming.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>140</sup> VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*.

<sup>141</sup> VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, p. XVI.

<sup>142</sup> VLEEMING, *Gooseherds*, pp. 253-254.

## Chapter IV: Abnormal Hieratic strokes and ticks

While the main focus of this thesis was on dots occurring in abnormal hieratic texts that either have punctuational or hieroglyphic value, other ticks and strokes will shortly be discussed for the sake of completeness. As was commented above,<sup>143</sup> these strokes and ticks have varying sizes and different functions, three major categories can be distinguished.

### Category I, Diacritical strokes

The first category that strokes and ticks can be used for is to differentiate one similar looking sign from another. This is achieved by using a distinctive press of the brush, often included in the top left corner of the sign in question. This tick is known throughout the history of hieratic and is called the diacritical stroke. While older hieratic iterations had a large collection of hieratic signs that a scribe could use when writing their texts, by the time that abnormal hieratic was fully developed the variety of signs that were in use was severely reduced. In abnormal hieratic writing, the same sign could be used to represent a large range of different hieroglyphic values, even more so than was already the case in normal hieratic.<sup>144</sup> It is thus interesting to note that scribes writing in abnormal hieratic still used diacritical ticks on top of its rather small selection of signs. Moreover, an abnormal hieratic sign with a diacritical strokes on top can still be used for more than a handful of different words and hieroglyphic signs, as is illustrated by the first 6 examples in the table below, which seems rather counterintuitive and suboptimal if the goal of a diacritical stroke is to differentiate similar looking signs from one another. It has been argued before by e.g. Donker van Heel that abnormal hieratic fell out of use because it was simply not intuitive and adaptable enough to be used as a script in comparison to the well developed and flexible nature of the demotic script. One of the major advances demotic made over abnormal hieratic is the fact that it used many more similar looking signs that could each stand for several different hieroglyphic values, instead of the abnormal hieratic way where only a hand full of signs each can be used for many different values. An example is the abnormal hieratic multifunctional sign which can be used for an almost endless list of hieroglyphic values.<sup>145</sup> Perhaps the peculiar use of diacritical strokes that do no longer serve their original purpose might be another argument that we can add to the case put forth by Donker van Heel as to why abnormal hieratic died out. Comparatively, the examples below show the many different abnormal hieratic signs in which this diacritical stroke can occur in the *AHRB*. Note that only one example per word is given.

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<sup>143</sup> See pp. 10-12 above.

<sup>144</sup> Somewhat more leaning towards how demotic is designed, one demotic sign can be used for many different signs of hieroglyphic value. Although abnormal hieratic script never reached the systematic uniformity of demotic, there are a few abnormal hieratic signs that can be used for an abundance of different hieroglyphic values such as the multifunctional sign and the multifunctional determinative.

<sup>145</sup> See DONKER VAN HEEL, *A Very Easy Crash Course in Abnormal Hieratic*, pp. 12-14. Note that this list does not aim to be exhaustive.





1, 1 *nh*



19 recto, 8 *b*



2, 9 *zh*



3, 3 *wr*



5, 14 *dm*



8, 3 *htp*



3, 4 *s*



10, 5 *hn*



17, 9 Gardiner D3



18, 5 *wb*



1, 5 *nb*



16, 2 *mnh*



1, 6 *hm*



3, 2 *tz*



3, 16 *ms*



5, 14 *hr*



8, 9 *sp*



10, 4 *hr*



1, 5 *iw*



17, 9 *bnr*



1, 4 Gardiner B3



1, 5 *tp*



2, 1 Gardiner A2



7, 11 *hd*



3, 2 Gardiner F27



5, 1 *d3d3*



7, 1 *pr-c3*



9, 3 *wc*



10, 4 *sp*





16, 5 *wnw*







18, 3 *hnm*









19 verso, 18 *hsy*

In some cases, the diacritical stroke on top of a sign does make sense when comparing signs that have this stroke with signs of the same shape that do not have a stroke on top. For example, differentiating the sign for *wr*  from the complements of *md.t* . However, in other cases such as the writing of

*mnh* , *ᵇ* , and *ᶜnh*  the presence of the tick on top seems unnecessary as all three writings still look the same. Furthermore, the practicality of other diacritical strokes is even more difficult to

understand, such as the tick above *pr-ᶜ3*  as there are no other abnormal hieratic signs (with or without stroke on top) that could be confused with said sign. Hence, we might need to question our understanding of this stroke, because why did scribes add this tick on top of these sign if they are not functional anymore? It is not clear to the present author if these marks are a remnant of their earlier hieratic forms that already included a diacritical stroke, or if they simply have a different function that we are currently not aware of.

### Category II space fillers

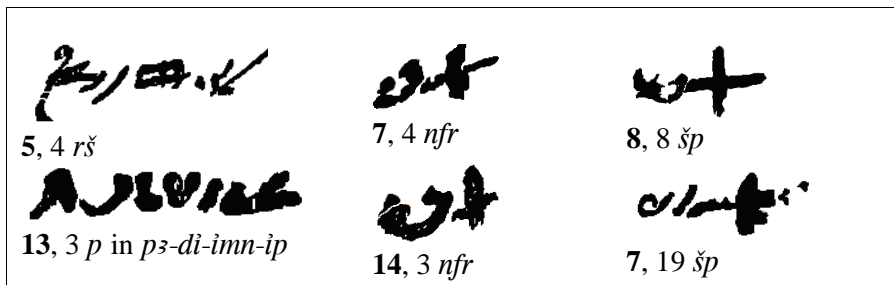
The second category of strokes and ticks is that of space fillers. These are usually rendered on top of a low and broad abnormal hieratic sign such as *d* , or on top of smaller signs written on the baseline such as the sun sign *sw* . In some cases, it is not entirely clear if we are dealing with a space filler or with a diacritical stroke as they can be graphically indistinguishable.<sup>146</sup> A clear example of this problem is the sign *nb*. It can be written as  without any distinctive markings. It can be written as  with a dot under the *nb* to indicate the female variant *nb.t*. Lastly, *nb* can have a tick on top and underneath it  such as in doc. 17, 9. In the first and last instance, it is not clear if the dot was put on top of *nb* as a space-filler because the *nb* sign is a low and broad sign, or if this is actually a diacritical stroke to differentiate it from e.g. *imn* that can also be written in a similar fashion .

### Category III Abbreviations for hieroglyphic signs

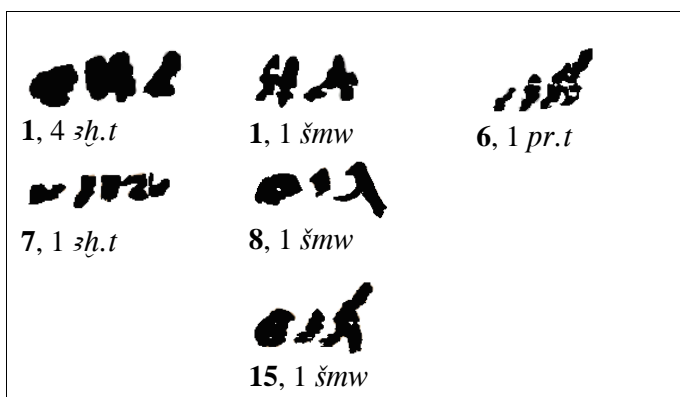
The last category of ticks and strokes we can discern is in their use as abbreviations for signs that normally have hieroglyphic value. This category functions the same as dot category II which was set out in the section “Types of dots in the documents of the abnormal hieratic reading book” above. The difference between the two categories is that ticks and strokes can appear in different places within a sign group whereas dots are usually used at the end of a sign group. The strokes and ticks can be an abbreviated writing of the hieroglyphs that they would represent such as *ᶜ.w.s* as we have seen in the example on page 12. Below are more examples in which dots and strokes can stand for abbreviated hieroglyphic signs.

Strokes and ticks are often found as abbreviations for complements. A stroke can be used for the *p* in *šp*, it can also be used for *p* as part of *ip* in the name *p3-di-imn-ip*, as well as generic complements in writings of *nfr* or *rš*.

<sup>146</sup> Although this might be because of our current ideas on diacritical strokes in abnormal hieratic as has been argued above. Still, shape and position wise some of the filler strokes are situated in the exact same spot where a scribe could also make use of a diacritical stroke.

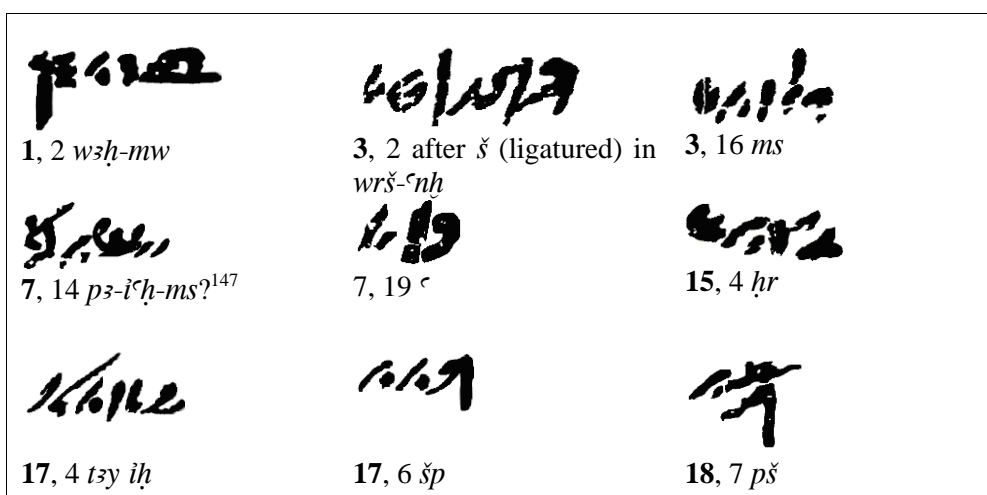


The *ʃ* tick can also be used in seasons as an abbreviation of the complements following the first sign.



An exceptional case is the dash can be used for *sʒ* as in doc. 8, 4 and in doc. 9, 4. . However, this dash is, as was mentioned before, attested exclusively in the documents written by the scribe *p3-di-ḥr-rsn.t*.

Finally, the tick and oblique stroke can be used as a writing for the book roll and an oblique tick.



In short, these examples have shown that alongside the system of dots that have been investigated throughout this thesis another system of ticks and strokes was used simultaneously, but with different function and meaning than the dots. These strokes and ticks have for now been divided into three

<sup>147</sup> The reading of the sign after *p3* is not certain.

categories, but another thesis in itself could be written on this subject as what we have set out here is only scratching the surface of a small part of abnormal hieratic scribal practices.

## Conclusion

In short, dots found in administrative texts are known from the Old Kingdom onwards. We have seen that this system of dots evolves throughout the history of ancient Egypt. Somewhere during the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period there is a noticeable increase in the use of dots by scribes of administrative texts. Not only the amount of dots rises but the different functions that the dots can be used for become more diverse as well. During the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> dynasties this system is fully developed and is present in all of the abnormal hieratic texts that have been covered in this thesis. Strikingly, the system of dots found in administrative documents from the late New Kingdom onwards has not been noticed before in the literature. Even though many of the functions of the dots in the administrative abnormal hieratic texts are similar to those found in late hieratic literary texts. The functions of abnormal hieratic dots that we have been able to identify amount to eleven different types of dots, although these were not all simultaneously used in every document. However, there is one text, doc. **19**, which uses ten of them. The different types of abnormal hieratic dots that we have been able to classify are as follows: as a checkmark, behind deities, to mark grammatical elements, to introduce direct speech, to separate names, behind the vertical plural strokes, as the first person suffix, as a preposition, to change a male into a female word, as a determinative, and finally as a consonantal sign. With that we have answered the question posed at the start of this thesis. That being said, it is still too early in our research on the subject of dots for us to be able to compare documents from different scribes to one another, as there are too many variables to account for. What we were able to accomplish was prove the consistency of dot usage from one scribe by looking at three texts written by the same person. Furthermore, the system of abnormal hieratic dots did not disappear immediately as it is still partly noticeable in the early demotic material, even though only four of the eleven functions can be distinguished. Along with this system of dots abnormal hieratic also used a system of ticks and strokes of which we can identify three categories, namely diacritical strokes, space fillers, and strokes used as abbreviations of hieratic signs. While the research presented in this thesis is the first one to take a serious look at dots, ticks and strokes found in administrative papyri, it will probably not be the last. The next step that we need to undertake to better understand these systems is to look at other texts as we have only dealt with 19 papyri from the *AHRB*. Hopefully looking at more texts from the late New Kingdom up to and including the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty will help us understand the many questions that are still left unanswered.

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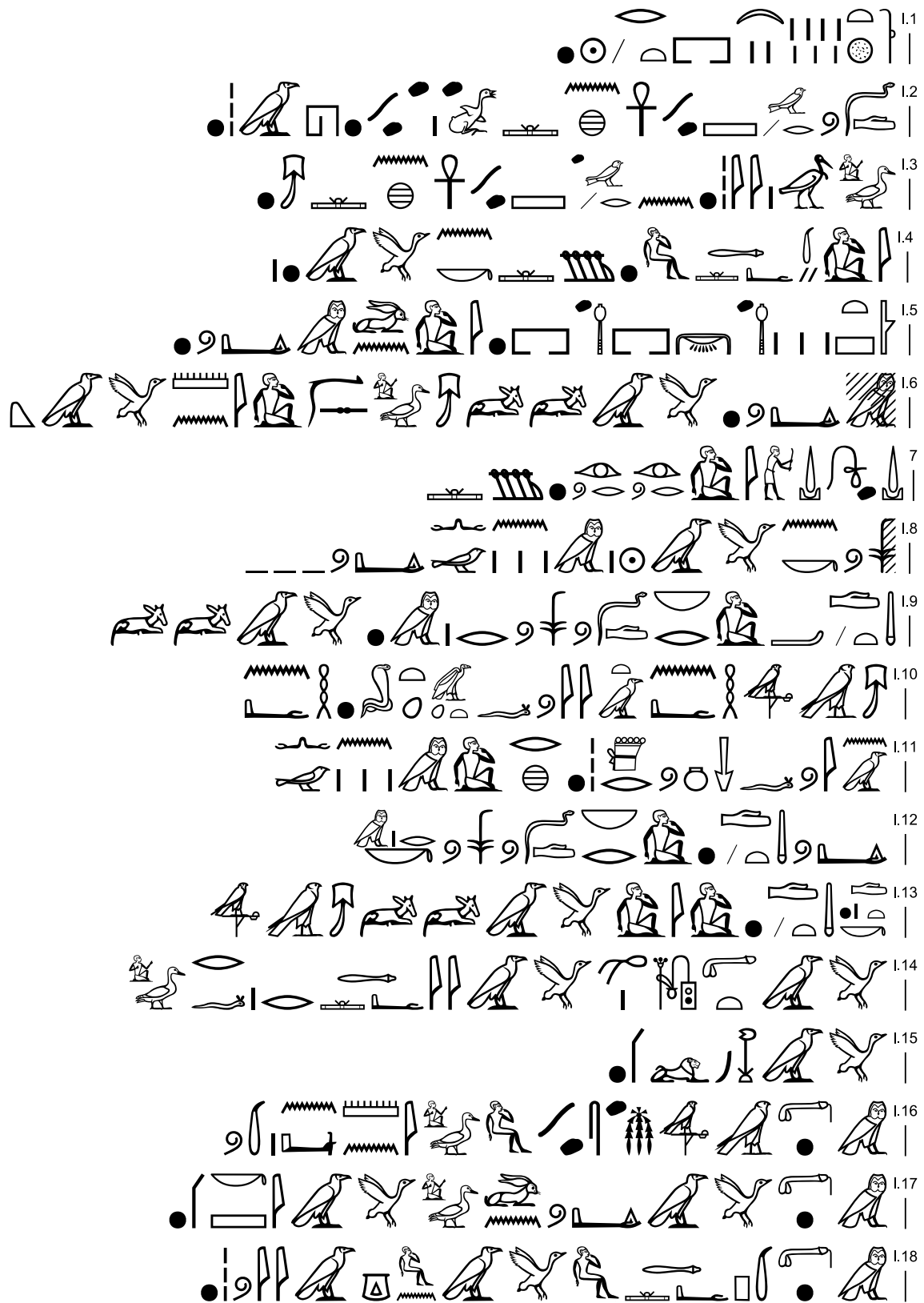
All the hieroglyphic transcriptions have been created with JSesh 7.3.1, which can be downloaded at <<http://jseshdoc.qenherhopeshef.org>> (accessed 11-05-2019)





Appendix III: Transcription of P. BM EA 10906 recto (doc. 3)

P. BM EA 10906 recto (doc. 3)



Appendix IV: Transcription of P. BM EA 10907 recto (doc. 4)

P. BM EA 10907 recto (doc. 4)

1.1  
1.2  
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1.5  
1.6  
7  
1.8  
1.9  
1.10  
1.11  
1.12  
1.13  
1.14  
1.15  
1.16

The image displays a grid of 16 rows of Egyptian hieroglyphs, each row labeled with a number from 1.1 to 1.16. The hieroglyphs are arranged in columns and include various symbols such as birds, people, and animals. The symbols are drawn in a simple, black-and-white style. The rows are numbered on the right side of the grid. The hieroglyphs are arranged in a grid-like pattern, with each row containing a sequence of symbols. The symbols are drawn in a simple, black-and-white style. The rows are numbered on the right side of the grid. The hieroglyphs are arranged in a grid-like pattern, with each row containing a sequence of symbols. The symbols are drawn in a simple, black-and-white style. The rows are numbered on the right side of the grid.



Appendix VI: Transcription of P. Cairo CG 30657 (doc. 6)

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 15





Appendix VIII: Transcription of P. Louvre E 7847 (doc. 8)






P. Louvre E 7847 (doc. 8)



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 1.4  
 1.5  
 1.6  
 1.7  
 1.8  
 1.9  
 1.10  
 1.11





Appendix X: Transcription of P. Louvre E 7851 recto (doc. 10)

P. Louvre E 7851 recto (doc. 10)


<sup>1</sup>  

<sup>2</sup>  

<sup>3</sup>  

<sup>4</sup>  

<sup>5</sup>  

<sup>6</sup>  

<sup>7</sup>  

<sup>8</sup>  

<sup>9</sup>  

<sup>10</sup>  

<sup>11</sup>  

<sup>12</sup>  

<sup>13</sup>

Appendix XI: Transcription of P. Louvre E 7851 verso (doc. 11)

P. Louvre E 7851 verso (doc. 11)

1  
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 8

Appendix XII: Transcription of P. Louvre E 7852 (doc. 12)

P. Louvre E 7852 (doc. 12)

<sup>1</sup> |  
<sup>2</sup> |  
<sup>3</sup> |  
<sup>4</sup> |  
<sup>5</sup> |  
<sup>6</sup> |  
<sup>7</sup> |  
<sup>8</sup> |  
<sup>9</sup> |  
<sup>10</sup> |

Appendix XIII: Transcription of P. Louvre E 7856 verso (doc. 13)

P. Louvre E 7856 verso (doc. 13)

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Appendix XIV: Transcription of P. Louvre E 7856 recto (doc. 14)

P. Louvre E 7856 recto (doc. 14)



Appendix XV: Transcription of P. Louvre E 7861 (doc. 15)

P.Louvre E 7861 (doc. 15)

1  
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 13

**Appendix XVI: Transcription of P. Turin Cat. 2118 (doc. 16)**

P. Turin Cat. 2118 (doc. 16)

1.1
1.2
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1.6
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1.8
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1.10
1.11
1.12
1.13
1.14
1.15
1.16

Appendix XVII: Transcription of P. Vienna D 12002 col. I (doc. 17)

P. Vienna D 12002 Col. 1 (doc. 17)

Appendix XVIII: Transcription of P. Vienna D 12003 col. I (doc. 18)

P. Vienna D 12003 Col. I (doc. 18)

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Appendix XX: Transcription of T. Leiden AH 155 verso (doc. 19)

T. Leiden AH 155 verso (doc. 19)

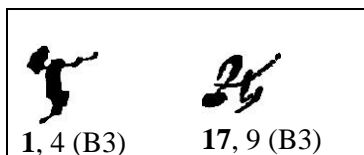
. . . . .<sup>L.1</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.2</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.3</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.4</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.5</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.6</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.7</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.8</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.9</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.10</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.11</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.12</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.13</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.14</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.15</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.16</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.17</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.18</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.19</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.20</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.21</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.22</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.23</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.24</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.25</sup>  
 . . . . .<sup>L.26</sup>

## Appendix XXI: Corrections to papyri in the Abnormal Hieratic Reading Book

This is a list of corrections on the readings provided by the editions mentioned in the *AHRB*. This list does not mention the changes already suggested by Donker van Heel in the notes of the *AHRB*. Only readings that are original to the present author are included here. When applicable Gardiner sign list numbers will be provided between brackets. Images are not scaled 1:1. Old readings are provided first, corrections follow after the arrow sign →.

### Doc. 1

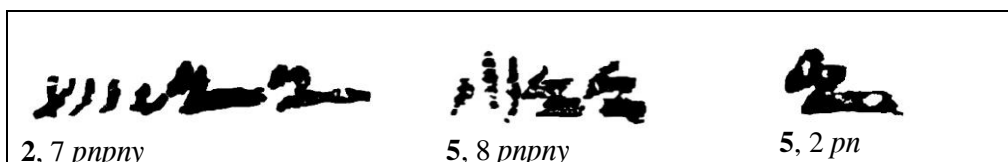
l. 4, *iw=w ... i.ir ms* → *iw=w ms i.ir ms*, the unread sign is the seated woman giving birth (Gardiner B3). For a parallel of this sign see doc. 17 9, albeit with a more elaborate diacritical stroke on the left side. Reading the seated woman as the value *ms* seems the only thing that makes sense. However, the present author is not familiar with any fixed legal or administrative expression involving *ms i.ir ms*.



l. 5, *rnp.t* “year” → *i hrw* “day”. The reading *rnp.t* does not fit palaeographically. A reading of *i* for the first two signs would suit better, leaving us with one round sign which is the sun (Gardiner N5).

### Doc. 2

l. 7, *ggz̄w* → *pnpny* the signs for the *g* are not conform the expected palaeography, they resemble the writing of the sign in doc. 5 2 where a reading *pn* is proposed. C.f. the same name *pnpny* in doc. 5 8.



l. 7, the divine determinative transcribed behind the seated child in the name *hr-pzy-hrd* is just an ideogram stroke.

### Doc. 3

l. 2, the untranscribed sign which is attached to the *š* is probably a ligature of the tick underneath the oblique stroke, for the book roll (Gardiner Y1), which happens more often in abnormal hieratic writings of *š*, *šp*, *hr*, *wz̄h*, and *ms*.

l. 3, the signs following the title *wrš nḥ* were transcribed as an ideogram stroke + oblique stroke in the original publication. However, this is the way the scribe of this document writes the animal tail determinative, for which see the table below. What was originally read as the animal tail in this title is actually the book roll following *nḥ*, for which see the second table below. In l. 2 the original





l. 2-3, *hr.w* → *i3(d)* “misfortune, misery”, WB 1, 35/16-17. *i3d* is more fitting with the signs on the papyrus.

l. 4, 11, *t3y=f* → *t3y.t=f*

l. 4, (*n*) *gns* → *n gns*. The right side of the *g* is actually the *n* which has just been attached to the following sign, c.f. the length of the *g* in l. 7.

l. 7, *w3h=f* → *hr.r=f*. While the note in the *AHRB*, p.34 gives *hr.r=f* as an improbable alternative to *w3h=f*, it is in fact the correct one.

l. 9, *ir.t-r=w* → *ptr s*

l. 10, *p3 dd* → *p3 ir*. C.f. the writing of *ir=f* further on the same line.

l. 11, the cloth *s* (Gardiner S29) transcribed in the word *hsy* is actually the *s3* group for *s* (Gardiner Aa18) followed by an ideogram stroke.

### Doc. 7

l. 3, ... → *hs-immn* The second name left unread at the beginning of l. 3 might well be *hs-immn* although this reading is given with some uncertainty. The four strokes represent the *hsy* group and the man with hand to mouth while the last tick is a common way of writing *imn*

l. 12, *m-b3h ... mnṯ* → *m-b3h sr ... mnṯ*

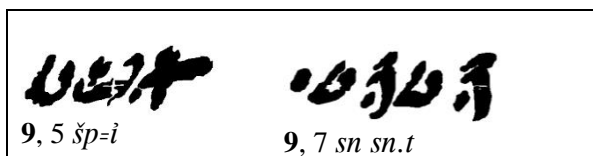
l. 14, ... → ...*t3 s3 p3-iḥ-ms? s3 ...t3*

l. 15, *i rḥ p3y=f-di.t-mn* → *i rḥ n p3y=f-di.t-mn*

### Doc. 9

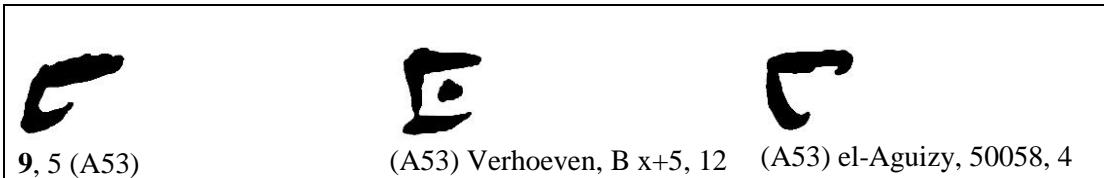
l. 2, the curly *w* after *di* in *p3-di-dhwty* and *p3-di-immn* are not on the papyrus.

l. 5-6, *šp(=i) ... ḥh-hr* → *šp=i ky(?) r-db3 sḏm ḥh hr*. This passage was left unread in the edition and is certainly problematic. The sign after the striking arm in *šp* should be the seated man (Gardiner A1) representing the suffix *=i*, c.f. this sign with the seated person determinatives in *sn sn.t* on l. 7 (also see the correction on l. 7 below).

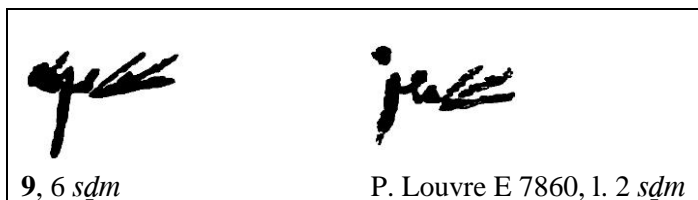


The remaining sign on l. 5 is the most problematic one. The only tentative reading I can suggest is that of the mummy sign (Gardiner A53) for which see the palaeography of Verhoeven (Gardiner A 53) B x+5, 12 and the demotic palaeography of el-Aguizy XLII 50058, 4.<sup>149</sup> However, the meaning of this sign in the sentence eludes me.

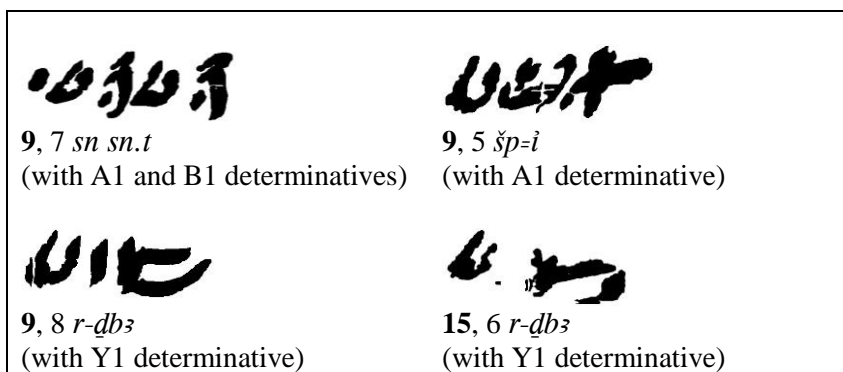
<sup>149</sup> VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen*, p.103; EL-AGUIZY, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic*, XLII.



Continuing on l. 6 we have some firm footing again. The sign group at the start of the sentence is an *r* followed by the *dbz* sign and a dot which should be interpreted as the bookroll determinative. In view of the tusk (Gardiner F18) and man with hand to mouth sign (Gardiner A2), which are the determinatives of our last unread sign, the only logical reading for the unread sign is *sdm* (Gardiner F21) c.f. a similar writing of this sign in the unpublished P. Louvre E 7860, l. 2.



l. 7, the *nw* group transcribed after *sn* and *sn.t* are not on the papyrus, the whole sign is the way this scribe writes the seated person determinative. The scribe also uses this abnormal hieratic sign to write the book roll determinative in *dbz* on l. 8 and in doc. 15 6 in the same word. C.f. all uses of this sign in the table below.



**Doc. 10**<sup>150</sup>

l. 6, *mḥ.t t3 3ḥ n ...* → *mḥ.t wp-st t3 3ḥ n b3st.t*

l. 7, *ir=f wd3.t ...* → *ir=f wd3.t r=w*

**Doc. 12**<sup>151</sup>

l. 4, *s3 dd-ḥr ...* → *s3 dd-ḥr p3y=f šr*

<sup>150</sup> The corrections to this document have already been made on the Abnormal Hieratic Global Portal for which see: <https://lab.library.universiteitleiden.nl/abnormalhieratic/papyri/p-louvre-e-7851-recto/> (accessed 18-12-2019)

<sup>151</sup> The corrections to this document have already been made on the Abnormal Hieratic Global Portal for which see: <https://lab.library.universiteitleiden.nl/abnormalhieratic/papyri/p-louvre-e-7852/> (accessed 18-12-2019)

l. 6, [bn iw=n rh] r-stz.t=w → [mn di(=n)] md nb r-iwd.t=w

l. 7, nb nty r hr p3 mtr sh → nb nty r hr iw<=f> p3 mtr sh

#### Doc. 14<sup>152</sup>

l. 3, p3-di-imm-ip ... → p3-di-imm-ip ptr sw i ...

#### Doc. 15

l. 4, the bookroll determinative after hr is clearly visible on the papyrus

l. 8, the nw group transcribed after sn and sn.t are not on the papyrus, see the correction of doc. 9 l. 7 above.

#### Doc. 16

l. 2, the chisel determinative (Gardiner U22) is still visible after the second occurrence of the name n3-mnh-p3-r<sup>c</sup>

l. 11, n p3y=k ... → n p3y=k ssw iy.t=i

#### Doc. 18

l. 5,7, Malinine read the tni sign (Gardiner V11) erroneously as the tit sign (Gardiner D14).

l. 8, nb.t → nb r

#### Doc. 19

Recto l. 4, snb=k im → snb=k n-im

Verso l. 11, Černý read sh(z) ksn. The first word ends with a tusk according to the edition, however, it is highly unlikely for a word in abnormal hieratic to end with just the tusk sign. The sign that Černý read as the tusk is actually the aleph. The following sign, which is damaged by the crack in the tablet, was interpreted by Černý as the koph, but this is the actual determinative of shz namely the book roll. The same word with this exact spelling occurs further below on l. 20.

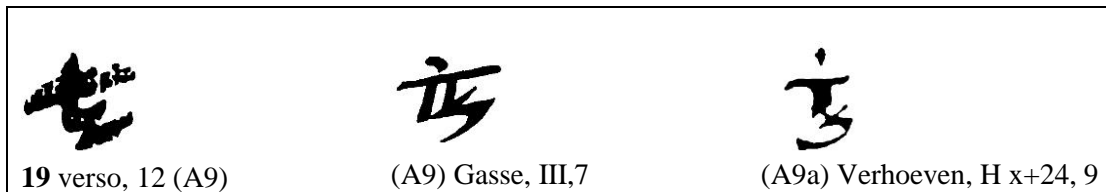


Following this word is the sign that Černý read as sn. This sign is homograph with the sign that we should actually read, namely šn (Gardiner V49). The word in question is thus not sni but šni “to be ill, to become troubled, to take offence, to suffer, to grieve” and so forth.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> The corrections to this document have already been made on the Abnormal Hieratic Global Portal for which see: <https://lab.library.universiteitleiden.nl/abnormalhieratic/papyri/p-louvre-e-7856-recto/> (accessed 18-12-2019)

<sup>153</sup> See LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II*, p. 127.

Verso l. 12, Černý left the signs after *i.îr=k* unread, Donker van Heel made the suggestion in the *AHRB* to cautiously interpret this group of signs as a weird spelling for *fzy* “carry” written with the *f* above two ticks, then an unexpected group which Donker van Heel suggested be read as the *ʕ* pillar above the book roll and the last sign in this group is a striking man. The reading *fzy* is the correct one according to the present author, however, the sign that Donker van Heel interpreted as the *ʕ* pillar above a book roll is better read as a writing of the *fzy* man (Gardiner A9). Unfortunately, there are no parallels for this sign in abnormal hieratic texts. However, the writings in the late period palaeographies of Verhoeven and Gasse come close to the one we have in our text.<sup>154</sup>



Verso l. 22, *ʕnh pzy=f hry* → *ʕnh=f hry*

<sup>154</sup> VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen*, p.96; GASSE, *Données nouvelles*, pl. XI, (70) III, 77.