

Brian P. MUHS & Foy D. SCALF

**New Kingdom Hieratic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago)**

in

Crossing Boundaries (ed.), *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World*, Vol. 1, Liège, Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2024 (= *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia*, 13.1), p. 337–351.

DOI 10.25518/978-2-87562-416-1.22

# New Kingdom Hieratic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago)

Brian P. MUHS & Foy D. SCALF  
Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

## ABSTRACT

This article provides an overview of the New Kingdom objects inscribed with hieratic texts from the collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. A brief provenance history introduces the identification of all known published inscriptions, including a short description of the contents and primary bibliography, followed by descriptions of publication projects and ongoing research. Seven ostraca are edited for the first time as examples of the many unpublished texts that remain to be studied.

## 1. HISTORY OF THE HIERATIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM

The Egyptian collection at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was acquired over the course of 1894–1970 through purchases by institutional staff, shares of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), as well as excavations at sites in Egypt and Nubia.

Many of the early acquisitions were obtained as distributions from the Egypt Exploration Fund to subscribers and reflect the diversity of the EEF's activities. The founder and first director of the Oriental Institute, James Henry Breasted, travelled to Egypt and began acquiring artifacts on behalf of the University of Chicago in 1894. Acquisitioning

efforts expanded systematically after 1919 with the founding of the Oriental Institute and associated funding from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his family's foundations. In Egypt, Breasted's purchasing efforts focused on representative examples from dealers in Cairo and Luxor.<sup>1</sup> As the collection grew, the material was displayed on the university's campus, first in Haskell Hall, and since 1930 in the Oriental Institute Museum (OIM).

The founding of the Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey at Thebes in 1924 placed the directors of the survey in frequent proximity to Luxor dealers and their sources.<sup>2</sup> The directors of the survey therefore frequently acted as agents for the director of the Oriental Institute. In addition, staff members of the Epigraphic Survey sometimes collected for themselves, and often they donated

---

1 Teeter (2010: 303–314; 2015: 4–11; 2018–2019: 63–73; 2019a: 62–65).

2 Johnson & McClain (2019: 191–195).

their collections to the Oriental Institute Museum. Not surprisingly, given the place and time, their collections included many ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

The Oriental Institute Museum also benefitted from the deaccessioning efforts of other American institutions. In particular, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Detroit Institute of Arts Museum donated collections of inscribed material to the Oriental Institute Museum.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, there has been close collaboration between Chicago institutions with collections of ancient Egyptian cultural heritage, as reflected in the many relationships between materials found in the OIM, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Field Museum.

A search of the collections database for material inscribed in the hieratic script returns 420 results. However, this data has never been comprehensively checked. There are certainly unidentified or misidentified hieratic texts so that this number should be considered provisional. Of these 420 objects, many derived from before the New Kingdom and the majority date to after the New Kingdom. Searching the database for script='hieratic' and period='New Kingdom' produces only 136 results, which likely undercounts the corpus significantly due to un- or misidentified manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. PUBLISHED NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts inscribed in hieratic from the New Kingdom are listed below according to their

accession group with basic provenance details provided. The accession number for the acquisition of a group of objects is provided on the first line; a short description of the accession on the second line; the date of the accession on the third line; and the entire range of Oriental Institute Museum registration numbers for the accession group is given on the fourth line. Following that information, published New Kingdom manuscripts inscribed in hieratic have been individually listed with their accompanying bibliographic references in order of registration number. Institutional registration number is preferred for the citation of individual manuscripts; however, private collection numbers (e.g., Wilson, Nelson, Edgerton) have been included where they had already appeared in the literature.<sup>5</sup> Bibliography listed includes text-only citations and references, and therefore some of the manuscripts listed with bibliography still lack a published text edition. All inscribed objects listed below are on limestone ostraca unless noted otherwise. Further information on the OIM collections and individual manuscripts can be found through the OI online collections database: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>.

### Accession 56 A

Share of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund excavations at Abydos

Accessioned in 1902

OIM E6551–E6904

- (1) OIM E6780: Magic brick of Paibmer.  
Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 289).

<sup>3</sup> Teeter (2019a: 69).

<sup>4</sup> We would like to thank museum registrar Helen McDonald and associate registrar Susan Allison for all their hard work and help in preparing this article. They fielded numerous inquiries and their work in maintaining and updating the collections database was essential to us in gathering the following data. We would also like to thank the editors of this volume for several helpful suggestions and corrections.

<sup>5</sup> These private collection numbers should now be avoided as they were temporarily applied in the field prior to official institutional acquisition. It appears that the numbers were not static as those cited by Černý in his notebooks are different than numbers found in the OI accession records. Readers should note that the Edgerton numbers for hieratic ostraca from Černý's notebooks should be kept completely distinct from the demotic ostraca published as O. Edgerton in Muhs et al. (2021).

- (2) OIM E6785: Magic brick of Paibmer. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 290).
- (3) OIM E6786: Magic brick of Paibmer. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 291).
- (4) OIM E6792: Magic brick of Paibmer. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 292).

### Accession 239

Purchased by James Henry Breasted from Mohareb Todros<sup>6</sup>

Accessioned in 1920

OIM E10532–E10552

- (5) OIM E10544: Magic brick of Tuthmosis III. Main text in cursive hieroglyphs, with additional notation in hieratic. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279–281, 293).

### Accession 329

Share of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund excavations at Sedment

Accession in 1921

OIM E11489–E11911

- (6) OIM E11828: Wooden box with triangular top. Badly worn hieratic inscriptions on both sides. Bibliography: Petrie & Brunton (1924: pl. LV: 20, LXVI: 17).

### Accession 415

Purchased by James Henry Breasted from Mohammed Mohasseb<sup>7</sup>

Accessioned on October 8, 1923

OIM E12073–E12074

- (7) OIM E12073: Barter contract between the chief of police Montumes, the workman Menna, and another man. Bibliography: DeM Database; Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LXXVII–LXXVIIA); Théodoridès (1968: 50–55); Allam (1973: 73–76); Manning et al. (1989); *KRI* 6, 138–139.

- (8) OIM E12074: Menna's lament to his wayward son. Bibliography: Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LXXVIII–LXXIXA); *KRI* 6, 215–217; Foster (1984); Dorn (2022: 165).

### Accession 570

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on July 21, 1925

OIM E12284–E13353, E13504–E13513, E30050, E12404B

- (9) OIM E12289: Magic brick of Amenemhat. Main text in cursive hieroglyphs, with additional notation in hieratic. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 280–281, 294–295).
- (10) OIM E12296: Delivery of supplies. Bibliography: DeM Database; *KRI* 7, 188–189; Helck (2002: 75–76); Teeter (2009: 44–45).
- (11) OIM E12297: Scribal exercise. Bibliography: Unpublished (on display). See below section 3.
- (12) OIM E13512: Dated record of an event. Bibliography: DeM Database; Wilfong (1999).

### Accession 683

Purchased by James Henry Breasted from “unknown Kurna fellahin”

Accessioned on July 6, 1927

OIM E13629–E13652

- (13) OIM E13630: Letter. Bibliography: DeM Database; Demarée et al. (2022: 98, fn. 161, 101). See below section 3.
- (14) OIM E13634: Account of workers' absence. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (15) OIM E13636: Copy of portion of *Instruction of King Amenemhat I for his son Senwosret I*. Bibliography: Foster (1981); Helck (1969); Adrom (2006: no. 204).

<sup>6</sup> See Bierbrier (2019: 460, s.v. Todrous Boulos); Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 248–250).

<sup>7</sup> See Bierbrier (2019: 320); Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 245–247).

**Accession 751**

Purchased by James Henry Breasted

Accessioned

OIM E13691–E13701

- (16) OIM E13692: Account of deliveries.  
Bibliography: DeM Database.

**Accession 964**

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on July 2, 1930

OIM E13951

- (17) OIM E13951: Figures of cat, mouse, and boy with hieratic label on reverse. Bibliography: Breasted (1933: 424, fig. 206); Wilson (1951: fig. 16a); Brunner-Traut (1955: 24, no. 25, pl. 2.1); Brunner-Traut (1968: 14, fig. 9); Peck & Ross (1978: 78, no. 77); Brunner-Traut (1979: 17); Marfoe (1982: 25, fig. 13); Boston (1982: 279, no. 382); Janssen & Janssen (1989: 61, fig. 51); Teeter (2003: 59, no. 27); Flores (2004: 239, pl. 6a); von Lieven (2009: 174); Teeter (2019b: 99, no. 70); Braun (2020: 282, fig. 175); Babcock (2022: 73, 173, Cat. no. 69).

**Accession 2112**

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on June 1, 1936

OIM E16973–E17009

- (18) OIM E16973 (Nelson 12A): Accusation of absence. Bibliography: DeM Database; Toivari-Viitala (2001: 214).
- (19) OIM E16974 (Nelson 8): Letter from a woman. Bibliography: DeM Database; Toivari-Viitala (2001: 192, 228–229).
- (20) OIM E16977: Account of items given to Paneb. Bibliography: DeM Database; KRI 7, 254.
- (21) OIM E16978: Magical Text (parallel to P. Turin Cat. 1993 / CGT 54051, r<sup>o</sup> x+1.4–5) inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: Unpublished. See below section 3.

- (22) OIM E16979: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (23) OIM E16982: Copy of portion of *Instruction of King Amenemhat I for his son Senwosret I*, Va–VIb. Bibliography: Unpublished; Helck (1969: 32–39); Adrom (2006: 29–37). See below section 3.
- (24) OIM E16985: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database; KRI 7, 31.
- (25) OIM E16987: Restitution and penalty after theft inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database; Černý (1937, 187–188); KRI 7, 319.
- (26) OIM E16988: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (27) OIM E16989: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (28) OIM E16991: Letter of complaint to the Vizier To. Bibliography: DeM Database; Wentz (1961); KRI 5, 559–560.
- (29) OIM E16993: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (30) OIM E16994 (Nelson 7): Donkey rental. Bibliography: DeM Database; Janssen (2005: 18).
- (31) OIM E16996 (Nelson 13): Letter about a birth. Bibliography: Toivari-Viitala (2001: 179–180).
- (32) OIM E16997: Copy of *Instruction of Hardjedef*, previously considered to be from *Instruction of a man for his son* (r<sup>o</sup>) and copy of unidentified literary text. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 146).
- (33) OIM E16998: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (34) OIM E16999: Copy of *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 144).
- (35) OIM E17002: Copy of beginning of *Instruction of Hardjedef*. Bibliography: Posener (1952); Helck (1984: 2–7).
- (36) OIM E17003: Copy of beginning of *Instruction of Hardjedef*. Bibliography: Posener (1952); Helck (1984: 2–7).

- (37) OIM E17004: Copy of portion of *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1975).
- (38) OIM E17007: Delivery of supplies. Bibliography: DeM Database; KRI 7, 176–181.
- (39) OIM E17008: Horus Cippus, Daressy Text A on obverse and *S'hw* text on reverse. Bibliography: Posener (1977), see no. 1441; Scalf & Muhs (forthcoming).

### Accession 2460

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on June 15, 1939

OIM E17573–E17577

- (40) OIM E17574: Stone weight inscribed in hieratic. Bibliography: DeM Database. See below section 3.
- (41) OIM E17575: Stone weight inscribed in hieratic. Bibliography: DeM Database.

### Accession 3289

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on January 21, 1955

OIM E18876–E19419; E24303–E24307; E25040

- (42) OIM E18876: Oracular inquiry inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database; Černý (1972: 68, pl. 25, no. 95); Papazian (2009); Teeter (2011: fig. 44); Teeter (2012).
- (43) OIM E18877: Letter inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (44) OIM E18878: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (45) OIM E18879: Payment. Bibliography: KRI 7, 289.
- (46) OIM E18880: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database; Soliman (forthcoming).
- (47) OIM E18881: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (48) OIM E19109: Letter. Bibliography: Unpublished. See below section 3.

- (49) OIM E19120: Ritual text with medico-magical contents. Bibliography: Ritner (1993: 150, fn. 679). See below section 3.
- (50) OIM E19123 (Edgerton 5, Nelson 22): Donkey rental inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: Janssen (2005: 6).
- (51) OIM E19134: *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1973).
- (52) OIM E19141: *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 145).
- (53) OIM E19149: *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 143).
- (54) OIM E19150: Account. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (55) OIM E19154 (Edgerton 10, Nelson 65): Donkey rental inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database; Janssen (2005, 6).
- (56) OIM E19208: Account inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (57) OIM E19220: *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 142).
- (58) OIM E19262: List of workmen. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (59) OIM E19263: Accounts of deliveries and payments. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (60) OIM E19266: *Hymn to the Inundation* inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: Foster (1973).
- (61) OIM E19361: *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1973).
- (62) OIM E25040: *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1973).

### Accession 3652

Purchased by John Albert Wilson in 1929–1930 and 1930–1931

Accessioned in 1975

OIM E25292–E25386

- (63) OIM E25311 (Wilson 25): Hymn to Amun. Bibliography: Wilson (1933: 152–153).
- (64) OIM E25332 (Wilson 108): *Book of Kemyt*. Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (65) OIM E25346 (Wilson 100): Hymn to the coming of the king. Bibliography: Foster (1994); Fischer-Elfert (1999: 71–77).
- (66) OIM E25348: *Book of Kemyt* (Wilson 92). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (67) OIM E25353: *Book of Kemyt* (Wilson 73). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (68) OIM E25374: *Hymn to the Inundation* (Wilson 121). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904–905); Helck (1972: 1–19).
- (69) OIM E25378: *Book of Kemyt* (Wilson 7). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (70) OIM E25382: *Instruction of a man for his son* (Wilson 9). Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 147).

### Accession 3628

Purchased from the Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Accessioned in November 1967

OIM E26001–29902

- (71) OIM E26539: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (72) OIM E26540: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (73) OIM E26542: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (74) OIM E26543: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (75) OIM E26544: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).

### Accession L348

Excavated at Medinet Habu

- (76) MH 1: Weight with hieratic notation. Bibliography: DeM Database; Valbelle (1977: 20).
- (77) MH 1866: Deliveries of fish. Bibliography: Unpublished (on display).

Accession Unidentified

- (78) Unnumbered. Bibliography: Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LV,2).
- (79) Unnumbered. O. Nims (sic). Bibliography: Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LXII,1).

### 3. OVERVIEW OF PUBLICATION PROJECTS AND ONGOING RESEARCH

As the reader can see from the above documentation, of the 136 identified New Kingdom manuscripts inscribed in hieratic from the OIM, roughly half have been published, cited, or documented in the secondary literature. The remaining unpublished manuscripts, all of which are ostraca, have been the subject of several projects over the preceding three decades. Until his death, Jack Foster had continued studying the literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina, along with his daughter Ann Foster. Edward Wente has been studying the non-literary, administrative material since the 1970s. In addition to publishing several ostraca, he produced preliminary editions of many of the manuscripts, which can be found among the files in the OI Museum Archives.<sup>8</sup> Terry Wilfong had surveyed the collection and provided notes to the OIM on some manuscripts. Robert J. Demarée has made several research visits to examine the New Kingdom hieratic ostraca in the OIM, and he has included some of these in the Deir el-Medina (DeM) database (<https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>). In recent years, two projects to study the literary and administrative texts have been taken

<sup>8</sup> Wente, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). We would like to thank Anne Flannery for her assistance in examining and citing the papers of Edward Wente.

up by faculty of the Oriental Institute as well as graduate students as part of their PhD studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago.

There are many genres of texts represented among the unpublished material. A small selection of representative manuscripts follows to illustrate examples from the unpublished corpus, presented in order of registration number.<sup>9</sup> For considerations of space within this publication, the following editions have been restrained to the basic textual information without recourse to extended commentary or discussions of parallels.

### OIM E12297

Scribal Exercise<sup>10</sup> (reverse uninscribed)

H: 15.1 × W: 6.18 cm

- (1) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 1*
- (2) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 2*
- (3) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 3*
- (4) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 4*
- (5) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 5*
- (6) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 6*
- (7) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 7*
- (8) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t [...]*
- (9) *ꜥbd 1 [...]*

- (1) Month 1, inundation season, day 1
- (2) Month 1, inundation season, day 2
- (3) Month 1, inundation season, day 3
- (4) Month 1, inundation season, day 4
- (5) Month 1, inundation season, day 5(*sic!*)<sup>11</sup>
- (6) Month 1, inundation season, day 6
- (7) Month 1, inundation season, day 7(*sic!*)
- (8) Month 1, inundation season, [...]
- (9) Month 1, [...]



Fig. 1. OIM E12297, scribal exercise  
(photo by Helen McDonald)  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

<sup>9</sup> We would like to thank interim director Theo van den Hout, interim chief curator Kiersten Neumann, and the Oriental Institute Museum for permission to publish the following selection of ostraca. Once again registrar Helen McDonald and associate registrar Susan Allison were instrumental in facilitating access, finding photos, and fielding inquiries about these pieces.

<sup>10</sup> Transcription of Edward Wentz in the files of the OI Museum Archives. See Wentz, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). We would like to thank John Larson and Anne Flannery for their help accessing this material.

<sup>11</sup> In lines 5 and 7, the scribe has used the numeral, rather than the date, form of the signs.

**OIM E13630**Letter<sup>12</sup> (reverse uninscribed)

H: 7 × W: 9 cm

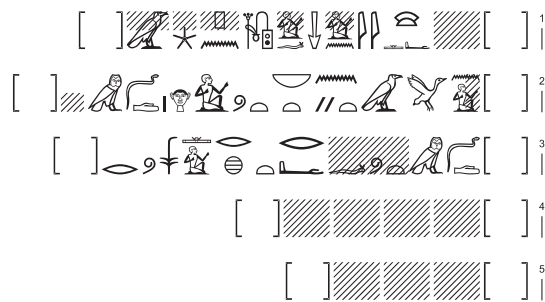
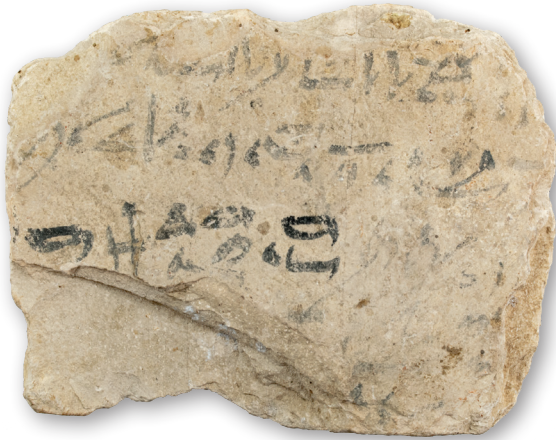


Fig. 2. OIM E13630, letter  
(photo D. 34020 by Foy Scalf  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- (1) [...] ...  $H'y n sn=f sš [P^{(3)}]-n-dw^3$  [...]
- (2) [...]  $n=i p^3 nty nb tw=i hr dd m$  [...]
- (3) [...]  $dd mtw=f rdi.t rh=i sw r$  [...]
- (4) [...] traces [...]
- (5) [...] traces [...]

- (1) [...] ... Khay to his brother, the scribe,  
[Pe]ndua.
- (2) [...] for me all that I am saying [...]
- (3) [...] say and he will let me know it, concerning  
[...]
- (4) [...] ... [...]
- (5) [...] ... [...]

**OIM E16978**Magical Text, Parallel to P. Turin Cat. 1993 / CGT 54051, r<sup>o</sup> x+1.4–5<sup>13</sup> (reverse uninscribed)

H: 9.3 × W: 7.6 cm

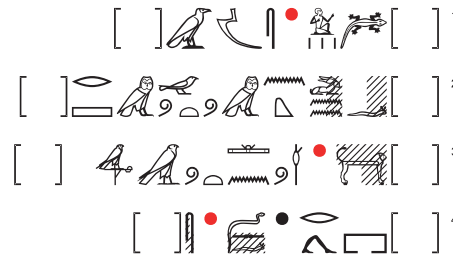


Fig. 3. OIM E16978, magical text  
(photo D. 34021 by Foy Scalf  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- 12 Transcription, translation, and commentary of Edward Wente in the files of the OI Museum Archives. See Wente, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>).
- 13 The contents of this ostrakon were originally identified by Robert K. Ritner in a list of notes on OIM ostraca among his office papers. See Ritner, Robert K. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). For parallels, see Roccati (2011: 131–132); Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: pl. CXXXI).



## OIM E17574

Weight<sup>17</sup>, 698 grams (reverse uninscribed)  
H: 8.9 × W: 9.5 cm

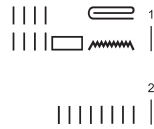


Fig. 5. OIM E17574, weight  
(photo D. 34023 by Foy Scalf  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- (1) *dbn* 8  
(2) 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1  
(1) Eight deben  
(2) Eight

## OIM E19109

Letter<sup>18</sup> (reverse uninscribed)  
H: 7.3 × W: 6.7 cm

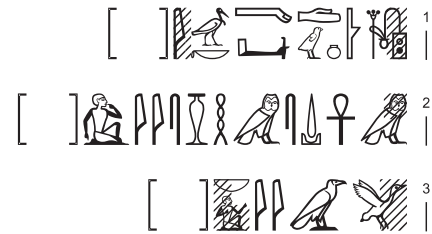


Fig. 6. OIM E19109, letter  
(photo D. 34024 by Foy Scalf  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- (1) *ʿssʿ qd Bʿk[i ...]*  
(2) *m ʿnh wḏʿ snb m ḥsy [...]*  
(3) *ʿpʿyʿ=[i nb ...]*  
(1) Draughtsman, Bak[i ...]  
(2) In life, prosperity, and health; in the favor [...]  
(3) m[y lord ...]<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> OIM E19207 is also a stone weight labeled with the *deben*.

<sup>18</sup> Transcription of Edward Wente in the files of the OI Museum Archives. See Wente, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). There are a few traces on the broken right edge.

<sup>19</sup> This restoration here follows the draft suggestions of Ed Wente. Comments from this volume's editors suggested the scribal hand may be that of Pay (i), for which see Polis (2022), and that the scribe's name could be an alternative restoration.





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADROM, Faried. 2006. *Die Lehre des Amenemhet*, Turnhout (= BiAe 19).
- ALLAM, Shafik. 1973. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, Tübingen.
- BABCOCK, Jennifer Miyuki. 2022. *Ancient Egyptian Animal Fables. Tree Climbing Hippos and Ennobled Mice*, Leiden (= CHANE 128).
- BIERBRIER, Morris. 2019. *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (5th revised Edition), London.
- BOSTON. 1982. *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 B.C.*, Boston.
- BRAUN, Nadja S. 2020. *Bilder erzählen. Visuelle Narrativität Ägyptens*, Leipzig (= ÄSL 2).
- BREASTED, James Henry. 1933. *The Oriental Institute*, Chicago.
- BRUNNER-TRAUT, Emma. 1955. Ägyptische Tiermärchen, ZÄS 80, 12–32.
- . 1968. *Altägyptische Tiergeschichten und Fabel. Gestalt und Strahlkraft*, Darmstadt.
- . 1979. *Egyptian Artists' Sketches. Figured Ostraka from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Leiden (= PIHANS 45).
- ČERNÝ, Jaroslav. 1937. Restitution of, and Penalty Attaching to, Stolen Property in Ramesside Times, *JEA* 23, 186–189.
- . 1972. Troisième série de questions adressées aux oracles, *BIFAO* 72, 49–69.
- ČERNÝ, Jaroslav, & GARDINER, Alan H. 1957. *Hieratic Ostraca*, vol. 1, Oxford.
- DEM DATABASE = The Deir el-Medina Database, <https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/> (accessed 05.01.2023).
- DEMARÉE, Robert J., GABLER, Kathrin & POLIS, Stéphane. 2022. A Family Affair in the Community of Deir el-Medina: Gossip Girls in Two 19th Dynasty Letters, in Svenja A. GÜLDEN, Tobias KONRAD & Ursula VERHOEVEN (eds.), *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten IV. Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen*, Mainz, 43–126.
- DORN, Andreas. 2022. Dating of Literary Ostraca with the *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie* by Stefan Wimmer — An Experiment, in Svenja A. GÜLDEN, Tobias KONRAD & Ursula VERHOEVEN (eds.), *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten IV. Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen*, Mainz, 155–182.
- FISCHER-ELFERT, Hans-Werner. 1998. *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinem Sohn. Eine Etappe auf dem „Gottesweg“ des loyalen und solidarischen Beamten der frühen 12. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden (= ÄgAb 60).
- . 1999. Die Ankunft des Königs nach ramessidischen Hymnen et cetera, *SAK* 27, 65–68.
- FLORES, Diane. 2004. The Topsy-Turvy World, in Gary N. KNOPPERS & Antoine HIRSCH (eds.), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient World. Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, Leiden (= PdÄ 20), 233–255.
- FOSTER, John. 1973. 'Hymn to the Inundation': Four Hieratic Ostraca, *JNES* 32, 301–310.
- . 1975. Thought Couplets in Khety's 'Hymn to the Inundation,' *JNES* 34, 1–29, pl. 8–9.
- . 1981. The Conclusion to the Testament of Ammenemes, King of Egypt, *JEA* 67, 36–47.
- . 1984. Oriental Institute Ostrakon #12074: 'Menna's Lament' or 'Letter to a Wayward Son', *JSSEA* 14, 88–99.
- . 1986. Texts of the Egyptian Composition 'The Instruction of a Man for his Son' in the Oriental Institute Museum, *JNES* 45, 197–211.
- . 1994. Oriental Institute Ostrakon 25346 (Ostrakon Wilson 100), in David SILVERMAN (ed.), *For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, Chicago (= SAOC 55), 87–98.
- HAGEN, Frederik & RYHOLT, Kim. 2016. *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H.O. Lange Papers*, Copenhagen (= Sci. Dan.H. 4).
- HELCK, Wolfgang. 1969. *Der Text der „Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn“*, Wiesbaden (= KÄT 1).
- . 1972. *Der Text des „Nilhymnus“*, Wiesbaden (= KÄT 4).

- . 1984. *Die Lehre des Djedefhor und Die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn*, Wiesbaden (= KÄT 8).
- . 2002. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, Wiesbaden (= ÄgAb 63).
- JANSSEN, Rosalind & JANSSEN, Jac. J. 1989. *Egyptian Household Animals*, Aylesbury.
- JANSSEN, Jac. J. 2005. *Donkeys at Deir el-Medina*, Leiden (= EgUit 19).
- JOHNSON, W. Raymond & McCLAIN, Brett. 2019. The Epigraphic Survey, 1924–2019, in Theo VAN DEN HOUT (ed.), *Discovering New Pasts*, Chicago, 191–195.
- KRI = KITCHEN, Kenneth A. 1975–1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions*, 8 vols., Oxford.
- VON LIEVEN, Alexandra. 2009. Fragments of a Monumental Proto-Myth of the Sun's Eye, in Ghislaine WIDMER & Didier DEVAUCHELLE (eds.), *Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> congrès international des études démotiques, Paris, 31 août–3 septembre 2005*, Cairo (= BdE 147), 173–181.
- MANNING, Joseph G., GREIG, Gary & UCHIDA, Sugihiko. 1989. Oriental Institute Ostrakon 12073 Once Again, *JNES* 48, 117–124.
- MARFOE, Leon. *A Guide to the Oriental Institute Museum*, Chicago.
- MUHS, Brian P., SCALF, Foy D. & JAY, Jacqueline E. 2021. *The Archive of Thotsutmis, Son of Panouphis. Early Ptolemaic Ostraca from Deir el Bahari (O. Edgerton)*, Chicago (= OIP 146).
- PAPAZIAN, Hratch. 2009. Oracular Inquiry, in Emily TEETER & Janet H. JOHNSON (eds.), *The Life of Meresamun. A Temple Singer in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago (= OIMP 29), 48.
- PECK, William H. & ROSS, John G. 1978. *Egyptian Drawings*, New York.
- PETRIE, W. Flinders & BRUNTON, Guy. 1924. *Sedment II*, London (= BSAE 35).
- PLEYTE, Willem & ROSSI, Francesco. 1869–1876. *Papyrus de Turin*. Leiden.
- POLIS, Stéphane. 2022. The Messy Scribe from Deir el-Medina. A Palaeographical Journey through the Texts of a Draughtsman, Scribe, and Poet from the 19th Dynasty: Pay (i), in Svenja A. GÜLDEN, Tobias KONRAD & Ursula VERHOEVEN (eds.), *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten IV. Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen*, Mainz, 405–453.
- POSENER, Georges. 1952. Le début de l'enseignement de Hardjedef (Recherches littéraires, IV) & Compléments aux 'Richesses inconnues', *RdE* 9, 109–120.
- . 1977. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir El-Medineh, Nos 1267–1409, 1410–1606*, Cairo (= DFIFAO 20).
- RITNER, Robert K. 1993. *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Chicago (= SAOC 54).
- ROCCATI, Alessandro. 2011. *Magica Taurinsia. Il grande papiro magico di Torino e i suoi duplicati*, Rome (= AnOr 56).
- SCALF, Foy. 2009. Magical Bricks in the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, *SAK* 38, 275–295, pl. 9–18.
- SCALF, Foy & MUHS, Brian. forthcoming. The Transmission of Magical Texts at Deir el Medina. A Hieratic Copy of a Horus Cippi Text on Ostrakon OIM E17008, in Foy SCALF & Brian MUHS (eds.), *A Master of Secrets in the Chamber of Darkness. Egyptological Studies in Honor of Robert K. Ritner Presented on the Occasion of His 68th Birthday*, Chicago (= SAOC).
- SOLIMAN, Daniel. forthcoming. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, in Andrea FANCIULLI, Kathrin GABLER, Jessica IZAK, Martina LANDRINO, Antonio LOPRIENO, Matthias MÜLLER, Renaud PIETRI, Stéphane POLIS, Nathalie SOJIC, Susanne TÖPFER & Stephan UNTER (eds.), *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections around the World*, vol. 2, Liège (= AegLeod 13.2).
- TEETER, Emily. 2003. *Ancient Egypt. Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*, Chicago (= OIMP 23).
- . 2009. Record of Delivery of Provisions from Temple, in Emily TEETER & Janet H. JOHNSON (eds.), *The Life of Meresamun. A Temple Singer in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago (= OIMP 29), 44–45.
- . 2010. Egypt in Chicago, in Zahi HAWASS & Jennifer HOUSER WEGNER (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*.

- Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, Cairo (= CASAE 39), 303–314.
- . 2011. *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge.
- . 2012. Oracle Text, in Rozenn BAILLEUL-LESUER (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth. Birds in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago (= OIMP 35), 180.
- . 2015. Collecting for Chicago. James Henry Breasted and the Egyptian Collections, *Oriental Institute News & Notes* 226, 4–11.
- . 2018–2019. Collecting Ancient Egypt in Chicago, *KMT* 29, 63–73.
- . 2019a. A History of the OI Museum, in Theo VAN DEN HOUT (ed.), *Discovering New Pasts*, Chicago, 62–75.
- . 2019b. Satirical Scene, in Jean M. EVANS, Jack GREEN & Emily TEETER (eds.), *100 Highlights of the Collections of the Oriental Institute Museum*, Chicago, 99.
- THÉODORIDÈS, Aristide. 1968. Procès relatif à une vente qui devait être acquittée par la livraison d'un travail servile (Papyrus Berlin 9785), *RIDA* 15, 39–104.
- TOIVARI-VIITALA, Jaana. 2001. *Women at Deir el-Medina*. Leiden (= EgUit 15).
- VALBELLE, Dominique. 1977. *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el Médineh: Nos 5001–5423*, Cairo (= DFIFAO 16).
- WENTE, Edward F. 1961. A Letter of Complaint to the Vizier To, *JNES* 20, 252–257.
- WILFONG, Terry G. 1999. Menstrual Synchrony and the “Place of Women” in Ancient Egypt, in Emily TEETER & John A. LARSON (eds.), *Gold of Praise, Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, Chicago (= SAOC 58), 419–434.
- WILSON, John A. 1933. The Kindly God, *AJSLL* 49, 150–153.
- . 1935–1938. School Writings of the Middle Kingdom and Empire, in *Mélanges Maspero I, Orient Ancien*, fasc. 2, Cairo (= MIFAO 66: 2), 901–905.
- . 1951. *The Burden of Egypt. An Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Religion*, Chicago.
- WINLOCK, Herbert E. 1941. *Tutankhamun's Funeral*, New York.

