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Budapest**

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New Kingdom Hieratic Sources in the Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

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ABSTRACT

This paper revisits four New Kingdom hieratic documents held in the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. These are P. Budapest 51.1960, a papyrus bearing magical spells; P. Budapest 51.1961, another papyrus with magical healing texts; O. Budapest 95.2-E, a limestone fragment inscribed with an excerpt from the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*; and O. Budapest 51.2195, a wine jar label.

1. NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BUDAPEST

The collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest holds a total of four New Kingdom hieratic documents, all of them Ramesside.¹ These consist of two papyri and two ostraca: P. Budapest 51.1960, a papyrus containing magical spells (§ 2); P. Budapest 51.1961, a papyrus bearing magical healing texts (§ 3); O. Budapest 95.2-E, a limestone fragment inscribed with part of a literary text (§ 4); and O. Budapest 51.2195, a wine jar label (§ 5). They do not represent a homogeneous corpus. In terms of genre, the two papyri are the most closely related, though P. Budapest 51.1961 is

probably older than P. Budapest 51.1960. One of the ostraca bears a literary text, an excerpt from the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*, while the other is administrative in nature. All of these texts have already been published—except for the texts on the verso of P. Budapest 51.1960 (§ 2) and the verso of P. Budapest 51.1961 (§ 3).

As is often the case with objects in the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, we do not know much about the provenance of these artefacts. Indeed, not even the acquisition dates of the papyri are noted in the museum's records. We do know, however, when the ostraca were acquired. O. Budapest 95.2-E entered the museum

¹ Other Hungarian collections holding ancient Egyptian artefacts do not possess hieratic documents from the period under investigation. The authors are thankful to József Dénes Kovács, curator of the Bequest of Frigyes Déri at Déri Museum, Debrecen, for allowing K. Jasper to consult the New Kingdom pieces of their Egyptian artefacts on 27.04.2023. As Bianka Horváth, archeologist of the Iseum Savariense, Savaria Museum, Szombathely, confirmed in personal communication with the authors (27.04.2023), no related objects are held in the Gothar Collection either, where the majority of the Iseum's ancient Egyptian artefacts are stored. Moreover, apart from the coffin of Hori (inv. no. A.1), no inscribed ancient Egyptian material is kept in the Calvinist Collections of Pápa, based on the email of Szilvia Halászné Kapcsándi, deputy collection director of the Calvinist Collections of Pápa, to the authors (26.04.2023). Finally, the hieratic papyrus held in the National Széchenyi Library, Budapest is dated to the 7th–6th century BCE. The latter papyrus is listed in Trismegistos (TM 57043) at <https://www.trismegistos.org/collection/647#colldetail-table> (accessed 10.05.2023).

in 1995 from the private collection of E. Gaál (1941–2005), former head of the Department of Egyptology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, while O. Budapest 51.2195 was acquired by the Hungarian National Museum much earlier, in 1916, as part of a bequest from Baron F. Révay (1835–1914). It is likely that the two papyri and O. Budapest 51.2195 were transferred from the Hungarian National Museum to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934, when the Hungarian state founded its Egyptian Collection,² but no surviving document proves this point. The lack of any sure evidence in this respect is due to the fact that most of the National Museum's early archives and its inventory books were lost during the Second World War and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.³

Over the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Hungarian National Museum acquired various ancient Egyptian artefacts. From the second half of the 19th century, a smaller number of objects, considered as objects of applied arts, also entered the Museum of Applied Arts, while some further objects were stored in the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum, which later became the Hungarian Ethnographic Museum.⁴ The Hellenistic and Roman mummies and coffins from the Hungarian merchant F. Back's (1862–1958) excavations at Gamhud were exhibited, for instance, in the Industrial Exhibition Hall, organized by the Ethnographic Department.⁵ Given the nature of the hieratic material, it is highly probable that they were first acquired by the Hungarian

National Museum before making their way into the Museum of Fine Arts. The first two digits (51) of the inventory numbers assigned to the papyri and the wine jar label indicate that these three pieces were registered by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1951, when many artefacts in the—at that time, joint—collection of ancient Egyptian, Hellenistic, and Roman objects were first catalogued in the Museum of Fine Arts, decades after they had been acquired.

2. PAPYRUS BUDAPEST 51.1960, A PAPYRUS WITH MAGICAL SPELLS

The exact provenance of P. Budapest 51.1960 is unknown (fig. 1). As mentioned above (§ 1), it probably entered the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934, though it was only catalogued in 1951. In 1974, L. Kákósy (1932–2003)—at this time, already head of Department of Egyptology at the Eötvös Loránd University—prepared a preliminary report on the text on the recto, which suggests that the papyrus was originally assigned two inventory numbers in 1951—51.1960 and 51.2168. L. Kákósy's (1974: 29) report refers to the papyrus by the latter number.⁶ This mistake must have been discovered in subsequent decades and was corrected in the 1980s during a process of inventory reconciliation.⁷ The papyrus was published in 1990 using the number 51.1960, by which it continues to be referenced.⁸

The papyrus consists of six fragments that vary in size.⁹ A paleographic analysis of the text on the recto suggests that it should be dated to the Ramesside period (also the height of the fragments

2 Kóthay & Liptay (2013: 4) and Kóthay (2021: 306). As provided by Act VIII of 1934 “On the National Museum of Hungary,” the Egyptian artefacts collected by the National Museum, the Ethnographic Museum, and the Museum of Applied Arts were transferred to the newly established Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts.

3 Personal communication, K. Lovas, head of the Central Database of the Hungarian National Museum (05.04.2023).

4 Kóthay & Liptay (2013: 4); Mekis (2013: 11–13; 15); and Kóthay (2021: 303–304, 307–308).

5 Kóthay (2021: 307–308).

6 See, however, L. Kákósy's comment from 1990 (140, n. 2): “Die dort angegebene Inv. No. muß berichtigt werden.”

7 Personal communication, K. Kóthay, head of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (16.04.2023).

8 Kákósy (1990: 140).

9 A: 19.8 × 20.1 cm; B1: 19.9 × 7.8 cm; B2: 19.9 × 5.2 cm; C: 19.9 × 18.2 cm; D1: 19.9 × 5.5 cm; D2: 20.3 × 5.9 cm (Kákósy 1990: 140; cf. also fig. 1 below).

corresponds roughly to the height of a standard Ramesside half-size roll).¹⁰ L. Kákósy (1974: 31; 1990: 141–142) first proposed an 11th or 10th century BCE date but later settled on a range somewhere between 1250 and 1000 BCE.¹¹ The papyrus is well known for the magical spells on the recto,¹² which demonstrate close textual parallels with the Harris Magical Papyrus.¹³ The few lines on the verso, however, which appear to have been written by a different hand,¹⁴ have not been published or studied. L. Kákósy intended to devote a separate article to these lines but unfortunately did not manage to do so.¹⁵

A short summary of the text on the recto was first presented to the Egyptological community by L. Kákósy at the 29th International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1973.¹⁶ This was followed a year later by the short report mentioned above,¹⁷ and then by a full publication in 1990.¹⁸ Although

L. Kákósy emphasized the conjectural nature of his reconstruction of the text,¹⁹ his arrangement of the fragments²⁰ has received general acceptance. The position of the partially preserved and unpublished lines on the verso seem to have no bearing on the arrangement of the individual fragments, but further research would be needed to fully exclude this possibility.²¹ More recent editions of the text all follow L. Kákósy's reading, including K. Stegbauer's (2010a) transcription and translation in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* from 2010, and the transcription, translation, and commentary of the text presented by K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022a) on the *Science in Ancient Egypt* website. Nonetheless, L. Kákósy's six fragments were significantly rearranged in the early 1990s,²² and the papyrus consists of only three fragments at present (see also fig. 1 below).²³ The museum is currently working on the papyrus, and the

10 Kákósy (1990: 140, n. 2).

11 The website of the museum and one of its recent publications (Dembitz 2019: 22) suggest an unlikely earlier date (14th to 13th century BCE). See <https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magic-spells/> (accessed 14.04.2023). The papyrus will be subject to restoration work and further research in the future.

12 The text on the papyrus is also listed in Trismegistos (TM 755074) at www.trismegistos.org/text/755074 (accessed 14.04.2023).

13 Kákósy (1974: 29; 1990: 140).

14 Kákósy (1990: 141). L. Kákósy described the remains of a text consisting of four lines, as well as another, separate line of text. K. Kóthay inspected the papyrus and confirmed L. Kákósy's description for us (personal communication with J.K. Paksi, 17.04.2023).

15 Kákósy (1990: 141).

16 Kákósy (1974: 32, n. 2).

17 Kákósy (1974).

18 Kákósy (1990).

19 Kákósy was already relatively certain about the arrangement of the fragments in the 1970s: "*Trotz des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes konnte die Reihenfolge der Fragmente festgestellt werden*" (Kákósy 1974: 29). He was more circumspect, however, in his publication of the papyrus in 1990: "*Da von den angeführten Argumenten nur einige einen entscheidenden Wert zur Bestimmung der Reihenfolge haben, haben wir darauf verzichtet, die Kolumnen mit römischen Ziffern zu bezeichnen und damit den Eindruck der Sicherheit zu erwecken. Mit den Majuskeln [A; B1; B2; C; D1; and D2] soll der hypothetische Charakter der Rekonstruktion angedeutet werden*" (Kákósy 1990: 140–141).

20 Kákósy (1990: pl. 6–7).

21 K. Kóthay, personal communication with J.K. Paksi (17.04.2023).

22 The papyrus is currently not on display in the Museum of Fine Arts. See the website of the museum (<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magic-spells/>; accessed 14.04.2023) and several recently published images of the object (e.g., Györy 2014: 145; Dembitz 2019: 22). It is the nature of the glue used on the papyrus that suggests that this particular reconstruction took place in the early 1990s (K. Kóthay, personal communication with J.K. Paksi, 17.04.2023).

23 Despite the fact that the papyrus' inventory number (51.1960.1–5) suggests differently (K. Kóthay, personal communication, 17.04.2023). The three fragments have the following dimensions: 20 × 11 cm; 33.5 × 20 cm; 20 × 18 cm.

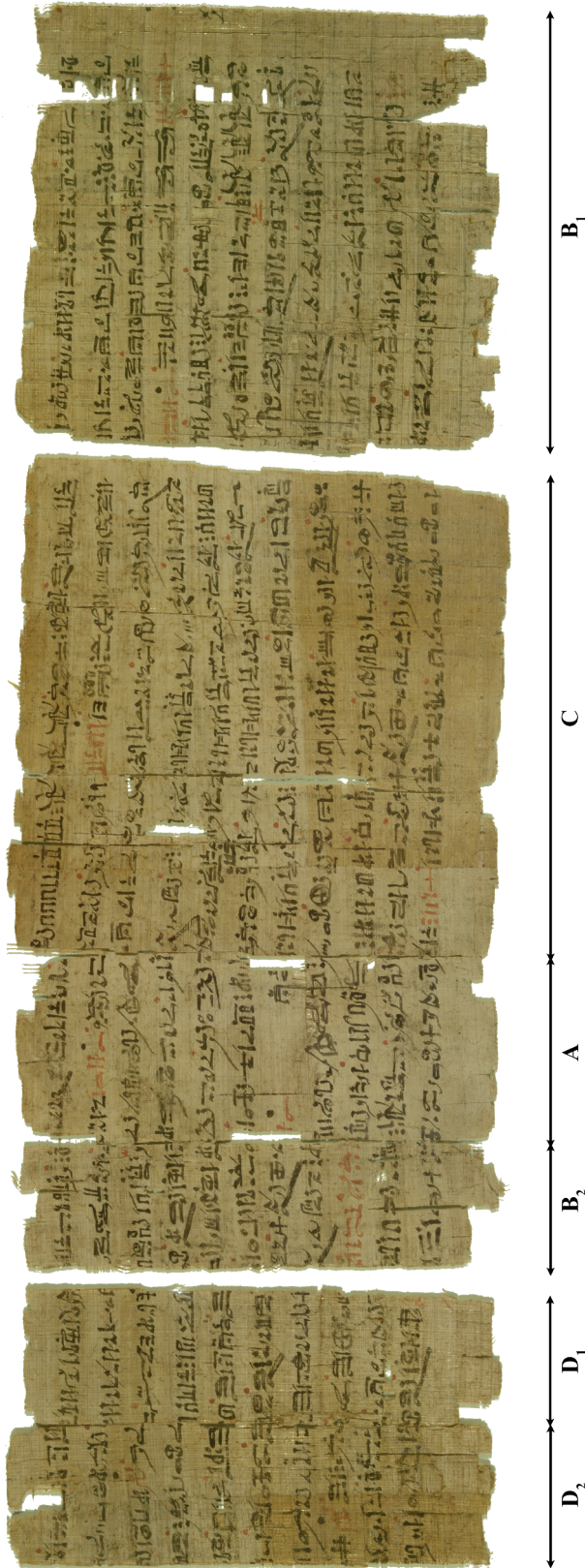


Fig. 1. P. Budapest 51.1960, recto, in its present form in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; the arrangement of the fragments suggested by L. Kákósy (1990: pl. 6–7) is marked below the fragments (© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; illustration by J.K. Paksi)

fragments will soon be reconstructed to conform with L. Kákósy's reading of the text.

Although the text on the recto of P. Budapest 51.1960 is highly fragmentary and obscure at points, it has nonetheless featured in several studies.²⁴ It will no doubt continue to be of particular interest to scholars studying magical texts. It is also of relevance to research on the myth of the Ugaritic god Kothar, who is mentioned on fragments B1 and C (in B1 8 and C 4).²⁵ In addition, the hand responsible for the text on the recto exhibits some idiosyncratic characteristics, making the papyrus of interest to scholars of hieratic paleography and to those seeking to identify individual scribes. Our scribe, for instance, regularly places a black dot above his cobra, sign I10 (e.g., in A 10; B1 9; C 2; and C 5).²⁶

3. PAPYRUS BUDAPEST 51.1961, A PAPYRUS WITH MAGICAL HEALING TEXTS

P. Budapest 51.1961 is a dark brown papyrus featuring four columns of magical spells on its recto (see fig. 2 below). It is currently on display in the museum gallery (on the basement floor)

dedicated to daily life in ancient Egypt. The text was first published by L. Kákósy in 1971.²⁷ Since then, photographs of the papyrus and references to its contents have appeared regularly in works on ancient Egyptian magical and healing practices.²⁸ A transliteration and German translation by K. Stegbauer (2010b) of the spells are also to be found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. More recently, K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022b) published a German translation and commentary on the spells in *Science in Ancient Egypt*.

The papyrus is damaged and the beginning and end of the text on the recto are missing. The text itself was prepared very carefully and written in a beautiful hand, but various lacunae (both small and large) as well as imprecise gluing make it difficult to read accurately in some places. Faded traces of a different longhand are visible on the verso of the papyrus.²⁹ The papyrus consists of two fragments: the length of the longer fragment is 67.5 cm, and that of the smaller is 6.5 cm; their average height is 18.5 cm, which corresponds roughly to a standard Ramesside half-size roll.³⁰ The fragments are inscribed with four columns of text. The second and third columns are wholly

24 See, for instance, Darnell (2002: 115); Darnell & Manassa (2013: 91, n. 170); Scalf (2014: 77, n. 46); Theis (2014: 268); Dielemann (2015: 37, n. 31); Guth (2018: 154); Gundacker (2019: 96–97).

25 See Kákósy (1974: 29–30; 1990: 141, 144–145, 146–147, 151, n. t, 152 with n. h, j, and l, 155–157).

26 Already noted by Kákósy (1990: 141).

27 Following a preliminary report in 1963, L. Kákósy published P. Budapest 51.1961 eight years later. His edition included a transcription, German translation, commentary, and images of the papyrus. He subsequently republished this article in 1981 with minor additions indicated on page 254.

28 Excerpts from the papyrus are included, for example, in Borghouts (1978: 29–30 [text 41]; 33 [text 44]); Kákósy & Roccati (1985: 57–58, 116); Kákósy (1989: 139–141); Eschweiler (1994: 23, 206–208); Nagy (2006: 30–31); Theis (2014: 149, 155, 170, 177, 400, 401, 521, 685). The papyrus also features in the most recent publications of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, where it appears with both photographs and a description: Dembitz (2019: 86–91); Liptay (2021: 114–117). For further references to P. Budapest 51.1961, see Borghouts (1970: 52 [no. 46]; 53 [no. 47]; 54 [no. 50]); Ritner (1990: 26); Koemoth (1993: 59–60); Takács (2008: 110; 2012: 86 [1026]); Nyord (2020: 102, n. 78); Attalla (2022: 115); Zellmann-Rohrer & Love (2022: 311, n. 853).

29 Kákósy (1971: 159, n. 1; 1981: 239, n. 1).

30 These measurements correspond to the measurements on the website of the Museum of Fine Arts (<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magical-healing-texts/>; accessed 19.04.2023), and to the measurements in Kákósy (1969: 108; 1989: 139) and Dembitz (2019: 87). Kákósy (1971: 159; 1981: 239) and Stegbauer & Dils (2022b) give the length of the larger piece as 67.7 cm, that of the smaller piece as 6.5 cm, and the average height of the papyrus as 18.5 cm. Because the papyrus is currently on display, it is difficult to reconcile these different sets of measurements.



preserved. Only one third of the text survives of the first column. The fourth column begins on the longer papyrus fragment and continues on the smaller one after a lacuna; the second part of this column is missing.³¹ A. Roccati (1979: 554–555) has demonstrated that some of the pieces missing from our papyrus are held by the Museo Egizio in Turin (P. Turin CGT 54058).³² Indeed, more than ten smaller and larger pieces of the papyrus are to be found in the Museo Egizio.³³ These allow us to

almost completely reconstruct the fourth column of our papyrus and to outline four further columns of texts.³⁴ Taking into account the 25–26 cm width of the columns on the Budapest fragments, and an average spacing of 2 cm between columns, the papyrus may originally have been 2.20 m long.³⁵

The Budapest and Turin pieces of the papyrus were presented together at an exhibition on magic in pharaonic Egypt in Milan in 1985, but it would be more than 15 years before a hieroglyphic

31 Kákósy (1971: 177, pl. [two folding plates without number]; 1981: 258, pl. 25/4).

32 The Turin fragments are now held under one inventory number (P. Turin CGT 54058). Previously, the inventory numbers of the fragments that complete the fourth column of the Budapest papyrus were: P. Turin Cat. 2106/348 for the fragment that completes the lacuna between the larger and the smaller Budapest fragments (18 × 10 cm); P. Turin Cat. 2107/416 for the fragment representing the end of the fourth column (7 cm in height); cf. Roccati (1979: 554–555). With respect to the Turin fragments belonging to pages 5–8 of the Budapest papyrus, no technical information (inventory numbers, dimensions, etc.) has been published so far.

33 Roccati (1979: 554–555).

34 Kákósy & Roccati (1985: 116).

35 Stegbauer & Dils (2022b), based on the measurements indicated in Kákósy (1971: 159; 1981: 239) and Roccati (1979: 555).



Fig. 2. P. Budapest 51.1961, recto
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

transcription and Italian translation of the reconstructed fourth column were published by A. Roccati in 2001.³⁶ The remaining Turin fragments are still to be published.

Nine spells can be differentiated in the first four published columns of the papyrus. They are directed against different types of headache, whether caused by injury, resulting from migraine, or associated with other forms of disease; these woes are also all associated with various malevolent beings. The spells also detail various ritual actions to be undertaken as part of the therapy, elements of which recur across several spells, such as the recitation of the spells over knots made from the fibers of a certain *mʿtt-nt-swt* plant,

which were then to be placed on the patient's head, neck, or leg.³⁷ Given the uniform topic of the texts and the fact that no individual patient is named in them, K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022b) convincingly argued that the papyrus represents an anthology of magical texts, directed against headaches, that may originally have formed part of a temple library or a healer's archive.

Some of the spells on the Budapest papyrus have parallels elsewhere. Spell 8 (P. Budapest 51.1961 & P. Turin CGT 54058, r^o 4,5–7) corresponds to P. Leiden I 348, r^o 3,8–4,2.³⁸ A. Roccati (1979: 555) has also noted that some of the unpublished Turin fragments also correspond to P. Leiden I 348. These smaller parallels appear

³⁶ Kákósy & Roccati (1985: 57–58, 116); Roccati (2001).

³⁷ Kákósy (1971: 160–162; 1981: 240–242); Roccati (2001); Stegbauer (2010b); Stegbauer & Dils (2022b). For a summary of the texts' contents, see most recently Dembitz (2019: 90–91) and Liptay (2021: 116–117). The term designating the plant employed in the ritual was commented on by Koemoth (1993: 59–60) and Takács (2008: 120–121).

³⁸ Kákósy (1971: 166, n. hhh; 1981: 246, n. hhh); Roccati (1979: 555; 2001: 419). For P. Leiden I 348, see Borghouts (1970).

alongside texts with no known parallels in the following sequence (following the spell numbers on P. Leiden I 348): spell 8—unknown formula—spell 12—spell 7—unknown formula—spell 18—spell 17.³⁹ Further to this, the content of the Budapest papyrus also corresponds at certain points to P. Chester Beatty V.⁴⁰

In his 1971 publication of P. Budapest 51.1961, L. Kákósy dated the text to the late 18th or early 19th Dynasties on paleographic grounds.⁴¹ In his 1981 addendum to that publication, he preferred dating the text to the late 19th or early 20th Dynasties.⁴² In the proceedings of the First International Congress of Egyptology, A. Roccati (1979: 555) proposed dating the manuscript to the reign of Ramesses II, mentioning that L. Kákósy had also considered this option in light of a comparison with P. Chester Beatty IX.⁴³ K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022b) present an overview of proposals for dating the manuscript and, based on the orthography of the text and the presence of Late Egyptian grammatical elements, suggest a date in the early Ramesside period.

With respect to the provenance of the Budapest papyrus, the catalogue of the 1985 exhibition in Milan notes that “it was purchased by that [unnamed] museum at the end of the 1800s.”⁴⁴ This accords with a personal communication from

E. Varga (1931–2020), former head of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, to A. Roccati; according to E. Varga, the acquisition of the papyrus took place in Cairo at the end of the 1800s.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the Milan catalogue does not provide any sources for these claims, nor is the museum where the papyrus was previously kept named in the catalogue.

Like several other ancient Egyptian artefacts, the papyrus might have been kept in the National Museum and then transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934. According to the archives of the Department of Numismatics and Antiquities of the National Museum, the only information on papyri kept in the museum is a document (inv. no. 472/1914) revealing that on 16th June 1914, E. Mahler (1857–1945), curator of the mentioned department and professor of the Chair of the History of Ancient Oriental Peoples at the University of Budapest, was charged with “assembling two pieces of papyri in accordance with their texts, and to report on their content for their future entering in the catalogue” either by himself or by a foreign expert under E. Mahler’s supervision.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, there is no further information that would help in identifying the papyri mentioned in this document, therefore, it cannot be told whether they were identical with

39 For their position on P. Leiden I 348, see Borghouts (1970).

40 Roccati (2001: 419, n. 4).

41 Kákósy (1971: 159–160; 1981: 239–240). A similar date is indicated in the most recent publications of the Museum of Fine Arts, as well as on its website, where the papyrus is dated to the 14th to 13th century BCE; cf. Dembitz (2019: 87); Liptay (2021: 115); <https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magical-healing-texts/> (accessed 19.04.2023). The object will be subject to further research in the future.

42 Kákósy (1981: 254).

43 Cf. Kákósy (1971: 160, n. 3; 1981: 240, n. 3).

44 The full sentence is as follows: “*Siccome i frammenti di papiro a Torino giunsero in questa città nel 1824, si è certi che il ritrovamento della porzione a Budapest avvenne intorno al 1820, anche se essa fu acquistata da quel museo solo alla fine dell’800*” (Kákósy & Roccati 1985: 116).

45 Roccati (1979: 555).

46 The full sentence is as follows: “*Hivatkozva megbeszélésünkre szerencsém van Nagyságodnak a M.N. Muzeum érem- és régiségtárában őrzött két darab egyiptomi papiruszt azzal a kéréssel átküldeni, méltóztassék azokat akár személyesen, akár valamely külföldi szakértő útján de minden esetre saját felügyelete mellett a szövegnek megfelelően összeállíttatni és a katalógusba leendő felvétel céljára tartalmukat velünk közölni.*” A digitalized image of document no. 472/1914 was shared with the authors by K. Lovas on 05.04.2023.

the two pieces of P. Budapest 51.1961. They are certainly different from the hieratic and cursive hieroglyphic *Book of the Dead* papyrus fragments that E. Mahler published in 1902 in *Magyar Könyvszemle* [Hungarian Book Review].

At present, all that is known about the papyrus while it was kept in the National Museum is that it was copied by A.H. Gardiner (1879–1963) sometime before 1933.⁴⁷ A further copy of the text was also made by J. Černý (1898–1970), who referred to it as “Budapest Magical Pap.”⁴⁸

4. OSTRACON BUDAPEST 95.2-E, AN OSTRACON WITH AN EXCERPT FROM THE *TEACHING OF A MAN TO HIS SON*

O. Budapest 95.2-E is a relatively large limestone fragment with an excerpt from a literary text, the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*, inscribed on the recto (see fig. 3 and fig. 4 below).⁴⁹ The verso is blank.⁵⁰ The piece was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1995⁵¹ and forms part of the permanent exhibition (it is currently on display in the basement, in the section dedicated to daily life in

ancient Egypt).⁵² The ostracon was purchased by E. Gaál in Cairo in 1967; according to its previous owner, it came from Deir el-Medina.⁵³ This would agree with the paleographic analysis of the hand behind the text, as it has been described as characteristically Ramesside.⁵⁴

The text on the recto consists of seven fragmentarily preserved lines from the second half of the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*.⁵⁵ These correspond to § 8.3–§ 9.9 of H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s (1999) synoptic text edition. Other copies of the teaching suggest that only one third of the text that was originally inscribed on the ostracon has been preserved.⁵⁶ The lost two thirds of the inscription have broken off from the left side of the ostracon’s recto. The fragment was first published in Hungarian by E. Gaál in 1982,⁵⁷ and then in German in 1984.⁵⁸

Although the ostracon was already part of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1999, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (1999: XXV) still referred to it as belonging to E. Gaál’s private collection. There are also a few minor discrepancies between H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s transcription

47 Cf. Dawson’s (1933: 137) note in an article on Egyptian medical texts, where he refers to A.H. Gardiner’s transcription of the Budapest papyrus and mentions the *m³tt-nt-swt* plant, a recurring element of its magical spells. For A.H. Gardiner’s transcription, see Notebook 33.24–35. The surviving archives of the Hungarian National Museum make no specific reference to the papyrus’ time there (K. Lovas, personal communication, 05.04.2023).

48 Černý, Notebook 115.17–23.

49 Gaál (1982; 1984). An image of the ostracon was recently published by É. Liptay (2021: 129, fig. 146). Note, however, that the size of the ostracon indicated below the image (13.8 × 11.3 cm) as well as on the website of the museum (<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/ostraccon-with-hieratic-inscription/>; accessed 19.04.2023) differs from E. Gaál’s (1982: 140; 1984: 14) measurements (13.3 × 10.6 cm). The discrepancy can be explained by the fact that, while the museum recorded the absolute size of the object, E. Gaál measured its width at the height of line 4 and its height along the vertical center of the fragment. For a photograph of the find with a scale, see Gaál (1982: fig. 1).

50 Gaál (1982: 140; 1984: 14).

51 Gaboda (1997: 17, n. 1).

52 The object can also be viewed online at <https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/ostraccon-with-hieratic-inscription/> (accessed 19.04.2023).

53 Gaál (1982: 140; 1984: 14).

54 Gaál (1982: 140–141; 1984: 14).

55 On the dating of the composition, see Stauder (2013: 508).

56 Gaál (1982: 141; 1984: 14).

57 Gaál (1982).

58 Gaál (1984).

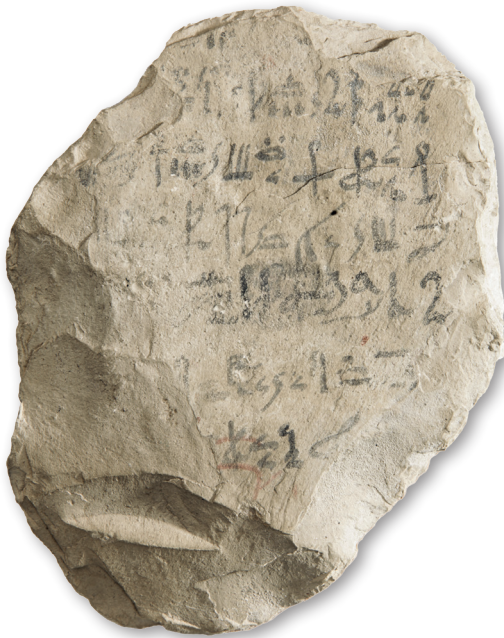


Fig. 3a. O. Budapest 95.2-E
 (© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

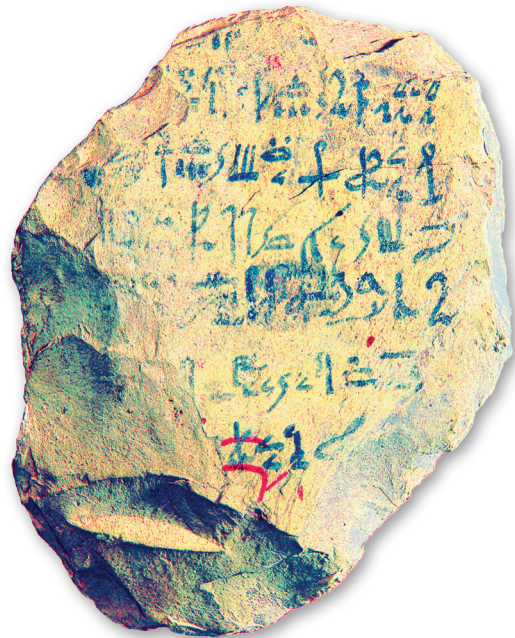
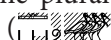
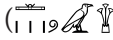
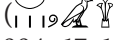




Fig. 3b. DStretch enhancement with LDS colorspace
 (© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)





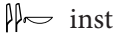
Fig. 4. Hieroglyphic transcription of the text on O. Budapest 95.2-E
 (Transcription by J.K. Paksi)

of the text—labelled in his work as O. Gaál—and E. Gaál’s interpretation:

- (1) In the first line of the text of the ostrakon—corresponding to § 8.3 of *A Man to His Son*—E. Gaál (1982: 142, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 17, pl. 5) saw traces of a papyrus roll above the plural strokes of the word *b³w* “might” () but sign Y1 is missing from H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s (1999: § 8.3) transcription.
- (2) The phrase *jdbw h³w-nbw* “the shores of everything beyond” includes a small mistake in line 2 of O. Budapest 95.2-E (§ 8.5 of *A Man to His Son*): *jdbw h³w* () appears here instead of *jdbw h³w-nbw* (). E. Gaál (1982: 142, 149; 1984: 17–18) offered a tentative explanation for the mistake and transcribed the passage with the word *sic* above the line. H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s (1999: § 8.5) transcription does not include this precision.
- (3) The red verse point at the end of segment § 8.5 of *A Man to His Son* is also present in line 2 of the text on the ostrakon (cf. fig. 3b and fig. 4), as it is in the other parallels,⁵⁹ though it is missing from H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s (1999: § 8.5) transcription of the text.
- (4) The preposition *hr* at the end of line 2 of the ostrakon—corresponding to § 8.6 of *A Man to His Son*—is written with a phonographic interpretant ()⁶⁰ a sign that was not included in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s (1999: § 8.6) hieroglyphic transcription of

the text. The same spelling also appears in line 4 of the ostrakon (§ 9.2 of *A Man to His Son*),⁶¹ but the word was similarly transcribed without its phonetic complement (as ) in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s (1999: § 9.2) text edition.

- (5) The phonetic complement after the sign  of the third-person singular dependent pronoun is omitted in line 3 of the ostrakon (§ 8.8 of *A Man to His Son*). E. Gaál (1982: 150; 1984: 20) mentions this in his commentary on the text but does not mark the omission with the expected *sic* above the line in his hieroglyphic transcription.⁶² H.-W. Fischer-Elfert’s (1999: § 8.8) transcription, on the other hand, does use *sic* to highlight the omission.

Scholars who only consult the hieroglyphic transcription of the text will likely miss two further specificities of the ostrakon related to the materiality of its script and hence only visible on the ostrakon itself. Line 5 of the fragment (§ 9.4 of *A Man to His Son*), for instance, contains evidence of self-editing on the part of the scribe. In the phrase *m kjj sp* “once more, at another time,” the signs constituting the word *kjj* “other” seem to have been secondarily rearranged. The scribe first wrote , deleted the signs, and inserted  instead.⁶³ In addition, the final word preserved in line 7, *mdwt* “speech, words” (§ 9.9 of *A Man to His Son*), was painted over using red ink (cf. fig. 3b). E. Gaál considered the marking, as well as the red dot below (which he interpreted as a verse point belonging to the text missing from

59 Cf. Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9, 149; 1984: 18–19, pl. 5).

60 Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 19, pl. 5).

61 Gaál (1982: 144, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 21, pl. 5).

62 Cf. Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 19, pl. 5).

63 The authors thank Stéphane Polis for his help with deciphering the traces left on the object by the erased signs. This interpretation differs from E. Gaál’s (1982: 151, fig. 8; 1984: 24, pl. 4), who suggested that the preposition *m* was originally followed only by the two reed leaves of the subsequent word, *kjj* “other.” He argued that the scribe must have forgotten to add the *k* sign but noticed and then corrected his mistake.

line 8),⁶⁴ to be original to the find.⁶⁵ However, according to the description of the object on the website of the museum, the red traces at the bottom of the ostrakon are secondary, perhaps even modern.⁶⁶ Further research is needed to clarify the matter. Nevertheless, the position of at least some of the other verse points on the ostrakon, which are barely visible to the naked eye (cf. fig. 3a), *do* correspond to the verse points in other copies of the text.⁶⁷ This suggests that the red dot in line 8 is likely an original paratextual marking as well. The brushstrokes to its left, however obscure, may also be ancient. The color of the strokes and the dots seem to match.

5. OSTRACON BUDAPEST 51.2195, WINE JAR LABEL WITH HIERATIC INSCRIPTION

O. Budapest 51.2195 is a marl amphora fragment. It is a 5.2 cm high and 7 cm wide object. A hieratic inscription written on its shoulder describes the contents of the jar (see fig. 5 and fig. 6 below). A hieratic inscription written on its shoulder describes the contents of the jar (see fig. 5 and fig. 6 below). The first word of the text, which is arranged across two lines, indicates that the jar was

used for storing wine. The label was published by P. Gaboda (1963–2023), curator of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, in 1997, who presented a photo and drawing of the object together with a hieroglyphic transcription,⁶⁸ transliteration, translation, and commentary.⁶⁹ The first word of the text, which is arranged across two lines, indicates that the jar was used for storing wine. The piece is on display on the basement floor of the Museum of Fine Arts in the gallery dedicated to daily life in ancient Egypt.


The label can be dated on paleographic grounds to the Ramesside period.⁷⁰ The text itself suggests that the ostrakon may come from the Ramesseum or from Deir el-Medina. In addition to identifying the product, the label also referred to the regnal year, the vineyard, the chief gardener, and the production region, though unfortunately only the number 3 remains of the regnal year, while the names of the vineyard and the chief gardener are also lost.⁷¹ However, the mention of the “Water of Ptah” in line 2 does not only refer to the growing region but also allows us to put forward a find-spot for the ostrakon. As P. Gaboda (1997: 21–23) notes, references to the “Water of Ptah” are also found on wine docketts from the

64 “Von der folgenden weggebrochenen Zeile ist ebenfalls noch ein roter Punkt erhalten” (Gaál 1984: 24). Cf. also Gaál (1984: pl. 3–5). Similarly Gaál (1982: 147, fig. 9, 151, and fig. 6–7).

65 “Das Wort *mdt* ist mit roter Farbe durchgestrichen” (Gaál 1984: 24). Similarly in Gaál (1982: 151).

66 The note added by the late É. Liptay, former head of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, reads as follows: “traces of modern red pencil” (<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/ostrakon-with-hieratic-inscription/>; accessed 19.04.2023).

67 On the verse point in line 2 of O. Budapest 95.2-E, corresponding to § 8.5 of *A Man to His Son*, see the third item in the list above as well as Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9, 149; 1984: 18–19, pl. 5) and Fischer-Elfert (1999: § 8.5). For parallels to the verse point preserved after the word *t*’ “land” in line 6 of the text, see Fischer-Elfert (1999: § 9.6). The partially preserved red dot directly above the red brushstrokes at the end of line 7 was interpreted as a verse point by both Gaál (1982: 146, 147, fig. 9, 151, fig. 6–7; 1984: 23–24, pl. 3–5) and Fischer-Elfert (1999: § 9.9). This verse point, however, has no parallels in the other versions (Fischer-Elfert 1999: § 9.9).

68 With the help of DStretch (cf. fig. 5b and fig. 6), P. Gaboda’s (1997: 18) reading of the last word in the first line of the text ( for *ḥw.t* “domain”) can now be confirmed.

69 Gaboda (1997). An image of the object was included in the chapter on ancient Egyptian administration in Dembitz (2019: 143). The object can also be accessed online on the museum’s website at <https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/wine-jar-label-with-hieratic-inscription/> (accessed 19.04.2023).

70 Gaboda (1997: 18).

71 Cf. Gaboda (1997: 17–18, fig. 1–2).

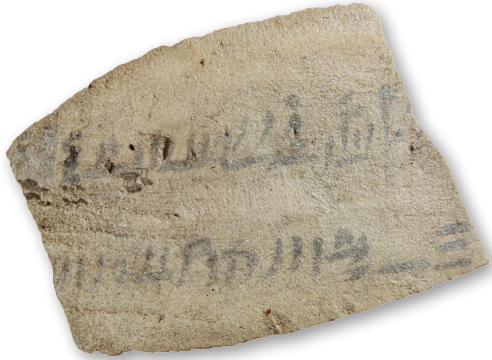


Fig. 5a. Wine jar label with hieratic inscription, O. Budapest 51.2195
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)



Fig. 5b. DStretch enhancement with LDS colorspace
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)



Fig. 6. Hieroglyphic transcription of the text on O. Budapest 51.2195
(Transcription by K. Jasper)

Ramesseum. This provenance is reinforced by the fact that the formulation on the Budapest label is very similar to K.A. Kitchen's *Formula X* based on the Ramesseum corpus.⁷² Moreover, the appearance of the "Water of Ptah," namely, the Rosetta branch of the Nile, in the text further confirms the Ramesside dating of the object: this lower branch of the Delta is not mentioned on wine docketts from before this period.⁷³ On the other hand, because wine from this region is also mentioned on jar labels from Deir el-Medina, the settlement should also be taken into consideration as a potential find-spot.⁷⁴

The provenance and modern history of the wine jar label are relatively well-documented. An inventory number written on its verso (25/916 257) identifies it as belonging to its previous owner, the

Hungarian National Museum. From there, it was transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934, where it was entered into the inventory in 1951 under number 2195. Its previous inventory number identifies the piece as part of the collection of Baron F. Révay,⁷⁵ who was a baron of historical Upper Hungary (currently Slovakia) and a member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament. He spent a considerable amount of time in Egypt in the early 1870s as a diplomat for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In his journal, the great orientalist and scholar of Islam I. Goldziher (1850–1921) mentions F. Révay's assistance in organizing the Cairo program for his first *grand tour* in the Middle East. F. Révay regularly donated artefacts, many of which originated from Egypt, to the National Museum after

⁷² Gaboda (1997: 23).

⁷³ Gaboda (1997: 21).

⁷⁴ Gaboda (1997: 23–24), citing López (1932, N 57340) = *KRI* 7, 51, 11; Nagel (1938: pl. 18, no. 30) = *KRI* 7, 51, 10; and Koenig (1980: ostraca no. 6333 and 6337) = *KRI* 7, 51, 9 and 12. For the citations, see Gaboda (1997: 23, n. 28).

⁷⁵ Gaboda (1997: 18, n. 4).

1876, suggesting that this was when he returned to Europe. He later bequeathed several other objects to the museum. The latter objects were assigned the number 25 when they were inventoried in

1916.⁷⁶ No further information about the wine jar label is to be found in the accession books of the National Museum.⁷⁷

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⁷⁶ Cf. P. Gaboda's notes in Wessetzky (1996: 7, n. 2) and the articles by J. Sebő on the life and travels of F. Révay (written for the Hungarian National Library blog) at https://nemzetikonyvtar.blog.hu/2021/04/27/revay_ferenc_es_az_utazasairol_tanuskodo_fenykepalbumok_passim (accessed 19.04.2023).

⁷⁷ K. Lovas, personal communication (17.04.2023).

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