

New Lights on Tuna El - Gebel Necropolis Through a Selection of Religious and Administrative Titles*

Hasnaa Mohmmmed Abd Ellatif Ali

Demonstrator- Egyptology department- Faculty of Archaeology -
Fayoum University
hmalia@fayoum.edu.eg

Abstract: Tuna el-Gebel is a modern village which is located in Mallawi, El-Minya governorate. It contains many important monuments but this study will focus on the animal cemetery which is located in the west of the ancient city of Hermopolis Magna. The animal cemetery is devoted to bury the sacred animals specially the Ibis and Baboon.

The excavations at tuna El-Gebel have revealed religious association which was managed by a group of employees who they were in charge of taking care of the sacred animals. Among the members were there women and Greek officials who served the sacred ibis. According to the demotic documents it is clear that the members of the ibis organization promise to pay their monthly dues and to perform certain payments in kind. Furthermore they were expected to be present at the meetings to bury the sacred animals.

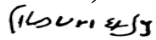
Keywords: Administrative – Demotic - Galleries – Ibis – Religious –Tuna El–Gebel.

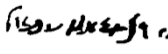
1. **An introduction:** The subterranean Galleries of the sacred animals are located in the west of the ancient city of Hermopolis Magna¹. The Galleries are four to five meters beneath the ground². It was a part of a large complex devoted to the animal cult especially the Ibis and baboon, with the feeding place (ibiotapheion), the temples complex, and the archive of the priests³. The underground galleries were built to house these mummified Animals from the 26th Dynasty onward.⁴ The official name of the Gallery in Tuna may have been “resting place of the ibis, the baboon, the falcon and the gods who rest with them”⁵
p3 ʿ.wy htp n p3 hb p3 ʿn p3 bk n3 ntrw nty htp hnʿ sn . In Greek.


The ibiotapheion^١.The catacomb is divided into four areas: the galleries A, B, C, and D, each with its own staircase access^٢. It is clear that there have been a number of the officials who were in charge of managing the Animal Cemetery.

١. Religious Titles:

١, ١.*swrd* (n) *p3 hb*: **Erichsen.W**^٣ translated it as the bandaging while, **Johnson.J**, Translated it as a caretaker of the ibis^٤. **Ray.J** read it as *swt* and translated it as embalmer of the ibis^٥. **Zauzich.k.Th**^٦ reading it as *swrt*. **Ebeid.M**^٧ showing an agreement with the reading *swrd*, *swrd*, *swrt* (caretaker of the ibis^٨).The title occurs on papyrus P.Louvre.E.٣٣٣٣(fig.٨)





and P.Louvre.E.٣٣٣٣٤(fig.٩)  , it also occurs on Limestone block Inv.nr: ١٧٢٨/٢٠٨.(fig.١٠)







According to Papyrus Louvre P.louvre.E.٣٣٣٣ and P.louvre.E.٣٣٣٤, the priests of the Thoth temple at Hermopolis sent Herieu (*swt p3 hb*) ,who was a citizen of Hermopolis and served in the nomes of the north, to the sanctuary of the shining (tA aXy(t) thny) in the region of šr, to take the lotus to the burial also to perform the services and do the work of the ibis^٩. According to the Limestone Block Inv.nr. ١٧٢٨/٢٠٨ back to late Ptolemaic) nA ntr.w pA a.wy-Htp (the gods of the resting place) give life to caretaker of the ibis (*swrd* (n) *p3 hb*) *p3 di-p3-hb s3 p3y-wsir* due to his interest of the ibis affairs^{١٠}.

To sum up. it is clear that the responsibility of this official was different from place to another, for instance, *swrd* "takes care of" someone (in that case it is "guardian" of a minor child "steward" of such a character) or animals (responsible for ensuring the procreation of the animals) or association "manager" who may be assisted by two or three secretaries^{١١}.

In the Ptolemaic document P.Louvre. E.٣٣٣٤ , this sign  represents a man

striking with stick ^{١٢}, used as a determinative while in Roman

document inv.nr. ١٧٢٨/٢٥٨ this sign  →  bow-string was used as a determinative^{١٧}. Both signs , , were used as a determinative in words which mean trustee, inspector, administrator.^{١٨}

١,٢.iry aA(Wn-pr) b3k n n3 ntrw n p3 ٢.wi- htp n p3 hb p3 ٢n nty ir imnt n hmnw: The doorkeeper (shrine opener) and servant of the gods of the resting place of the ibis and baboon, which is in the west of Hermopolis

The Title	Inventory number

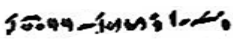

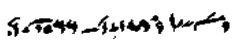
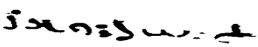
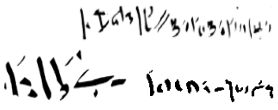
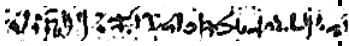
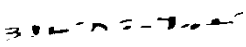
and thought that he was carrying sand and strew it in front of the temple, and he was doing rituals in the necropolis. Also she added that this title refers to the one who holds the boat of the god in different Processions^r. According to **Griffith** *wn* means “shrine opener” for ritual libations and offerings to the god (of the necropolis or tomb) and corresponds to the title *w3h-mw* (water-pourer) who was from a similar rank. during the Ptolemaic period the title **wn** was preferred rather than the title *w3h-mw*^r. According to **Pestman.P.W**^r *wn-pr* was a mere guardian "that opens the doors of the temple.

Secondly: (*iry aA* reading): **Zauzich.K.Th**^r read this title as **pA iry aA** instead of *wn-pr* , He also considered that the previous reading was the result of disorder the alphabet. also **Quack.J.F**^r followed **Zauzich.K.Th**'s reading as **pA-iry aA**

. **Wb** reading this group $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$ But, **Hoffmann and Quack**^r, believed that this is an abbreviation of *iry-𐀓* “doorkeeper”, and they considered that the reading *iry 𐀓* is correct.



In this case : (*iry 𐀓* reading) : This Title was used in demotic and was known since the New-kingdom^r. According to **Meeks.D**^r *iry-𐀓* were playing for at least in the new empire an important role in the economic life of the temples. Their responsibilities very far exceeded the mere guarding the entrance: sticks weapons, they were a sort of stewards, and each year, during the lifting of taxes, accompanied the people of the treasure to force defaulters. According to **Hoffmann and Quack**^r, the (*iry aA* Greek .pastophor) is originally someone who is responsible for guarding the house or the temple as a gatekeeper. According to **Hoffmann and Quack**^r *iry-𐀓* may be the correct reading of the demotic word for “ Pastophor”.

𐀓.𐀓. *stm.w n3 hb.w(stm.w 𐀓)* : servant of the ibises"^r , the one who hears call.

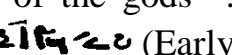
The Title	Transliteration	Document
	nA sDm.w nA hb.w n xmnw	Inv.Nr. ٤٨٠ .R.L. ٧.(fig. ١)
	nA sDm.w nA hb.w n xmnw	Inv.Nr ٤٨٢. R.L. ٧.(fig. ٢)
	nA sDm.w nA hb.w n xmnw	INV.Nr ٤٨٣. R.L. ٧.(fig. ٤)
	stm.w nA hb.w	Leinwand michaelides.L. ١ ^{٤١}
	tA sDm.w n nA hb.w n tmi pA-bwi- Sa	Tongefäß Berlin ٥/٦٦ (clay pot berlin).L. ٤ ^{٤٢}
	nA sDm.w nA hb.w n pA - sbtj-n-pA- mr-mSa m- bAH DHwty aA aA nb xmnw	P.Wien D ١٢.٢٦.L. ١ ^{٤٣}
	sDm.w n nA hb	Leinwand BM ٧٣٧٨٤.L. ١. ^{٤٤}


Throughout three commendation letters (inv.nr. ٤٨٠- inv.nr. ٤٨٢- inv.nr. ٤٨٣)^{٤٥}, found at Tuna El-Gebel and dated back to Early

demotic period, the *sdm.w n3 hb.w* and *w^cb.w n dhwt* are sent to *ht-nn-nsw š^c p3 tš n p3 jm.* to the districts of Herakleopolis and to the districts of El-fayoum to bring the dead ibises to Hermopolis-west to be buried in pA a.wy Htp (in Gr: ibiotapheion)^{ε^v}.



The general pA mr-mSa  (Inv.nr.ε^Λυ) *nh-w3h-ib-r^c* was responsible for their safe transfer.^{ε^v} it is worth mentioning that this title was preceded by the definite article(feminine) t3  in the document tongefäß Berlin 0/66. As




a woman called tA-tj- wsir carried this title at Tuna. This refers to the role of women in the service of the sacred ibis at tuna El-Gebel.

λ,ε. pA TAY (nA)ntrw: holders (Porters) of the gods^{ε^Λ}. The title occurs on papyrus inv.nr.ε^Λλ.(fig.υ)^{ε⁹}  (Early Demotic). *p3 t3y (n3) ntrw*, were part of the lower clergy. Also they were attached to the animal necropolis *p3^c wy htp*. pA TAY (.nA)ntrw should be organized in teams and were part of religious associations⁰. pA TAY (.nA)ntrw were probably responsible for the transport of animal mummies (*n3 ntrw*) from place of embalming (*w^cbt*) to the necropolis (the resting place *p3^c wy-htp*)⁰. The gods (*n3 ntrw*) must have the special sense of "the dead", the physical corpses or mummies^{0^υ}. In demotic the noun TAY is always singular. TAY also attested both with and without the definite article *p3*, the presence or the absence of the article pA is not related to the meaning of a singular or collective. The use of articles *p3* and *n3* is optional. The term *t3y* is applied to a person, a "carrier" who, with his colleagues, transported to the cemetery the dead animal. *ntr.w* the second element is always in plural and it is built with the first word through direct genitive^{0^υ}.


λ,0. Bk hr: servant of Horus^{0^ε}. This title was mentioned on document TG.0εελ 



Dated back to the persian period. It seems that the servant of Horus (*Bk hr*) was in charge of receiving mummified flacons from the donors to be buried inside the ibiotapheion^{o^1}.

This sign , represents Jabiru bird standing on a wickerwork basket with a handle (phonetic *bk* ) It seems that the *bk* sign was depicted throughout three movements.

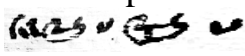

The first movement: drawing the upper slanting line which represents the head and the back line . **The second movement:** drawing an angular shape represents the body line, including the belly and the feet Line  **the third movement:** the Horizontal line perhaps represents the upper part of the basket, omitting the other parts of the basket and the handle .

Υ. Administrative Titles:


Υ, 1. *p3 mr-šn:-* The chief priest^{o^v}, Lesonis priest^{o^a}, supervisor/administrator of a temple or cult association^{o^q}; In Gr. (λασανι, λασωνις)⁶⁰. this title occurs on letter Al-Ashmunein Inv.No. 1 ε 0 0 .(fig. 0) . according to **Ebeid.M¹¹ *mr-šn***, was in charge of the administrative matters inside the Temple of Thoth or Temple of Osiris Baboon, specially the division of the offering shares, the income and the daily livelihood among the officials of the ibis association.

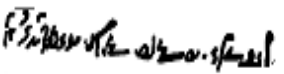

Υ, 2. *p3-rt (rd)* : **Spiegelberg.W¹¹** translated **rd** as “head”, “president”, and then “" verwalter"” (administrator), **Erichsen.W¹³** translated it as director, manager, or agent/deputy or guardian. **Kaplony-Heckel.U¹⁴** translates **rd** as “geschäftsführer” (manager). **Vittmann.G¹⁰**, translated it as representative inspectors. **Johnson.J¹¹** translated it as an agent. This title was written on letter Inv.No. 1 ε 0 0 .(fig. 0) , and TG 33 ε 9 . it seems that *p3 rt* was responsible for the organization laws, and was also responsible for making the

decisions of the organization and respects it. In the court of justice he is the representative or bailiff of the Greek officer who attends the trials representing the Greek –court. He is the one who reads the decree of Judges^{٧٧}.


٢,٣. p3 mr 3h.w: **Johnson.J** translated it as overseer of the fields.^{٧٨} **Spiegelberg.W**^{٧٩} considered *p3 mr 3h.w* as a senior official (Minister of Agriculture?) or a field - administrator of the temple. This title occurs twice on document TG ٣٦٩٧^{٧٧} . According to **vittmann.G**^{٧١} *mr 3h* was responsible for the central administration, confiscation of farmland, the treasury official, and the appointment of officials . More and above, *p3 mr 3h(w)* seems to have been attached to the administration of the *htpw-ntr*  the “endowed estate” of the temple and acted as the subordinate of the *mr-šn*^{٧٢}. The income from special field endowments, called “fields of the Ibis” was attributed to sustain the local institution of the ibiotapheion, and parts were used for the feeding of the sacred animals, and partly for the group of priests and servants responsible for the animals` upkeep^{٧٣}.

٢,٤. hr-ntr n p3 ʿwi-htp n p3 hb p3 ʿn nti p3 imnt n hmnw.: stonemason^{٧٤}, stone cutter^{٧٥} of the rest place of the Ibis and the baboon which is in the west of Hermopolis^{٧٦}.

According to the papyrus PaP. Cairo. ٢٤/١١/٦٢/٤, *st3=w-irt-bin s3 dd-hr-p3-hb* was a person who built the resting place of the ibis and baboon in Hermopolis-west. 

.
٢,٥. sh (n) Ghwty: the Writer^{٧٧} of *dhwty*, occurs on Pottery coffin TG. ١٣٧٩+١٣٨٠^{٧٨} , also on TG ٣٥١٢. It seems that *sh (n) dhwty* was responsible for receiving the dead ibises and baboons from the servants (*sdm-ʿš*) and registering their

numbers. All scribes may have been under control of the local leader of the ibis Community^{٧٩}.

٧٩. *sh p3 ʿwi htp*: "Scribe of the resting-place": This title occurs on Document TG٣٧٣٢٠ , dated back to late Ptolemaic period. "Scribe of the resting-place" might be identical with the "scribe of the temple (and) the resting-place. The "scribe of the resting-place" was a member of the ibis organization; he was interested in the affairs of the organization and of the oracle system^{٨٠}.

To Sum: Tuna El-Gebel Necropolis (the underground Gallery, the ibiotapheion, pA aw.y Htp) was considered the first Egyptian ibis burial place where thousands of ibises and other sacred animals were buried. The sacred animals were living in *m3rw*, after death, the mummies were taken to the *w'b.t* "purification (room)," where they were mummified wrapped in linen, and placed into jars prior to deposition in the *p3 ʿwy htp*.

Bibliography:

- Abd-El-All.S.**, *The Demotic Papyrus Nr. 7. 2/1- 7. 2/0 A comprehensive Study of The Document and of Professional and Administrative Titles*, Thesis submitted for ph.D.degree, (Cairo University 1988).
- Abdin.A.**, *The Coffins of the Sacred birds and animals in Tuna el- Gebel Necropolis (Styles – Decoration- Inscriptions)*, Thesis submitted for Master degree, (Faculty of Archaeology- Cairo University 2010), (in Arabic).
- De Cenival.F.**, *Les Associations Religieuses EN Egypte D`Apres les Documents Démotiques*, *BdÉ* 46, (Caire 1972).
- DILS.P.**, « *Les t3i (n3) ntr.w ou θεαγοι* Fonction religieuse et place dans la vie civile », *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 103-111.
- Erichsen W.**, *Demotisches Glossar*, (Copenhague 1904).
- El.Aguizy.O.**, “A Ptolemaic judicial Document from *hwt-nsw*”, *BIFAO* 88, (1988), 51-62.
- El-Aguizy.O.**, [“Priesthood in Medinet Habu at Ptolemaic Period through Demotic Texts”] (in Arabic), in :*Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, *BdE* 138, (Cairo 2003), 1-10.
- Ebeid.M.**, “Six Demotic Inscriptions on stone from Tuna El-Gebal”, *BIFAO* 108, (2008), 83-94.
- Ebeid.M.**, “Anew Demotic private letter from Hermopolis”, *JEA* 98 (2012), 211-223.
- Ebeid.M.**, “Seven Demotic Votive Inscriptions on various objects from the Tuna al-Gebel necropolis”, *ZÄS*(2014) ; 141(1), 41-50.
- Erman.A& Grapow.H.**, *Wörterbuch der Agyptischen Sprache*, Leipzig, (Berlin 1971).
- Farid.A.**, “Two Demotic Annuity Contracts”, *CASAE*, 34/1, *FS*. Radwan.A, (Cairo, 2000), 323-346.
- Farid.A.**, “A Demotic Sale Contract of The whole property” in: El- Sharkawy.B(ed.), *The Horizon studies in Egyptology; NUR EL DIN M. A.*, (Cairo, 2009), 211-226.
- Flossmann.M & Schütze.A.**, “Die Mumien-Nekropole der ibisse und Paviane“, *Bayerische Archäologie* 1 / 2012, (2012), 40-41.

- Gardiner.A.**, *Egyptian Grammer*, 3rd ed (London, 1947).
- Hoffmann.F & Quack.J.**, Pastophoros, in: Dodson A. M., Johnston. J. J., Monkhouse W. (eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man. Studies in Honour of Tait W. J.*, *GHP Egyptology* 21 (London 2014), 127-150.
- Kaplony-Heckel.U.**, *Die Demotischen Gebelen-urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus*, (Heidelberg 1964).
- Johnson.J.**, *The demotic dictionary of the oriental institute of the university of Chicago*, online version, (Chicago 2002).
- K.Th.Zauzich.**, *Papyri Von Der Insel Elephantin*, (*Dem. Pap. Staatl. Mus. Berl* 1), (Berlin 1948).
- K.Th.Zauzich**, “lesonis”, *lÄ* III (1980), 1008-1009.
- K.Th.Zauzich**, “Ein Zug nach Nubien unter Amasis”, in: Johnson.J (ed), *life in a multi-cultural society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and beyond*, *SAOC* 51, (1992),
- K.Th.Zazuich.K.**, *Ein antikes demotisches Namenbuch*, in P. Frandsen / K. Ryholt (ed.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies (The Carlsberg papyri 2 = CA//Publications 22*; (Copenhagen 2000).
- Kessler.D.**, “Die Galerie C Von Tuna El-Gebel“, *MADIK* 39, (1983), 107-124.
- Kessler.D - Nur el-Din. M.**, Tuna al-Gebel:” Millions of Ibises and other Animals” in: Ikram.S(ed), *Divine Creatures, Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, (The American University in Cairo press, 2000), 120-163.
- Kessler, D.**, unter Mitarbeit von Brose.P, Ebeid.M, Nur-el-Din.M & Steinmann.F, *Die Oberbauten des Ibiotapheion von Tuna el-Gebel. Die Nachgrabungen der Joint Mission der Universitäten Kairo und München* 1989-1997, (2011).
- Lüddeckens.E.**, “Frühdemotische Inschrift eines Tongefäßes in Berlin“, *Enchoria* 1, (1971),
- Lesk .L.H.**, *Adictionary of late Egyptian*, second edition, vol. 1-2, united states of Amarica, (2002).

Labib.M., A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Documents from Tuna al-Gebel Necropolis Throughout the Greco-Roman Periods, Master Degree, (٢٠١٢).

Meeks.D., "Les Donations Aux Temples Dans l' égypt Du I Millenaire Avant J-.c", in: *Lipinski.E (ed) in state and temple economy in the ancient near east II, OLA 7* (Leuven ١٩٧٩), ٦٠٠-٦٨٧.

O.M. El-Hussein Zegloul., *frühdemotische urkunden aus Hermopolis , cairo , ain shams university, center of papyrological studies, vol,II, (Bcps ١٩٨٥).*

Pestman.P.W., " Jeux de Determinatifs en Demotique", *RdE ٢٠*, (١٩٧٣), ٢١-٣٤.

Pestman.P.W., *The Archive of Theban Choachtes (second centur B.C) a surve of the demotic and Greek papyri contained in the archive, (leuven ١٩٩٣).*

Pezin.M., "Hor, fils des labys, frontisthv/ swrD d'Hathor de Dendera, en ٩٨", *RdE ٤٣* (١٩٩٢), ٢١٣-٢١٤.

Quaegebeur.J., «La designation "porteurs des dieux" et le culte des dieux-crocodiles dans lestextes des epoques tardives», *Mélanges AdolpheGutbub*, Montpellier, (١٩٨٤), ١٦١-١٧٦.

Quack.J.F., "Zu Einigen Demotischen Gruppen" in: *Vleeming(ed.) Aspects of Demotic orthography, acts of an international colloquium held in trier, ٢٠١٠*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, (٢٠١٣), ٩٩-١١٦.

Ray.J., "the Complaint of Herieu", *RdE ٢٩*, (١٩٧٧), ٩٧-١١٦.

Reymond.J., « recherches sur le rôle des "gardiens des portes » (*iry-ꜥ3*) dans l'administration générale des temples égyptiens », *CdE ٢٨*, (١٩٥٣), ٣٩-٥٩.

Spiegelberg.W., " Paapis" , *RT ٢٣*, (١٩٠١), ٩٨-٩٩.

Spiegelberg.W., *Die Demotischen Papyri Loeb, mit zusätzen von otto, (١٩٣١).*

Steinmann.F., "Tuna el Gebel: Die Tongefäße", in : *Fitzenreiter.M (ed.), Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten und im*

Kulturvergleich internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie, (IBAES IV), (Berlin ٢٠٠٣), ٩٩-١٠٩.

Thompson.H, *Theban Ostraca*, (Londen ١٩١٣).

Tyldesley.J.A., “Tuna El-Gebel“, in: Bard.K.(ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, (Taylor & Francis e-Library.٢٠٠٥), ١٠٣٧-١٠٣٩.

Vittmann.G., “Zwei demotische Briefe an den Gott Thot“, *Enchoria* ٢٢, (١٩٩٥), ١٦٩-١٨١.

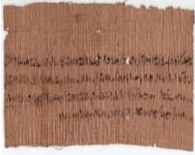
Vittmann.G., Der demotische Papyrus Rylands IX, I-II, *ÄAT* ٣٨ (Wiesbaden, ١٩٩٨).

-Vittmann.G & Migahid.A., “Zwei weitere frühdemotische briefe an Thot“, *RdE* ٥٤, (٢٠٠٣), ٤٧-٥٩.

Vittmann.G., “Ein Neuer Demotischer Königseid(P. Mainz ٣٠)“, in: *FS. K.-Th. Zauzich* (٢٠٠٤), ٦١٣-٦٢٢.

Von den Driesch.A, Kessler. D, Steinmann. F, Berteaux. V, & Peters. J, “Mummified, deified and buried birds at Hermopolis Magna- the sacred birds from Tuna el-Gebel, Middle Egypt“, *ÄgL XV*, (Vienne ٢٠٠٥), ٢٠٣-٢٤٤

Figures



Z



Fig. ١. Inv.nr. ٤٨٠
 Inv.nr. ٤٨٣

Fig. ٢. Inv.nr. ٤٨١

Fig. ٣. Inv.nr. ٤٨٢

Fig. ٤

(O.M. El-Hussein zegloul , *frühdemotische urkunden aus Hermopolis* , cairo vol,II, Bcps ١٩٨٠.)

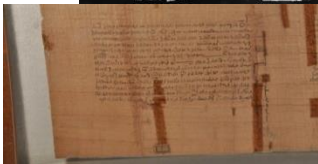


Fig. ٥. Inv.nr. ١٤٥٥
 PaP.Cairo. ٢٤/١١/٦٢/٣

Fig. ٦. PaP.Cairo. ٢٤/١١/٦٢/٢

Fig. ٧.

New Lights on Tuna El - Gebel Necropolis Through a Selection of Religious and Administrative Titles

Hasnaa Mohmmmed Abd Ellatif Ali

(Ebeid.M., *JEA* 98, 2012)

(Farid.A, *CASAE*, 34/1, FS. Radwan.A (Cairo, 2000).

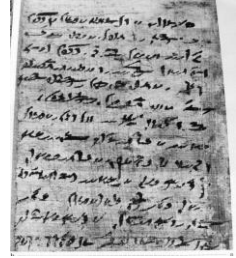


Fig. 8. P.Louvre.E.3333

Fig. 9. P.Louvre.E.3334

Fig. 10. Limestone block inv.nr. 1728/208

(Ray .J., *RdE* 29, 1979)

(Ray.J, *RdE*.29, 1979)

(Ebeid.M, *BIFAO* 108, 2008)

References

*My thanks are due to **Dr. Mahmoud Ebeid and Dr. Nagah Omer** for their advice and encouragement.

¹ Von den Driesch, Kessler. D., Steinmann.F., Berteaux.V, & Peters.J., “Mummified, deified and buried birds at Hermopolis Magna- the sacred birds from Tuna el-Gebel, Middle Egypt“, *ÄgL XV*(2000), 203.

² Kessler.D.&Nur el-Din.M., Tuna al-Gebel:” Millions of Ibises and other Animals” in: Ikram.S(ed), *Divine Creatures, Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, (The American University 2000), 138.

³ Kessler.D., “Die Galerie C Von Tuna El-Gebel“, *MADIK* 39, (1983), 107.

⁴ Tyldesley.J.A., “Tuna El-Gebel“, in: Bard.K.(ed), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, (2000), 138.

⁵ Kessler.D. & Nur El Din.M, in : Ikram.S (ed), *Divine Creatures, Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, (2000), 137.

⁶ Steinmann.F., “Tuna el Gebel: Die Tongefäße“, in : Fitzenreiter.M (ed.), *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten und im Kulturvergleich internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie, (IBAES IV)*, (Berlin 2003), 99.

⁷ Flossmann.M & Schütze.A, “Die Mumien –Nekropole der ibisse und Paviane“, *Bayerische Archäologie* 1 / (2012), 2012, 20-21.

⁸ Erichsen .W., *Demotisches Glossar*, (Copenhagen 1904), 218.

⁹ *CDD H* (29 June 2001), 38.

¹⁰ Ray.J., “The Complaint of Herieu”, *RdE* 29,(1979), 107.

¹¹ Zauzich .K., “Ein Zug nach Nubien unter Amasis”, in: Johnson.J (ed), *life in a multi- cultural society: Egypt from Cambyeses to Constantine and beyond, SAOC* 01, (1992), 362.

¹² Ebeid.M., “Six Demotic Inscriptions on stone from Tuna El-Gebal”, *BIFAO* 108, (2008), 80.

¹³ Ray.J., *RdE* 29, (1979), 102-110.

¹⁴ Ebeid.M., *BIFAO* 108, 2008, 84-80.

¹⁵ Pezin.M., “Hor, fils des labys, frontisthv/ swrD d`Hathor de Dendera, en 98“, *RdE* 23(1992), 214.

¹⁶ Gardiner.A., *Egyptian Grammer, 3rd ed*, (London, 1978), 222.

¹⁷ Gardiner.A., *Egyptian Grammer*, 012.

¹⁸ Lesk .L.H., *Adictionary of late Egyptian, second edition, vol. 1-2*, (united states of Amarica 2002), vol. I, 269.

- ¹⁹ Farid.A., "Two Demotic Annuity Contracts", *CASAE*, ٣٤/١, FS. Radwan.A., (Cairo, ٢٠٠٥), ٣٢٤-٣٣٧.
- ²⁰ Farid.A., *CASAE*, ٣٤/١, FS. Radwan.A, (Cairo, ٢٠٠٥), ٣٣٧-٣٤٦.
- ²¹ Spiegelberg.W, "Paapis", *RT* ٢٣, (١٩٠١), ٩٩.
- ²² Erichsen.W., *Dem Gloss*, (١٩٥٤), ٨٩.
- ²³ Vittmann.G., "Ein Neuer Demotischer Königseid(P. Mainz ٣٠)", in: *FS. K.-Th. Zauzich* (٢٠٠٤) ٦١٩ .
- ²⁴ Pestman.P.W, "Jeux de Determinatifs en Demotique", *RdE* ٢٥, (١٩٧٣), ٢٢.
- ²⁵ Pestman.p.w, *The Archive of Theban Choachtes (second centur B.C) a surve of the demotic and Greek papyri contained in the archive*, (leuven ١٩٩٣), ٤٢٨.
- ²⁶ Reymond.E, « recherches sur le rôle des "gardiens des portes » (iry-aA) dans l'administration générale des temples égyptiens », *CdE* ٢٨, (١٩٥٣), ٤٠.
- ²⁷ Reymond.E, *CdE* ٢٨, (١٩٥٣), ٤٥.
- ²⁸ Abd-El-All.S., *The Demotic Papyrus Nr. ٦٠٢/١- ٦٠٢/٥ Acomprehensive Study of The Document and of Professional and Administrative Titles*, thesis submitted for ph.D.degree, (١٩٨٨), ١٢٧.
- ²⁹ El-Aguizy.O., ["Priesthood in Medinet Habu at Ptolemaic Period through Demotic Texts"] (in Arabic), in :*Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, *BdE* ١٣٨, (Cairo ٢٠٠٣), ٤.
- ³⁰ El-Aguizy.O., *BdE* ١٣٨, (Cairo ٢٠٠٣), ٣.
- ³¹ Abd-El-All.S., *The Demotic Papyrus Nr. ٦٠٢/١- ٦٠٢/٥ Acomprehensive Study of the Document and of Professional and Administrative Titles* (١٩٨٨), ١٢٧.
- ³² Pestman.P.W., *RdE* ٢٥, (١٩٧٣), ٢٢.
- ³³ K.Th.Zazuich, "Ein antikes demotisches Namenbuch", in *P. Frandsen / K. Ryholt (ed.), A Miscellanyof Demotic Texts and Studies (The Carlsberg papyri ٣ = CA//Publications ٢٢; Copenhagen,(٢٠٠٠). ٤٧-٤٨.*

- ³⁵ Quack.J.F., "Zu Einigen Demotischen Gruppen" in: Vleeming(ed.) *Aspects of Demotic orthography, acts of an international colloquium held in trier, 1990*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, (1993), 110.
- ³⁶ Hoffmann.F & Quack.J., Pastophoros, in: Dodson A. M., Johnston. J. J., & Monkhouse W(eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man. Studies in Honour of Tait W. J., GHP Egyptology 21* (London 2014), 148.
- ³⁷ Abd-El-All.S., *The Demotic Papyrus Nr. 702/1- 702/2 Acomprehensive Study of The Document and of Professional and Administrative Titles*, (1988), 127.
- ³⁸ Meeks.D., "Les Donations Aux Temples Dans l' égypt Du I Millenaire Avant J.-c", in: Lipinski.E (ed), *in state and temple economy in the ancient near east II, OLA 7* (Leuven 1979), 747.
- ³⁹ Hoffmann .F &Quack.J., in : *FS Tait.J* , 2014, 148.
- ⁴⁰ Hoffmann .F&Quack.J., in: *FS Tait.J* , 2014, 148.
- ⁴¹ CDD H (29 June 2001), 38; Erichsen.W., *Dem Gloss*, (1904), 479.
- ⁴² Vittmann.G., "Zwei demotische Briefe an den Gott Thot", *Enchoria 22*, (1990), 170.
- ⁴³ lüddeckens.E., "Frühdemotische inschrift eines tongefaBes in Berlin", *Enchoria 1*, (1971), 2.
- ⁴⁴ Vittmann.G., *Enchoria 22*, (1990), 176-178.
- ⁴⁵ Vittmann.G& Migahid.A., "Zwei weitere fruhdemotische briefe an Thot", *RdE.04*, (2003), 47-53.
- ⁴⁶ O.M. El-Hussein zegloul, *frühdemotische urkunden aus Hermopolis* , Cairo , (*Bcps*1980), 23-48.
- ⁴⁷ O.M. El-Hussein zegloul, *frühdemotische urkunden aus Hermopolis* , Cairo , (*Bcps*1980), 27.
- ⁴⁸ Kessler.D. & Nur el-Din. M., in: Ikram.S, *Divine Creatures, Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, (2000), 120.
- ⁴⁹ CDD t (29 June 2001), 3
- ⁵⁰ O.M. El-Hussein zegloul, *frühdemotische urkunden aus Hermopolis* , Cairo , (*Bcps*1980), 60-71.
- ⁵¹ DILS.P., « Les *ḥi* (n3) ntr.w ou θεαγοι Fonction religieuse et place dans la vie civile », *BIFAO 90* (1990), 170.
- ⁵² DILS.P., *BIFAO 90*, (1990), 170.

- ⁹² Quaegebeur .J, «La designation "porteurs des dieux" et le culte des dieux-crocodiles dans lestextes des epoques tardives», *Mélanges AdolpheGutbub*, (Montpellier 1984), 168.
- ⁹³ DILS.P, *BIFAO* 90(1990), 109.
- ⁹⁴ *CDD B* (23 August 2002), 16.
- ⁹⁵ Ebeid.M., *ZÄS* 141(2014), 01 -03
- ⁹⁶ Ebeid.M., *ZÄS* 141(2014) 02.
- ⁹⁷ K.Th.Zauzich., "lesonis", *IÄ III* (1980), 1008-1009; *Wb*,IV, 496-497; K.Th.Zauzich., *papyri von der insel elephantin*, 1978, 281; Thompson, *Theban ostraca* ,(1913), 40.
- ⁹⁸ Erichsen.W, *Dem Gloss*, (1904), 012.
- ⁹⁹ *CDD M* (13 July 2010), 133.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Wb*.IV, 496.
- ¹⁰¹ Ebeid.M., "Anew Demotic private letter from Hermopolis", *JEA* 98 (2012), 216.
- ¹⁰² Spiegelberg.W., *Die Demotischen Papyri Loeb, mit zusätzen von otto*, (1931), 7-8.
- ¹⁰³ Erichsen .W., *Demo Gloss*, (1940), 206.
- ¹⁰⁴ Kaplony-Heckel., *Die Demotischen Gebelen-urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus*, (1974), 37-38.
- ¹⁰⁵ Vittmann.G., Der demotische Papyrus Rylands IX, I-II, *ÄAT* 38 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 412.
- ¹⁰⁶ *CDD r* (29 June 2001), 76.
- ¹⁰⁷ El-Aguizy.O. , "A Ptolemaic judicial Document from *hwt-nsw*", *BIFAO* 88, (1988), 04.
- ¹⁰⁸ *CDD 3* (23 August 2002), 71, *CDD M* (13 July 2010), 130.
- ¹⁰⁹ Spiegelberg.W, *P .Loeb*, (1931), 13.
- ¹¹⁰ Labib.M., *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Documents from Tuna al-Gebel Necropolis*, (2012), 168.
- ¹¹¹ Vittmann.G., Der demotische Papyrus Rylands IX, I-II, *ÄAT* 38 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 016.
- ¹¹² Vittmann.G., Der demotische Papyrus Rylands IX, I-II, *ÄAT* 38 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 016.
- ¹¹³ Kessler.D.& Nur El-Din.M., in: Ikram.S(ed), *Divine creatures , animals mummies in ancient Egypt* , (Cairo 2000), 124.
- ¹¹⁴ *Wb*, III, 394; Erichsen.W., *Dem Gloss*, (1904), 387.
- ¹¹⁵ *CDD h* (29 June 2001), 09.

^{٧٦} Farid.A., “A Demotic Sale Contract of The whole property” in: El-Sharkawy.B(ed.), *The Horizon studies in Egyptology; NUR EL DIN M. A.*, (Cairo, ٢٠٠٩), ٢١٣.

^{٧٧} Erichsen.W., *Demot.Gloss*, (١٩٥٤), ٤٦٠,

^{٧٨} Abdin.A., *The Coffins of the Sacred birds and animals in Tuna el- Gebel Necropolis (Styles – Decoration- Inscriptions)*, Thesis for Master, Faculty of Archaeology- Cairo University,(Cairo ٢٠١٠), ٢١٠-٢١١.(in Arabic).

^{٧٩} Kessler. D., Unter Mitarbeit von Brose.P, Ebeid.E, Nur-el-Din.M & Steinmann.F, *Die Oberbauten des Ibiotapheion von Tuna el-Gebel. Die Nachgrabungen der Joint Mission der Universitäten Kairo und München ١٩٨٩- ١٩٩٦*, (٢٠١١), ١٧٨- ١٧٩.

^{٨٠} Kessler. D. et al ., *Oberbauten des Ibiotapheion von Tuna el-Gebel. Die Nachgrabungen der Joint Mission der Universitäten Kairo und München ١٩٨٩- ١٩٩٦*, (٢٠١١), ١٧٨- ١٧٩.