



EGITTOLOGIA 6

ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE SURROUNDING WORLD: CONTACT, TRADE AND INFLUENCE

STUDIES PRESENTED TO MARILINA BETRÒ

edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Christian Greco,
Paolo Del Vesco, Mattia Mancini, Cristina Alù

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1° vers. = Primo Versamento [First Deposit]
 2° vers. = Secondo Versamento [Second Deposit]
 AA = Archäologische Anzeiger (Berlin)
 ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)
 AAA = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)
 AAE = Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy (online)
 AAL Cl. Sc. mor. st. filol. = Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Roma)
 AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
 ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Münster)
 ABoT = Balkan K., *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul 1948
 Acc. Sc. Torino - Memorie Sc. Mor. = Accademia delle Scienze di Torino – Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Torino)
 ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports (Sydney)
 ACE Studies = Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies (Sydney)
 AcOr = Acta Orientalia; Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica (Leiden-Copenhagen)
 ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe (Glückstadt-Berlin)
 ADAJ = Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (Amman)
 Aeg = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milano)
 Aegaeum = Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égyptienne de l'Université de Liège (Leuven-Liège)
 ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt)
 AegLeo = Aegyptiaca Leodiensia (Liège)
 AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia (Aachen)
 ÄgLev = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete (Wien)
 AERA = Ancient Egypt Research Associates (Brighton, MA)
 AERAGram = AERA biannual newsletter (Boston)
 ÄuAT => ÄAT
 Aevum = Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche (Milano)
 Africa = Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Roma)
 ÄgAbh => ÄA
 AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Geneva-Basel)
 AHAW = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg)
 ÄHK = *siglum* of the letters between Egyptians and Hittites published by E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77, Opladen 1994
 AIIN = Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica (Roma)
 AJA = American Journal of Archaeology (Chicago)
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago) [after 1941: JNES]
 AKB = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)
 Aldrovandiana = Aldrovandiana. Historical Studies in Natural History (Bologna)
 Am Antiquity = American Antiquity (Cambridge)
 AnAe = Analecta Aegyptiaca (Copenhagen)
 Anal Bioanal Chem = Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry (Berlin-Heidelberg)

- AncEg = Ancient Egypt Magazine (London-New York)
- AncSoc = Ancient Society (Leuven)
- AnnHistScSoc = Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (Aubervilliers-Cambridge)
- Annu Brit Sch Athens = Annual of the British School at Athens (Athens)
- ANPM = Annals of the Náprstek Museum (Prague)
- ANSMI = Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici Italiani (Roma)
- Anthropol Forum = Anthropological Forum (online)
- Antiquity = Antiquity: quarterly journal of archaeological research (Cambridge)
- AntK = Antike Kunst (Basel)
- AO = Der Alte Orient (Berlin)
- AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- AOF = Altorientalische Forschungen (Bern)
- APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) [after 1945: ADAW]
- ARAAFU = Association des Restaurateurs d'Art et d'Archéologie de Formation Universitaire (Paris)
- ARC = Archaeological Review from Cambridge. Univ. of Cambridge (Cambridge)
- ARCE Bulletin = Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt (San Antonio, TX)
- Archaeol Prospect = Archaeological Prospection (online)
- Archéo-Nil = Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil (Paris)
- ARM = Archives royales de Mari (Paris)
- ArtB = The Art Bulletin (online)
- ArOr = Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague)
- ARWAW = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen)
- ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)
- ASAtene = Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente (Roma)
- ASBR = Archivio Storico Generalizio del Centro Studi Storici PP. Barnabiti (Roma)
- ASOR = American Society of Overseas Research (Alexandria, VA)
- ASR = L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses (online)
- ASSic = Archivio Storico Siciliano. Soc. per la stor. patria (Palermo)
- ASTENE Bull. = Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East: Notes and Queries (Durham-Cambridge)
- ASTo = Archivio di Stato, Torino
- Athenaeum = Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità (Pavia)
- AttiAccTorino = Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino (Torino)
- Atti STSN = Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali (Pisa)
- AUB = American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (Beirut)
- AUC = American University in Cairo (Cairo)
- AulaOr = Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Barcelona)
- AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin-Mainz)
- B = Busta [Envelope]
- BA = Biblical Archaeologist [now: NEA] (Ann Arbor-New Haven)
- BAAL = Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises (Beirut)
- BACE = Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (Sydney)
- BAEE = Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología (Madrid)
- BAEFE = Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (online)
- BAH = Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique (Paris)
- BAJA = Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (Berlin)
- BaM = Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin)
- BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (London)
- BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
- BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (Ann Arbor)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BBf = Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Berlin-Cairo-Zurich-Wiesbaden-Stuttgart)
- BCM = Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland)
- BdA = Bollettino d'Arte (Roma)
- BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude (IFAO, Cairo)
- BdÉ, B d'E => BdE
- BE = Bibliothèque égyptologique (Paris-Cairo)
- BEHE SSR = Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études, Section des Sciences Religieuses (Paris)
- B Eng Geol Environ = Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment (online)
- Berytus = Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Beirut)
- BES = Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (Ann Arbor)
- Bessarione = Bessarione: Pubblicazione periodica di Studi Orientali (Roma)
- BESud = Brown Egyptological Studies (Providence)
- BEUMo = Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena
- BG = Bibliothèque Générale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BiAeg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- Biblica = Biblica (Roma)
- BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte (Cairo)
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BIN = J.B. Nies, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Yale 1917
- BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
- BM = British Museum, London
- BMB = Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth (Paris)
- BME = British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (London)
- BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
- BMH = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (Budapest)
- BMJ = British Medical Journal (London)
- BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York)
- BMonsMusPont = Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e gallerie Pontificie (Roma)
- BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
- BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- Bo = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy/Ḫattuša
- Boğazköy-Ḫattuša = Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen (Darmstadt-Berlin-Wiesbaden-Erbenheim)
- Brit J Hist Sci = British Journal for the History of Science (London)
- BRM = A.T. Clay (ed.), *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Piermont Morgan (New Haven)*, New York-New Heaven 1923
- BRT = Biblioteca Reale di Torino
- BSA => Annu Brit Sch Athens
- BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)
- BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account (London)
- BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Geneva)
- BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles, Communications archéologiques (Paris)
- BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
- BTMn = Biblioteca Teresiana di Mantova
- BUPi = Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa
- BzÄ = Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Wien)
- C2RMF = Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France (Paris)
- CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Mainz)
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols, Chicago 1956-2010
- CAENL = Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant. Acad. autrich. des sc. (Wien)
- CAJ = Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)
- CAMS = Centro di Ateneo per i Musei Scientifici, Perugia
- CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)

- CC = *Clavis Coptica* o *Clavis Patrum Coptico-rum, unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna opera copta nell'ambito del Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari
- CCdE = Les Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie (Martinique)
- CCE = Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Cairo)
- CChEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Wien)
- CdE = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Bruxelles)
- CdÉ, CdEg => CdE
- CED = J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976.
- CGT = Catalogo Generale del Museo di Torino (serie)
- CENiM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (online)
- CeROArt = Conservation, exposition, Restauration d'Objets d'Art (Liège)
- CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
- CLES = Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum (New York)
- CLM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna unità codicologica letteraria copta nell'ambito del progetto *PAThs* e del suo principale prodotto scientifico, l'*Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* (<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>)
- CIQu = The Classical Quarterly (Cambridge)
- CMET = Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino (Torino)
- CNI => CNIANES
- CNIANES = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNIP = Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNR = Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
- CollHell = Collectanea Hellenistica (Bruxelles)
- Comp Stud Soc Hist = Comparative Studies in Society and History (Cambridge)
- CP = Classical Philology (Chicago)
- CRAI => CRAIBL
- CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris)
- CRBC = Conservation-Restauration des Biens Culturels (Sorbonne)
- CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris-Lille)
- CRUI = Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane (Roma)
- CSEG = Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève (Geneva)
- CSIS = Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid)
- CSCT = Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition (Leiden-Boston)
- CTH = E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971 (with Supplements in RHA XXX, 1972, 94–133 = CTH Suppl., and RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68–71 (<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>))
- Curr Anthropol = Current Anthropology (Chicago)
- D3T = Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives
- DAAM = D. Schwemer, E. Rieken (eds), *Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris*, Wiesbaden
- DAIK = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo (Cairo)
- DAIK S = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Sonderschrift (Cairo)
- DBH 46/2 = R. Akdoğan, *Hethitische Texte Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien*, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 46/2, Wiesbaden 2016.
- DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Roma)
- DDbDP = Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (<https://papyri.info>)
- DE = Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
- DELIC = W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1984
- DemStud = Demotische Studien (Leipzig-Sommerhausen)
- Der Antike Sudan = Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (Berlin)
- DFIFAO = Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
- DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)

- DPDP = Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (<http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html>)
- DS = Detroit Statue
- EA = Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) (London)
- EAO = Égypte, Afrique et Oriente (Paris)
- EAT = *siglum* of the edition of the cuneiform tablets unearthed at Tell el-Amarna
- EDAL = Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries (Milan)
- EtudTrav = Études et Travaux (Warsaw)
- EEF = (Publications of the) Egypt Exploration Fund => MEEF
- EEF Memoir => MEEF, EES EM
- E&G Quaternary Sci. J. = Eiszeitalter und Gegenwart Quaternary Science Journal (online)
- EES EM = EES Excavation Memoirs (London) [earlier names: MEEF/MEES]
- EES GRM = EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs (London)
- EES TM = EES Texts from Excavations, Memoirs (London)
- EgAT = O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, *Egyptian astronomical texts*, Providence (vol. 1) 1960, (vol. 2) 1966, (vol. 3) 1969
- EGE = Revista de Expresión Gráfica en la Edificación (Madrid)
- EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- EI = Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Jerusalem)
- Eidola = Eidola. International Journal of Ancient Art History (Pisa)
- EME = Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie (Paris)
- Enchoria = Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie (Wiesbaden)
- ENiM = Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (Montpellier)
- EPRO = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden) [later RGRW]
- EQÄ = Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Münster)
- ERA = Egyptian Research Account (London) [after 1906: BSAE]
- ERUV = S.H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie Religieuse de l'Univers Végétal : Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, 4 vols, Montpellier 1999-2005
- EtudTrav => ET
- ET = Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences (Warsaw)
- EU => EgUit
- EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente (Pisa)
- [ExSaq] = Excavation at Saqqara (SAE, Cairo)
- FAT = Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2nd series (Tübingen)
- FÄW = J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2002)
- FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports préliminaires (Cairo)
- FoRa = Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt. Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir – Pi-Ramesse (Mainz)
- FR => FoRa
- FuB = Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
- Geol Survey Israel Rep No GSI = Geological Survey of Israel, Report No. G.S.I. (Jerusalem)
- GFA = Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (online)
- GHE = Golden House Egyptology (London)
- GHP Egyptology = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
- GM = Göttinger Miscellen (Göttingen)
- GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen (Wiesbaden)
- Greek Roman Byzantin = Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham)
- GrHL = H.A. Hoffner, H.C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar; Part 2: Tutorial*, Winona Lake, IN 2008.
- GRM => EES-GRM
- GSI = Geological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem)
- HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
- HAT = *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches* (Wiesbaden)
- Hb Orient St Sect = Handbook of Oriental Studies Section (Leiden)
- HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie (Leiden)

- HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (<http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start>)
- Hist Reflections = Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques (New York)
- HKM = S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6/34, Ankara 1991
- HPBM = Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London)
- HR = History of Religions (Chicago)
- HSCP = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Cambridge MA)
- HZL = Ch. Rüster, E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Bogazköy-Texten*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2, Wiesbaden 1989
- IAMS = Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies (London)
- IAWA = International Association of Wood Anatomists (Leiden)
- IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (online)
- ICE = International Congress of Egyptologists
- IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem)
- IFAO BG = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque Générale (Cairo)
- IFROA = Institut Français de Restauration des Œuvres d'Art (Saint-Denis)
- IJNA = International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (online)
- ILC = Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (Madrid)
- Info DaF = Information Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Göttingen-Bonn)
- Int As Sed = International Association of Sedimentologists Special Publication (Gent)
- IOS = Israel Oriental Studies (Leiden)
- Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London)
- ISIMU = ISIMU. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad (Madrid)
- ISMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma)
- JAC = Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun)
- JACF = Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum (online)
- JAEA = The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture (online)
- JA EI = Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson)
- JANER = Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden)
- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore-Boston-New Haven)
- JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-Princeton-New York-Cairo)
- J Archaeol Res = Journal of Archaeological Research (New York)
- JAS = Journal of Archaeological Science (Tucson)
- JbZMusMainz = Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (Mainz)
- JCH = Journal of Cultural Heritage (online)
- JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Chicago-New Haven-Cambridge)
- JE A = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (EES, London)
- JEGH = Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)
- JEMAH S = Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies (Philadelphia)
- JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
- JES = Journal of Egyptological Studies (Sofia)
- JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)
- JfAC = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Münster)
- J Glass Stud = Journal of Glass Studies (New York)
- JHA = Journal for the History of Astronomy (Chalfont St. Giles)
- J Hist Collect = Journal of the History of Collections (Oxford)
- J Hist Ideas = Journal of the History of Ideas (Philadelphia)
- JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies (London)
- JJP = Journal of Juristic Papyrology (Warsaw)
- JMA = Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (online)
- JMC = Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes (Saint-Germain-en-Laye)
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
- JRAI = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)

- JSAH = Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (Philadelphia)
 J Soc Archaeol = Journal of Social Archaeology (online)
 JSSEA = Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) (Toronto)
 JWCI = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (London)
 JWP = Journal of World Prehistory (New York)
 Kadmos = Kasmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik (Berlin-New York)
 KARNAK = Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (Cairo)
 KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz)
 KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Berlin)
 Kemi = Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes (Paris)
 KMT = KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco)
 KRI = K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols, Oxford 1969-1990
 KUB => KBo
 Kush = Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service / Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) (Khartoum)
 KuT = *sighum* of the tablets and fragments excavated at Kuşaklı/Şarişša.
 LÄ = W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, Wiesbaden 1972/5-
 LACMA = Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles)
 [LDA] = Les Dossiers d'Archéologie (Dijon)
 LDAB = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*
 LEAD = Late Egyptian Artefact Database (<https://lead.ifao.egnet.net/>)
 LETIAM = Laboratoire d'Étude des Techniques et Instruments d'Analyse Moléculaire (Paris)
 Levant = Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Jerusalem)
 Lexis = Lexis. Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica (Abano Terme)
 LGG = Chr. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110-116, 7 vols, Leuven 2002.
 LingAeg = Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies (Göttingen)
 LingAeg SM => LinAeg – StudMon
 LingAeg – StudMon = Linguae Aegyptia – Studia Monographica (Hamburg)
 LNS = Late New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1240-1180 BC)
 LRMF = Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France
 M = Mazzo [Bundle]
 MA = Musée des Antiquités (Rouen)
 MAAO = Münchener Abhandlungen zum Alten Orient (Gladbeck)
 MACA = Mantova Collezioni Antiche (Mantova)
 MAE = Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie (Torino)
 MAECI = Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale (Roma)
 MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin-Munich-Mainz)
 MÄSB = Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
 MAFTO = Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbe-Ouest
 MAI = Missione Archeologica Italiana
 MAM = Museo Archeologico, Milano
 Mar Geol = Marine Geology (Amsterdam-New York)
 Marmora = Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology, History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stones (Pisa)
 MASCA = Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology (Philadelphia)
 MascaP = MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology (Philadelphia)
 MBA-Dijon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon
 MBA-Lyon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon
 MDAI = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (Leiden-Paris)
 MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz-Cairo-Berlin-Wiesbaden)
 MdS = Musées de Sens
 MedA = Mediterranean Archaeology (online)

- MEEF = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund [later: MEES] (London)
- MEES = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London)
- MEFRA = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Antiquité (Paris)
- MEFRM = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge (Paris)
- MemAcInscr = Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Toulouse-Paris)
- Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum (Cairo-Paris)
- [Mem.Phil.] = Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge (Philadelphia)
- MemPontAc = Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Memorie (Roma)
- MGC = Museo “Gaetano Chierici” di Paletnologia (Reggio Emilia)
- MH = Middle Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1500-1350)
- MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire (Berlin-Cairo)
- MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)
- MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London)
- MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
- MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire (Paris) [later MIFAO]
- MMJ = Metropolitan Museum Journal (New York)
- MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- MonPiot = Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot (Paris)
- MPER = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)
- MRE = Monographies Reine Elisabeth (Bruxelles-Turnhout)
- MS = Middle Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1500-1350 BC)
- MSAE = Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla (Roma)
- Msk = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Meskene/Emar
- MUP = Musei dell'Università di Pisa (Pisa)
- Mus = Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Leuven)
- Muséon => Mus
- MUSJ = Mémoires/Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut)
- MVCAE = Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt (Atlanta)
- NARCE = Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) (New York-Cairo)
- Nat Sci Arc = Natural Science in Archaeology (New York)
- NEA = Near Eastern Archaeology [formerly: Biblical Archeologist (BA)] (Boston)
- NeHeT = NeHeT. Revue numérique d'Égyptologie (Paris-Bruxelles)
- NH = New Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1350-1180 BC)
- NML = National Museum, Liverpool
- NS = New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1350-1240 BC)
- Numen = Numen: International Review for the History of Religions (Leiden)
- OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg-Göttingen)
- Ocnus = Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici (Bologna)
- OH = Old Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1650-1500 BC)
- OIAR = Oriental Institute Annual Report (Chicago)
- OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
- OJA = Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)
- OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)
- OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Münster-Berlin-Leipzig)
- OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- Or = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Ortaköy/Şapinuwa
- ORA = Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Tübingen)
- OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus (Roma)
- OrArch = Orient-Archäologie, DAI (Berlin)
- OrChrPer = Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Roma)
- OREA = Oriental and European Archaeology (Wien)
- Orientalia => OrNS

- Orient Christ Analec = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Roma)
- OrMonsp = *Orientalia Monspeliensia* (Montpellier)
- OrNS = *Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series* (Roma)
- OS = *Old Script* (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1650-1500 BC)
- PÄ = *Probleme der Ägyptologie* (Leiden-Boston-Köln)
- PalHiéro => PH
- PALLAS = *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques* (Toulouse)
- PALMA = *Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology* (Turnhout)
- PAM = *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* (Warsaw)
- P Am Philos Soc = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia)
- Palamedes = *Palamedes: A Journal of Ancient History* (Warsaw)
- PalArch => PJAEE
- PBF = *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (München-Stuttgart)
- PBSEA = *Publications of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
- PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (London)
- PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (London)
- PH = *Paléographie Hiéroglyphique* (Cairo)
- Philippika = *Philippika: Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)
- PHRP = *The polychrome hieroglyph research project*, ed. by D. Nunn (<https://phrp.be/About.html>)
- PIA = *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology, UCL* (London)
- PIHANS = *Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul* (Istanbul)
- PJAEE = *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* (Leiden)
- Plant Biosyst = *Plant Biosystem - An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology* (online)
- PLB = *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* (Leiden)
- PLOS ONE = *Public Library of Science* (online)
- PLup = *Papyrologica Lupiensia* (Lecce)
- PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford 1927-1951 (1960-)
- PMMA = *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition)* (New York)
- PN = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt 1935-1977
- PSAS = *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (Oxford)
- PSG = *Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Bonn Statue*
- PSI = *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto* (Firenze)
- PT = K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, neu herausgegeben und erläutert*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1908-1922
- QuadTorino = *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte* (Torino)
- RANT = *Res Antiquae* (Bruxelles)
- Rass. Ita. pol. lett. art. = *Rassegna Italiana politica, letteraria e artistica* (Roma)
- RB = *Revue Biblique* (Jerusalem-Paris)
- RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
- RE = *Rites Égyptiens* (Bruxelles)
- REAC = *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* (Imola-Bologna)
- REG = *Revue des Études Grecques* (Paris)
- RevEg = *Revue égyptologique* (Paris) [later: RdE]
- Rev Louvre = *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* (Paris)
- RGRW = *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden)
- RGTC VI = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1978
- RGTC VI/2 = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1992.
- RHA = *Revue Hittite et Asianique* (Paris)
- RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions* (Paris)
- Ric Stor Arte = *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* (Roma)

- RIDA = Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité (Bruxelles)
- RIMA = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods*
- RIME = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*
- RiME = Rivista del Museo Egizio (Torino)
- RITA = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, Oxford 1993
- RITANC = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments*, Oxford 1993
- Riv. Mil. = Rivista Militare (Roma)
- RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- RoczMuzWarsz = Rocznik Muzeum narodowego w Warszawie (Warsaw)
- RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma)
- RT = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)
- RVO = Religion in Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden)
- SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova)
- SAAC = Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization. Jagiellonian Univ. (Cracovia)
- SaarBeitr = Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Saarbrücken)
- Saeculum = Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte (Freiburg)
- SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
- SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)
- SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur – Beihefte (Hamburg)
- SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin-Boston)
- SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)
- SAT = Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden)
- SARS Newsletter = The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter (London)
- SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung (München)
- SBS = Stuttgarter Bibelstudien (Freudenstadt-Loßburg)
- ScAnt = Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia (Roma)
- SCO = Studi Classici e Orientali (Pisa)
- SDAW = Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin)
- SEAP = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- SEL = Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Roma)
- Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology (Chicago)
- SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)
- SHR = Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden)
- SIMA = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (Lund)
- SiMa = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SiMuA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- Sitzber K Preuss Aka = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)
- SMA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SMAAR = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes (Roma)
- SMEA = Studi Mediterranei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma)
- SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Wien)
- SRaT = Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)
- SSR = Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion (Wiesbaden)
- StadelJb = Stadel Jahrbuch (München)
- StBoT = Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden)
- StEgAntPun = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- StMatStorRel = Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni (Roma)
- StudAeg = Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest-Roma)
- StudPAP = Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina (Paris)
- Stud Piemontesi = Studi Piemontesi (Torino)

- Sudan & Nubia = Sudan & Nubia: Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)
- StudDem = Studia Demotica (Leuven)
- StudGener = Studium Generale. Zeitschrift für die Einheit der Wissenschaften im Zusammenhang Ihrer Begriffsbildungen und Forschungsmethoden (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York)
- SVB = Studia Varia Bruxellensia (ad orbem graeco-latinum pertinentia) (Leuven)
- Symbolon = Symbolon. Jahrb. Für Symbolforsch (Cologne)
- Syria = Syria: Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie (Paris)
- Talanta = TalAnta: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society (Hoofddorp)
- TbT = Totenbuchttexte (Basel)
- T C S Peirce Soc = Transactions of the Charles S Peirce Society (Indianapolis)
- TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt (Puerto de la Cruz)
- TEL AVIV = TEL AVIV: the Journal of the Institute of Archaeology (Tel Aviv)
- THEBEN = Theben (Mainz)
- TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>, Web app version 2.0.2.1, 8/8/2023, ed. by T. S. Richter, D. A. Werning, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, P. Dils
- TM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del database *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/>)
- TPOP = Turin Papyrus Online Platform (<https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it>; <https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Login.aspx>)
- TSL = Thot Sign List <http://thotsignlist.org>, ed. by Université de Liège and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
- TTR = Tanis, travaux récents sur le Tell San El-Hagar (Paris)
- TUAT-NF = B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, vols 1-10, Gütersloh 2004
- TVAT = Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico (Brescia)
- UAVA = Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin)
- UC = University of California
- UCLA = University of California, Los Angeles
- UF = Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim-Leipzig-Berlin)
- UIT d'Orsay = Université Paris-Saclay
- UMAA = University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge)
- UMI = University of Michigan
- UPMJ = University Pennsylvania Museum Journal (Philadelphia)
- [UPMM] = University Pennsylvania Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)
- USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology (Uppsala)
- UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
- VA = Varia Aegyptiaca (San Antonio)
- VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
- VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii [Revue d'Histoire ancienne] (Moscow-Leningrad)
- V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum (London)
- VIAÄ = Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Wien)
- VisRel = Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography (Leiden)
- VO = Vicino Oriente (Roma)
- VRAMK = Voronezh Regional Art Museum of I.N. Kramskoy
- VT = Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)
- WA = Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)
- Wb = A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Berlin 1926-1961
- WdO = Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Göttingen-Wupoertal)
- WorldArch = World Archaeology (online)
- World Literature Tod = World Literature Today (online)
- WSEA = Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology (New York)

WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen
der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Leipzig-
Berlin-Saarbrücken-Saarwellingen)

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des
Morgenlandes (Wien)

YES = Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasia-
tische Archäologie (Leipzig-Berlin)

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Al-
tertumskunde (Berlin-Leipzig)

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Ver-
eins (Leipzig-Wiesbaden)

ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und
verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig)

INTRODUCTION

GIANLUCA MINIACI, CHRISTIAN GRECO, PAOLO DEL VESCO, MATTIA MANCINI, CRISTINA ALÙ

As former students of Prof. Marilina Betrò, on the occasion of her retirement, we decided to gather contributions from colleagues and friends on the topics she has significantly contributed to during her academic career. The outcome of this collaborative effort is the creation of six volumes that celebrate and honour her scholarly achievements.

The first volume, *The Sacred and the Secular in the Theban Necropolis*, is a collection of 18 papers that explore various aspects of life in the Theban Necropolis on the western bank of the Nile at modern-day Luxor. These papers encompass religious, ritual, material, and profane elements. The Theban Necropolis has been a focal point of archaeological research carried out by Marilina Betrò, who first became acquainted with this site at the beginning of her career while working in the ‘Temple of Millions of Years’ of Thutmose IV under the supervision of Edda Bresciani. In 2003, Marilina Betrò initiated and directed an ongoing archaeological expedition to investigate the Ramesside tomb of Huy (TT 14), located in the northern sector of the Theban Necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga). Subsequently, in 2004, the Italian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga (M.I.D.A.N.) discovered a previously unknown early Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb called M.I.D.A.N.05 and, in 2010, two other smaller tombs cut into the northern side of its courtyard. The archaeological fieldwork in Thebes has shaped the careers of many of her students and produced significant results, published in several scientific articles and a monograph titled *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu El-Naga* (2009).

The second volume, *A Matter of Religions: Gods and People in Ancient Egypt*, gathers 18 papers that explore the complex dimensions of Egyptian religions, fostering a dialogue between gods, landscapes, animals, and people. Marilina Betrò’s seminal work, *Saqqara III: I testi solari del portale di Pasherientaisu (BN 2)* (1989), represents an important milestone in the studies of ancient Egyptian religion. The entrance portal of Pasherientaisu, discovered in the Saqqara necropolis during archaeological fieldwork directed by Edda Bresciani, was inscribed with a version of the cult-theological treatise studied by Jan Assmann in his work *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Before the discovery of Pasherientaisu’s portal, only half of this religious composition was known, which concerned the sunrise and the king’s knowledge of the ‘arcana’ of the sun’s course. The portal inscription preserves the other half of the composition, translated and commented by Betrò, which is dedicated to the night journey of the sun. This ancient Egyptian religious text, discovered by Professor Betrò, represents a bridge between the ‘esoteric’ hymns of the solar cult and the so-called underworld books and was later quoted and incorporated by Assmann in his volume *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (1995). Betrò later presented a synthesis and critique of the religious system of ancient Egypt in a chapter of “Egittologia” (2005), edited by Alessandro Roccati, which has influenced the latest generations of Italian students of Egyptology.

The third volume, *Digging for Ancient Egypt and Egyptology in the Archives*, contains 14 articles exploring previously unpublished letters, notes, diaries, and other documents from the 17th century to the first decades of the 20th century. These documents preserve a vast amount of information essential for reconstructing the history of ancient Egypt and the evolution of the discipline of Egyptology. Marilina Betrò has led several research projects on this subject, with a particular focus on the rich documentation of Egyptian monuments and sites produced by Champollion, Rosellini, and other members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in 1828-29. This valuable documentation is now preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. She has directed an important national project called “Progetto Rosellini”, which led to the discovery in the National Archives in Prague of two lists of the antiquities Ippolito Rosellini brought to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, now part of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. The

project's objective was to digitize all the documents (drawings, manuscripts, notebooks, and diaries) of the members of the *Spedizione* held in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. This culminated in an important publication on Egyptological archives titled *Talking along the Nile* (2013). As part of the project, she curated two exhibitions – one in Pisa and another in Cairo – of manuscripts and drawings of the *Spedizione*. The exhibition held in Cairo, 2009-2010, also facilitated the return of a selection of the original documents to Egypt, some 200 years after their composition in that country. Through her archival research, the powerful chief steward of Perunefer under Amenhotep II, Qenamun, owner of TT 93, was able to reclaim his material identity. His body and original coffin have since been reunited and are now part of the Collezioni Egittologiche 'Edda Bresciani' in Pisa (Betrò, *Kenamun: l'undicesima mummia*, 2014).

The fourth volume, *The Materiality of Ancient Egypt: Objects and Museums*, consists of 19 articles that explore the diverse stories hidden within museum objects and collection archives, fostering an ongoing dialogue between ancient materials, texts, and modern interpretation and methodologies. Professor Betrò has played a significant role in museum and object studies, introducing the first course in Egyptian Epigraphy in Pisa, utilising the material preserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. She served as the director of the 'Sistema Museale di Ateneo' of the University of Pisa from 2012 to 2014, and since 2017, has been the head of the scientific committee of the Museo Egizio in Turin. She also organized two international conferences, both held in Pisa, focusing on the materiality of texts in ancient Egypt and other societies, resulting in a volume titled *The Ancient World Revisited: Material Dimensions of Written Artefacts* (2024). Additionally, Professor Betrò has played a vital role in advancing Egyptology by integrating new technologies into object studies. From 2005 to 2009, she led a research unit in the FIRB project *Tecnologie integrate di Robotica ed Ambienti Virtuali in Archeologia*.

The fifth volume, *Egypt in Ancient and Modern Tales, Travels and Explorations*, brings together 12 articles that explore Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives, captivating the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from both ancient and modern explorers. Professor Betrò's career has been shaped by her passion for travel, whether physical or intellectual. This passion has been applied to Egyptology with a project called "Egypt in India", exploring Egyptian antiquities beyond the traditional borders, culminating in the publication *Egypt in India: Egyptian antiquities in Indian museums* (2004), edited by Edda Bresciani and Marilina Betrò. In addition, she authored the monograph *Racconti di viaggio e di avventura dell'antico Egitto* (1994), presenting a collection of ancient Egyptian tales about travels and adventures. Her interest in the forms of expression of ancient Egyptian thought and narrative led to her co-editing the volume *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC)* (2017), an exploration of ancient Egypt through its images.

The sixth and final volume of this series, *Ancient Egypt and the Surrounding World: Contact, Trade, and Influence*, focuses on the complex cultural interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and North-East Africa, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria. This theme has been a constant throughout Professor Betrò's academic career. The early part of her career as an Egyptologist was marked by significant publications of demotic texts on ostraca and papyri, such as contracts, accounts, and memos, which have made a major contribution to our understanding of daily life in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Greek and Egyptian elements coexisted within society, such as "Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco. Comunicazioni d'affari e conti vari", *EVO* 2 (1979); "Due tavolette demotiche e il p.gr. Amherst II 31", *EVO* 7 (1984); "Il p.dem. Lille 119: un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto", in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (1985). She also organised a conference in Pisa called 'Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi: Tra passato e futuro' that brought together Italian scholars of ancient Oriental Studies, fostering dialogue between different fields and disciplines, and which has now become a tradition in Italian studies (EVOA meetings). The resulting publication of the conference was *Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull'Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia*, I Convegno Nazionale, Pisa, 5-6 giugno 2017 (2018) edited by Marilina Betrò, Stefano De Martino, Gianluca Miniaci, and Frances Pinnock. In addition, she has been member of the *Consiglio Direttivo della Consulta Universitaria per gli Studi sull'Asia e Africa* (CUSTAA), demonstrating her commitment to integrating and connecting Egyptology with other neighbouring disciplines.



TELI-TEŠŠOB, A HITTITE MESSENGER AT THE COURT OF RAMESSES II

STEFANO DE MARTINO*

Abstract

The letters of the diplomatic correspondence exchanged by the Egyptian and Hittite courts at the time of Ramesses II and Ḫattušili III mention several times a Hittite royal envoy by the name of Teli-Teššob. He was also a member of the Hittite delegation that carried the silver tablet of the peace treaty to Pi-Ramesses.

The most famous international agreement made in the pre-classical world is the treaty concluded by Pharaoh Ramesses II with Ḫattušili III, king of Ḫatti. This parity treaty was signed by the two kings in the twenty-first regnal year of Ramesses II, sixteen years after the battle of Qadeš.

The treaty was written in the Akkadian language on two silver tablets – one to be kept in Egypt, and the other to be preserved in the Hittite capital. Neither of these two metal tablets has been discovered, and the text of the treaty is known mainly from the Egyptian translation, which was inscribed on two stelae that are located in Thebes; one stands in the Temple of Amun at Karnak and the second in the forecourt of the Ramesseum.¹ In addition, a copy of the original Akkadian document survives in two fragmentary cuneiform tablets found in the Hittite capital.²

The Akkadian recension of the treaty and its Egyptian translation differ in that the latter text also includes a preamble and an archival annotation. These passages refer to the arrival of the Hittite delegation that carried the silver tablet to be presented to the Pharaoh. The Hittite delegation was composed of three messengers, namely Teli-Teššob, Riamašši, and Yapušili; the latter

came from Karkemiš. The king of Karkemiš, who was subordinated to Ḫatti but was also related to the Hittite royal family, played a significant role in maintaining order in Syria and strengthening Ḫatti's economic and diplomatic relations with Egypt.³

As for Teli-Teššob and Riamašši, they are also mentioned in some letters exchanged between the Hittite and the Egyptian court at the time of Ḫattušili III, where they bear the Akkadian title *mār šipri* 'messenger, envoy'.

Since Riamašši has an Egyptian name,⁴ he may have been an Egyptian hired by the Hittite court as an interpreter.⁵ The introduction of the Egyptian version of the peace treaty identifies Riamašši as 'the second messenger', an expression that Edel interprets as referring to the lower rank of this envoy compared to Teli-Teššob.⁶

Unlike Riamašši, Teli-Teššob bears a Hurrian name composed from the the name of the Hurrian Stormgod, Teššob, and the antipassive verb form *tel=i=b*, derived from the root *tel-*, which appears in other anthroponyms but whose meaning remains unknown.⁷ Hurrian personal names were borne by several individuals in the Hittite kingdom in the last decades of the thirteenth century

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¹ See EDEL 1997; PERNIGOTTI 2010, 96-105.

² See DE MARTINO 2022, 136 with bibliographical references.

³ See ZECCHI 2014.

⁴ See EDEL 1994b, 47; ROTH 2005, 197.

⁵ See CORDANI 2017, 49.

⁶ See EDEL 1994, 47-8b; 1997, 17; ROTH 2005, 197-8.

⁷ See RICHTER 2012, 459.

BC, most of whom belonged to the upper strata of society.⁸

Teli-Teššob represented the Hittite royal couple at the court of Ramesses II on several occasions, as documented in letters exchanged between Ḫatti and Egypt. In the letter KBo 28.14, addressed by Ramesses II to the Hittite queen Pudu-Ḫeba, the Pharaoh states that his messengers, namely Zinapa and Maniya, together with the Hittite royal envoys, Teli-Teššob and Riamassi, are on their way to Ḫatti.⁹ This letter also preserves part of the list of gifts sent to the Hittite queen by the Pharaoh, consisting mostly of gold vases and precious clothes.¹⁰

Teli-Teššob is also mentioned in the letter addressed by Ramesses II to Ḫattušili III, KBo 28.8 (+) 28.9 (+) 28.10.¹¹ The Pharaoh writes that he will send his messenger to Ḫatti together with Teli-Teššob, and thus the Hittite king will hear the Egyptian response to all the matters that they had previously discussed. Ramesses adds that the messengers will arrive in a month. This statement has been the object of discussion, because it was quite impossible to traverse the long distance between Pi-Ramesses and Ḫattuša in only thirty days, but likely the Pharaoh simply intended to communicate that he had ordered the messengers to proceed as quickly as possible.¹² The Pharaoh notes that he has also sent Riamassi and Maniya to Ḫattuša.

The content of the letter KBo 28.11 (+) 12, sent by Ramesses II to Pudu-Ḫeba, is very similar.¹³ This letter does not mention Teli-Teššob, but only Riamassi and Maniya. Hence, we may assume that in this case Teli-Teššob, as a royal messenger of the first rank, bore messages of special significance to the Hittite king as documented from KBo 28.8 (+), while Riamassi only bore the greeting addressed to the Hittite queen.

In the letter KBo 28.13 + ABoT 1.59, addressed by Ramesses II to Ḫattušili III, the Pharaoh wrote that Teli-Teššob had arrived at the Hittite court as an ‘express courier’. Edel and Cordani inferred

that Teli-Teššob was sometimes charged with the task of delivering oral messages in the quickest possible way.¹⁴

Teli-Teššob, along with Riamassi, is mentioned in the letter KBo 28.23, sent by Ramesses II to Pudu-Ḫeba.¹⁵ The letter deals with the Hittite request to allow a group of people called ‘the sons of Mašniyalli’ to return to Ḫatti. They probably were Hittite citizens, since Mašniyalli is an Anatolian name, who temporarily resided in Egypt. Unfortunately we are in the dark regarding the identity of Mašniyalli and his ‘sons’, but we may assume that the latter were sent to Egypt as page boys and members of the entourage of the Hittite princess who would marry the Pharaoh.¹⁶

Letter KBo 28.23 contains a detailed description of a dispute between the two Hittite messengers. According to Teli-Teššob, the Hittite king and queen had asked him to relay to the Pharaoh their wish that the ‘sons’ of Mašniyalli could return to Ḫatti. Teli-Teššob had been charged with delivering this oral message, but Riamassi stated that he had not heard such an order, and this was also confirmed by the Egyptian messengers Pariḫnawa, Zinapa, and Maniya, who had gone to Ḫattuša to take part in a court hearing together with their two Hittite colleagues. Thus, a formal written request was submitted to Pudu-Ḫeba, and the Pharaoh said that he would gladly permit the page boys to return to Anatolia as soon as the letter from the Hittite queen arrived.

The name of Teli-Teššob may be read in the fragmentary letter KBo 28.86, in l. 2’ of the reverse, although the first part of his name is written as *Ti-il-* instead of the regular spelling *Ti-li-*.¹⁷ This letter was sent to a Hittite king whose name is not known, but he may be identified as Ḫattušili III due to the mention of Urḫi-Teššob. Singer assumed that the sender of the letter may have been Pente-šena, king of Amurru. Although this letter is very fragmentary, Singer convincingly argued that Teli-Teššob had reached the city of Megiddo –

⁸ See DE MARTINO 2017.

⁹ See EDEL 1994a, 110-3; CORDANI 2017, 139-40.

¹⁰ See SIEGELOVÁ 2011, 326-7.

¹¹ See EDEL 1994a, 124-7; CORDANI 2017, 141-2.

¹² See EDEL 1994b, 201; CORDANI 2017, 141, n. 2.

¹³ See EDEL 1994a, 128-9.

¹⁴ See EDEL 1994a, 180-1; CORDANI 2017, 147.

¹⁵ See most recently CORDANI 2017, 114-8, with previous literature.

¹⁶ As Edel (1994b, 175, 301) argued. The ‘parallel letter’ KBo 28.21+ (EDEL 1994a, 100-5) deals with the same dispute between the Egyptian and the Hittite envoys. For the differences between the two letters see EDEL 1994b, 173.

¹⁷ On this letter see SINGER 1988.

here written Makkittā – where he joined an Egyptian envoy, whose name, only partially preserved (rev. 1'), may be restored as Maniya.¹⁸

Finally, Teli-Teššob and another individual by the name of Teḫi-Teššob act as witnesses in the fragmentary tablet from Ugarit RS 17.137, which preserves the resolution of a court case.¹⁹ Teli-Teššob bears here the title of ‘the messenger whom (His Majesty = the Hittite king) sent to Egypt’,²⁰ and this clearly shows how prestigious his role as a royal messenger sent to Egypt was.

Teḫi-Teššob also had a Hurrian name, and in the aforementioned tablet RS 17.137 (l. 8) he bears the title of ‘messenger of His Majesty (= the Hittite king)’. Thus he was a colleague of Teli-Teššob, although no Hittite text explicitly mentions his involvement in a diplomatic mission. On his seal, which was impressed on RS.17.137, Teḫi-Teššob bears the title of ‘prince’,²¹ and his name also occurs with this same title in a sealing from the archive of Nišantepe in the Hittite capital.²²

The presence of Teli-Teššob at Ugarit and the fact that he bears a Hurrian name lead us to assume that his homeland was one of the Syrian polities subordinated to Ḫatti. If this was indeed the case, he may have been chosen as a royal messenger, specializing in diplomatic missions to Egypt, because of his competence in the Akkadian language and his knowledge of the Syro-Levantine region, through which he would often have travelled.

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¹⁸ See SINGER 1988 and 2006.

¹⁹ See NOUGAYROL 1956, 106; LEBRUN 2014, 157.

²⁰ See BREYER 2010, 242.

²¹ See MORA 1987, 125.

²² See HERBORDT 2005, 275, no. 453.

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The stark contrast of the desert, mountains, seas, and cataracts surrounding the fertile river valley creates a dramatic separation between Egypt and the rest of the world. Despite this physical – often pretended – barrier, Egypt has historically been deeply connected to the cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and Northeast Africa. These interactions have led to a complex intermingling of culture, materials, religions, ideas, and iconography, resulting in the emergence of new forms of cultural identity. The papers of this volume, presented to prof. Marilina Betrò, aim to explore various aspects of these interactions, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria.

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