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Only the dead can tell us: on ancestor worship, law, social status, and gender norms in ancient Egypt

Schiavo, R.

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Bibliography concerning the Tekenu depictions in non-royal tombs

Table 1: Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom

1. Mastaba of *Ihy* (*Idw.t*)

G. West 2019, 57-59; K. Paraskeva 2013, 20, n. 1; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2003, 34. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 1.

2. TT 60 – *Sn.t* (*Inī-it=f-īkr*)

G. West 2019, 123-124; K. Paraskeva, 20, n. 2; No. de Garis Davies, A.H. Gardiner, and Ni. de Garis Davies, 1920, 21-22. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 3.

3. Tomb of *Shtp-ib-r^c*

G. West 2019, 108-109; K. Paraskeva 2012, 20, n. 3; J. E. Quibell 1898, 25-26 and Pl. IX. See also chapter 3.2.1.b, document 2.

Table 2 -New Kingdom

4. TT 12 – *Hri*

G. West 2019, 110-112; K. Paraskeva 2012, 21, n. 4; G. Menéndez Gómez 2005, 29-65.

5. TT 15 – *Tiki*

G. West 2019, 112-115; K. Paraskeva, 21, n 5; No. de Garis Davies 1925, 10-18, and Pl. V. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 4.

6. EK 7 – *Rnni*

G. West 2019, 131-132; K. Paraskeva 2012, 22, n. 6; J.J. Tylor 1900, Pl. XIII. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 5.

7. TT 81 – *Inn.i*

G. West 2019, 125-127; K. Paraskeva 2012, 22, n. 7; E. Dziobek 1992, 80-81.

8. TT 24 – *Nb-Imn*

G. West 2019, 117-118; K. Paraskeva 2012, 23, n. 9; A. El-Shahawi 2005, 54-55; J. Settgast 1963, 41 and note a. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 14.

9. TT 125 – *Dw^c.wi-r-nhh*

G. West 2019, 146-147; K. Paraskeva 2012, 23, n. 10; J. Settgast 1963, Tafel 10. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, documents 11 and 21.

10. TT 11 – *Dhwti*

G. West 2019, 98-100; K. Paraskeva 2012, 24, n. 12; J. M. Serrano Delgado 2011, 161. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 18.

11. TT 39 – *Pwi-m-r^c*

G. West 2019, 119-120; K. Paraskeva 2012, 24, n.13; No. De Garis Davies 1922-1923, 4-5

12. TT 53 – *Imn-m-h³.t*

G. West 2019, 66-69; K. Paraskeva 2012, 25, n. 14; J. G. Griffiths 1958, 118. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 13.

13. TT 82 – *Imn-m-h³.t*
 G. West 2019, 165; K. Paraskeva, 2012, 25, n. 15; Ni. De Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner 1915, 51. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 8.
14. TT 104 – *Dḥwti-nfr*
 G. West 2019, 47-48; K. Paraskeva 2012, 25, n. 16; ‘A. al-Ġaffā Šadīd 1988, 131.
15. TT 127 – *Sn-m-i^cḥ*
 G. West 2019, 49; K. Paraskeva 2012, 25, n. 17; J. M. Serrano Delgado 2011, Tavel V, fig. 4.
16. TT 123 – *Imn-m-h³.t*
 G. West 2019, 48-49; K. Paraskeva 2012, 26, n. 21; J. Settgast 1963, Tafel 4.
17. TT 260 – *Wsr*
 G. West 2019, 127-128; K. Paraskeva 2012, 27, n. 22.; J. Settgast 1963, Tafel 4.
18. TT 17 – *Nb-Imn*
 G. West 2019, 115-117; K. Paraskeva 2012, 27 n. 23; T. Säve Söderbergh 1957, 31 See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 18.
19. TT 20 – *Mntw-ḥr-ḥpš=f*
 G. West 2019, 153-154; K. Paraskeva 2012, 24 n. 12 and 36-28; No. de Garis Davies 1913, 9-15. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, documents 17 and 19.
20. TT 42 – *Imn-ms*
 G. West 2019, 121-123; K. Paraskeva 2012, 28, n. 25 and pp. 52-53; Ni. De Garis Davies and No. De Garis Davies 1933, 32-42.
21. TT 92 – *Sw-m-nw.t*
 G. West 2019, 44-48; K. Paraskeva 2012, 28, n. 36.
22. TT 96 – *Sn-nfr*
 G. West 2019, 137-138; K. Paraskeva 2012, 28 n. 27, and 70-72; S. Hodel-Hoernes 2000, 122.
23. TT 100 – *Rḥ-mi-r^c*
 G. West 2019, 139-145; K. Paraskeva 2012, 29, n. 28, and 52-53, No. De Garis Davies 1943, 73-77. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 20.
24. TT 172 – *Mnt.w-ii.w*
 G. West 2019, 134-135; K. Paraskeva 2012, 29, n. 30; J. Settgast 1963, Tafel 4.
25. TT 276 – *Imn-m-in.t*
 G. West 2019, 140-141; K Paraskeva 2012, p. 30, n. 31; A. El-Shahawy 2005, 54-55.
26. TT 178 – *Nfr-rnp.t*
 K. Paraskeva 2012, 34, n. 45; P. Barthelmess 1922, 57.
27. TT 224 – *I^cḥ-mś*
 G. West 2019, 155; K. Paraskeva 2012, 26, n 18; Ni. de Garis Davies and A.H. Gardiner 1915, 51 and note 2. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 10.

28. TT 112 - *Mn-hpr-R^c-šnb*
 G. West 2019, 155; K. Paraskeva 2012, 29, n. 29; Ni. de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner 1915, 51 and note 2. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 9.
29. TT 78 - *Hr-m-hb*
 G. West 2019, 133-134; K. Paraskeva 2012, 30, n. 32, and 37-39; A. Brack and A. Brack 1980, 43-47.
30. TT 66 - *Hpw*
 G. West 2019, 136-138; K. Paraskeva 2012, 30 n. 33; Ni. de Garis Davies and No. Davies de Garis 1963, 12.
31. TT 55 - *R^c-ms*
 G. West 2019, 39-42; K. Paraskeva 2012, 32 n. 37; No. de Garis Davies, T.E. Peet, H. Burton 1941, 22-23. See also: chapter 3.2.1b, document 15.
32. TT 49 - *Nfr-http*
 G. West 2019, 37-39; K. Paraskeva 2012, 32, n. 38; No. de Garis Davies 1939, 39.
33. TT A4 - *S³-wsr/wn-sw*
 G. West 2019, 52-55; L. Manniche 2011, 74-76.
34. TT C4 - *Mri-m³.t*
 G. West 2019, 129; K. Paraskeva 2012, 33. n. 40; L. Manniche 2011, 112-115.
35. EK 3 - *P³hri*
 G. West 2019, 55-57; K. Paraskeva 2012, 33, n. 41; E. Naville, J. J. Tylor, and F. Ll. Griffith 1894, 20-21 and Pl. V. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 16.
36. TT 41 - *Imn-m-ip³.t*
 G. West 2019, 149- 151; K. Paraskeva 2012, 32, n. 42; J. Assmann 1992, 93.
37. TT 284 - *P³-hm-ntr*
 G. West 2019, 71; K. Paraskeva 2012 34, n. 43; P. Barthelmess 1992, 56-57.
38. TT A 26 - name unknown
 G. West 2019, 153-154; K. Paraskeva 2012, 34, n. 46; L. Manniche 2011, 62-63.
39. Sarcophagus of *Dt-Mw.t* -Vatican Museum, MV25008.2.1-2
 G. West 2019, pp. 73-74.
- Table 3: 25th and 26th dynasty**
40. TT 34 - *Mntw-m-h³.t*
 G. West 2019, 61-64; H.-W. Müller 1975, 18-33. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 6.
41. TT 36 - *Ibi*
 G. West 2019, 64-65; K. Paraskeva 2012, 35, n. 37;
42. TT 279 - *P³-n-bsi*
 G. West 2019, 49-51; K. Paraskeva 2012, 35, n. 48.
43. TT 389 - *B³s³*

G. West 2019, 51-52; J. Assmann 197, Pl. XXIX and fig. 40. See also: chapter 3.2.1.b, document 7.

Bibliography concerning the epigraphic sources related to the Haker Feast

1. *Letter to the dead, "Louvre bowl" (Louvre E 6134)*

See "bibliography concerning the Letters to the Dead", doc. 12.

2. *Stele of Abkau (Louvre C 15)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 88-91 (Nr. 29); J. Spiegel 1973, 145-150.

N.B. The part of the text in which the Haker-feast is mentioned has been lost. The sentence can be reconstructed with certainty thanks to the parallels provided by Louvre C 35 (here, document 9) and Stele London UC 14385 (here document 12).

3. *Stele of Antef (Cairo CG 20024)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 104-106 (Nr. 35)

4. *Stele of Shensetji (Los Angeles 50.33.31)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 24-126 (Nr. 40); M. Lichtheim 1988, 90-92 (Nr. 38)

5. *Stele of Mery (Louvre C 3 = AE 3)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 134-137 (Nr. 43); M. Lichtheim 1988, 85-88, (Nr. 36)

6. *Stele of Montuhotep (Cairo CG 20539)*

R. Landgráfová, 2011, 167-179 (Nr. 51); R. J. Leprohon 2009, 277-292

7. *Stele of Sebeki (München Gl. WAF 31)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 252-253 (Nr. 79)

8. *Stele of Wepwawetaa (München Gl. WAF 35)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 162-166 (Nr. 50); M. Lichtheim 1988, 77-80, (Nr. 32).

9. *Stele of Ameny (Louvre C 35)*

M. Lichtheim 1988, 118-119 (Nr. 51).

10. *Stele des Amenemhet (Cairo CG 20040)*

M. Lichtheim 1988, 116-118 (Nr. 50)

11. *Stele of Amenemhet (BM EA 567)*

M. Lichtheim 1988, 114-116 (Nr. 49)

12. *Stele des Sobeknakht (London UC 14385)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 230-231 (Nr. 68)

13. *Stele of Djaa (BM EA 573)*

M. Lichtheim 1988, 94-95 (Nr. 40)

14. *Stele of Inhernacht (BM EA 575)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 208-209 (Nr. 62); M. Lichtheim 1988, 121-122 (Nr. 54)

15. *Stele of Sehetibra (CG 20538)*

R. Landgráfová 2011, 219-225 (Nr. 66); R. J. Leprohon 2009, 277-292;

16. *Stele of Djab (Chicago OIM 6897)*

D. Franke 2004, 98-99.

Bibliography concerning the Letters to the Dead

There are several monographies dedicated to these documents, the main ones being: the *editio by princeps* by A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe (1928), the monograph by S. Donnat Beauquier (2014) J. Hsieh (2022). Moreover, most Letters to the Dead have been translated by E. F. Wente in his monograph dedicated to ancient Egyptian letters (E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990).

For specific analysis concerning the dating of the Letters to the Dead, see the study by M. Bommas which analyses all the Letters to the dead written on bowls to establish a datation on the basis of the ceramic typology (M. Bommas 1999, 53-60). Another study by D. Czerwik has approached the dating of the documents based on epigraphic remarks (D. Czerwik 1999, 61-68).

For the bibliographical information concerning the documents shown in tables 6, 7, and 8:

1. *Cairo Linen – JdE 25975*

J. Hsieh 2022, 111-127; G. Miniaci 2014, 27-45; R. Schiavo 2013 A, 125-145; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 29-30; S. Donnat Beauquier 2009, 61-93; H. Willems 1991, 183-184. E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 211 [209]; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1938, 1-3 and 6-13.

The document contains two missives: a long letter written by a widow to her deceased husband and a short postscript written by the young son of the couple.

2. *Qaw Bowl – UC 1663*

J. Hsieh 2022, 128-155; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 35-36 ; G. Miniaci 2016, 88- 105; R. Schiavo 2013 A, 125-145; S. Donnat Beauquier 2009, 61-93; D. Farout 2004, 45-52 ; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 212-213 [341]; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1938, 3-3 and 19-21.

The document contains two letters, respectively addressed to the mother and the father of the sender

3. *P. Naga ed-Deir 3500*

J. Hsieh 2022, 160-185; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 41; W. K. Simpson 1970, 58-64; H. Goedicke 1972, 95-98.

4. *Chicago Vessel – Chicago Oriental Museum E 13945*

J. Hsieh 2022, 156-168; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 41-44; S. Donnat Beauquier 2009, 61-93; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer, 1990, 213 [345]; A. H. Gardiner 1930, 19-22.

The document contains two letters, one addressed to a deceased man so that the latter can intercede for the birth of a male son, the other one is a brief message addressed to the same deceased, who is asked to grant a second healthy son to his daughter.

5. *Bowl associated to the Chicago Vessel (?)*

J. Janák 2003, 275-277.

The document is currently not attested, but its existence is deduced from some passages within the text inscribed on the Chicago Vessel.

6. *P. Naga ed-Deir 3737 – MFA 38.2121*

J. Hsieh 2022, 169-185; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 48-51; K. Szpakowska 2003, 163-166; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 212-213 [343]; A. Roccati 1967, 323-324; W. K. Simpson 1970, 62; W. K. Simpson, 39-52.

7. *Stele Nebetitef – M. C. Carlos Museum 2014.33.1*

J. Hsieh 2022, 220-232; R. Nyord 2021, 1-17. R. Schiavo 2020, 201-212; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 53-56; K. Szpakowska 2003, 23-24; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 215 [349]; E. F. Wente 1975-1976, 595-600.

On the back of this funerary stele there are two letters, written in hieratic and addressed to a deceased woman, Nebetitef, the sender are a man and his spouse.

8. *P. British Museum EA10901*

the document is currently unpublished. For references see:
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10901>

9. *Hu Bowl – UC 16244*

J. Hsieh 2022, 198-210; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 44-48; A. Roccati 1967, 323.328; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1928, 5 and 5-21.

10. *Berlin Bowl – Berlin 22573*

J. Hsieh 2022, 245-252; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 61-63; R. Schiavo 2020, 201-212; R. Schiavo 2013 B 29-38; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 214 [346]; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1928, 5-6 and 21-22.

11. *Berlin Jar Stand – Berlin 22574*

J. Hsieh 2022, 252-257; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1928, 5-7.

The jar was probably associated to the Berlin Bowl (see doc. 10).

12. *Louvre Bowl – Louvre E 61634*

J. Hsieh 2022, 233-244; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 58-61; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 214 [347]; A. Piankoff and J. J. Clère 1934, 157-169.

13 *Berlin Papyrus (P. 10482 + P. 10481a-b)*

J. Hsieh 2022, 277-290; I. Regulski 2020; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 63-65; P. Jürgens 1990, 51-63; H. Grapow 1915, 376-384.

P. Berlin 10482 is considered a letter to the dead by Jürgens (1990, pp. 51-62); I. Regulski, instead, considers P. 10482 as a “dedication text” addressed to a man called Sedekh, while P. 10481 a-b would be an actual letter to the dead, likely addressed to the same person (cf. I. Regulski 2020, 228 and, 297-333); in the present study I considered both the documents as a unique ritual action (perpetuated over time) aimed at communicating with the same deceased person.

14 *Cairo Bowl – CG 25375*

J. Hsieh 2022, 258-269; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 56-58 ; R. Schiavo 2014, 153-162; H.-W. Fischer-Elfert 1994, 41-44; F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 215-216 [350]; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1928, 7-8 and p. 22.

15 *Louvre Figurine – Louvre E 8000*

S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 65-66 ; Chr. Desroches Noblecourt 1953, 37-40.

16 *Berlin figurine – 14517*

S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 66-77 ; Chr. Desroches Noblecourt 1953, 34-36; A. H. Gardiner 1939, 21.

17 *Leiden Papyrus AMS 64 / I 371*

J. Hsieh 2022, 317-328 ; R. Schiavo 2020, 201-212; L. Troy 2015, 403-418; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 73-77 ; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 216-217 [352]; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1928, 23-25.

18 *O. Louvre 698*

J. Hsieh 2022, 329-340; R. Schiavo 2020, 201-212; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 73-77; O. Goldwasser 1995, 191-215; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 217-218 [353]; P. J. Frandsen 1992, 31-49.

O. Louvre 689 is not considered as an actual Letters to the Dead by S. Donnat Beauquier (2014, 73-77).

19 *P. Brooklyn 37.1799 E*

J. Hsieh 2022, 341-344; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 80-83; R. Schiavo 2013 A, 125-145; K. Donker van Heel 2013, 25-28; R. Jasnow and G. Vittmann 1992-93, 23-43.

20 *Naga ed-Deir Jar Stand – Boston, MFA 13.3791*

J. Hsieh 2022, 212-219; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 26; W. K. Simpson 1981, 173-178.

Due to lacunas, it is not clear if the document is to be intended as a scribal exercise or an actual missive addressed to a deceased person.

21 *Qubbet el-Hawa Bowl – JdE 91740*

J. Hsieh 2022, 270-276; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 67-69; H. Goedicke 1988, 195-199; E. Edel 1987, 93-105.

The document is not a letter addressed to a deceased, but a legal document sealed inside a tomb. Yet, it is undeniable that the bowl shows strong connections with the religious beliefs and the ritual backgrounds characterising the practice of the so-called Letters to the Dead.

22 *Horhotep Ostrakon – JdE 49911*

J. Hsieh 2022, 391-295; A. J. Morales 2020.

Due to lacunas, it is not clear if the document is to be intended as a scribal exercise or an actual document aimed at the communication between the living and the dead. Even accepting the latter hypothesis, the document would be more similar to an Appeal to the Living rather than to a Letter to the Dead.

23 *Ahmoise Sapair Statue – E 15682*

S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 71-71; Ch. Barbotin, 2005, 19–28.

The inscription written on the statue of Ahmoise Sapair does not show the typical trait of the epistolary genre. Nevertheless, several features and certain terminology characterising the text allow to consider this document as strictly connected with the same religious milieu of the so-called Letters to the Dead.

24 *Oxford Bowl – 1887.27.1*

J. Hsieh 2022, 296-303 ; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 69-71 ; E. F. Wente and E. S. Meltzer 1990, 216 [351]; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1928, 26-27.

The Oxford bowl is not a letter, nor a plea addressed to a deceased, but a statement in which the writer claims his rights over the inheritance of a fugitive due to the fact that his family has taking care for the funeral of the latter. Yet, the connection with the religious milieu of the Letters to the Dead is undeniable.

25 *Moscow Bowl – 3917b*

J. Hsieh 2022, 303-309; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 25-26 ; U. Verhoeven 2003, 31 and note 1; A. H. Gardiner and K. H. Sethe 1928, 27-28.

It is not clear if this document is a “common” letter addressed to a living person or a letter to the dead. The fact that it is written on a bowl suggests the second hypothesis

26 *Munich Cosmetic Vase – ÄS 4313*

S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 25-26; U. Verhoeven 2003, 31 and note 1; H. Buchberger 1991, 49-87.

It is not clear if this document is a “common” letter addressed to a living person or a letter to the dead. The fact that the text is written on a vase and that the text shows some similarities with other Letters to the Dead written to appease an angry woman (see: R. Schiavo, 2020) suggests the second hypothesis.

27 *Oracular Decree for Neskmons – CG 58032 and CG 46891*

R. Schiavo 2020, 210-212; S. Donnat Beauquier 2014, 53-55; B. Gunn and I. E. S. Edwards 1955, 83-105.

This document is not traditionally included among the group of the “Letters to the Dead”; yet, it shows significant common traits with these documents, especially with the pleas addressed to a deceased woman.

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Curriculum Vitae

Renata Schiavo was born in Siracusa, Italy. In 2010 she graduated with top marks in Classical Letters (BA) at the University of Pisa.

In 2013, she graduated with honours from the same university, obtaining a Master's degree in Afroasiatic Philology, with special focus on ancient Egyptian language and Ugaritic.

During her university years, she was employed as a special educator for teenagers and young adults with psychological issues, and as an editor at a small publishing house in Tuscany.

In 2015, she obtained a further Master's degree in Archaeology and history of religions at the University of Pisa, graduating with honours.

She has taken part in several archaeological missions in Italy, Egypt, and Syria and she has a demonstrated history of working in the editorial sector (Felici Editore, Springer-Nature).