

Stephen QUIRKE & Fredrik HAGEN

New Kingdom Hieratic in the UCL Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology. Collection-level Summary, and a Preliminary Report on the Gurob Papyri

in

Crossing Boundaries (ed.), *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World*, Vol. 1, Liège, Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2024 (= *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia*, 13.1), p. 313–331.

DOI 10.25518/978-2-87562-416-1.20

New Kingdom Hieratic in the UCL Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology

Collection-level Summary, and a Preliminary Report on the Gurob Papyri

Stephen QUIRKE & Fredrik HAGEN
University College London & University of Copenhagen

ABSTRACT

The University College London Petrie Museum collections include hieratic material from excavation finds and, at an equal scale, from purchases by W.M. Flinders Petrie during his fieldwork seasons in Egypt over the years 1880–1924. There is limited documentation for either the provenanced or the purchased material, beyond the indications given in his excavation reports. Major groups of hieratic material from particular sites include the Ramesseum literary ostraca published by Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Amarna content inscriptions on pottery, and the important if fragmentary set of Gurob papyri, presented in more detail here as a case study. Among the unprovenanced material in the collection is the Petrie Hieratic Ostraca series, one of the larger groups in J. Černý & A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*. Further items of note are a literary fragment from Rifa and two unprovenanced early 18th Dynasty writing boards. Future study of other items, particularly the two hundred unpublished ostraca and content inscription sherds, may reveal links to other collections.

1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology at University College London (UCL), known until the 1980s as the Egyptian Museum, preserves mainly a subset of finds from fieldwork directed by W.M. Flinders Petrie (1853–1942)¹ and his UCL successors, together with objects that Petrie bought during his seasons in Egypt (1880–1914, 1919–1926; Drower 1985). Most of

the New Kingdom hieratic collection derives from the activities of Petrie, but there is also material from 1960–1964 fieldwork at Buhen directed by Walter B. Emery (1903–1971). Documentation on find-place is limited even for excavation finds, though many are known to come from a general area within a named site.

For a significant number of finds, there is also no documentation on the manner or date of

¹ Biographical dates here and below are from Bierbrier (2012).

acquisition; any working assumption that an item is from Petrie himself requires further research in each instance. In addition to modern writing on the ostraca, by Petrie or others, his published fieldwork reports provide the most secure confirmation of provenance, though errors have arisen from the scale of his activity each season.² Further information on acquisition history can be gleaned from archives at the museum and elsewhere. In particular, Petrie provided a narrative of his seasons in Egypt, covering both fieldwork and antiquities purchases, in the reports that he called his *Journals*, circular letters sent from the field and from his way to and from Egypt.³ In addition, the Petrie day diaries and the pocket *Notebooks* from Petrie-directed seasons contain object lists that help to identify place and year of purchase.⁴

The major part of the excavated material (see below, section 2) comprises material from fieldwork directed by Petrie at Gurob (1888–1890:

papyri, see below, section 3, case-study), Amarna (1891–1892: jar content inscriptions), and the Ramesseum (1895–1896: literary and some administrative ostraca, again mainly on pottery). Separate from these, purchases by Petrie probably dominate the miscellaneous hieratic limestone and pottery ostraca in the numbered series Petrie Hieratic Ostraca 1–92, most published in Černý & Gardiner (1957) (fig. 1), together with further unnumbered items, mainly less well preserved (Raisman 1989). In his *Journals*, Petrie refers to buying ostraca at Thebes on his two research journeys in Upper Egypt, but generally without specifying the script (1881–1882, 1886–1887).⁵ His *Notebooks* confirm the scale of these purchases in 1886–1887, perhaps mainly demotic, Greek and Coptic,⁶ and during his Theban West Bank season in 1908–1909, some with figures, suggesting New Kingdom material.⁷ In a 1908–1909 notebook, Petrie also records a primary source:

2 Compare Bouvier (2000: 17–18, fn. 15–16; 2003: 16, no. 98) for sherd Brussels E321 marked ‘Ramesseum’ but published by Petrie as from the temple of Merenptah.

3 The set of *Journals* preserved at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, is accessible online with searchable transcripts at: <https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-1> (accessed 21.10.2022).

4 The Petrie day diaries are unpublished; for a preliminary report see Del Vesco (2013). Most of the Petrie *Notebooks* were published by B. Adams first on microfiche, and then in 2000 on CD-ROM.

5 *Journal* 24 January 1882: ‘I got some graffiti on pottery, very good though broken, with cartouches of Ramesses II, thus shewing the age of the pottery, which is important.’ 26 January 1882 at Karnak: ‘Bought 13 inscribed potsherds, which I took to Wiedemann in evening; he & Sayce are learning to read them, & he has got 400 already. I lend him all I find, for study; & shall let him keep any he wants; they cost ½ d. each perfect, or 10th of a penny for portions.’ An English halfpenny (½ d) would be an extremely low price in comparison with other object types on the antiquities market, indicating the lack of tourist interest in ostraca at this time, despite the keen attention of specialists. According to the British Museum online database, Petrie gave the museum thirteen hieratic Ramesseum ostraca, EA 16477, 16479–81, 16488, together with a set of demotic ostraca from Karnak; the registration date 24 March 1886 in the museum in London indicates acquisition before his second Upper Egyptian journey, and so presumably in Cairo. That gift predates the ascendancy of E.A. Wallis Budge (1857–1934) at the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, and the spring 1887 quarrel between Budge and Petrie that arose from mutual accusations of smuggling antiquities, as described in Drower (1985: 124–125).

6 On the evidence of the *Journals*: 14–23 February among ‘inscribed potsherds,’ the only specific reference is to a Greek ostrakon of Theodorus Tauros (= UC 32469? Funghi et al. 2012, O. Petrie 86); 8 March 1887: ‘I was lucky enough to get all one find of ostraka together, 30 perfect beside scraps; mostly demotic, some Greek, from Medinet Habu.’

7 *Notebook* 80 entries include series of prices for single or multiple ostraca, starting after the first mention of Qurneh at page 5 from the back (the order in which he listed purchases), at pages 6 (24 prices), 7 (14 prices), 10 (15 prices), cf. *Journal* 28 January 1909 ‘More ostraka coming in.’ Ostraca with figural motifs plausibly associated with the Ramesside artists working on the tomb of the king are at *Notebook* 80, p. 10 ‘king ostrakon,’ ‘ass h<ea>d ostrakon,’ ‘Tahuti drawing.’ Further ostraca purchases appear in lists after his return to Cairo at the end of the season, with four large batches implied in the price series ‘137 ½, 430, 135’ and the entry ‘ostraka £1.’

‘Sayd M’lettim Ahmed: Qurneh Luq̄sor ostrakon boy.’⁸ Sayed Molattam is known in later decades as a Qurna antiquities trader. Bernard Bruyère (1879–1971) identified his father Molattam as supplying original antiquities, but his sons Sayed and Ahmed as selling fakes, though Sayed also provided ancient material to buyers including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.⁹ Alan H. Gardiner (1879–1963) recorded 1907 as the start of his own hieratic ostraca collection, shortly before the Petrie Qurneh season.¹⁰ Although hieratic ostraca are prominent in the massive hauls of Theban objects in collections formed 1816–1835 and now in the British Museum and Museo Egizio (Turin), further research might address the possibility that a new surge in acquisitions started in the 1900s, and that interest or supply waned in other decades. Gardiner records working on the Petrie numbered series before 1911, when he published *O. Petrie 13*;¹¹ numbering the ostraca may have been part of the process by which Gardiner selected and studied items, so it does not necessarily follow that Petrie acquired the mass of unnumbered ostraca later than the numbered set. Joins between ostraca in different collections may help to pinpoint dates of Petrie acquisitions, though the vagaries of object histories leave doubts over that approach.¹²

After World War II, Jaroslav Černý (1898–1970) became Edwards Professor at UCL, but is not known to have acquired hieratic material for the collection (see the contribution in volume 2 on the collection of the Náprstek Museum in Prague).

The one documented additional batch since Petrie is the group of sherds from the 1960–1964 rescue excavations at Buhen Fortress.¹³

Rather than assigning unique identifiers to objects, Petrie concentrated on publishing excavation reports and collection typologies. On succeeding to the Chair in 1935, Stephen Glanville introduced the museum inventory, assigning register volumes in parallel to different parts of the collection in order to accelerate the process. Manual registration continued under Anthony J. Arkell, Henry S. Smith, and Barbara Adams and Rosalind Janssen. Museum Manager Sally MacDonald secured government funding for the 1999–2002 digitisation project to provide an online catalogue. At the transition to digital registration, separate registers for blocks of 1300 entries had been assigned to ostraca and papyrus (register volume 15 = nos. UC 31890–33189), and to additional items in the Amarna collection, including the bulk of the hieratic content inscriptions (register volume 26 = nos. 45980–47279). In the summary Tables 1a–1e (see section 2 below), the inventory numbers have been included; many identifications of content, date and provenance are provisional, requiring further research.

2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MATERIAL

Tables 1a–1e introduce the collection by object type, provenance, and general content type, with a note of major publications. The following notes provide a quantitative summary of the tables.

8 *Notebook* 80, p. 16.

9 From the excavation journal 30–31 January 1923 (Archives Bernard Bruyère DEM 1, 1922–1923: 7–8, referring to the father only as Mlattam and Abou Malattam), Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 261).

10 Gardiner (1957: v).

11 Gardiner (1957: vi).

12 Petrie Ostrakon 30 (UC 32067) joins an ostrakon bought in 1912 from the major Luxor trader Mohammed Mohassib for the British Museum (EA 50733).

13 Smith (1976: 176).

Papyri

Total: approximately 28 items

The main group of papyri in the museum comprises 26 inventory numbers, covering six larger items and 24 framed sets of fragments, known collectively as the Gurob papyri, though possibly including material from Lahun (see below, section 3, case-study). Of particular historical significance are the two copies of a letter sent to Amenhotep IV, dated to just before the change of name to Akhenaten (UC 32782–32783), a fragment with the Egyptian name of the Hittite queen of Ramesses II (UC 32795), and the full-height segment from a daybook roll bearing a copy of a letter to king Seti II (UC 32784). Two further items, from different sites, are literary fragment UC 32781 from tomb 120 at Rifa, just south of Assiut¹⁴, and UC 34366 Papyrus Greg¹⁵, from the records of activity by the Ramesside artists working on the tomb of the king at Thebes.

Writing-boards

Three fragments from two early 18th Dynasty writing-boards are present, of uncertain acquisition history but thought to have been bought by Petrie in the early 20th century, see Quirke (2016); Hagen (2020); Lilyquist (2020).

Ostraca (excluding content inscriptions on pottery vessels, for which see below)

Total: approximately 300 items

Provenanced:

Ramesseum: 93 literary and 2 documentary, see Spiegelberg (1898, pl. 1–12; 1914)
other sites (West Thebes kingship temples, the Osireion at Abydos, Buhen): 1 votive and 10 documentary, see Petrie (1897); Murray (1904)

Undocumented:

18th Dynasty (?): 11

Ramesside, numbered series: 90 miscellaneous (O. Petrie 1–92; concordance online at UCL 2002), see Posener (1976)

Ramesside, additional items: 90 miscellaneous

Content inscriptions on pottery vessels (mainly smaller or larger fragments from vessels)

Total: approximately 327 items

Provenanced:

Amarna content inscriptions: 182 (including most items in Petrie 1894: pl. 22–24); on internal criteria, others are probably present among the undocumented items noted below.

Ramesseum content inscriptions: 3 items identified by Petrie as from Ramesseum (Petrie 1927: 68); on internal criteria, others are probably present among the undocumented items noted below.

Buhen: 26

other sites (West Thebes kingship temples, Sidmant): 10, see Petrie (1897)

Undocumented:

106 (of which 13 perhaps identifiable as from Amarna, 6 perhaps Ramesseum)

Shabtis

Early 18th Dynasty “stick shabtis”, undocumented: 43, see Whelan (2007)

Ramesside, undocumented: 8

Other object types

Pottery cups: 2, early 18th Dynasty, as pair, bearing funerary liturgy, see Engelbach & Gunn (1923: 30–32)

¹⁴ Petrie (1907); Posener (1976: 6–7).

¹⁵ Janssen (1997).

Pottery miniature vase, undocumented: 1, 18th Dynasty, bearing names Nubemweskhet, Hormin

Weights, undocumented: 1 late 18th Dynasty (Amarna?), 1 Ramesside¹⁶

Associated material in the collection includes inscriptions in hieroglyphic or cursive hieroglyphic script, notably UC 13247–13248, from the bequest of Robert Mond (1867–1938), received in 1955 through the British Museum; B. Lüscher (2013) has identified UC 13248 as one of the draft stones for the layout of *Book of the Dead* chapters

in the tomb of Nakhtmin at Thebes, TT 87, for which Mond funded the clearance. A group of distinctive potsherds with hieroglyphs includes items joining recent finds by the German Archaeological Institute excavations at the tomb of king Djer at Abydos, allowing their identification as parts of heart-shaped vessels from kingship rituals and related votive vessels, see Effland (2016).¹⁷ Two further categories of material not in the tables relate directly to the Ramesside artists working on the tomb of the king: ostraca bearing person-identifier signs;¹⁸ and some ‘pictorial ostraca’ or ‘figured ostraca’ (Page 1983).¹⁹

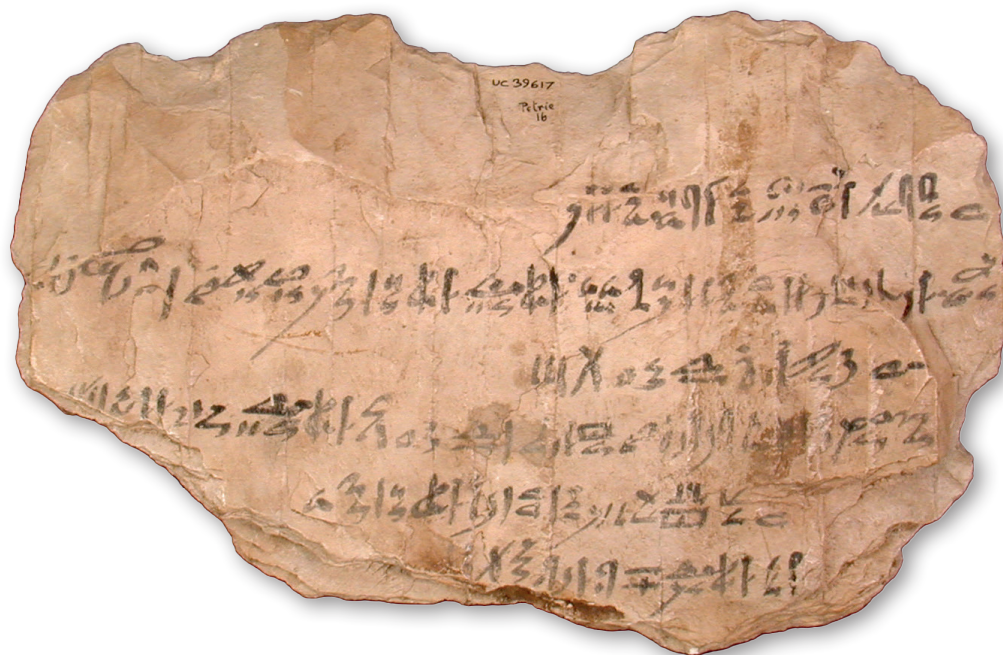


Fig. 1. Hieratic ostracon recording a legal dispute in two cases of inheritance in relation to the duty to provide a fitting burial (O. Petrie 16, UC 39617; © UCL; Janssen & Pestman [1968])

¹⁶ Petrie (1926); Valbelle (1977).

¹⁷ UC 33055, 33059–65, 39678, 39685–9. Several of these items have a thick black ink letter O applied in modern times, for ‘Osiris,’ following the use of the Djer tomb as ritual site of the burial of Osiris; in the context of the Petrie collection, an O might have been added to a particular item during the fieldwork by either Fl. Petrie or his precursor at the site, Émile Amélineau (1850–1915), as finds from the latter’s seasons were auctioned in 1904, see Bierbrier (2012: 17). Content inscription sherds marked O have been ascribed instead to the Ramesseum, see Bouvier (2003).

¹⁸ Two examples with hieratic are UC 31964, 31989; others are UC 31939–40, 59, 67, 87–88, 45678, 82–3, 98, 45702, 5, 7–9, 16–7, 33. For the category and meaning of person-identifier signs, see Haring et al. (2018).

¹⁹ The 82 items published by A. Page include finds from New Kingdom contexts (Amarna, Ramesseum, West Bank Theban kingship temples); on the heterogeneity in the category ‘figured ostraca,’ see Haring (2020).

3. CASE STUDY: THE PAPYRI FROM KOM MEDINET GUROB

The largest group of New Kingdom papyri at the Petrie Museum are the Gurob papyri, a rare case of material with a secure—if imprecise—archaeological context (see below, section 3.1). Despite sharing an origin in a single archaeological mission, conducted over two seasons in 1888–1890, the material has never been published as a group, and to date a significant portion of the material is only partly accessible (e.g., published only in transcription but without translation or commentary), or is entirely unpublished. Only the best-preserved fragment (P. UC 32784), a page from the day-book of the palace, was published relatively quickly by Francis L. Griffith (1897–1898) with photographs, transcription, translation, and a brief commentary.²⁰ After roughly half a century in London, they eventually drew the attention of Gardiner, who worked on them as preparation for tackling one of the largest and most difficult (in terms of palaeography) of the surviving Ramesside accounts, namely P. Wilbour.²¹ During this preparatory phase he produced the draft of a small volume of transcription called *Ramesside Administrative*

Documents, where a selection of texts from Gurob were included, alongside other documents.²² Around the same time he published a lengthy article²³ in which he provided translations of several texts from that volume, but curiously he did not include any of the Gurob papyri.²⁴ However, the material was utilised by various projects: Gardiner provided slips with his own transcriptions of published and unpublished fragments to the *Wörterbuch* in Berlin, H. Ranke's *Personennamen* includes prosopographical data from some of the unpublished fragments,²⁵ and W. Helck cited some of the material in his *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*.²⁶ Although by no means unknown, they are not as conveniently accessible as most documents of the period, and they were, for example, excluded from K. Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*.²⁷ A handful of fragments have subsequently been published in various articles,²⁸ and a full edition of the corpus as a whole is in preparation.

3.1. Provenance and archaeological context

Petrie's excavation of Kom Medinet Gurob, a site on the low escarpment overlooking the entrance to the Fayum, took place under trying circumstances in 1888–1890.²⁹ The precise archaeological

20 The provenance of the other papyri labelled 'Gurob' in that volume may have come from Lahun instead; see section 3.1 below for details.

21 Gardiner (1948a).

22 He had produced a privately printed version of this, which was circulated among colleagues already in 1940, before it was eventually published as Gardiner (1948b).

23 Gardiner (1941).

24 Despite his interest in them, and the work he had already carried out, he never in fact published translations of the Gurob papyri, with the exception of the copy of the letter to pharaoh from P. UC 32784 published by A.H. Gardiner (1953), which is the same day-book fragment published earlier by F. L. Griffith (1897–1898).

25 E.g., *PN I* nos. 282.15, 392.22, 400.13.

26 Helck (1961–1969: see e.g., 235).

27 The Gurob papyri published in Gardiner (1948b) are mentioned in *Ramesside Inscriptions* under Seti II ('Documents of the reign,' *KRI* 4, 277), but only as 'cross-references' that refer the reader to Gardiner's volume.

28 Fischer-Elfert (1998); Hagen (forthcoming).

29 A full history cannot be included here, but it is worth noting that Petrie himself, despite his role as sole author of the archaeological reports, was very rarely on site himself due to other commitments at nearby Lahun and Hawara, and that his relationship to one of his assistants (a Mr Hughes-Hughes) deteriorated rapidly. See in general the comments in the excavation reports themselves (Petrie 1890: 5–12; 1891: vii–viii), and the contextualising information in his *Journal* (available online

context of the papyri was not recorded,³⁰ but based on internal evidence, the state of preservation, as well as the information from his *Notebooks* about areas worked, it is plausible that the majority of the papyri were found within the palace enclosure(s).³¹ An exception is the ‘envelope of papyrus’ that was found in tomb no. 267, which might reference the fragments of P. UC 32801, which is a copy of the *Book of the Dead* from Gurob; alternatively it might refer to another BD manuscript from the same site, said to belong to a man called Bakenamen,³² but this has so far not been identified, at the Petrie Museum or elsewhere.³³

A further controversy regarding find-spots relates to two sets of 18th Dynasty administrative papyri. The first group consists of two (duplicate) copies of a letter addressed to king Amenhotep IV in his year 5 (who shortly after changed his name to Akhenaten), which are now in the Petrie Museum, and which have been variously described as having been found at either Gurob or at Lahun.³⁴ The second set is a group of three papyri apparently found together in a jar at Lahun,³⁵ but originally

said to have been found at Gurob.³⁶ To complicate matters further, the latter papyri were published by Gardiner as part of a dossier, with an additional two *swnw*-contracts in Berlin that clearly related to the Gurob/Lahun papyri, in an article called ‘Four papyri of the 18th Dynasty from Kahun.’³⁷ In the text of the article, however, he noted that the Berlin pieces had been purchased from a dealer who said they came from Gurob, and later referred to Gurob as the provenance of the papyri.³⁸ Lahun seems, on balance, the more likely origin for these documents,³⁹ but in any event they illustrate the difficulty of establishing a secure provenance for material from Petrie’s early excavations.

The Gurob papyri were brought back to the United Kingdom, and are today mainly kept in the Petrie Museum,⁴⁰ with a small number also at the British Museum; papyri from both collections are included in this overview. The British Museum fragments arrived there through Gardiner, who had several fragments in his care while he worked on the material for his *Ramesside Administrative Documents*. There are also some fragments in

through the Griffith Institute website, s.v. Petrie MSS 1.8–9), and his general observations in his retrospective (Petrie 1931: 86–120). A useful overview, with archival photographs, can be found in Serpico (2008: 17–98).

30 Petrie (1890: 36).

31 Some of the relevant documents by Petrie are cited by Bell (1991: 226–231), although her analysis is problematic and seems at odds with the internal evidence of the papyri themselves.

32 Petrie (1890: 49).

33 This is not the only papyrus mentioned by Petrie that so far has not been identified. In his *Journal* for 26 Sept 1889–27 June 1890 he describes ‘pieces of a large sheet of papyrus with a figure of a king offering, no name or head left, but probably of the end of the XVIIIth dynasty,’ which likewise has proven difficult to locate.

34 UC 32782 and 32783. For Gurob as the provenance see Griffith (1897–1898: 91), and for Lahun as the provenance see Griffith’s comments in Petrie (1891: 50); Gardiner (1948b: viii) later thought they were from Gurob.

35 Griffith (1897–1898: 92).

36 Griffith in Petrie (1891: 50).

37 Gardiner (1906).

38 Gardiner (1948b: viii).

39 See Quirke (2005: 116).

40 The division of finds, in June 1889, is described by Fl. Petrie in his memoirs (1931: 114), where he asserts that the then Director of the Antiquities Service, Eugène Grébaud, had ‘given up all claims on papyri’ in return for ‘all the finest things;’ presumably this included both the Gurob and Lahun papyri.

other collections that may originally have come from Gurob.⁴¹

3.2. Date of the material

The administrative texts are generally dated to the Ramesside Period, based on regnal years and the mention of royal names,⁴² although there are perhaps some earlier ones,⁴³ and the literary texts are roughly contemporary, although at least in one case also somewhat earlier: a fragment of *The Instruction of Khety* published by Fischer-Elfert (1998) is probably 18th Dynasty in date, based on the palaeography.⁴⁴ The famous ‘Gurob Shrine Papyrus’ (P. UC 27934i–ii), if it indeed comes from Gurob—it was bought by Petrie from a dealer who said it had been found there—is notoriously difficult to date, but is generally assumed to be broadly New Kingdom.⁴⁵ The *Book of the Dead* manuscript P. UC 32801 (unpublished; contains BD 28) was dated to the Third Intermediate Period by the *Totenbuch Projekt* in Bonn, and another frame

with fragments which looks somewhat similar in date is UC 32802 (unpublished; literary); finally one of the British Museum fragments appears to be late Middle Kingdom in date.⁴⁶ With the exception of these, the vast majority of the papyri are in other words contemporary with the archaeological profile of the palace, which runs from Thutmose III to the end of the Ramesside Period.⁴⁷

3.3. The literary fragments

Despite the lack of details regarding specific findspots (see section 3.1), the collection of literary fragments from Gurob are perhaps the closest one gets to the remains of a New Kingdom palace library (Hagen 2019: 250). Not surprisingly they include copies of compositions that were at the core of the literary tradition at the time, as established by both the number and geographical distribution of witnesses, with a notable focus on wisdom poetry. *The Instruction of Khety* is attested with two separate rolls, from, respectively, the

41 There are at least two pieces in Berlin which also apparently came from Gurob, one of which was bought from Rolf Ibscher in 1967. These are perhaps small fragments that were left in the care of Hugo Ibscher after his conservation work for Gardiner, see Gardiner (1948b: viii). The first (from R. Ibscher) is a literary fragment (Berlin P 15733c), which apparently joins BM EA 10778 (Fischer-Elfert 1998: 85; see further below); this might imply that other fragments from this purchase might have links with Gurob (e.g., several fragments under the inventory number 15738, with *The Instruction of Khety* and *The Instruction of a Man for his Son*, which look very similar to BM 10775e, see below). The second Berlin piece is an administrative fragment mentioning leather and cattle (Berlin P 10498), see Luft & Poethke (1977: 28). A fragment from the Amherst collection (now at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City) joins one of the British Museum fragments published by H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (first suggested by Joachim Quack, pers. comm.; comparison of high-resolution photographs confirms the suggestion): this is P. Amherst 14 + P. BM EA 10775e (and perhaps + Berlin P 15738?). The provenance of the fragment in New York is lost, but this group famously includes parts of several well-known papyri in other collections, Newberry (1899); Parkinson (2003). The join naturally raises the issue of whether other Amherst fragments might also have come from Gurob, a point which cannot be addressed in detail here (one candidate might be no. 15, with *The Instruction of a Man for his Son* on the verso, and an account of various *šmm.t*, ‘stables’ belonging to officials, on the recto).

42 Gardiner (1948b).

43 P. BM EA 10777 (unpublished) may date to the mid/late 18th Dynasty, judging by the palaeography.

44 This is P. BM EA 10775e, for which see above.

45 Smith & Stewart (1984: 64).

46 This Middle Kingdom fragment (BM EA 10775h) is administrative, and could perhaps represent some cross-contamination with the Lahun material, either during packing and transport during Petrie’s work, or during conservation work at a later stage.

47 See most recently Gasperini (2017: 2).

18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period.⁴⁸ *The Instruction of a Man for His Son* survives in at least three copies,⁴⁹ ranging from the early 18th to the early 19th Dynasty judging by the palaeography. One of these manuscripts is particularly interesting in that it has another literary classic on the verso, namely *The Instruction of Hordedef*.⁵⁰ In addition to these wisdom instructions, another known core text of the New Kingdom scribal curriculum was *The Hymn to the Nile*, which is represented at Gurob by a single fragment.⁵¹

Other notable texts are some fragments of a Ramesside hymn to Amun known from the roughly contemporary P. Chester Beatty XI,⁵² which is on the back of another hymn (or a personalised prayer?).⁵³ There is also a single-page amulet-papyrus with a magical text inscribed for Bak(en)khonsu, son of Duanefer, which is paralleled in both other amulets and on later temple walls.⁵⁴

3.4. Contents of the administrative fragments

The majority of the fragments from Gurob are administrative in nature, and many clearly belonged to the daybook of the palace. The largest such fragment (P. UC 32784; fig. 2) demonstrates the large-scale format, as well as the diversity of activities recorded, with dated entries relating to the operation of the palace, including copies of outgoing correspondence, a name-list of personnel (incomplete), a table of wages of oil, and notes on deliveries and expenditure. Interestingly the date formulas mention the current location of the pharaoh, which seems to have been a scribal practice relating to the management of the royal household and its resources.⁵⁵ More fragmentary documents mention the harvest tax (*šmw*),⁵⁶ the branding of cattle,⁵⁷ the issuing (and delivery?) of textiles and precious material (lapis lazuli, malachite) from (or to?) the palace storerooms,⁵⁸ the

48 P. BM EA 10775e + Amherst 14 (= §8.2–§13.1 in Jäger 2004); and BM EA 10775f (= §8.2–§13.1 in Jäger 2004); cf. Fischer-Elfert (1998).

49 One roll consisting of fragments P. BM EA 10775a (= §3.5–§6.8), 10775c (= ‘Anhang I’ = §1.1–§2.9), and 10775d (= §11.5–§14 x+8); another one of fragment 10775b (§1.1–§2.9); and a final roll consisting of 10778b + 10778c + P Berlin 15733c (= §2.9–§7.5). For the publication see Fischer-Elfert (1998). An unpublished fragment (UC 32804 with §8.7–§9.7) is probably part of the same roll as the first (= BM EA 10775a, c and d).

50 Originally published as part of *The Instruction of a Man for his Son*, cf. Fischer-Elfert (1998); Fischer-Elfert (1999), subsequent work on the famous literary graffiti in Assiut has shown that the final parts (§15 onwards) previously thought to belong to this text are in fact from *Hordedef* (= new §8–§17); cf. Verhoeven (2020: 57–67, 247–255).

51 P. UC 32803 (unpublished), with §1–§6.

52 P. UC 32793 and BM EA 10780a+b, perhaps originally from a single roll as suggested by Gardiner (1935: I, 119–121).

53 The hand is similar to that of the hymn on the back, but it seems certain that it is another composition (for one thing the lines do not start with the typical ‘Come to me, Amun...’ of the Amun hymn. Two of the key lines read ‘may you look after the one who says praises’ (*ptr=k hr dd i3wt* [...]), and ‘greatly praised one of the good god, the royal scribe and overseer of [...]’ (*hsy 3 n ntr nfr sš nsw imy-r* [...])).

54 P. UC 32800 (unpublished); for the composition, see the amulet published by Fischer-Elfert (2015: 220–249), and the parallels cited there.

55 Hagen (2016).

56 P. UC 32789a–c (‘L’) and UC 32791 (‘M’); Gardiner (1948b: 30–33). The letters in brackets here and in the following notes refer to the labelling in Gardiner (1948b).

57 P. UC 32785 (‘F’); Gardiner (1948b: 18–19).

58 P. UC 32786 (‘G’), UC 32794 (‘T’), and UC 32795 (‘U’); Gardiner (1948b: 20–23). The latter of these contains the famous mention of the Hittite princess married to Ramesses II, Maathorneferure, who was issued textiles during her stay in the palace. The fragments numbered P. UC 32797a–d (‘Y’; Gardiner 1948b: 24–26) are slightly different in that they list

management of workforces,⁵⁹ etc. There are also some fragments (fig. 3) that deal with local production of textiles, where individual households are listed with numbers showing both their quotas (in black ink) and the actual production/deliveries (in red ink).⁶⁰ There are also other documents that, while not necessarily physical fragments of the day-book itself, clearly relate to similar topics, such as name-lists on separate sheets,⁶¹ or original letters.⁶²

It will be clear from the outline given above that the Gurob papyri are a fragmentary group, but it is still of some importance given the paucity of comparable material: it is rare to find this kind of material during controlled excavations. As mentioned, a volume presenting the group as a whole is in preparation, and this will make the full material available in an accessible manner with

translation, commentaries, and contextualised analysis.

Part of the importance of the group lies in the fact that the administrative documents constitute one of the very few institutional archives that survive from New Kingdom Egypt,⁶³ which provides welcome data for historians interested in both administrative practices and macro-historical questions (e.g., economic networks, and the circulation of goods and resources). Another important aspect relates to the literary fragments, which expand the geographical map of the transmission of key compositions in the literary tradition of the period: the origin of these manuscripts in a palace context is unusual to say the least, and allows us to trace the contours of the literary canon in this high-status social setting.

deliveries of textiles from various private houses and temples (presumably to the palace), with a careful distinction between expected quotas (in black ink), and the actual deliveries (in red ink); see n. 60 below.

- 59 P. UC 32133G ('Z'), UC 32799 ('BB'); Gardiner (1948b: 34–35); and P. BM EA 10777 (unpublished). Another fragment, possibly from the daybook itself, is P. BM EA 10775i (unpublished), a very cursive Ramesside piece with dates, titles, and personal names.
- 60 P. UC 32797a (= 'Y'); Gardiner (1948b: 24–26). A useful translation and discussion can be found in Kemp & Vogelsang (2001: 430–431; however, note that they misunderstand what the numbers represent, quotas vs. actual production, and that the word *šyt* is a participle meaning 'woven', not 'on the loom').
- 61 P. BM EA 10776 (unpublished, but see Hagen, forthcoming) has a list of palace personnel being sent out to 'the northern region' for unspecified agricultural work. It seems likely that such lists of personnel could be filed with the palace daybook, rather than being copied into it: see e.g., the daybook heading 'Copy (*mitt*) of (the list of) all the servants who are working in the *pr-ḥnt* in Merwer, as of Year 2, Akhet 4, day 14', which is followed by a short empty space c. two lines in height, before the next dated entry, Gardiner (1948b: 15.4–5).
- 62 P. BM EA 10779 (unpublished) is a Ramesside letter to a chief of guards (*ḥry sšš*) called Raia, with an address on the back (so a real, rather than a model letter).
- 63 Hagen (2018).

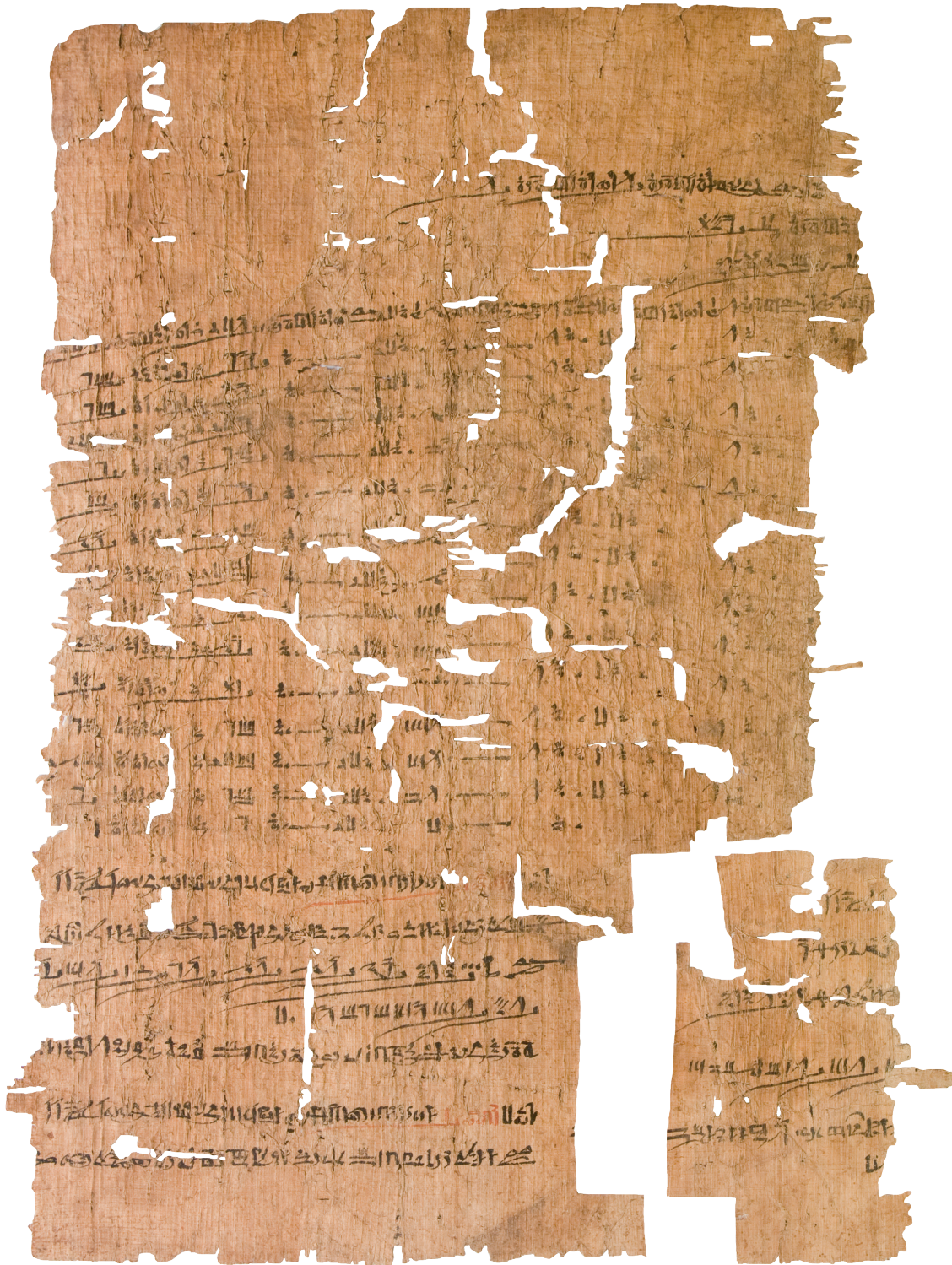


Fig. 2. A page from the Gurob palace day-book, with a table of wages paid in oil, dated entries noting the delivery of fish, and withdrawals from the palace storerooms (P. UC 32784, back; © UCL)



Fig. 3. A list of households responsible for producing textiles, with quotas in black ink and actual production in red ink (P. UC 32797a = "Y", recto; © UCL; partial transcription in Gardiner [1948b: 24–26]; translation in Kemp & Vogelsang [2001: 431])

ANNEX: NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC IN THE UCL PETRIE MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN AND SUDANESE ARCHAEOLOGY

Tables are organized by object type and provenance.

Table 1a. Papyri and Writing-boards

Provenance	Museum no.	Date	Content type	Publication
Gurob papyri	UC 32133g, 32784–32808	late 18 th Dyn. – 19 th Dyn.	literary; documentary	see case-study above
Rifa tomb 120 papyrus	UC 32781	18 th Dyn.	literary	Petrie (1907: 27, pl. 27 O); Posener (1976)
undocumented papyrus (work on king's tomb)	UC 34366 = Papyrus Greg	20 th Dyn.	documentary	Janssen (1997)
undocumented writing-boards (Assassif?)	UC 59419–21	early 18 th Dyn.	literary	Quirke (2016); Hagen (2020, 2–3); cf. Petrie (1927: 66, no. 62–63)

Table 1b. Ostraca (excluding identifications of contents or associated names, *infra*)

Provenance	Museum no.	Date	Content type	Publication
Amarna	UC 31928	late 18 th Dyn.	documentary	cf. Petrie (1927: 67, no. 102)
Ramesseum, Thebes	UC 31942, 32225, 32932–33021, 71099	19 th Dyn.	literary	Spiegelberg (1898: pl. 1–11, <i>passim</i>)
Ramesseum, Thebes	UC 32224, 33022	19 th Dyn. – TIP	documentary	Spiegelberg (1898, pl. 12)
West Thebes kingship temples	UC 30036, 31935	18 th Dyn. – 19 th Dyn.	literary	Petrie (1897: 17, pl. 20.5 and 20.11)
West Thebes kingship temples	UC 31920, 32026	18 th Dyn.	documentary	Petrie (1897: 17, pl. 20.1–20.2)
Osireion, Abydos	UC 32012, 45672–45677	18 th Dyn.	documentary; votive; names	Murray (1904: 24, pl. 18.1–18.6 and 18.8)
Buhen	UC 21458, 21461+21479	18 th Dyn. – 20 th Dyn.?	documentary	cf. Smith (1976: 176–194)
? O. Petrie 1–92 (all from artists of king's tomb?)	UC 31905, 31995–32003, 32054, 32067, 32245, 32266, 34322–3, 39604–77	19 th Dyn. – 20 th Dyn.	literary; documentary	Černý & Gardiner (1957, <i>passim</i>)
? (including Deir al-Bahari?)	31918–9, 31921, 31922–3, 30–31, 36, 75, 84, 54985	18 th Dyn.	literary; documentary	–
? (including Amarna and Ramesseum?)	UC 6484, 19614, 31909–13, 24–27, 33, 37–38, 41, 43–46, 50–53, 55–56, 58, 61–66, 68–74, 77–83, 85–86, 93, 32004–11, 32013–15, 17, 19–22, 27–28, 31–32, 33023–7, 33029–31, 33117, 39, 45, 52–55, 65, 82–3, 45737, 54970, 69967	18 th Dyn. – 20 th Dyn.	miscellaneous	– (single items include UC 19614, 45737 in Spiegelberg [1914])

Table 1c. Contents Inscriptions (identifications of vessel contents or associated names)

Provenance	Museum no.	Date	Publication
Amarna	UC 32226–65, 32533–69, 32744–61, 32913–23, 31, 46253–318	late 18 th Dyn.	Petrie (1894: pl. 22–24, <i>passim</i>) and unpublished
Ramesseum	UC 33035–6, 33038	19 th Dyn.	Petrie (1927: 68, no. 105–107), cf. Bouvier (1999–2003)
West Thebes kingship temples	UC 15937, 19159, 30037–40, 31934, 33083–4	18 th Dyn. – 19 th Dyn.	Petrie (1897: 5, 17, pl. 5.3, pl. 5.5–5.6, pl. 17.23, pl. 19.1–19.4, 19.6, pl. 20.9, 20.12–20.13)
Sidmant D 406	UC 19160	late 18 th Dyn.	Petrie & Brunton (1924: 25, pl. 57)
Buhen sherds	UC26008, 21429–30, 32–33, 37–38, 40, 46–47, 50, 52, 54–55, 63–65, 67, 74–76, 80, 81, 85–87	18 th Dyn. – 20 th Dyn.	Smith (1976: 192, no. 963 [UC 21430], n° 1077 [UC 21438], 193–4 [UC 26008]; cf. 176–194)
undocumented	? Amarna: UC 33040, 33075, 33077, 33081, 33085–6, 33091–7 ? Ramesseum: UC 33028, 32–4, 37, 39 ? 33042–53, 67–74, 76, 78–80, 82, 87–9, 33098–116, 118–38, 40–44, 46, 48–50, 58, 63, 84, 86, 45688, 45694, 45724, 59714, 68976, 69966	18 th Dyn. – 20 th Dyn.	–

Table 1d. Other Hieratic Inscriptions

Object type and museum no.	Provenance	Date	Content type	Publication
pottery cups UC 16128–16129	Haraga 290	early 18 th Dyn.	liturgy (NR.2)	Engelbach & Gunn (1923: 30–32, pl. 78–79)
pottery vase UC 59733	?	18 th Dyn.	names	–
shabtis UC 14223, 40173–40213, 40375	? Dra Abu al-Naga	early 18 th Dyn.	names / offering formula	Whelan (2007)
shabWtis UC 39678–71, 39818, 40226–8	?	19 th Dyn. – 20 th Dyn.	names / shabti formula	–
weight UC 2497	? Amarna	late 18 th Dyn.	function?	Petrie (1926: 9–10, pl. 10, no. 2046)
weight UC 39669	? (artists of king's tomb)	19 th Dyn. – 20 th Dyn.	name	Valbelle (1977: no. 5260)

Table 1e. A List of the Papyri from Petrie's excavation at Kom Medinet Gurob

These are mainly in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, with the exception of the last few fragments which are in the British Museum (identifiable by the prefix "BM EA" before the inventory number).

Inv. no.	Front	Back	Primary publication
UC 32133g (= "Z")	administrative: delivery of bricks	administrative: consumables with numbers	Gardiner (1948b: 34).
UC 32784 (= "P. Gurob")	administrative: copy of letter, deliveries of fish	administrative: wages in oil (table); deliveries and issuing of fish, bread, mats, etc.	Gardiner (1948b: 14–18; 1953); Griffith (1897–1898: I, 94–98; II, pl. 39–40).
UC 32785 (= "F")	administrative: account of cattle	empty	Gardiner (1948b: 18–19); Helck (1961–1969: 479–480)
UC 32786 (= "G")	administrative: deliveries of textiles (New Year festival)	administrative: issuing of textiles, lapis lazuli, malachite	Gardiner (1948b: 20–21); Helck (1961–1969: 932–933)
UC 32787 (= "J")	administrative: deliveries of fish	administrative: numbers only	Gardiner (1948b: 26–27); Helck (1961–1969: 820)
UC 32788 (= "K")	administrative: name list with amounts of fish and grain	empty	Gardiner (1948b: 28–29)
UC 32789a–c (= "L")	administrative: collection and transport of grain (harvest tax), names	administrative: names (cultivators) and dates	Gardiner (1948b: 30–32)
UC 32790a–c	administrative: various, including textiles of year 1	administrative: titles and names, textiles	unpublished
UC 32791 (= "M")	administrative: account of harvest-tax (titles and names, grain)	administrative: amounts of grain	Gardiner (1948b: 33)
UC 32792 (= "N")	administrative: dated entries with activities	administrative: deliveries of fish	Gardiner (1948b: 27–28)
UC 32793	literary: a hymn to Amun (= P. Chester Beatty IX = BM EA 10691, vso. 2.3–6)	empty	unpublished, but cf. Gardiner (1935: I, 119–121; II, pl. 67–68)
UC 32794 (= "T")	administrative: list of textiles	empty	Gardiner (1948b: 22)
UC 32795a–c (= "U")	administrative: textiles issued to individuals (including the Hittite princess Maathorneferure)	administrative: textiles, dates and activities (travel)	Gardiner (1948b: 22–24)
UC 32796 (= "W")	administrative: dated deliveries of fish	administrative: dated deliveries	Gardiner (1948b: 27)
UC 32797a–d (= "Y")	administrative: list of households and institutions, with quotas and actual deliveries of textiles; issuing of same	administrative: list of households and institutions, with quotas and actual deliveries of textiles	Gardiner (1948b: 24–26)
UC 32798 (= "AA")	administrative: measurement of grain by location and/or individual	empty	Gardiner (1948b: 32)

Inv. no.	Front	Back	Primary publication
UC 32799 (= "BB")	administrative: List of overseers of priests, overseers of cattle, and <i>hm-ntr</i> -priests	empty	Gardiner (1948b: 35)
UC 32800	literary: a spell for protection (amulet)		unpublished, but cf. Fischer-Elfert (2015: 220–249)
UC 32801	Book of the Dead (BD 28)	empty	unpublished
UC 32802	literary: unidentified (mentions a chariot, <i>mrkbt</i> , and a cover/garment, <i>ktt</i>)	empty	unpublished
UC 32803	literary: <i>The Hymn to the Nile</i> (§1–6)	empty	unpublished
UC 32804	literary: <i>The Instruction of a Man for his Son</i> (§8.7–9.7)	administrative: illegible notes	unpublished
UC 32805	administrative: name list (?)	administrative: account (?)	unpublished
UC 32806	administrative: name lists etc. (small fragments only)	administrative: names and titles	unpublished
UC 32807	administrative: five threadbare fragments (largely illegible)	administrative (?)	unpublished
UC 32808a–c	several fragments of different content, very faint: mix of administrative and literary (including one with <i>The Instruction of Khety</i> , §27 onwards, and one with <i>The Instruction of Hordedef</i>)	partly empty, some administrative notes (?)	unpublished
Fragments in the British Museum			
BM EA 10775a–i (in two frames)	(a, c, d) fragments from a single roll (?) with <i>The Instruction of a Man for His Son</i> (§3.5–§6.8; §1.1–§2.9; §11.5–§14.x+8) (c) from another roll with <i>The Instruction of a Man for His Son</i> (§1.1–§2.9) (e) fragment of <i>The Instruction of Khety</i> (§8.2–§6.8) (f) from a different roll with <i>The Instruction of Khety</i> (§8.2–§13.1) (g) unidentified (literary) (h) administrative: name-list with dates (i) administrative Late Middle Kingdom fragment (perhaps from Lahun?)	empty (? mounted on cardboard)	partly published by Fischer-Elfert (1998)
BM EA 10776	administrative: name-list of cultivators of the palace sent out to work	administrative: same list continued	unpublished, but cf. Hagen (forthcoming)

Inv. no.	Front	Back	Primary publication
BM EA 10777	administrative: name-list of people with the titles 'servant' and 'citizenship'	empty	unpublished
BM EA 10778a-c	(a) administrative: names and amounts of grain (b+c) literary: two fragments with <i>The Instruction of a Man for his Son</i> (§2.9-§7.5)	(a) administrative: commodities, numbers (b+c) literary: two fragments with <i>The Instruction of Hordedef</i> (= new §8-17)	Fischer-Elfert (1998)
BM EA 10779	letter to a chief of guards (<i>ḥry sšʿ</i>) called Raia	continued from the front	unpublished
BM EA 10780	(a, b) literary: hymn or prayer (?) (c) administrative (?)	(a, b) literary: a hymn to Amun (compare perhaps UC 32793) (c) administrative (?)	unpublished, but cf. Gardiner (1935: I, 119-121; II, pl. 68)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BELL, Martha R. 1991. *The Tutankhamun Burnt Group from Gurob, Egypt. Bases for the Absolute Chronology of LH III A and B*, Unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- BIERBRIER, Morris. 2012. *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, London.
- BOUVIER, Guillaume. 1999-2003. *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques inédites de l'Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg*, Cairo (= DFIFAO 35-37, 40).
- . 2000. Les étiquettes de jarres du Ramesséum conservées aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles, *CdE* 75 (149), 15-26.
- ČERNÝ, Jaroslav & GARDINER Alan H. 1957. *Hieratic Ostraca*, vol. 1, Oxford.
- DEL VESCO, Paolo. 2013. Day after Day with Flinders Petrie. Pocket Diaries from the Archive of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, in Marilina BETRÒ & Gianluca MINIACI (eds.), *Talking along the Nile. Ippolito Rosellini, Travellers and Scholars of the 19th Century in Egypt. Proceedings of the International Conference Held on the Occasion of the Presentation of Progetto Rosellini, Pisa, June 14-16, Pisa*, 83-92.
- DROWER, Margaret. 1985. *Flinders Petrie. A Life in Archaeology*, London.
- EFFLAND, Andreas. 2016. "...Die Sonnenbarke anzuhalten und die Glieder des Osiris zu verstreuen für Typhon..." Theologische und theurgische Ausdeutung solar-osirianischer Ritualaspekte in Abydos, in Andreas PRIES (ed.), *Die Variation der Tradition. Modalitäten der Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 25.-28. November 2012 in Heidelberg*, Leuven, 201-226.
- ENGELBACH, Reginald & GUNN, Battiscombe. 1923. *Harageh*, London.
- FISCHER-ELFERT, Hans-Werner. 1998. Neue Fragmente zur *Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn* (P. BM EA 10775 und P. BM EA 10778), *JEA* 84, 85-92.
- . 1999. *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden (= ÄgAbh 60).
- . 2015. *Magika Hieratika in Berlin, Hannover, Heidelberg und München*, Berlin (= ÄMPB 2).
- FUNGHI, Maria Serena, MESSERI, Gabriella & RÖMER, Cornelia Eva. 2012. *Ostraca greci e bilingui del Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (O. Petr. Mus.)*, 3 vols, Firenze.

- GARDINER, Alan H. 1906. Four Papyri of the 18th Dynasty from Kahun, *ZÄS* 43, 27–47.
- . 1935. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series: The Chester Beatty Gift*, 2 vols, London.
- . 1941. Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn, *JEA* 27, 19–73.
- . 1948a. *The Wilbour Papyrus*, 2 vols, Oxford.
- . 1948b. *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, Oxford.
- . 1953. The Harem at Miwer, *JNES* 12 (3), 145–149.
- GASPERINI, Valentina. 2017. *Tomb Robberies at the End of the New Kingdom. The Gurob Burnt Groups Reinterpreted*, Oxford.
- GRIFFITH, Francis Ll. 1897–1898. *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, Berlin.
- HAGEN, Fredrik. 2016. On Some Movements of the Royal Court in New Kingdom Egypt, in Jaap VAN DIJK (ed.), *Another Mouthful of Dust. Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin*, Leuven (= OLA 246), 155–182.
- . 2018 (with a contribution by D. Soliman). Archives in Ancient Egypt, 2500–1500 BCE, in Alessandro BAUSI, Christian BROCKMANN, Michael FRIEDRICH & Sabine KIENITZ (eds.), *Manuscripts and Archives. Comparative Perspectives on Record-Keeping*, Berlin (= SMC 11), 71–170.
- . 2019. Libraries in Ancient Egypt, c. 1600–800 BCE, in Kim RYHOLT & Gojko BARJAMOVIC (eds.), *Libraries Before Alexandria. Ancient Near Eastern Tradition*, London, 244–318.
- . 2020. New Copies of Old Classics: Early Manuscripts of *Khakheperreseneb* and *The Instruction of a Man for His Son*, *JEA* 105, 1–32.
- . forthcoming. Controlling Workforces at the Palace: Some Perspectives on Administrative Practice at Kom Medinet Gurob, in Alexandre LOKTIONOV (ed.), *Compulsion and Control*.
- HAGEN, Fredrik & RYHOLT Kim. 2016. *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1903. The H.O. Lange Papers*, Copenhagen (= ScDan, Series H, Humanistica 4, vol. 8).
- HARING, Ben. 2020. The Survival of Pharaonic Ostraca: Coincidence or Meaningful Patterns? in Clementina CAPUTO & Julia LOUGOVAYA (eds.), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World. New Discoveries and Methodologies*, Berlin (= MTK 32), 89–108.
- HARING, Ben J.J., VAN DER MOEZEL, Kyra & SOLIMAN, Daniel (eds.). 2018. *Decoding Signs of Identity. Egyptian Workmen's Marks in Archaeological, Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Perspective. Proceedings of a Conference in Leiden, 13–15 December 2013*, Leiden (= EgUit 32).
- HELCK, Wolfgang. 1961–1969. *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden (= AAWMainz, 1960 Nr. 10).
- JÄGER, Stephan. 2004. *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, Göttingen (= LingAegStudMon 4).
- JANSSEN, Jac. J. 1997. An early Journal of the Necropolis: Papyrus Greg, in Jac. J. JANSSEN (ed.), *Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina*, Leiden (= EgUit 11), 111–129.
- JANSSEN, Jac. J. & PESTMAN, Pieter W. 1968. Burial and Inheritance in the Community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes (Pap. Bulaq X and O. Petrie 16), *JESHO* 11.2, 137–170.
- KEMP, Barry J. & VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD, Gillian. 2001. *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna* (= EES-ExcMem 68), London.
- KRI = KITCHEN, Kenneth A. 1975–1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions*, 8 vols, Oxford.
- LILYQUIST, Christine. 2020. Twelve Carnarvon Writing Boards and Their Provenances, *JEA* 105, 157–175.
- LÜSCHER Barbara 2013. *Die Vorlagen-Ostraka aus dem Grab des Nachtmin (TT 87)*, Basel (= Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten 4).
- LUFT, Ulrich & POETHKE, Günther. 1977. *Leben im ägyptischen Altertum. Literatur, Urkunden, Briefe aus vier Jahrtausenden*, Berlin.
- MURRAY, Margaret. 1904. *The Osireion at Abydos*, London.
- NEWBERRY, Percy E. 1899. *The Amherst Papyri*, London.
- PAGE, Anthea. 1983. *Ancient Egyptian Figured Ostraca in the Petrie Collection*, London.

- PARKINSON, Richard B. 2003. The Missing Beginning of 'The Dialogue of a Man and His Ba': P. Amherst III and the History of the 'Berlin Library', *ZÄS* 130, 120–132.
- PETRIE, William M. Flinders. 1890. *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, London.
- . 1891. *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, London.
- . 1894. *Tell el Amarna*, London.
- . 1897. *Six Temples at Thebes, 1896*, London.
- . 1907. *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London.
- . 1926. *Ancient Weights and Measures illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College London*, London.
- . 1927. *Objects of Daily Use with over 1800 Figures from University College London*, London.
- . 1931. *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, London.
- PETRIE, William M. Flinders & BRUNTON, Guy. 1924. *Sedment II*, London.
- POSENER, Georges. 1976. *L'Enseignement loyaliste : sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire*, Paris (= Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études II; Hautes Études Orientales 5).
- QUIRKE, Stephen. 2005. *Lahun. A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape*, London.
- . 2016. Eighteenth Dynasty Writing Boards in the Petrie Museum, in Philippe COLOMBERT, Dominique LEFÈVRE, Stéphane POLIS & Jean WINAND (eds.), *Aere perennius : mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus*, Leuven (= OLA 242), 611–624.
- RAISMAN, Vivian. 1989. Hieratic Ostraca in the Petrie Collection, in Sylvia SCHOSKE (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985. Band 3: Linguistik, Philologie, Religion*, Hamburg, 189–192.
- PN I = RANKE, Hermann. 1935. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. vol. I: Verzeichnis der Namen*, Glückstadt.
- SERPICO, Margaret. 2008. Gurob, in Janet PICTON & Ivor PRIDDEN (eds.), *Unseen Images. Archive Photographs in the Petrie Museum. Volume I: Gurob, Sedment and Tarkhan*, London, 17–91.
- SMITH, Harry S. 1976. *The Fortress of Buhen II. The Inscriptions*, London.
- SMITH, Harry S. & STEWART, Harry M. 1984. The Gurob Shrine Papyrus, *JEA* 70, 54–64.
- SPIEGELBERG, Wilhelm. 1898. *Hieratic Ostraka & Papyri Found by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum, 1895–6*, London.
- . 1914. Hieratic Ostraka from Thebes, *Ancient Egypt* [A], 106–111.
- UCL. 2002. Deir el-Medina Ostraca in the Petrie Museum. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/deirelmedine/ostracaindex.html> (accessed 01.02.2022).
- VALBELLE, Dominique. 1977. *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh : Nos 5001–5423*, Cairo (= DFIFAO 16).
- VERHOEVEN, Ursula. 2020. *Dipinti von Besuchern des Grabes N13.1 in Assiut*, Wiesbaden (= The Asyut Project 15).
- WHELAN, Paul. 2007. *Mere Scraps of Rough Wood? 17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis in the Petrie Museum and Other Collections*, London (= GHP 10).

