

Aurore Motte

# Learning Through Practice: On How Kemyt Contributed to Crafting and Transmitting Scribal Knowledge

<https://doi.org/10.1515/zaes-2022-0005>

**Summary:** This paper is conceived as a first step towards the Kemyt (re)contextualization. By exploring the specific layout and paratext of Kemyt, it intends to shed light on the scribes who wrote the many partial copies of this letter-like composition and in which circumstances. I first address the layout, the ink choices, and the writing orientation. I then turn my attention to the text structure: dividers, ending marks, as well as colophons, dedications, and underwriting. The dated ostraca and their frequent identification as school exercises are discussed before moving on to the textual revision practices and looking for an explanation to the low proportion of corrected texts despite faulty content. All this enabled me to highlight a set of scribal practices, in which scribes draw, some being proper to the Kemyt, some being common to the rest of the text production. These practices revealed a complex network, from beginning students to senior scribes, through assistant scribes and early career scribes, which contributed to the crafting and the transmission of scribal knowledge during the New Kingdom.

**Keywords:** Apprentice texts – Kemyt – Paratext – Scribe – Scribal practices

Despite several studies<sup>1</sup>, there is no fully contextualized overview and comprehensive study of the Kemyt-book. By focusing my attention on the distinctive materiality of the known copies (including the ostraca awaiting publication), I intend to shed light on their social context. My aim is to better understand who wrote those multiple copies of this (famous) letter-like composition<sup>2</sup> and in which circum-

stances. This paper is thus a first step towards the (re)contextualization of the Kemyt-book. In that respect, layout and paratext<sup>3</sup> are crucial elements. The layout makes it possible to structure the content and it also contributes to the identification of a textual genre<sup>4</sup>. So does the paratext to some extent. Moreover, both allow a better understanding of the editing process and of scribal practices during Pharaonic times. As such, they fully contribute to my final aim.

After a short presentation of the corpus (section 1), I detail these practices following a functional approach. Layout, ink choices, and writing orientation come first (section 2). The text structure is then discussed, by means of punctuation in its broad meaning (section 3) and in accordance with colophons and dedications (section 4). Section 5 is devoted to dates while section 6 displays checkmarks, textual revision, and correction. Throughout this paper an attempt is made to put these scribal practices in perspective, by comparison or by contrast, with other texts, be they documentary, literary, or religious.

## 1 Corpus

The book of Kemyt is known, up to now, in the form of 500 (partial) copies,<sup>5</sup> on papyrus, walls, writing boards, and ostraca (see Tab. 1). Today, only five of them preserve today the (almost) entire book.

These textual witnesses range in date from the Late Middle Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom, with a large extent being Ramesside excerpts on ostraca. During this period, copies were mainly found in West Thebes and were part of the scribe curriculum. Kemyt is however not known from this area only. Its geographical dispersion is

<sup>1</sup> See *inter alia* Hayes 1948, van de Walle 1948, Posener 1951, Dakin 1992, Borla 1997, Gasse 2005, Peust 2006, Mathieu & Ritter 2008, Klotz 2009, Kaper 2010, and Petersmarck 2012.

<sup>2</sup> In fact it displays sections reflecting formulas and cultural content of the epistolary, narrative, autobiographical, and wisdom genres. Cf. Mathieu & Ritter 2008, 2. Barta 1978, Chappaz 1989, and Wente 2001, on the other hand distinguished three parts only.

**Aurore Motte:** F.R.S.-FNRS, Liège University, Place du XX-Août, 7, 4000 Liège, Belgium, email: [aurore.motte@uliege.be](mailto:aurore.motte@uliege.be).  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0349-7222>

<sup>3</sup> Concept coined in Genette 1982, 10. See also Genette 1997 and Motte 2021, 199–200 n. 12–14 for previous bibliography in the egyptological field.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Genette 1997, 94–103.

<sup>5</sup> Almost half still await proper publication. Previously, Gasse 2006, 86 and Mathieu & Ritter 2008, 1 recorded 410 artefacts, 342 of which (mainly housed in the IFAO) were unpublished. The number keeps growing, however, because of recent discoveries or identification of copies in museums.

**Table 1.** Distribution of the known Kemyt copies according to their writing medium

Writing support	Number of witnesses	Proportion
Papyrus	1	< 1 % (0,2 %)
Walls	5	1 %
Wooden and limestone writing boards	16 (4 <sup>7</sup> +12)	3,12 %
Ostraca	488	95,68 %

countrywide<sup>6</sup>. The letter-like composition has a characteristic layout and an old-fashioned script that make it easy to identify at first glance<sup>8</sup>.

## 2 Layout, ink choices, and writing orientation

Kemyt has a columnar layout, with scarce exceptions<sup>9</sup>. From the Late Middle Kingdom, the linear mode becomes the norm on written media like papyrus and ostraca<sup>10</sup>. Only Kemyt and a few excerpts of other literary texts display a vertical format on ostraca during the New Kingdom<sup>11</sup>. Black or red vertical lines may accompany these columns to ease the vertical writing<sup>12</sup>. These ruled vertical lines are guidelines and they were drawn, most of the time, before copying the extract itself, as evidenced, for instance, by columns left blank without text<sup>13</sup> or by the text overflowing on the

columns<sup>14</sup>. Very few ostraca, like O. Amheida or O. UC 31944 for instance, display small red dots or small red lines drawn perpendicularly to these rulings<sup>15</sup>. These were meant to facilitate the drawing of the vertical lines and to produce evenly spaced columns<sup>16</sup>.

The written text in these columns is the subject of various chromatic treatments. There are copies inscribed exclusively in black ink or, conversely, exclusively in red ink, both on ostraca and on walls. Writing boards bear only black excerpts of text, with paratextual elements either in black or in red. On ostraca, both inks are commonly found, with the red colour being reserved for the first phrase(s) of one or several paragraphs of Kemyt and/or the colophon (see below). Conversely, only the final phrases *mj mrr b3k jm* are noted in red on P. UC 32371A<sup>17</sup>. Such ink changes are intended for highlighting specific text units<sup>18</sup>. In other cases, it might be evidence of two hands, one practiced (in red) and one inexperienced (in black)<sup>19</sup>. On two Deir el-Medina

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kaper 2010, 125.

<sup>7</sup> About T. Puimre, see Motte 2022, 340–341 and 346.

<sup>8</sup> On rare occasions, other literary texts mimic this characteristic layout and script. See for instance O. LACMA M.80.203.204 (previously known as O. Michaelides 50) on <https://collections.lacma.org/node/245680> (page accessed on 24.01.2022).

<sup>9</sup> See for instance O. BM EA 5641 v<sup>o</sup> in Demarée 2002, pl. 36–37 or O. DeM 1129 (published in Posener 1951), on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19577> (accessed on 24.01.2022).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Parkinson & Quirke 2010, 45–46 and Goelet 2015, 198, 206 and 210.

<sup>11</sup> See for instance Hagen 2007, 43 who lists a few examples.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Posener-Krieger 1986, 26. Very rarely, as on O. DeM 1845, the dividing rulings are drawn in black then overwritten in red. Conversely, on O. DeM 1861 for instance, six ruled lines were preliminarily drawn in red ink but six thick black ruled lines then fix the layout of the copy. O. DeM 1831 displays a unique case of decorative rulings. Three ruled lines (black – red – black) ornament the left margin of the reverse. See Gasse 2005, 106, 126 and 144–145.

<sup>13</sup> See e. g. O. EA 329 in Pendlebury 1951, pl. XCVII, T. Carnarvon III in Carnarvon & Carter 1912, pl. 77, or O. DeM 1824, O. DeM 1828, O. DeM 1861 in Gasse 2005, 92–93, 98–99, and 144–145 among the published material.

<sup>14</sup> See e. g. O. MMA 35144 and O. MMA 36112 in Hayes 1948, pl. I–II.

<sup>15</sup> Kaper 2010, fig. 1–2. A low resolution picture of O. UC 31944 is available on the database of the Petrie Museum. CRGB, LDS, or LRE enhancements with DStretch (<http://www.dstretch.com> accessed on 24.01.2022) highlight red ink, including the small red lines crossing the vertical ruled lines.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Kaper 2010, 118. Compare for instance with small dots in Old Kingdom Abusir and Gebelein documents in Posener-Krieger 1986, 26.

<sup>17</sup> Collier & Quirke 2004, 50. It also happens in the Ramesside O. DeM 1830, where red ink is used only for the words *b3k jm*. See Gasse 2005, 105.

<sup>18</sup> On O. DeM 1128 x+4, inscribed with red ink, the scribe wrote *nfr* first in red and then overwrote it with black ink. Posener 1951, pl. V, n. e puts this in relation with calendars, in which black *nfr* indicate good presage and red *nfr* are used for dangerous days or baneful dreams. Cf. Posener 1949, 78. This ink switch points towards a scribe well aware of the current scribal practices. See also O. DeM 1823, on which the first words *b3k dd* have been written in black and then overwritten with red ink. A similar phenomenon is noticeable with paratextual signs *stricto sensu*. On the front side of O. DeM 1156, a black horizontal line followed by the sign  $\leftarrow$  (Gardiner D41) have been erased then rewritten, with a firmer hand – the line is indeed thin and assured while the rest of the copy on the front side betrays an uncertain, clumsy or even scrambled hand – in red ink. See <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19606> (accessed on 24.01.2022) for a colour picture. See also Posch 2022 for observations on ink changes in Kemyt ostraca from Deir el-Medina, stored on site, in magazine 25.

<sup>19</sup> This overlay of red and black inks may be paralleled with Egyptian art, where drawings are undersketched in red (with or without the help of a squared grid) and then outlined in black ink, but not necessarily by unpractised hands. See e. g. the drawings on T. Luxor J 1001 in Galán 2007, 5 or O. LACMA M.80.203.202 in Cooney 2012, 153–155 and on <https://collections.lacma.org/node/245602> (accessed on 24.01.2022) but the same happens in wall paintings as well.

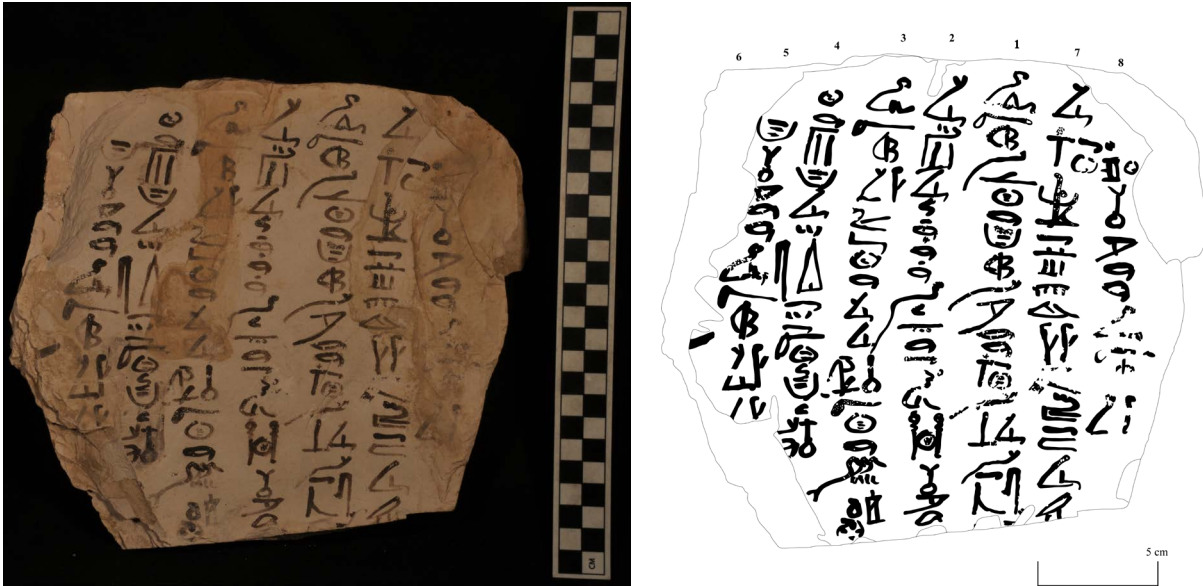


Figure 1. O. Cairo JE 95616 (photograph by The Egyptian Museum, Cairo; digital drawing by the author)

ostraca<sup>20</sup>, the text excerpt was first written in red ink and then passed over in black ink.

Kemyt copies are mostly read from right to left, in a prograde way, but less than 2% have a (partial) retrograde writing<sup>21</sup>. Short and long extracts must be distinguished here. The first case supports the *Sitz im Leben* highlighted by Golet (2013), who understands Kemyt copies as training and practice texts for a scribe who would ultimately write funerary books in cursive hieroglyphs. Such funerary texts are likely to display retrograde writing and so the few retrograde Kemyt excerpts can be presumed to be attempts at practicing such a peculiar writing. It is, however, slightly different for the longer extracts on O. DAN hierat. 5<sup>22</sup> and O. Cairo JE 95616 (see fig. 1). On the latter, the scribe has started his copy with § 1 in the second third of the ostrakon, after a flint nodule, to write on a smooth, flat surface. The text then goes on in a prograde way for the next five columns until the very beginning of § 3. The scribe pursued and finished his copy of § 3 by adding two columns to the left of § 1 on

the less flattened area. These two additional columns must be read from left to right, the writing orientation being retrograde in this case. The retrograde writing is presumably the consequence of a misjudgment of the required space to copy § 1 to § 3 on the selected flake of limestone.

### 3 Punctuation

Each paragraph of the Kemyt constitutes a semantic unit. The 17 paragraph breakdown in the synoptic editions<sup>23</sup> is a reflection of the text structure designed by the ancient scribes. In the current state of the documentation, the end of a paragraph is indicated by means of the sign  $\curvearrowright$  (Gardiner D41) written in red in about forty ostraca<sup>24</sup>. A red horizontal line usually precedes it<sup>25</sup>. This sign, an abbreviation for *grh* “pause”, is a common divider in New Kingdom literary and school texts, which traces back to earlier funerary texts<sup>26</sup>. In the Coffin Texts, it alternates with a single or double horizontal line drawn either in red or in black

<sup>20</sup> See O. CGT 57545 + 57546 in López 1984, pl. 175–175a, as well as O. UC 31953 + O. IFAO OL 6666 in Motte and Ritter 2023.

<sup>21</sup> These are, on the one hand, the two Assiut *dipinti* TN6 and TS10 published in Verhoeven 2020b, 34–35, 140, 242–243, pl. 46, pl. 107, pl. 187, and pl. 270. On the other hand are six ostraca: O. Cairo JE 95616 (unpublished, currently under study), O. Cairo SR 12206 in Kamal 2016, 113–126 and pl. 9–10, O. DAN hierat. 5 in Burkard 2018, 20–21 and pl. 4–5, O. IFAO inv. C 2177 (= OL 410) in Venturini 2007, 259, O. DeM 1173 published in Posener 1951, pl. 25, as well as maybe O. Hayes 5, published as a hieroglyphic transcription only in Hayes 1951, fig. 39.

<sup>22</sup> Previously discussed in Burkard 2003, 39–41.

<sup>23</sup> Posener 1951 and Petersmarck 2012.

<sup>24</sup> See for instance O. Strasbourg H 137 in Koenig 1997, pl. 74 and pl. 127 or O. Naprstek P 3830 in Fischer-Elfert & *alii* 2018, 45–46 and pl. XI. The only known exception is the previously discussed O. DeM 1156 (cf. fn 17 above).

<sup>25</sup> See for instance O. Munich AS 3402 in Schoske & Wildung 2009, 35 or O. Cambridge E.GA.4758.1943 in Hagen 2011, 14 and pl. 56.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *inter alia* Grapow 1936, 53, van de Walle 1948, 21, n. 2, Enmarch 2020, 48–49 and Motte & Sojic 2020, 68, n. 62 with further bibliography.

ink, just as in a few Kemyt excerpts<sup>27</sup>. These horizontal lines are mostly added in red within black-inked text<sup>28</sup>. Less frequent are black horizontal lines within red ink text<sup>29</sup>, red lines in rubrics<sup>30</sup>, or black lines within a text fully written in black ink<sup>31</sup>. Many copies are also free of any text divider<sup>32</sup> or “ending mark<sup>33</sup>”.

Ramesseid Kemyt excerpts are sometimes concluded with the first words of the following paragraph. It is certainly not a paratextual mark *stricto sensu* like the previous text dividers. It is nonetheless a means to conclude the copy of an excerpt. Van de Walle (1946: 6–7) already highlighted this phenomenon in New Kingdom copies of the Teaching of Amenemhat, the Satire of Trades, and the Hymn to Hapy. As regards Kemyt, Deir el-Medina material produced many examples of it, from § 2 to § 17<sup>34</sup>, but the ostrakon discovered in the Saqqara tomb of Neferrenpet<sup>35</sup> is an indication of this practice outside Thebes.

Short horizontal lines are frequently added in Kemyt excerpts (although only on ostraca) as means of punctuation. More or less 35% of the corpus displays such text dividers. Lines are mostly red<sup>36</sup> and mark the metrical

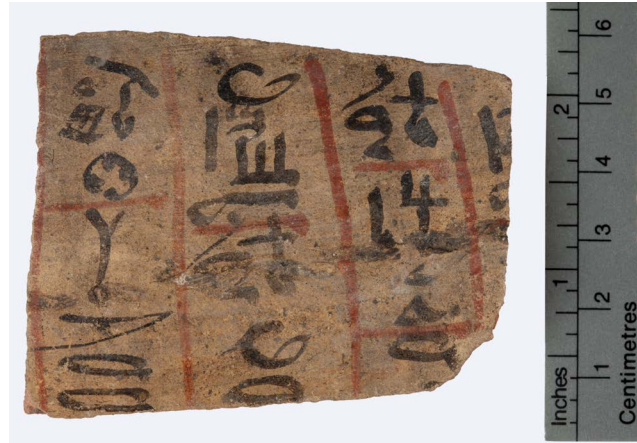


Figure 2. O. UC 31909, courtesy of the Petrie Museum, UCL

units within a verse<sup>37</sup>. Conversely, black lines are found in or after rubrics<sup>38</sup> but also in black-inked text<sup>39</sup>. These dividers happen to be another Ramesseid peculiarity. No such lines are found in the earlier witnesses of Kemyt. Only three ostraca have a secured provenance other than West Thebes or Deir el-Medina: in Nubia<sup>40</sup> and Saqqara<sup>41</sup>. The other witnesses are mainly from the Deir el-Medina settlement or otherwise connected to its workforce. A handful of these display horizontal lines every two or three squares (see fig. 2)<sup>42</sup>. It seems to suggest a (self-)proofreading<sup>43</sup> as if the (apprentice) scribe conscientiously read (out loud) the text so as to check the words spelling (see below). In this specific case, they are a lectional assistance although they are found together with the punctuation and their shape is no different.

27 See for instance O. BM EA 5641 r<sup>o</sup> in Demarée 2002, pl. 36–37.

28 See for instance O. Cairo JE 54949 in Mathieu & Ritter 2008, pl. I–II, O. CGT 57307 r<sup>o</sup>, O. CGT 57308, and O. CGT 57552 r<sup>o</sup>, in López 1980/1984, pl. 97–97a and pl. 177–177a, or even O. Kuban 1 in Emery 1935, 259 and pl. 58.

29 E.g. O. DeM 1128 (published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19576> (accessed on 24.01.2022).

30 E.g. O. DeM 1119 (published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19566> and

O. DeM 1126 (published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19574> (pages accessed on 24.01.2022).

31 E.g. O. DeM 1541 (published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=20000> (accessed on 24.01.2022).

32 E.g. O. Brussels E 3208 + O. DeM 1171A-B in Posener 1951, pl. 22, O. CGT 57060 in López 1978, pl. 35–35a or O. Cairo JE 95616 (cf. fig. 1 above).

33 About the peculiar ending mark of T. Louvre AF 497, see Barbotin 1997, 247–248 and Motte 2022, 348–350.

34 Among the published material, see e.g. O. DeM 1109 (ending with beginning of § 2), O. DeM 1113 (likewise with § 3), O. DeM 1120 (likewise with § 4), O. DeM 1124 (likewise with § 5), probably O. DeM 1860 (likewise with § 6), O. DeM 1126 (likewise with § 7), O. DeM 1867 (likewise with § 11), O. Munich AS 3402 (likewise with § 13), O. DeM 1146 (likewise with § 14), O. DeM 1161 (likewise with § 16), and perhaps O. DeM 1166 (likewise with § 17), published in Posener 1951, Gasse 2005, Mathieu & Ritter 2008, or Schoske & Wildung 2009.

35

محروس، زينب على محمد، 2007، نسخة من الكتاب التعليمي Kmyt من حفائر كلية الآثار بسفارة، 65–57.

36 See Posener 1951 and Petersmarck 2012, 115–140 for a global view.

37 van de Walle 1946, 3 speaks of “une série de mots qui devaient être lus ou récités d’une seule traite et formaient pour ainsi dire un groupe respiratoire”, which he terms “stique”.

38 E.g. O. DeM 1110 and O. DeM 1128 in Posener 1951.

39 This is twice the case in the unpublished material (currently under study) from the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

40 Cf. O. Kuban 1 Emery 1935, 259 and pl. 58, and O. BM EA 71366 (unpublished, currently under study).

41 Cf. O. Horemheb 31 in Schneider 1996, 13 and pl. 1.

42 See for instance O. DeM 1136 (published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19584> (accessed on 24.01.2022) or O. DeM 1850 in Gasse 2005, 132. On O. UC 31912, the short red horizontal lines have been overwritten with black ink. Colophon and/or dedication have not been recorded on the other writing support (papyrus, walls, and writing-boards).

43 Proofreading evidence are found in other circumstances, such as the Narmouthis ostraca for instance. See Lescuyer 2020, 127.

Table 2. Known dedicatees and copyists of Kemyt

	Preserved paragraphs	Dedicatée	Copyist
O. Brussels E 7627	§§XII–XVII	<i>sš p3</i> -[...] “scribe Pa[...]”	?
O. DeM 1157	§§XIV–XVII	<i>sš nht</i> -[...] “scribe Nakht[...]”	?
O. Munich ÄS 1638 <sup>44</sup>	§XVII	<i>sš-qd.wt [m s.t-m<sup>3c</sup>.t m3]3-nhtw.f</i> “draughtsman [in the Place of Truth Ma]janakhtef”	[...]
O. Cairo JE 56842 A/B <sup>45</sup>	§§IV–XVII	<i>sš-qd.wt m s.t m3<sup>c</sup>.t p3-r<sup>c</sup>-htpw</i> “draughtsman in the Place of Truth Prehotep”	<i>hry-<sup>c</sup> mry=f p3-nht jt nb-ntr.w</i> “his beloved assistant Panakht, (his) father is Nebnetjeru”
O. DeM 1153 r <sup>o46</sup>	§§XIII–XVII	<i>sš-qd.wt nb-r<sup>c</sup>[...] =f sš hy s3=f b3ky</i> “draughtsman Nebre, his [...], scribe Hy and his son Baky”	<i>hry-<sup>c</sup> =f sš nh</i> -[...] “his assistant, scribe Neh[...]”
ANAsh.Mus.H.O.1191 v <sup>o</sup> * <sup>47</sup>	§§I–XVII	[... <i>sdm-<sup>c</sup>s</i> ] <i>p3-wr sdm-<sup>c</sup>s jn-hr(-h<sup>c</sup>j) nb&lt;.t&gt; pr [hnw.t-]dw s3.t hnw.t-h[m] -blank space- [h]nw.t-hm p3-nfr sš hy [...]</i> <i>mhy.t(-h<sup>c</sup>.tj) p(3)-n-jn-hr mn<sup>33</sup></i> “[... the servant] Pawer, the servant Inher(khuwy) and the lady of the house [Henut]djuu, daughter of Henutkhe[m], -blank space- [He]noutkhem, Panefer, the scribe Huy [...] Mehyt(-khati), Peninhur, and Menna” (women’s names have been italicized)	?
O. Brussels E 3208 + O. DeM 1171A/B <sup>48</sup>	§§I–XV	?	<i>sš h3y p3-n<sup>49</sup> c3 n js.t h3y</i> [...] “scribe Hay, he of the chief workman Hay [...]”

## 4 Colophons, dedications and underwritings

Less than twenty Kemyt ostraca<sup>50</sup> (< 4 %) – all Ramesside in date – preserve a colophon and/or a dedication<sup>51</sup>. This is

written either solely with black<sup>52</sup> or red ink<sup>53</sup>, or with both inks<sup>54</sup>. The structure is strictly identical from one witness to another. It is the noun phrase *fw=s<sup>55</sup> pw nfr m htpw* (“it has come well and in peace”). Even if this formula is not known prior to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, we have encountered the close variant *fw=s pw m htp sp-sn* in the Coffin Texts<sup>56</sup>. The ded-

44 Previously discussed in McDowell 2000, 226 and Mathieu & Ritter 2008, 8.

45 Previously discussed in McDowell 2000, 224–225 and l. c.

46 Previously discussed in McDowell 2000, 225 and l. c.

47 The symbol \* indicates unpublished material. ANAsh.Mus.H.O.1191 is still under study. I would like to thank Liam McNamara, Lisa and Bernard Selz Curator for Ancient Egypt and Sudan (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology), for his kind permission to include this fabulous ostrakon in this paper.

48 Previously discussed in McDowell 2000, 227 and l. c.

49 About *p(3)-n* indicating professional filiation, see for instance Vernus 1981, 437 and Motte 2022, n.3 with further bibliography.

50 A few ostraca, like O. DeM 1114 and O. DeM 1164, had initially a colophon but their current state prevents us to read it now. Cf. Posener 1951, 2–3 and 16. No colophons have been recorded on papyrus or writing-boards inasmuch as none of them preserve the whole text. It also applies for Kemyt-*dipinti*, being quotations of the first section.

51 Previous studies on colophon are many. See e. g. the recent works: Luiselli 2003; Lenzo Marchese 2004; Simon 2013, 239–281; Jurjens 2020; and Verhoeven 2020b, 226–231.

52 See for instance O. CGT 57448 in López 1984, pl. 150–150a, O. Michaelides 78 in Goedicke & Wente 1962, pl. 12, and O. Munich ÄS 1638 in Grimm 1995, 169 and pl. II.

53 See for instance O. Cairo JE 54949, O. DeM inv. C 6139, and O. Brussels E 7627 in Mathieu & Ritter 2008, pl. 35.

54 Cf. O. DeM 1153 in Posener 1951, pl. 21.

55 Lenzo Marchese 2004, 360 (with reference to Posener 1950, 72, n. 2) notes that the switch from *-f* to *-s* is characteristic of the New Kingdom texts. In that respect, the Kemyt witnesses are coherent. When the beginning of the formula is not incomplete, the text systematically reads *fw=s*. This feminine suffix could refer to *t3 sb3y.t* “teaching” but it also can be understood as the expression of the neutral. About the *fw=s* verb form, see *inter alia* Vernus 1994, 338–339, Lenzo Marchese 2004, 360.

56 Cf. CT VII, 262j (B3C, early 12<sup>th</sup> Dyn.) and 471g (B1L, Senwosret I–II) in Willems 1988, 75–77 and Parkinson 1991, 95, who suggested, “the colophon arose originally in the funerary context, whose influence pervades the written forms of Egyptian literature.” However, as Luiselli 2003, 346 pointed out we should not forget we know of no literary documents antedating the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty and, as such, the origin of this formula might not be funerary. The Lahun archive, in which we find the short formula *fw=f pw* in the Story of Hay (P. UC 32157 v<sup>o</sup> 2,

icatee is then introduced by means of the  $\text{𓏏}$  group<sup>57</sup>. The own name of the copyist follows and concludes the dedication. He usually presents himself as  $\text{hry-}^c$  (“assistant”), less often as  $\text{sš}$ <sup>58</sup>. The table (Tab. 2) displays titles and names of both the copyist and his dedicatee(s) recorded in the Kemyt ostraca.

The first two witnesses, O. Bruxelles E 7627 and O. DeM 1157, are not highly informative. There are indeed many Ramesside names beginning with Pa- or Nakht- and, in the absence of the names of the copyists, it is quite difficult to reconstruct the professional or family network sketched out in these two subscriptions.

McDowell (2000: 224–226) previously noted that the draughtsmen Maanakhtef, Prehotep, and Nebre on O. Munich ÄS 1638, O. Cairo JE 56842 A/B, and O. DeM 1153 are contemporaries who lived in Deir el-Medina during the second half of the reign of Ramses II<sup>59</sup>. But there is more. Prehotep, Panakht, and Nebnetjeru (from O. Cairo JE 56842 A/B) as well as Nebre and Hy (from O. DeM 1153) are members of the same family. Prehotep (I) and Nebre (I) are both the sons of Pay (I)<sup>60</sup>. Nebnetjeru (I) is the son of Prehotep (I) (and accordingly the grand-son of Pay (I)<sup>61</sup>). Panakht thus dedicates his copy of Kemyt (O. Cairo JE 56842 A/B) to his grandfather who was his master<sup>62</sup>. This was undeniably a family<sup>63</sup> of erudite people including draughtsmen<sup>64</sup>. Other colophons make it possible to associate an excerpt of the Teaching of Amenemhat and the Satire of the Trades with the scribe Nebnetjeru I<sup>65</sup>, father of the scribe Panakht as well as another excerpt of Amenemhat to the

draughtsman Nebre I<sup>66</sup> (i. e. the uncle of Nebnetjeru I and the great-uncle of Panakht). Deir el-Medina textual material show that fathers or grandfathers might instruct their own sons or grandsons during their scribal and/or draughtsman apprenticeship<sup>67</sup>. This cannot yet be verified with the colophon of O. Munich ÄS 1638. Its missing end prevents us from verifying whether the copyist had a relationship with the dedicatee of the copy, Maanakhtef. At most McDowell (2000: 226) identified him as the son of Pashed (I) and the father of Pashed (II)<sup>68</sup>, trained by Merysekhmet (I) and he is not mentioned, up to now, in another colophon.

In other cases, people of higher rank such as a chief workman or a scribe of the gang took care of the apprentices' education as McDowell (2000: 230) observed. O. DeM 1171B depicts this. The scribe Hay<sup>69</sup> is placed under the patronage of his namesake, the chief workman Hay. The professional filiation is made explicit by means of the words  $p(\beta)-n$  “that of” instead of the terms  $jt=f$  and  $sš=f$ , which denote biological filiation. In the two preceding colophons, this patronage link was noted with the title  $\text{hry-}^c$ <sup>70</sup>, possibly along with the epithet  $\text{mry=f}$  borrowed from the funeral phraseology, which in this way places the relationship between assistant and master on the same level as that of son and father<sup>71</sup>. It parallels the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* for instance, in which it illustrates a “professional” piety. As Ragazzoli (2019: 131) wrote, the copyists place themselves under the patronage of the leader of the professional world to which they belong, in the same way as a dignitary who places himself under the individual patronage of the leader of bureaucracy, Pharaoh himself.

The colophon of ANAsh.Mus.H.O.1191 is peculiar in many ways. No copyist name is given. It seems to be solely a list of family or relative names being altogether somehow the dedicatees of this copy. They are indeed introduced by the preposition  $jn$ . The servant Inherkhuwy (I), the name

10) and a mathematical document (P. UC 32162 col. 4), is telling in this view. See Collier & Quirke 2004, 45–47 and 82–83.

57 About the sometimes erroneous translation, see Lenzo Marchese 2004, 363 but from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, it indeed precedes the name of the scribe to whom the copyist dedicates his work (“for X”). See also Jurjens 2020, 221, n. 8 for further bibliography.

58 Cf. Fischer-Elfert 2001, 441 and Jurjens 2020, 223.

59 Cf. McDowell 2000, 224–226 and Mathieu & Ritter 2008, 8.

60 Nebre, Pay (I), and Prehotep (I) are known by other sources in Deir el-Medina. See for instance Málek 1979, Bierbrier 1980, 100–101, Davies 1999, 149 and 153, and Geoga 2020, 186.

61 O. DeM 317 is incidentally a letter he wrote to his grandfather. Cf. Bierbrier 1980, 100, Davies 1999, 159, n. 129, and Geoga 2020, 186. See Černý 1939, pl. 22.

62 The final lacuna of O. DeM 1153 hinders the copyist's identification, but the few legible traces ( $n\text{h}$  [...]) are not conclusive with someone's name from this family. At present, no Neh[...] scribe is known in the family of Nebre. Cf. McDowell 2000, 225.

63 I.e. the family of Ipuy V. Cf. Davies 1999, chart 10. See also Demarée, Gabler and Polis 2022, 96.

64 About the close connection between the  $\text{sš.w}$  and the  $\text{sš.w-}qd.wt$ , see for instance Laboury 2016.

65 O. DeM 1204 published in Posener 1951, pl. 43–43a. See also McDowell 2000, 224 with references and Jurjens 2020, 225 and 227.

66 O. CGT 57431 published in López 1982, pl. 138–138a. McDowell 2000, 225.

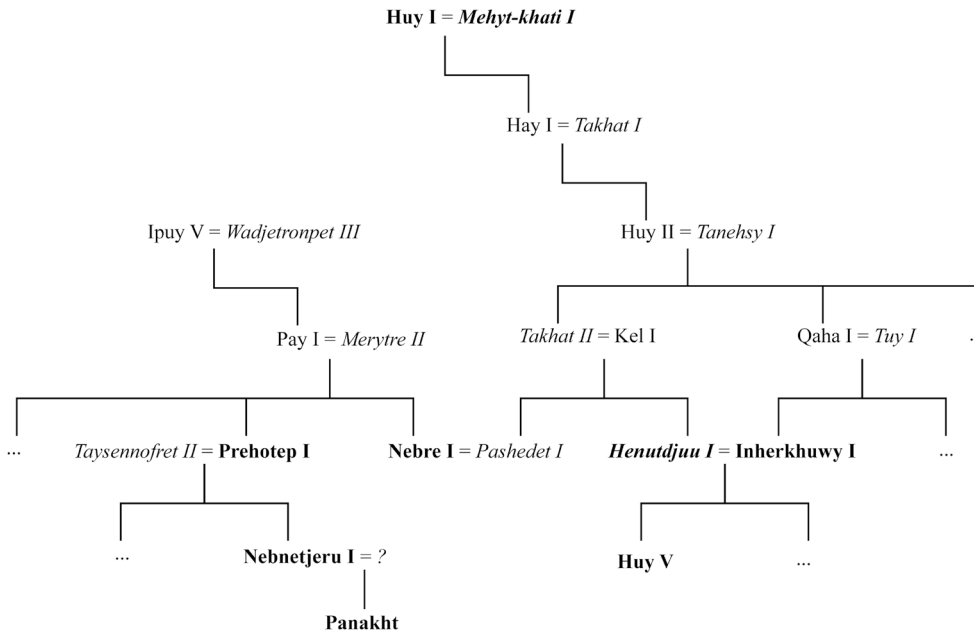
67 McDowell 2000, 230 and Fischer-Elfert 2001, 441.

68 In Davies 1999, 155–161 and chart 11, Maanakhtef I is said to be the son of Pashed VII and the father of Pashed VIII.

69 His biological father is indeed the deputy Amennakht.

70 The title of  $\text{hry-}^c$  designates a professional scribe at the beginning of his career. Cf. Ragazzoli 2019, 127 and 129, who also explains its association with the noun  $\text{hwn}$  “young man”.

71 Cf. Lazaridis 2010, 3 and Ragazzoli 2019, 124–131. The presence of this qualifier  $\text{mry=f}$  in the colophon of O. Cairo JE 56842 A/B is telling since Panakht is the grandson of Parahotep. There is therefore a double meaning here. Vernus 2021, 23 notes that this metaphorical son-father relationship is observed in other circumstances, such as in TT 359, where Hormin, the artist of this tomb and biological son of Hori, is presented as the son of the tomb owner Inherkhauy, cf. Cherpion & Corteggiani 2010, 25 and 78–79.



**Chart 1.** The family of Qaha I and of Ipuy V based on Davies (1999: charts 3 and 10) (*Italics* indicates a woman name; **bold** highlights individuals mentioned in the Kemyt colophons)

of which is abbreviated as “Inher” in this colophon, is the husband of Henutdjuu (I), here said the lady of the house, and the son of Qaha (I)<sup>72</sup>. He was a foreman during the second half of the reign of Ramesses II or the first years of Merenptah<sup>73</sup>. According to Davies (1999: chart 3), Henutdjuu I is the daughter of Takhat II and Kel I. This colophon, however, mentions her not as the daughter of Takhat but of some lady named Henutkhem<sup>74</sup>. The rest of the column is left empty. Then the very same name is written again, at the same height, in the next column, after another blank space<sup>75</sup>. The underlying reasons for this are unclear. Perhaps the scribe made a mistake in the filiation and continued writing his list of dedicatees, as if nothing went wrong. Building on prosopography, the scribe Huy might be either Huy V, son of Henutdjuu I and Inherkhuwy I, or Huy I, the great great grandfather of both Henutdjuu I and Inherkhuwy I<sup>76</sup>. Huy I was the husband of Mehyt-khati I. None of them held a func-

tion of scribe<sup>77</sup>. The title *sš* is here evidence of his literacy or at least his capability to write. Knowing that the name of Mehyt-Khati, abbreviated as Mehyt, is written right after a short lacuna – initially her title? – Huy I is perhaps more likely than Huy V. In any case, all of these individuals are part of the Qaha family. The other names in this colophon are not recorded in this family but could belong to other relatives or contemporaries. This colophon is even more astonishing and remarkable. Should Henutdjuu I be the daughter of Takhat II and Kel I, despite of the phrase *sš.t ḥnw.t-ḥm* (“daughter of Henutkhem”) in this colophon, she would be the sister of Pashedet I, who married the draughtsman Nebre I, the dedicatee of O. DeM 1153 r<sup>o</sup> (see chart 1 above). The colophon of ANash.Mus.H.O.1191 makes it possible to date this copy to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, post-Ramesses II. It raises once again the network and the interconnection between the literate families of Deir el-Medina. The presence of the *sḏm-š* title at the beginning of the dedication also exemplifies a commemorative context, as in the votive stelae, through which the anonymous copyist honours several individuals, possibly from his own family<sup>78</sup>.

O. DeM 1171B is different from the previous colophons by another aspect. There is no colophon *stricto sensu*. On ANash.Mus.H.O.1191, O. Brussels E 7627, O. Cairo JE 56842

72 Davies 1999, 13–16, 19–21, 85, 91–92, 151, 215, 237, 275, 279, charts 3 and 27.

73 Černý 1973, 298.

74 Reading of Fr. Hagen (pers. comm.). This name is not otherwise known but the pattern *ḥnw.t* + location (here *ḥm* “shrine”) is attested. The faded ink prevents us to exclude other readings, such as perhaps *wbh.t* (reading of R. Demarée, pers. Comm.) or *jwn.t* (reading of St. Polis, pers. comm.).

75 Even with Hierax and DStretch enhancements, no traces of ink are visible. This section was free of ink. About the software Hierax, see <https://hierax.ch> (page accessed on 24.01.2022).

76 Davies 1999, chart 3.

77 Davies 1999, 13, 16, 20, 166, 214–215, and 275.

78 About the New Kingdom colophons as a votive practice, see notably Ragazzoli 2019, 518–523.

Table 3. dates on Kemyt ostraca

	Red ink	Black ink
Within the main text	<i>ʒbd 2 ʒh.t sw 3</i> (O. DeM 1143) <i>ʒbd 2 ʒh.t sw 16</i> (O. UC 31910*) <i>tpy šmw sw 8</i> (ANAsh.Mus.H.O.638*) <i>ʒbd 2 šmw sw 3</i> (O. UC 31944*)	<i>tpy ʒh.t sw 24</i> (O. DeM 1113) <i>sw 16</i> (O. EA 329)
Over the main text	<i>ʒbd 3 (or 4) pr:t sw 13</i> (O. IFAO inv. C 1771*) <sup>81</sup>	/
In the right margin	<i>ʒh.t sw x+4</i> (O. DeM 1109) [...] <i>x+18</i> (O. DeM 1135) [...] <i>šmw sw 20</i> (O. IFAO inv. C 2181*)	/
In the left margin	<i>ʒbd 4 pr:t sw 7</i> (O. DeM 1136)	<i>ʒbd 3 ʒh.t sw 24</i> (O. Amheida) <i>ʒbd 4 ʒh.t sw 15</i> (O. DeM 1824)

A/B, O. DeM 1153, O. DeM 1157, and O. Munich ÄS 1638 the formula *jw=s pw nfr m htpw* come right after § 17. O. DeM 1171B ends, however, with the sentence *sb<sup>3</sup>.n wj jt=j* (“it was my father who taught me”) from § 15. In so doing, Hay somewhat claims himself as the “spiritual” son of the chief workman Hay and signs his work upon completion of his copy. If there is thus no proper colophon or dedication on O. DeM 1171B, its underwriting still gives us the name of the copyist and his master. This signature has been written in a Late Egyptian style of handwriting and in the last column of the ostraca after a 90° rotation<sup>79</sup>. Another work is known to be written by him, the kinship of which is undeniable. The phrase *jr(w) n* “made by” introduces his signature on O. DeM 1560<sup>82</sup>, which preserves an excerpt of the Satire of Trades. Through the copy of these two major literary texts and the addition of his signature, the scribe Hay exhibits his literacy and knowledge of the current literary culture. It also reflects his social identity and his desire to be part of a literate community, the Deir el-Medina scribes.

The few Kemyt colophons, dedications, and underwritings all illustrate the change taking place during the New Kingdom. Middle Kingdom colophons all reflect the text conformity and integrity<sup>82</sup>, but from the New Kingdom onwards stress is made on the self-presentation and hon-

orific dedications<sup>83</sup>; the formulas of colophons evolve. As Ragazzoli (2019: 521) phrases it, the text turns out to be a pretext for the scribe to show his link with literary culture. Kemyt excerpts are no different. The assistants Panakht and Neh[...] stress their connection with Ramesside literary culture but also their belonging (professional and/or biological) to the scribal world, just as the scribe Hay with his signed excerpt of Kemyt and the anonymous copyist of ANAsh.Mus.H.O.1191 with his list of dedicatees being family members, relatives, and/or contemporaries.

## 5 Dates

Like other contemporary literary texts<sup>84</sup>, Kemyt excerpts occasionally present a date. For these former texts the percentage of dated artefacts can go up to 15%<sup>85</sup> but, as for Kemyt ostraca, the percentage is much lower, barely reaching 2.5% of the corpus (12 ostraca). If red ink dates are slightly predominant, there are nonetheless a few dates inscribed in black ink, either in the left margin or in the body of the text, on ostraca presenting, moreover, other red paratextual marks<sup>86</sup> (with the exception of the O. EA 329<sup>87</sup>, which is apparently monochrome). The table (Tab. 3) provides the recorded dates on both published and unpub-

<sup>79</sup> It cannot be fully excluded that *jr(w) n* was written in the broken upper part. About the *jr(w) n* formulas, their meaning and their variants, see for instance Luiselli 2003, 354; Dorn 2017; Jurjens 2020, 225; and Verhoeven 2020b, 230–231.

<sup>80</sup> I owe much gratefulness to Annie Gasse, who kindly let me include the dates of O. IFAO inv. C 1771 and O. IFAO inv. C 2181 (below).

<sup>81</sup> Posener 1980, pl. 42. See also Jurjens 2020, 226–227.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Luiselli 2003, 348–349, Lenzo Marchese 2004, 360–362, Ragazzoli 2019, 521, and Jurjens 2020, 221. The Tale of Shipwrecked Sailor is the only Middle Kingdom text preserving the name of the copyist in its colophon (P. Ermitage 1115, 186–189). See Golenischeff 1993, pl. 8.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Ragazzoli 2019, 399 and the previous studies of Luiselli 2003 and Lenzo Marchese 2004.

<sup>84</sup> See *inter alia* van de Walle 1946, McDowell 1996, Venturini 2007, 226–227, Motte & Sojic 2020, 64, and Jurjens 2021.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Jurjens 2021, 83–84.

<sup>86</sup> O. DeM 1824 in Gasse 2005, 92–93, O. Amheida in Kaper 2010, fig. 1–2, and O. DeM 1113 (published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19560> (accessed on 24.01.2022).

<sup>87</sup> See Pendlebury 1951, pl. XCVII.





**Figure 3.** O. UC 31910, courtesy of the Petrie Museum, UCL (enhanced with DStretch)

lished artefact<sup>88</sup>. It also summarizes the ink choices and the position of the date on the ostracon.

On ANash.Mus.H.O.638, O. DeM 1113, O. DeM 1143, and O. UC 31910 (see fig. 3), the date occurs between two paragraphs, in the main text, without spacing. It is written at the end of a paragraph that is itself indicated by a red horizontal line, sometimes supplemented by a red  $\rightarrow$ <sup>89</sup>. A similar situation is observed in O. UC 31944. The date is added after the completion of Kemyt § 4 but no other paragraph completes the copy. On O. EA 329 on the other hand, the date occurs in the middle of a paragraph and is followed by a white space<sup>90</sup>. The provenance and/or the dating can, perhaps, explain this different practice. In fact, unlike the previous ostraca, which are of Theban origin and from the Rameside period, O. EA 329 comes from Amarna and probably dates from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>91</sup>. A different origin, however, does not always mean a different practice. O. Amheida, discovered in the temple of Thoth in the Dakhla oasis<sup>92</sup>, reveals indeed a practice similar to the Theban Ramesside ostraca. The date is written in the left margin, in black ink, at the end of the excerpt.

<sup>88</sup> The symbol \* indicates unpublished material. Dates could have been added on more ostraca awaiting for publication but only faint traces of red ink are readable.

<sup>89</sup> For O. DeM 1113 and O. DeM 1143 (both published in Posener 1951), see <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19560> and <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19593> (pages accessed on 24.01.2022).

<sup>90</sup> Pendlebury 1951, pl. XCVII.

<sup>91</sup> Fairman in Pendlebury 1951, 160 dated it from the Ramesside period because at that time, very few 18<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty copies were known. It is now agreed that a late 18<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty dating, that is to say contemporary to the city's habitation, is likely. See for instance Kaper 2010, 125.

<sup>92</sup> Kaper 2010, 115–116.

The recently published paper on dates in the Teaching of Khety<sup>93</sup> provides a good sample for comparison, especially since this is a text at least as popular as Kemyt in the New Kingdom scribal curriculum. In Khety, the (apprentice) scribes tend to write the date of copy at the end of one (or even two) chapter(s)<sup>94</sup>. Kemyt ostraca display more variety (cf. Tab. 3). A close look at the recorded dates, both in Kemyt and the Teaching of Khety, exposes further dissimilarity. Unlike the excerpts of Khety, the few dated copies of Kemyt are not distributed evenly throughout the year. There are six ostraca from the season of Akhet, only one for Peret, and three from the season of Shemu<sup>95</sup>. The recorded days show a greater frequency of copying during weekdays, without it being necessary to see some aversion to write on weekends, as McDowell (1996: 206) suggested. But all this must be put into perspective and a cautious attitude should be adopted. The currently known documentation does not necessarily constitute all the copies of the Kemyt-book; some parts of the copies are probably lost and new witnesses might be discovered in the future.

The presence of a date is usually a criterion to identify an ostracon or a papyrus as a school exercise<sup>96</sup>. With that in mind, it is surprising to have so few Kemyt ostraca written with dates (barely 2.5% of the currently known corpus), despite the fact that Kemyt is often referred to in Egyptological literature as the school text par excellence. The handwritings of these dated ostraca are further evidence challenging this assumption. They display skilled hands, which are sometimes tight and condensed, evoking an administrative style, or which are sometimes flexible and rounded. They are far away from being clumsy, messy, or unpractised. They are high-quality copies. Among them, only O. DeM 1824 is part of a clear learning context. The annotation “K2 5.1.29” (Kôm 2, January 5, 1929) on its back reveals that it comes from the many ostraca discovered in the Kôm 2 area in West-Thebes<sup>97</sup>. Several votive chapels were found under this Kôm. Gasse (2000: 119) argued that the people maintaining the cult in these chapels during the Ramesside period also acted as teachers for apprentice scribes.

<sup>93</sup> Jurjens 2021.

<sup>94</sup> Jurjens 2021, 84.

<sup>95</sup> O. EA 329 and O. DeM 1135 have been disregarded since there is no mention of a season or a month.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Erman 1925, 6–9 and McDowell 1996. Dating school texts is still done during the Graeco-Roman period but the practice is slightly different. Students started their exercise with their name and the date of the week. On the teacher model, on the other hand, the instructor added a date at the end of the exercise, underneath or on one side according to Criore 1996, 75 and 88–91.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Gasse 2000, 109–110.



Figure 4. O. DeM 1116 © IFAO

The high-quality copy and the neat, clear handwriting of the other ostraca could indicate advanced scribal apprentices or already-working scribes practicing their literary knowledge. An alternative would be to consider these high-quality copies as evidence of remote teaching (see below). They could be models produced by the hand of an instructor<sup>98</sup> from which his apprentice could train, without him being present.

## 6 Checkmarks, textual revisions, and correction

A handful of Deir el-Medina ostraca<sup>99</sup> reveals textual revision practice framed in a didactic context. Small red dots are inscribed after each word or group of words (see fig. 4–5).

<sup>98</sup> Cooney 2012, 162 reached a similar conclusion about some high-quality figured ostraca.

<sup>99</sup> O. DeM 1116 and O. DeM 1131 (both published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19563> and <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19579> (pages accessed on 24.01.2022) as well as O. DeM 1823, O. DeM 1828, O. DeM 1830, and O. DeM 1840 in Gasse 2005, 91, 98–99, 104–105, and 120. According to Venturini 2007, 262, T. Louvre AF 497 displays such checkmarks. In this



Figure 5. O. DeM 1828 © IFAO

They are checkmarks<sup>100</sup> made during the read-through of the copied Kemyt excerpt. Just as for other Egyptian literary texts, it is not always easy to distinguish whether they are from another scribe (correctional hand check) or from the copyist himself (first-hand check)<sup>101</sup>. O. DeM 1823 for instance could display a self-check. This ostrakon has been identified as being an apprentice work<sup>102</sup>. Not only were small dots (checkmarks) and lines (punctuation) added in

case, red dots are, however, a kind of punctuation. See Barbotin 1997, 147 and Motte 2022. That said, in light of this local practice, we may try to connect O. Keimer (private collection – current location unknown, see Keimer 1941, pl. VIII) with the Deir el-Medina scribes. Until then its provenance was unknown but the presence of two red dots on the brief extract from §IV of Kemyt, after *rs=f* and *jb*, could suggest that this copy is the work of a scribe from Deir el-Medina, whether on-site or in one of the work areas of the Deir el-Medina workforce.

<sup>100</sup> Already suggested in Gasse 2005, 88.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. for instance Allen 2002, 83–84, Hagen 2013, 97–98, and Enmarch 2020, 46.

<sup>102</sup> Gasse 2005, 90.



Figure 6. O. DeM 1843 © IFAO

red during the textual revision process, but the beginning of § 2 is emended in red in a Late Egyptian hand as a way to conclude the copy (see above). According to Gasse (2005: 90), such a long addition is more likely from the apprentice himself rather than from a teacher who would have taken the time to write a lengthy emendation.

Further Deir el-Medina ostraca show idiosyncratic reviewing practices. On O. DeM 1843 (see fig. 6), very small horizontal red lines replace the red dotted checkmarks. The scribe inscribed them in the lower right corner of the quadrat presumably when reading through his text. Both their size and their position (in relation to the text) prevent them from being understood as punctuation (see above). They also are evidence of a (self-)check.

Sometimes checkmarks look just like punctuation. Their shape is identical – short horizontal lines – but their position and frequency prevent us from understanding them as dividers. They are another manifestation of proof-reading (see above section 3).

O. DeM 1871 has multiple paratextual signs (see fig. 7). A large red oblique stroke (barely visible today) and two smaller ones fill the upper part of column 3, which has

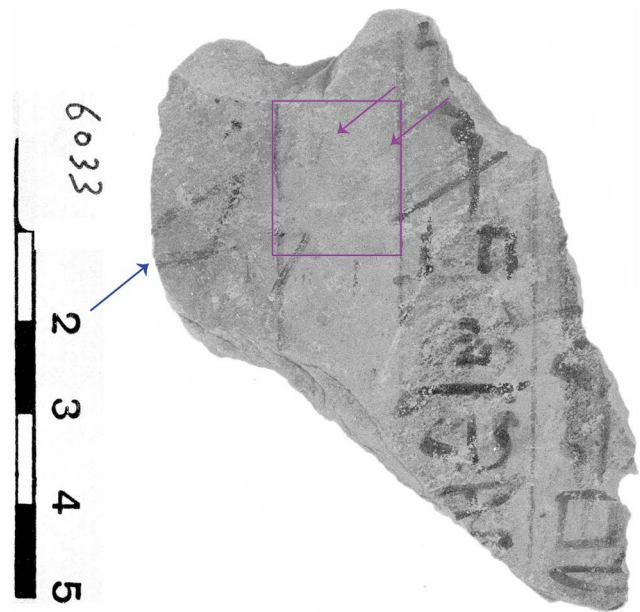


Figure 7. O. DeM 1871 © IFAO

been left text-free. Their meaning and function are unclear and cannot be elucidated by any parallel (to the best of my knowledge). A wide black-inked eye-sign emends the copied excerpt. The eye is drawn across the last two ruled vertical lines. It is made by another hand, possibly that of a senior scribe<sup>103</sup> and means *jr(w)* “done.”<sup>104</sup> Such an eye-sign is known from other texts, at least as early as 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>105</sup>. On two Lahun letters a large eye-sign has been written in red ink on the reverse, near the address<sup>106</sup>. It points out that the reply has been inscribed on the front side, which cannot be seen anymore once the letter is folded. The document is thus ready to be sent back. A more interesting comparative example is the Ramesside P. Chester Beatty VII, previously discussed by Motte & Sojic (2020: 76–77). This magical text is dated from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and comes from the archive of Qenherkhepshef<sup>107</sup>. As such, it shows that this paratextual eye-sign was known and used, at least by some scribes, during the Ramesside period on the site of Deir el-Medina. More can be said about O. DeM 1871. Its reverse bears the mark “E 1218 3.1.30<sup>108</sup>”, meaning that it was found east of

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Gasse 2005, 158.

<sup>104</sup> D. Laboury (pers. comm.) suggested it could be a pictogram, to indicate it has been seen, hence the eye-sign. Such an interpretation fits also very well in this context and should not be excluded.

<sup>105</sup> E.g. P. Reisner II in Simpson 1965, pl. 3 and 14.

<sup>106</sup> P. Berlin P 10016 v° and 10018 v° in Luft 1992.

<sup>107</sup> For an overview of this archive, see Hagen 2019, 277–297.

<sup>108</sup> According to Bruyère 1930, 27, an ostrakon bearing an extract of the Teaching of Amenemhat (O. DeM 1092) was found at the same place, the exact same day. See also Hagen 2012, 85 n.1 and Geoga 2020, 176.

chapel 1218 on January 3, 1930 by Bruyère and his team. This find spot is actually part of the K2 area, for which we know it may have served as a training place for apprentice scribes (see above). Many excerpts of classic literary texts were found there: the Loyalist Instruction, Sinuhe, the Teaching of Amenemhat, the Satire of Trades, etc.<sup>109</sup>. All of them include crude, clumsy, and heavily inked handwritings. Gasse (2000: 118) observed that most of the K2 ostraca are widely corrected, sometimes in black but most of the time in red and some of them even display numerous errors. On this basis, the O. DeM 1871 eye-sign takes on its full meaning in a didactic context. The master scribe marked that he had reviewed the apprentice work. O. DeM 438 is informative in this view. It shows a letter correspondence between two scribes<sup>110</sup>:

*sš py3y ḏd n sš jmn-ms r-ḏd mh 3 n=k*  
*jry(=j) [m]k jry.j sp-sn sp-sn*  
*jn t3y=k ḥw.t mtw=k jy*

Piay – “It is the scribe Piay who addresses the scribe Amenmose saying: ‘A third (chapter) is (ready) for you.’”

Amenmose’s reply – “Yes. See, I’ll do (it), I’ll do (it)!”

Piay – “Get your chapter and come.”

Translation based on Wenthe (1990: 166)

Fischer-Elfert (1993: 32–34; 2001: 441) understands this as teaching by correspondence or, at least, homeworking<sup>111</sup>. The very nature of the assignment implies that Amenmose was an apprentice rather than a pupil in his first years of schooling<sup>112</sup>. Going back to O. DeM 1871, the eye-sign could be another clue of this remote teaching as a check or proof-reading mark from the hand of the master scribe.

The few corrections listed in the copies of the Kemyt-book fall into two categories: additions and deletions<sup>113</sup>. Corrections concern mechanical errors (or non redactional variants), “that are aural, visual or due to false memory”<sup>114</sup>. They are only rarely indicated by a paratextual sign *stricto sensu*, unlike other text corpus for which a series of means, such as dots, lines, crosses, circles and so on is known<sup>115</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Gasse 2000.

<sup>110</sup> Černý 1951, pl. 26 (= LRL n° 275). About Amenmose, see also Goecke-Bauer 2019.

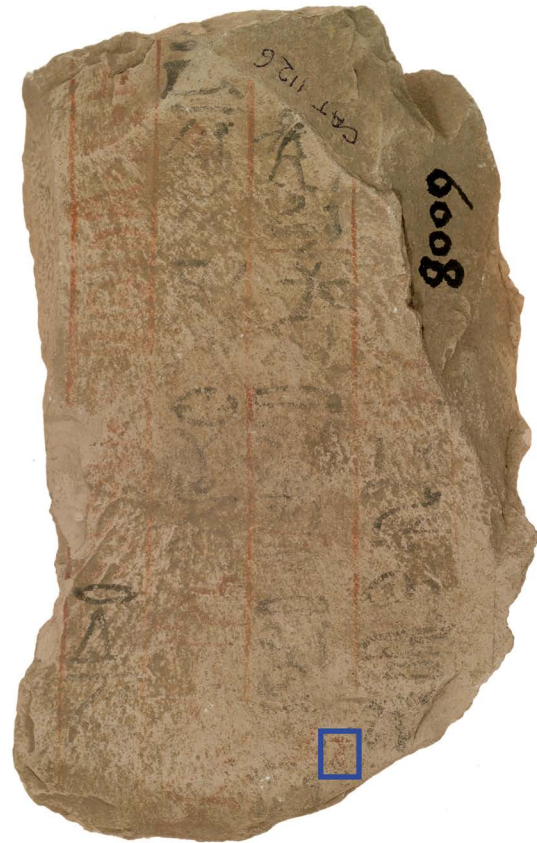
<sup>111</sup> Cf. McDowell 1996, 608.

<sup>112</sup> It is incidentally confirmed by the title *sš* next to his name, cf. Fischer-Elfert 2001, 441.

<sup>113</sup> Gasse 2005, 88 already makes this observation for the Deir el-Medina ostraca but this also holds true for the other writing media of Kemyt.

<sup>114</sup> Ragazzoli 2017a, 100. See also van de Walle 1948, 23–27 and Burkard 1977, 2–3.


<sup>115</sup> See for instance Allam 2007, 30, Motte & Sojic 2020, 71–75, and Verhoeven 2020a.



CAT\_1126 0 1 2 3 4 5

Figure 8. O. DeM 1126 r° © IFAO

The additions are, most often, written in red ink, directly in the main text as in O. DeM 1126. On the front side, at the end of column 2, the adjective *ḥfr* has been omitted and then added in red in a slightly tighter handwriting (see fig. 8)<sup>116</sup>.

O. DeM 1148 reveals another correction<sup>117</sup>: a  sign (Gardiner A1) is added in red ink above the suffix pronoun *-f*, which follows the noun *mw.t*. In this way, the pronoun *-f* has become superfluous and the phrase reads *ḥsyw n mw.t=j* (“praised of my mother”). It was not felt necessary to cross it out or erase it. This process is also found on other Deir el-Medina ostraca<sup>118</sup>. Sometimes the correction is

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Posener 1951, pl. 4, note p. See <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19574> (accessed on 24.01.2022).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Posener 1951, pl. 14, note h. See <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19598> (accessed on 24.01.2022).

<sup>118</sup> See for instance O. DeM 1823, O. DeM 1849, and O. DeM 1856 in Gasse 2005, 90–91, 121, and 139.

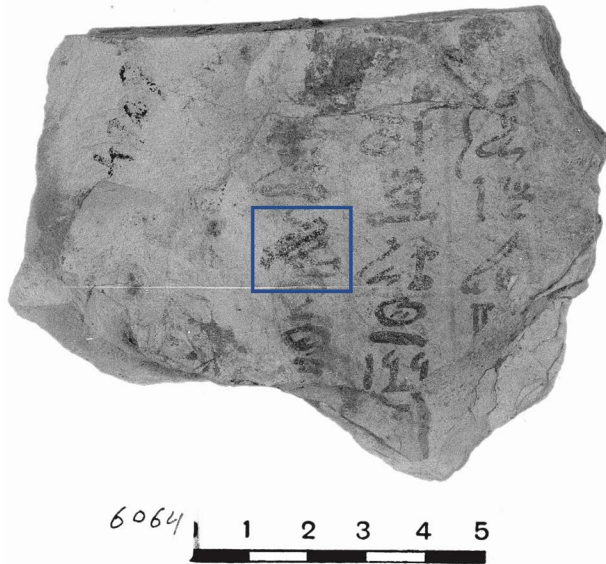









Figure 9. O. DeM 1858 © IFAO

even added over the text, perhaps due to a lack of space, as in O. DeM 1836. The sign  (Gardiner W19) has been written in red over the black sign , so as to obtain a syntactically correct phrase (*mj mrr b3k jm*)<sup>119</sup>.

The correction is not always flagged by a colour change. For instance, on O. DeM 1858 (see fig. 9), the  (Gardiner G36) is drawn over the , both with black ink, in order to write the adverb *wr.t*<sup>120</sup>.



On O. DeM 1165, the preposition *hr* is omitted from § 16a and then added in black, between the text and the vertical red line which delimits the right margin<sup>121</sup>. Additions also occur in *dipinti* to a lesser extent. The Saqqara tomb of Ptahemwia features a red *dipinto* of the first paragraph of Kemyt<sup>122</sup>. The sign  (Gardiner U6) was written over its two phonetic complements ( ) without the scribe changing color or otherwise signalling his omission. Such a spelling for *mrr* is known elsewhere and as such may camouflage the scribe oversight.

To delete a superfluous or erroneous portion of text, Kemyt copyists proceeded by erasing, washing or scratching<sup>123</sup>, just like for any other text on similar writing

support<sup>124</sup>. In two cases, scribes did otherwise. On the Late Middle Kingdom P. UC 32271A, one of the first witnesses of the Kemyt, the scribe crossed out a sign with two thin red oblique strokes<sup>125</sup>. Erasure of errors by means of crosses, strokes, or scribbles is actually not frequent in Middle Kingdom manuscripts. Instead, errors are usually left uncorrected, overwritten or accompanied by a corrective addition of sign(s), either within the area of the main text or between the columns or the lines of text<sup>126</sup>, and in the same fashion as the previously discussed Kemyt examples. The 18<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty O. SMDAN (see fig. 10) displays the second case. This ostrakon, which was discovered during excavations of TT 11 and TT 12 in 2006<sup>127</sup>, bears the first words of Kemyt written as a single vertical black column of text: *b3k dd{=f}*. The suffix pronoun is, however, erroneous and superfluous in this section of Kemyt. The error is accordingly corrected with black brackets. This practice is atypical. Up to now, it was not recorded in texts prior to the Ptolemaic period<sup>128</sup>. The mark as such was admittedly known and used before, but with a different function. Indeed, brackets were used in P. Chester Beatty VI (r° 6–7), a Ramesside magic text, to indicate the beginning and the end of a corrective addition<sup>129</sup>. The same paratextual element – brackets – can therefore

O. DeM 1156, O. DeM 1836, O. DeM 1856, O. DeM 1859, and O. DeM 1873 in Gasse 2005, 88–89, 112, 139, 142, 160–162 among the published material.

<sup>124</sup> See *inter alia* Černý 1952, 24, and Parkinson & Quirke 2010, 55–57.

<sup>125</sup> See the online collection (<https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/search/simple> [accessed on 24.02.2022]) for a colour picture and Collier & Quirke 2004, 50–51. The lacunar context precludes, however, determining whether this is a paratextual mark indicating a correction or the remainder of a sign written in red over the black-ink sign . By relying on the rest of the text preserved on this fragment, this  could belong to the spelling of the god Monthu, the semantic classifier of which would have been omitted. Correction marks become more and more frequent over time; their uses become systematized during the Saite and early Ptolemaic periods. Cf. Verhoeven 2020a.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Enmarch 2020, 45–46, in which the Late Middle Kingdom manuscripts of the Eloquent Peasant are briefly discussed (see for instance B1 305, B1 347, and B2 82 for erasure of errors). For pictures, see Parkinson & Baylis 2012, 11–13 and 31–41. Similar deletions are sometimes met in documentary texts as well. See for instance in the “insertion C” of the Late Middle Kingdom P. Brooklyn 35.1446 in Hayes 1955, pl. VI or the Heqanakht letters in Allen 2002, 83.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. picture n° 18 on <https://proyectodjehuty.com/report-campaign-2006/> (accessed on 24.01.2022). I would like to warmly thank J. Manuel Galán, Director of the Proyecto Djehuty for his kind permission to publish O. SMDAN.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Verhoeven 2020a, 100–102. Chaufray 2020, 115 points out that in Ptolemaic accounts, some entries are sometimes surrounded by means of a whole circle or reduced to brackets before being deleted. They must not be confounded with the “stress marks” discussed in Nur el-Din 1979, 60–61.

<sup>129</sup> See Gardiner 1935, pl. 30–32A and Motte & Sojic 2020, 74.

<sup>119</sup> See in Gasse 2005, 112.

<sup>120</sup> Gasse 2005, 141. Further overwriting happens in O. DeM 1861 for instance. See Gasse 2005, 144–145.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Posener 1951, pl. 18, n. d. See <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19615> (accessed on 24.01.2022).

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Demarée 2009, and van Pelt & Staring in Raven 2020, 154–155.

<sup>123</sup> See for instance O. Cambridge E.GA.4758.1943 (erasing) in Hagen 2011, pl. 56, O. DeM 1165 (published in Posener 1951) on <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19615> (accessed on 24.01.2022),



Figure 10. O. SMDAN © Proyecto Djehuty

indicate a correction, be it an addition or a deletion depending on the context.

In short, mechanical errors can be pointed out by several means (colour changes, overwritings, strokes, or brackets) but they can also be intentionally left uncorrected. The few recorded corrective paratextual signs as well as the relatively low proportion of corrected texts can be explained by several factors.

The first concerns the writing medium. Ostraca often contain fewer explicit corrections than more valuable material like papyri<sup>130</sup>. It should be noted in this regard that not a single writing board with Kemyt displays corrections (neither addition, nor deletion) while some of them (if not all of them) are the product of apprentice scribes<sup>131</sup>.

The second factor relates to the aesthetic dimension given to the copied text, which is notably reflected in flow of ink and the ink dips. There are two kinds of attitude depending on how often the scribe refreshed his pen<sup>132</sup>. We can thus distinguish between a text-interactive approach and a calligraphic approach. In the former, the scribe is deeply involved in the written transcription. He tries to

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Motte & Sojic 2020, 71.

<sup>131</sup> See Motte 2022 for the wooden writing boards. The limestone writing boards (O. DeM 1161, O. DeM 1639, O. DeM 1837, O. DeM 1838, O. DeM 1845, O. DeM 1853, O. DeM 1855, O. DeM 1865, O. DeM 1866, O. DeM 1870) published in Posener 1951 or Gasse 2005, 113–118, 126, 135, 137–138, 150–152, and 157, to which two unpublished boards should be added, do not bear corrections either.

<sup>132</sup> See *inter alia* Allen 2002, 77–78 and 81–83; Parkinson 2009, 90–95; Ragazzoli 2017b, 69–77 and 87–90; Verhoeven 2017, 64–66; Brawanski 2019; and Verhoeven, 2020b, 304.



Figure 11. Scribal approaches towards a text, from text-interactive to calligraphic and conversely

respect meaningful units such as words, clauses, lines, etc. The ink flows smoothly and one can notice darker to lighter black ink because of the “fairly long runs for each dip” in the words of Allen (2002: 81). For the latter, the scribe refills his rush as often as necessary, even in the middle of a word. Pen-fillings are many and there is no (or very few) lighter ink(s). The scribe pays more attention to the visual aspect of the text than the textual content. Both approaches form two poles between which the copies of the Kemyt are distributed (fig. 11).

This has a direct impact on the scribe attitude towards the errors. O. Brussels E 3208+O. DeM 1171A-B is a telling example from this perspective. This is one of the most complete copies of Kemyt. The aesthetic dimension is readily grasped<sup>133</sup> and the text is good looking. The overall composition is pleasing to the eye. Neither corrective addition of signs nor deletions emend the sometimes-erroneous text<sup>134</sup>. On the other hand, other copies reveal scribes deeply involved in their copy as evidenced by messy handwritings, irregular dips (to respect meaningful units), darker to lighter ink, erasures, additions, etc. Ragazzoli (2019: 69) observed for the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* that « les manuscrits les plus originaux et les moins fautifs sont les moins bien écrits d’un point de vue calligraphique, alors que les textes les plus plaisants à l’œil sont aussi les plus fautifs ». This turns out to be mostly true for Kemyt as well, but the good-looking copies also betray a certain reluctance to correct or point out erroneous signs. This brings to the third aspect to be taken into consideration for the study of correction or textual revision.

The third and final factor pertains in fact to the text status. As stated above, the errors are mostly left uncorrected or re-inked in Old and Middle Kingdom manuscripts. Omitted signs are often inserted immediately within or near the text without any paratextual signs *stricto sensu*. This must be linked to the Egyptian attitude towards the canon-

<sup>133</sup> See for instance the few discussed signs in Motte 2022 or the black-and-white picture in Posener 1951, pl. 22.

<sup>134</sup> E.g. repetition of the beginning of column 7 (i. e. § 5c) in the upper part of column 8 whereas the end of § 6 was expected and then the copy continues with § 7 as if nothing had happened; in the lower part of column 11 (i. e. the end of § 8), the suffix pronoun *-k* is written twice in a row after the word *ꜥpd.w*, without one of the two being deleted or erased. See Posener 1951, pl. 7 n. e, pl. 11 and pl. 22.

icity of the texts they were copying, as Enmarch (2020: 45) has pointed it out. As such, Kemyt indeed became a classic through time and became fully part of the New Kingdom scribal curriculum. In this light, avoiding corrections can be seen as a conscious attempt to follow the Old and Middle Kingdom practices<sup>135</sup>. New Kingdom scribes were not only learning a text from the past – their past – but they were also learning the scribal practices going with it.

## Conclusion

The 500 currently known witnesses of Kemyt reveal a wide set of scribal practices, from which the scribes could draw upon. There is no evidence of one standard practice for copying all or part of Kemyt. Yet, we can observe trends and preferences.

The presence or absence of layout and paratext is directly related to the writing support. Quite logically, copies on disposable media (ostraca, papyrus, and wooden or limy writing boards) present a different treatment from *dipinti* on walls (at least as regards the Kemyt witnesses<sup>136</sup>). At most, in *dipinti*, we can observe a corrective addition that denotes a self-check, a vertical layout, and monochrome copies. Ostraca, papyri, and writing boards, on the other hand, are more informative and share similar practices. These practices can be divided into three categories according to their frequency in the known Kemyt sources and among further textual production. The first category concerns common scribal practices. These are the rubrics, the colophons, and the dates. It also includes all the errors left uncorrected, overwritten, or emended nearby (possibly with a colour change). Then come the scribal practices that are infrequent on Kemyt ostraca but whose use and function are confirmed by other textual sources (documentary or literary). These are the eye-sign, the brackets and the double stroke added during the (self-)reviewing. Finally, some practices seem to be characteristic of Kemyt (or at least of columnar texts): vertical dividing lines (first black, then red), horizontal dividers (punctuation), and checkmarks (dots and horizontal lines).

Some of these scribal practices belong to a didactic context, especially for the Deir el-Medina community of scribes. Some copies are unmistakably the work of novice scribes, but all of the inventoried practices are also used by scribes at an advanced stage of training, as well as early

career scribes and master scribes. This is confirmed by the few known signed copies, in which the copyists present themselves as *hry-c* or *sš*. This also agrees with Cooney's (2012: 147) observation about figured ostraca, in that they “allowed a complex network of knowledge transference, not only linearly, perhaps within master-student apprenticeship system, but also diffusely among intermediate and skilled members of the artisanal community”.

The Kemyt-book appears to be a text taught to scribes-in-training throughout their assistantship or apprenticeship, which could sometimes last for several decades. It is also a pretext for transmitting knowledge (that of the writing(s) and of the relevant scribal practices), which concerns, among others, the writing support, the handwriting, the type of text and its “status” within the Egyptian culture.

**Acknowledgements:** My warm thanks are due to M. Abdel Razek, Head of the registration collection management and documentation department (RCMDD), Egyptian Museum Cairo; C. Larcher, Head of the Archives and Collection Department of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (IFAO), and his assistant M. Essam; L. McNamara, Lisa and Bernard Selz Curator for Ancient Egypt and Sudan (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology); J. Manuel Galán, Director of the Proyecto Djehuty; V. Ritter; as well as C. Wilson, Head of the collection of the Petrie Museum. Without their authorizations to use the Kemyt material, this paper would not have been possible. I also owe much gratefulness to M. Geoga (Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, the University of Chicago), L. Neven (Liège University), N. Sojic (Liège University), as well as U. Verhoeven (JGU-Mainz) for giving generously of their time to read my manuscript and suggest valuable improvements. My warm thanks also go to R. Demarée (Leiden University), Fr. Hagen (Copenhagen University), and St. Polis (Liège University – F.R.S.-FNRS) who all spent times on ANAsh.Mus.H.O.1191 colophon and helped me to overcome some difficulties. Besides, I would like to thank J. Hamilton (Macquarie University), who kindly revised my English. Needless to say, the remaining shortcomings are my own responsibility. Last, but not least, I gratefully acknowledge the financial support by the Humboldt Foundation, which sponsored my research project from its beginning, as well as the Johannes Gutenberg University (Mainz), which ensured the Open Access of this paper. This project is also collaboration with the IFAO project “Les ostraca littéraires de Deir el-Medina. Étude et publication” supervised by Fl. Albert and A. Gasse, who kindly gave me the authorization to study the Kemyt manuscripts of this literary ostraca collection (“OL”).

<sup>135</sup> See Winand (2017) for a discussion of (re)productive transmission in literary texts.

<sup>136</sup> The other Assiut *dipinti* sometimes display corrections. Cf. Verhoeven 2020b, 304–305.

## Bibliography

- Allam, M., 2007, “Marking signs in hieratic and glosses in ancient Egyptian texts”, *BEM* 4, 29–34.
- Allen, J. P., 2002, *The Heqanakht papyri*. PMMA 27.
- Barbotin, Chr., 1997, “Une nouvelle attestation de *Kémit*”, *RdE* 48, 247–250.
- Barta, W., 1978, “Das Schulbuch Kemit”, *ZÄS* 105, 6–14.
- Bierbrier, M. L., 1980, “Terms of relationship at Deir el-Medīna”, *JEA* 66, 100–107.
- Borla, M., 1997, “La Kemit”, in: Anonymous (ed.), *La scuola nell’antico Egitto*, 67–75.
- Brawanski, A., 2019, “Die Schreiber des Papyrus Edwin Smith: eine statistische Analyse der Paläographie des chirurgischen Abschnittes”, in: M. Brose, P. Dils, Fr. Naether, L. Popko, and D. Raue (eds), *En détail – Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert 1*, *ZÄS-B* 7, 151–174. DOI: 10.1515/9783110629705-009.
- Bruyère, B., 1930, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1929). *FIFAO* 7 (2).
- Burkard, G., 1977, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. *ÄA* 34.
- –, 2003, “Ein früher Beleg der Kemit (O DAN hierat 5)”, in: N. Kloth, K. Martin, E. Pardey (eds), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, *SÄK-B* 9, 37–48.
- Burkard, G., 2018, *Dra’ Abu el-Naga II: Hieratische Ostraka und Namensteine aus Dra’ Abu el-Naga*. *ArchVer* 129.
- Carnarvon, Earl of & Carter, H., 1912, *Five years’ explorations at Thebes: a record of work done 1907–1911*. London.
- Černý, J., 1939, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. Tome IV (nos 242 à 339). *DFIFAO* 6.
- –, 1951, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. Tome V (nos 340 à 456). *DFIFAO* 7.
- –, 1952, *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt*. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at University College London 29 May 1947, London.
- –, 1973, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*. *BdE* 50.
- Chappaz, J.-L., 1989, “Remarques sur un exercice scolaire”, *BSEG* 13, 33–43.
- Chaufray, M.-P., 2020, “Les marques de contrôle dans les textes comptables démotiques”, in: N. Carlig, G. Lescuyer, A. Motte, N. Sojic (eds), *Signes dans les textes: continuités et ruptures des pratiques sribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine*. *Actes du colloque international de Liège* (2–4 juin 2016). *PapLeod* 9, 113–119.
- Cherpion, N. & Corteggiani, J.-P., 2010, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy* (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina. *MIFAQ* 128.
- Collier, M. & Quirke, St., 2004, *The UCL Lahun papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*. *BAR-IS* 1209.
- Cooney, K., 2012, “Apprenticeship and figured ostraca from the ancient Egyptian village of Deir el-Medina”, in: W. Wendrich (ed.), *Archaeology and apprenticeship: body knowledge, identity and community of practice*, Tucson.
- Cribiore, R., 1996, *Writing, teachers, and students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. *American Studies in Papyrology* 36.
- Dakin, A. N., 1992, “Kemit: a revised translation with material for a commentary”, in: Anonymous (ed.), *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia: atti* 1, 465–471.
- Davies, B. G., 1999, *Who’s who at Deir el-Medina: a prosopographic study of the royal workmen’s community*. *EgUit* 13.
- Demarée, R. J., 2002, *Ramesside ostraca*. London.
- –, 2009, “A hieratic graffito in the tomb of Ptahemwia”, *Saqqara Newsletter* 7, 11–12.
- Demarée, R., Gabler, K., & Polis, St., 2022, “A family affair in the community of Deir el-Medina: gossip girls in two 19th dynasty letters”, in: S. Gülden, T. Konrad, U. Verhoeven (eds), *Ägyptologische “Binsen“-Weisheiten IV: Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen. Akten der internationalen Tagung in der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz im Dezember 2019*. Mainz; Stuttgart: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Franz Steiner, 43–126.
- Dorn, A., 2017, “The *jrj.n* personal-name-formula in non-royal texts of the New Kingdom: a donation mark or a means of self-presentation?”, in: T. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)productive traditions in ancient Egypt: proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6th–8th February 2013*. *AegLeod* 10, 593–621.
- Emery, W. B., 1935, *The excavations and survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan, 1929–1931*. *Mission archéologique de Nubie, 1929–1934*.
- Enmarch, R., 2020, “Paratextual signs in Egyptian texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms”, in: N. Carlig, G. Lescuyer, A. Motte, N. Sojic (eds), *Signes dans les textes: continuités et ruptures des pratiques sribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine*. *Actes du colloque international de Liège* (2–4 juin 2016). *PapLeod* 9, 41–56.
- Erman, A., 1925, *Die ägyptischen Schülerhandschriften*. *AAWB* 1925 (2).
- Fischer-Elfert, H.-W., 1993, “Vermischtes II”, *GM* 135, 31–37.
- –, 2001, “Education”, in: D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 438–442.
- Fischer-Elfert, H.-W., Navrátilová, H., Onderka, P. & Toivari-Viitala, J., 2018, *The Deir el-Medina and Jaroslav Černý collections III: Non-administrative ostraca and papyri*. *Editio Monographica Musei Nationalis Pragae* 26.
- Galán, J. M., 2007, “An apprentice’s board from Dra Abu el-Naga”, *JEA* 93, 95–116.
- Gardiner, A. H., 1935, *Hieratic papyri in the British Museum: third series: Chester Beatty gift*. London.
- Gasse, A., 2000, “Le K2, un cas d’école?”, in: R. J. Demarée, A. Egberts (eds), *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: a tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*. *EgUit* 14, 109–120.
- –, 2005, *Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir el-Medīna: nos 1775–1873 et 1156*, tome V. *DFIFAO* 44.
- Genette, G., 1982, *Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré*. Paris.
- –, 1997, *Paratexts: thresholds of interpretation*, translated by Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge.
- Geoga, M., 2020, *Receptions of a Middle Egyptian poem: a textual and material study of the teaching of Amenemhat in the New Kingdom*, unpublished Ph.D thesis (Brown University).
- Goecke-Bauer, M., 2019, “Amunmes: EIN Deir-el-Medine Schreiber?”, in: M. Brose, P. Dils, F. Naether, L. Popko, D. Raue (eds), *En détail – Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert*. *ZÄS-B* 7, 353–374. DOI: 10.1515/9783110629705-015.
- Goedicke, H. & Wente, E. F., 1962, *Ostraka Michaelides*. Wiesbaden.
- Goelet, O. Jr, 2013, “Reflections on the format and paleography of the *Kemyt*: implications for the *Sitz im Leben* of Middle Egyptian literature in the Ramesside period”, in: G. Moers, K. Widmaier, A. Giewekemeyer, A. Lümers, R. Ernst, *Dating Egyptian literary texts*. *LingAeg StudMon* 11, 111–121.



- –, 2015, “Elements of format in Middle Kingdom papyri”, in: R. Jasnow, K. M. Cooney (eds), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological studies in honor of Betsy M. Bryan. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 1*, 197–210.
- Golenischeff, W., 1993, *Les transcriptions des papyrus hiératiques nos. 1116 A (verso) et 1116 B (verso) de L’Ermitage Impérial à St-Pétersbourg*, San Antonio, Texas.
- Grapow, H., 1936, *Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung ägyptischer Texte*. LÄS 7.
- Grimm, A., 1995, “kmjt-Texte: zwei Ostraca littéraires d’un type particulier der Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst München”, in: D. Kessler, R. Schulz (eds), *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta: htp dj n hzj*, MÄU 4, 165–177.
- Hagen, Fr., 2007, “Ostraca, literature and teaching at Deir el-Medina”, in: R. Mairs, A. Stevenson (eds), *Current research in Egyptology 2005: proceedings of the sixth annual symposium*, University of Cambridge, 6–8 January 2005, Oxford, 38–51.
- –, 2011, *New Kingdom ostraca from the Fitzwilliam museum*. CHANE 46.
- –, 2012, *An ancient Egyptian literary text in context: the instruction of Ptahhotep*. OLA 218.
- –, 2013, “An Eighteenth Dynasty writing board (Ashmolean 1948.91) and the Hymn to the Nile”, *JARCE* 49, 73–91.
- –, 2019, “Libraries in Ancient Egypt, c.1600–800 BCE”, in: K. Ryholt, G. Barjamovic (eds), *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions*, Oxford, 244–318. DOI:10.1093/oso/9780199655359.003.0007
- Hayes, W. C., 1948, “A much-copied letter of the early Middle Kingdom”, *JNES* 7, 4–6.
- –, 1951, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III”, *JNES* 10, 231–242.
- –, 1955, *A papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 351446]*, New York.
- Jurjens, J., 2020, “The scribes who wrote Khety: some remarks on colophons and scribal education”, *CdE* 95, 220–235. DOI: 10.1484/J.CdE.5.124758.
- –, 2021, “Dates on literary ostraca: a case study”, *ZÄS* 148, 83–91. DOI: 10.1515/zaes-2021-0103.
- Kamal, F., 2016, *Collection of Hieratic Ostraca from Mond’s Excavation at Sheikh-Abd-El Qurna in the Egyptian Museum (Philological & Palaeographical Study)*, unpublished master thesis (Cairo University).
- Kaper, O. E., 2010, “A *Kemyt* ostrakon from Amheida, Dakhleh Oasis”, *BIFAO* 110, 115–126.
- Keimer, L., 1941, *Sur un certain nombre d’ostraca figurés, de plaquettes sculptées, etc., provenant de la nécropole thébaine et encore inédits*, Cairo.
- Koenig, Y., 1997, *Les ostraca hiératiques inédits de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg*. DFIFAO 33.
- Klotz, D., 2009, “Fish at night and birds by day (*Kemyt* VIII)”, *ZÄS* 136, 136–140.
- Laboury, D., 2016, “Le scribe et le peintre. À propos d’un scribe qui ne voulait pas être pris pour un peintre”, in: Ph. Collombert, D. Lefèvre, St. Polis & J. Winand (eds), *Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l’honneur de Pascal Vernus*, OLA 242, 371–396.
- Lazaridis, N., 2010, “Education and apprenticeship”, in: E. Frood, W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025jxn>
- Lenzo Marchese, G., 2004, “Les colophons dans la littérature égyptienne”, *BIFAO* 104, 359–376.
- Lescuyer, G., 2020, “Signes paratextuels en démotique tardif : l’exemple des ostraca de Narmouthis”, in: N. Carlig, G. Lescuyer, A. Motte, N. Sojic (eds), *Signes dans les textes: continuités et ruptures des pratiques sribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine*. Actes du colloque international de Liège (2–4 juin 2016). *PapLeod* 9, 121–134.
- López, J., 1978–1984, *Ostraca ieratici (1–4)*. *Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, serie seconda*, Milano.
- Luft, U., 1992, *Das Archiv von Illahun: Briefe 1. Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz 1*, Berlin.
- Luiselli, M., 2003, “The colophons as an indication of the attitudes towards the literary tradition in Egypt and Mesopotamia”, in: S. Bickel, A. Loprieno (eds), *Basel Egyptology prize 1: junior research in Egyptian history, archaeology, and philology*. *AegHelv* 17, 343–360.
- محروس، زينب على محمد، 2007، نسخة من الكتاب التعليمي Kmyt من حفائر كلية الآثار بسقارة، 65–57.
- Málek, J., 1979, “A shawabti of the draughtsman Pay of Deir el-Medina”, *RdE* 31, 153–156.
- McDowell, A., 1996, “Student exercises from Deir el-Medina: the dates”, in: P. der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson* 2, Boston, 601–608.
- –, 2000, “Teachers and students at Deir el-Medina”, in: R. Demarée, A. Egberts (eds), *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: a tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*. *EgUit* 14, 217–233.
- Mathieu, B. & V. Ritter, 2008, “Les sections finales du manuel scolaire *Kémyt* (§ XV–XVII)”, in: Chr. Gallois, P. Grandet, L. Pantalacci (eds), *Mélanges offerts à François Neveu: par ses amis, élèves et collègues à l’occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire*. *BdE* 145, 193–238.
- Motte, A., 2021, “Une paratextualité émergente dans les tombes privées”, *JARCE* 57, 197–223. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5913/jarce.57.2021.a009>
- –, 2022, “Kemit, writing-boards, and palaeographic studies”, in: U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Ägyptologische “Binsen”-Weisheiten IV. Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen*, Stuttgart, 337–379.
- Motte, A. & V. Ritter, 2023, “Un nouveau témoin ramesside de la *Kémyt*: O. UC 31953 et O. IFAO OL 6666”, in B. Davies (ed.), *Dispatches from Deir el-Medina*, 167–184.
- Motte, A. & N. Sojic, 2020, “Paratextual signs in the New Kingdom medico-magical texts”, in: N. Carlig, G. Lescuyer, A. Motte, N. Sojic (eds), *Signes dans les textes, Continuités et ruptures des pratiques sribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine*, Actes du colloque international de Liège (2–4 juin 2016). *PapLeod* 9, 57–94.
- Nur El-Din, M.A.A., 1979, “Checking, terminal, stress marks, partitions indications and margin lines in Demotic documents”, *Enchoria* 9, 49–62.
- Parkinson, R. B., 1991, “Teachings, discourses and tales from the Middle Kingdom”, in: St. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden, Surrey, 91–122.
- –, 2009, *Reading ancient Egyptian poetry: among other histories*, Chichester; Malden, MA.
- Parkinson, R. B. & Baylis, L., 2012, *Four 12th Dynasty literary papyri (Pap. Berlin P. 3022–5). A photographic record*, Berlin.
- Parkinson, R. B. & Quirke, St., 2010, *Papyrus, Écrire dans l’Égypte antique*, Borgo San Dalmazzo.
- Pendlebury, J. D. S., 1951, *The city of Akhenaten. Part III: The central city and the official quarters. The excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the season 1926–1927 and 1931–1936*. *MEES* 44.

- Petersmarck, E., 2012, Die Kemit. Ostraka, Schreibtafel und Papyrus. GM-B 12.
- Peust, C., 2006, "Ägyptische Briefe: das Lehrstück Kemit", in: B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm (eds), Briefe. TUAT NF 3, 307–313.
- Posch, J., 2022, "Some interesting copies of the Kemit", SÄK 51, 229–241 and pl. 30–34.
- Posener-Kriéger, P., 1978, "A letter to the governor of Elephantine", JEA 64, 84–87.
- Posener, G., 1949, "Les signes noirs dans les rubriques", JEA 35, 77–81.
- –, 1950, "Section finale d'une sagesse inconnue (recherches littéraires, II)", RdE 7, 71–84.
- –, 1951, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh: II (Nos 1109 à 1167). DFIFAO 18.
- –, 1977–1980, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh: III (Nos 1267–1675), DFIFAO 20.
- Ragazzoli, Chl., 2017a, "Beyond authors and copyists: the role of variation in ancient Egyptian and New Kingdom literary production", in: T. Gillen (ed.), (Re)productive traditions in ancient Egypt: proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> February 2013. AegLeod 10, 95–126.
- –, 2017b, La grotte des scribes à Deir el-Bahari: la tombe MMA 504 et ses graffiti. MIFAO 135.
- –, 2019, Scribes: les artisans du texte en Égypte ancienne, Paris.
- Raven, M. J., 2020, The tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara. PALMA 22.
- Schneider, H., 1996, The Memphite tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamun II: a catalogue of the Finds. ExcMem 60.
- Simon, H., 2013, "Textaufgaben": kulturwissenschaftliche Konzepte in Anwendung auf die Literatur der Ramessidenzeit. SÄK-Beihefte 14.
- Simpson, W. K., 1965, Papyrus Reisner II: accounts of the dockyard workshop at This in the reign of Sesostris I. Transcription and commentary, Boston.
- Schoske, S. & Wildung, D., 2009, Last exit Munich: altägyptische Meisterwerke aus Berlin, München, 16–25.
- Venturini, I., 2007, Recherches sur les exercices scolaires sur ostraca et tablettes hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques dans l'Égypte pharaonique, unpublished thesis (Montpellier 3).
- Verhoeven, U., 2017, Das frühsaitische Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Chamhor C. Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten 7.
- –, 2020a, "Paratextual signs in Egyptian funerary and religious texts from the Saite and early Ptolemaic Period", in: N. Carlig, G. Lescuyer, A. Motte, N. Sojic (eds), Signes dans les textes: continuités et ruptures des pratiques sribales en Égypte pharaonique, gréco-romaine et byzantine. Actes du colloque international de Liège (2–4 juin 2016). PapLeod 9, 95–112.
- –, 2020b, "Besuchertexte, Lehren und Lieder des Neuen Reiches", in U. Verhoeven, Dipinti von Besuchern des Grabes N13.1 in Assiut. The Asyut Project 15. DOI: 10.13173/9783447115230
- Vernus, P., 1981, « Une grammaire du Néo-égyptien », *Orientalia* 50 (4), 429–442.
- Vernus, P., 1994, « Observations sur la prédication de classe ("nominal predicate") », *LingAeg* 4, 325–348.
- Vernus, P., 2021, "Le travail littéraire des scribes égyptiens dans les « miscellanées » : composition, décomposition, recomposition et brassage d'idées", *BiOr* 78, 6–23.
- Walle, B. van de, 1946, "La division matérielle des textes classiques égyptiens et son importance pour l'étude des ostraca scolaires", *Le Muséon* n.s. 59, 223–232.
- –, 1948, La transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens, with an appendix of G. Posener, Brussels.
- Wente, E. F., 1990, Letters from ancient Egypt, Atlanta.
- –, 2001, "Kemit", in: D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 2, 226–227.
- Willems, H., 1988, Chests of life: a study of the typology and conceptual development of Middle Kingdom standard class coffins. MVEOL 25.
- Winand, J., 2017, "(Re)productive traditions in ancient Egypt: some considerations with a particular focus on literature and language(s)", in: T. Gillen (ed.), (Re)productive traditions in ancient Egypt: proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> February 2013, Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège. AegLeod 10, 19–40.
- URL (pages accessed on 24.01.2022)  
<https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/search/simple>  
<https://collections.lacma.org/node/245602>  
<https://collections.lacma.org/node/245680>  
<http://www.dstretch.com>  
<https://hierax.ch>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19560>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19563>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19566>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19574>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19576>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19577>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19579>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19593>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19598>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19606>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19615>  
<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=20000>  
<https://proyectodjehuty.com/report-campaign-2006/>