



RUSSIAN ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts
(Asiatic Museum)

Published with the support of



Founded in 2014
Issued biannually

Financed by the RSF
project N 23-28-10046

Founder:
Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts Russian
Academy of Sciences

The Journal is registered
by the Federal Service
for Supervision
of Communications,
Information Technology
and Mass Communications

CERTIFICATE
ПИ № ФС77-79201
from September 22, 2020

Biannual Journal
ISSN 2410-0145
Language: English
12+



Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts
RAS
2026

WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

VOLUME 12

No.1(24)

2026

Editors

Irina Popova, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg (Editor-in-Chief)

Svetlana Anikeeva, Vostochnaya Literatura Publisher, Moscow

Tatiana Pang, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg

Elena Tanonova, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg

Editorial Board

Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Turfanforschung,
BBAW, Berlin

Michael Friedrich, Universität Hamburg

Yuly Ioannesyan, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg

Aliy Kolesnikov, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg

Alexander Kudelin, Institute of World Literature,
RAS, Moscow

Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Akademie
der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Katalogisierung
der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

Nie Hongyin, Beijing Normal University, Sichuan Normal
University, Beijing

Georges-Jean Pinault, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris
Stanislav Prozorov, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg

Rong Xinjiang, Peking University

Nicholas Sims-Williams, University of London

Takata Tokio, Kyoto University

Stephen F. Teiser, Princeton University

Hartmut Walravens, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Nataliya Yakhontova, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg

Peter Zieme, Freie Universität Berlin

IN THIS ISSUE

- Minasyan, Tamara & Eliazyan, Gayane & Khorozian, Armin**
A Codicological, Artological and Material Analysis
of the Gospel Matenadaran 378 in the Context
of the Artsakh Manuscript Tradition of the 13th Century **3**
- Ivan V. Bogdanov**
On Birds and Beasts in the Donation Formula
on the Satrap Stela (URK. II: 20.13) **39**
- Serge A. Frantsouzoff**
A Sabaeen Goddess in Ḥaḍramawt and Some Peculiarities
of Her Cult at the Temple Raḥbān (Site Raybūn) **50**
- Artiom V. Mesheznikov, Tatiana V. Klementeva**
Sanskrit Fragments of Hīnayāna Sūtras (SI 3332/20, SI 3333/1)
in the Serindia Collection of the IOM RAS **91**
- Tatiana V. Ermakova**
Ceylonese Buddhist Priest Subhuti's Letters to I.P. Minayev:
Preface, publication, commentaries **107**

ON THE COVER:

Pl. 11d. Fragment of the inscription SOYCE 1898 + 1897a-b + 1833a-e
(Materials of the Soviet-Yemenite Complex Expedition.
Courtesy of Serge A. Frantsouzoff's Private Archive.)

Ivan V. Bogdanov

On Birds and Beasts in the Donation Formula on the Satrap Stela (URK. II: 20.13)

DOI: 10.55512/wmo708205

Submitted: January 30, 2026.

Accepted: April 07, 2026.

Abstract: The subject of this lexicological study is one of the final sections of the Satrap Stela (lines 15–16; URK. II: 20.9–16) with a list of goods received by the Temple of Horus the Lord of Pe and the goddess *w3djt* from the region *p3-t3-n-w3djt* “the land of the goddess *w3djt*”. This list is a part of the decree of satrap Ptolemy to the temple of Buto. The second part of the donation formula contains a list of goods: wild birds, beasts and field crops. The meanings of the following phrases are clarified: 1. *3pdw n(w) hrj-jb 3ht* “birds of the mid-flood season”; 2. *ntj nḥ m znf* “those who feed on blood” = “beasts of prey” (URK. II: 20.13). It is concluded that the compiler of the Satrap Stela text altered the usual edict standards to impart a poetic quality by mixing phrases from different contexts. Following the principles of poets and theologians of Egyptian temples, he imbued it with multiple layers of meaning.

Key words: Satrap Stela, ancient Egyptian phraseology, Egypt in the late 4th c. BC, ancient Egyptian epigraphy, Egyptian language

About the author: Ivan V. Bogdanov, Department of Oriental and African Studies, National Research University Higher School of Economics; Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation) (jwan.bgd@yandex.ru). ORCID: 0000-0002-9085-3351.

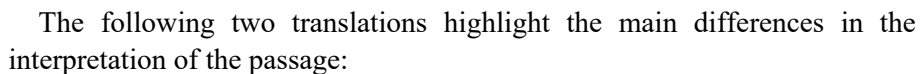
© Bogdanov Ivan V., 2026

One of the final parts of the Satrap Stela¹ (lines 15–16; URK. II: 20.9–16) contains a list of goods received by the temple of Horus, the Lord of Pe, and the goddess *w3djt*, the Lady of Pe-Dep, from the region of *p3-t3-n-w3djt*, “the

¹ Cairo CG 22182: PM IV: 49, 73; KAMAL 1905: 168–171, pl. 56; URK. II: 11–22; SCHÄFER 2011: 31–203; JWIS V.2: 568–570.

Despite the fact that this section has been repeatedly translated and commented on, a number of passages still require clarification or revision. The subject of this study is the second part of the list of goods delivered from the donated lands upon the altar of Horus, the Lord of the city of Pe, and *w3djt*, the Cobra of Ra-Horakhty (line 16 of the Satrap Stela: URK. II: 20.13).

Transcription



SCHÄFER 2011: 164: “seine Vögel für den, der im Sumpfland wohnt, der von Blut lebt, alle Dinge, die herauskommen aus seinem Nutzsacker, auf dem Opfertisch für Horus selbst, den Herrn von Pe, und für Uto, die Uräusschlange des Re-Harachte ewiglich”.

3p_{dw}=f n(w) hrj-jb 3ht ntj 5nh m znf (j)ht nb(t) pr(t) m 3h(t)=f hr wdlhw n(j)
hr ds=f nb p w3djt hrjt-tp n(j) r^c-hr-3htj dt “its birds of the mid-flood season,
(and) those who feed on blood, (and also) everything that comes forth from

its field (are to be placed) upon the altar of Horus himself, the Lord of Pe, and *w3djt*, the Cobra² of Ra-Horakhty, forever”.

The following commentary deals with the phrase *3pdw n(w) hrj-jb 3ht* “birds of the mid-flood season” and the expression *ntj ʿnh m znf* “those who feed on blood”.

Commentary

1. Birds of the mid-flood season

The first difficulty is related to the interpretation of the phrase *hrj-jb 3ht* “middle of the flood season” or, more precisely, its last element — the word , which I read as *3ht* “the flood season”. Ivan Ladynin, following Donata Schäfer,³ reads this word as “marsh”-š3, thus inventing a certain deity named “one who is located in the middle of the marsh and feeds (literally, “lives”) on blood”.⁴ Maxim Panov gives a similar translation.⁵ It is also commonly believed that the word *3ht* in this case is a truncated form of the toponym *3h-bjt* “Khemmis”.⁶ Interpreting this word, read *š3t*, as a toponym goes as far back as Henri Gauthier.⁷ In reality, however, it has nothing to do with a city, still less with a bloodthirsty marsh dweller. Moreover, *hrj-jb 3ht* is not a deity’s name at all, but a modifier to the word “birds”. This is how Ursula Kaplony-Heckel understood the word, taking *3ht* to mean “field”,⁸ although

² *hrjt-tp* “she who is upon the head” or “chieftainess” (with the cobra determinative) is a name of the *uraeus* attested in various combinations in numerous sources (LGG 5: 443–457). The goddess’s name “Cobra of Ra-Horakhty” appears in at least eight texts, among which the Satrap Stela is the earliest. In this case, the name “Cobra of Ra-Horakhty” belongs specifically to the *uraeus*-goddess *w3djt*, although different goddesses could have it (LGG 5: 452–453; add: a name of the goddess *rpjt* (ATHRIBIS IV: 85, Taf. 68, 214, Taf. 157; ATHRIBIS VII: 700 (L 1, 68.4), 797 (L 3, 18.4). Dating: Tiberius); a name of the goddess Great Tefnut (Médamoud I: 52.11: VALBELLE 2023: I, 153, 155; II, 100–101, pls. 52a-b. Dating: Tiberius).

³ SCHÄFER 2011: 164, 174 (q).

⁴ LADYNIN 2022: 134, 141–142 (o).

⁵ PANOV 2020: 289.

⁶ GOEDICKE 1984: 50; RITNER 2003: 396; SCHÄFER 2011: 174; ENGSHEDEN 2021: 110.

⁷ GAUTHIER 1928: 110.

⁸ KAPLONY-HECKEL 2005: 618. The phrase *hrj-jb 3ht* “in the middle of the field” is attested in Dendara XIII: 335.15: *dj=j n=k rd m hrj-jb 3ht wnt nb(t) jm=s* “I give you what grows in the middle of the field, and everything that is on it”.

the word *3ht* “field” is not attested in this written form. Finally, Edda Bresciani translated the phrase strictly following its spelling: “i suoi volatili (che arrivano) a metà della primavera”.⁹

Indeed, an exact analogue to the example from the Satrap Stela — the phrase  *hrj-jb-n-3ht*, “in the mid-flood season” — is found in the Chronicle of Osorkon.¹⁰ Thus, the word  in combination with *n(w) hrj-jb* should be read strictly as written, without any corrections: *3ht*, “flood season”. “Birds of the mid-flood season” (*3pdw n(w) hrj-jb 3ht*) come first in the list of foodstuffs that are to be delivered upon the altar of Horus and *w3djt* — the *uraeus* of Ra-Horakhty. Putting aside all the debatable points, I conclude that “birds of the mid-flood season” refer to bird species that were hunted in marshlands¹¹ primarily from September to early October, since they were especially numerous precisely during the flood season (*3ht*). This clarification of the word “birds” can be explained by the author’s penchant for lyricism.

2. Those who feed on blood

The phrase (*ntj*) *ḥnh m znf* “those who feed on blood” or “which feeds on blood”¹² is attested as the name of various deities (in the *sḏm=f* form as well).¹³ The epithet (*ntj*) *ḥnh m znf* “those who feed on blood” also appears in various religious texts referring to animals considered divine beings: lions, rams, and baboons.¹⁴ However, the question of the association of this name on the Satrap Stela with any god, for example, Horus, is pointless: this

⁹ BRESCIANI 2007: 640.

¹⁰ JWIS II: 192.4; CAMINOS 1958: 117, § 183 (n).

¹¹ SEYFRIED 2019: 85–88.

¹² Some researchers, following the transcription by Ahmed Kamal (KAMAL 1905: 170), read the final word *mw* ‘water’ rather than *znf* ‘blood’, smoothly attaching this phrase as a subordinate attributive clause to the sentence with the subject “birds”: “living in the flowing water” (Goedicke), “che vivono nelle sue acque” (Bresciani), “das in seinen Gewässern lebt” (Kaplony-Heckel); criticism of this interpretation: SCHÄFER 2011: 174–175.

¹³ The phrase occurs primarily in later sources: LGG 2: 159, 389, 672; LGG 3: 12; LGG 4: 380; LEITZ 2009: 292–293, 305; LEITZ 2011: 423, 437; SCHMIDT 2022: 424–426, 431. It is first mentioned in Amduat 413, 685 (HORNUNG 1963: 83, 163; HORNUNG, ABT 2007: 151 (413), 291 (685)).

¹⁴ SCHMIDT 2022: 431.

expression is not at all a reference “to Horus’s stay at Khemmis in the marshes near Buto”.¹⁵ Likewise, I will not consider here the corpus of sources for the epithets *wnm/ḥnh/ḥm/sḥm/zwrj/shb* — (*m*) *znf/wtr/dšrw/tr* “who consume/drink blood, blood-eater”, as they are irrelevant to the question at hand, although they demonstrate the complexity of these epithets’ interpretation in different contexts.¹⁶

The most important parallel for understanding the phrase (*ntj*) *ḥnh m znf* “those who feed on blood” on the Satrap Stela is the complex description of the category of all mammalian predators: *ntj wnm m jwf zwrj (m) znf* “those who eat flesh and drink blood”. This concept appears twice in the Magical Papyrus Harris 501 = pBM EA 10042, vso (variants are highlighted in bold):

1. P. Harris 501, vso 1.3–4 (Spell X):¹⁷ *ḥtm r3 n m3jw ḥtjw tp-n-j3wt nb k3-sd zp-sn ntj wnm.w m jwf zwrj.w m znf* “May the mouths of lions and hyenas, and any wild beasts that have a long tail, **namely**, those who eat flesh and drink blood, be **stopped**”.

2. P. Harris 501, vso 2.3–5 (Spell Y):¹⁸ *štb r3 n m3jw ḥtjw wnšw tp-n-j3wt nb k3-sd ntj wnm.w m jwf zwrj.w znf* “May the mouths of lions, hyenas, and **wolves**, any wild beasts with a long tail, those who eat flesh and drink blood, be **closed**”.¹⁹

¹⁵ LADYNIN 2022: 118, 141–142 (o).

¹⁶ VUILLEUMIER 2019: 281–290; SCHMIDT 2022: 426–431.

¹⁷ BOMMAS 1998: 38–39, 52; LEITZ 1999: 47, pl. 21; STADLER 2003: 103; GUTH 2018: 187.

¹⁸ BOMMAS 1998: 44, 53; LEITZ 1999: 49, pl. 22; STADLER 2003: 103; GUTH 2018: 191.

¹⁹ On the contamination of the Ramesside verb *štb* ‘to shut in, to enclose’ (WB. IV: 557.8–9) with the earlier and more universal *ḥtm* ‘to seal’, see MUELLER 1975: 225–226. On the still later derivative *štb* meaning ‘to destroy’, see WILSON 1997: 1039. The existence of the verb *štb* ‘to enclose’ before the Ramessides is doubtful, since the term, written  *štb*, from the Annals of Thutmose III, Part 1, col. 90 (URK. IV: 660.7; REDFORD 2003: fig. 4), which is sometimes referred to (WB. Belegstellen IV: 84; see also BLUMENTHAL & MÜLLER & REINEKE 1984: 194: “sind... eingeschlossen”, etc.), should be regarded as the result of the metathesis *bšt* > *šbt* and read as *bštw* “rebellious”. This lexeme underwent the same metathesis in the forms  *štb* < *bšt* “to rebel” *ibid.*, col. 13 (URK. IV: 648.7; REDFORD 2003: fig. 1) and  *šbtw* < *bštw* “those who rebelled” *ibid.*, Part 2, col. 3 (URK. IV: 685.5; REDFORD 2003: fig. 6). M. Omar reads all these three words as *bšt(w)* “rebellious, rebellion” (OMAR 2008: 19–21), and D. Redford translates them the same way (REDFORD 2003: 9, 31, 62). And this is correct.

The concept of *tp-n-j3wt nb* lit. “any head of small cattle”²⁰ is an extended version of the term *j3wt* < *wt*, which denoted “small cattle, a flock” in contrast to *jhw* “large cattle”. The category *wt* “small cattle” in Old and Middle Egyptian included goats, sheep, pigs, and donkeys; in particular, the concept *tp-n-j3wt* < *tp-n-wt* “various small cattle”²¹ corresponded to Napatan *dbn* and Coptic **ⲧⲉⲛⲏ** “(domestic) animal”.²² However, in the Late Egyptian, the word *j3wt* “small cattle” also began to be used to mean “wild animals”.²³ Likewise, the phrase *tp-n-j3wt nb n h3st* “any desert cattle” could also refer to beasts, for example, in P. Harris 500 = pBM 10060, vso, 5.2–3: *jw nḥ = f m tp-n-j3wt nb n h3st* “he ate all kinds of desert game”.²⁴ Judging by the context, the evidence of P. Harris 501 also refers to beasts, or more precisely, as follows from further explanations, to predators.²⁵

To paint a more vivid image, the epithet *k3-sd* “one who has a raised tail” was added in P. Harris 501 to the generalization *tp-n-j3wt nb* “any of the wild animals”,²⁶ but even this seemed insufficient, and then, using the explanatory conjunction *zp-sn* “namely” (lit. “twice, twofold”),²⁷ it was further specified as a group of predators by a combination of two epithets: *ntj wnm.w m jwf zwrj.w (m) znf* “eating flesh, drinking blood”. Variations of

²⁰ For an interpretation of the element *tp* “head/first/main/best” in this phrase, see: GARDINER 1952: 30–31. Probably, *tp* here means “various, any” < “exemplar”. Cf. the translations by BOMMAS 1998: 39, 44: “der Erste aller Tiere” and LEITZ 1999: 47, 49: “first of all animals”.

²¹ Cf. WB. V: 267.4: “das Beste an Tieren”.

²² WASSELL 1991: I, 10; ČERNÝ 1976: 182; VYČIHL 1983: 211b; WERNING 2004: 199.

²³ WB. I: 29.16; LESKO, SWITLASKI LESKO 2002–2004: II, 205; MEEKS 2012: 527, note 91–92.

²⁴ GARDINER 1932: 3.2–3.

²⁵ GUTH 2018: 189–190, Anm. G.

²⁶ Cf. BOMMAS 1998: 41, Anm. 92: „Bei den Tieren „mit erhobenem Schwanz“ handelt es sich zweifellos um Skorpione“. However, in fact, *k3-sd* “one with a raised tail” is an epithet of a lion and other predators; for example, in P. Anastasi IV, 13.3–4 (GARDINER 1937: 49.4–5) the epithet *k3-sd* “whose tail is raised” is applied to red jackal (*wns dšr*, *Canis simensis*) (MCDONALD 2000: 78). An analogy with Seth’s animal, depicted with a raised tail, also suggests itself here.

²⁷ Cf. WINAND & GOHY 2011: 39; SCHMIDT 2022: 427, Anm. 167; GOLDWASSER 2023: 143–144 (all omit the element *zp-sn* “twice” in translations of pBM EA 10042, vso 1.3, since it is not in P. Harris 501 vso 2.4; Ingrid Bohms (BOHMS 2013: 119, 215) took the element *zp-sn* “twice” as a reason to repeat the entire phrase. Martin BOMMAS (1998: 39) repeats only the combination “mit erhobenem Schwanz”, similarly: LEITZ 1999: 47: “first of all animals, with raised tail (twice)” and GUTH 2018: 159. M.A. Stadler (STADLER 2003: 103–105) also saw in this list “all predatory mammals” with the following explanation: “alle Tiere erhobenen Schwanzes (zweimal)”.

this combination of epithets are attributed to the divine lion in late texts, for example, in EDFOU IV: 107.7–8: *wnm m jwf s^cm m znf* “eating flesh, drinking blood”; EDFOU IV: 117.9, 262.15: *nh m shb znf* “who feeds himself by sucking blood”; in a *snq-n-* hymn from the time of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos in Kom Ombo, line 2: *wnm h^cw=sn shb wtr* “who is eating their flesh, who is sucking blood”;²⁸ Dendara XII: 341.3–4: *nh=j m stpt s^cm=j m znf m=n btwww nw hprt* “I eat choice pieces of flesh, I drink the blood of those who rebel against Dendara”, and others, including those with rearranged elements of this combination.²⁹ This phrase used to classify animals is included in its short form *ntj nh m znf* “which feeds on blood” in the list of donations from the granted lands on the Satrap Stela.

Thus, *ntj nh m znf* “those who feed on blood” is not an epithet of a deity, an object of dedication, but a phrase describing predators obtained by hunting. The set of donated game *3pdw=f n hrj-jb 3ht* and *ntj nh m znf* in URK. II: 20.13 is divided into two parts: “its birds of the mid-flood season” and “those who feed on blood (i.e., beasts)”. The expression (*jht nb(t) pr(t) m 3ht*)=*f* “everything that comes from its field”, i.e., the harvest, completes the list of goods brought upon the altar of the gods. This list is structured as follows: 1. birds — 2. beasts — 3. harvest. The former interpretation that the birds were intended for some bloodthirsty deity living either in the marshes or in the city of Khemmis should be rejected as untenable.

Ultimately, instead of several deities in the line 16 of the Satrap Stela (URK. II: 20.13–16) there remain only two, whose names appear after the list of donations: Horus, the Lord of Pe, and *w3djt*, the Cobra of Ra-Horakhty. The bloodthirsty marsh-dweller turns out to be a fiction created by Egyptologists.

Thus, precise names of goods from the granted lands are replaced on the Satrap Stela with general or figurative descriptions: game (= *birds of the mid-flood season*), meat of wild animals (= *those who feed on blood*), and harvest (= *everything that comes from the fields*). Standard offering lists were not compiled in this way; therefore, they could not have been simply transferred from royal decrees. On the contrary, the compiler of the Satrap Stela modified the standards of donation lists, borrowing expressions from poets and theologians from among local priests of the Buto temple.³⁰

²⁸ EICKE 2021: 160.

²⁹ VENTKER 2012: 91, 163, 168, 234; EICKE 2021: 162, Anm. j-k; SCHMIDT 2022: 430–431.

³⁰ I am grateful to Alexander Ilin-Tomich, Alexander Safronov, and Dmitry Sychev for their assistance in preparing this article. The article was submitted to the editors on April 13, 2026.

Abbreviations

Athribis IV — Leitz & Mendel 2017
Athribis VII — Leitz 2022
Dendara XII — Cauville 2007
Dendara XIII — Cauville 2020
Edfou IV — Chassinat 2009
JWIS II — Jansen-Winkel 2007
JWIS V — Jansen-Winkel 2023
LGG 1–7 — Leitz 2002
PM IV — Porter & Moss 1934
Urk. II — Sethe 1904–1916
Urk. IV — Sethe 1906/1927–1909
Wb. — Erman & Grapow 1982

References

- BLUMENTHAL, Elke & MÜLLER Ingeborg & REINEKE, Walter-Friedrich 1984: *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 5–16*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- BOHMS, Ingrid 2013: *Säugetiere in der altägyptischen Literatur*. Berlin; Münster: LIT Verlag. (Ägyptologie 2).
- BOMMAS, Martin 1998: *Die Heidelberger Fragmente des magischen Papyrus Harris*. Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 4. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- BRESCIANI, E. 2007: *Letteratura e poesia dell'antico Egitto. Cultura e società attraverso i testi*. Nuova edizione. Einaudi tascabili. Biblioteca 36. Torino: Einaudi.
- CAMINOS, Ricardo A. 1958: *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. (Analecta Orientalia 37).
- CAUVILLE, Sylvie 2007: *Le temple de Dendara XII*. Fasc. 1–2. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- CAUVILLE, Sylvie 2020: *Le temple de Dendara 13: 2e édition numérique. Texte revu et corrigé*. Vol. 1–2. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- ČERNÝ, Jaroslav 1976: *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHASSINAT, Émile 2009: *Le temple d'Edfou IV*. Réédition. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 21. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- EICKE, Sven 2021: "In die Höhle des Löwen, Teil I: Ein unpublizierter *snḏ-n*-Hymnus aus Kom Ombo". *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 121: 147–181.
- ENGSHEDEN, Åke 2021: *Ancient place-names in the governorate of Kafr el-Sheikh*. Leuven: Peeters. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 293).
- ERMAN, Adolf & GRAPOW, Hermann (eds.) 1982: *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Bd. I–V. Belegstellen I–V. Vierte Ausgabe. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- GARDINER, Alan H. 1932: *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1).
-

-
- GARDINER, Alan H. 1937: *Late-Egyptian miscellanies*. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7).
- GARDINER, Alan H. 1952: "Some reflections on the Nauri decree". *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 38: 24–33.
- GAUTHIER, Henri 1928: *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*. Vol. 5. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- GOEDICKE, Hans 1984: "Comments on the Satrap Stela". *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 6: 33–54.
- GOLDWASSER, Orly 2023: "Was there an «animal» in ancient Egypt? Studies in lexica and classifier systems, with a glimpse towards Sumer and ancient China". In: *Seen not heard: composition, iconicity, and the classifier systems of logosyllabic scripts*. Ed. Zsolnay, Ilona. ISAC Seminars 14. Chicago: 121–157.
- GUTH, Sonja 2018: *Hirtenbilder: Untersuchungen zur kulturimmanenten Sicht auf eine altägyptische Personengruppe*. Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte 21. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- HORNUNG, Erik 1963: *Das Amduat: die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes, herausgegeben nach Texten aus den Gräbern des Neuen Reiches. Teil 1*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 7.1).
- HORNUNG, Erik & ABT, Theodor 2007: *The Egyptian Amduat: The Book of the Hidden Chamber*. Translated by David Warburton. Zurich: Living Human Heritage.
- JANSEN-WINKELN, Karl 2007: *Inschriften der Spätzeit, Teil II: Die 22–24 Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- JANSEN-WINKELN, Karl 2023: *Inschriften der Spätzeit, Teil V: Die 27–30. Dynastie und die Argeadenzeit*. Bd. 1–2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- KAMAL, Ahmed 1905: *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines: Nos 22001–22208*. 2 vols. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 20. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- KAPLONY-HECKEL, Ursula 2005: "Das Dekret des späteren Königs Ptolemaios I. Soter zugunsten der Götter von Buto (Satrapenstele), 311 v. Chr.". In: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Bd. 1. Lief. 6. Historisch-chronologische Texte III*. Eds. Conrad, Diethelm et alii. Gütersloh: 613–619.
- LADYNIN, Ivan A. 2022: *Ptolemei, syn Laga, i zhretsy Buto*. "Stela satrapa" (Egipetskii muzei, Kair, 22182): *ieroglificheskii tekst, perevod i kommentarii* [Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and the priests of Buto. The Satrap Stela (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 22182): Hieroglyphic text, translation, and commentary]. Trudy istoricheskogo fakul'teta MGU 198. Ser. 2: Istorieskie istochniki 11. Moscow; St. Petersburg: Izdatel'skii dom RKhGA.
- LEITZ, Christian 1999: *Magical and medical papyri of the New Kingdom*. London: British Museum Press. (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 7).
- LEITZ Christian (ed.) 2002: *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Bd. 1–7. Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 110–116. Leuven; Paris; Dudley: Peeters.
- LEITZ, Christian 2009: "Die Götter, die ihre Majestät begleiten". In: *Texte — Theben — Tonfragmente: Festschrift für Günter Burkard*. Eds. Kessler, Dieter et alii. Wiesbaden: 289–311. (Ägypten und Altes Testament 76).
- LEITZ, Christian 2011: *Der Sarg des Panehemis in Wien*. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 3.1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
-

- LEITZ, Christian & MENDEL, Daniela 2017: *Athribis IV. Der Umgang L 1 bis L 3*. Bd. 1–2. Le Caire: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- LEITZ, Christian 2022: *Athribis VII. Übersetzung der Inschriften des Tempels Ptolemaios XII*. Le Caire: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- LESKO, Leonard H. & SWITLASKI LESKO, Barbara 2002–2004: *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. Vol. 1–2. 2nd ed. Providence: B.C. Scribe Publications.
- MCDONALD, Angela I. 2000: “Tall Tails. The Seth Animal Reconsidered”. In: *Current Research in Egyptology 2000*. Eds. McDonald, Angela I. & Riggs, Christina. Oxford: 75–81. (BAR International Series 909).
- MEEKS, Dimitri 2012: “La hiérarchie des êtres vivants selon la conception égyptienne”. In: *Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum: recueil d’études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier. Vol. 3*. Eds. Gasse, Annie, Servajean, Frédéric, Thiers, Christophe. Cahiers “Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne” 5. Montpellier: 517–546.
- MUELLER, Dieter 1975: “On some occurrences of the verb «to seal» in Coptic and Egyptian texts”. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61: 222–226.
- OMAR, Magdi 2008: *Aufrührer, Rebellen, Widersacher: Untersuchungen zum Wortfeld «Feind» im pharaonischen Ägypten. Ein lexikalisch-phraseologischer Beitrag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. (Ägypten und Altes Testament 74).
- PANOV, Maxim V. 2020: *Istoricheskie nadpisi iz Kusha i Kemeta (I tys. do n.e.)* [Historical Inscriptions from Kush and Kemet (1st Millennium BC)]. Novosibirsk.
- PORTER, Bertha & MOSS, Rosalind Louisa Beaufort 1934: *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings. Vol. IV. Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyûf)*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- REDFORD, Donald Bruce 2003: *The wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*. Leiden: Brill. (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 16).
- RITNER, Robert Kriech 2003: “The Satrap Stela (Cairo JdE 22182)”. In: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. Ed. Simpson, William Kelly. 3rd ed. New Haven; London: 392–397.
- SCHÄFER, Donata 2011: *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen: historische Untersuchungen zur Satrapenstele und verwandten Denkmälern*. Leuven: Peeters. (Studia Hellenistica 50).
- SCHMIDT, Natalie 2022: *Körperflüssigkeiten und -ausscheidungen der Götter des alten Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 82).
- SETHE, Kurt 1904–1916: *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs. (Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums II).
- SETHE, Kurt 1906/1927–1909: *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Hefte 1–16*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs. (Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV).
- SEYFRIED, Karl-Joachim 2019: *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-User-Re: Text zum Tafelband*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter. (Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 9).
- STADLER, Martin Andreas 2003: “Verbesserungsvorschläge zu den magischen Papyri British Museum EA 9997+10309 und EA 10042 (magischer Papyrus Harris)”. *Göttinger Miscellen* 192: 101–105.
- VALBELLE, Dominique 2023: *La porte de Tibère à Médamoud I. Le décor. Vol. 1. Textes; Vol. 2. Photographies et fac-similés; Vol. 3. Paléographie commentée*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 151. Le Caire: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
-

-
- VENTKER, Bettina 2012: *Der Starke auf dem Dach: Funktion und Bedeutung der löwen-gestaltigen Wasserspeier im alten Ägypten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. (Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 6).
- VUILLEUMIER, Sandrine 2019: “Le «sang qui mange» (*wnm snf*), un mal imaginaire?” In: *Sur les pistes du désert: mélanges offerts à Michel Valloggia*. Eds. Vuilleumier, Sandrine, Meyrat, Pierre. Gollion: 281–290.
- VYCICHL, Werner 1983: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven: Peeters.
- WASELL, Belinda Ann 1991: *Ancient Egyptian Fauna: A Lexicographical Study. Vol. I–II*. PhD Diss. University of Durham.
- WERNING, Daniel A. 2004: “The sound values of the signs GARDINER D1 (head) und T8 (dagger)”. *Lingua Aegyptia* 12: 183–204.
- WILSON, Penelope 1997: *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: a lexicographical study of the texts in the temple of Edfu*. Leuven: Peeters. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78).
- WINAND, Jean & GOHY Stéphanie 2011: “La grammaire du Papyrus Magique Harris”. *Lingua Aegyptia* 19: 175–245.
-