



# Joyful in Thebes

Egyptological Studies in Honor of  
Betsy M. Bryan

Edited by  
Richard Jasnow  
Kathlyn M. Cooney

With the assistance of  
Katherine E. Davis

JOYFUL IN THEBES  
EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF  
BETSY M. BRYAN

MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE  
OF ANCIENT EGYPT

NUMBER ONE



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LOCKWOOD PRESS  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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## EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF

### BETSY M. BRYAN

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2015944276

ISBN: 978-1-937040-40-6

Cover design by Deborah Shieh, adapted by Susanne Wilhelm.

Cover image: Amenhotep III in the Blue Crown (detail), ca. 1390–1352 BCE. Quartzite, Ht. 35 cm. Face only: ht. 12.8 cm; w. 12.6 cm. Rogers Fund, 1956 (56.138). Image copyright © the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.



This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).

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Betsy Bryan in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors are first of all grateful to the contributors themselves, who so patiently endured an endless stream of email queries and “gentle reminders.” Their enthusiasm for the project truly made this a “joyful” experience. We would also like to thank those who aided in the preparation of this volume. Katherine Davis, a graduate student in Egyptology at Johns Hopkins, helped enormously during the complicated editing process. Not only has Katherine been a keen-eyed reader of manuscripts, but she also resolved problems of computer fonts and overcame other technological obstacles. We are further indebted to Deborah Shieh, a recent graduate of UCLA, who provided important support to the editors and designed the cover of the book. James (Jay) T. VanRensselaer, the Johns Hopkins University Senior Photographer, who has been a participant in Betsy’s excavations for years, kindly made available most of the images of Betsy published in this volume. We also thank Vonnie Wild, Senior Administrative Coordinator for the Department of Near Eastern Studies (JHU), and Glenda Hogan, Academic Program Coordinator for the Department of Near Eastern Studies (JHU), who both assisted in this project. It is a pleasure as well to acknowledge our debt to Sanchita Balachandran, Violaine Chauvet, Janet Johnson, Leslie Schramer, JJ Shirley, and Mark Smith, who have offered very useful insights and help in the project. Arielle Kozloff and Larry Berman kindly provided the wonderful images of Betsy at the British Museum and Sedinga Temple that follow the introduction. We thank Diana Craig Patch (Curator in Charge of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum) and Catharine Roehrig who arranged for us to use the image of the beautiful head of Amenhotep III Metropolitan Museum no. 56.138 on the cover of this volume. Christina Di Cerbo advised on many points of the editorial process, especially with regard to the selection of images accompanying this introduction. As always, she has been a tremendous source of encouragement. Finally, what is a book without a publisher? The editors were fortunate to have found in Billie Jean Collins of Lockwood Press an ideal collaborator. Her skill and experience were an invaluable resource to the editors through the years of work on the volume. Billie Jean’s unfailing support for the project is profoundly appreciated. May all editors be as lucky!

Richard Jasnow  
Kara (Kathlyn) Cooney



## INTRODUCTION

The editors of this book were deeply moved by the enormously positive response to the invitation to contribute to this collection of articles in honor of our friend and colleague, Betsy Bryan. Distinguished scholars, despite all of their other pressing obligations, volunteered to write. Even more remarkable, perhaps, most actually submitted their articles on time. While we could not predict the response to our initial invitation, we had in fact suspected that undertaking this project would indeed be a joyful experience. Having worked with Betsy for years, we knew that few Egyptologists have as many friends and colleagues as she throughout the world. Frankly, a major challenge to the editors was simply compiling a list of possible contributors from such a large circle of potential invitees. It seemed necessary to maintain an Egyptological focus for the volume while at the same time keeping it within practical bounds. We know well that we have omitted some who would have gladly participated. We apologize to them and hope they will understand our dilemma. The present volume is only a token of the great good will and esteem which Betsy has earned; it hardly represents the sum total of all her friends and well-wishers within the Academe.

It is often said of a particular scholar that she or he has a wide a range of interests. While this is sometimes mere rhetoric, in Betsy's case the phrase is perfectly apt. The imposing breadth of topics treated in this Festschrift, from Pre-Dynastic to Late Antiquity, truly reflects Betsy's Egyptological interests. A glance at the table of contents reveals, fittingly, that many authors wrote about New Kingdom objects from an art historical perspective or dealt with excavations and standing monuments, particularly those located in Thebes. Nevertheless, several articles treated philological subjects from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman period. Other contributors examined historical or gender issues. A few explored topics strictly speaking outside of Egypt proper; thus both Nubia and the Near East are represented. Those not knowing Betsy may doubt that she should be seriously interested in so many subjects. Nevertheless, her friends will surely agree that this rich diversity of interests is one of the most striking characteristics of Betsy's scholarly persona. Not only is she receptive to topics outside of her "formal" specialties, but she has the background knowledge and intellectual curiosity to engage productively with them. This point was quickly impressed upon Richard when in 1995 he began team-teaching Egyptian texts with her. Once, aware that Betsy had returned to Baltimore from Egypt around midnight, after a long excavation season, he hardly expected her for class early the next morning. Betsy nevertheless appeared, enthusiastic as always, declaring, "she could not bear to miss reading this particular Coptic Gnostic text." Some time after that he was equally amazed to learn that, before Richard's arrival at Hopkins she had also taught Demotic. We suspect few art historians have felt the urge to teach Demotic, but, as Betsy has said, "she thought it was important that the students know this stage of Egyptian." And so she taught it. Richard thus realized early on that Betsy was no "narrow specialist." Here was a colleague with whom one could talk about many scholarly topics in the expectation of receiving really constructive feedback and advice.

Of course, Betsy's interest in Coptic Gnostic texts and Demotic should hardly have been surprising. The graduate program at Yale was strongly historical and philological. She wrote her very much text-based thesis on the reign of Thutmose IV under the supervision of William Kelly Simpson, a scholar equally at home in art and language. Philology is therefore very much at the core of her Egyptological soul. It was really after receiving the doctorate that she proceeded to make her name as an art historian, with such groundbreaking exhibitions as that on Amenhotep III in the Cleveland Museum and the Louvre (in collaboration with Arielle Kozloff and Larry Berman). Already as a student she had participated in archaeological excavations, beginning with Donald Redford at the Akhenaten

Temple Project (1977–1980). Since 1993 she has staged annual expeditions—first at the Tomb of Suemniwet (Theban Tomb 92) on the West Bank and then at the Temple of Mut in Karnak.<sup>1</sup> This last project is a massive undertaking, involving excavation, epigraphy, conservation, and restoration of the monuments on a large scale. In addition to the many significant finds, Betsy and her team have been able to reconstruct such structures as the “Drinking Portico of Hatshepsut,” which now forms part of an “open-air” museum at the site. Many of us have had the opportunity to learn something about the various subdisciplines comprising Egyptology. A philologist may join an excavation for a season or two, an archaeologist may intern at a museum for a semester. However, Betsy’s intense work in these very different fields is clearly of an entirely different order. It is precisely this sustained engagement with philology, archaeology, and art history which gives her a unique Egyptological profile. The most casual reader of her articles and books quickly observes that she marshals evidence from all three subdisciplines (if not more) in her investigations of a given subject.

If Betsy’s scholarly work is nothing else, it is holistic—taking into account the materiality, production history, social importance, ritual place, and visual quality. She never looks at a tomb painting without considering the entire *chaîne d’opératoire*—which craftsmen painted which parts of a given tomb scene, whether sparkling yellow orpiment or the bright orange of realgar were included and in which scenes, what social markers were included in a painting and why. Her work always treats the entire monument or the entire assemblage, and beyond. It goes without saying that she can rattle off most of the Theban Tomb numbers together with their owners and titles, to the consternation of her graduate students. Her recent work, lectures, and articles on the festivals of drunkenness in Thebes are a *tour de force* of holistic examination, drawing on Theban tomb scenes, religious hymns, temple scenes and architecture, historical treatises, and arcane ritual instructions.<sup>2</sup> All are marshaled into a nuanced and beautifully intricate discussion of human behavior. She teaches her graduate students to look at Egyptian production, be it text or object, in the same holistic manner—what stone was the statue made of and what does this tell us about craft production? Where was the text placed and who was its intended audience? Was the piece reworked or recut? Where was the focus of attention meant to be drawn? Her work on women’s studies is particularly illuminating: simultaneously social, historical, anthropological, and visual, she has, for example, deftly swept aside outdated patriarchal assumptions about female kings like Hatshepsut (including some about her possible affairs) and placed Egyptian female power in its larger context of kingship, dynastic succession, elite power systems, and the Egyptian desire for continuity.

Teaching has always been central to Betsy’s scholarly activity. Having begun as an Adjunct Assistant Professor in Ancient History at Marymount Manhattan College (1978–1986) and as a lecturer at Yale (1980–1982), she came to Johns Hopkins in 1986. She was named the Alexander Badawy Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology in 1997. Thanks to her efforts, Hopkins has a vigorous graduate program in Egyptology. It is no surprise that applicants from all over the world have sought to study with her. Betsy has always taught far more than was required, both on the undergraduate and graduate levels. She has carefully balanced her offerings in language and art history. She has also presented regularly the essential introductory survey classes to ancient Egypt. Having led the effort to renovate the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum and to arrange for the long-term loan of many pieces from the Eton Collection, discussed in more detail below, Betsy has made first-hand examination of the objects an integral part of her art-historical classes.

As a teacher, Betsy impresses upon her students the importance of approaching a particular problem of ancient Egypt using all the available evidence. A theoretical framework is important, but lasting results require a first-rate knowledge of the material. You must “own the material,” as she says. Naturally, this is an aspirational goal; a scholar

1. The large site is divided between the Brooklyn Museum of Art Archaeological Expedition to the Precinct of Mut, directed by Richard Fazzini, and the Johns Hopkins University Expedition, directed by Betsy.

2. See, e.g., “Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom,” in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, ed. J. Galán, B. Bryan, and P. Dorman, SAOC 69 (=Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop = Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010) (Chicago, 2014), 93–123.

constantly seeks to deepen his or her knowledge. A scholar never stands still and must be prepared to take risks. Clearly, Betsy herself has always been ready to explore new lines of research and to ask new questions. This willingness to face fresh challenges and never repeat herself makes her an exciting teacher and popular lecturer. Kara remembers a particular teaching moment that made an impression. In her first year of graduate school, in her first art-history seminar, Betsy asked Kara to present and critically compare the exhibition catalogue on Amenhotep III (the lauded *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*) with other academic work on the Eighteenth Dynasty king. Not only was this a daunting assignment for a beginning graduate student to be performed in front of her advisor, but it made clear to Kara that Betsy was entirely open to scrutiny and criticism. Betsy once said that some scholars are willing to change their minds and admit they were wrong; others stick to their story forever, especially once it has been immortalized in print. Betsy is, thankfully, of the former category.

While certainly an innovative scholar, Betsy can be proudly “old school” as a teacher. Students in Betsy’s Egyptian language classes know her systematic approach to texts. They can expect questions about the grammar and vocabulary of every sentence. Of course, there is a purpose to this preoccupation with philological detail; her goal is to enable the students to recognize the meaning and significance of the text. Aware that a simple resolution is often impossible in ancient Egyptian, she tries to ensure that the students understand clearly the nature of the problems. Her abomination is a superficial explanation of a text or the easy acceptance of an “establishment” rendering. Betsy happily reads with students from virtually every genre known from ancient Egypt: literature, religion, medicine, magic, history, or economics. While of course not neglecting the core works, such as Ptahhotep or Sinuhe, she always keeps in mind the individual interests of her students in such reading classes. If a student would like to explore more specialized areas, Betsy has never hesitated to set up independent studies in such topics as Nubian period Texts or Hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

Betsy has been closely associated with museums through her entire career. While living in New York, she was a Research Associate with the Brooklyn Museum (1983–1986), establishing enduring scholarly and personal relationships of great importance in her academic development. Having moved to Baltimore, Betsy became deeply involved in the reinstallations of the Egyptian collections in both the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian (1993–2000) and the Walters Art Museum (1996–2000). A particular highpoint was the exhibition “The Quest for Immortality,” which she organized with Erik Hornung for the National Gallery of Art. The above mentioned 1992 Cleveland Amenhotep III exhibition, hailed as “extraordinary,” certainly stimulated the study of that seminal period of Egyptian history.<sup>3</sup> It is thus natural that, in addition to her teaching, research, and fieldwork, Betsy is the Director of the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum. Together with her colleagues at the Museum and with the students, she has been working to set up an online catalogue of the objects in the Museum. She and her Museum colleagues have successfully applied for substantial grants to fund this catalogue project. Visitors to the Museum can often see groups of students, both undergraduate and graduate, closely examining a scarab or seal under microscopes. Sanchita Balachandran, the Curator/Conservator at the Archaeological Museum, who collaborated with Betsy on the new installation, has been ideally placed to observe Betsy’s interaction with Egyptian objects. We quote here Sanchita’s remarks, reflecting the point of view of a scientifically trained conservator:

I’ve long admired the fact that she loves the full object, the weight of it, the materiality of it, and doesn’t see an object as a mere substrate upon which text is inscribed. And she wants to know the details, the tiny technological details—such as her obsession with how the bow drill really worked—that have everything to do with how the final object was produced.

Betsy’s friends will immediately recognize how accurate is another of Sanchita’s observations: “What I love about talking to Betsy about objects is that she immediately gets drawn into them, and often loses track of the many other meetings she has scheduled.”

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3. See, e.g., D. O’Connor and E. Cline, eds., *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (Ann Arbor, 1998), v.

Having traveled yearly (often twice yearly) to Egypt since at least 1977, Betsy has developed a close attachment to the land and people. She has made a special point of training young Egyptian Egyptologists in the Hopkins graduate program. The articles of these scholars in this volume bear witness to her mentorship. Betsy's dedication to strengthening cultural ties between Egypt and the United States also finds expression in her activity on behalf of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), which promotes and expedites fieldwork in Egypt. Despite her heavy scholarly and university obligations, she has selflessly served on many important committees of the American Research Center in Egypt.

As colleagues have probably noted, the title of this Festschrift, *Joyful in Thebes*, evokes the various New Kingdom eulogies to the ancient capital. Certainly, Betsy has been closely associated with both ancient Thebes and modern Luxor through the years. However, her contributions to our knowledge of this important city go beyond her own personal research. Some years ago, for example, she began a series of extremely productive workshops with Peter Dorman of the Oriental Institute (and now of the American University in Beirut) for the purpose of bringing together scholars involved in all aspects of Theban Studies. These meetings have encouraged an open exchange of ideas and information in a most congenial setting. The workshops have explored such subjects as Ptolemaic Thebes, sacred space, and the iconography and ideology of war in New Kingdom Thebes. The latest publication of papers from this series is *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (2014), co-edited with Peter Dorman and Jose Galán.

Art Historian, Archaeologist, Philologist, and Historian, an impressive list of designations no doubt ... Still, academic credentials and achievements only partly explain why so many felt honored to contribute to this Festschrift. Betsy Bryan has always been more than a researcher; she has been a benevolent, if exacting, mentor to her students and a supportive ally to her colleagues. A true lover of Egypt and Egyptology, a believer in the importance of Near Eastern Studies to the Humanities, she has often sacrificed her own work (and time) for the good of our discipline and of the University. She is one of those fortunate people who have truly made a difference both as a scholar and as a person.

We conclude in the second person singular. As a modest individual, Betsy, this display of affection by your colleagues and students may well embarrass you. Still, we know you will accept this Festschrift with your characteristic grace and good will. May you continue for many years to be "joyful in Thebes!"

Richard Jasnow  
Kara Cooney



Betsy examining archaeological plan drawn by a graduate student; back of the Mut Precinct. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy in conversation with the conservator Hiroko Kariya at the Open Air Museum at the Temple of Mut. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy recording excavation pottery from the Temple of Mut. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy (with Dr. Zahi Hawass, then secretary general of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, and others) at the discovery of the recarved statue of Queen Tiy (now on display at the Cairo Museum), the Temple of Mut, 2006 season. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Above: Betsy at Sedinga Temple, Sudan, 1989. Photograph courtesy of Larry Berman

Left: Betsy measuring a colossal statue in the British Museum. Photograph courtesy of Arielle Kozloff



FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES AT  
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The Department of Near Eastern Studies at Johns Hopkins prides itself on its collegial atmosphere and the harmonious cooperation between its subdisciplines. We are happy to acknowledge that we owe a great deal of this tradition of mutual interest and encouragement to our much admired and cherished colleague Betsy Bryan. Since joining the Department as an Assistant Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology in 1986, working with Professor Hans Goedicke to build the Egyptology Program, Betsy has always reached out to colleagues and students in the other subfields and encouraged a free flow of ideas and interactions. Having studied Akkadian at Yale, where she first developed a deep interest in the interaction between Egypt and the Near East, Betsy effortlessly established collegial and intellectual relationships with her other fellow departmental faculty members, Jerry Cooper, Del Hillers, Georg Krotkoff, Kyle McCarter, Glenn Schwartz, and Ray Westbrook. This group fostered a spirit of scholarly interaction, encouraged students to explore classes in other fields, and supported one another's projects. Indeed, Betsy already knew Glenn and Ray from Yale, all three having been graduate students there.

While the core faculty of the Department has, of course, changed and grown since the 1980s, the spirit of cooperation has continued. Betsy's empathy for, and interest in, sister-fields served her well when she chaired the Department of Near Eastern Studies for a number of years and helped to solidify and expand our program. In a broader context, Betsy has also been an extremely active university citizen, serving on high level committees and advising the administration on strategy. In this arena, she has been an advocate and eloquent spokesperson for the role of the Humanities (and of Near Eastern Studies) in university education, and we greatly appreciate her work in this regard, as we do all her efforts on behalf of Near Eastern Studies and Egyptology.

Prof. Glenn Schwartz, Chair

Jerry Cooper  
Paul Delnero  
Marian Feldman  
Michael Harrower  
Richard Jasnow  
Jacob Lauinger  
Ted Lewis  
Kyle McCarter

# ABBREVIATIONS

## GENERAL

|          |                                                    |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------|
| ///      | indicates damage                                   |
| BCE      | before the Common Era                              |
| Bd.      | (German) <i>Band</i> , “volume”                    |
| BD       | Book of the Dead                                   |
| BM       | British Museum, London                             |
| BP       | before the present                                 |
| Brooklyn | Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn                          |
| ca.      | <i>circa</i> , approximately                       |
| cat.     | catalogue                                          |
| CE       | Common Era                                         |
| cf.      | <i>confer</i> , compare                            |
| CG       | Catalogue Général                                  |
| cm(s)    | centimeter(s)                                      |
| CNI      | Carsten Niebuhr Institute                          |
| col(s).  | column(s)                                          |
| Dem      | Demotic                                            |
| diss     | dissertation                                       |
| ed(s).   | editor(s), edited by, edition                      |
| e.g.     | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example                |
| esp.     | especially                                         |
| et al.   | <i>et alii</i> , and others                        |
| etc.     | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth                    |
| fasc.    | fascicle                                           |
| ff.      | following                                          |
| fig(s).  | figure(s)                                          |
| frag(s). | fragment(s)                                        |
| GEM      | Grand Egyptian Museum                              |
| ht.      | height                                             |
| ibid.    | <i>ibidem</i> , in the same place                  |
| IFAO     | Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire |
| JE       | JdE = <i>Journal d’Entrée</i> , Cairo Museum       |
| KV       | Valley of the Kings                                |
| lit.     | literally                                          |
| m        | meter                                              |
| MFA      | Museum of Fine Arts, Boston                        |
| MMA      | Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York               |
| n(n).    | note(s)                                            |

|         |                                          |
|---------|------------------------------------------|
| NK      | New Kingdom                              |
| no(s).  | number(s)                                |
| NYHS    | New York Historical Society              |
| o.      | ostrakon                                 |
| OI      | Oriental Institute (Chicago)             |
| OIM     | Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago       |
| P, Pap. | Papyrus                                  |
| p(p).   | page(s)                                  |
| pl(s).  | plate(s)                                 |
| PC      | Papyrus Carlsberg                        |
| PT      | Pyramid Text(s)                          |
| q.v.    | <i>quo vide</i> , which see              |
| RSV     | Revised Standard Version (Old Testament) |
| SCA     | Supreme Council of Antiquities           |
| SR      | Special Register                         |
| s.v.    | <i>sub verbo</i> , under the word        |
| Taf.    | <i>Tafel</i> (German)                    |
| trans.  | translator                               |
| TT      | Theban tomb (tomb number)                |
| UC      | University College (London)              |
| UCL     | University College London                |
| var.    | variant                                  |
| vol(s). | volume(s)                                |
| vs.     | verso                                    |

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|               |                                                                                                                        |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ÄA            | Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 1960–.                                                                                    |
| ÄAT           | Ägypten und Altes Testament, 1979–.                                                                                    |
| ACE           | Australian Centre for Egyptology                                                                                       |
| ACER          | Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports. Sydney, 1989–.                                                              |
| ACES          | Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies. Sydney, 1989–.                                                              |
| <i>AcOr</i>   | <i>Acta Orientalia</i>                                                                                                 |
| <i>ActAnt</i> | <i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae</i>                                                                               |
| ADAIK         | Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe. Glückstadt, 1958–.                   |
| AegHel        | Aegyptiaca Helvetica. Geneva, 1974–.                                                                                   |
| AegLeod       | Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, Liège, 1987–.                                                                                   |
| ÄF            | Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, 1936–.                                                                         |
| Ä&L           | <i>Ägypten und Levante</i>                                                                                             |
| AHAW          | Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg, 1997–.       |
| ÄIB           | G. Roeder, <i>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> . 2 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913–24. |
| AJA           | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>                                                                                 |

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| AJP     | <i>American Journal of Philology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| AJSLL   | <i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| AnAe    | Analecta Aegyptiaca. Copenhagen, 1940–1959.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| AOAT    | Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| AOB     | <i>Acta Orientalia Belgica</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| AoF     | <i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| AOS     | American Oriental Series. New Haven, 1925–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| ASE     | Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London, 1893–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ASAE    | <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| ASCEVOA | Archeologia e storia della civiltà egiziana e del Vicino Oriente antico. Materiali e studi. Bologna, 1996–                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| AVDAIK  | Archäologische Veröffentlichungen/Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Mainz, 1970–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| BÄBA    | <i>Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| BACE    | <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| BAe     | Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1932–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| BAR     | British Archaeological Reports. Oxford, 1978–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| BARIS   | British Archaeological Repots. International Series. Oxford, 1974–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| BdE     | Bibliothèque d'Étude. Cairo, 1908–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| BeiBf   | Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. 11 volumes. Cairo, Zürich, Wiesbaden, 1937–1997.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| BEM     | <i>Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| BES     | <i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| BESud   | Brown Egyptological Studies. Oxford, Providence, 1954–79.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| BidE    | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut du désert d'Égypte</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| BIE     | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien</i> , later <i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| BIFAQ   | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| BiOr    | <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| BMFA    | <i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| BMJ     | <i>Brooklyn Museum Journal</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| BMMA    | <i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| BMOP    | British Museum Occasional Papers. London, 1978–.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| BMQ     | <i>British Museum Quarterly</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| BMSAES  | <i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| BSA     | <i>British School of Archaeology in Egypt</i> . London, 1905–1953.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| BSAC    | <i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| BSAK    | <i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| BSEG    | <i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| BSFE    | <i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| CAD     | I. J. Gelb et al., eds. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 21 volumes. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.                                                                                                                                       |
| CD      | W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| CDD     | J. Johnson, ed., <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 2001–. <a href="http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago">http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago</a> . |
| CdE     | <i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

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| CENIM          | Cahiers "Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne." Montpellier, 2008–.                                                                                                                                                                 |
| CGC            | <i>Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> . Cairo, 1901–.                                                                                                                                              |
| CHANE          | Culture and History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden, 2000–.                                                                                                                                                                       |
| CRIPPEL        | <i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i>                                                                                                                                                |
| CSEG           | Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie. Geneva, 1991–.                                                                                                                                                                                |
| DAWW           | Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl., 1850–1918.                                                                                                                                  |
| DCH            | <i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 volumes.                                                                                                                                                   |
| DDD            | Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst, eds. <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1995.                                                                                     |
| DE             | <i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| DemStud        | Demotische Studien. Leipzig 1901–1929; Sommerhausen, 1988–.                                                                                                                                                                        |
| DGÖAW          | Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie. Vienna, 1947–.                                                                                                                                      |
| EA             | <i>Egyptian Archaeology, The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i>                                                                                                                                                         |
| EG             | Alan Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> . 3rd rev. ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.                                                                                          |
| ENiM           | <i>Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne</i>                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| EPRO           | Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, Leiden, 1961–1992.                                                                                                                                             |
| FIFAO          | Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1921–.                                                                                                                                                    |
| GM             | <i>Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i>                                                                                                                                                                |
| GOF            | Göttinger Orientforschungen (IV. Reihe: Ägypten), Göttingen, 1973–.                                                                                                                                                                |
| HÄB            | Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim, 1976–.                                                                                                                                                                           |
| HALOT          | Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999. |
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| HO             | Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten. Leiden, 1952–.                                                                                                                                           |
| HP             | Georg Möller, <i>Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit</i> . 3 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909–2012.                                    |
| HTBM           | <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &amp;c., in the British Museum</i> . London, 1911–.                                                                                                                                    |
| IBAES          | Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Berlin, 1998–.                                                                                                                                                             |
| IJAHS          | <i>International Journal of African Historical Studies</i>                                                                                                                                                                         |
| JANER          | <i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion</i>                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| JAOS           | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| JARCE          | <i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>                                                                                                                                                                            |
| JEA            | <i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| JEH            | <i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| JEOL           | <i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch</i>                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| JES            | <i>The Journal of Egyptian Studies</i>                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| JFA            | <i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| JHS            | <i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| JNES           | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>                                                                                                                                                                                             |

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| JRASup    | Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series. Ann Arbor, 1990–.                                                                             |
| JSS       | <i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>                                                                                                                 |
| JSSEA     | <i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>                                                                               |
| KÄT       | Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden, 1969–.                                                                                                        |
| KAW       | Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt. Mainz, 1977–.                                                                                                  |
| KHWB      | Wolfhart Westendorf, <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg: Winter, 1977.                                                                 |
| KRI       | Kenneth A. Kitchen <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 volumes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–1999.                          |
| KSG       | Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen. Wiesbaden, 2004–.                                                                           |
| KTU       | Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.      |
| LÄ        | Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.     |
| LAAA      | (Liverpool) <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>                                                                                         |
| LD        | Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 12 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–56.                              |
| LGG       | Christian Leitz, ed., <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 8 volumes. OLA 110–116 and 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003. |
| LingAeg   | <i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>                                                                                                                            |
| LingAegSM | Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica. Hamburg, Göttingen, 1994–.                                                                                   |
| MAe       | Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.                                                                                                            |
| MÄS       | Münchener Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962–.                                                                                                  |
| MDAIK     | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>                                                                      |
| MEEF      | Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. London, 1885–1936.                                                                                       |
| MEES      | Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Society. London, 1885–.                                                                                        |
| MEOL      | Mededeelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap “Ex Oriente Lux.” Leiden, 1934–1946.                                   |
| MIFAO     | Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire. Paris, Cairo, 1902–.                                    |
| MIO       | <i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>                                         |
| MMAF      | <i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire</i>                                                            |
| MMJ       | <i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>                                                                                                                |
| MonAeg    | Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.                                                                                                            |
| MVAeG     | <i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>                                                                                  |
| MVAG      | <i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i>                                                                                            |
| NAWG      | Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen, 1941–2006.                              |
| NH        | <i>Natural History</i> (Pliny the Elder)                                                                                                          |
| OAJ       | <i>Oxford Art Journal</i>                                                                                                                         |
| OBO       | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg, Göttingen, 1973–.                                                                                         |
| OCA       | Orientalia Christiana Analecta. Rome, 1935–.                                                                                                      |
| OEAE      | Donald Redford, ed. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> . 3 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.                           |
| OLC       | Oriental Institute Communications. Chicago, 1922–.                                                                                                |
| OIMP      | Oriental Institute Museum Publications. Chicago, 1941–.                                                                                           |
| OIP       | Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–.                                                                                                  |

- OIS Oriental Institute Seminars. Chicago, 2004–.
- OLA *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. Leuven, 1975–.
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
- ORA *Orientalische Religionen in der Antike*. Tübingen, 2009–.
- OrMonsp *Orientalia Monspeliensia*. Centre d'égyptol. de l'univ. Paul-Valéry (Montpellier). Montpellier, 1979–.
- PÄ *Probleme der Ägyptologie*. Leiden, 1953–.
- PM I<sup>1</sup> B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 1: *The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960.
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- PM II<sup>2</sup> B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 2: *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed. Revised and augmented. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
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- PM III<sup>2</sup> fasc. 2 B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III<sup>2</sup>. *Memphis. Part 2. Saqqara to Dahshur*. Fascicle 2 (III<sup>2</sup>, 575–776). 2nd edition, revised and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1979.
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- PM IV B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 4: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyut)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1934.
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| PMMA     | Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1916–.                                                                                                                                  |
| PSBA     | <i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>                                                                                                                                                              |
| PTT      | Private Tombs at Thebes. Oxford, 1957–.                                                                                                                                                                                |
| RAPH     | Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. Cairo, 1930–.                                                                                                                                                   |
| RB       | <i>Revue biblique</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| RdE      | <i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| RecTrav  | <i>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>                                                                                                                       |
| RGRW     | Religions of the Graeco-Roman World. Leiden, 1992–.                                                                                                                                                                    |
| RILT     | Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple. Chicago, 1994–.                                                                                                                                                              |
| RIMAP    | Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Period. Toronto, 1987–.                                                                                                                                                     |
| RTA      | <i>The Rock Tombs of El Amarna</i> . London, 1903–1908.                                                                                                                                                                |
| SAGA     | Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens. Heidelberg, 1990–.                                                                                                                                                 |
| SAK      | <i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>                                                                                                                                                                               |
| SAOC     | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago, 1931–.                                                                                                                                                              |
| SASAE    | Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Cairo, 1946–.                                                                                                                                            |
| SAT      | Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch. Wiesbaden, 1998–.                                                                                                                                                                |
| SAWW     | Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Vienna, 1848–.                                                                                                                     |
| SDAIK    | Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. Cairo, 1975–.                                                                                                                                  |
| SÖAW     | Sitzungsberichte (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse). Vienna, 1848–1946.                                                                                                   |
| SSEA     | Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. Toronto, 1977–.                                                                                                                                                         |
| StudDem  | Studia Demotica. Leiden, 1987–.                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| TÄB      | Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge. Bonn, 1973–1976.                                                                                                                                                                     |
| TLA      | <i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i> . Berlin, Brandenburg, 2004. <a href="http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/">http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/</a>                                                                                        |
| TTS      | The Theban Tomb Series, London, 1915–1933.                                                                                                                                                                             |
| TUAT     | Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh, 1982–2001.                                                                                                                                                       |
| TUATNF   | Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Gütersloh, 2004–.                                                                                                                                               |
| UEE      | <i>UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology</i> . Los Angeles, 2010–. <a href="https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee">https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee</a>                                                                   |
| UGAÄ     | Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens. Leipzig, 1896–1956.                                                                                                                                         |
| Urk. I   | Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reichs</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.                                                                                                          |
| Urk. IV  | Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4, fasc. 1–16. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–09. 2nd rev. ed., 1927–1930. Continued by W. Helck, fasc. 17–22. Berlin: Akademie, 1955–1958. |
| Urk. VII | Kurt Sethe and Wolya Erichsen. <i>Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935–.                                                        |
| VA       | <i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| VT       | <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Wb.      | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 volumes, plus 5 volumes. Belegstellen. Berlin: Akademie, 1926–1963.                                                                |
| WAW      | Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta, 1990–.                                                                                                                                                                       |
| WZKM     | <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>                                                                                                                                                               |
| WZKM-B   | Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna, 1936–.                                                                                                                                         |
| YES      | Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–.                                                                                                                                                                          |
| ZÄS      | <i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>                                                                                                                                                           |
| ZDMG     | <i>Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>                                                                                                                                                         |



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