

# New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

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# New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

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CROSSING BOUNDARIES

Andrea FANCIULLI, Kathrin GABLER, Jessica IZAK, Martina LANDRINO,  
Antonio LOPRIENO, Matthias MÜLLER, Renaud PIETRI, Stéphane POLIS,  
Nathalie SOJIC, Susanne TÖPFER, Stephan M. UNTER

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# New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

## Introduction

Andrea FANCIULLI, Kathrin GABLER, Jessica IZAK,  
Martina LANDRINO, Antonio LOPRIENO, Matthias MÜLLER,  
Renaud PIETRI, Stéphane POLIS, Nathalie SOJIC,  
Susanne TÖPFER, Stephan M. UNTER

This book is the first in a series of volumes designed to provide a detailed overview of the diverse New Kingdom hieratic materials preserved in various museums and public collections around the world. The endeavour is directly connected to the interdisciplinary project *Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>. This project is a joint venture of the University of Basel, the University of Liège, and the Museo Egizio, and it is financed by the SNSF in Switzerland and the FNS-FNRS in Belgium, as well as supported financially by the Museo Egizio. Since 2019, the *Crossing Boundaries* project has targeted the rich papyrological materials from the village of Deir el-Medina (c. 1350–1050 BCE) held in the Museo Egizio, seeking to enhance our understanding of the scribal practices that lie behind the production of the texts from this community. The driving methodological motto of *Crossing Boundaries* has always been to adopt a *contextualized* approach to these written materials; as we progressed on the Deir el-Medina materials, the need to develop a clearer picture of *all* the hieratic materials available from the same period quickly became evident. This led to the present publication, the existence of which allows us to

expand our perspective on Deir el-Medina and to situate our results from the *Crossing Boundaries* project against a much broader background.

Initially, we planned a single volume that would offer both historical and quantitative overviews of the New Kingdom hieratic materials held in various collections around the world, as well as a series of case-studies discussing unpublished documents from these institutions. The scope of the project quickly grew, however, as we began to receive enthusiastic responses to our call for papers from numerous colleagues around the world. As a result, the contributions to this project have been divided across several volumes.

Each volume is arranged geographically and proceeds in alphabetic order—continent by continent and country by country. As such, this first volume opens with Egypt and a complete overview of the New Kingdom hieratic material in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. This is followed by overviews of 18 European museums and 3 North American collections (see the Table of Contents on p. 5). Upcoming volumes address several other substantial collections, including those of the French Institute in Cairo, the Louvre, the Museo Egizio, and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in

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1 See Polis et al. (2020); Gabler et al. (2023).

Leiden. Here we should stress that we have systematically targeted only official institutions holding hieratic materials; our coverage does not include private collections; nor does it necessarily address materials found in excavations that remain to be published.

All of the contributions to these volumes have been subjected to internal and external review processes. During the internal process, each of the articles were assigned to two editors from our team of ten; these editors worked together on these articles as main- and co-editors. These two-person teams acted independently and were supported by Jessica Izak (Basel), who oversaw the editorial work. During the external process, international experts who were not contributing to the volumes were consulted in order to assess the quality of the articles.

We are very grateful to Robert J. Demarée (Leiden) for his continuous support and the many

insights he shared throughout the publication process; to Daniel Waller for copy-editing all of the abstracts and some of the papers; to Baudouin Stasse (ULiège Press), for his patience and professionalism in preparing this complex publication; and to Serge Rosmorduc (Paris), who has provided the hieroglyphic text editor JSesh<sup>2</sup> to the Egyptological community for so many years. This tool was used to produce all of the hieroglyphic transcriptions in this volume.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge that the open-access publication of these volumes was made possible by support from the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) for Open Access book publications, and from the Research Unit “Mondes Anciens” at the University of Liège. We are grateful to these funding bodies for enabling us to make this publication freely available to as wide an audience as possible.

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POLIS, Stéphane, GABLER, Kathrin, GRECO, Christian, HERTEL, Elena, LOPRIENO, Antonio, MÜLLER, Matthias, PIETRI, Renaud, SOJIC, Nathalie, TÖPFER, Susanne & UNTER, Stephan. 2020. Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt (with a 2019 Progress Report), *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 4 [DOI: 10.29353/rime.2020.2952].

ROSMORDUC, Serge. 2014. JSesh Documentation [available online: <http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org>; accessed 27.04.2023].

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2 Rosmorduc (2014).



# New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo

## Survey and History of the Collection

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### ABSTRACT

The Egyptian Museum in Cairo (EMC) holds a large collection of different objects bearing hieratic texts. These objects are usually recorded in the main registers of the Museum, though establishing a full list of New Kingdom hieratic documents in the EMC was not an easy task for many reasons. In this paper, I discuss these reasons, as well as outlining the provenance and accession history of all the relevant objects that I was able to identify. The objects are presented by category—ostraca (§2), papyri (§3), and other objects (§4)—and chronologically within each object category. Four unpublished ostraca are also presented here for the first time; these illustrate the richness of the New Kingdom Hieratic Collection of the EMC.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The EMC houses thousands of objects that date from Predynastic times through to the Roman period. As a result, the museum holds numerous objects bearing hieratic texts. Without a doubt, ostraca (§2) and papyri (§3) represent the lion's share of hieratic materials in the Museum, though the Museum also holds hieratic texts on wooden objects, linen, and stelae, for instance (§4). Some of these objects were stored in other locations before they were first gathered together in the Boulaq Museum and Giza palace and subsequently transferred to the EMC at Tahrir square.<sup>1</sup>

All artefacts entering in the museum were supposed to receive an inventory number directly upon their arrival at the EMC. The museum

used four main inventory numbers (in addition to other numbers that were used irregularly),<sup>2</sup> though the chief inventory number used by the museum is the *Journal d'entrée* (JdE or JE). This first began to be employed in 1880, when the national Egyptian collections were still housed in the Boulaq Museum.<sup>3</sup> Theoretically, objects were to have been recorded in this register as soon as they were accessioned. In practice, however, a number of objects remained without JE numbers for long periods of time.<sup>4</sup> Because new objects are continuously entering the museum, this inventory record has continued to grow over the years. At the time of writing, the last objects entered into the record were the two hieratic *Book of the Dead* Papyri found in Saqqara, known as P. Waziry I–II,

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1 Mariette-Bey (1871; 1872); Maspero (1883); Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (1892).

2 For the other numbers that were used irregularly, see Bothmer (1974: 111–112).

3 Rashed & Badr-El-Din (2018: 43).

4 Bothmer (1974: 113).

JE 100403–100404.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, there are objects held in the Museum that still have not been assigned JE numbers, including several hieratic objects that will be discussed in the course of this paper.

Another inventory number in common use in the EMC is the *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, shortened to *Catalogue Général*, CGC, CG, and *Cat. G.* This number is used for objects that belong to the same category and which were grouped together with sequential numbers for publication in one or several volumes of the *Catalogue général* series.<sup>6</sup> It is worth mentioning that the first issue in this catalogue series was published by the German Egyptologist Ludwig Borchardt (1863–1938) in 1911. It contained approximately 380 complete or semi-complete statues of different fabric dating to different periods, but mostly to the Old Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, two volumes in this series were dedicated to hieratic ostraca discovered at different locations, some of which were not recorded with JE numbers. In addition, another volume dedicated to hieratic papyri was published by Wladimir Golénischeff (1856–1947) in 1927.<sup>8</sup>

It should also be mentioned that there are hundreds of objects in the EMC that have been classified, grouped, and recorded using CGC numbers, but which have not been published in the series of the *Catalogue général*. The staff of the museum refers to these documents as “Catalogue

General Manuscripts”—objects that were prepared for publication by certain scholars who died or stopped working on them.<sup>9</sup> The drafts of these manuscripts contain extensive work by these scholars documenting, describing, translating, and commenting upon these objects in their own handwriting.<sup>10</sup> In an article on the numbering systems used in the EMC, B. Bothmer (1974: 119) included a list of unpublished volumes in the *Catalogue général* series prepared by the assistants of the Egyptian Museum. Some of these CGC objects were subsequently published by individual Egyptologists in articles rather than in volumes, though some remain unpublished.

The museum also uses *Temporary Register* or TR numbers for objects with a temporary status, such as objects whose JE numbers are not known, or objects that have not yet been officially accessioned.<sup>11</sup> TR numbers were also used for objects that entered the Museum in lots—that is, when objects of different types were collected into a single box with the goal of sorting and assigning them permanent numbers at a later date.<sup>12</sup> Objects that were returned to Egypt after restoration or study missions abroad were also recorded in the TR until they were registered in the permanent records.<sup>13</sup> At present, there are 12 TR registers in the EMC that are available to scholars in hard and soft copies in the museum’s database.<sup>14</sup> The first page of the first register shows that this temporary register was begun on 4th May 1914; the

5 For the full publication of the hieratic papyrus Waziry I, see Waziry & Hassan (In press).

6 Bothmer (1974: 118–121); Rashed & Badr-El-Din (2018: 43).

7 Borchardt (1911).

8 Golénischeff (1927).

9 Bothmer (1974: 119).

10 Consulted and checked by the author of this paper.

11 Bothmer (1974: 117); Rashed & Badr-El-Din (2018: 43).

12 Bothmer (1974: 118).

13 Bothmer (1974: 118).

14 These 12 hard copy registers proceed as follows: first register 3.5.14.1 to 10.8.15.4, second register 19.8.15.1 to 26.6.17.8, third register 17.6.17.1 to 4.2.19.18, fourth register 5.2.19.1 to 17.2.21.81, fifth register 24.2.21.1 to 16.2.22.21, sixth register 6.2.22.22 to 9.3.23.5, seventh register 11.3.23.1 to 25.11.25.13, eighth register 25.11.25.14 to 29.5.32.13, ninth register 4.6.32.1

TR number consists of four digits, each of which indicates certain information:<sup>15</sup>

Day	Month
Year	Monument no. for day

A further inventory system used by the EMC is the *Special Register* or SR. This was established in 1959–1960 when the Egyptologist Selim Hassan (1887–1961) was chief advisor to the museum.<sup>16</sup> This was an internal recording system used to assign objects to particular curators.<sup>17</sup> The SR divided the museum’s objects into seven sections. In 2000, a new section was added to the SR with 15 further registers for the objects found in the museum’s basement.<sup>18</sup> In general, a given page of this register presents various kinds of information about the object in question, as well as a small picture pasted on the right margin of the page. Serial numbers assigned to objects commenced with the first object in the register; these were followed by the location of the object inside the museum, most of the time recorded in pencil (for example, *P29-pup36* points to “Room 29, upper, drawer number 36”).<sup>19</sup> A short description of the object was sometimes added (at the very least recording its main characteristics, such as presence of writing). Preliminary datings, provenance, and the object’s discoverer were usually mentioned as well. The section of the SR devoted to “General Notes” usually contains the other numbers assigned to the object, such as its JE, CGC, and TR number. Sometimes, only one or two such numbers are mentioned. If an object bears any (recent) marks added by its finders, these are also mentioned in the notes. Based on the data recorded in the SR,

the different handwriting and inks on display, and so on, it is clear that the SR was updated and added to over time.

### 1.1. Problems searching the museum’s records

The exact number of hieratic objects in the EMC is unknown because these objects were kept in different sections of the Museum and, setting aside unnumbered objects, because they were recorded using the four different systems discussed above. Scholars searching for hieratic material in the Museum thus face a major problem if they do not already know an object’s inventory number. A description of an object, its provenance, or details of its excavation date are not enough to find it either manually or using the museum’s digital database. Even the word “hieratic” does not return many results in the museum’s database because the majority of objects bearing hieratic script in the collection are not recorded or identified as such. Further to this, as we will see below, many hieratic objects were recorded together under a single inventory number, for instance, when a number of objects were stored in a single box. Another problem for scholars interested in hieratic already in possession of the correct inventory number(s) is that one is not always able to locate the object where it is supposed to be—typically because it was moved to another section of the museum without proper documentation. As such, this paper examines only those New Kingdom hieratic materials that I was able to track down in the available records and in the different sections of the Museum.

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to 22.10.48.26, tenth register 22.10.48.27 to 12.5.53.45, eleventh register 12.5.58.4 to 24.1.39.51, twelfth register 24.1.89.52 to 9.4.2005.1.

<sup>15</sup> As recorded on the first page of the first register.

<sup>16</sup> Bothmer (1974: 122).

<sup>17</sup> Rashed & Badr-El-Din (2018: 43).

<sup>18</sup> Rashed & Badr-El-Din (2018: 44).

<sup>19</sup> My thanks to my colleague Dr. Marwa Badr-El-Din for clarifying this abbreviation.

## 1.2. The Grand Egyptian Museum as final destination

The Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM) will house and display many objects that are being transferred from the EMC. In theory, these objects are to be recorded as part of their move to their new home. However, problems are anticipated when it comes to browsing the digital database of the EMC. In the first place, it is not easy to locate all of the hieratic objects that are being transferred to the GEM with one click; this is because their records have not been systematically updated in the database. In addition, as discussed in §1.1, very few hieratic documents will appear in any case because many of them were simply not recorded properly (e.g., identified as bearing hieratic texts).

Sometimes, however, one finds the GEM number of a hieratic document recorded in the database together with its other inventory numbers (JE, CGC, SR). On other occasions, one encounters the phrase “[From committee] GEM” (without an inventory number related to the GEM) or the phrase “Selected for transfer”. The latter does not necessarily mean that the object in question has already moved to the GEM. Indeed, the database curators of the EMC inform me that the GEM has already listed objects to be transferred, but that many of these are still in the Cairo Museum. According to them, the best way to locate an object is to ask the curators in charge of the object in question; if the object made the move to the GEM, it will have been recorded in the SR by one of these curators.

## 2. HIERATIC OSTRACA

During my work on the New Kingdom hieratic material in the EMC, it became clear that the vast majority of hieratic texts in the museum are written on ostraca (stored in different sections of the museum).

### 2.1. 18th Dynasty hieratic ostraca

#### 2.1.1. *Deir el-Bahri*<sup>20</sup>

The majority of 18th Dynasty hieratic ostraca in the EMC were discovered during the excavations conducted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) at the site of Deir el-Bahri.<sup>21</sup> These ostraca, which are of different types, are stored in several different sections of the museum. Some of them are well documented; for a few ostraca, we are not in full possession of information concerning their exact provenance, season of excavation, or date of entry into the museum.

The excavations by the Met during the 1922–24, 1926–27, and 1929–36 seasons uncovered approximately 400 hieratic ostraca in the area of Deir el-Bahri.<sup>22</sup> Amongst these finds are:

- 238 ostraca from one of the dumps that formed at the site between “the temple avenues of Hatshepsut and Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe”<sup>23</sup>
- 68 ostraca discovered in the Assasif valley
- 9 ostraca found near the tomb of Senenmut TT 353
- 38 ostraca found in the second court of the temple of Hatshepsut
- 23 ostraca found at the entrance of the Assasif valley<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Many other 18th Dynasty ostraca discovered in the same area are not stored in the EMC, though these ostraca concern much the same things as the EMC ostraca; see, for example, the group of ostraca found in the tomb of Senenmut and published by Hayes (1942).

<sup>21</sup> Winlock (1942).

<sup>22</sup> Hayes (1960: 29).

<sup>23</sup> Hayes (1960: 29).

<sup>24</sup> Hayes (1960: 29).

Except for the ostraca discovered during the 1929–1936 seasons, these hieratic ostraca were exported to New York directly after the excavation for study.<sup>25</sup> Since their excavation, only a few of these ostraca have been presented to the scholarly world by William C. Hayes (1903–1963) in 1960. Hayes published 21 ostraca, some of them relating to the Djoser-djeseru and its builders, others to the preparation of Senenmut's second tomb (TT 353), and others still that relate to the building activities of Tuthmose III in Amun-Djeser-akhet.<sup>26</sup> Hayes' publication is based on photographs taken by the staff of the Met in New York. In 1953, the Egyptian Government placed an official request for the return of these ostraca from the Met and they entered the EMC in the same year.<sup>27</sup> As strange as it may be to say, the 400 ostraca repatriated from New York have remained in the same wooden box at the Egyptian Museum since their return; apart from the present author in 2013, no one appears to have opened this box since 1953.<sup>28</sup> Roughly ten years ago, Malte Römer (Frei Universität, Berlin) announced that he was planning to publish the early 18th Dynasty hieratic ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri and in the Assasif valley. According to Römer, this project (funded by the German Research Foundation [DFG]) aimed to include more than 600 ostraca scattered around the world in different museums.

The group of 400 ostraca now in the EMC would have formed a large part of this project.<sup>29</sup> Römer also published two short papers in 2008 and 2014 discussing aspects of some hieratic ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri. In the first paper, he published two limestone ostraca discovered by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (DAI) in the Assasif valley: DAI 55 and 56. This publication was based on black and white photos provided by the DAI, and did not provide any information concerning the whereabouts of these ostraca.<sup>30</sup> These two ostraca are actually stored in the EMC under numbers JE 91422 and JE 91424. The museum database records that these objects were found between 1963–1967 by Jürgen Settgast (1932–2004) near the Middle Kingdom tomb of Intef (TT 386), together with other objects, making up a total of 5 limestone ostraca, 1 ceramic cup, and 1 ceramic dish.<sup>31</sup> An ostrakon of interest discovered at Deir El-Bahri is JE 91421.

### Hieratic ostrakon Cairo JE 91421

#### *Description*

The ostrakon (12×9 cm) is inscribed in black ink on both sides (top recto = bottom verso); several checkpoints appear on the recto and on the verso before some of the entries. The text on the recto is almost complete; it is mostly legible. The text

25 The whereabouts of the ostraca discovered between the 1929 and 1936 seasons are unknown, though they were photographed in situ by Ch. Wilkinson in the spring of 1948; see Hayes (1960: 30).

26 Hayes (1960: 30–52).

27 These hieratic ostraca were not the only items to have been repatriated from New York in 1953; two hieratic papyri belonging to the Lady Hatnefer, dating to the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III, were also returned to the EMC in 1953. See the discussion in §3 concerning New Kingdom papyri.

28 The present author found this box by chance in 2013 on the third floor of the EMC. All of the ostraca in the box were photographed by the Met before they were returned to Egypt. The photo frames are numbered L 10559–L 10936, while the negatives numbers and some of the field numbers can also be found in Hayes (1960: 29).

29 For more details about this project, see the unpublished report by Malte Römer, *Information zum Projekt: Die Ostraka der frühen 18. Dynastie aus Theben*, 2016, available on academia.edu (accessed 01.03.2023). [Editorial note: by the time this volume went to press, Römer's publication project had been completed; see Römer 2023.]

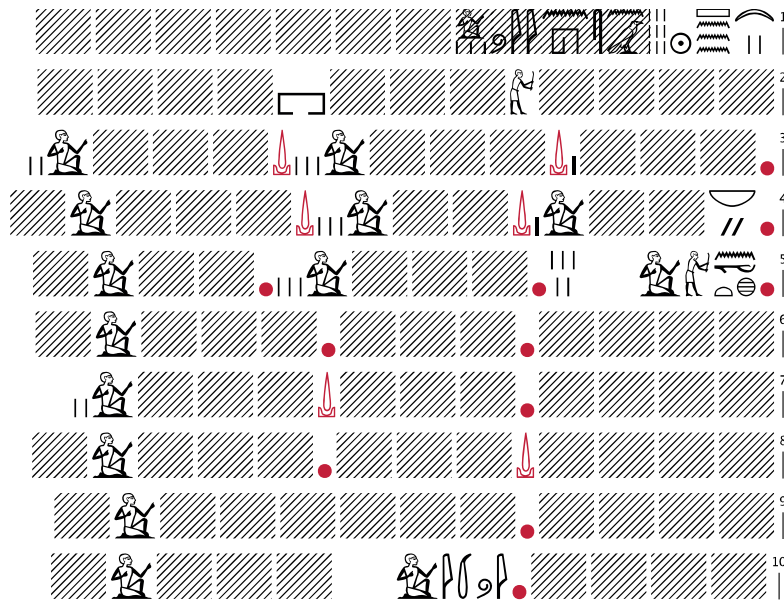
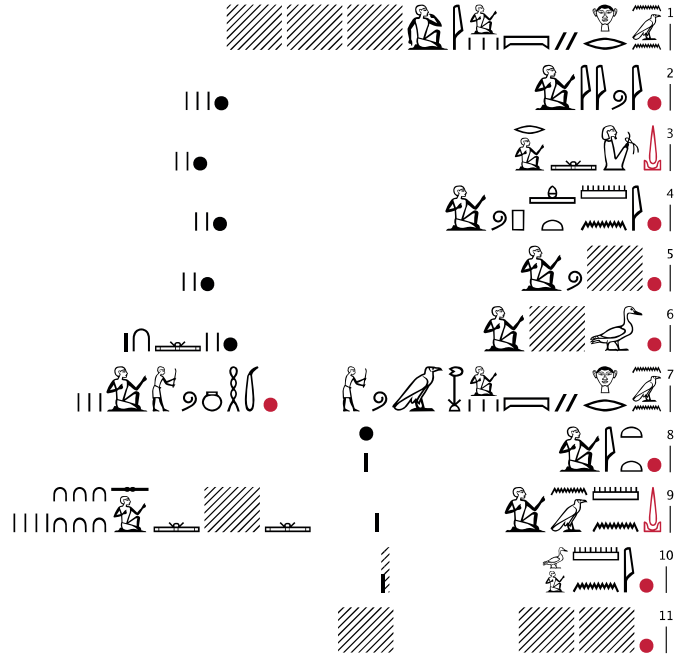
30 Römer (2008: 613).

31 The numbers in the database are: JE 91416/ SR 7/18960, JE 91418/ SR 7/18961, JE 91421/ SR 7/18964, JE 91422/ SR 7/18965, JE 91423/ SR 7/18966, JE 91424/ SR 7/18967, JE 91425/ SR 7/18968. My sincere thanks go to Dr. Ahmed Mekawy-Ouda (Cairo University) for providing me with high-resolution photographs of these objects.

on the verso is very faint and traces of intentional erasure are clear from the surface. The remaining ink on the verso indicate an original heading, consisting of two lines, in addition to a list of names

arranged across three columns. Before each of these names is a red checkpoint or vertical stroke that may be read as *d*³.

*Hieroglyphic transcription*





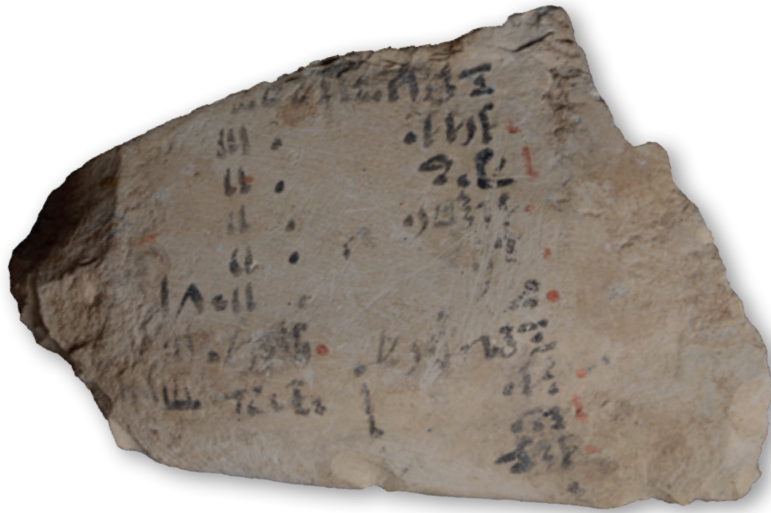


Fig. 1a and b.  
Hieratic Ostracon Cairo JE 91421 = SR 7/18964  
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

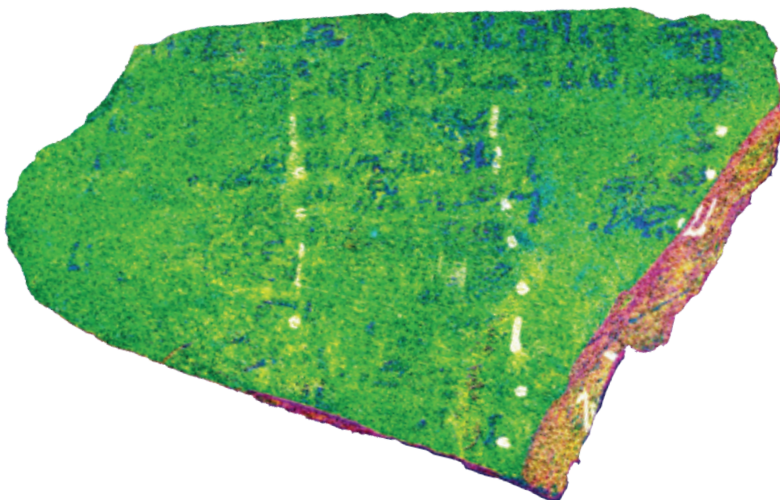


Fig. 2. DStretch visualization of the verso


*Transliteration and translation of recto*

(1) <i>n<sup>3</sup>-n ḥryw j-[-?]</i>	
(2) <i>Jwy</i>	3
(3) <i>d<sup>3</sup> Jry-r</i>	2
(4) <i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	2
(5) [...] <i>w</i>	2
(6) <i>S<sup>3</sup>[...]</i>	2, <i>dmd</i> 11
(7) <i>n<sup>3</sup>-n ḥryw ḥ<sup>3</sup>y</i>	<i>Tḥnw</i> 3
(8) <i>Tty</i>	1
(9) <i>d<sup>3</sup> Mn-n<sup>3</sup></i>	1 [...] <i>dmd</i> [...]
<i>dmd s 64</i>	
(10) <i>S<sup>3</sup>-Jmn</i>	1
(11) [...]	

(1) the chiefs who [...]	
(2) <i>Iwy</i>	3
(3) remainder <i>Jry-er</i>	2
(4) Amenhotep	2
(5) [...] <i>w</i>	2
(6) <i>Sa[...]</i>	2, total 11
(7) the chiefs of Measurer[s]	<i>Tehenu</i> 3
(8) <i>Tety</i>	1
(9) remainder <i>Menna</i>	[...] Total [...], total of men: 64.
(10) <i>Sa-Amun [...]</i>	
(11) [...]	

*Comments*

The opening line of this ostrakon introduces the *ḥryw ḥ<sup>3</sup>yw*<sup>32</sup> “chiefs of the measurers,” followed by a list of names and quantities. This title does not appear with any frequency in the ostraca from

Deir el-Bahri; indeed it occurs only once, in red ink, in the surviving texts: .<sup>33</sup> Some of the names that appear on this ostrakon are mentioned in other ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri, including *Mḥ*, *Tyw*, and *Jmn-ḥtp*.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to the ostraca listed above, 19 hieratic ostraca in the EMC are recorded as having been found by Borchardt in the mortuary temple of Tuthmose III. These were assigned the numbers TR 14.6.38.1/ SR 1/11935/ SR 7/21007; they have not been inventoried with GEM numbers, though the database explicitly links them to the GEM as the site of their present whereabouts.<sup>35</sup>

In 2010, a small Egyptian team was established to take stock of and classify the ostraca distributed across the seven sections of the museum and its basement, and to ensure their proper storage in cabinets and well-prepared rooms.<sup>36</sup> In the course of surveying the ostraca in the basement, the team discovered two wooden boxes (located in corridor SS.9). These boxes contained a group of unnumbered and unregistered ostraca in different scripts, including hieratic, demotic, and Coptic—the demotic ostraca forming the largest portion of these finds. A colleague and I were authorized to study these hieratic materials as part of our PhD theses.<sup>37</sup> The ostraca in these boxes represent administrative and literary writings. They are inscribed mainly in black ink with the occasional rubric. Their provenance and acquisition history are not detailed in any of the EMC’s records, but

<sup>32</sup> This word appears on an 18th Dynasty ostrakon from the tomb of Senenmut. See Hayes (1942: 38, no. 65–5). Several instances of this term can be found in the database of Ramses Online (<http://ramses.ulg.ac.be>; accessed 01.03.2023).

<sup>33</sup> Hassan (2015: 211).

<sup>34</sup> For more on these names, see Hassan (2015: 180–183).

<sup>35</sup> For additional ostraca from the mortuary temple of Tuthmose III, see Hagen (2021).

<sup>36</sup> The team consists of Prof. Dr. Soad Abd el-Aal (director), Khaled Hassan (Cairo University), Sarah Nabil and Rasha Isac (Ain Shams University), Miss Sabah Abd el-Raziq, Asmaa Hassan, Hoda Mahmoud, and the EMC’s photographer, Mr. Sameh Abd el-Mohsen. Unfortunately, the work of this team was brought to a halt by the Egyptian revolution of 2011.

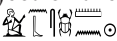
<sup>37</sup> The hieratic ostraca in these boxes were divided between the present author and Rasha Isaac (Ain Shams University). Rasha Isaac finished her PhD thesis in 2017. It is titled *Studying and Publishing a Group of Hieratic Ostraca from the Egyptian Museum of Cairo* and includes ostraca from different periods bearing lists of names, necropolis journals, accounts, writing exercises, letters, and funerary texts.



a tiny piece of paper found inside one of the two boxes fortunately provides a small text that is of great help in establishing the provenance of these ostraca. It reads: “Below 28 ostraca Hatty N.E. Court & Naville Dump.”<sup>38</sup> Though it does not mention a year of discovery, this precious note seemingly indicates that the ostraca were discovered during the excavations conducted by Herbert Winlock (1884–1950) between 1911–1931 at the northeast side of the court of the temple of Hatshepsut and in one of the Naville dumps. These dumps were formed during Naville’s excavations at Deir el-Bahri between 1893–1899. Two of these dumps are already known: the first was located at the northeast side of the temple, very close to the tomb of Senenmut,<sup>39</sup> while the second is situated to the south of the temple of Nephthre Mentuhotep II.<sup>40</sup>

The 18th Dynasty hieratic ostraca found in this box concern different topics. Among them is an ostrakon bearing a text commonly attested on the walls of the tombs and known as “visitor’s formulae”.<sup>41</sup> A group of ostraca, mostly written in black ink, bear lists of the names of the workmen who were involved in the construction works at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>42</sup>

### Hieratic Ostrakon Cairo no. 443

Another ostrakon of interest found at Deir el-Bahri is O. Cairo 443.<sup>43</sup> It bears a letter addressed to the High Priest of Amun Menkheper-râseneb by the wâb-priest Neferef, though the subject of the letter is unclear. Menkheper-râseneb 

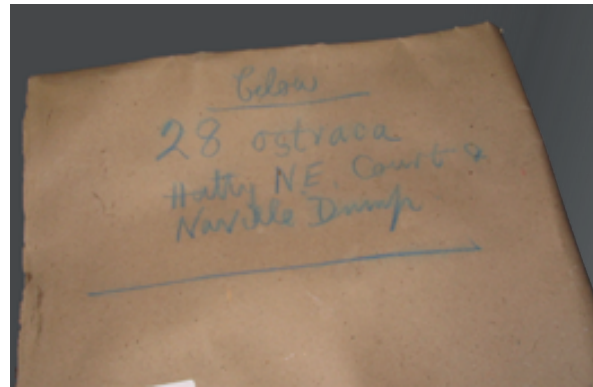


Fig. 3. The note found in one of the two boxes in the EMC’s basement (SS.9)

was known as one of the High Priests of Amun at the time of Tuthmose III and Amenhotep II.<sup>44</sup> According to Helck, he also held other positions, such as overseer of the cattle of Amun.<sup>45</sup>

### Description

Limestone ostrakon (c. 6.5 × 12.5 cm) inscribed in black ink on both sides.<sup>46</sup> The recto consists of four lines. The text is incomplete: the ostrakon is broken on the right side of the recto, affecting the beginning of the second and the third lines. Further traces of black ink are visible behind the text, which may suggest that the ostrakon was reused or that the scribe erased some errors made in the writing of the text. The verso consists of two short lines; further faint traces of writing are only just visible. The handwriting is thick and bold. Several scratches, particularly on the recto, have also affected the text.

<sup>38</sup> My sincere thanks go to Prof. Dr. Robert J. Demarée for his assistance in interpreting this note correctly.

<sup>39</sup> Winlock (1942: 135).

<sup>40</sup> Winlock (1942: pl. 1). The present author published some of these ostraca in his PhD thesis; see Hassan (2014).

<sup>41</sup> Hassan (2013: 183–192); Hassan (2017b: 281–292).

<sup>42</sup> Hassan (2015: 179–229); Hassan (2016b: 125–136).

<sup>43</sup> This registration number was assigned to the ostrakon by the Egyptian team authorized to classify the ostraca housed in the basement of the EMC; it does not represent one of the four inventory numbers of the museum discussed above.

<sup>44</sup> *Urk.* IV, 926–936; Helck (1958: 176).

<sup>45</sup> Helck (1958: 499).

<sup>46</sup> This ostrakon was published by the present author as part of his PhD thesis; see Hassan (2014: 193–143, pl. 31–32).

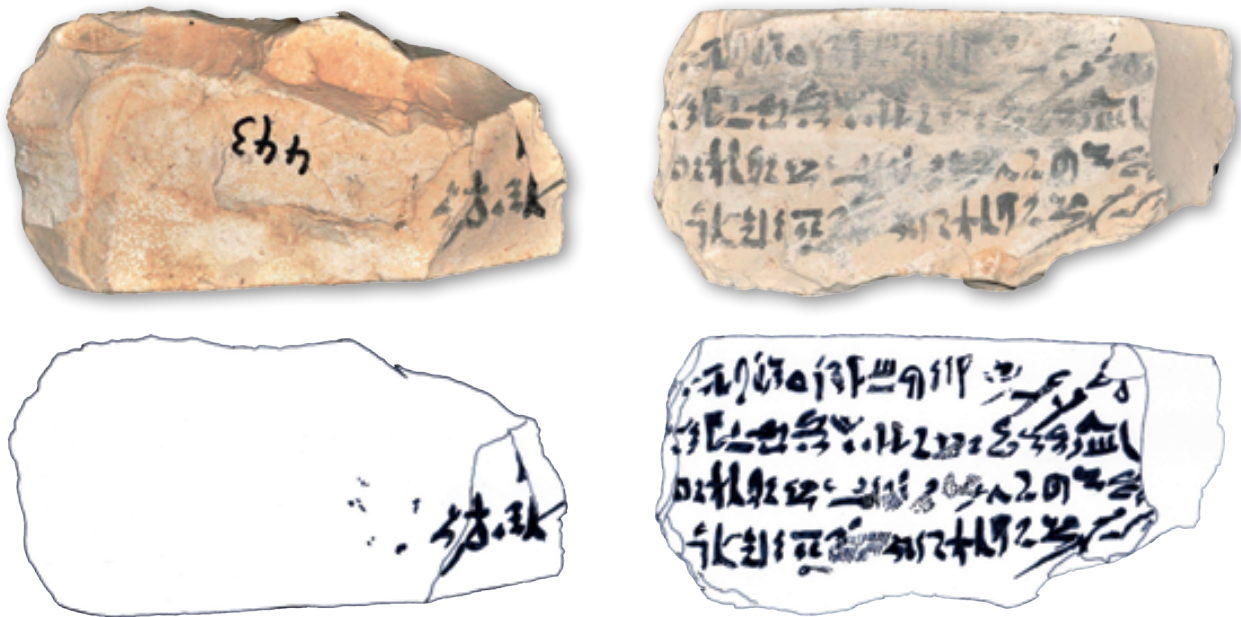


Fig. 4a–d. Hieratic Ostrakon Cairo no. 443 (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

### Hieroglyphic transcription

#### Recto



#### Verso



### Transliteration and translation

#### Recto

- (1) [w<sup>c</sup>b] Nfr.f dd n nb.f hm-ntr tp(y) n Jmn  
Mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>-snb
- (2) [h<sup>3</sup>]b pw r rdj.t rh p<sup>3</sup>y.j nb r-nty w<sup>c</sup>-n qsty
- (3) [...] r rdj.t h<sup>3</sup>=f [...] nb n p<sup>3</sup> sb<sup>3</sup>
- (4) [... m]h(.t)=f p<sup>3</sup> sb<sup>3</sup> p<sup>3</sup> nty hr t<sup>3</sup> w<sup>c</sup>.t

#### Verso

- (1) ? [w<sup>c</sup>]b?
- (2) w<sup>c</sup>b Nfr=f



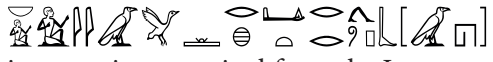





#### Recto

- (1) [... the wâb-priest] Neferef says to his master,  
the high priest of Amun Menkheperâseneb.
- (2) [...] It is a message to let my master know  
what come next: one sculptor
- (3) [...] (that) my master caused (his) descent  
to the gate
- (4) [...] his? feather?, the door, which is above  
the workshop.

#### Verso

- (1) ? the wâb-priest?
- (2) the wâb-priest Nefer[ef]

## Comments

- R° 1. : This group was restored as  on the basis of a comparison with the same group on the verso.
- R° 2.  is an ancient terminal formula. It was used in letters addressed to persons of a higher rank.<sup>47</sup> The assertion by A. Bakir (1952: 69) that 18th Dynasty letters do not contain terminal formulae, as well as the belief that terminal formulae do not appear on ostraca, is disproven by the present ostrakon.
- R° 3. Some scratches are present in the middle of this line, and some of the signs are unclear as a result. Based on some of the traces, however, it may be expected to read .
- R° 4. : probably the remnants of the beginning of the word . Traces of ink can be seen in the photo, under the relativizer *nty*, which may reflect the remains of (an) older inscription(s).
- V° 1.  could represent the remnants of the sign . On beginning to write the sign, the scribe perhaps felt that it would be better located on the next line where enough smooth space was available to complete his text.

2.1.2. *Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Deir el-Medina*

Two hieratic ostraca were discovered during the excavations conducted by Robert Mond (1867–1938) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna during the seasons 1903–1905.<sup>48</sup> Both ostraca are held in the EMC under the numbers SR 1/12193, SR 7/21265; SR 1/12204, SR 7/21276,<sup>49</sup> though they were numbered 170 and 171 in Mond's report.<sup>50</sup> They bear two administrative texts in black ink—these were most probably written by the same hand.<sup>51</sup> They were published in two separate articles by M. Megally (1981: 293–312 and 1991: 108–128).

Eight hieratic ostraca were discovered at Deir el-Medina by Émile Baraize (1874–1952) during his work in the Ptolemaic temple there. Baraize was responsible for cleaning and restoring the temple and the structures belonging to it during the IFAO's seasons in 1909–1912.<sup>52</sup> These ostraca were published by J. Černý (1933: 53–55, pl. LXX–LXXI) in the *Catalogue général* with the numbers CGC 25662–25669.

2.1.3. *Malkata and Birket Habu*

Anthony Leahy published 134 objects from Birket Habu are held by the EMC (94 jar labels and 40 jar sealings).<sup>53</sup> Around 1400 jar labels were originally found in the ruins of the palace of Amenhotep III during the Met's excavations there in 1910–1920; most of these date to the last three decades of

<sup>47</sup> Bakir (1952: 67).

<sup>48</sup> Another hieratic ostrakon, O. Ashmolean Museum 26, was found during Mond's excavations at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna; it dates to the 18th Dynasty. See Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. XX–XXA, no. 4).

<sup>49</sup> Like many other objects, each ostrakon has two SR numbers, one in SR 1 and the other in SR 7.

<sup>50</sup> Megally (1981: 294).

<sup>51</sup> Megally (1991: 109). Hieratic ostraca from the 18th Dynasty found at Thebes are held in museums other than the EMC, e.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 10, which records a detailed list of workmen and is held in the Ashmolean Museum (Černý & Gardiner 1957: pl. XX–XXA, no. 5); likewise, O. Ashmolean Museum 7 is held in the Ashmolean and records the work of quarrymen in a temple or tomb (Černý & Gardiner 1957: pl. XXII, no. 7; Hagen 2011b: 215). Another hieratic ostrakon, found at Deir el-Medina, is housed in the IFAO (inv. 1960, 10016a); see Grandet (2006: 5, no. 10001, 7, no. 10002).

<sup>52</sup> Gobeil (2015: 4).

<sup>53</sup> See the concordance of objects in Leahy (1978: 52–56).

Amenhotep III and are held in the Met.<sup>54</sup> Only six hieratic pieces were kept in the EMC; some labels were also returned to the EMC from the Met.<sup>55</sup>

The hieratic material published by Leahy was found during the excavations of the University Museum of Pennsylvania during the 1971, 1973, and 1974 seasons in the area of the Royal Palace of Amenhotep III and in the north-west corner of Birket Habu.<sup>56</sup> Hundreds of jar labels, jar sealings, and painted and wooden labels were found at different places on the site; these are now held in Cairo and in Philadelphia.<sup>57</sup> The jar labels in Cairo are registered as JE 92541/ SR 15694 (1971), and JE 92542/ SR 15697 (1973).<sup>58</sup> Only seven hieratic ostraca were recorded using the first number, while 83 ostraca were recorded using the second number—most of them hieratic jar labels found at site K in 1973.<sup>59</sup>

#### 2.1.4. *Tomb of Tutankhamun*

In the tomb of Tutankhamun, 89 objects bearing hieratic inscriptions were found. Of these, 26

wine jar labels written in black ink on the shoulders of the jars detail the contents of the vessels. Also inscribed with texts in hieratic were another 13 different pieces of pottery, 17 wooden labels, 8 alabaster vessels, 15 caskets, and 10 boxes of food. These items were fully published by Černý (1965).

#### 2.1.5. *Amarna*

Eight hieratic ostraca were discovered during the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) during the years 1928–1929, 1930–1931 at Tell el-Amarna. Most of these ostraca represent 18th Dynasty wine jar labels and were discovered during John Pendlebury's (1904–1941) excavations. These were not the only hieratic ostraca to enter the EMC from the Amarna site: Pendlebury writes that many other ostraca were sent to the EMC and to many other museums worldwide.<sup>60</sup> Some of these objects moved to the GEM (with numbers in the EMC database), while others are still in the EMC.

SR 4/ no.	JE no.	Finder	Provenance	Notes
1010/ (GEM)	52979	EES	Amarna 1928–29	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty
1011	52978	EES	Amarna 1928–29	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty
1013	55449	EES, Pendlebury	Amarna 1930–31	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty
1014/ GEM 14977	55447	EES, Pendlebury	Amarna 1930–31	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty
1017	55448 A, B, C	EES, Pendlebury	Amarna 1930–31	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty
1018/ GEM 14973	55451	EES, Pendlebury	Amarna 1930–31	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty
1019/ GEM 14976	55450	EES, Pendlebury	Amarna 1930–31	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty
1022	55454	EES, Pendlebury	Amarna 1930–31	Wine jar, 18th Dynasty

Table 1. Ostraca from Tell el-Amarna

<sup>54</sup> Hayes (1951: 35).

<sup>55</sup> Hayes (1951: 38). The numbers of these jar labels in the EMC are not mentioned by Hayes.

<sup>56</sup> Leahy (1978: 1).

<sup>57</sup> Leahy (1978: 1).

<sup>58</sup> Leahy (1978: 52).

<sup>59</sup> Leahy (1978: IV).

<sup>60</sup> See the distribution list in Frankfort & Pendlebury (1933: 118–119).

## 2.2. Ramesside Ostraca

### 2.2.1. Valley of the Kings

In the CGC volume 25001–25383 that appeared in 1901, Georges Daressy (1846–1938) published a number of ostraca of different types, including figured ostraca and ostraca with hieroglyphic inscriptions, though the vast majority of these ostraca were inscribed in hieratic.<sup>61</sup> These ostraca do not come only from the Valley of the Kings (Biban el-Melouk), but also from such places as Deir el-Medina, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Meir, Dendera, Dahshour, Sakkara, and so on. The volume also includes wooden tablets. Of the ostraca published in Daressy's volume, 139 were discovered during the clearance of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings between the years 1890–1899.<sup>62</sup> They were found mostly in tombs KV 6, 9, 11,

and 37, while the ostraca from tombs KV 6 and 9 were mixed together during transportation to the EMC.<sup>63</sup> Of the 139 hieratic ostraca, only 69 were published with pictures.

Between 1930 and 1935, 283 hieratic ostraca from Biban el-Melouk were published by Černý in CGC 25501–25832: SR 4/1210–SR 4/1431.<sup>64</sup> Of these ostraca, 204 were found during the excavations conducted by Theodore Davies (1838–1915) in the Valley of the Kings during the 1905–1906 and 1907–1908 seasons.<sup>65</sup> During the excavations led by Carter-Carnarvon during the 1917–1918 and 1922 seasons, 79 hieratic ostraca were found; most of these date to the 19th Dynasty.<sup>66</sup> Six of the ostraca published in Černý's volume of CGC were found by Daressy while cleaning the tombs at the site. (See the following lists).

Carter-Carnarvon season 1917–1918 <sup>67</sup>	Carter-Carnarvon season 1922	Daressy ostraca
CGC 25524/ JE 96028/ SR 01158	CGC 25780/ JE 96219/ SR 01382	CGC 25626/ JE 49555/ SR 01200
CGC 25539/ JE 95618	CGC 25781/ JE 96220/ SR 01383	CGC 25628/ JE 49615/ SR 01196
CGC 25540/ JE 96016/ SR 01146	CGC 25782/ JE 96221/ SR 01384	CGC 25629/ JE 49559/ SR 01280
CGC 25551/ JE 96122/ SR 01269	CGC 25783/ JE 96222/ SR 01385	CGC 25636/ JE 96068/ SR 01202
CGC 25552/ JE 96032/ SR 01162	CGC 25784/ JE 96227/ SR 01390	CGC 25642/ JE 49560/ SR 01204
CGC 25581/ JE 96033/ SR 01163	CGC 25785/ JE 96223/ SR 01386	CGC 25672/ JE 95624/ SR 00498
CGC 25616/ JE 96119/ SR 01266	CGC 25786/ JE 96224/ SR 01387	
CGC 25618/ JE 96118/ SR 01265	CGC 25787/ JE 96225/ SR 01388	

<sup>61</sup> These hieratic ostraca have two different SR numbers, e.g., CGC 25001 is recorded under SR 1/11512 and SR 7/20584. In order to ascertain the current whereabouts of these ostraca, one should search the database number by number (and not as a whole group). For example, O. Cairo CGC 25300 has moved to the GEM while the others are still in the EMC.

<sup>62</sup> Daressy (1901: 112).

<sup>63</sup> Daressy (1901: 112). The ostraca that come from KV 37 were discovered during Victor Loret's excavations in 1899 and were assigned the following CGC numbers: 25020, 25021, 25022, 25023, 25055, 25069, 25073, 25081, 25089, 25104, 25112, 25127, 25178, 25179, 25180, 25189, 25228, 25248, 25249, 25269, 25293, 25297, 25298, 25313, 25314, 25315, 25321, 25352, 25354, 25357, 25360, 25362, and 25364. The ostraca found in KV 11 in 1892 are CGC 25008 and 25013.

<sup>64</sup> These ostraca were first published in four separate booklets (Černý 1930a; 1930b; 1933; 1935a), before Černý decided to publish them in two large volumes, one for the texts and their transcriptions (Černý 1935b), and the other for plates (Černý 1935c).

<sup>65</sup> For more information about Davies' excavations in the Valley of the Kings between 1902–1914 and the precise find-spots of the hieratic ostraca, see Reeves (1984: 321–361).

<sup>66</sup> For detailed information about the excavations led by Carter-Carnarvon in the Valley of the Kings between 1915–1922 and the precise find-spots of the ostraca, see Reeves (1984: 362–379).

<sup>67</sup> Most of the JE and SR numbers are not recorded in Černý's publications, though they are recorded in the Deir el-Medina database at <https://dmd.wepwawet.nl> (accessed 01.03.2023).



Carter-Carnarvon season 1917–1918 <sup>67</sup>	Carter-Carnarvon season 1922	Daressy ostraca
CGC 25620/ JE 96102/ SR 01247	CGC 25788/ JE 96226/ SR 01389	
CGC 25622/ JE 96117/ SR 01262	CGC 25789/ JE 96228/ SR 01391	
CGC 25623/ JE 96066/ SR 01198	CGC 25790/ JE 96229/ SR 01392	
CGC 25631/ JE 96057/ SR 01188	CGC 25791/ JE 96230/ SR 01393	
CGC 25646/ JE 96055/ SR 01186	CGC 25792/ JE 96231/ SR 01394	
CGC 25649/ JE 96046/ SR 01177	CGC 25793/ JE 96232/ SR 01395	
CGC 25671/ JE 96053/ SR 1184	CGC 25794/ JE 96269/ SR 01434	
CGC 25677/ JE 95617	CGC 25795/ JE 96233/ SR 01396	
CGC 25678/ JE 95619	CGC 25796/ JE 96234/ SR 01397	
CGC 25678/ JE 95619	CGC 25798/ JE 96237/ SR 01399	
CGC 25679/ JE 96134/ SR 01283	CGC 25799/ JE 96236/ SR 01412	
CGC 25680/ JE 96135/ SR 01284	CGC 25800/ JE 96237/ SR 01400	
CGC 25706/ JE 96160/ SR 01310	CGC 25801/ JE 96238/ SR 01401	
CGC 25727/ JE 96181/ SR 01331	CGC 25802/ JE 96239/ SR 01402	
CGC 25753/ JE 96195/ SR 1356	CGC 25803/ JE 96240/ SR 01403	
CGC 25754/ JE 96196/ SR 01357	CGC 25804/ JE 96241/ SR 01404	
CGC 25755/ JE 96197/ SR 0135	CGC 25805/ JE 96242/ SR 01405	
CGC 25760/ JE 96201/ SR 01362	CGC 25806/ JE 96243/ SR 01406	
CGC 25779/ JE 96218/ SR 01381	CGC 25807/ JE 96244/ SR 01407	
	CGC 25808/ JE 97004/ SR 01408	
	CGC 25809/ JE 96245/ SR 01409	
	CGC 25810/ JE 96246/ SR 141	
	CGC 25811/ JE 96247/ SR 01411	
	CGC 25812/ JE 96249/ SR 01413	
	CGC 25813/ JE 96250/ SR 01414	
	CGC 25814/ JE 96251/ SR 01415	
	CGC 25815/ JE 96252/ SR 01416	
	CGC 25816/ JE 96253/ SR 01417	
	CGC 25817/ JE 96254/ SR 0141	
	CGC 25818/ JE 96255/ SR 01419	
	CGC 25819/ JE 96256/ SR 0142	
	CGC 25820/ JE 60141/ SR 01421	
	CGC 25821/ JE 96257/ SR 0142	
	CGC 25822/ JE 96258/ SR 01423	
	CGC 25823/ JE 96259/ SR 01424	
	CGC 25824/ JE 96260/ SR 01425	
	CGC 25825/ JE 96261/ SR 01426	
	CGC 25828/ JE 96264/ SR 1429	
	CGC 25829/ JE 96265/ SR 01430	
	CGC 25830/ JE 96266/ SR 01431	
	CGC 25831/ JE 96267/ SR 01432	
	CGC 25832/ JE 96268/ SR 01433	

Table 2. Origins of the ostraca published by Černý in 1935

In his MA thesis, A. Abdel Samie (2009: ii; 2010) presented 31 hieratic ostraca found during the excavations led by Davies and Carter-Carnarvon in the Valley of the Kings. These ostraca were recorded in the registers of the EMC with JE and SR numbers. They were found in different locations in the Valley of the Kings, including KV 1, KV 2, KV 3, KV 4, KV 7, KV 8, KV 10, KV 11, KV 12, KV 13, KV 14, KV 15, KV 16, KV 28, and KV 29. The texts on the ostraca range from administrative to literary and religious texts (inscribed in black and red ink). The following table gives the museum numbers for these ostraca.

Th. Davies	Carter-Carnarvon
JE 72461/ SR 1476	JE 72488/ SR 1503
JE 72462/ SR 1477	JE 72489/ SR 1504
JE 72463/ SR 1478	JE 72490/ SR 1505
JE 72464/ SR 1479	JE 72491/ SR 1506
JE 72466/ SR 1481	JE 72492/ SR 1507
JE 72467/ SR 1482	JE 72493/ SR 1508
JE 72468/ SR 1483	JE 72494/ SR 1509
JE 72469/ SR 1484	JE 72497/ SR 1513
JE 72470/ SR 1485	JE 72498/ SR 1512
JE 72471/ SR 1486	JE 72499/ SR 1514
JE 72474/ SR 1489	JE 72501/ SR 1516
JE 72476/ SR 1491	JE 72502/ SR 1517
JE 72477/ SR 1492	JE 72503/ SR 1518
JE 72480/ SR 1495	JE 72504/ SR 1519
JE 72481/ SR 1496	
JE 71482/ SR 1497	
JE 72487/ SR 1502	

Table 3. Origins of the ostraca published by Abdel Samie (2009)

During my work in the basement of the EMC in 2010, some colleagues and I found a wooden box

containing more than 120 limestone and potsherd ostraca. These were mostly written in hieratic script, though a few were written in hieroglyphs and demotic, and some of them are figured ostraca. Most of these ostraca were unnumbered, though a few pieces bore numbers in very faint pencil. The box itself bore the number TR 3.6.15.16, but no further information about the provenance or acquisition date of the ostraca was available in the museum's records.

While documenting the material found in this box, the team decided to assign serial numbers to each of the ostraca in the box (in addition to the faint pencil numbers already attached to some of them). A few years ago, while working on some of these ostraca, Robert J. Demarée drew my attention to the fact that some of these ostraca were mentioned in Battiscombe Gunn's (1883–1950) notebook. A subsequent comparison of the pencil numbers on some of the ostraca with the numbers (and notes) in Gunn's notebook confirmed that these ostraca were discovered by Carter-Carnarvon during their excavations in the Valley of the Kings and that they derive essentially from two main find-spots: the group of workmen's huts in front of the tomb of Ramesses IV (KV 9), and the area around the tomb of Siptah (KV 47).<sup>68</sup> The following table shows the serial numbers assigned to the ostraca by the Egyptian team in 2010 alongside the pencil numbers on the ostraca and the page numbers where these ostraca are referred to in Gunn's notebook.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Reeves (1984: 328, 330); Cilli (2011; 2014); Hassan (2021).

<sup>69</sup> The website of the Griffith Institute provides a list of the ostraca with pencil/Carnarvon numbers that are referred to in Gunn's notebook. Most of the ostraca on this list can be matched with the ostraca found in the box in the EMC; where certain numbers appear in the list but not on the ostraca, this might be because they were effaced from the ostraca (285, 292, 295, 300 M.16 M-O, 300 M.16 NN, 300 M.16 PP, 335 A-C, 343, 345, 354, 355, 365, 408, 423, 426, 427). For the list, see <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4higun.html> (accessed 01.03.2023). For more information about the ostraca found by Carter-Carnarvon in the Valley of the Kings and their numbers in Gunn's notebook, see Neunert (2006: 132–134).

Serial no. 2010	Carnarvon no.	Gunn's notebook	Serial no. 2010	Carnarvon no.	Gunn's notebook	Serial no. 2010	Carnarvon no.	Gunn's notebook
3	423?		43	291	45a.50	72	358	45a.41
6	300 W	45b.65-7	44	-----		73	369	45a.41
7	-----		46	-----		75	300 PP	45a.52-3
18	321	45a.46	47	300 T	45b.65-7	76	----	
19	300 H	45b.59-60	48	297/3	45a.55	79	362	45a.41
20	-----		49	428	45a.27	81	346	45a.44
21	426	45a.29	50	294/2	45a, 55	83	425	45a.29
22	-----		55	300 FF	45b.71	84		
23	-----		56	300 HH	45b.72	85		
24	300 GG	45b.72	57	-----		86	370	
26	-----		58	-----		87	300 II	45b.72
27	-----		59	300 LL	45b.74	89	----	
28	386	-----	60	300 D	45b.59-60	90	----	
30	281	45a.51	61	300 BB	45b.69	91	----	
31	413	45a.28	62	388	45a.40	92	----	
32	347	-----	63	300 V	45b.65-7	93	----	
33	357	45a.40	64	800/2		94	----	
34+37	414	45a.20	65	300 MM	45b.74	95	----	
36	293	45a.50	66	300 A	45b.58	96	----	
38	300 AA	45b.69	67	----		97	----	
39	-----		68	----		99	286	45a.54
41	-----		69	297/3	45a.55	100	300 M.16.B	
42	424	45a.29	70	421	45a.19	101	339	
			71	372	45a.41	103	-----	
			74	----	----	104	-----	
						105	300 KK	45b.73
						-----	287/5	45a.53-4
						-----	300 U	45b.65-7

Table 4. Hieratic ostraca from the Valley of the Kings rediscovered in 2010

The next table shows a group of hieratic ostraca that were recorded in *Special Register 4* as having been discovered by Carter-Carnarvon during their 1917-1918 season at Biban el-Melouk. Most of these entries are annotated, including numbers and abbreviations. With respect to the

abbreviation B.El.M (see below), the numbers following B.El.M most probably reflect the numbers assigned to the ostraca by Carter-Carnarvon (marked in red in the table). Of these ostraca, only one has been moved to the GEM: JE 96553/ SR 4/1838/ GEM 37683.



Carter-Carnarvon season 1917–1918					
JE Number	SR 4/ no.	Notes in the SR registers	JE Number	SR 4/ no.	Notes in the SR registers
96502	1780	203 B.El.M	96530	1808	160
96503	1781	161	96531	1809	185
96504	1782	161	96532	1810	161
96506	1784	132 B.El.M	96533	1811	122 B.El.M
96510	1788	161	96534	1812	167
96511	1789	179 B.El.M	96535	1813	
96512	1790	161	96536	1814	188
96513	1791	194	96537	1815	180
96515	1793	167	96538	1816	74, 174
96516	1794	161	96552	1837	-
96517	1795	170 B.El.M	96553	1838	-
96521	1799	161	96554	1839	-
96522	1800	176	96556	1841	-
96523	1801	167	96557	1842	-
96525	1803	126	96558	1843	37
96526	1804		96560	1845	-
96528	1806	161	96561	1846	P.A
96529	1807	127 B.El.M	96565	1850	g

Table 5. Ostraca discovered by Carter-Carnarvon (1917–1918 season)

As is no doubt clear by now, the (hieratic) ostraca in the EMC were not systematically entered into the museum's registers. And while the ostraca entered into the SR were typically recorded with the names of their finders, their provenance, and the excavation season in which they were discovered, in many other cases, very little data was recorded. Sometimes, only the finder's name is given for an entry, followed by a ditto mark for subsequent entries; in other cases, the curators did not even use a ditto mark. Sometimes, they recorded only the objects' provenance (e.g., "Biban el-Melouk—Vallée des Rois—Valley of the Kings") without further details about the finder or the excavation season. At other points in the SR, notes were added alongside entries—for instance, "B.El.M" appears several times in the SR with reference to Biban el-Melouk. The following tables record all of these notes (both the notes in the SR and those attached to ostraca). They are designed

to help scholars determine the history of these ostraca. In preparing these tables and comparing the data in the records with known finds and with known excavators, I discovered that the records were occasionally misleading. For instance, a large number of hieratic ostraca are said in the SR to be from Deir el-Medina and are attributed to a season led by Davies in 1907–1908. But as far as we know, Davies did not work in Deir el-Medina and these ostraca were in fact discovered by him in the Valley of the Kings. The following tables show some of these cases as they are attested in the SR at scattered points in the SR to have been discovered by Davies in the Valley of the Kings during seasons conducted there over 1905–1906 and 1907–1908. Notes and temporary numbers were recorded and assigned for some of these ostraca, while the rest of them were entered into the SR without notes (Table 6). The SR also records four ostraca as having been found by Davies in Thebes, two of which

are recorded as deriving from the 1907–1908 season (Table 7). However, the appearance of Davies' name here, as well as the excavation season, leads me to think that these ostraca were discovered in

the Valley of the Kings; these ostraca were also assigned TR numbers similar to ostraca found in the Valley of the Kings (see above, with Table 4).

Davies Season 1905–1906			Davies Season 1907–1908		
JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Notes in the SR	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Notes in the SR
50345	1852		59468	1857	House E. 1
59464	1853		96475	1745	HO.W.4
59465	1854		96477	1747	House V.2
96562	1847	g.x	96487	1757	HO.W.15
96563	1848	EQ	96509	1787	ER6
96564	1849	P.M	96542	1826	TR 14.12.21.3
96566	1851	P.M 12	96543	1827	TR 22.12.21.3
96633	1933		96544	1828	TR 22.12.21.7
96634	1934		96545	1829	TR 22.12.21.4
96636	1936		96546	1830	TR 22.12.21.20
96639	1939		96547	1831	TR 22.12.21.23
96640	1940		96548	1832	TR 22.12.21.30
96643	1943		96549	1833	TR 22.12.21.3
96644	1944		96550	1834	TR 29.12.21.10
96647	1947		96551	1835	TR 29.12.21.8
96648	1948		96559	1844	
96650	1950		67100	1836	
96651	1951		96635	1935	
96671	1971		96638	1938	
96673	1973	NP	96641	1941	
96674	1974	E.4	96645	1945	
96675	1976		96646	1946	
			96649	1949	
			96658	1958	HO
			96669	1969	
			96677	1977	House E. 3
			96527	1805	M. P. Z
			46856	4095	House J-6??
			46857	4096	House M. 16
			46858	4100	House † E. 7 <sup>70</sup>

Table 6. Ostraca found by Davies in 1905–1906 and 1907–1908

<sup>70</sup> Yet another ostrakon was found by Davies in the Valley of the Kings during the 1908–1909 season: JE 46865/ SR 4097 (House N. 1).

JE no.	Provenance	Finder	SR/TR nos.
50352	Thebes	Davies 1907–1908	1821/29.12.21.14
50353	Thebes	Davies 1907–1908	1822/29.12.21.17
50355	Thebes		1823/29.12.21.6
50356	Thebes		1824/29.12.21.21

Table 7. Additional ostraca found by Davies (a)

The hieratic ostraca in Table 8 are recorded with Davies' name and were discovered in the Valley of the Kings. The Deir el-Medina database provides

more details about some of these ostraca, while the rest are not recorded there.

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Deir el-Medina Database	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Deir el-Medina Database
72451	1466		72475	1490	
72452	1467	Davies, 1905–1906, KV 13	72476	1491	Not recorded
72453	1468		72477 A. B	1492	Not recorded
72454	1469	Davies, 1905–1906, KV 13	72478	1493	Not recorded
72455	1470		72479	1494	Not recorded
72456	1471		72481	1496	
72457 A. B	1472		72483	1498	Not recorded
72458	1473		72484	1499	Not recorded
72459 A. B	1474		96271	1524, 17.4.40.1	Not recorded
72460	1475		49557	1929	
72465 A. G	1480		49561	1925	Davies 05/06
72472	1487	Davies, 1907–1908, KV 61			
72473 A. B	1488				

Table 8. Additional ostraca found by Davies (b)

Table 9 presents a group of hieratic ostraca mentioned in *Special Register 4*, most of which are recorded under Davies's name, though no provenance is provided; the entries for some of these ostraca record neither their finder nor

their provenance. Based on the working seasons recorded for these objects (= Davies' seasons) and the notes in the SR, I believe that this group of ostraca was most certainly discovered in the Valley of the Kings.

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Finder	Notes in the SR
49557	1929		
49561	1925		Part of no. 37
49620	1927	Davies 1907–1908	HO W13.
96567	1863	Davies 1907–1908	HO 𓆎 w.8
96568	1864	Davies 1907–1908	House 𓆎.4

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Finder	Notes in the SR
96569	1865	Davies 1907–1908	House α.6
96570	1866	Davies 1907–1908	M.P. 1
96571	1867	Davies 1907–1908	NTb. 14
96572	1868	Davies 1907–1908	
96573	1869	Davies 1907–1908	N. P
96574	1870	Davies 1907–1908	M.P.
96575	1871	Davies 1908–1909	House J.
96576	1872	Davies 1905–1906	NTb
96577	1873		
96578	1874		P.A
96579	1875	Davies 1905–1906	M.P. 9
96580	1876	Davies 1907–1908	House α 7
96581	1877	Davies 1905–1906	P. M
96582	1878	Davies 1905–1906	NTb
96583	1879		B. M
96584	1880		E.B
96588	1884		
96589	1885		R.V.
96591	1887	Davies 1907–1908	N.P
96597	1893		
96607	1903	Davies 1907–1908	HO α 2.6.
96609	1905	Davies 1907–1908	House †.8
96610	1906		
96611	1907	Davies 1907–1908	HO
96612	1908		
96613	1909		18
96614	1910		18
96615	1911		
96616	1912		37
96617	1913	Davies 1907–1908	
96618	1914	Davies 1907–1908	House † Mid (2)
96619	1915		E.T.
96620	1916		E. S
96621	1917	Davies 1905–1906	N. Tb 2.
96623	1919	Davies 1905–1906	M. P.
96625	1921		
96626	1922	Davies 1905–1906	P. A
96627	1923		N. Tb 33
96630	1930		B. M

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Finder	Notes in the SR
96631	1931		B.M
96632	1932	Davies 1905-1906	R. V
96633	1933		
96634	1934		
96635	1935	Davies 1907-1908	B. 7 House
96636	1936	Davies 1905-1906	N. Tb. 32
96637	1937	Davies 1908-1909	House G. 1
96638	1938	Davies 1907-1908	HO. W 12
96639	1939	Davies 1905-1906	N. Tb. 19
96640	1940	Davies 1905-1906	M.P. 8
96641	1941	Davies 1907-1908	House M. 12
96642	1942		
96643	1943	Davies 1905-1906	N. Tb. 48-1943
96644	1944	Davies 1905-1906	N. Tb 26
96646	1946		NP. Low
96647	1947	Davies 1905-1906	P. A.
96650	1950	Davies 1905-1906	P. A.
96651	1951	Davies 1905-1906	NTb. 13.
96652	1952	Davies 1908-1909	House J. 4
96653	1953		B.El.M
96654	1945	Davies 1907-1908	House E. 1
96658	1958	Davies 1907-1908	HO
96659	1959	Davies 1906-1907	Neb
96660	1960		W. G
96662	1962		P. M
96664	1964		E. P
96666	1966		18
96667	1967		
96668	1968	Davies (?)	
96669	1969	Davies 1907-1908	
96672	1972		B.El.M
96673	1973	Davies 1905-1906	NP
96674	1974	Davies 1905-1906	E. 4
96675	1975		N. Tb. 11
96676	1976	Davies 1905-1906	MP. 10
96677	1977	Davies 1907-1908	House E. 3
96678	1978	Davies 1905-1906	HO †
96680	1980	Davies 1906-1907	Mer. 14
96681	1981		A.G

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Finder	Notes in the SR
96682	1982		
96683	1983	Davies 1905–1906	NTb. 26
96685	1985		P. M
96686	1986	Davies 1907–1908	House † mid 8.
96687	1987		
96688	1988	Davies 1905–1906	P. A
96689	1984	Davies 1905–1906	NTb. 20.
96689	1984	Davies 1905–1906	NTb. 36
96689	1989		
96690	1990	Davies 1907–1908	HO
96692	1992		
96693	1993		20a
96694	1994		
96695	1995		E.O
96697	1997		19
96699	1999		
96700	2000		
96701	2001		
966671	1971	Davies 1905–1906	NTb. 54.

Table 9. Hieratic ostraca from SR4 coming from the Valley of the Kings

Table 10 lists a group of hieratic ostraca recorded in the SR as coming from excavations at Deir el-Medina; these are said in the SR to have been discovered by Davies in 1907–1908. In fact, Davies did not work in Deir el-Medina, and many of the

ostraca discovered by him at that time come from the Valley of the Kings. As such, the data assigned to this group of ostraca is most likely incorrect; they were probably found in the Valley of the Kings.

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR
96290	1553	Deir el-Medina		147	96331	1594	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96292	1555	Deir el-Medina			96332	1595	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96293	1556	Deir el-Medina			96334	1597	Deir el-Medina		
96295	1558	Deir el-Medina			96335	1598	Deir el-Medina		
96284	1547	Deir el-Medina			96336	1599	Deir el-Medina		D. M.
96286	1549	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908		96337	1600	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1908–1909	House B. 3

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR
96287	1550	Deir el-Medina		HO. 12	96338	1601	Deir el-Medina		143 BH.M.
96318	1581	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	House B	96339	1602	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	House A.I
96320	1583				96340	1603	Deir el-Medina		B. ELM
96321	1584	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr	96341	1604	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	House.5
96325	1588	Deir el-Medina			96342	1604	Deir el-Medina		
96327	1590	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr	96346	1609	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	HO. V.8
96328	1591	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr	96347	1610	Deir el-Medina		
96329	1592	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr					
96349	1610	Deir el-Medina	Davies	House ϵ	96374	1637	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96350	1613	Deir el-Medina			96375	1638	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96351	1615	Deir el-Medina		D. M.	96376	1639	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96353	1616	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	“16”	96377	1640	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96354	1617	Deir el-Medina			96378	1641	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96355	1618	Deir el-Medina		D. M.	96379	1642	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96357	1620	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	House ψ 14	96380	1643	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96362	1625	Deir el-Medina	Davies	House M 7–10	96381	1644	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96363	1626	Deir el-Medina			96382	1645	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96365	1628	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	House † w9	96383	1646	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96366	1629	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	House † m It 3	96384	1647	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96367	1630	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr	96385	1648	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr
96368	1631	Deir el-Medina	Davies	HO. W2	96386	1649	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	House φ 16
96369	1632	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr	96387	1650	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1906–09	House β †

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR
96370	1633	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	HO. wr	96388	1651	Deir el-Medina		
96371	1634	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	a.House c					
96372	1635	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1907–1908	a.House w.1					
96389	1652	Deir el-Medina							
96390	1653	Deir el-Medina							
96391	1654	Deir el-Medina							
96392	1655	Deir el-Medina							

Table 10. Ostraca allegedly from Deir el-Medina (but most probably from the Valley of the Kings)

In addition to the ostraca discussed above, more than 300 fragmentary ostraca of different shapes and sizes are stored in the EMC in a metal box with the SR number 18958/TR 25.1.55.4 (Section 4 of the museum).<sup>71</sup> The vast majority of these ostraca are inscribed in hieratic script; a few are written in hieroglyphs, and some are figured ostraca. The written ostraca mostly represent wine jar labels of the type known from the Ramesside period; the name of Ramesses appears frequently on these ostraca (potsherds inscribed with black ink).<sup>72</sup> The museum's records contain no mention of their provenance or finder, though it has been possible into determine their provenance, finder, and excavation season: some of the ostraca carry Davies' name written in modern ink, as well as dates and such notes as "Davies 1905–6 MP5" and "Davies 1905–6 EP", or "NTb 59" and "NTb 42, NTb" (fig. 5). Similar abbreviations, such as "MP" and "NTb", appear in notes in the SR concerning hieratic ostraca found by Davies over different

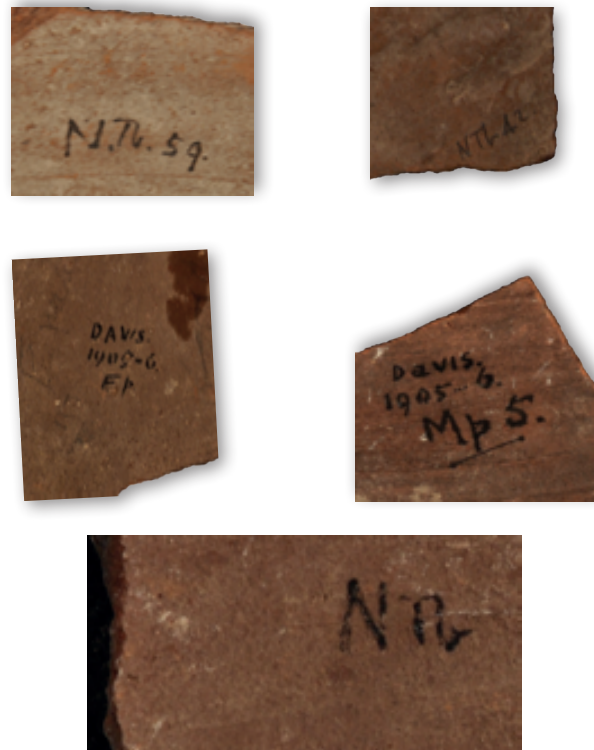


Fig. 5. Ostraca from SR 18958/TR 25.1.55.4

<sup>71</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Mohamed Sherif Ali for permission to work on this group of ostraca (which originally belong to his concession) and for sending me photographs of the ostraca. These materials will be published soon by the present author.

<sup>72</sup> For more details about these jar labels, see Ali (2016: 29–35).



seasons (see the tables above). As such, it is possible to conclude that the contents of the metal box containing wine jar labels come from Davies' excavations in the Valley of the Kings during 1905–1906.

One of these wine jar labels bears the cartouche of Ramesses II (fig. 6). The name of the Chief of the Vineyard at the end of the second line is damaged, but palaeographical clues and parallels with other jar labels may help to read the text. The form of the *stp*-sign in the cartouche at the end of the first line is very close to the form found on other labels from the Ramesseum bearing the name *P<sup>3</sup>-d<sup>3</sup>y*.<sup>73</sup> As such, the missing name of the chief of the vineyard here may be *P<sup>3</sup>-d<sup>3</sup>y*.<sup>74</sup>



Fig. 6. Ramesside jar label  
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

#### Hieroglyphic transcription



#### Transliteration and translation

- (1) [... *jr*p] *n hrw 7 n b<sup>h</sup> ʿ<sup>3</sup> n t<sup>3</sup> ḥw.t (Wsr-M<sup>3</sup> ʿt-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>) [...]*
- (2) [...] *ḥry k<sup>3</sup>my.w p<sup>3</sup> d<sup>3</sup>y*

#### Translation

- (1) [...wine] of Day 7 of the great basin of the temple of the Ramesses II [...]
- (2) [...] the chief of the vineyard Pa-Dja[y...]

#### 2.2.2. Deir el-Medina Ostraca

The Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) in Cairo holds the lion's share of hieratic ostraca discovered at Deir el-Medina.<sup>75</sup> The IFAO started working on the site at the end of the nineteenth century (Gaston Maspero [1846–1916] worked there for the first time in 1880).<sup>76</sup> Among the many archaeologists who have worked on the site, Bernard Bruyère (1879–1971) is the most prominent, having systematically excavated at Deir el-Medina between 1922 and 1951.<sup>77</sup> Bruyère's excavations yielded thousands of objects that were divided between the EMC, the IFAO, and the Louvre.<sup>78</sup> It would appear that the EMC

<sup>73</sup> Bouvier (1999: pl. 60, 61, 64, 67).

<sup>74</sup> For this name on wine jar labels, see Bouvier (2003: 213). For more examples of jar labels from the New Kingdom, see Koenig (1979–1980).

<sup>75</sup> The IFAO website lists 8,126 ostraca found during the IFAO's excavations at Deir el-Medina (<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/>). Only 1,405 of these ostraca have been published thus far by scholars such as Černý, Grandet, Posener and Gasse. As such, nearly 7,000 ostraca remain to be published (Dorn et al. 2018: 8). For a similar set of statistics (though not identical insofar as the number of unpublished ostraca), see Hagen (2011b: 1, fn. 1). On the importance of publishing new hieratic material, see Dorn et al. (2018: 9).

<sup>76</sup> Maspero served at the same time as the director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service (Gobeil 2015: 3).

<sup>77</sup> Other prominent excavations at Deir el-Medina were led by E. Schiaparelli under the aegis of the Italian Mission between 1905–1906 and 1908–1909. The Egyptian Museum in Turin holds a large number of hieratic ostraca discovered during these digs. On Schiaparelli's work at Deir el-Medina, see Del Vesco & Poole (2018: 107–111). On his life and career, see Naunton (2020: 232–237). 615 hieratic ostraca found at Deir el-Medina were published by J. López in 4 volumes: vol. 1 = 92 ostraca, vol. 2 = 226, vol. 3 = 179, vol. 4 = 118. See López (1978; 1980; 1982; 1984).

<sup>78</sup> Gobeil (2015: 3).

selected the larger finds for itself, and that most of the ostraca and papyri were kept by the IFAO.<sup>79</sup> This may explain the small number of hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina in the EMC.

Most of the ostraca from Deir el-Medina in the EMC were published by Daressy<sup>80</sup> and Černý<sup>81</sup> in the *Catalogue général*, while the SR records some further hieratic ostraca with JE numbers. Recall that a large number of hieratic ostraca are recorded in the SR as coming from Deir el-Medina, though they were actually discovered by Davies in the Valley of the Kings (see above, §2.2.1). But even taking this error into account, the vast majority of the EMC's hieratic ostraca still come from Deir el-Medina; they were found during Baraize's excavations there in 1912, and most of them were assigned the abbreviation "D.M".<sup>82</sup> Baraize's name and the excavation date of the ostraca are recorded before most of the relevant entries in the museum's records. It should also be noted, however, that—in addition to ostraca that have been

properly entered into the museum's records—the museum holds many boxes of artefacts that have not been opened since these objects were excavated and boxed. These boxes may contain hieratic ostraca in sufficient numbers to change the Deir el-Medina-centric picture that I have just drawn.

Table 12 shows 20 hieratic ostraca recorded in the SR with their JE number; some of these SR entries state that they were discovered at Deir el-Medina, while the abbreviation "D.M" appears alongside most of the entries. During my work on the hieratic ostraca found in the basement of the EMC, I spotted a single ostrakon written in black ink with a topic very close to the ones usually found in the Deir el-Medina material. This ostrakon talks about hiring a donkey to the water carrier *Knr*.<sup>83</sup> This ostrakon was found among other ostraca from the Valley of the Kings and Deir el-Bahri.

JE no.	SR no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR	JE no.	SR no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR
96284	1547	Deir el-Medina		D.M	96629	1926			TR6.2.26.2
96285	1548	Deir el-Medina		D.M	96654	1954		Baraize	D.M
96325	1588	Deir el-Medina		D.M	96555 <sup>84</sup>	1955		Baraize	D.M
96352	1615	Deir el-Medina		D.M	96657	1957		Baraize	D.M

<sup>79</sup> Gobeil (2015: 3).

<sup>80</sup> Six of the hieratic ostraca published by Daressy in the *Catalogue général* were found at Deir el-Medina (CGC 25204, 25216, 25219, 25221, 25222, 25225).

<sup>81</sup> 39 of the hieratic ostraca published by Černý in the *Catalogue général* were found at Deir el-Medina (CGC 25507, 25555, 25556, 25582, 25583, 25584, 25587, 25589, 25590, 25596, 25602, 25608, 25619, 25624, 25654, 25662, 25663, 25664, 25665, 25666, 25667, 25668, 25669, 25674, 25675, 25704, 25720, 25721, 25722, 25723, 25725, 25741, 25757, 25758, 25761, 25763, 25762, 25765, 25767).

<sup>82</sup> Baraize excavated at Deir el-Medina for three seasons (1909–1912) under the aegis of the IFAO. His work focused on the area of the Ptolemaic temple and the buildings in its enclosure. See Gobeil (2015: 4). For more details about the excavations, see Baraize (1914: 19–42).

<sup>83</sup> Hassan (2014–2015: 36–38); for more information about donkeys at Deir el-Medina, see Janssen (2005); Demarée (2008: 83–98).

<sup>84</sup> This one is recorded on the digital database as found in the Valley of the Kings.

JE no.	SR no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR	JE no.	SR no.	Provenance	Finder	Notes in SR
96355	1618	Deir el-Medina		D.M	96661	1961			D.M
96358	1621	Deir el-Medina			96663	1963			D.M
96363	1626	Deir el-Medina			96665	1965			D.M
96364	1627	Deir el-Medina	Baraize	D.M	96670	1970		Baraize	D.M
96373	1636	Deir el-Medina	Baraize	D.M	96696	1996		Baraize	D.M
59466	1855	Deir el-Medina			96698	1998		Baraize	D.M

Table 12. Ostraca from Deir el-Medina in the EMC

Table 13 shows a list of hieratic ostraca recorded in Special Register 4 without any information about their provenance, or their date of discovery (though two pieces bear Davies' name, suggesting that they come from the Valley of the Kings). The digital database of the EMC, however, records

that many of these ostraca were found at Deir el-Medina. The ostraca whose numbers are given in red in the table are those that appear in the digital database without any provenance (note that all of them remain in the EMC).

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	JE no.	SR 4/ no.
96393	1662	96413	1682	96433	1702	96451	1720
96394	1663	96414	1683 Davies (pr)	96434	1703	96452	1721
96395	1664	96415	1684	96435	1704	96453	1723
96397	1666	96416	1685	96436	1705	96454	1724
96398	1667	96417	1686	96437	1706	96455	1725
96399	1668	96418	1687	96438	1707	96456	1726
96400	1669	96419	1688	96439	1708	96457 A.R	1727
96401 (pr)	1670 Davies	96420	1689	96440	1709	96458	1728
96402	1671	96421	1690	96441	1710	96459	1729
96403	1672	96422	1691	96442	1711	96460	1730
96404	1673	96423 M	1692	96443	1712	96461	1731
96405	1674	96424	1693	96444	1713	96462	1732
96406	1675	96425	1694	96445	1714	96463	1733
96407 "16"	1676	96426	1695	96434	1703	96464	1734
96408	1677	96427	1696	96446	1714	96465	1735
96409	1678	96428	1697	96447	1715	96466	1736
96410	1679	96429	1698	96448	1716	96467	1737
96411	1680	96430	1699	96449	1717	96468	1738
96412	1681	96431	1700	96449	1718	96469	1739

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	JE no.	SR 4/ no.	JE no.	SR 4/ no.
96413	1682	96432	1701	96450	1719	96470	1740
96471	1741	96472	1742	96473	1743	96474	1744
96479	1749	96480	1750	96482	1752	96483	1753
96484	1754	96485	1755	96486	1756		

Table 13. Ostraca from Deir el-Medina (according to the EMC's digital database)

### 2.2.3. *Sheikh Abd el-Qurna*

Very few hieratic ostraca from the area of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna are recorded in the registers of the EMC. This is because, while the area yielded many hieratic ostraca, these were not preserved in the EMC.<sup>85</sup> The Deir el-Medina Database records eight hieratic ostraca from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, most of which date to the Ramesside period.<sup>86</sup> Some of these were assigned SR numbers and a few have JE and CGC numbers. They were found by Mond during his excavations at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. They are: O. Cairo CGC 25604, SR 4/1260, JE 96115; O. Cairo SR 4/501, JE 95626, Mond 179; O. Cairo prov. 173; O. Cairo prov. 175; O. Cairo SR 12193; O. Cairo 12204; O. Cairo Mond 011; O. Cairo SR 1/12209; Cairo Mond 174.<sup>87</sup>

In her 2016 MA thesis, Faten Kamal Abd el-Hady published 13 hieratic ostraca found by Mond at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in 1903 and 1906.<sup>88</sup> They are held in the EMC under SR numbers and are all marked "C.A.G" (indicating Sheikh Abd el-Gurna). The SR numbers assigned to these ostraca are

1979–12177–12180–12197–12213–12214–12206–12191–12188–12190–12185–12209–12216.<sup>89</sup>

### 2.2.4. *Other find-spots*

The records of the EMC note several hieratic ostraca as deriving from such general locations as Thebes, Luxor, etc. The records for most of these objects do not mention their finders, their precise provenance, or the date of their discovery. For instance, O. JE 96320 bears the notes "Deir el-Medineh Louxor", while 25 other hieratic ostraca are recorded as coming from Luxor with no further information (JE 96300, 96301, 96302, 96303, 96304, 96305, 96306, 96307, 96308, 96309, 96310, 96311, 96312, 96313, 96314, 96315, 96316, 96317, 96319, 96322, 96323, 96324, 96326, 96330, 96333). The ostraca numbered JE 96323, 96326, and 96361 are recorded with the abbreviation "pr", while 96326 and 96361 are recorded in addition with Davies' name. The reference to Davies and the use of "pr" suggest that these three ostraca were most likely discovered by Davies in the Valley of the Kings.

<sup>85</sup> For hieratic ostraca from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, with full translation and commentary, see Deir el Medine Online (<https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de>; accessed 01.03.2023). There is only one number in the SR4 that points to Sheikh Abd el-Qurna: O. SR 4/1748 (=JE 96478).

<sup>86</sup> One of the ostraca dates to the 18th Dynasty (SR 12204); it was published by M. Megally (1981), see §2.1.2 above.

<sup>87</sup> See the Deir el-Medina Database (<https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>; accessed 01.03.2023).

<sup>88</sup> Abd el-Hady (2016). Two of these are recorded in the Deir el-Medina Database.

<sup>89</sup> These ostraca have been recorded in the museum's database with other SR numbers (SR 1/12177, SR 7/21249); (SR 1/12180, SR 7/21252); (SR 1/12197, SR 7/21269); (SR 1/12213, SR 7/21285); (SR 1/12214, SR 7/21286); (SR 1/12206, SR 7/21278); (SR 1/12191, SR 7/21263); (SR 1/12188, SR 7/21260); (SR 1/12190, SR 7/21262); (SR 1/12185, SR 7/21257); (SR 1/12209, SR 7/21281); (SR 1/12216, SR 7/21288).

Five more hieratic ostraca are recorded as coming from Edfu (JE 66187, 66188, 66189, 66190, 66191), while another five are said to have been discovered at Thebes (JE 50352, 50353, 50355, 50356, 72486). Apart from JE 50352 and 50353, which record Davies' name and the date 1907–1908, we possess no further information about their date of excavation or their discoverer. The notes for JE 50352 and 50353 suggest that they were discovered during Davies' excavations in the Valley of the Kings as well. One further ostracon (JE 53112) is said to come from Baraize's excavations at the temple of Sety in Abydos, and one hieratic ostracon (SR 1751/ JE 96481) comes from the Fayoum.

In sum, it is clear from the available date in the records that most of the hieratic ostraca from the Ramesside period kept in the EMC were discovered by Davies in the Valley of the Kings.

### 2.2.5. An ostracon from a 1983 Hungarian Expedition

In 2011, during work in the EMC basement, I found a large wooden box that bore only the number "7". This box contained various objects, including one ostracon, recorded as coming from a Hungarian Expedition in 1983–1984 (fig. 7–8). The contents of this box most probably derive from the Hungarian excavations in 1983 led by László Kákosy (1932–2003) in the area of the tomb of Djehoutymese (TT 32).<sup>90</sup>

This limestone ostracon (22 × 15.5 cm) is written in hieratic in black ink and consists of six lines of administrative text. Only the recto is inscribed; the verso is blank.

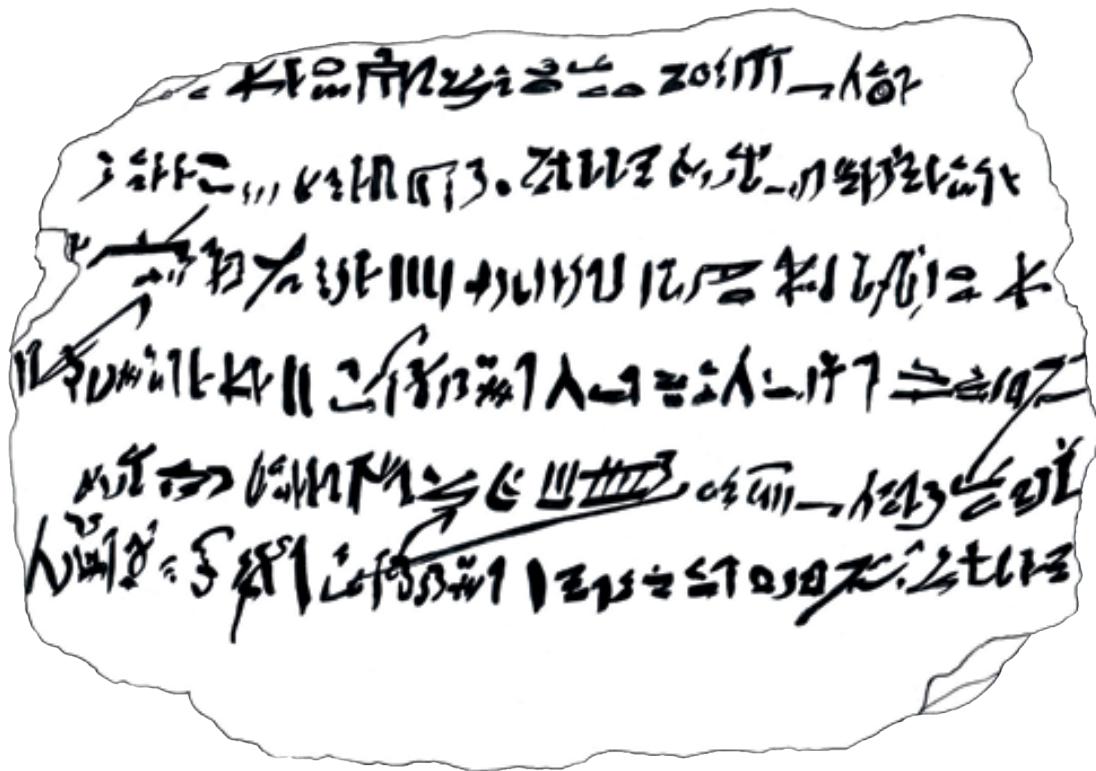


Fig. 7. Facsimile of the Hungarian ostracon (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

90 Kákosy et al. (2004).



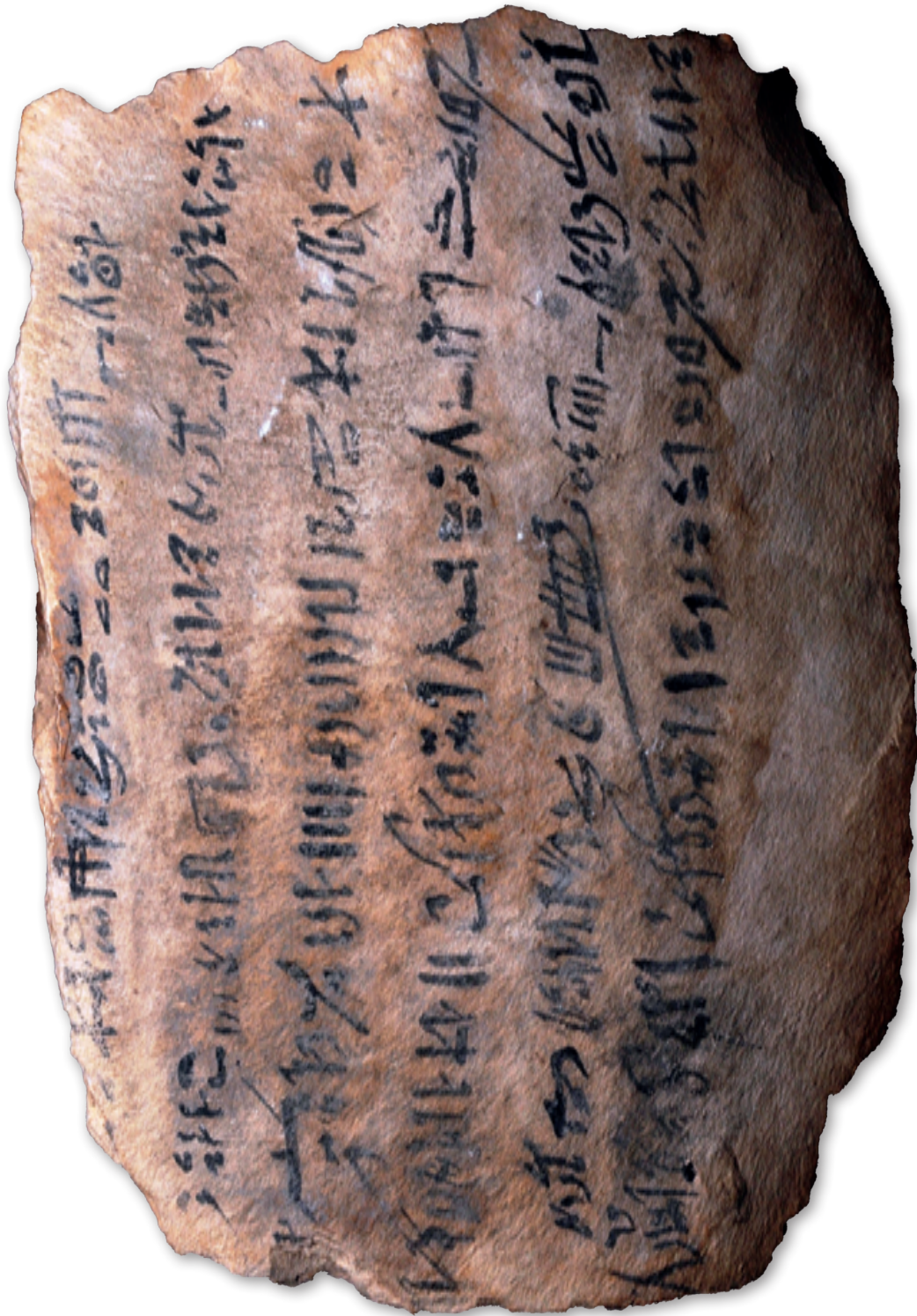
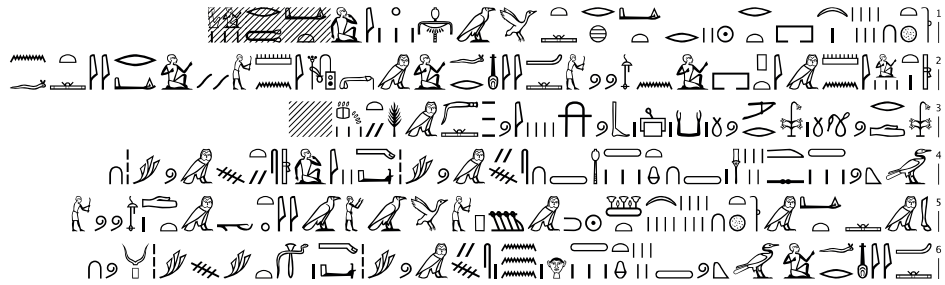


Fig. 8. Administrative hieratic ostracon from the excavations of the 1983 Hungarian expedition (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

## Hieroglyphic transcription



## Transliteration and translation

- (1) *ḥ3t-sp 17 3bd 1 prt sw 2 r-(r)djt rḥ.tw p3 ḥḏ j.dj rmt-*
- (2) *jst Jmn-m-jpt n ḥmw Ḥwy-nfr m-b3ḥ sš Jmn-nḥt rdjt n.f*
- (3) *šm' rwdw 1, šm' mrw 1, kbs 4 jw.w mḥ m bdy [...]*
- (4) *qw gs 5, s'b 10, t ḥḏ 10, smw ḥrš 2, jsy.w 10*
- (5) *whm dj.t m ḥ3t-sp 17 3bd 4 3ḥt sw 10 m šsp p3 dw3yt m-drt ḥmw*
- (6) *Ḥwy-nfr qw 5 t ḥr mw sjm ḥrš 1 w3dyt (mrw) wp 10*

- (1) Year 17, 1st month of Peret, Day 2, list of the payment that the
- (2) workman Amenemope gave to the craftsman Huynefer<sup>91</sup> in the presence of the scribe Amunnakhte. Given to him:
- (3) fin fabric shawl, 1; strip cloth of fin fabric, 1; 4 grain-baskets that are full of emmer wheat
- (4) bread, 5 half ones; s'b-bread, 10; white bread, 10; vegetables, 2 bundles; old cloth, 1.
- (5) What was given again in Year 17, 4th month of Akhet, Day 10, when receiving the *dw3yt*-wood by the hand of the craftsman

- (6) Huynefer: bread 5, water-bread 1, vegetables, 1 bundle; vegetables (bundle)??? 10.

## Commentary

The text reflects a transaction between the workman Amenemope and the craftsman Huynefer in the presence of the well-known scribe Amunnakhte. Several products were given by Amenemope to Huynefer at two different dates in Year 17 of Rameses III. The contents and the handwriting suggest that this text was written by the same scribe as O. DeM 10045,<sup>92</sup> O. Louvre E 27677,<sup>93</sup> and O. Turin CGT 57020,<sup>94</sup> all three of which were written in Year 16 of Rameses III, as well as O. Florence 2620,<sup>95</sup> which was written in the same year as our ostracon, i.e., Year 17 of Rameses III.<sup>96</sup>

- L. 1: the end of this line is damaged, though the surviving traces of ink and the context aid in its reconstruction.
- L. 1–2: *r rdjt rḥ=tw p3 ḥḏ j.dj NN n NN*: this formula is used in texts that record transfers and payments.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>91</sup> About the workmen Amenemope and Huynefer, see Davies (1999: 210–sq. & 18 respectively).

<sup>92</sup> Grandet (2006: 50, no. 10045, pl. 236).

<sup>93</sup> See <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010003523> (accessed 01.03.2023).

<sup>94</sup> López (1978: pl. 12, no. 57020).

<sup>95</sup> Allam (1973: II 34–35).

<sup>96</sup> The author is extremely grateful to Robert J. Demarée for his comments on this ostracon and for drawing my attention to the other ostraca written by the same scribe.

<sup>97</sup> O. Ashmolean Museum 126, O. Ashmolean Museum 158, O. Ashmolean Museum 252, O. Berlin P 12652, O. Berlin P 14357, O. Brunner, O. Louvre E 27676 (<https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>; accessed 01.03.2023).

- L. 2: *m-bʿḥ sš Jmn-nḥt* appears on O. DeM 10222, which dates to Year 16 of Ramesses III (Grandet 2010: 108), and also on O. Florence 2620.
- L. 3: note the spelling of *kbs* with metathesis.
- L. 5: *wḥm dj.t* is attested in several texts of the same kind.<sup>98</sup>
- L. 5: *dwʿy.t* is unclear, though Robert J. Demarée (pc) suggest that it may be a kind of wood.<sup>99</sup>
- L. 6: on the unidentified “water-bread”, see Janssen (1997: 30).

### 3. NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC PAPYRI IN THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM IN CAIRO<sup>100</sup>

The number of the New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the EMC is relatively low compared to the number of hieratic ostraca. The papyri are to be found in different locations in the museum, and some of them are recorded with more than one number (e.g., JE, CGC, and SR) in the museum registers. They date to different periods of the New Kingdom, and a few papyri from that epoch were first published by Auguste Mariette-Bey (1821–1881) in 1871 and 1872 (when they were held in the Boulaq Museum, hence their registration as “Papyrus Boulaq + number”).<sup>101</sup> In 1927, Golénischeff published 36 hieratic papyri from the EMC, though only one can be dated to the New Kingdom.

Another volume of the *Catalogue général* dedicated to the hieratic papyri was prepared by Abd el-Mohsen Bakir (CGC 58037–58091), though it has never been published.<sup>102</sup> A draft of this volume can be consulted in the museum in Bakir’s handwriting with his notes and comments on the texts. Most of the papyri that were to appear in this unpublished volume were later published by other scholars.

The following lists of New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the EMC are chronological as far as possible:

#### 3.1. 18th Dynasty hieratic papyri

1. SR 4/387/ CGC 58070/ JE 95576/ **GEM.** “Boulaq 11”. Found in Thebes. 18th Dynasty.<sup>103</sup>
2. SR 4/388/ CGC 58090/ JE 32882/ **GEM.** Found at Saqqara in 1898. Tomb of Re-Nefer-Sem. It lists the names of a number of workmen.<sup>104</sup>
3. SR 4/389/ CGC 58055/ JE 32881/ **GEM.** “Letter”. Found at Saqqara in 1898. 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep III.<sup>105</sup>
4. SR 4/390/ CGC 58053/ JE 32747/ **GEM.** “Letter”. Found at Saqqara in the tomb of Re-Nefer-Sem in 1897. 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep III.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>98</sup> O. Aberdeen 1317, O. Ashmolean Museum 103 reverse, O. Ashmolean Museum 247, O. Berlin P 10637, O. Cairo CGC 25247, O. DeM 931, O. Glasgow D.1925.71, O. IFAO 344, O. Queen’s College 1115 (<https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>; accessed 01.03.2023).

<sup>99</sup> Pers. comm. (24 Jan. 2022).

<sup>100</sup> This section surveys the papyri in the EMC that are discoverable in the museum’s records. I was naturally unable to access materials that are improperly recorded; nor do I address any materials that may be stored in the museum’s basement.

<sup>101</sup> The two parts of the CGC published by Mariette-Bey contain 20 hieratic papyri from different places (nine were published in the first volume, and eleven in the second volume). See Mariette-Bey (1871; 1872).

<sup>102</sup> Bakir (1970: 4) mentions that he was preparing a volume for the *Catalogue Général*. Note that the recto of P. Cairo CGC 58037 has been published by several scholars dealing with the great Senet-text (see Daressy 1894: 129; Pieper 1931: 20–22, pl. 3; Piankoff 1974: pl. 43–45; Piccione 1990: 96–154). The texts on the verso have not been published so far. The author of this paper is now working on their publication.

<sup>103</sup> Megally (1974: 161–169; 1975: 165–181); Ali (2003: 7–13); Peet (1934: 185–199); Sottas (1929: 97–98).

<sup>104</sup> This papyrus was transcribed by Černý in his Notebook 145.8–10. Černý refers to it only by its JE number.

<sup>105</sup> Bakir (1970: pl. 3–4); Černý (NB 145.23); Allam (1987: 20–24, pl. 5).

<sup>106</sup> Bakir (1970: pl. 1); Černý (NB 145.24); Allam (1987: 1–12, pl. 1–2).





Fig. 9. P. Cairo TR 25/1/55/6 (= *Book of the Dead* of Hatnefer I)

5. SR 4/391/ CGC 58054/ JE 32748/ **GEM**. “Letter” Found at Saqqara in 1898. 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep III.<sup>107</sup>
6. SR 4/532/ CGC 58038/ JE 95640. Boulaq 17. Found at Thebes. Hymn to Amun-Ra.<sup>108</sup>
7. SR 4/680/ CGC 58081/ JE 59735/ **GEM**. Account of transaction. 18th Dynasty.<sup>109</sup>
8. SR 4/681/ CGC 58082/ JE 95736/ **GEM 14878**. Account detailing output of wine and fruit. 18th Dynasty.<sup>110</sup>
9. CGC 58081/ JE 59735/ **GEM 15358**. 18th Dynasty.<sup>111</sup>
10. JE 95575a–d, JE 95693. This papyrus is inscribed on both sides. The recto is written in hieratic and bears an administrative text that dates to the time of Hatshepsut; the verso is inscribed in cursive hieroglyphs with spells 125, V, 125C, V, 146, 17 from the *Book of the Dead* papyrus belonging to the royal scribe *Nb-m-trt*. According to the Bonn Book of the Dead Project, this papyrus was found at Saqqara.<sup>112</sup>
11. TR 25/1/55/6. This number refers to two hieratic papyri belonging to the Lady Hatnefer (fig. 9). She was the wife of

<sup>107</sup> Allam (1987: 13–20, pl. 3–4).

<sup>108</sup> Černý (NB 145.42–50); Koemoth (1995); Luiselli (2004).

<sup>109</sup> Černý (NB 145.63); Mohamadien (2015: 70–81).

<sup>110</sup> Černý (NB 145.63); Mohamadien (2015: 91–98).

<sup>111</sup> Megally (1975: 165–178).

<sup>112</sup> See <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133577#> (accessed 01.03.2023).

Ramose and the mother of the famous official Senenmut. Hatnefer owned four manuscripts of the *Book of the Dead*, two written in cursive hieroglyphs and two in hieratic. The two hieratic papyri were found in her rock tomb in Thebes and travelled to the Met for study. They were returned to the EMC in 1953 and were assigned the same temporary number TR 25/1/55/6.<sup>113</sup>

12. JE 52000. 18th Dynasty (Amenhotep III). Magical text (against crocodiles and infections).<sup>114</sup>

### 3.2. Ramesside hieratic papyri

Almost 30 hieratic papyri dating to the Ramesside period are held in the EMC and have been published. Some of them were assigned more than one inventory number. The papyri are listed in this section according to their inventory numbers (regardless of their contents or handwriting).

1. SR 4/384/ CGC 58030/ JE 955733–4/ **GEM**. “Rituals of offerings”. Consists of seven pieces (a–g). 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II.<sup>115</sup>
2. CGC 58042. Papyrus Boulaq 4 (fig. 10). *Teachings of Ani*. Probably 19th Dynasty.<sup>116</sup>
3. SR 4/385/ CGC 58056/ JE 38334. “Letter–Boulaq 16”. Found in Abusir during Borchardt’s excavations in 1902. 19th Dynasty.<sup>117</sup>
4. SR 4/392/ CGC 58089/ JE 32749. Found at Saqqara. 19th Dynasty.<sup>118</sup>
5. SR 4/394/ CGC 58092/ JE 95577/ **GEM 14877**. Boulaq 10. 20th Dynasty, Year 8 of Ramesses III.<sup>119</sup>
6. SR 4/395–644/ CGC 58039/ JE 95578/ **GEM 15116 a–g**. Boulaq 6. 19th Dynasty.<sup>120</sup> This papyrus has two SR numbers. SR 4/395 refers to a slab of glass numbered “b”, while the other six slabs are numbered SR 4/644. The seven papyrus pieces have the same JE and CGC numbers.<sup>121</sup>
7. CGC 58057. Letter. 19th Dynasty.<sup>122</sup>
8. SR 4/625/ CGC 58058/ JE 95696. “Letter”. Boulaq 16. 19th Dynasty, Ramesses I.<sup>123</sup>
9. SR 396/ CGC 58059/ JE 95579. “Letter”. Boulaq 14. 19th Dynasty, Ramesses I.<sup>124</sup>
10. CGC 58060. “Letter”. Probably 19th Dynasty, Ramesses I.<sup>125</sup>
11. SR 397/ CGC 58035/ JE 7548/ **GEM 15150**. Boulaq 20. Found at Saqqara in 1859, 20th or 22nd Dynasty?
12. SR 398/ CGC 58061/ JE 95580/ **GEM 15106**. “Late Ramesside Letter”. 20th Dynasty, Ramesses XI.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>113</sup> The present author is currently working on these hieratic manuscripts. For further details, see Hassan (2022a; 2022b; 2022c).

<sup>114</sup> Weill (1922: 651–671); Rogers (2021: 183–203).

<sup>115</sup> Golénischeff (1927: pl. XXIV–XXVII); Rose (2008: 294–323); Devauchelle & Widmer (2017: 75–92).

<sup>116</sup> Mariette-Bey (1871: pl. 17–28); Posener (1981: 393–401); Quack (1994: 278–338).

<sup>117</sup> Bakir (1970: pl. 4–5); Allam (1985: 19–30); Satzinger (1994: 233–242).

<sup>118</sup> Černý (NB 145.40).

<sup>119</sup> Mariette-Bey (1872: 5, pl. 1–2); *KRI* 5, 449–451; Allam (1973: 289–293, no. 268, pl. 88–91); Israelit-Groll (1993: 123–134); Jin (2001: 95–102).

<sup>120</sup> Koenig (1981).

<sup>121</sup> Černý (NB 145.51–8).

<sup>122</sup> *KRI* 1, 238, 4–15; Polis (2008–2009: 75).

<sup>123</sup> *KRI* 3, 156, 4–11; Allam (1985: 19–30); Polis (2008–2009: 75).

<sup>124</sup> Bakir (1970: pl. 6–7); Allam (1983: 22–29).

<sup>125</sup> Allam (1985: 19–30); *KRI* 3, 156, 13–157, 10; Polis (2008–2009: 75).

<sup>126</sup> *LRL* 62, 4–11.



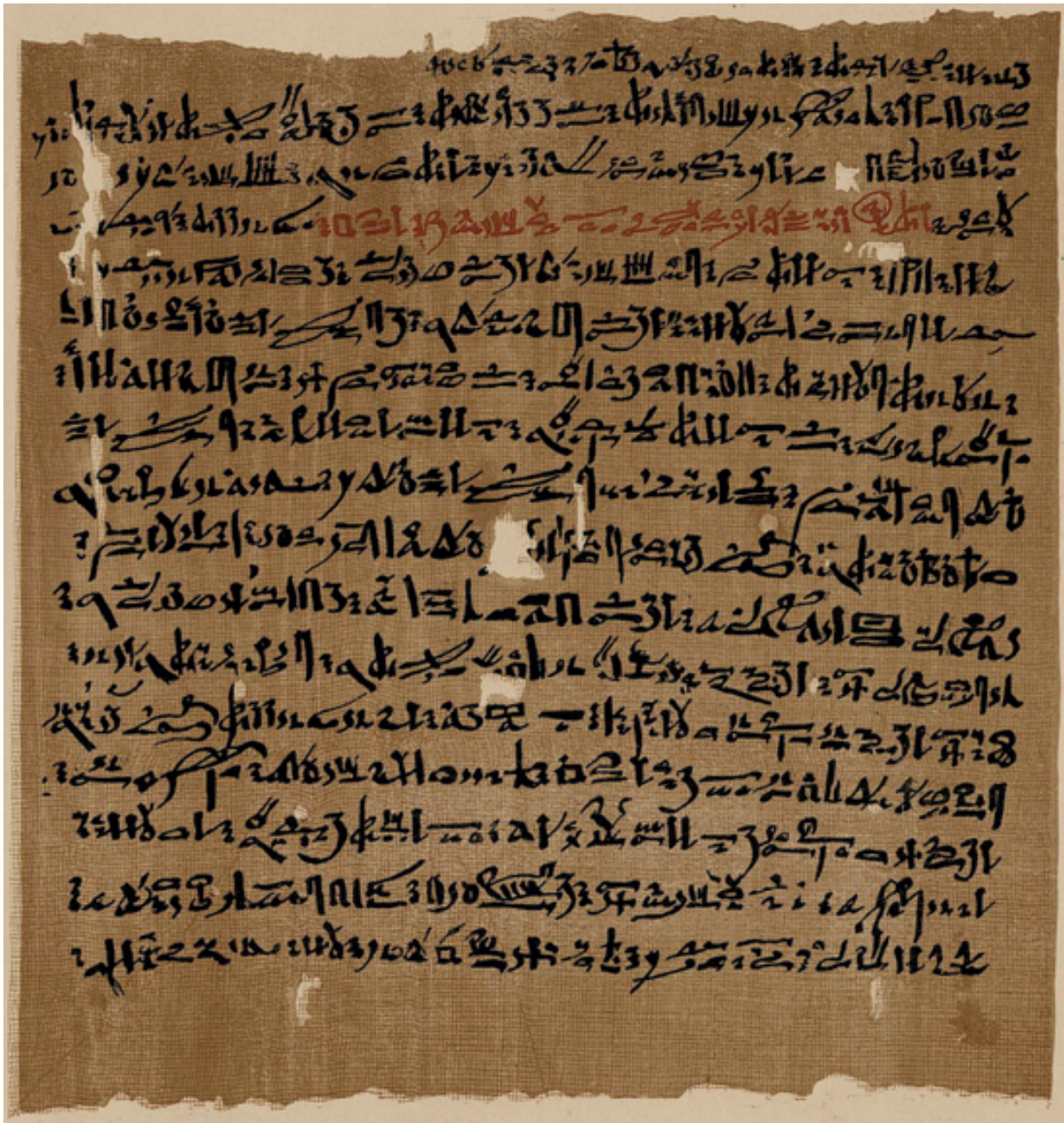


Fig. 10. P. Cairo CGC 58042 (= Papyrus Boulaq 4 = Mariette-Bey 1871: pl. 17)

13. SR 613/ JE 67354. New Kingdom? Deir el-Bahri. Excavated by Baraize.
14. SR 630/ CGC 58096/ JE 15016 a–b. Saqqara (Serapeum). Boulaq 19. Two papers of account. Ramesside.<sup>127</sup>
15. SR 983/ JE 86637/ **GEM 19465**. Calendar of lucky and unlucky days with another text on the verso. Acquired by the EMC from an antiquities dealer in Cairo in 1943. 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II.<sup>128</sup>
16. SR 988/ JE 65739. Legal text. Found at Qurna by Davies in tomb 48 in 1914/15. 19th Dynasty, Year 15 of Ramesses II.<sup>129</sup>
17. SR 627/ CGC 58072/ JE 95698. Account of grain to be used as seeds. New Kingdom.<sup>130</sup>
18. SR 676/ CGC 58077/ JE 9573/ **GEM 14882**. Account of loaves and fruits. Late 18th–early 19th Dynasty.<sup>131</sup>
19. SR 683/ CGC 58084/ JE 95738. Account, bread deliveries from granary. New Kingdom.<sup>132</sup>
20. SR 685/ CGC 58086/ JE 95740/ **GEM 14398**. Account of meat and bread. New Kingdom.<sup>133</sup>
21. SR 687–688/ CGC 58088/ JE 95742. Account of bread and beer. Late 18th–early 19th Dynasty.<sup>134</sup>
22. SR 6p/ 3712(a)/ JE 52002–JE 52003–JE 52004. Administrative text. Saqqara. 20th Dynasty, Year 15 of Ramesses III.<sup>135</sup>
23. CGC 58091. Administrative text. Probably 19th Dynasty.<sup>136</sup>
24. CGC 58092. Legal text. Boulaq 10. 20th Dynasty, Year 8 of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV.<sup>137</sup>
25. JE 68566 (= SR 600). Papyrus belonging to the so-called “el-Hibeh archive”.<sup>138</sup>
26. SR 3708. One page of an administrative text. Recorded as demotic text in the SR, though the handwriting is very close to late hieratic.
27. SR 3709. One page of administrative text. Recorded as demotic text in the SR, though the handwriting is very close to late hieratic. It seems that SR 3709 and SR 3708 are part of the same text. Unfortunately, there are no other numbers recorded with these SR numbers.

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<sup>127</sup> Černý (NB 145.41); Ali (1992: 7–10; 1994: 508–512).

<sup>128</sup> Bakir (1966); Lafont (2016: 97–121). See also the DeM Database (accessed 01.03.2023).

<sup>129</sup> Černý (NB 34.43–45); KRI 2, 800–802; Davies (1922: 50–56); Gardiner (1935: 140–146); Janssen (1994: 129–136); Polis (2008–2009: 75).

<sup>130</sup> Černý (NB 114.59); Mohamadien (2015: 110–121).

<sup>131</sup> Černý (NB 145.65); Mohamadien (2015: 122–133).

<sup>132</sup> Černý (NB 145.66); Mohamadien (2015: 99–109).

<sup>133</sup> Černý (NB 145.61–2); Mohamadien (2015: 134–160).

<sup>134</sup> Černý (NB 145.63); Mohamadien (2015: 70–81).

<sup>135</sup> KRI 7, 263, 4–265, 15; Posener-Kriéger (1996: 655–664; 1981: 47–58); Morfini (2019: 100, 102).

<sup>136</sup> Gabolde (2008: 181); Polis (2008–2009: 75).

<sup>137</sup> See Müller (2009: 252).

<sup>138</sup> Černý (NB 22.25–28); KRI 5, 449, 11–451, 9; Janssen & Pestman (1968: 137–170); Allam (1973: 289–293, pl. 88–91); Polis (2008–2009: 75).

## 4. VARIOUS OBJECTS

### 4.1. Wooden boards

#### 4.1.1. Carnarvon tablets

Twelve wooden boards inscribed in hieratic script, known as “Carnarvon tablets”, were discovered by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter in the area of Birabi in front of Deir el-Bahri.<sup>139</sup> They were found in 1908, 1911, and 1912–1913, and some of them remain unpublished. Generally speaking, these boards may be dated to the period between the Second Intermediate Period and the

Early 18th Dynasty.<sup>140</sup> Recently, F. Hagen (2019: 177–208) published three of these boards (nos. 6, 7, and 8)—they feature the literary compositions of Khakheperreseneb and the *Instruction of a Man for His Son*. Ch. Lilyquist (2019: 157–175) has also produced an interesting study concerning the archaeological context of these boards that attempts to identify their precise find-spots. Of the twelve Carnarvon tablets, eight are held in the EMC and two are held in the Ashmolean Museum, while the present whereabouts of the other two (which are mentioned only in Carter’s unpublished excavation manuscripts) are unknown.

Tablet no.	EMC no.	Provenance	Season
I <sup>141</sup>	JE 41790/ SR 4/441	Carnarvon Tomb 9, tomb court <i>radim</i>	1908
II <sup>142</sup>	JE 43261 D+56802/ SR 4/708, 709	Carnarvon Tomb 9, tomb court <i>radim</i>	1908
III <sup>143</sup>	JE 43217/ SR 4/694	Carnarvon Tomb 37, chamber C <i>radim</i> , near a basket of scribal equipment	1911
IV <sup>144</sup>	JE 43216/ SR 4/707	Carnarvon Tomb 37, chamber C <i>radim</i> , in an offering tray near a basket of scribal equipment	1911
V <sup>145</sup>	JE 51971/ SR 4/700	Carnarvon 62 complex, subsidiary tomb 43, west chamber, foot of coffin.	1912
VI	JE 43261 B/ SR 4/698	Carnarvon 62 complex, court 41	1911?
VII	Side A: JE 43261 A; SR 4/697 Side B: JE 43261 C; SR 4/701	Carnarvon 62 complex, court 41 <i>radim</i>	1911?
VIII	JE 43261/ SR 4/699	Carnarvon Tomb 9, tomb court <i>radim</i>	(1908)

Table 14. The Carnarvon tablets in the EMC<sup>146</sup>

<sup>139</sup> This find-spot is located at the eastern end of the causeway, in the area of the valley temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546931>; accessed 01.03.2022).

<sup>140</sup> Hagen (2019: 179).

<sup>141</sup> Carnarvon & Carter (1912: 36–37, pl. 27–28); Gardiner (1916: 95–110); Hagen (2012: 174–179).

<sup>142</sup> Carnarvon & Carter (1912: 37, pl. 29); Posener (1976: 3–4, 143, pl. 2–3).

<sup>143</sup> Carnarvon & Carter (1912: 90–92, pl. 77–78).

<sup>144</sup> Carnarvon & Carter (1912: 92–93, pl. 76).

<sup>145</sup> Maspero (1914: 33–34).

<sup>146</sup> This table is based on data in Lilyquist (2019: 160) and Hagen (2019: 178).





Fig. 11. Board Cairo CGC 25224

#### 4.1.2. Writing board bearing the Prophecy of Neferti

The EMC also holds a wooden board (fig. 11) inscribed on two sides in hieratic script with excerpts from the *Prophecy of Neferti* (§VIII: XV). This board (JE 32972, CGC 25224) was found at Saqqara by Victor Loret (1859–1946) near the pyramid of King Teti.<sup>147</sup> It is 36cm wide and 27 cm high. It is inscribed mainly in black ink with some rubrics; the text features red verse-points that are employed systematically on both sides of the board. Palaeographic analysis suggests an early 18th Dynasty date.<sup>148</sup>

#### 4.2. Wooden lid with non-literary text

A small wooden board made of sycamore, 46 cm wide and 29 cm high, is held in the EMC under the numbers JE 95750 – CGC 25366 (fig. 12). This tablet is not of the type used for educational purposes and does not resemble the well-known writing boards used by students. It was presumably used as a lid for a small wooden box: it features two wooden beams designed to consolidate and merge the pieces of the lid, in addition to a handle on its outer side. The board bears an administrative text that deals with cattle and their transportation by boat; it features several personal names and mentions different types of cattle. According to the museum's records, the board was found in the area of Meir.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Daressy (1901: no. 25224).

<sup>148</sup> For more on the palaeography of this board, see Hassan (2017a: 261–280).

<sup>149</sup> Daressy (1901: no. 25366); Hassan (2016a: 125–132).

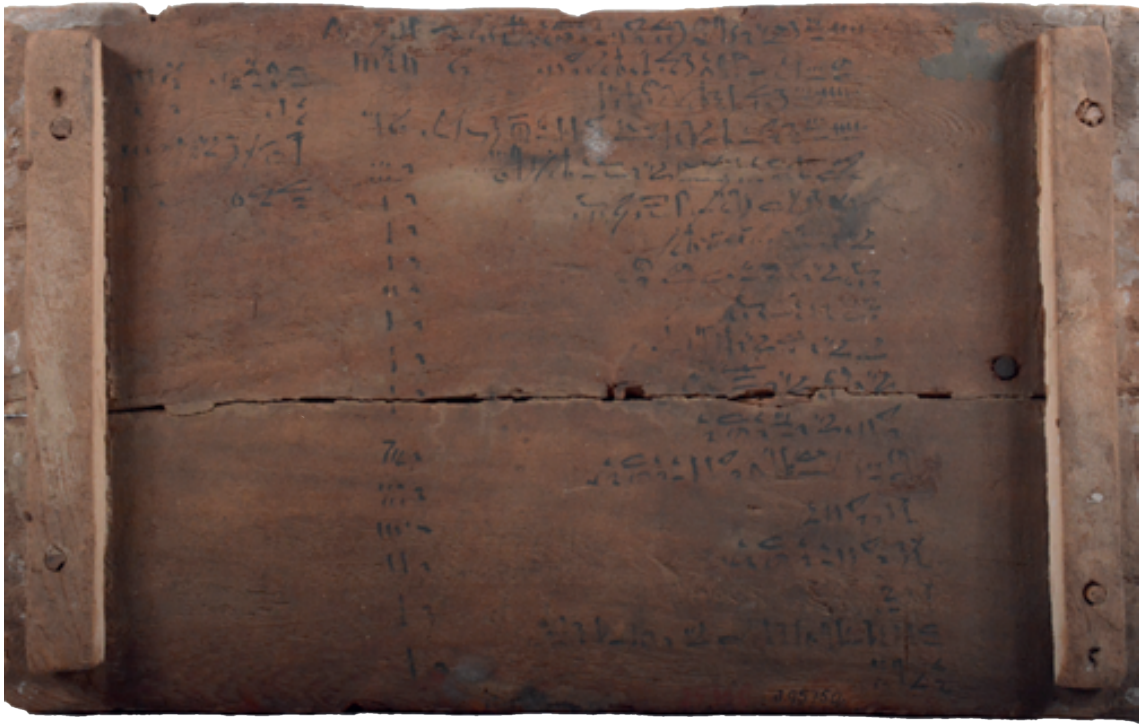


Fig. 12. Board Cairo CGC 25366

### 4.3. Wooden kohl tube with hieratic inscriptions

A wooden kohl tube with hieratic inscriptions (4.2×13.7 cm) is held in the EMC under the inventory numbers CG 44703/JE 18553 (fig. 13). After a first line that reads *sh<sup>3</sup>=k m nfr, m sh<sup>3</sup> bjn* “you should remember the goodness, do not remember the evil”, the inscription consists in an offering formula. According to the Museum database, it was found at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna in 1862. Palaeographical clues point to a dating to the end of the 17th – beginning of the 18th dynasty. The name of the owner is a certain Weserhat (Hassan & Mekawy Ouda 2022).

### 4.4. Limestone stele with non-literary text

A sandstone stela with a rounded top is held in the EMC under temporary number TR 27.6.24.3 (fig. 14). It measures 95×48 cm and is in good condition, though it has suffered some damage towards its upper half. The stela bears a deposition text and belonged to the sandal maker Penōne and a woman named Ta’at. It is a rare example of incised hieratic—indeed, it is one of the earliest known examples of incised hieratic—and (except the titles in the lunette) it dates to the 20th Dynasty of the Ramesside era.<sup>150</sup> According to the museum’s records, the stela was discovered on the island of Philae, though Penōne is depicted adorning the god Horus, Lord of Buhen, which might suggest that it was originally located in the temple of Horus at Buhen.

<sup>150</sup> For the few other hieratic stelae known from the Ramesside Period, see Bakir (1952: pl. III–IV); Hassan & Mekawy Ouda (2018: 93–106).



Fig. 13. Wooden Kohl Tube CG 44703 / JE 18553





Fig. 14. Stela Cairo TR 27.6.24.3

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# Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum für Kärnten

## Zwei neuzeitliche Papyruspäckchen

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### ABSTRACT

The Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Klagenfurt in Austria, houses two small papyrus packages that were acquired in the 19th century. Once unfolded, the two packages were found to contain several small pieces of various illustrated hieroglyphic texts that probably represent funerary papyri. These small packages were produced from ancient papyrus remains, and were probably intended as souvenirs for tourists. It is possible that other museums possess similar objects.

### 1. DIE ÄGYPTISCHE SAMMLUNG DES LANDESMUSEUMS FÜR KÄRNTEN IN KLAGENFURT

Die Aegyptiaca des Landesmuseums für Kärnten in Klagenfurt (Österreich) bilden einen Sammlungsbereich neben mehreren anderen wie etwa dem zoologischen, mineralogischen und archäologischen, aber auch der Gemäldesammlung. Was die ägyptischen Bestände anbelangt, so sind sie in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts durch Schenkungen eines kleinen Kreises von Ägyptenreisenden, Mitgliedern des Kärntner Geschichtsvereins, an das Museum zusammengekommen.<sup>1</sup> Die meisten Objekte sind Kleinfunde. Der Verein bemühte sich allerdings sogar erfolgreich um den Erwerb einer römerzeitlichen ägyptischen Frauenmumie.<sup>2</sup>

An ihrer rechten Schulter war ein hieratischer Totenpapyrus befestigt, eine Kurzfassung des Ersten Buches vom Atmen (Inv.-Nr. AE III/1), der den Namen der Toten als Aset-weret überliefert.<sup>3</sup>

Darüber hinaus besaß der Kärntner Geschichtsverein insgesamt sechs kursivhieroglyphische, hieratische und abnormhieratische Papyri (fünf als Geschenke von Franz Ritter von Reyer [wohl 1857 bei Victor Gustavae (Galli) Maunier<sup>4</sup> in Luxor erworben], einen von Leodegar Canaval). Sie wurden am 7. Juli 1927 an die Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien verkauft. Es handelt sich um die ehemaligen Klagenfurter Inventarnummern 497–502, jetzt Papyri Wien Aeg 12000 und Aeg 12000 a (Totenbuch einer Aset-em-Achbit), Aeg 12001 (hieratischer stichisch geschriebener

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1 Hamernik (2014: 107).

2 Hamernik (1999); Hamernik (2014: 110).

3 Der Papyrus, dessen originale Lage dokumentiert ist, liegt inzwischen publiziert vor: Hoffmann (2014); vgl. schon Hoffmann (1999) und Hamernik (2014: 110).

4 Bierbrier (2019: 309–310).



Opferhymnus an Sokar-Osiris aus dem 4./3. Jh. v. Chr.) und D 12002–12004 (drei abnormhieratische Urkunden eines Archivs.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. ZWEI NEUZEITLICHE PAPYRUSPÄCKCHEN

Zu den Reisemitbringseln des 19. Jahrhunderts gehörten offenbar auch zwei noch nicht entfaltete Papyri (Objektnummern 300 und 301, Inventar-nummern unbekannt; vgl. Abb. 1 und 2). Es handelte sich um dunkelgrau verfärbte Päckchen von 6 auf 2,3 bzw. 4 auf ca. 2 cm (dieses kleinere Päckchen war leicht unregelmäßig zerfleddert). Über ihre Herkunft ist nichts weiter bekannt. Beide Papyri wurden zusammen mit den Kleinfunden des Landesmuseums für Kärnten zu Studien- und Unterrichtszwecken im Sommer 2013 an das Institut für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München ausgeliehen.



Abb. 1. Obj.-Nr. 300 (© kärnten.museum)



Abb. 2. Obj.-Nr. 301 (© kärnten.museum)

Mit Erlaubnis des Museums und zu Lehrzwecken durfte ich die Papyri entfalten.<sup>6</sup> Dies geschah in zwei Sitzungen am 9. und 30. Januar 2015. Die Öffnung der feucht gemachten Papyri erwies sich allerdings als unerwartet schwierig. Denn es war nicht möglich, die plattgedrückten Pakete zu entrollen, ja nicht einmal zu entfalten, wie man es eigentlich erwarten sollte. Den Grund dafür, dass Feuchtigkeit einen so geringen Effekt hatte, vermuteten wir zunächst darin, dass der fest anhaftende graue Schmutz zu viel Feuchtigkeit aufnahm. Am Ende gelang nach mehreren Stunden Arbeit die Trennung aber doch. Die Lagen konnten schließlich einzeln abgehoben werden, was wegen der starken Krümmung der Ränder ebenfalls nicht leicht war.

Es zeigte sich, dass wir es gar nicht mit gefalteten Papyri zu tun hatten. Vielmehr hatten vier einzelne Papyrusblättchen mit hieroglyphischer Beschriftung in Spalten das größere Päckchen gebildet (Nr. 300). Zwei Blättchen mit Resten von bildlichen Darstellungen und vertikal geschriebenen Hieroglyphen sowie mehrere Kleinstfragmente stammten aus dem kleineren Päckchen (Nr. 301); es handelt sich um das Bild eines ichneumon(?)köpfigen Wesens, das wohl einmal ein Wächterdämon war, und den Rest eines farbigen Rahmens sowie wenige Hieroglyphen und einzelne Zeichenfragmente. Alle Papyri sind nur auf einer Seite beschriftet bzw. bemalt. Aber die Stücke gehören nicht aneinander, stellen überhaupt ein Konglomerat von Resten unterschiedlicher Papyri dar.<sup>7</sup> Denn es kommen verschiedene Handschriften vor. Doch kein Papyrus ist hieratisch beschriftet.

Allein die Verwendung der Hieroglyphenschrift legt zusammen mit dem Bild der tierköpfigen Gottheit und der Bildrahmung nahe, dass

<sup>5</sup> Hamernik (2014: 110–111); Nationalbibliothek in Wien (1930: 2; G. van Loon von der Wiener Papyrussammlung danke ich sehr herzlich für seinen Hinweis auf diese Publikation). P. Wien Aeg 12001 wurde publiziert von Lieven (2006), P. Wien D 12002 zuletzt von Vittmann (1996) neu bearbeitet, P. Wien D 12003 und 12004 wurden von Malinine (1973) veröffentlicht.

<sup>6</sup> Hoffmann (2023) zur Öffnung der Papyri und zu Fotos der Fragmente.

<sup>7</sup> Natürlich könnte es trotzdem sein, dass einzelne Fragmente letztlich doch von ein und demselben Papyrus stammen.

alle Fragmente von funerären Texten stammen. Es steht zu vermuten, dass sie im 19. Jahrhundert aus Resten diverser Totenpapyri etc. für Ägyptentouristen zu kleinen Papyruspäckchen verarbeitet wurden, die nach originalen, noch zusammengefalteten Papyri aussehen sollten. Der dabei verwendete Leim und der wohl zusätzlich aufgebraachte Schmutz, der das hohe Alter und die Echtheit unterstreichen sollte, dürften erklären, warum die Papyruspäckchen trotz der Behandlung mit Feuchtigkeit so schwer auseinanderzunehmen waren. Dazu kamen die stark umgebogenen Kanten, die wohl daraus resultierten, dass die Päckchen durch Aufstoßen auf eine glatte Fläche in

eine gleichmäßige rechteckige Form gebracht worden waren.

Da die beiden Klagenfurter Papyri mit den Objektnummern 300 und 301 nicht hieratisch beschriftet sind, gehören sie strenggenommen gar nicht in diesen Band. Weil aber antike Papyrusstücke auch sonst zusammengeklebt und zu original anmutenden Rollen oder Päckchen verarbeitet worden sind und werden, die nicht nur nach Klagenfurt, sondern auch in andere Sammlungen gelangt sind bzw. immer noch gelangen, möchte ich mit diesen Zeilen an das Phänomen erinnern. H. Dolenz vom Landesmuseum für Kärnten danke ich dafür, dass ich das in diesem Rahmen tun darf.

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# Hieratic Ostraca and Jar Dockets in the Royal Museums of Art and History (Brussels)

## An Interdisciplinary Edition and Study

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### ABSTRACT

This paper presents an ongoing project concerned with the study and edition of the hieratic ostraca and jar docketts in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels and details its preliminary results. This project is characterised by an interdisciplinary approach that combines philological study with analysis of the materiality of these artefacts and their morphology. These fragments of stone and pottery exhibit characteristics that enhanced their apparent suitability as writing supports, and this paper argues that these characteristics (and the act of selecting them) should be studied as an important part of the writing process.

After an introduction to the project, the Brussels collection of hieratic ostraca and jar docketts is presented and the objectives as well as the methodologies of the study of the limestone and ceramic ostraca explained. This is followed by the publication of five ostraca as case studies and a synthetic treatment that outlines some of the project's preliminary results.

Our morphological study shows that the limestone ostraca in the collection reflect three different types of manufacture, and that flatness was not necessarily an important quality when it came to selecting a fragment of stone. As to our ceramological analyses, we see that sherds selected as writing supports often possess a clear colour and seem to have derived from large pottery items. Regarding the fabrics of these sherds, the most commonly identified fabrics are Nile clay and Marl clay. Our study also underlines the similarities between both categories of ostraca with respect to the characteristics of the artefacts.

### 1. INTRODUCTION [B. L.]

For understandable reasons, the edition of hieratic ostraca focuses primarily on their texts. Indeed, their scope of genres is almost unlimited, ranging as they do from commodity lists to literature, through to administrative pieces, letters and

religious compositions, making them an unavoidable source for almost every type of topic that needs to be considered. Over the last few years, however, under the influence of 'Material Philology'—also called 'New Philology'—this philological focus on ancient Egyptian texts has increasingly been supplemented with investigations of their social

context and social significance.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the archaeological context of the material supports of the texts, whether papyri, tablets, or ostraca, also starts receiving serious attention.<sup>2</sup> Given the obvious benefits of such multi-faceted approaches to Egyptology, the ongoing interdisciplinary edition and study of the hieratic ostraca and jar docketts of the Royal Museums of Art and History (RMAH) in Brussels has sought to combine the study of the texts with analyses of the morphology and materiality of these artefacts.

The reason for the focus on these aspects lies in the very nature of this group of artefacts, namely as part of a museum collection, and in the main objective of the project. Indeed, as museum objects, even though the provenience of most of these ostraca is known or can be determined with a fair degree of certainty, their (precise) archaeological context cannot be specified, which excludes any archaeological research.<sup>3</sup> However, being part of a museum collection has also some advantages, such as the possibility to develop and implement specific imaging technologies, as well as to sample and chemically analyse the material of the ostraca.

Lastly, although hieratic ostraca are basically fragments of stone<sup>4</sup> and sherds, they have been selected by a scribe who was seeking a suitable surface on which to write at some point of the writing process. This eventual use of the ostraca shows thereby that these artefacts have characteristics from natural and/or anthropic origin that were considered appropriate to their function as supports of texts, so that these characteristics should be studied as part of the writing process.<sup>5</sup> Combining this study with the edition of the texts to better understand this writing process is precisely the main objective of the present project.

Concerning the morphology of the limestone ostraca, Jacques Pelegrin and his co-authors recently published the results of a preliminary study devoted to the production of a selection of pictorial and hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina that are held in the Louvre Museum.<sup>6</sup> As to the ceramic ostraca, Clementina Caputo's study on the ostraca from Soknopaiou Nesos illustrates the potential of such thoroughly ceramological analyses applied to these artefacts, especially with respect to the reasons these sherds were chosen

1 For this approach, which can be applied to literary as well as non-literary texts, see e.g., Hagen (2013); Ragazzoli (2019: 57–73).

2 In this regard, see the exemplary contribution by Davoli (2020). For the dating of literary compositions, the archaeological context of the material supports on which these texts are written is obviously critical. See Hagen (2019: 179; 206) on *Khakheperreseneb* and *The Instruction of a Man for His Son*; we are grateful to the author for providing us with a copy of his paper prior to its publication. For examples of how the archaeological context of ostraca can be combined with the edition of the text written on them, see Dorn (2011: 33–73); Hagen (2021: 11–16).

3 See Davoli (2020) for a study that incorporates such data.

4 Ostraca may have been called 'small stones,' though this particular designation occurs on a strip of flint; see Grandet (2006: 93). Note, however, the discussion by Hagen (2019: 84, with fn. 47), who also refers to Grandet (2006), on *inr šri* (and *s<sup>3</sup> inr*), as ostraca can occasionally be made of flint; see, for example, Černý (1935: 53–54) for O. Cairo 25665 and 25666; Černý (1935: 53–54, pl. XCI) for O. Cairo 25749.

5 As Davoli (2020: 11) also states, 'While these objects [the ostraca] are important because of the texts written on them, they also have material properties, which should not be ignored since they are an integral part of the object and of its production process. An ostrakon consists of a pottery support, a fragment of a vessel, on which someone wrote a text: in modern archaeological perspective, every object is part of production and consumption processes that are strictly linked with manufacturing technology and with personal, social, and cultural uses. This kind of cultural contextualization of objects allows us to study them as an integral part of life of the society that produced and used them, and not only as single items, pieces of art or texts.'

6 See Pelegrin et al. (2015). A synopsis of the results of this study can also be found in Andreu-Lanoë & Pelegrin (2018), but in the present paper, it will be referred to the extended version from 2015.

as writing surfaces.<sup>7</sup> Material approaches to these artefacts remain rare,<sup>8</sup> however, such that the remark by Pelegrin and his co-authors concerning the limestone ostraca, that ‘*la question de ces supports, et plus précisément la caractérisation précise de ces plaquettes de calcaire n’avait guère été abordée, car elle paraissait sans raison d’être*’<sup>9</sup> is still relevant.

Investigating the characteristics of ostraca as writing supports calls for a focus on the surface colours of ceramic ostraca; the part of the jar that the sherd derives from; and possible modifications to the ostrakon subsequent to its separation from the jar; as well as a focus on the morphology of the limestone ostraca. In this project, the ceramological study of the ostraca also includes an in-depth examination of their fabric, and the geological study of the limestone ostraca their petrographic investigation.<sup>10</sup> This project is thus conceived in part as an opportunity to develop research axes proper to both the ceramology of the clay ostraca and the geology of the Theban limestones.

With respect to the geological and ceramological analyses of the ostraca, we have made no distinction between the literary and non-literary nature of the texts that they bear, as such a distinction presumes that there were different modes of producing ostraca depending on the kind of

text that was eventually written on them.<sup>11</sup> The only distinction made in the present project is between ostraca and jar docketts, which obviously belong to two different categories of artefacts.<sup>12</sup> The collection in the Brussels Museum consists of 30 jar docketts for wine and oil, as well as 74 hieratic ostraca, either of ceramic or limestone,<sup>13</sup> which divide into 27 literary, religious, and magical texts, as well as 47 non-literary texts. This inventory is not definitive, however, as the texts on a few ostraca are still to be identified. Most of the Brussels ostraca are known only from transcriptions of their text in Louis Speleers’ *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* published in 1923; other ostraca entered the collection of the RMAH after 1923 and are thus not found in Speleers’ *Recueil*. The five ostraca published in this paper as case studies are among the least known ostraca in the RMAH.

Finally, a further aspect of our project remains to be discussed: the planned use of the Multispectral Portable Light Dome (MS PLD), which enables the creation of multispectral 2D+ and 3D images. This technology was originally developed for the study of execration statuettes; it allowed scholars to see erased hieratic texts that were previously invisible to the naked eye, as well

7 See Lougovaya (2018); Caputo (2020).

8 See, for example, the references to Dorn (2011) in Andreu-Lanoë & Pelegrin (2018: 20, fn. 6).

9 Pelegrin et al. (2015: 326).

10 This latter aspect represents the main difference between the investigation of the limestone ostraca in this project and the study by J. Pelegrin and his co-authors; see Pelegrin et al. (2015).

11 Pelegrin et al. (2015: 344–352), whose study examined hieratic and pictorial ostraca, do not mention any difference of manufacture that could be linked to this difference. However, it was already noted by W.E. Crum in 1901 that the ostraca on which Coptic Theban tax receipts have been written derive from specific ceramics, different from those used for other the Coptic Theban documents. Recently, this ceramic has been identified as New Kingdom amphorae; see Bavay & Delattre (2013).

12 As Haring (2020: 92) indeed points out, ‘What all the [...] ostraca do seem to have in common, then, is the secondary use of the support. Including secondary use of a medium in the definition of ostraca, we can exclude docketts (which are related to the initial use of a pottery vessel), but can include inscribed vessels when the texts are not connected with the vessels themselves or their contents.’

13 Among which is the Abydos limestone tablet T. MRAH E.00580; see Van de Walle (1963).



as a study of the manufacturing process of these statuettes.<sup>14</sup> Imaging methods such as IR photography, or the use of ImageJ® in combination with DStretch®, are increasingly familiar.<sup>15</sup> Although direct examination of the ostraca with the naked eye remains essential and the use of a binocular microscope are also useful, such imaging methods can indeed greatly improve the legibility of faded texts.<sup>16</sup> Yet, the MS PLD also allows the production, in one single shot, of 3D images of artefacts, which will be used to investigate the morphology and the manufacture of the ostraca.<sup>17</sup> Two further applications of the MS PLD will also be tested with respect to the reconstruction of palimpsests and the creation of facsimiles.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, our operation to photograph the ostraca had just begun when lockdowns due to the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic were implemented; photography was only able to resume in February 2022, meaning that no results of the implementation of that technology can be presented in this paper.

In what follows, the Brussels collection of hieratic ostraca and jar docketts is presented and the objectives as well as the methodology behind the petrographic and ceramological analyses outlined. This is followed by the publication of five ostraca as case studies, which are examined from these different points of view. A synthesis concludes the paper.

## 2. THE BRUSSELS COLLECTION OF HIERATIC OSTRACA AND JAR DOCKETTS [L. D.]

The Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels hold an important collection of New Kingdom ostraca, consisting of 63 illustrated ostraca<sup>19</sup> and 74 hieratic ostraca bearing administrative, literary, and religious texts, as well as 30 jar docketts. The collection was built primarily between 1899 and 1939 through acquisitions made in particular by Jean Capart (1877–1947), curator of the Egyptian collection from 1900 to 1942. The majority of the artefacts in question come from the Theban area, particularly the Ramesseum and Deir el-Medina (or the Valley of the Kings).

### 2.1. Jar docketts and ostraca from the Ramesseum

The first jar docket acquired by the Museum appears to be O.MRAH E.00321, which was offered to the Museum in 1899 by the Egyptian Research Account; the caption ‘Ramesseum’ is written on its reverse in pencil. A number of important jar docketts entered the collection in the following years, including five docketts offered to Capart by Alfred Wiedemann (University of Bonn) and registered on 22nd November 1900 (E.00327 to E.00331), and twenty-three docketts

14 See <http://www.kmkg-mrah.be/conservation-ir-uv-and-3d-imaging-egyptian-execration-statuettes-ees-project>, accessed 01.01.2023.

15 See Bearman & Christens-Barry (2009) on the application of spectral imaging to the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as papyri and ostraca of different provenience. See Piquette (2018) and Bülow-Jacobsen (2020) for a detailed presentation of different imaging methods, including spectral and multi-spectral imaging. See Morel & Olette-Pelletier (2021: 18) for DStretch® and ImageJ®.

16 For examples, see Navrátilová (2015: 254–256); Grandet (2018: 229–231); Hagen (2019: 191); Morel & Olette-Pelletier (2021: 19–37); as well as the references in the previous footnote.

17 Pelegrin et al. (2015: 333) also underline the value of 3D images for investigating the production and manufacture of ostraca.

18 Generating facsimiles using this technology may help to limit the potential ‘subjective nature of the facsimiles,’ particularly where the editor is confronted with faint traces. See Hagen (2019: 191) on this issue, as well as Moezel (2022: 22, fn. 32), for a temperate opinion on such subjectivity. Moreover, for ‘the technical process of extracting facsimiles’ conceived in the frame of the project *Altägyptische Kursivschriften* (AKU), see the forthcoming publications quoted by Moezel (2022: 8, fn. 10, 19, fn. 31).

19 Delvaux & Pierlot (2013). On the general history of the Egyptian collection in Brussels, see Van de Walle et al. (1980); Delvaux & Van Caelenberge (2023).



donated to the Museum by Wilhelm Spiegelberg and registered in February 1902 (E.00324 to E.00326, E.00332 to E.00350). A twenty-fourth ostrakon offered to the Museum by Spiegelberg (E.00322), also from the Ramesseum, is not a jar docket; it is inscribed with a fragmentary list of numbers and personal names.

The jar docket donated by Spiegelberg originated from the excavations carried out in the crude bricks storerooms of the Ramesseum by James E. Quibell during the winter of 1895–1896 while W.M. Flinders Petrie excavated other areas of the temple.<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of the campaign, Spiegelberg had joined Quibell's team and immediately began to study the many jar docket that came to light.<sup>21</sup> Most of these appear to have escaped inclusion in the official *Distribution Lists* of discovered objects and seem to have been sent directly by Petrie to the Institute of Egyptology of Strasbourg in order to be studied and published by Spiegelberg. It is on an uncertain date (prior, in any case, to 2nd February 1902, the day of their inventory) that twenty-three of these jar docket were offered by Spiegelberg to Capart for the collection of the RMAH.<sup>22</sup>

The exact provenience of these jar docket within the Ramesseum complex can be identified, as Quibell's excavations focused on the north-western group of storerooms.<sup>23</sup> The jar docket of the RMAH often bear letters (U, V, W, X, Y and Z) or numbers (2, 3, 5 and 15) in pencil on their reverse which allow us to attribute them to particular storerooms.<sup>24</sup>

The five jar docket offered to the Museum by Wiedemann also come from the Ramesseum.<sup>25</sup> They were acquired by Wiedemann in Luxor during the winters of 1881–1882 and 1882–1883, and were found, according to his local suppliers, in the temple's brick storerooms;<sup>26</sup> it is not possible to determine their provenience more precisely.

In 1939, a new jar docket mentioning the Ramesseum was acquired from the Staring collection (E.07425). A final jar docket was recently rediscovered in the Museum's storerooms and registered on 27 March 2002 (E.09362). It is possible that it also comes from the Ramesseum, though it bears the date of Year 43 of Ramesses II, which is otherwise unattested among the jar docket from the temple.

## 2.2. The ostraca from Deir el-Medina (or the Valley of the Kings)

Many ostraca were acquired in Luxor by Capart during his stays in Egypt, mainly during the winters of 1900–1901, 1905–1906, and 1906–1907, and again in May 1930 and 1934. Their texts often mention tomb workers, lists of supplies, or oracular procedures related to the cult of Amenhotep I, and it is likely that these various lots come from Deir el-Medina, though it is possible that they derive from the Valley of the Kings or the temporary dwellings of the tomb workers.<sup>27</sup>

The ostraca purchased in 1900–1901 (E.00301 to E.00320, E.00490, E.05181) were discovered sometime after attention was drawn to Deir el-Medina following the discovery of Sennedjem's intact burial (TT 1) there in 1886,

20 Bouvier (2003: 7–11).

21 Quibell (1898: 2); Bouvier (2003: 9–10).

22 Bouvier (2000).

23 Bouvier (2003: 11–14).

24 On these excavation marks, see Bouvier (2003: 235–241). On the capital letters, see Spiegelberg (1898: Introduction). On the numbers, see the numbering of the storerooms on the map published by Quibell (1898: pl. I).

25 Bouvier (2000: 16; 2003: 22–23).

26 Wiedemann (1883: 33) indicates 'in mitten der Ziegelruinen hinter dem Ramesseum.'

27 On these temporary dwellings, see Dorn (2011).

and before the resumption of work in the village in 1905 by Ernesto Schiaparelli and the Turin Museum.<sup>28</sup> According to its inventory card, one of the ostraca (E.00318) was found on 3rd January 1901, in the ‘*grande excavation près du temple de Deir el Médineh*,’ probably on the surface of the Great Pit that was systematically excavated by Bernard Bruyère from 1949 to 1951.<sup>29</sup> The ostraca purchased in 1905–1906 (E.02420 to E.02423) were acquired by Capart in Cairo from Ralph H. Blanchard.<sup>30</sup> One of these ostraca (E.02420) bears the name and titles of Amenhotep I, which makes it possible to attribute it (like the other ostraca in this lot) to Deir el-Medina. As for the seven ostraca purchased in 1906–1907 (E.03208 to E.03214), they were acquired in Luxor by Capart’s drogman Hannah Girgis Morgan.<sup>31</sup> Some of these ostraca bear lists of food supplies and occasionally the names of workers from Deir el-Medina (E.03212).

Following Capart’s donation of three ostraca (probably from Deir el-Medina), registered in 1928 and 1929 (E.06310, E.06311, and E.06339), 1930 marks the beginning of a new wave of acquisitions by the RMAH; these ostraca were often purchased as part of lots that included many items, inscribed or illustrated, and which certainly come from the village of Deir el-Medina (E.06369 to E.06383, E.06428 to E.06464, E.06727).<sup>32</sup> Two further ostraca were acquired the same year at Deir el-Bahari (E.06465 and E.06466). New ostraca of Theban provenience were acquired in 1934, mainly in Luxor (E.06763 to E.06770, E.06772 to E.06782,

E.06797), but also in Cairo (E.06771). Finally, four Theban ostraca entered the Museum in 1939; these came from the Staring collection (E.07426, E.07430 to E.07432). One of them (E.07426) mentions draughtsmen from Deir el-Medina.

### 2.3. The ostraca from Abydos

Only three ostraca in the RMAH come from Abydos. These derive from the excavations conducted by Émile Amélineau in 1895–1896 (the tablet T.MRAH E.00580<sup>33</sup>) and by Petrie in 1902–1903 (O.MRAH E.02537). According to its inventory card, the third ostrakon (E.04814) was discovered ‘*dans les environs des tombes royales d’Abydos*,’ though it is not known during which campaign it was excavated.

### 2.4. Ostraca of unknown provenience

Finally, two ostraca without provenience were recorded in 1943 (E.07626 and E.07627), while two other ostraca were recently rediscovered in the storerooms of the Egyptian collection and registered in 2001 (E.09152 and E.09153).

## 3. MORPHOLOGICAL AND PETROGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE LIMESTONE OSTRACA [C. D.]

### 3.1. Objectives and methodology

In publications of ostraca, details of the rock itself often remain very basic, while some ostraca are simply described as ‘limestone.’ Studying the

28 On the chronology of these excavation campaigns, see Andreu-Lanoë (2002: 36–41).

29 Bruyère (1950).

30 On the American dealer Ralph Huntington Blanchard (1875–1936), see Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 205–206); Delvaux & Van Caelenberge (2023: 135–139).

31 Delvaux & Van Caelenberge (2023: 143).

32 J. Capart (1931: 67–68) recounts that ‘*pendant l’hiver 1929–1930, ils [the archaeologists in Deir el-Medina] ont ramassé sur leur chantier de fouille des centaines d’ostraca pleins d’intérêt pour la compréhension plus nette de la vie d’artiste à l’époque du Nouvel Empire. Malheureusement, les archéologues n’ont pu exploiter une veine aussi riche sans que des fuites nombreuses se soient produites. Et c’est ainsi que, l’hiver dernier, on pouvait acquérir chez les marchands de Thèbes et du Caire de bons spécimens des ostraca de Deir el-Médineh.*’ See also Delvaux & Pierlot (2013: 18–20).

33 On this tablet, see Van de Walle (1963).

characteristics of the stones that were collected and eventually used as ostraca—which sometimes exhibit clear signs of selection and even ‘manufacture’—allows us to improve our understanding of these objects and their use, especially with respect to the writing process.

The corpus of limestone hieratic ostraca in Brussels consists of 48 items (including the Abydos tablet T. MRAH E.00580), of which 35 are examined here. From a methodological point of view, the two main characteristics of these artefacts to be considered are the nature of the rock and the shape of the fragment. The nature of the rock—its petrographic composition—can help to locate its geographic source (in our case, with reference to the geology of the Theban area). The shape of the limestone fragment—its morphology—can help to determine by what means the fragment came to be separated from the rock outcrop, whether naturally or by extraction, and whether it underwent some kind of manufacturing process.

This preliminary investigation of the petrography and morphology of the limestone ostraca was conducted using simple observational tools. Invasive methods were avoided, and the investigation consisted of multi-scale observation by the naked eye, supplemented by observation using low magnification field lenses and occasionally lab lenses, a method that proved sufficient for a first analysis. This method enabled both a detailed description of the morphology of the ostraca (allowing us to evaluate the intentionality behind the shape/shaping of the ostraca) and an identification of the mineral and paleontological components of the rock (allowing us to identify the source of the ostraca). However, in order to fully ascertain and produce a full classification of the rock that forms the basis of the ostraca, samplings will be conducted at a future stage of the project.

This will also enable micro-paleontological studies (nano-fossil identification, for instance) and geochemical discrimination analyses, such as those successfully applied to building stones from the same area.<sup>34</sup> The non-invasive Laser-Induced Breakdown Spectroscopy (LIBS) method developed by Jean-Marc Baele at the University of Mons will also be tested. Furthermore, morphological analyses and the classification of the shape of the ostraca will benefit from the use of the Multispectral Portable Light Dome (MS PLD).

The general shape, thickness, and completeness of the artefacts, as well as their possible special design (evidence of a resting edge, design of a specific outline for the ostrakon, etc.) are the features that we detail first. This requires a description of the two main faces of the ostraca, as well as their edges, in order to distinguish between natural and artificial scars, deliberate fragmentation, knapping, as well as excavation and ‘partage’ breakings. With respect to natural fractures, the reference work by Jean-Pierre Colbeaux,<sup>35</sup> which provides geological and morphological illustrations of natural fractures, was of great help, as were works by Henri de Leiris, Dov Bahat, and Are Tsirk<sup>36</sup> among an abundant literature dealing with the natural fracturing of rocks. Pelegrin and his co-authors also produced an essential contribution to the nomenclature of artificial knapping in their recent contribution, as well as providing examples of intentionally produced ostraca.<sup>37</sup> However, accurately distinguishing a limestone fragment that was deliberately produced by knapping from a fragment that was extracted during tomb cutting, for example, can sometimes prove difficult, and the criteria for making such a distinction need to be specified. In this case, we evaluated the intentional shaping of ostraca by examining whether or not successive knappings

34 De Putter et al. (2013).

35 Colbeaux (1972).

36 De Leiris (1974<sup>2</sup>); Bahat (1991); Tsirk (2014).

37 See Pelegrin et al. (2015: 344–352).

were organised, and if so, how they were organised. This permits a distinction between ostraca that resulted from one percussive blow (such as fragments produced by quarrying or from tomb digging) and ostraca that resulted from successive deliberate flakings. The surface condition of the fractures is also investigated in our study for evidence of weathering, polishing, scratching out, other signs of erasure, as well as other alterations that may help to differentiate between natural and anthropic fractures. This type of examination may also reveal dissolution features, deposition of mineral crystallites, or deliberate retouching and preparation of the surfaces.

Our second primary objective is to document the petrographic nature of the artefacts. All of the Brussels ostraca are made of limestone, and our goal therefore is to distinguish between the different kinds of limestone that comprise the ostraca. In addition to the observation of basic features, such as colour, this process determines the mineralogical and paleontological nature of the visible grains and components of the stone. Evaluating the size of the grains and the fossil evidence in the stone, as well as their proportions relative to micritic cement, allows for a more fine-grained description of the texture of the stone, from fine to granulose. Pluri-millimeter-sized fossils, such as Bryozoa or Pelecypods, may help to identify the stratification of the limestone, which generally coincides with the preferential fissility of the stone and with the planar development of the ostraca. Other significant features of the stone contribute to our classification of limestone types. Structural features linked to the post-sedimentary tectonic (mechanical) history of the rock—such as joints, small faults, and tiny calcite veinlets—are important complementary features. The weakness structures that derive from these small-scale tectonic

features, together with the stratification fissility of the stone, are among the major factors that contribute to the way in which the rock breaks; consequently, they influence the shape of the artefacts.

The lithologic features of the limestone can also be used in attempts to identify the provenience of an ostracon. Such attempts to address the geological nature and source of artefacts requires sufficient knowledge of the regional geology, mostly that of the Theban Mountain. The stratigraphic and geomorphological information used as the basis for our geo-archaeological approach was drawn from the detailed geological map recently published by Christian Dupuis and his co-authors (see fig. 1).<sup>38</sup>

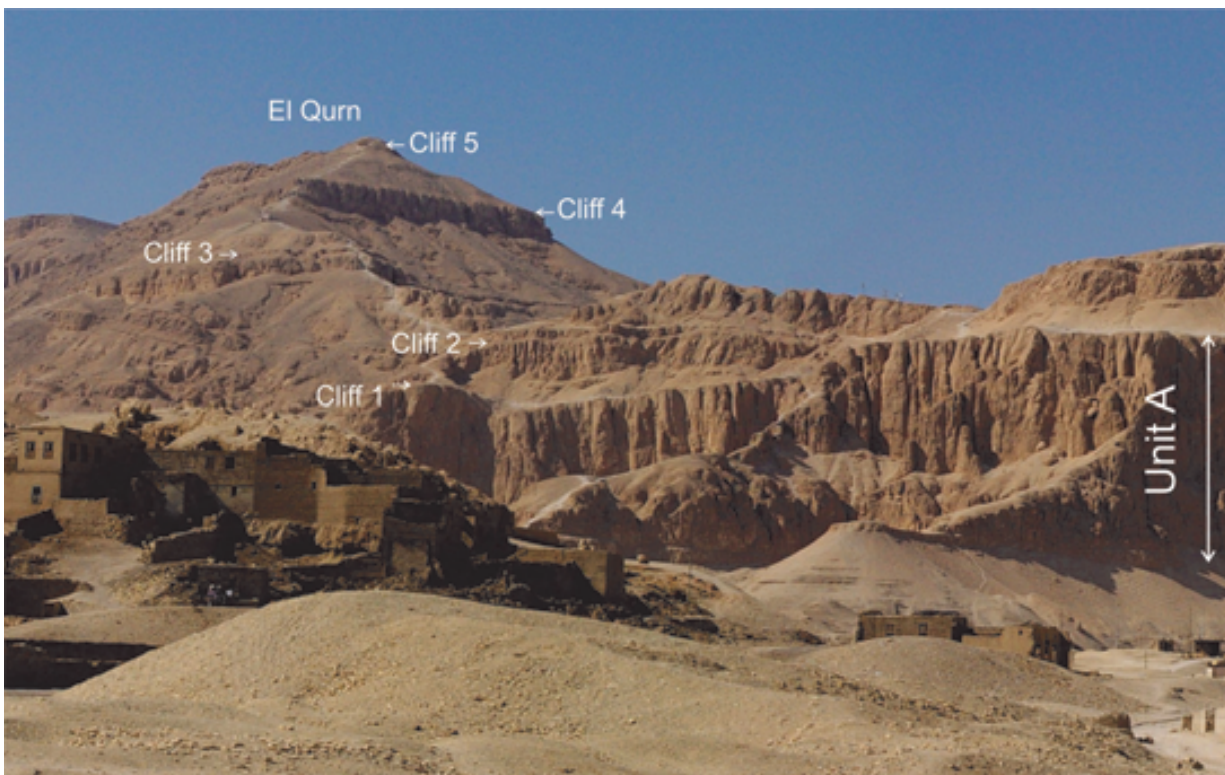
Figure 1a shows the view—from the Asasif area—towards El Qurn, the pyramidal summit that dominates the necropolises of the West Bank. Behind the Khokha hill (left foreground) stands the main cliff, approximately 100 m high, which corresponds to Unit A of the Thebes Limestone Formation; it stands above the Esna Shale, which slopes gently downwards (fig. 1b). This cliff cuts across the Theban Mountain until the Valley of the Queens, forming a prominent wall behind the Temple of Hatshepsut; the lower part of the cliff hosts the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings. Besides the main cliff, up to the peak of El Qurn, are several other outcrops that together form the five cliffs of the Thebes Limestone and the Minia Formations that frame the landscape. Together, they constitute useful landmarks that help to decrypt the mineral landscape and to correlate the geomorphology and the rock succession shown in figure 1b, where the large varieties of limestone are shown using different colours in the lithologic legend; note in particular the fine-grained varieties of limestone in green, of which several ostraca are made (red arrow).

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38 See Dupuis et al. (2011); King et al. (2017); Kaufmann et al. (2019).



a



b

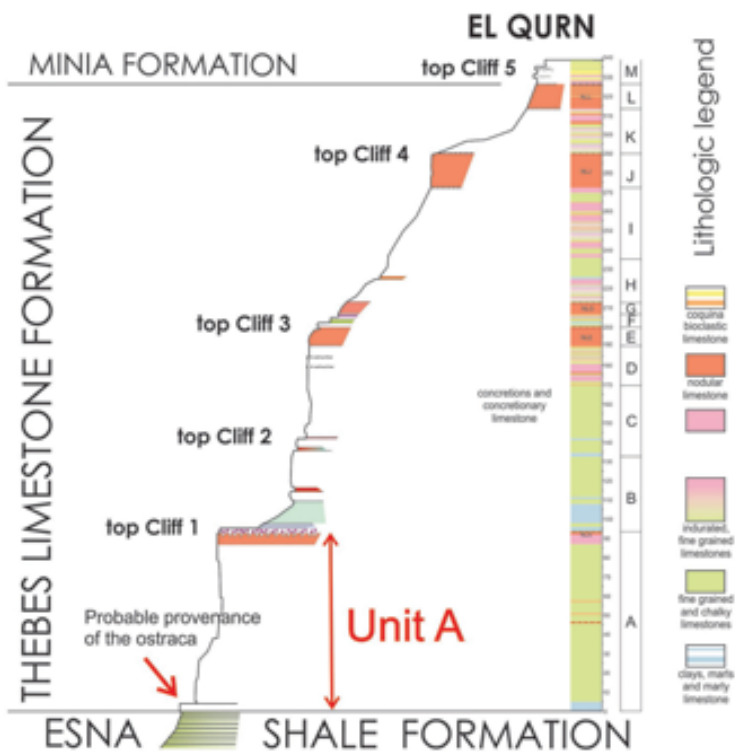


Fig. 1a and b. Landscape and stratigraphy of the West Bank opposite Luxor

a) Westwards view of El Qurn (“La Cime”), from Asasif. Khokha hill in the left foreground

b) Geomorphological and stratigraphic sections of the Paleocene-Eocene succession of the Theban Mountain, showing the position of Unit A, the probable origin of some of the limestone ostraca studied here (modified after Dupuis, Aubry, King, Knox, Berggren, Youssef, Galal & Roche 2011)

### 3.2. The RMAH limestone ostraca: a preliminary morphological and petrographic classification

Our investigation of the 35 Brussels limestone ostraca, using the methodology just described, leads to a twofold classification of the ostraca based on their petrography—discriminating

Theban *versus* non-Theban limestone, in turn—and on their morphology, where we employ a three-tiered scale for ranking the intentionality of the ostraca's shaping. To illustrate this, O. MRAH E.00303, E.00304, E.00320, E.02537, and E.06452, are taken as representative of the corpus.<sup>39</sup> The table below presents the resulting repartition of these five control ostraca (table 1).

Ostracon	Petrography		Morphology		
	Limestone support		1-Natural fragment	2-Knapped artefact	3-Intentionally shaped artefact
	Theban	Non-Theban			
E.00303	×			×	
E.00304	×				×
E.00320		×	×		
E.02537		×		×	
E.06452	×(?)		×		

Table 1. Petrographic and morphological classification of the five control ostraca

The morphological examination suggests three types of use and improvement of the ostraca: (1) natural fragments collected and used without any further transformation. Such artefacts exhibit only fractures and scars resulting from the natural mechanical movements of rock masses on hillslopes and/or resulting from the past activity of faults (for example, plumose structures on joints and tectoglyphs on fault mirrors). The surfaces of these artefacts often bear traces of weathering (karstic-like micro-corrosion) or of burial in an environment subject to mineralised water percolation (mineral crystallite deposition predating the writing); (2) knapped artefacts result from at least one knapping, but without any evidence suggesting that this was intended to produce an ostracon. They might, for example, reflect debris from stone quarrying or tomb digging;

(3) intentionally shaped artefact are intentionally made or improved fragments that exhibit signs of a process designed to shape the ostracon. Such artefacts may exhibit a specific shape—symmetrical, for example—or exhibit a planar facet that functioned as a resting base, obtained through regular retouching of the edges. The flaking on such objects must show clear signs of an organisational design that sought to predetermine the final morphology of the ostracon.

Petrographic analysis of these control ostraca reveals the use of four varieties of limestone: fine-grained pale beige limestone (E.00303, E.00304), finely granulose pale beige limestone (E.06452), medium-grained grey limestone (E.00320), and granulose pale grey greenish limestone (E.02537).

The fine-grained pale beige limestone of O. MRAH E.00303 and E.00304 can be attributed

<sup>39</sup> These five ostraca selected after 35 limestone ostraca were examined as representative samples of the limestones encountered. The kind of text they bear has not been considered when choosing them. The morphological and petrographical characteristics of O. MRAH E.00303 and E.06452 are described in detail below, in the section devoted to the case studies.



to Unit A of the Thebes Limestone Formation, and most probably to its base (fig. 1). As such, O. MRAH E.00303 and E.00304 would be of Theban origin; this is confirmed by the fact that they both come from Deir el-Medina, as mentioned by Luc Delvaux above. The finely granu-lose pale beige limestone of O. MRAH E.06452, bought in Luxor in 1930, is probably also of Theban origin, though this is expressed with a degree of reservation; it also most likely comes from Deir el-Medina. The limestone varieties that form O. MRAH E.00320 and E.02537 are strikingly different from the others (E.00303, E.00304, E.06452). Such coarse varieties of limestone are not, to our knowledge, recorded in the Theban region. O. MRAH E.02537 was found in Abydos; O. MRAH E.00320 was bought in Luxor, a situation which requires further examination.

#### 4. STUDY OF THE CERAMIC OSTRACA [S. B.]

##### 4.1. Objectives and methodology

One of the main objectives of our interdisciplinary project is to examine the technical and ceramological particularities of hieratic ostraca in order to ascertain how and why these pottery sherds were selected for use as writing supports.

The corpus of ceramic ostraca in Brussels consists of 30 jar docketts and 26 hieratic ostraca, of which 20 ostraca were examined. All of these are well-preserved though fragmentary. For this preliminary study, in addition to basic morphological descriptions of the sherds, we used a lens at 20 magnifications in order to specify their fabric. The primary objective of this process was to define the pottery types and their place of manufacture; we employed the Vienna fabric classification

system for Egyptian ware.<sup>40</sup> Foreign fabrics are defined as ‘imported fabrics’ and their approximate geographic origin is given. The inscriptions on the sherds were also examined and the prospect of potential as well as specific marks (such as cuttings) was also taken into account.

The chief difficulty was the precise identification of the fabric of the sherds. Unlike in field studies, it was not possible to make fresh breaks to the artefacts in the museum collection in order to identify and describe the sherd composition; such interventions naturally require special permission, and this could not unfortunately be obtained, in part due to the long lockdowns as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic and, in the case of inscribed ostraca, because of the damage this would do to the text. As such, despite the cleaning of the artefacts, some uncertainties persist.<sup>41</sup> That said, an acceptable sampling protocol will be established in the forthcoming months in close cooperation with the museum conservation department. Following this, mineral and chemical analyses will be conducted at the University of Mons in collaboration with Jean-Marc Baele in order to study the fabric of the ostraca in more detail. These analyses will comprise optical microscopy and cathodoluminescence (CL) on thin sections, as well as Laser-Induced Breakdown Spectroscopy (LIBS).<sup>42</sup> These analyses will permit much greater precision with respect to the composition of Egyptian ceramics.<sup>43</sup> Comparative analyses of sherds from different periods, along with other ceramological observations, may also provide information about the evolution of fabrics. Indeed, analyses of ostraca may be used to pursue research objectives proper to the wider field of ceramology. The extension of our study of the ceramic ostraca in the RMAH to other museum collections would allow further

<sup>40</sup> On the Vienna classification system, see Nordström & Bourriau (1993: 168–182).

<sup>41</sup> For example, even using a lens, it remains difficult to clearly identify the fabric of Nile clay.

<sup>42</sup> LIBS has already been used on Egyptian pottery dating to the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods; see Madkour et al. (2015).

<sup>43</sup> Physico-chemical analyses have already been made of Canaanite jars dating to the Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age, shedding valuable light on the composition and origin of these artefacts; see Ownby & Bourriau (2009).

verification of the hypotheses presented in this contribution, as well as permitting definitions of pottery types used as writing surfaces in the same areas.

#### 4.2. Preliminary results

This section sets aside the jar dockets and discusses only the ostraca, while four artefacts are used to illustrate our results: O. MRAH E.00308, E.00312, E.00318, and E.00322.<sup>44</sup> The texts on these objects did not play a role in their selection.

With respect to the choice of particular sherds as writing surfaces, our preliminary study shows that hard and dense fabrics were preferred for inscriptions. The surfaces of the ostraca often exhibit a clear colouration, resulting either from the firing or from the treatment of the surface with a white or creamy slip.<sup>45</sup> Texts appear on the outer surfaces of the sherds, as well as the inner surfaces, as with O. MRAH E.00318, while the inner surface of items made using Theban Marl clay possesses the same light red colouration as the outer surface.<sup>46</sup> The orientation of the inscriptions on the sherds is interesting; lines of text usually follow the orientation of the turning traces or the brush marks left by slipping or smoothing processes.<sup>47</sup>

At this stage of our analysis, no evidence of the preparation of sherds, such as subsequent shaping, has been observed, though the text on O. MRAH E.06439, which is not discussed in this preliminary study, does appear to follow the fracture.

A relevant factor in the choice of ostraca may have been the thickness of their walls: most

of the sherds studied here are between 0.5 and 1 cm thick. The orientation of the turning marks on the inner surfaces of the ostraca suggests that the sherds came from the lower sections of large closed objects, such as amphorae or storage jars. In addition, another technical particularity of New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period pottery can be observed on some of the ostraca in our corpus (such as E.00308). This is visible moulding on the inner surface of the lower part of large storage jars.<sup>48</sup> It is thus possible to suggest that fragments of large storage jars were preferred as written supports—probably because of the relatively flat surface and the hardness of the sherds.

With respect to the fabric of the ostraca, Nile clay is the fabric most frequently identified. O. MRAH E.00308, for example, consists of a hard, coarse, and reddish ware possibly corresponding to *Nile D*.<sup>49</sup> This fabric is usually described as a coarse ware composed of vegetal fibres, some quartz, and micas. Many white (and sometimes yellow) inclusions in this fabric seem to correspond to the limestone particles used as temper. The outer surface of O. MRAH E.00308 is covered by a creamy white slip, applied with a brush. This surface treatment is characteristic of New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period pottery. It is not possible to specify the shape of the complete vessel from which O. MRAH E.00308 derives, but certain types of storage jar in *Nile D* are often associated during the New Kingdom with a creamy white slip on the outer surface.<sup>50</sup>

44 Except for O. MRAH E.00322, a detailed description of each ostrakon is given below in the case studies.

45 At this stage of the study, there is no evidence of ostraca with a red slip.

46 This can also be observed on the ostraca made from Marl A4: O. MRAH E.00313 and E.00314.

47 An exception is O. MRAH E.00314 made from Marl A4, where the lines of text are oriented vertically to the turning traces.

48 Aston (1999: 39–40, pl. 8, no. 176); Boulet (2018: 338–339, fig. 3.g).

49 For a complete description of *Nile D*, see Aston (1996: 5, 7; 1999: 3–4; 2009: 320); Jacquet-Gordon (2012: 5); Nordström & Bourriau (1993: 174–175).

50 Aston (1996: 63–64, 298, fig. 196.c–j [Group 31]; 64, 301, fig. 199 [Groups 37–38]).

These types are large jar with bulging neck,<sup>51</sup> storage jar with thick rim,<sup>52</sup> or bottle.<sup>53</sup>

Egyptian Marl clay has also been observed amongst the ostraca. An example is O. MRAH E.00318, the fabric of which is *Marl A4 Variant 1*.<sup>54</sup> This Marl fabric, typical of the Theban area,<sup>55</sup> is characterised by a light red to green ware and is composed of fine limestone particles, quartz, and micas. Iron-red particles are also sometimes visible. The outer surface of this fabric is usually white to green, a result either of the firing process or of the slip. Items from the repertoire of New Kingdom pottery made in this fabric<sup>56</sup> include large jars with bulging necks<sup>57</sup> and neckless ovoid storage jars with thick rims.<sup>58</sup>

Finally, O. MRAH E.00312 and E.00322 consist of two different imported fabrics of Canaanite origin. O. MRAH E.00322, a coarse brown clear ware, exhibits shell inclusions, as well as silex, stone, iron-red particles, and limestone. As to O. MRAH E.00312, it is probably of Canaanite origin, but further analysis is needed in order to confirm its origin. These ostraca almost certainly derive from large jars, intended to transport oil and wine. Such products are found all over Egyptian territory during the New Kingdom.<sup>59</sup>

## 5. CASE STUDIES

### 5.1. Ostrakon MRAH. E.00303 (fig. 2)

**PROVENIENCE:** Bought at Luxor on 10th January 1901.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Speleers (1923: 49–50, no. 184); Gutgesell (1983: 107); *KRI* VII, 290, no. A 368; Helck (2002: 248); Černý NB 22.7 and 34.10 (note R. J. D.).

[L. D.]

**DESCRIPTION:** This limestone ostrakon consists of a thin triangular fragment. H: 11.25 cm; W: 10.25 cm; Th: 1.95 cm.

**MORPHOLOGY:** The rectilinear edge coincides with a natural tectonic joint perpendicular to the planar shape of the ostrakon, consistent with the stratification of the object. The two main faces of the ostrakon are relatively simple. Along the rectilinear edge, the obverse face exhibits a set of complex scars that reveal the impact that led to the creation of the piece. The left edge of the ostrakon is sharp, as a result of the intersection of the two main faces. The right edge of the ostrakon is thicker; it is bordered by an elongated facet with a corroded surface that throws a number of defects into relief, in particular some minute calcite veinlets that are approximately 0.1 mm thick. This edge suggests a late break,

51 Jacquet-Gordon (2012: 78,197, fig. 78.l [P. 1467]).

52 Jacquet-Gordon (2012: 82, 203, fig. 82.a [P. 554], 82.b [P.2043]).

53 Aston (1999: 30–32, pl. 5, no. 103).

54 Aston (1999: 4; 2009: 320–321); Jacquet-Gordon (2012: 6), which corresponds to the II.A.04 variant from Qantir; see Aston (1998: 64–65).

55 Recent studies have proposed that Medamud may have been an important site for the production of this fabric; see Barahona-Mendieta (2014); Relats Montserrat et al. (2016).

56 About a typology of Marl A4 jars from the New Kingdom, see Aston (2004: 198–199).

57 For some examples of jars with bulging necks, see Aston (1996: 66, 305–307, fig. 203–205 [Group 49]; 1999: 41–43, pl. 9, no. 184–185, 99–100, pl. 27, no. 797–803, 102–103, pl. 28, no. 839; 114–115, pl. 32, no. 990); Jacquet-Gordon (2012: 73, 187, fig. 73.bb [P.31]). On New Kingdom Egyptian amphorae, see Aston (2004).

58 Aston (1999: 20–21, pl. 2, no. 33, 39–40, pl. 8, no. 175–176, 101, 103, pl. 28, no. 821, 113–115, pl. 32, no. 979 and 997); Jacquet-Gordon (2012: 72, 183, fig. 72.e [P.526]).

59 On Canaanite jars, see Aston (1999: 23, 25, pl. 3, no. 44; 2004: 176–184); Bavay (2015); Nordström & Bourriau (1993: 185–186).

possibly resulting from an excavation accident. The face itself is bumpy with low amplitude undulations and scalings related to the knapping. The reverse does not exhibit evidence of strong adaptations, though it does display a discreet oblique erasure striation under the fourth line of writing. This artefact is interpreted as a splinter detached from an outcrop or a block; it is classified as a knapped artefact.

**PETROGRAPHY:** The ostrakon consists of a fine-grained limestone, pale beige in colour, with a relatively smooth surface fracture. It probably stems from Unit A of the Thebes Limestone Formation (see above, fig. 1). A few tiny, slightly raised rounded dots of less than 1 mm are dispersed across the surfaces of the ostrakon; these are foraminifera. Nearly invisible are a number of narrow calcite veinlets perpendicular to the planar design of the ostrakon; these emerge in almost parallel streaks, notably on the left facet.

The fissility of the rock, conforming to the stratification, displays in small parallel surfaces of rupture and scales near the original point of impact. This suggests that the workmen may have known about the fragility of the limestone and took advantage of this in knapping the planar rectilinear edge.

[C. D.]

**TEXT:** The ostrakon is inscribed in black ink on both sides, with 7 lines on the obverse and 6 lines on the reverse. It is incomplete and breaks off on the left side of the obverse. The ends of all the lines on the obverse, as well as lines 1–5 on the reverse, are missing. The top of the obverse corresponds to the bottom of the reverse.

The text comprises a list of commodities; it can be dated to Year 23 of Ramesses III.

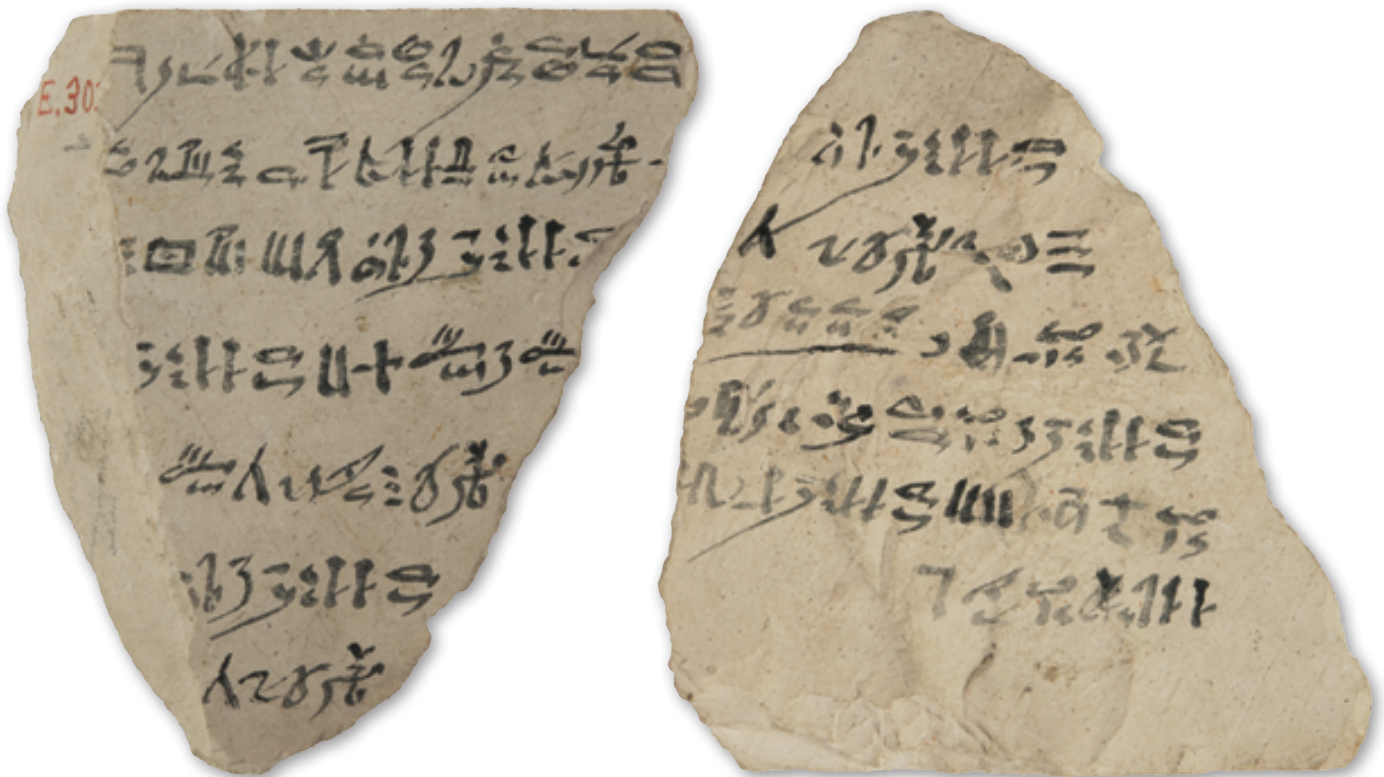


Fig. 2. Ostrakon MRAH. E.00303

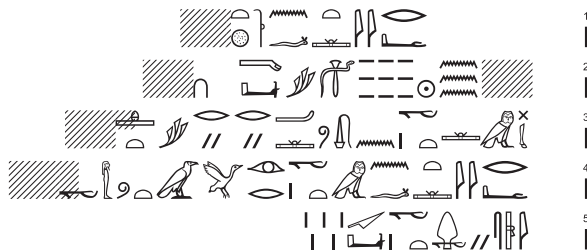


## TRANSCRIPTION:

## Obverse



## Reverse



## TRANSLITERATION:

## Obverse

- (1) *r rdi.t rh=tw 3h.t nb.t i.diw hry [...]*
- (2) *n hmww Kny-Mnw r t3 g3.t [...]*
- (3) *rdy.t n=f m rnp.t-sp 23 3bd III smw [...]*
- (4) *it-m-it h3r 2 rdy.t n=f [...]*
- (5) *w3d-smw mrw 10 it-[m-it...]*
- (6) *rdy.t n=f m rnp.t-sp [...]*
- (7) *w3d-smw mrw 10 [...]*

## Reverse

- (1) *rdy.t n=f m rnp.t-sp [...]*
- (2) *[S]mw sw 9 w3d-smw mrw 10 [...]*
- (3) *whm ht n sm 100 hrr(.t) htp? [...]*
- (4) *rdy.t n=f m ht <r> iri p3 twt n [...]*
- (5) *ht 3 nht 4 rdy.t n=f in ss I [...]*
- (6) *isy ht s'd 5*

## TRANSLATION:

## Obverse

- (1) List of all things which the chief [of police ...] gave
- (2) to the carpenter Qenymin for the box [...]
- (3) Given to him in year 23, Shemu 3 [...]
- (4) 2 khar of barley. Given to him [...]
- (5) 10 bundles of vegetables, [... of bar]ley [...]
- (6) Given to him in year [...]
- (7) 10 bundles of vegetables [...]

## Reverse

- (1) Given to him in year [...]
- (2) [She]mu, day 9, 10 bundles of vegetables [...]
- (3) Again: 100 (units of) firewood, flowers [...] baskets? [...]
- (4) Given to him in wood (to) make the statuette of [...]
- (5) 4 big pieces of sycamore-wood. Given to him by the scribe A[mun? ...]
- (6) 5 sawn logs of isy-wood.

## NOTES:

## Obverse

- (1) For the formula *r rdi.t rh=tw*, lit. 'to inform about' or 'list of,' see Haring (2003: 147–150).
- (2) The workman Qenymin, who also worked as a carpenter and sculptor, is known from Year 15 of Ramesses III (O. DeM 253, v° 3) until Year 2 of Ramesses IV (O. IFAO 574); see Davies (1999: 186 and charts 3, 15, 18).
- (3) The year is regnal year 23 of Ramesses III.

## Reverse

- (3) The incomplete signs at the end of this line probably reflect *htp*, 'basket.'
- (5) The name of the scribe at the end of this line is most probably composed using the element 'Amun.'
- (6) The scribe corrected the determinative of *isy* from M2 to M1.

[R. J. D.]

## 5.2. Ostrakon MRAH E.00308 (fig. 3)

**PROVENIENCE:** Bought between the Ramesseum and Dra'Abu el-Naga on 6th January 1901.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Speleers (1923: 50–51, no. 189).

[L. D.]

**DESCRIPTION:** This pottery sherd derives from the lower part of a large storage jar. H: 11.5 cm; W: 11 cm; Th: 0.8 cm. The text is written horizontally on the outer surface.

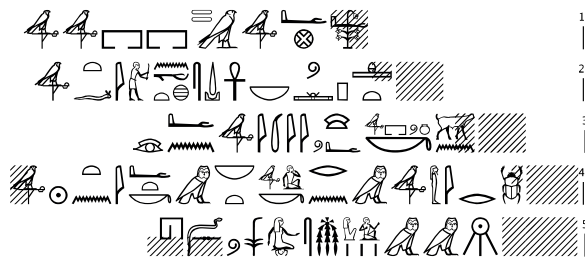
**FABRIC:** Possibly *Nile D.* The reddish-brown fabric is hard, dense, and sandy. It includes many limestone particles (from 0.1 to 3 mm in size), some being visible on the surfaces, as well as vegetal temper, quartz in average quantities, and golden mica. A creamy slip was applied with a brush to the outer surface. Traces of moulding can be observed on the inner surface.

[S. B.]

**TEXT:** The ostrakon is inscribed on one side (convex) with 5 lines in black ink. It is broken off on all sides. The beginning of each of the lines, as well as the end of line 5 and possibly also the end of line 4, are missing.

The text most probably represents a fragment of a solar hymn or a hymn to Amun-Re as a solar deity. Because the name of the deity appears in the first line of text, it is most likely that this line also represents the first line of the hymn. It can be dated palaeographically to the 20th Dynasty.

### TRANSCRIPTION:



### TRANSLITERATION:

- (1) [... 'Iwnw-]šm' Hr-šhty
- (2) [...] htp nb 'nh (w)d' s(nb) nht it
- (3) [...] hnw=k h'y.ti 'n
- (4) [...] Hpri m rn=k nb{.t} {<n>tk 'Itn
- (5) [...] illegible signs hnm<.t> ms sw ds[=f] h[...]

### TRANSLATION:

- (1) [...] the Southern [Heliopolis], Horakhty
- (2) [...] peace, lord of life, prosperity and health, the strong one, father
- (3) [...] your interior, you having appeared, beautiful
- (4) [...] Khepri, in each of your names. You are the sun disk
- (5) [...] illegible signs humanity, the one who begot [him]self h[...]

### NOTES:

- (1) The signs at the beginning of the line read . Speleers (1923: 50) transcribes , but instead of reading , it is possible to read as a ligature involving the *niw.t*-sign (O49), such as or ; compare with Posener (1978: pl. 54 a, 2 [] and 9 []), as well as pl. 55 a, 7 [] = O. DeM 1610, r° and v° respectively, and pl. 67 a, O. DeM 1642<sup>1</sup>, 3 []), and with Hagen (2011: pl. 13, O. E.GA.6116.1943, x+1 []), in which case the lost word would be a toponym. Taking into account both the nature of the text and the damaged sign that precedes the ligature, the remains of which fit with , I cautiously suggest reconstructing 'Iwnw-šm' here, though the orthography of šm' in 'Iwnw-šm' is different in, e.g., P. Leiden I 350, IV, 16 and in O. DeM 1722 + O. E.GA.6130.143, 3; cf. Zandee (1948: pl. IV, l. 16) = Leemans (1853–1862: pl. CLXII); Gasse (1990) and Hagen (2011: pl. 32–34). For following toponyms, see, e.g., Fischer-Elfert (1997: 140, 2 = oGardiner 310); Gül den (2001: 67, col. XV, 1 and pl. XIII).





Fig. 3. Ostracum MRAH E.00308

- (2) For *nht* ‘the strong one,’ compare with Assmann (1983: 251, l. 28, 252, l. 47 = TT 192), but see also (Knigge 2006: 189 = Cairo CG 42208), who translates ‘*der Helfer*.’
- (3–4) Compare with the passage from a hymn to Nun on O. Turin CGT 57428, v<sup>o</sup>1–2: *ntk it mw.t [n] Itn pr R<sup>c</sup> m hnw=k*; see López (1982: pl. 136a–136) = Fischer-Elfert (1997: 98–102, no. 19).
- (4) Compare with the passage of a hymn to the sun-god (?) on O. Berlin P 14263, v<sup>o</sup> 4: *ntk Itn n ‘h’y*; see Burkard (2021: 61–62).
- (5) The signs preceding *hnmm<.t>* are barely legible. Speleers (1923: 51) does not propose a transcription either. Further to this, epithets including *hnmm.t* are so numerous that any proposed solution would represent nothing more than a guess. See, e.g., P. Leiden I 344, v<sup>o</sup> 2, 3 and v<sup>o</sup> 9, 2 for *ir ‘nh*

*m hnmm.t* and *hntš ib n hnmm.t* = Zandee (1992: pl. 2, l. 3 and 9, l. 2, respectively); P. Cairo CG 58038, 6, 4 and 11, 4 for *ht n ‘nh n hnmm.t* and *thh n=f hnmm.t* = Luiselli (2004: 74, verse 31 and 98, verse 43, respectively); Assmann (1983: 389) for *hnmm.t* (in the index). A photograph of this ostracum using the Multispectral Portable Light Dome (MS PLD) may eventually permit a reconstruction of these signs.

For the epithet *ms sw ds=f* in solar hymns, see, e.g., Assmann (1983: 384, in the index); Gülden (2001: 9, col. II, 3 and pl. II). See also Leitz (2002: 412).

The *h* at the end of the line might represent the first sign of *hmhm* ‘to extol’ or *hnw* ‘to rejoice.’

[B. L.]

### 5.3. Ostrakon MRAH E.00312 (fig. 4)

**PROVENIENCE:** Bought between the Ramesseum and Dra' Abu el-Naga on 6th January 1901.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Speleers (1923: 51, no. 193); Černý NB 22.11 and 34.17 (note R. J. D.).

[L. D.]

**DESCRIPTION:** This pottery sherd comes from the lower part of a jar. H: 13.5 cm; W: 11.5 cm; Th.: 0.9 cm. The text is written horizontally on the outer surface.

**FABRIC:** Possibly of Canaanite origin. The fabric is coarse, hard, and dense. It includes many limestone particles (0.1 to 0.5 mm in size); a number of elongated red particles, both large and small; mica; some small black particles, which possibly represent the rare occurrence of visible shells; and some cavities. The fracture has a flaky appearance. The outer surface is smooth.

[S. B.]

**TEXT:** The ostrakon is inscribed on one side (convex) with 7 lines in black ink. The text is incomplete: it is broken off on all sides. The beginning and the end of each of the lines is missing. The text is a fragment of a so-called gift-giving list; see Janssen (1997: 55–86). This piece is almost certainly a fragment of O. DeM 10333, col. VII; cf. P. Grandet (2017: 314–315). Like other similar texts, it probably dates to the mid-20th Dynasty.

**TRANSCRIPTION:**

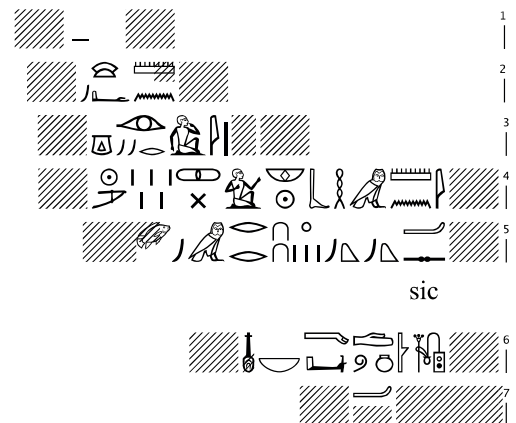


Fig. 4. Ostrakon MRAH E.00312

## TRANSLITERATION:

- (1) [...] *trace* [...]
- (2) [...] *Imn-h'w* [...]
- (3) [...] *1 irg[s...]*
- (4) [...] *Imn-m-hb 'kw šbn 5 R'-mr[y...]*
- (5) [...] *h{s}kḳ 20 rmw [...]*
- (6) [...] *sš-ḳdw.t Nb-nfr [...]*
- (7) [...] [*hk[k...]*]

## TRANSLATION:

- (1) [...] *trace* [...]
- (2) [...] *Amenkhew* [...]
- (3) [...] *1, [...]* basket [...]
- (4) [...] *Amenemhab, 5 assorted loaves.*  
*Ramer[y ...]*
- (5) [...] *20 heqeq-fruits, [...]* fish [...]
- (6) [...] *sculptor Nebnefer* [...]
- (7) [...] *he[req]-fruit* [...]

## NOTES:

- (2) Amenkhew is probably the son of Amemone II; see Davies (1999: 214 and chart 4).
- (3) For *irgs* 'basket,' see Janssen (1975: 149–150).
- (4) For the workman Amenemhab, see Davies (1999: 25, 41, and charts 3 and 5). He was probably the son-in-law of the chief workman Anherkhew II; he was active during the mid-20th Dynasty, like the workman Ramery and the sculptor Nebnefer.
- (5) While writing *hḳḳ*, the scribe made a mistake: the sign below the sign *hw* (F18) should not be *s* (O34) but the bookroll (Y1). For *hḳḳ*, a kind of fruit from Nubia, see Janssen (1975: 356–357).
- (7) The sign *hw* (F18) is most certainly the first sign of *hḳḳ*.

[R. J. D.]

## 5.4. Ostrakon MRAH E.00318 (fig. 5)

**PROVENIENCE:** Found on 3rd January 1901 in the 'grande excavation près du temple de Deir el Medineh.' On the reverse in pencil (partly illegible): '3 Janvier ... Deir el Medineh;' and in ink: 'O.H. 18' (Spiegelberg number?), as well as smudges of blue paint.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Speleers (1923: 51, no.199); Černý NB 22.12 and 34.26 (Notes R. J. D).

[L. D.]

**DESCRIPTION:** This pottery sherd possibly comes from the middle part of a large jar. H: 8 cm; W: 7.5 cm; Th: 0.8 cm. The text is written horizontally on the outer and inner surfaces and follows the turning traces. Traces of blue are visible on the inner part of the sherd.

**FABRIC:** The colour of the fabric is red-orange to grey. It is hard, dense and sandy, and corresponds to the Theban *Marl A4 Variant 1*. It is composed of many fine limestone particles (0.1 to 0.5 mm in size), quartz in average quantities, and mica. A white slip covers the outer surface.

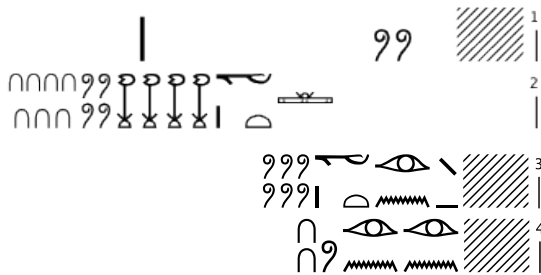
[S. B.]

**TEXT:** The ostrakon is inscribed in black ink on both sides, with 4 lines on the obverse (convex) and 1 line on the reverse (concave). The top obverse corresponds to the bottom reverse. The text is incomplete: it is broken off on all sides. The beginnings of lines 1, 3, and 4 on the obverse and of line 1 on the reverse are missing. The obverse is palimpsest: previous faint traces of horizontal and vertical lines are visible.

The text comprises a fragmentary account of firewood deliveries. For such accounts, see Janssen et al. (2003: 1–28). It can be dated to the mid-20th Dynasty.

## TRANSCRIPTION:

Obverse



Reverse



## TRANSLITERATION:

Obverse

- (1) [...] 200
- (2) *dmd ht* 4470
- (3) [...] *ir n ht* 600
- (4) [...] {*ir n*} *ir n* 120

Reverse

- (1) [... *m-*]*dr.t=f ht* 500

## TRANSLATION:

Obverse

- (1) [...] 200
- (2) Total: 4470 (units of fire)wood
- (3) [...]?, makes 600 (units of fire)wood
- (4) [...] makes 120

Reverse

- (1) [...] from him 500 (units of fire)wood

## NOTES:

Obverse

- (4) The scribe wrote *ir n*, 'makes' twice by mistake.

[R. J. D.]



Fig. 5. Ostracon MRAH E.00318



### 5.5. Ostracon MRAH E.06452 (fig. 6)

**PROVENIENCE:** Bought at Luxor in 1930.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Unpublished.

[L. D.]

**DESCRIPTION:** Limestone ostracon consisting of a thick, roughly triangular fragment. H: 10.5 cm; W: 9.5 cm; Th: 3.2 cm.

**MORPHOLOGY:** The two main faces of the ostracon bear the scars of natural shattering. The written face has an almost planar surface without any evidence of intentional flaking. It is truncated by the scar of a large chip that left a heaped surface with a hackle fringe—typical of spontaneous fracturing post-dating the inscription of the ostracon. The reverse exhibits at least four natural scars. None of these scars exhibit impact traces or signs of a deliberate knapping. On the contrary, specific features related to plumose fractures, including the fringes of hackles ('en-echelon-fractures'), as well as plumose and feather structures with ribs, are present. The surfaces of these fractures are covered with minuscule crystals (calcite?). On both faces, the writing post-dates the deposition of the crystals. This

means that, before it was inscribed, the fragment was collected from a rocky environment with vadose percolation of mineralising solutions in the fractures of an outcrop, a hillside scree, or in the rubble of a quarry. The piece was used without any preparation; it is thus classified as a natural fragment.

**PETROGRAPHY:** Finely granulose limestone, pale beige in colour. The rock shares a resemblance with the limestone of O. MRAH E.00303, though it looks more compact, and possibly recrystallised. No joints or veinlets are observable. Taken together with its resemblance to the limestone of O. MRAH E.00303, these characteristics suggest that this ostracon may have originated from another part of the Thebes Limestone Formation.

[C. D.]

**TEXT:** This ostracon is inscribed on one side with four lines in black ink, interspersed with verse-points in black ink. The beginning and the end of each line is missing. The reverse features a long, thick, hooked line in black ink, which might have belonged to a drawing or may reflect a pen trail.



Fig. 6. Ostracon MRAH E.06452

The text is a duplicate of the *Satire of the Trades*, Chapter 27. This ostrakon is not included in Helck (1970: 135–137) or Jäger (2004: 116–117, 152–153, 185–186, LXXXIII–V). Minor variations aside, this version of Chapter 27 is the same as that on O. Turin CGT 57082, r° and very close to the version on P. Turin CGT 54019, for which see López (1978: 42, pl. 37a–37) and Jurjens (2021: 110–111, fig. 1–3, 117), respectively.

#### TRANSCRIPTION:



#### TRANSLITERATION:

- (1) [... sr] m wpw.t\* i.dd=k sw mi ddf n=k\* [...]
- (2) [...] di[=f n=k] hnw\* wnn [...]
- (3) [...m wstn]-ib\* ib=f [...]
- (4) [...] tn [...]

#### TRANSLATION:

- (1) [... When a dignitary sends you] with a message, you shall repeat it as he told (it) to you. [...]
- (2) [...] causes jubilation [for you]. wnn [...]
- (3) [... unhin]dered. His heart [...]
- (4) [...] tn [...]

#### NOTES:

- (1) Based on Jäger (2004: LXXXIII–IV, 27,1/1–2) and Jurjens (2021: 117) for P. Turin CGT 54019, r° 2, 8, no other entirely preserved version of the sentence reads *n=k* at the end. For a grammatical analysis of the sentence, including the absence of the dependent pronoun *sw*, see Jurjens (2021: 119, no. 27,1), although the author quotes the sentence in O. MRAH E.06452 incompletely, omitting *n=k*.<sup>60</sup>

- (2) The orthography of *hnw* ‘jubilation,’ expanded with the determinatives of *hnw* ‘relatives,’ also appears on O. Turin CGT 57082, r° 5. The reconstruction of *n=k* is based on the Turin ostrakon and on O. DeM 1569, x+5; see Posener (1978: pl. 42 = [... di[=f n=k] hnw [...]).
- (2–3) *wstn-ib* also appears on O. Turin CGT 57082, r° 6 and on P. Turin CGT 54019, r° 2, 9. As such, *wstn* on O. Turin CGT 57082 is not an individual mistake, as Jäger (2004: 117) suggested (see also Jurjens 2021: 120, no. 27,2). The proposal that *wstn-ib* ended the same sentence as on P. Turin CGT 54019, r° 2, 9, namely {t}<i>w h<sup>3</sup>b.tw=f m ws[tn], advanced by Jurjens (2021: 120, no. 27,2), should be considered with greater caution, as the version of Chapter 27 on O. MRAH E.06452 and on O. Turin CGT 54082 differs from the version on P. Turin CGT 54019. The sentence following *hnw* starts with *wnn* [...] on the Brussels ostrakon and with *wnn ts* [...] on the Turin ostrakon, whereas the aforementioned sentence follows directly on P. Turin CGT 54019, r° 2, 8–9.
- (3) With the exception of this ostrakon and P. Turin CGT 54019, r° 2, 9, the surviving versions of the beginning of Chapter 27.3/1–2 show *iw=f*; see Jurjens (2021: 120, no. 27,3 and 118 for the translation put forward). Note that the beginning is lost on O. Turin CGT 57082, r°.
- (4) For *tn* < *tni* ‘jmd. des Amtes suspendieren; daraus entfernen,’ see Fischer-Elfert (1999: 120–122, especially 121–122, where this passage is examined, 373–374, and 471 for the index). See also Jäger (2004: 117, 186). Unfortunately, the Brussels ostrakon is broken in a way that makes it impossible to reconstruct the ending of *tn* and to propose an accurate translation. On the two possibilities for the ending, attested in the other sources, see Jäger (2004: 117, n. 27,3)

<sup>60</sup> Neither the RMAH nor the present author were informed of the inclusion of O. MRAH E.06452 in this study.



and Jurjens (2021: 120, no.27,3), who refer to Fischer-Elfert for the meaning of the sentence.

[B. L.]

## 6. SYNTHESIS

The preliminary petrographic study of the Brussels limestone ostraca enables us to distinguish between Theban and non-Theban stone. This investigation was certainly not aimed at defining the characteristics of Theban limestone, as this knowledge already exists, but can be exploited to define the characteristics of non-Theban limestones. In this respect, T. MRAH E.00580 and O. MRAH E.02537, both found at Abydos, prove extremely valuable. Because ostraca were used as writing surfaces in the same areas that the fragments were found or shaped, such knowledge becomes essential to the identification of the provenience of such ostraca as O. MRAH E.07626, E.07627, E.09152, and E.09153, for which no provenience is recorded in the museum archives. In this regard, it is also worth noting that the limestone of O. MRAH E.00320 is most probably non-Theban, although it was bought in Thebes in 1901. As such, it is therefore not necessarily the case that the places where ostraca were acquired reflect the places that they come from; not all ostraca bought in Luxor may come from Deir el-Medina or even from the West Bank of Thebes. Finally, the text written on an ostrakon can also be used to identify the origin of an artefact that exhibits unusual petrographic characteristics. In the case of O. MRAH E.06452, for example, the *Satire of the Trades* supports a

Theban provenience: the text was popular in Deir el-Medina and was a fixture of the literary production of the West Bank temples.<sup>61</sup>

The morphological study of the limestone ostraca highlighted three types or degrees of manufacture, from natural fragments to intentionally shaped ones. These degrees of manufacture do not correlate either with the (literary or non-literary) genres of the texts on the ostraca or with the quality of the handwriting. O. MRAH E.06452, for example, is a natural fragment that carries a chapter of the *Satire of the Trades* written in an elegant hand,<sup>62</sup> while O. MRAH E.00304 is an intentionally shaped ostrakon that bears palimpsests consisting of lists of commodities.<sup>63</sup> That said, while the genre of a text cannot be correlated with the degree of manufacture of the ostrakon on which it was written,<sup>64</sup> palimpsests might possibly indicate that shaped ostraca were seen to possess greater value than natural fragments. This, however, remains to be investigated, as such a conclusion would be plausible if a majority of palimpsests were found on shaped ostraca. It is also worth pointing out that, on O. MRAH E.00303, the scribe began to write his list of commodities on the surface of the ostrakon that was ‘in’ the block or the outcrop before it was detached, which explains the ‘bumpy’ and irregular obverse, in contrast to the flat reverse. It can be inferred from this that flatness was not necessarily a quality that scribes sought when selecting a fragment of stone. Similar observations have been made by Pelegrin and his co-authors, who explain the choice of this

61 See Koenig (1993: 53); Mathieu (2003: 121–122, 134, table 1); Müller (2014); Barbotin (2014: 77); Hagen (2021: 5–8); compare Jurjens (2021: 112). For a broader perspective on the New Kingdom literary canon, see Hagen (2019: 205–207, with an abundant bibliography).

62 The relationship between the degree of manufacture of limestone ostraca and the quality of the handwriting or drawings on the ostraca is not addressed by Pelegrin et al. (2015), whose focus is on the morphology of the ostraca only.

63 See Speleers (1923: 50, no. 185).

64 For what this comparison is worth, Moezel (2022: 60–61), notices that ‘there is no systematic relation between categories of text [belonging to the group of the “necropolis administration”, to use the terminology put forward by the author] and types of layout’ either, confirming thereby previous conclusions on this issue by Christopher Eyre, but also adds that ‘it seems that, instead of working with fixed formats, scribes were more concerned with the *Textträger* and adapted their texts to them.’ See also Moezel (2022: 167–168).

‘inner’ surface by a preference for fresh breaks and their porosity, grain, and light colour.<sup>65</sup>

The preliminary results of the ceramological study also emphasise that the ceramic ostraca often possess a clear colour; like the white limestone, this ensured readability. Likewise, hard and dense fabrics as well as thick sherds were favoured: this certainly answered the need for solidity and stability of support, qualities also offered by stone. Lastly, sherds derived from large shapes seem to have been preferred as they offered a writing surface that was as flat as possible, whilst the lines of text were usually written in the same direction as the turning traces. As to the fabrics, the most commonly identified fabrics are Nile clay and Marl clay. O. MRAH E.00318, for example, is made from the latter, which is typical of the Theban area. The mention of Deir el-Medina both on the inventory card of this ostrakon and on its reverse thus aligns with this identification. In short, just as the characteristics of the limestone of an ostrakon can contribute to a determination of its provenience, the fabric of a ceramic ostrakon can also work to help establish provenience, with the proviso that jars travel, such that sherds most probably become ostraca in their area of use, not in their area of production, even if these two locations are not necessarily far removed from one another. In sum, despite their obvious differences, the material study of limestone and ceramic ostraca can help to clarify their provenience.

It is also worth noting that certain characteristics of the MRAH ceramic ostraca have been observed by Caputo for Greek and Coptic ceramic ostraca too: ‘light-colored surfaces,’ although this criterion does not seem to be decisive, and ‘the systematic use of fragments from a specific category

of vessels.’<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, many palimpsests have been identified by Caputo and James M.S. Cowey among the demotic ostraca from Philadelphia, ‘suggest[ing] that the sherds were appreciated precisely for their shape and because they were easy to write on,’<sup>67</sup> a description that might be applied to O. MRAH E.00311, of which list of commodities is a palimpsest too,<sup>68</sup> as well as to the shaped limestone O. MRAH E.00304. In both cases, it may have been the quality of the support that motivated the scribe to reuse it.

The results of the interdisciplinary research presented in this paper are preliminary. The study and edition of the Brussels ostraca and jar docketts is an ongoing project and further analyses remain to be conducted. Nevertheless, certain avenues already appear very fruitful: the similarities between both categories of ostraca with respect to the choice of the material are highly suggestive, even though hypotheses remain numerous. This is easily explained by the complexity of the issues related to ostraca, however, in particular when their textual and material data are combined. In sum, this paper essentially reveals the potential of a holistic approach to these artefacts, combining philological, geological, and ceramological analyses of ostraca as text supports with the wider goal of investigating the writing process.

[B. L.]

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<sup>65</sup> See Pelegrin et al. (2015: 344, 350–351).

<sup>66</sup> Caputo (2020: 44–45, for the quotations, and 44–51 for the complete results). See Dorn (2011: 74) for the practice, also pointed out by Caputo (2020: 49–51), of using sherds from the same jar, which was most probably set aside for that purpose; Lougovaya (2018). See also Bavay & Delattre (2013: 383–384) about the Coptic Theban tax receipts.

<sup>67</sup> Caputo & Cowey (2018: 74).

<sup>68</sup> See Speleers (1923: 51, no. 192), as well as Janssen (1975: 30).

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# New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in Danish Collections

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## ABSTRACT

The paper presents an overview of the New Kingdom hieratic texts held in collections in Denmark as well as a short account of how they came to be there. It amounts to eight texts, five written on papyri and three ostraca. Among the texts are three medical papyri, one copy of the *Teaching for King Merikare*, a Ramesside letter, an administrative text, a magical or funerary spell, and a fragmented text of perhaps literary character.

## 1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS

In Denmark, two collections contain hieratic texts dating to the New Kingdom: the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection and the National Museum of Denmark. The number of such texts in both collections is relatively modest; the former contains five texts inscribed on four papyri, and the latter contains three ostraca (see further below). Of the two collections, the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection constitutes the largest assemblage of texts by far, comprising papyri written in the hieratic and demotic scripts, as well as several hieroglyphic, Coptic and Greek documents. Significantly, the collection includes the bulk of the material recovered from the Tebtunis temple library, dating from the 1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE, an overview of which is provided by K. Ryholt (2005; 2019: 392–400).

The presence of ancient Egyptian texts in Denmark—and the formation of two papyrus

collections in Copenhagen, the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection and the Papyrus Hauniensis Collection—is largely thanks to the Danish Egyptologist Prof. H(ans) O(stenfeld) Lange (for a detailed account of Lange’s professional life, see Hagen & Ryholt 2016: 164–182). Lange’s passion for Egypt led to two lengthy stays in the country (1899–1900 and 1929–1930). Due to limited funds, his first visit resulted only in a few acquisitions. Following his return from Egypt, Lange was appointed Head Librarian of the Royal Danish Library in 1901, a capacity in which he served until 1924. During this time, Lange was not able to travel to Egypt himself though he continued to seek out papyri through intermediaries such as Ludwig Borchardt and Valdemar Schmidt. In 1920, with funds from the Carlsberg Foundation, he succeeded in acquiring a number of Greek papyri in addition to a few papyri written in Coptic, Arabic, Demotic, hieratic and Latin; in 1922, the foundation donated the papyri to the University of Copenhagen, thus forming the Papyrus Hauniensis Collection.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Papyrus Hauniensis Collection was further expanded by additional acquisitions in the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

In 1924, a graduate program in Egyptology was established at the University of Copenhagen, and Lange retired from the Royal Library in order to take up a position as a lecturer at the newly established Egyptological Institute. Only in 1929 did he have the opportunity to travel to Egypt once again, this time with much better funding. It was during this visit that he acquired two of the three New Kingdom hieratic ostraca that he later bequeathed to the National Museum. He purchased these on the Theban west bank on two separate occasions. The third ostrakon cannot readily be identified with any of the objects mentioned by Lange in his diaries or correspondence (Hagen 2015: 87–94).

During his second visit to Egypt, Lange also purchased a hieratic papyrus for the sizeable sum of £200. The papyrus, which eventually became part of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, has since disappeared, but the price indicates that it was of substantial size. It was most likely inventoried as P. Carlsberg 10 or 11 and may have contained texts of a magico-religious character. The dealer who sold the papyrus, G. Loukianoff, suspected that it was part of the New Kingdom papyrus P. Leiden I 348 (Borghouts 1971). The missing papyrus was the subject of E. Iversen's original doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Copenhagen, though he regrettably withdrew this thesis in 1952 and replaced it with one concerning Egyptian art. Because the original thesis was never archived, the contents of the missing papyrus remain unknown (Hagen & Ryholt 2016: 173). The papyrus was perhaps still in the possession of Iversen when he died in 2001 and therefore may have ended up as part of his estate.

The bulk of Lange's acquisitions were accomplished in the period 1931–1938 after his return from Egypt, when batches of papyri from the Tebtunis temple library were continuously appearing on the antiquities market. The purchases were made possible by the Carlsberg Foundation, which repeatedly provided the funds necessary to acquire the material that came to Lange's attention.

The foundation officially donated the collection to the University of Copenhagen in 1938, when it became the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection.

In the same period, Lange acquired a New Kingdom hieratic text, now inventoried as P. Carlsberg 6, again with funds supplied by the Carlsberg Foundation. The papyrus contains a well-preserved section of the *Teaching for King Merikare*, which Ludwig Borchardt offered for sale to Lange in 1937. Borchardt had acquired the papyrus some years before but decided to sell it after his hopes of finding a German scholar of Jewish or Semitic descent to publish the manuscript were dashed, as had been his intention following the *Berufsverbot* and the increasing anti-Semitism in Germany at this time (Hagen & Ryholt 2016: 181–182).

The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection has gradually been enlarged since the primary acquisitions in the 1930s, most notably by A. Volten in 1954 with funds provided by the Carlsberg Foundation. Acquisitions for the collection also continue today. The most recent major acquisition took place in 2012 with funds from the Augustinus Foundation and the Carlsberg Foundation, consisting of 53 documents—the so-called Adler papyri—constituting the family archive of the mercenary Horos, who was stationed at Pathyris in the 2nd to 1st centuries BCE. The most recent addition of New Kingdom material to the Carlsberg Collection is P. Carlsberg 917, which consists of two sections of a hieratic medical papyrus; it was acquired in 2015 with funding from the Augustinus Foundation and the Carlsberg Foundation.

## 2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MATERIAL

### 2.1. Number of texts

The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection contains five New Kingdom hieratic texts, all of which are recorded on papyrus: P. Carlsberg 6, P. Carlsberg 8 r<sup>o</sup>, P. Carlsberg 8 v<sup>o</sup>, P. Carlsberg 326, and P. Carlsberg 917. The collection of New Kingdom

hieratic texts in the National Museum constitutes three ostraca: O. NM 11677, O. NM 11678, and O. NM 11679.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2. Provenance

As noted above, all the New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection were purchased on the antiquities market, and their provenience is not known. In the case of P. Carlsberg 326, however, the findspot can perhaps be identified. Christiansen & Olsen (2015: 330) have argued that the document belongs within Černy's corpus of late Ramesside letters from Deir el-Medina and that it might have been obtained by Qurnah locals in 1933—either through illegal excavations

or theft—after which it ended up on the antiquities market in Cairo. If this argument is correct, the papyrus was perhaps mixed with the Tebtunis material in Cairo and ended up in Copenhagen as part of one of the Tebtunis lots acquired by Lange.

As to P. Carlsberg 6, it was purchased by Borchardt in the early 1930s, regrettably with no information as to its provenience. In this respect, Borchardt (1933: 45) noted: *‘Für die bei solchen Stücken naheliegende Vermutung, daß er irgendwo auf der Westseite von Theben gefunden worden sei, habe ich bisher keinen Anhalt.’* The provenience of P. Carlsberg 8 is likewise unknown, and nothing in the text itself provides any clues to its geographical origins. Even the acquisition history

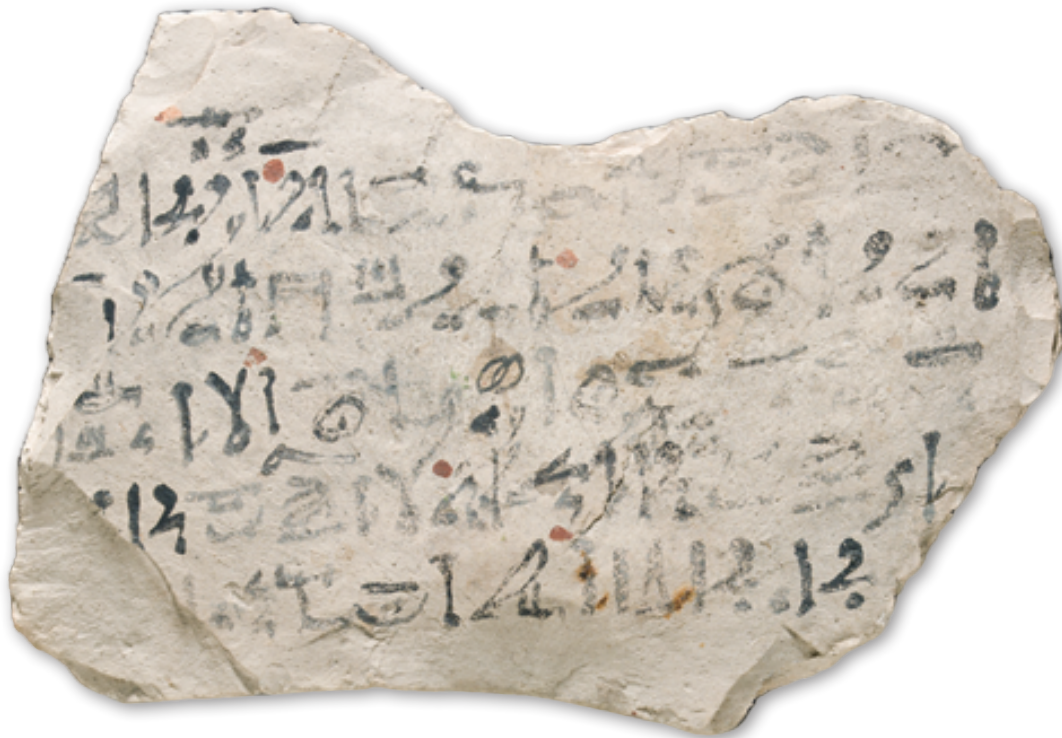


Fig. 1. The magical or funerary O. NM 11677  
(© The National Museum of Denmark)

<sup>2</sup> To these should be added the fake papyrus roll P. Copenhagen NM AAÆ 6, which consists of a stick with affixed fragments inscribed with cursive hieroglyphs, one of which contains the owner's (fragmented) name in hieratic (*p<sup>3</sup>* [...]) (Christiansen & Ryholt 2016: 21, pl. 93). It was dated to the Ramesside Period by Christiansen & Ryholt 'based on the cursive hieroglyphs and the colored border-lines with four lines and three bars' (2016: 21).



of this papyrus is unclear as none of Lange's notes or letters can be recognized as referring to the manuscript.

The more recent acquisition P. Carlsberg 917 is also of unknown provenience. It was previously in the possession of a French private collector, a Philippe Brossellet, who purchased the manuscript from Joseph Khawam et Cie. in Cairo in 1974 and brought it to France. Upon Brossellet's death, the papyrus was sold on behalf of the estate by the Khawam company to the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection in 2015. Some years after the acquisition of P. Carlsberg 917, T. Bardinet (2018) published a preliminary translation of P. Louvre E 32847, a medical papyrus that has been in the Louvre Museum's collection since 2006. His publication confirmed what had previously been suspected, namely that P. Carlsberg 917 forms part of P. Louvre E 32847. Together, they comprise a papyrus measuring just over six meters in length, thus constituting the second longest medical text preserved from ancient Egypt (surpassed only by the 18-meter-long P. Ebers). Like P. Carlsberg 917, P. Louvre E 32847 was privately owned before

being incorporated into the Louvre collection; it was first purchased by a French private collector in Cairo in 1953 and brought to France. The state of preservation of P. Louvre-Carlsberg suggests that it might have come from a tomb, but it is impossible to determine its provenience with any certainty.

With respect to the three National Museum ostraca, at least two were purchased by Lange during his second stay in Egypt. Both purchases took place on the Theban west bank: O. NM 11678 was bought from a dealer in Dra Abu el-Naga and O. NM 11679 from a seller in Qurnah. The third ostracum may derive from Lange's first visit to Egypt, though it may equally have been purchased after his second visit when he had several dealers seeking out ostraca on his behalf (Hagen 2015: 90–94). All three of the ostraca most likely originate in Deir el-Medina. This is suggested by the place of acquisition of two of them as well as the typical provenience of Ramesside ostraca, though it is possible that the 18th Dynasty O. NM 11679 may have come from the area around Deir el-Bahri (Hagen 2015: 87, 101).



Fig. 2. P. Carlsberg 6, the *Teachings for King Merikare* (© Papyrus Carlsberg Collection)



### 2.3. Distribution according to genre

In addition to the *Teaching for King Merikare* (P. Carlsberg 6), the assemblage of New Kingdom hieratic texts in Danish collections appears to include another highly fragmentary literary text (O. NM 11678). Among the non-literary sources are three medical treatises (P. Carlsberg 8 r<sup>o</sup>, P. Carlsberg 8 v<sup>o</sup>, P. Carlsberg 917), a Ramesside letter (P. Carlsberg 326), a magical or funerary spell (O. NM 11677) and an administrative text (O. NM 11679).

The *Teaching* represents a piece of instructional literature set in a royal context (Quack 1992). In addition to P. Carlsberg 6, the text is recorded on two other papyri, P. St. Petersburg 1116A v<sup>o</sup> and P. Moscow 4658, as well as a fragmented ostrakon, O. DM 1476. The Carlsberg copy covers parts of the final six columns of the *Teaching* and measures c. 19 cm in height and 85 cm in length. The manuscript is a palimpsest and most likely dates to the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty.

The highly fragmented O. NM 11678 measures c. 7.5 × 9 cm and contains traces of three lines

on the front and four lines on the back, all in black ink. Due to the illegibility of the text, the genre is difficult to identify, but Hagen (2015: 98) has suggested that it is literary.

As noted above, the non-literary material includes three medical treatises, all of which are recorded in neat bookhands, two dating to the 18th Dynasty (P. Carlsberg 8 r<sup>o</sup>, P. Carlsberg 917) and one dating to the 19th Dynasty (P. Carlsberg 8 v<sup>o</sup>). P. Carlsberg 8 r<sup>o</sup> contains an ophthalmological treatise, while the verso, which was recorded some generations after the recto, contains a gynaecological treatise. Common to both the recto and verso texts is a long transmission history, with several of the treatments and practices described in the texts continuing in use over thousands of years into premodern European folk medicine (Iversen 1939; Schiødt, in preparation). The papyrus is regrettably fragmented and measures only some 45 cm in length divided over several fragments. The height is not known but it presumably measured 30–34 cm judging from the dimensions of the extant corpus of scientific papyri from the 18th Dynasty.





Fig. 3. Overview of the placeable fragments of P. Carlsberg 8 r,  
an 18th Dynasty medical treatise on diseases of the eye (© Papyrus Carlsberg Collection)

As to P. Louvre-Carlsberg (P. Louvre E 32847 + P. Carlsberg 917), it measures just over six meters in length. At least one, perhaps two, sections of text are currently missing; each of these sections are presumably 1 meter or more in length, as the papyrus was cut into pieces of this length in modern times, meaning that the original manuscript was at least seven meters long. The height of the papyrus is not known but it is estimated at around 34 cm. The manuscript covers a wide variety of topics within the medical sphere and beyond and includes treatises of unique content (see case study below).

As noted above, the late Ramesside letter P. Carlsberg 326 might have originated in Deir el-Medina. The document measures 19.6 cm in height and only 12.5 cm in width; both the right and left sides of the papyrus are broken off. Judging from the standard dimensions of letters from this period, the original papyrus was presumably some 21–22 cm wide. The document, which appears to

concern some kind of dispute, is a palimpsest consisting of 10 lines of text on the recto and traces of the address on the verso (Christiansen & Olsen 2015).

As to the Ramesside ostrakon O. NM 11677, it measures c. 12 × 18.5 cm and contains five lines of text on the front in black ink with red verse points. It is titled “Spell for opening the road before the feet of a man” and is either magical or funerary in character, though it is perhaps more likely to belong to the world of the living (Hagen 2015: 94–98).

O. NM 11679 is the only administrative text of the lot. It measures c. 9 × 5 cm and contains four lines of text on the front in black ink. The text almost directly parallels O. Berlin P 11253. Both texts presumably date to the 18th Dynasty and record either absence from work or a delay of work (Hagen 2015: 98–102).



Fig. 4. P. Carlsberg 326, a late Ramesside letter  
(© Papyrus Carlsberg Collection)





Fig. 5. O. NM 11679, a small administrative text  
(© The National Museum of Denmark)

## 2.4. Published and unpublished material

All of the texts discussed above are published except for two of the three medical treatises—P. Carlsberg 8 r<sup>o</sup> and P. Carlsberg 917—which are currently being prepared for publication by the present author. A preliminary text edition of P. Carlsberg 917 (and parts of P. Louvre E 32847) is available in Schiødt (2020). A re-edition of P. Carlsberg 8 v<sup>o</sup> is also being prepared by the present author, as the original edition does not include all the fragments of the papyrus. All of these texts will be made available in *The Carlsberg Papyri* series. As for the already published texts, note the following editions:

1. **P. Carlsberg 6:** Borchardt (1933), Volten (1945), Helck (1977), Quack (1992).
2. **P. Carlsberg 8 v<sup>o</sup>:** Iversen (1939), Grapow (1958), von Deines et al. (1958).
3. **P. Carlsberg 326:** Christiansen & Olsen (2015).
4. **O. NM 11677, O. NM 11678, O. NM 11679:** Hagen (2015).

## 3. CASE STUDY: P. LOUVRE-CARLSBERG

As noted above, the six-meter-long P. Louvre-Carlsberg (P. Louvre E 32847 + P. Carlsberg 917) makes up the second longest surviving medical text from ancient Egypt. P. Louvre E 32847 consists largely of the uppermost sections of the manuscript, while P. Carlsberg 917 consists of parts of the bottom. The manuscript is not only singular in its size but also in its content. Several of the treatises included in the manuscript are entirely unique; this is extraordinary in light of the rest of the medical corpus, which displays a remarkable degree of standardization.

P. Louvre-Carlsberg is divided into five sections. Two of these sections list *phr.t*-recipes with wide-ranging goals; one is a herbal treatise on the divine *snw-p.t*-plant and its seed, the *‘nh-imi*; another concerns various types of swellings of the body; and another is an embalming manual that provides instructions on the mummification process.

The sections listing various forms of *phr.t*-recipes (a succinct recipe type) conform to what might be expected of an Egyptian medical text; indeed, almost half of the recipes are paralleled once or more elsewhere. By contrast, the other three treatises contain hardly any duplicate recipes.

The treatise on the divine *snw-p.t*-plant and *'nh-imi*-seed includes sections that conform to the standard format of herbal entries as attested in later herbal collections. As such, it can be defined as a *specialized herbal*, representing a separate branch of the herbal genre that is otherwise unattested and which—instead of listing the appearance, habitat, and properties of many different herbs—is confined to outlining this information on a single herb. In addition to supplying information about the medical properties of the plant and seed, the treatise also describes their uses in the funerary sphere and includes elaborate mythological narratives that serve to underline their divine origins and magical properties (Schiødt, in press).

As to the treatise on swellings and related skin lesions, it is the lengthiest treatise in the manuscript, covering just over 27 columns. A large part of it consists of *šš<sup>3</sup>.w*-recipes (a much more elaborate recipe type than the *phr.t*-recipe), which provide relatively detailed descriptions of the physical manifestations of the skin lesions under discussion. The rest of the treatise consists of spells that

project the diseases into the divine sphere, from which underlying disease conceptions can be gleaned. The treatise centers on the moon god Khonsu, who was perceived as the sender of swellings and related skin diseases (Schiødt 2023).

Lastly, P. Louvre-Carlsberg also contains an embalming manual that provides instructions concerning various manual actions performed during mummification, serving to underline the close association between medical practice and embalming. The manual represents one of just three embalming treatises known from ancient Egypt and predates the other texts by around 1500 years. Although it covers only three columns, the manual provides entirely new information on the practice of embalming and facilitates reconstruction of the 70-day process. Several of the instructions refer to four-day intervals, which appear to form the basis of the mummification procedure, so that each manual action was undertaken according to this interval until the mummy was finished on day 68, after which resurrection rites were performed on day 69 and burial took place on day 70.

P. Louvre E 32847 is available in a preliminary translation by T. Bardinnet (2018), while a preliminary edition of P. Carlsberg 917 alongside substantial parts of the Louvre papyrus can be found in Schiødt (2020).

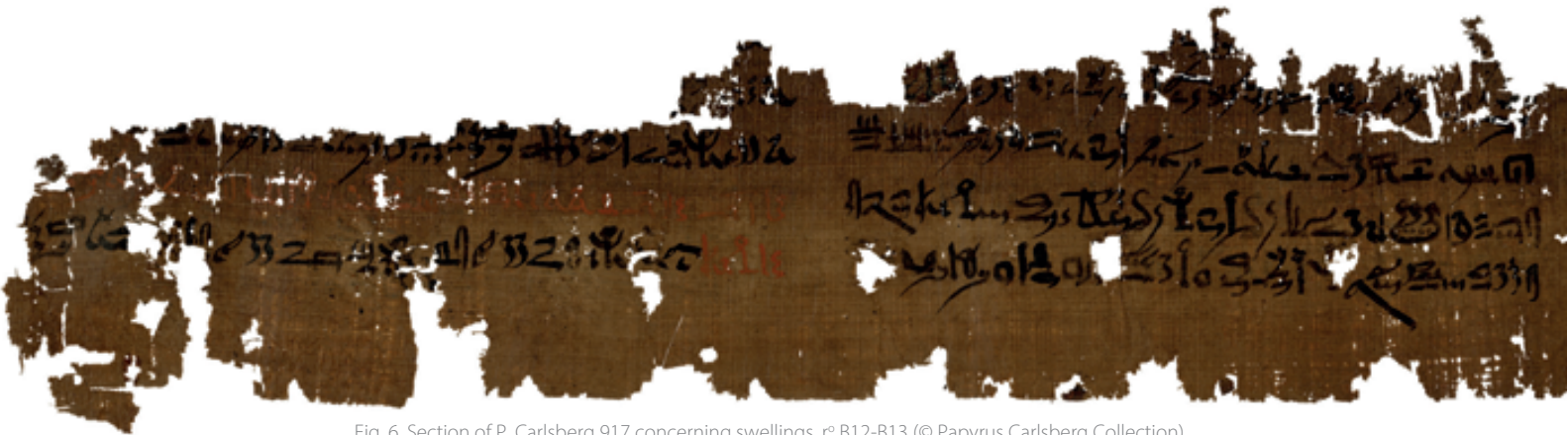


Fig. 6. Section of P. Carlsberg 917 concerning swellings, r<sup>o</sup> B12-B13 (© Papyrus Carlsberg Collection)



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# The New Kingdom Hieratic Material in the Ägyptisches Museum & Papyrussammlung in Berlin

## A Brief Overview

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### ABSTRACT

In this article, I provide an overview of the New Kingdom Hieratic (NKH) material housed in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin. I begin with a summary of the material's acquisition history, which stretches from 1827 (when the first Hieratic papyrus dating to the New Kingdom entered the Berlin Museum as part of the purchase of Giuseppe Passalacqua's collection) to 1981 (when NKH material was last added to the collection). This is followed by an overview of the NKH materials themselves, in which I detail their quantities, their textual contents, and their provenance and find spots. I also provide a note on the numbering system used by the Berlin Museum.

### 1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS IN BERLIN

#### 1.1. The Early Period: 1827–1872

The history of the NKH material in Berlin began in 1827 when the Prussian King acquired the Paris collection of Giuseppe Passalacqua (1797–1865).<sup>1</sup> The following year, Passalacqua became the first director of the Egyptian Museum Berlin. Among the more than 1500 objects in his collection were three Ramesside items. One papyrus consists of a set of school exercises from Thebes (P 3034). Two other papyri were found in a vessel in Saqqara and consist of a medical handbook (P 3038) and the protocol from a court hearing (P 3047). A further

object is a dummy canopic jar (ÄM 4727). Some months later, a further papyrus containing writing exercises (P 3043) was purchased from the former collection of the Austrian military officer and diplomat Franz von Koller (1767–1826).

Hieratica have consistently numbered amongst the subsequent additions to the Berlin collection, though at no point were Hieratica sought exclusively as a matter of policy, and further NKH material did not reach Berlin until 1852. In that year, Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884) donated objects from the *Königlich Preußische Expedition nach Aegypten und Aethiopien* led by him. The donation contained nine NKH papyri, including letters and religious and cultic texts,<sup>2</sup> as

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1 A biography of G. Passalacqua and a catalogue of his collection is currently under preparation by J. Moje as editor.

2 Pap. Berlin P 3019–21, P 3050, P 3065–67, P 5509, P 7519.



Fig. 1. Pap. Berlin P 3043 Pl. B with a Miscellany text—the so-called ‘Papyrus Koller’  
 (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photo: S. Steiß)

well as one shabti (ÄM 963) and the canopic lid of a mayor with the name Heru-nefer (ÄM 7210). A small hieratic stela (ÄM 2091) was subsequently auctioned by Lepsius in Paris in the summer of 1857 from the collection of Giovanni d’Anastasi.

The Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894) was the Berlin collection’s next sponsor. In 1859, he donated an ostracon (P 1002), a *Book of*

*the Dead* (P 3072), a leather roll (P 3029) containing a text on temple building, a set of accounts and a complaint protocol, as well as a shabti (ÄM 512) and two wooden labels (ÄM 2145–46). All of these objects came from his own collection and had presumably been purchased in Egypt. Some years later, in December 1872, he donated a further *Book of the Dead* (P 3134 for Ta-renenet).

## 1.2. The fruitful period before WWI: 1872–1914

In the years until 1914, acquisitions and donations took place regularly. In this respect, the most important player in general was the diplomat and dragoman Carl August Reinhardt (1856–1903) of the Imperial General consulate in Cairo; he was responsible for the purchase and transfer of many items to the museum. With respect to NKH material, however, his purchases consisted only of 13 NK papyri and one shabti for the museum in 1887–1888, 1896 and 1899, all from different locations.<sup>3</sup> Other individuals rank higher in the statistics, such as the Egyptologists Kurt Sethe (1869–1934; 40 ostraca in 1905),<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Borhardt (1863–1938; 98 items, mainly ostraca, but also 19 magical plates and 4 different vessels between 1897 and 1912),<sup>5</sup> Georg Möller (1876–1921; 10 ostraca in 1903),<sup>6</sup> Sir Alan H. Gardiner (1879–1963; 11 pieces between 1905 and 1910),<sup>7</sup> and Walter Wreszinski (1880–1935; 18 ostraca in 1909–1910).<sup>8</sup> All these items were purchased in Thebes. In 1881, six more NKH ostraca formed part of a larger donation by Lepsius. These pieces had been stored in Lepsius's house, though he was no longer certain of their provenance.<sup>9</sup> James Simon (1851–1932), the well-known patron of

the Royal Museum and former owner of the Nefertiti bust, played a small role in the pre-1914 history of Berlin's NKH materials, donating seven ostraca around 1899–1900 amongst several larger donations.<sup>10</sup>

In this period, some further individuals either donated or sold single NK sources to the Museum: the Imperial vice-consul in Egypt, Gustav Travers (1839–1892; P 3207); the art historian Franz Bock (1823–1899; ÄM 10339, P 3208); and the Egyptologists Johannes Dümichen (1833–1894; P 1121), Friedrich W. von Bissing (1873–1956; ÄM 14000–05) and Ludwig Stern (1846–1911; P 1100). A shabti box (ÄM 11989) was donated in 1893 by the Cairo Egyptian Museum. The Berlin museum's director Adolf Erman (1854–1937) purchased officially many objects during his stay in Egypt during 1885–1886, including three NK ostraca, one jar with a label and one papyrus.<sup>11</sup> His successor Heinrich Schäfer (1868–1957) also purchased two ostraca and one papyrus in 1909.<sup>12</sup> Local Egyptian antiquities dealers are mentioned for eleven additional NKH pieces, though not the name of the European buyer; these pieces were purchased from Todrus Bulos (1856–1898) in 1886,<sup>13</sup> Abd el-Megid Hussein Aga (1850–1915) in 1886,<sup>14</sup> Mohareb Todrus (c. 1847–1937) in

3 ÄM 10288. P 2288–91, 3063, 8528, 8553, 8556, 9024–27, 23075, 23223. For the person see Köpstein (1994).

4 P 10638–76, 10850.

5 ÄM 15011–24, 15283, 15748–9, 17294–8, 19293, 21679. P 8694, 8722, 8735–39, 9784–5, 10005, 10488–9, 10613–22, 10626–45, 10848, 11235–76, 11285–6, 11288–95, 10610, 11298, 11300, 11305, 12901.

6 P 9895–903, 9907.

7 P 10494–5, 12337, 12340, 12342–3, 12366–8, 12370.

8 P 11302–4, 12283–97.

9 P 1120, 1122–24, 1268–69, 3042. See Inventarium VII–Fortsetzung 1865–1888 (Berlin, Zentralarchiv SMB, file I/ÄM 100, sub no. 1173–1208): *‘Die Herkunft dieser seit vielen Jahren in seinem Hause befindlich gewesenen Sammlung von Ostraka war dem Herrn Donator nicht mehr erinnerlich.’*

10 P 9408–13, 9721.

11 ÄM 12422/001–/134. P 461, 12391, 14424, 14612.

12 P 10496, 12335–6.

13 P 1677, 3040. On Egyptian antiquities dealers and markets, see Hagen & Ryholt (2016).

14 ÄM 9506.



1889–1890 and 1903<sup>15</sup> and Mohammed Abdallah in 1908.<sup>16</sup>

Further NKH materials from excavations run by the Royal Museum of Berlin reached the museum during the official division of finds between Cairo and Berlin. However, despite the large number of texts in Berlin, Hieratica dating to the New Kingdom that derive from excavations are exceedingly rare. The following should be mentioned in this respect: W.M. Flinders Petrie (1853–1942) 1893 from Amarna (ÄM 12268), Borchardt 1899 from Illahun (P 9285), 1903–1904 and 1910 from Abusir (ÄM 1908–10, P 9921, P 10486), and 1912 from Thebes (P 10487); as well as Otto Rubensohn (1867–1964) and Friedrich Zucker (1881–1973) 1906–1908 from Elephantine (ÄM 18471, and several papyri).<sup>17</sup>

The museum's largest accession took place in 1913, when the results of Georg Möller's excavations in and around Deir el-Medina 1911–1913 were officially divided between Cairo and Berlin. At least 246 pieces from this archaeological dig are Hieratic ostraca; most contain administrative texts or private communications reflecting the daily life of the workmen. Five jar labels and part of a shabti box should also be noted.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.3. The period between the two wars: 1918–1939

Between the two World Wars, only seven NK pieces (5 ostraca and 2 papyri, all from Thebes) reached the collection—each as individual donations. In 1925 and 1929, director Schäfer bought two pieces from the Theban antiquities dealer Todrus,<sup>19</sup> while Borchardt purchased three ostraca in Thebes from an undisclosed source.<sup>20</sup> In 1928 and 1935, the Coptologist Carl Schmidt (1868–1938) donated two further Hieratica (complementing an ostrakon he donated in 1895).<sup>21</sup> Additionally, Simon donated 39 amphorae or parts of amphorae from Borchardt's Amarna excavations—these bear hieratic labels indicating contents or provenance;<sup>22</sup> their accession did not take place before 1920.

### 1.4. The period after WWII: 1945–today

Between 1945 and the present, only two accessions of NKH material have taken place. In 1967, the private collection of the former papyrus restorer Rolf Ibscher (1906–1967, son of the famous papyrus restorer Hugo Ibscher) was acquired by the East Berlin Museum. Among the 59 pieces in the collection were 12 NK papyri.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR transferred one ostrakon and one papyrus to the

15 ÄM 10747, P 6025, 9906, 30490.

16 P 10484.

17 All of the Elephantine sources were analysed as part of the Berlin ERC project 'Elephantine' 2015–2022 led by V.M. Lepper: See already Lepper (2012) and the project website <https://elephantine.smb.museum/index.html>.

18 ÄM 21437, 21454, 21497, 21575, 23834, 23928, 23967–8, 34461. P 12408–12, 12623–57, 14124, 14164, 14168, 14201–53, 14258, 14260, 14264–370, 14607, 14610–1, 14613–17, 14624, 14626, 14631, 14632, 14634, 14636, 14639–40, 14648–9, 14659–60, 14666, 14669–70, 14680–7, 14690–2, 14696, 14841–4, 14855, 14865, 14882, 14909, 14914, 15292, 15320, 12379. The ostraca have been published by G. Burkard in Deir el-Medine Online, see <https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de> (last accessed 30.08.2022). For the excavation itself, see the preliminary report Anthes (1943: 1–68, pl. 1–18).

19 P 10464, 14200.

20 P 14254–6.

21 P 8380, 14257, 10463.

22 ÄM 22142, 22160–1, 22228, 22313, 22322, 24427–39, 24443–6, 25483–90, 25495–6, 25499, 29201, 29208, 29299, 29426, 29874, 29881, 36102, 37391–2.

23 P 15338, 15733–35, 15738–39, 15742–46, 15749.



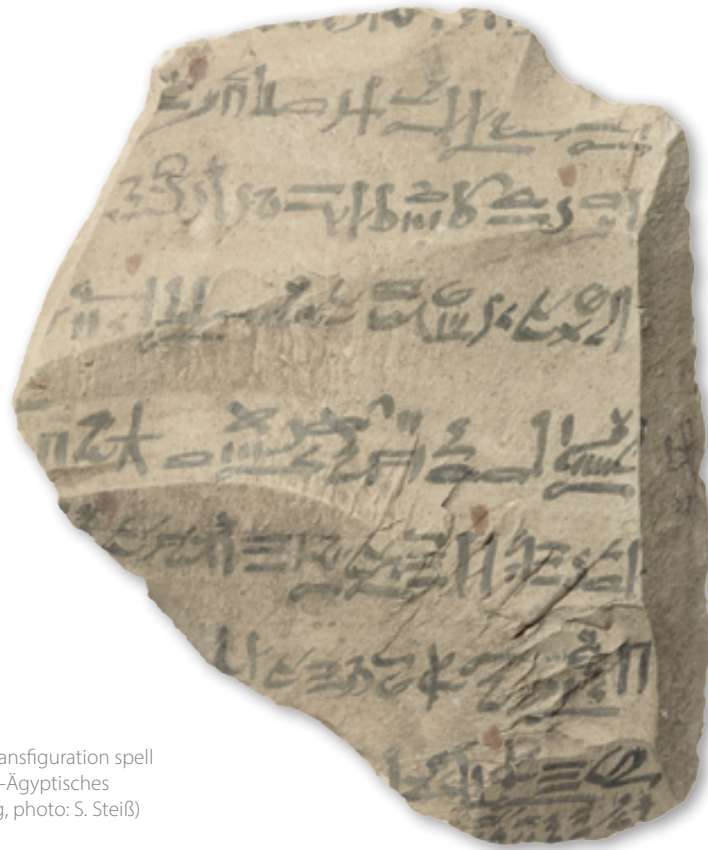


Fig. 2. O. Berlin P 15314 with a transfiguration spell  
 (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches  
 Museum und Papyrussammlung, photo: S. Steiß)

museum in 1981; the former whereabouts of these items are unknown.<sup>24</sup>

A curious story should be reported here from this last period in the Berlin collection's acquisition of NK materials. Due to the outbreak of war in 1939, all of the ostraca that had been on display in the permanent exhibition in the Neues Museum were placed in a wooden box for transport to salt mines outside of Berlin (while all of the museum's other ostraca remained in the ruined museum building until 1958). This box became part of the material brought by British and US forces to Celle

and Wiesbaden after the end of the war. Sometime during the beginning of the 1960s, it seems to have found its way back to West Berlin, though it failed to enter the West Berlin Egyptian collection. Only in 1976 was this box found in the magazine of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin-Dahlem.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, a quantity of about 440 NKH items, mainly belonging to the old stock acquired at the beginning of the 20th century, are not provided with any accession information in the Berlin inventories.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> P. Berlin P 15339, O. Berlin P 14603.

<sup>25</sup> See Moje (2018–2019: 118–119). I am indebted to K.-H. Priese† for further information.

<sup>26</sup> ÄM 37379–404, 37406–19. P 9513–6, 9982, 10099, 10170, 10460, 10471, 10485, 12362, 12364–5, 12371–7, 12380–9, 12392–407, 13384, 14001, 14116–23, 14126–71, 14245–8, 14252, 14259, 14261–3, 14371–6, 14379, 14382–3, 14385, 14388–9, 14394–7, 14432–3, 14449, 14485, 14492, 14608–9, 14618–30, 14633, 14635, 14637–8, 14641–7, 14650–8, 14661–8, 14671–9, 14686, 14688–9, 14693–9, 14831–40, 14843–936, 15287–300, 15312–22, 15760, 15770, 15783, 15786, 20026, 21009, 23007,

### 1.5. A note on the Berlin inventory numbers

From 1828 onwards, the museum's director Passalacqua created a new inventory of the entire Egyptian collection using a letter system such as A, GY, AX, EX or F followed by a number. He arranged the collection into four categories: cultic, funerary and daily objects, as well as miscellanea.<sup>27</sup>

New inventories (still valid today) were established after Erman took office in 1884; and later Wilhelm Schubart (1873–1960), his colleague in the papyrus collection, also established new inventories. All pieces belonging to the Ägyptisches Museum (for the NKH material, e.g., complete jars with labels and Hieratic stelae) were given the label 'ÄM' or numbered ÄM 1 and upwards, while items in the papyrus collection (text carriers such as papyri, parchment, paper, leather, textual ostraca, etc.) were assigned the label 'P' and numbered from P 1 and upwards. In many publications, Berlin objects are unfortunately still referred to as 'Berlin 12345' and the like without any prefix. This can make it difficult to identify objects, as the same number may appear twice, once as ÄM 12345 and once as P 12345. Further to this point, although the museum's exhibits are on display in the building known as the Neues Museum, the objects should not be referred to as 'Neues Museum 12345' or similar. For items in the Papyrussammlung, for instance, Pap. Berlin P 12345, Ostr. Berlin P 12345 or Le. Berlin P 12345 are preferred for papyri, ostraca or leather. (*For the sake of uniformity across the volume, we deliberately just used O. and P. also in the present paper [the volume editors].*)

## 2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MATERIAL

### 2.1. Number of texts

The collection of NKH material in the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum & Papyrussammlung consists of 956 inventory numbers that can—at the present time!—be securely dated to the New Kingdom. These items comprise 714 ostraca, 124 (fragments of) vessels with content or transport labels, 1 dish, 75 papyri, 2 mummy linen bandages, 1 leather roll, 19 magical bricks from tombs with spell BD 151, 4 shabtis and 2 fragments of shabti boxes, 3 canopic jars as well as fragments of such, 2 scribal palettes (reused for Hieratic notes and accounts), 5 stone weights, 2 small wooden plates and 1 pebble (each bearing names), and 1 stela.

The NKH material in the 'Ägyptisches Museum' section (ÄM numbers) is mainly recorded in the current inventory already. However, there are also several boxes in the 'Papyrussammlung' section (P numbers) that contain thousands of papyrus fragments from several find spots. These fragments, which are often tiny and frequently unstudied, cannot be ascribed to NKH at the moment, though ascriptions may prove possible in the future. Researchers on the ERC project 'Elephantine,' for example, were able to identify several NKH fragments among the contents of the boxes.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.2. Find spots and general provenance

By far the largest amount of NKH material in Berlin comes from the wider Theban area, including Deir el-Bahari, Karnak, Luxor, Medinet Habu,

23063, 23220–2, 23227, 23240–3, 23256, 23258, 23300–1, 23303, 23400–18, 29001–5, 29015–21, 29028–32, 29036–49, 29052–63, 30487–8.

<sup>27</sup> Moje (2020: 555).

<sup>28</sup> On the ERC Project 'Elephantine,' see Lepper (2012); the researchers on the project responsible for Hieratic were V.M. Lepper, M. Grünhagen, and D. Härtel.

the Ramesseum, Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and the general ‘Thebes-West’ area: 257 NKH items were found during Möller’s excavations around Deir el-Medina in 1911–1913, and 385 further pieces were purchased from local West and East Bank dealers by the Egyptologists Brugsch, Erman, Schmidt, Dümichen, Lepsius, Stern, Sethe, Wreszinski, Borchardt, Schäfer, and Gardiner, as well as the famous patron Simon and the papyrus conservator R. Ibscher. To these may be added many more pieces that are surely from this area but for which we possess no records of their previous owners. A further piece was unearthed already by Passalacqua, and a shabti box from the second Cachette in Deir el-Bahari came to Berlin as an official donation from the Cairo Museum.

All NKH papyri coming from Saqqara were early acquisitions by Passalacqua (P 3038, 3047), von Koller (P 3043) and Brugsch (P 3072). The activities of Petrie, von Bissing and Borchardt in Amarna resulted in a further 46 items entering the museum via donations and the Borchardt/Simon find partage. The Rubensohn and Zucker excavations in Elephantine in 1906–1908 also unearthed some NKH materials. Finally, some 14 pieces derive from other locations: six from Borchardt’s Abusir excavations in 1903/4; six from the Fayum; one from Hermopolis magna; and three that were purchased by Borchardt in Qena.

Unfortunately, some 330 further NKH items in Berlin lack any details with respect to their original provenance. Of these, 69 were donations by Lepsius, Erman, Reinhardt, Bock, Möller, Brugsch, Schäfer, Simon, Borchardt, R. Ibscher and Gardiner, who either purchased pieces on the Cairo antiquities market for the museum or donated items from their own unprovenanced collections. As to the other items, which belong to the old pre-war stock too, no accession data exists for them in the Berlin archives.

### 2.3. Distribution according to genre

Most of the Berlin NKH material derives from an administrative context. The bulk of this material is from Deir el-Medina, including (fragments of) jars with labels indicating wine, fat, oil or ointment, as well as many ostraca that shed light on the administration of the workmen’s village.<sup>29</sup> Deir el-Medina is also the source of five stone weights that refer to defined quantities of such items as chisels or fish (which the weights were used to measure). These items should be seen within the wider context of this village’s trade and supply processes.

Some 44 jars with labels derive from the Amarna excavations, while others derive from Abusir, Qena, the Ramesseum and Elephantine; there are no provenance records for a further 37 jars. A further 33 pieces, mainly ostraca, contain scribal training exercises. Most of these are excerpts from the scribal training book *Kemyt*, while the others contain exercises in the writing of royal names, letters, numbers and dates, for example, as well as some model letters. Worth mentioning is O. Berlin P 14320 which consists of a draft inscription for (or from?) a tomb and which includes the cartouches of Ramesses IV. Also of note are two scribal palettes that were reused for Hieratic notes and accounts (ÄM 10339, 10747).

Amongst the 50 letters on ostraca and papyri in the collection, some relate to deliveries of papyri or copper (P 10628, P 11239) as well as other items; another relates to a sick donkey (P 12398). The most important letters are those of the general Piye to different individuals (P 10487–89) regarding secret betrayals by two policemen. In these letters, Piye demands that the disagreeable witnesses be killed.

Only 22 NKH items are funerary objects in the larger sense, consisting of papyri and mummy linen with *Book of the Dead* spells, shabtis, canopic

29 See G. Burkard in Deir el-Medine Online, <https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de> (last accessed 30.08.2022).

jars, small ointment jars and a dedicatory stela. A further 42 texts refer to religious/cultic affairs, and include hymns to different deities, liturgies, eulogies, and lists of deities. Of note is an amulet that consists of two small papyrus strips that are folded and bound with a string (P 30490). Other texts contain medical and/or magical materials (32), possess juridical content like the protocols of court sessions and trials (10), or are literary excerpts of wisdom literature, *Sinuhe*, satirical letters or love songs (44). Of 19 magical bricks, the majority contain the BD spell 151; nearly all derive from the Theban antiquities trade. Finally, 411 ostraca are faded and illegible, have been lost since 1945, or remain unpublished.

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## 2.4. Published and unpublished material

Due to the large number of inscribed hieratic objects in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin and the long history of the collection, the publication status of the items in the collection is extremely varied. Pieces of broader interest were published early and have sometimes been published more than once; many other pieces still await study. The first of the Berlin NKH materials to be published was the medical text Pap. Berlin P 3038 from Passalacqua's collection: Brugsch wrote an article about it in 1853 entitled 'Ueber die medicinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ägypter und über ein altmedizinisches Manuscript im Königl. Museum zu Berlin,' in which he provides an initial attempt at a translation of the text, as well as an analysis of ancient Egyptian Medicine.<sup>30</sup>

- LEPPER, Verena M. 2012. Die ägyptische und orientalische 'Rubensohn-Bibliothek' von Elephantine. 4000 Jahre Kulturgeschichte einer altägyptischen Insel, in Verena M. LEPPER (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung. Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*, Berlin (= ÄOPH 1), 497–508.
- MOJE, Jan. 2018–2019. Eine weitere *r.rh=w*-Urkunde aus Theben-Ost in der Berliner Papyrussammlung (Ostr. Berlin P. 9462), *Enchoria* 36, 117–127, pl. 10.
- . 2020. Die Publikationen von Giuseppe (Josef) Passalacqua, dem ersten Direktor des Ägyptischen Museums Berlin, und ihre Stellung in der zeitgenössischen Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft, *Aegyptiaca* 5, 528–564.

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30 Brugsch (1853).

# Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig

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## ABSTRACT

The Egyptian Collection of the University of Leipzig houses about 110 hieratic, cursive-hieroglyphic, and hieroglyphic ostraca, mainly of the New Kingdom. Georg Steindorff was able to acquire them either through purchases in Egypt or the mediation of colleagues. Most of the pieces belong to the environment of Deir el-Medina, its administration and the tradition and creation of literature there in the sense of *belles-lettres* as well as magical-religious compositions. A few pieces were lost during World War II. A catalog of the collection is in the process of being completed.

## 1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS

The Leipzig University New Kingdom Hieratica were purchased by Georg Steindorff during his tenure at the university between 1893 and 1934. Before World War II, the Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig (ÄMUL) housed approximately 110 hieratic, hieroglyphic and figured ostraca, including illustrated ostraca accompanied by either hieroglyphic or hieratic inscriptions. Some of these ostraca were lost during World War II, and their exact number is still to be re-established.

The ‘Historische Vorlesungsverzeichnisse der Universität Leipzig’ lists the following seminars that Georg Steindorff devoted to hieratic between 1897 and 1914:

- summer 1897 *Aegyptologisches Seminar. Erklärung neuägyptischer Handschriften*
- winter 1900 *Neuägyptische Grammatik und Lektüre kursiver Handschriften*

- winter 1902 *Neuägyptische Texte und Einführung in das Hieratische*
- winter 1909 *Übungen im Lesen und Erklären hieratischer Texte*
- summer 1910 *Übungen im Lesen hieratischer Texte des neuen Reiches (2x gelistet)*
- summer 1911 *Einführung in das Neuägyptische und Erklärung hieratischer Texte*

It is not known whether Steindorff incorporated any of the hieratic ostraca located in his ‘Studiensammlung’ into his seminars between 1897 and 1911 or whether he worked simply with texts that had already been published.

A large number of the ÄMUL ostraca were acquired by Steindorff in the year 1929, following Bruyère’s excavations at Deir el-Medina in the neighborhood of TT 290 (Iry-nefer), close to the so-called ‘Trou Schiaparelli’. Seven ostraca from this area were included in the first fascicle of vol. I of J. Černý’s *Ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* a few years later (Černý 1935; for the exact findspot, see Dorn 2011b: 39). All seven



of these ostraca date to the reign of Seti I, and they clearly derive from Bruyère's discoveries around TT 290.

Twenty-two years after the first fascicle in the IFAO-series was published, J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner selected a further 29 pieces for facsimile, transcription and brief description in their joint publication *Hieratic Ostraca: Volume I* (Černý & Gardiner 1957: 32). All but six of these pieces are presented in full facsimile, though without accompanying photographs. Prior to their catalog, both Černý and Gardiner had begun hieroglyphic transcriptions of this assemblage of Leipzig ostraca in their personal notebooks (detailed references can be found in the DeM database).

Most—if not all—of the ÄMUL specimens have entered academic discussion since, but many still await detailed study and publication. Robert J. Demarée has begun studying the administrative ostraca that can be attributed to the village of Deir el-Medina and the administration of the Valley of the Kings, and which thus pertain to what the ancients called *p<sup>3</sup>-ḥr*—‘the administration of the Royal Tomb (under construction)’ in the widest sense of this term. The other ostraca—literary, religious and illustrated—will be published by the present author and will accompany Demarée's contribution to a forthcoming volume of the *Katalog ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig*.

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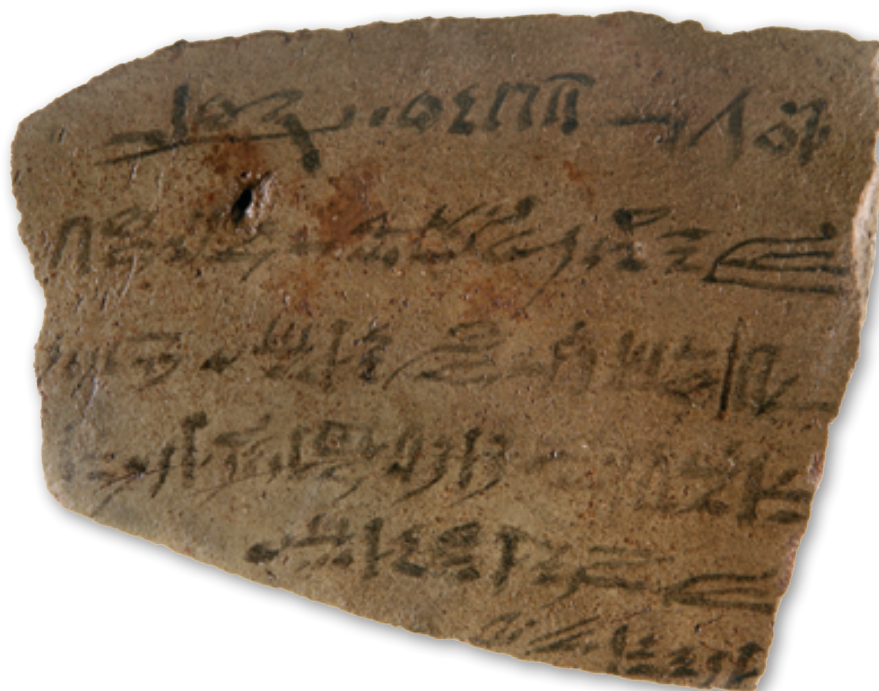



Fig. 1. ÄMUL 1892 (old no.: 2). Complaint about a bogus oiipe-measure—Ramesses III, year 17  
(© Marion Wenzel/Leipzig University)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Publ.: Černý & Gardiner (1957: 32 & pl. XXXIV.4/A); Kitchen (1983: 467–468); Studies: Pommerening (2005: 42 [T2.05]).



Fig. 2. ÄMUL 3966. Delivery of fire-wood—Reign of Seti I  
(© Marion Wenzel/Leipzig University)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Publ.: Černý (1935: 3, no. 9 & pl. 3A, 3); Studies: Helck (1964: 848–851); Dorn (2011b: 39); Gabler (2018: 78–80).

## 2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MATERIAL

### 2.1. Number of papyri (+ fragments), ostraca, and tablets

The number of hieratic ostraca in the Leipzig collection before World War II consisted of approximately 110 items. The Egyptian Museum does not possess any New Kingdom hieratic papyri.

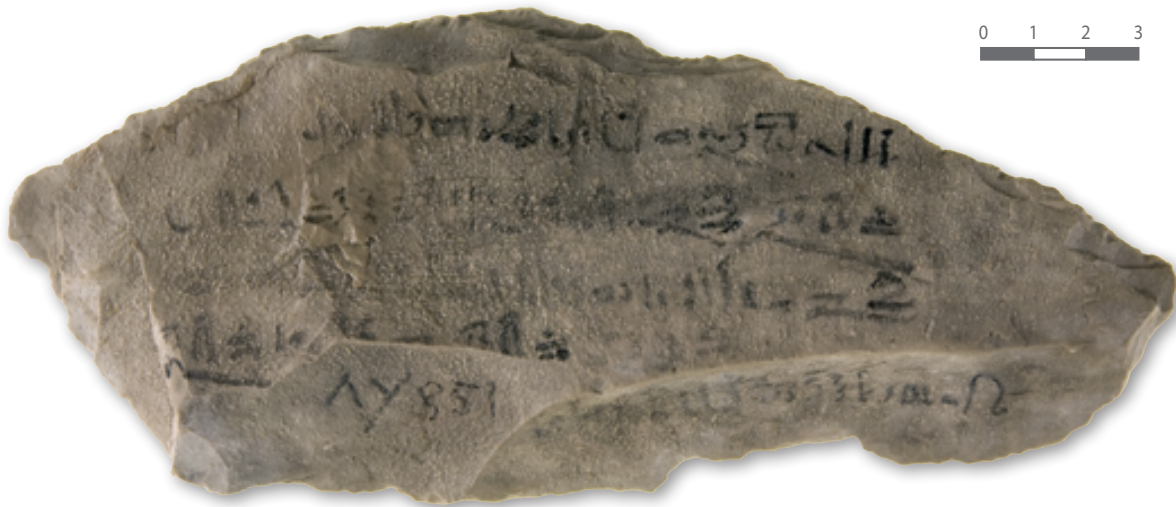


Fig. 3. ÄMUL 1619 (old no.: 8). Banishing the Hot-Mouth to the East  
(© Marion Wenzel/Leipzig University)<sup>3</sup>

### 2.2. Provenance and provenience<sup>4</sup>

Of all the ostraca in the Leipzig collection, only one can be connected to a precise findspot on the Theban Westbank. This is ÄMUL 3788, a three line-text written by a scribe called Pay and discovered by G. Steindorff at Qaw el-Kebir during his archaeological activities there in 1913: *'gefunden am Ostabhang des Gräberberges'* (as indicated on the index card). Other provenienced items discovered in the area of the 'Trou Schiaparelli' are discussed above. The remaining ostraca may be provenanced to three main areas:

1. the precinct in front of the Mentuhotep-, Thutmose III- and Hatshepsut-temple complex, plus the area stretching east of the complex and including Khokha and the Asasif. The ostraca from this part of the Theban necropolis share a distinctive 18th Dynasty paleography, as well as similarities in their onomastics, vocabulary, grammar, etc.
2. The bulk of hieratic and hieroglyphic potsherds and limestone ostraca in the Leipzig collection reflect an intimate connection with

<sup>3</sup> Publ.: Černý & Gardiner (1957: 32 & pl. VII.5/A); Studies: Fischer-Elfert (1986: 8–12).

<sup>4</sup> I differentiate between the terms 'provenance' and 'provenience' as proposed by the archaeologist K. Lapatin (2003: 16), according to whom 'provenience' describes a 'precise origin' or 'archaeological findspot' that is well-documented, whereas 'provenance' is a 'term often used in the art world' that denotes 'the history of an object, that is to say, through whose hands it passed.'



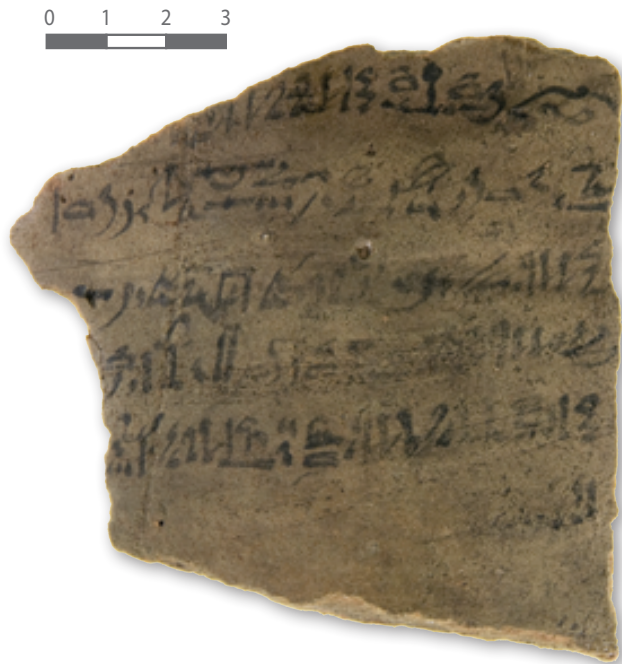


Fig. 4. ÄMUL 1896 (old no.: 6). Stanza from a love song  
(© Marion Wenzel/Leipzig University)<sup>5</sup>

the community of Deir el-Medina between the 19th and 20th Dynasties. This connection is reflected in their onomastics, as well as the details of the communications inscribed on these ostraca and potsherds, including exchanges between members of the village as well as administrative communications concerned with jurisdictional issues, food supply, etc.

3. At least one of the illustrated and inscribed ostraca (ÄMUL 1654) can now be joined (virtually) to a fragment found by A. Dorn next to the workmen's huts in the Valley of the Kings and dating to the end of the 20th Dynasty (Dorn 2011b; 2014). This 'join', accomplished long after G. Steindorff's purchase of the Leipzig fragment from an antiquities dealer in Luxor, allows the archaeological

attribution of the Leipzig fragment to the area close to the royal tomb KV 18 (Ramesses X). It is thus now possible to attribute a precise provenience to this item.

In sum, only one of the pieces in the Leipzig collection appears to have been excavated by a Leipzig mission (ÄMUL 3788). The rest were acquired for teaching purposes on the antiquities market in Luxor, primarily by Georg Steindorff, the former director of the Institute and Museum from 1893–1934, between the *fin de siècle* and 1932. A number of index cards related to these ostraca include remarks to the effect that the items in question were either 'Von Georg Steindorff Anfang 1929 in Qurna erworben' or 'durch Vermittlung Dr. Karl Schmidts 1895 in Ägypten erworben.'

### 2.3. Distribution according to genre

Almost 50% of the pieces are administrative in nature; they include letters, different kinds of accounts, scribal exercises, lists of commodities, lists of personal names, name stones, one *r-rd.t-rh.tw-* and one *sh<sup>3</sup> n-*document, extracts from construction site reports, etc.

Some 25% of the pieces consist of literary and religious texts, including magical, hymnic and liturgical texts. 'Classical' literature is represented by fragments of the *Teachings of Amenemhat*, *Khety*, *Kairsu* and the *Kemyt*, as well as a fragment of the *The Hymn to the Nile* (van der Plas 1986).

The final 25% comprise illustrated religious ostraca, many of them accompanied by either a hieroglyphic or hieratic inscription and belonging to the field of so-called personal or practical piety.

### 2.4. Material published vs. unpublished

A mix of texts reflecting all the above-mentioned genres and consisting of 29 specimens in total were published by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner in their volume *Hieratic Ostraca 1*.

<sup>5</sup> Publ.: Černý & Gardiner (1957: 32 & pl. VII.4/A); Studies: Landgráfová & Navrátilová. (2009: 208 #78).

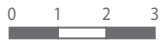


Fig. 5a. ÄMUL 1657 recto. Qenherchepeshef (iv) praying in front of Amun-Re in his form of a barbery sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*) (© Marion Wenzel/Leipzig University)<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 5b. ÄMUL 1657 verso. List of items with numbers (© Marion Wenzel/Leipzig University)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Publ.: Brunner-Traut (1956: 79, no. 78, pl. XXIX); Studies: Brunner-Traut (1956: 79, no. 78); Drawing: Nicola & Tosi (2003: 74); Description: Rickal (2013: 140, fig. 13).

<sup>7</sup> Publ.: Onasch (1997: 98, fig. 80).





Fig. 6. ÄMUL 1654. Nephthys sitting on a throne looking left with accompanying recitation (© Marion Wenzel/Leipzig University)<sup>8</sup>

### 3. ONGOING PUBLICATIONS AND PROJECTS (CASE STUDY)

ÄMUL 3957, a limestone fragment that preserves substantial parts of a hymn to Thoth on both sides—amounting after reconstruction to 32 verses—will be published in a Festschrift for Richard Jasnow in 2023. Parts of this hymn are already known from parallels in the IFAO/Cairo alongside an as yet unpublished variant in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. This hymn was previously classified as a royal hymn (Fischer-Elfert 1997: 58–64), but then correctly identified as a hymn to Thoth (Gasse

2005: 49–50). This piece may be employed as a case-study, as the commentary on the text clearly exceeds the size of a regular collection catalog.

The overall catalog of the Leipzig hieratic ostraca is still *in statu nascendi*, though some 90 items have been described, transcribed, transliterated, translated and assigned metadata as of spring 2022.

<sup>8</sup> Publ.: Brunner-Traut (1956: 29, no. 15, pl. VII,15); Studies: Brunner-Traut (1956: 29); Dorn (2011a: 105–106, pl. 222–223, including the ‘join’ from the Valley of the Kings).

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# Die hieratischen Papyrusfragmente der Universitätsbibliothek München

P. UBM Cim. 93(1–3 (= 8° Cod. ms. 431a, 431b, 431c)<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

This article presents a small collection of five unpublished papyrus fragments containing hieratic texts. The fragments are currently housed in the University Library of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Their provenance is discussed and it is argued that they belonged to the collection of Ferdinand Orban (1655–1732), a Bavarian Jesuit priest, before they were passed to the University in 1773. All five fragments (two of which probably belong to the same papyrus) are quite small in size and can be dated to the late New Kingdom. While two fragments form part of the same letter (most probably written in the Theban area), two others consist of the remains of a religious/astronomical manual.

## 1. EINFÜHRUNG UND SAMMLUNGSGESCHICHTE

Die hier vorgestellten Fragmente mehrerer hieratisch beschrifteter Papyri des Neuen Reiches werden in der Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek (UB) der Ludwig-

Maximilians-Universität München (LMU) aufbewahrt.<sup>2</sup> Mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit gingen diese Papyrusfragmente bereits im Jahr 1773 als Teil der Sammlung Orban in den Besitz der Universität Ingolstadt über, deren Rechtsnachfolgerin die LMU München ist. Damit gehören sie zu

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1 Die bibliothekarische Schreibweise der Signatur enthält keine schließende runde Klammer hinter „(1–3“.

2 Siehe hierzu die Dokumentation der Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München: 4° Cod. ms. 996 (9,2): Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Cimelien der UB München, Teil 2 (Cim. 45–107), Einträge zu Cim. 93 (= 8° Cod. ms. 431). Die Kenntnis dieser hieratischen Papyrusfragmente verdanken wir Dr. Sven Kuttner (Leiter der Historischen Sammlungen der UB München). Zusammen mit Dr. Klaus-Rainer Brintzinger (Leiter der UB München) ermöglichte er uns die hier vorgelegte Bearbeitung und stellte hierfür alle nötigen Materialien und Auskünfte zur Verfügung. Des Weiteren danken wir Dr. Claudius Stein (Universitätsarchiv der LMU München) für Hinweise zur Sammlung Orban sowie den Zugang zu Archivalien des Universitätsarchivs.

den frühesten nach Bayern gelangten ägyptischen Handschriften.<sup>3</sup>

Die Provenienz der Fragmente aus der Sammlung des Jesuitenpaters Ferdinand Orban (geboren 1655 in Kammer bei Landshut, verstorben 1732 in Ingolstadt) lässt sich bis dato nicht mit letzter Sicherheit belegen, ist aber als sehr wahrscheinlich anzusehen, wie im Folgenden dargelegt werden soll.

Ferdinand Orban<sup>4</sup> zeichnete sich – neben seinen geistlichen Ämtern – v. a. als Gelehrter in den Bereichen der Mathematik, Physik und Astronomie aus. Er war zu seinen Lebzeiten als Wissenschaftler und Sammler wie auch als Rhetoriker und Prediger gut bekannt und geachtet. Mit anderen Gelehrten seiner Zeit stand er in regem Austausch, wie z. B. sein langjähriger Briefwechsel mit Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz bezeugt.

Die Orban'sche Sammlung<sup>5</sup> war eine typische barocke Kunst- und Raritätenkammer von beachtlichem Wert und Umfang, wie aus den Berichten verschiedener zeitgenössischer Besucher hervorgeht.<sup>6</sup> Demnach setzte sich die Sammlung aus Objekten zusammen, die sich in drei Kategorien unterteilen ließen: erstens mathematische und physikalische Instrumente, zweitens Gemälde

und andere Kunstsachen und drittens Naturalien.<sup>7</sup> Alltags- und Kunstgegenstände außereuropäischer Kulturen waren ein wichtiger Bestandteil. Belegt sind für die Sammlung Orban insbesondere – aber keineswegs ausschließlich! – Objekte aus dem chinesischen Kulturkreis und Gegenstände, die aus der Türkei stammten (aus der sog. Türkenbeute der österreichisch-kaiserlichen Armee von 1683). Auch viele alte und neue Arten von Schriftzeugnissen auf unterschiedlichsten Beschreibmaterialien werden erwähnt.<sup>8</sup> Explizit genannt werden dabei Manuskripte mit chinesischen Schriftzeichen, Papyri mit ägyptischer Schrift jedoch nicht.

Als eindeutig mit Ägypten in Verbindung stehende Stücke der Sammlung werden in einem Verzeichnis von 1774 eine ägyptische Mumie sowie ein „rother Götz mit einer aegyptischen Haube“ vermerkt.<sup>9</sup> Letzteres war wohl eine Figur, die man wegen ihrer Kopfbedeckung (vielleicht ein Nemes-Kopftuch?) als ägyptisch ansprach. Der Verbleib beider Objekte ist nicht bekannt.

Auf welchem Weg die Papyrusfragmente mutmaßlich in die Sammlung Orban gelangt sind, lässt sich nicht mehr nachvollziehen.<sup>10</sup> Erstmals belegt ist die Sammeltätigkeit von Orban während seiner Zeit in Innsbruck, wo er ab 1688 eine

3 Die unseres Wissens ansonsten frühesten in Bayern belegten ägyptischen Handschriften sind drei Papyri, welche Bernardino Drovetti 1824 dem damaligen Kronprinzen Ludwig (ab 1825 König Ludwig I. von Bayern) zum Geschenk machte. Einer dieser Papyri ist heute im Besitz der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, der zweite gehört zum Bestand des Staatlichen Museums Ägyptischer Kunst und der dritte ging vermutlich im 2. Weltkrieg verloren. Wir danken Dr. Alfred Grimm für diesbezügliche Auskünfte und die Zurverfügungstellung des Artikels, in dem die Sammlungsgeschichte dieser Papyri dargelegt ist: Grimm (2015).

4 Zur Biographie von Ferdinand Orban siehe Gilles (2009).

5 Zu seiner Sammlung neben Gilles (2009): Krempel (1968); Stein (2018); Müller (2019).

6 Vgl. hierzu und zum Folgenden Müller (2019: 129); Krempel (1968: 170–172). Ausgewählte Quellen zur Sammlung Orban einschließlich Berichten von Besuchern hat Stein (2018: 161–219) zusammengestellt.

7 So im Reisebericht von Zacharias Konrad von Uffenbach, der Orban und seine Sammlung im April 1710 in Düsseldorf besuchte; siehe Stein (2018: 163–167).

8 Siehe den Bericht von Uffenbach: Stein (2018: 166).

9 Zu diesen beiden Objekten siehe weiter unten. Ein Überblick zu Aegyptiaca in den sog. Wunderkammern Europas ab dem späten 16. Jh. findet sich bei Lüscher (2018: 2–17 [die Orban'sche Sammlung ist nicht explizit erwähnt]); speziell zur frühen Erforschungsgeschichte des Hieratischen im 18. Jh. und frühen 19. Jh. siehe ebenfalls Lüscher (2018: 51–59). Zur frühesten Sammlungsgeschichte von ägyptischen Objekten in Deutschland siehe auch Diaz Hernandez (2015).

10 Zur Problematik der Provenienzen der Sammlung Orban siehe Stein (2018: 54–57).

Professur für Mathematik innehatte und wo er im Jahr darauf auch zum Hofprediger ernannt wurde.<sup>11</sup> Der größte Teil der Sammlung entstand aber während des Aufenthaltes von Orban in Düsseldorf ab dem Jahr 1703.<sup>12</sup> Dort war er als Beichtvater des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz (geb. 1658) bis zu dessen Tod im Jahr 1716 tätig. 1719 kehrte er in das Jesuitenkolleg von Landshut zurück, und 1722 wurde er nach Ingolstadt versetzt, wo er bis zu seinem Tod 1732 blieb.<sup>13</sup>

Bemerkenswerterweise wurde die Sammlung nicht als Ordenseigentum betrachtet, sondern als Privatbesitz von Pater Orban, und zwar offenbar nicht zuletzt von ihm selbst,<sup>14</sup> was zu wiederholten Konflikten zwischen Orban und seinen Ordensvorgesetzten führte.<sup>15</sup> Bei den oben genannten Ortswechseln zog die Sammlung jeweils mit um. Den größten Teil der Objekte erhielt Orban als Geschenke von fürstlichen Gönnern, insbesondere dem Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm.<sup>16</sup> Zeitgenössische Besucher in Düsseldorf berichten zudem, dass er von Ankäufen des Kurfürsten für dessen eigene Sammlung profitierte, denn die Verhandlungen liefen über Orban, und die Verkäufer versuchten sich durch Schenkungen an Orban bei ihm beliebt zu machen. Außerdem vermachte der Kurfürst diejenigen Stücke seiner Sammlung an Orban, die dieser bereits verwaltet hatte. Nur für die wenigsten Objekte aus der Orban'schen

Sammlung ist aber überliefert, durch wen sie in die Sammlung gelangten.

Belegt sind auch Schenkungen an Orban durch Ordensbrüder, insbesondere solche, die in China tätig waren, von wo sie ihm chinesische Alltags- und Kunstobjekte mitbrachten.<sup>17</sup> Kontakte zu Ordensbrüdern in Ägypten sind zumindest bis dato nicht nachweisbar.

Noch zu Lebzeiten Orbans entstand ab 1724/25 in Ingolstadt in der Nachbarschaft des Jesuitenkollegs ein eigener Museumsbau für die Orban'sche Sammlung in Gestalt eines langen Saales mit jeweils sechs Fenstern in den Längswänden, den man über einem älteren Arkadengang errichtete.<sup>18</sup> Nach dem Tode Orbans 1732 wurde das Ingolstädter Jesuitenkolleg Eigentümerin der Sammlung, welches sie durch Kustoden verwalten ließ. Gelegentlich erhielt die Sammlung auch nach dem Tode von Orban noch Neuzugänge durch Stiftungen von Besuchern.<sup>19</sup>

Als Papst Clemens XIV. im Jahr 1773 die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens verfügte, gingen die im Orbansaal aufbewahrten Objekte in den Besitz der Universität Ingolstadt über.<sup>20</sup> Die Konzeption einer barocken Kunst- und Raritätenkammer mit ihrem Anspruch, ein Abbild der gesamten göttlich inspirierten Welt zu bieten, entsprach aber bereits im späten 18. Jh. nicht mehr den Anforderungen der sich zunehmend fachlich ausdifferenzierenden Wissenschaft, welche die Ausbildung von

11 Krempel (1968: 169).

12 Müller (2019: 127).

13 Zur Lebensgeschichte von Ferdinand Orban siehe v. a. Gilles (2009).

14 Zu Orban als Sammler und der Funktion seiner Sammlung siehe insbesondere Müller (2019).

15 Gilles (2009).

16 Hierzu und zum Folgenden: Krempel (1968: 169, 172); Müller (2019: 131–135).

17 Gilles (2009: 301–304).

18 Krempel (1968: 173–174); Stein (2018: 53); Müller (2019: 128). Dieser sog. Orbansaal besteht mit einigen baulichen Veränderungen weiterhin und wird als Veranstaltungsraum genutzt: <http://www.canisiusstiftung.de/orbansaal.htm> (Zugriff am 24.03.2022).

19 Krempel (1968: 176 [vgl. hierzu auch Gilles (2009: 303–304)]); siehe des Weiteren die Quellensammlung bei Stein (2018).

20 Stein (2018: 53).



Spezialsammlungen förderte.<sup>21</sup> Bereits 1784 wurden die bedeutenderen Gemälde der Sammlung an die kurfürstliche Galerie überwiesen,<sup>22</sup> und nach dem Umzug von Universität und Sammlung im Jahr 1800 nach Landshut erfolgte eine weitere Aufteilung der Objekte an verschiedene Universitätsinstitute und die Universitätsbibliothek.<sup>23</sup> 1826 zog die Universität nach München um, und die Reste der Sammlung wurden 1881 größtenteils als Leihgaben an das Bayerische Nationalmuseum und das Völkerkundemuseum (heute Museum Fünf Kontinente) überstellt.

Die Provenienz der hieratisch beschrifteten Papyrusfragmente aus der Sammlung Orban lässt sich nicht *stricto sensu* beweisen, weil kein vollständiges Verzeichnis der Sammlungsgegenstände aus den Lebzeiten von Orban vorliegt.<sup>24</sup> Auch das oben erwähnte Inventar des Orban'schen Saales, welches der Akademische Senat der Universität Ingolstadt im Jahr 1774 anfertigen ließ, ist nachweislich nicht vollständig.<sup>25</sup> In ihm sind zwar der ägyptische „Götz“ und die ägyptische Mumie genannt,<sup>26</sup> ägyptisch beschriftete Papyrusfragmente konnten jedoch bei der Durchsicht des 213 Doppelseiten umfassenden Manuskripts im

Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchiv nicht identifiziert werden.

Zwischen 1810 und 1881 entstanden mehrfach Listen, in denen die Abgabe von Objekten aus der Sammlung Orban an Universitätsinstitute und die Universitätsbibliothek sowie die leihweise Überlassung an die oben genannten Museen dokumentiert ist.<sup>27</sup> Die Papyrusfragmente waren aber auch in diesen Manuskripten, die heute in der Universitätsbibliothek<sup>28</sup> sowie im Universitätsarchiv<sup>29</sup> verwahrt werden, nicht auffindbar. Der teils summarische Charakter dieser Verzeichnisse sowie der Umstand, dass insbesondere an die Universitätsbibliothek zu verschiedenen Zeiten Gegenstände aus der Sammlung Orban gelangten, machen es jedoch wahrscheinlich, dass die vorhandene Dokumentation lückenhaft ist. Zu Gunsten der Herkunft der hieratischen Papyrusfragmente aus der Orban'schen Sammlung spricht ihre Nummerierung innerhalb der Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek zwischen Objekten, deren Provenienz gesichert ist.<sup>30</sup> Auch das Datenblatt der Universitätsbibliothek zu den Papyri vermerkt diese Herkunft.<sup>31</sup>

Aus dieser Dokumentation der Universitätsbibliothek zu den Papyrusfragmenten geht hervor,

21 Müller (2019: 139).

22 Krempel (1968: 176). Heutigentags sind diese Objekte Teil der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen. Die mathematischen und physikalischen Instrumente der Sammlung Orban waren bereits 1754 in ein fachspezifisches Museum überführt worden; siehe Gilles (2009: 298–299).

23 Zur Geschichte der Objekte aus dem Orban'schen Saal im 19. Jh. siehe Krempel (1968: 176–177), Müller (2019: 139–141) und Stein (2018: 92–93; sowie die Quellensammlung).

24 In den Jahren 1716 und 1722 entstandene Kataloge wurden bis dato nicht aufgefunden, siehe Stein (2018: 93–94).

25 BayHStA, GL fasz. 1489. Zu beachten ist hierbei, dass in diesem Verzeichnis auch einige Objekte genannt sind, die erst nach dem Tode von Orban in den Saal gelangten. Vgl. zu diesem Inventar: Krempel (1968: 174–176) und Stein (2018: 53–54, 93).

26 BayHStA, GL fasz. 1489; der „Götz“ unter den Raritäten: f. 7 r. nr. 5; die Mumie unter dem Tierreich, Abteilung „von dem Menschen“: f. 30 r. – 31 r. nr. 1 und 2. Derselbe „Götz“ wird in der Abgabeliste an die Universitätsbibliothek vom 9. April 1810 genannt unter der Nr. 72: Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München (UBM), 2° cod. ms. 806.

27 Stein (2018: 92–93; sowie die Quellensammlung).

28 UBM, 2° cod. ms. 806.

29 UAM, Y-VII-1.

30 Auskunft von Sven Kuttner.

31 UBM, 4° Cod. ms. 996 (9,2): Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Cimelien der UB München, Teil 2 (Cim. 45–107), Einträge zu Cim. 93 (= 8° Cod. ms. 431).

dass die Papyri im Oktober 1940 als Leihgabe an das Ägyptologische Seminar übergeben wurden, das sich zu jener Zeit unter dem Ordinariat von Alexander Scharff (1892–1950) in Räumen des Festsaaltraktes der Münchner Residenz befand. Der Grund hierfür ist nicht bekannt. Eine Bearbeitung der Papyri aus jener Zeit durch Scharff oder ein anderes Mitglied des Seminars ist nicht überliefert. Nach der endgültigen Zerstörung der Seminarräume Ende April 1944 durch Bombenangriffe hat Scharff verschiedene Papyri und Ost-raka, die sich im Besitz des Seminars befanden, nach Schloss Hohenburg bei Lenggries verbracht (ebenso wie die Seminarbibliothek), wohin bereits seit 1942 der größte Teil der Ägyptischen Staatssammlung ausgelagert war. Mutmaßlich gilt dies auch für die Papyrusfragmente aus der Universitätsbibliothek. Nach Kriegsende kamen alle ausgelagerten Objekte zurück nach München. Die Papyri wurden aber erst im Juni 1981 vom Ägyptologischen Institut an die Universitätsbibliothek zurückgegeben. 2010 wurden die Fragmente digitalisiert und sind seitdem im UB-Portal „Keimelion“ elektronisch abrufbar.<sup>32</sup>

## 2. COD. MS. 431A: FRAGMENTE 1 UND 2 (ABB. 1 UND 2)

### 2.1. Fragment 1

#### *Beschreibung*

Fragment von 9,7 cm × 3,7 cm (Höhe × Breite); feine Qualität, hellbrauner Papyrus; keine Klebung.


Vorderseite: Sechs Zeilen parallel zur Faser; Zeilenanfänge und -enden fehlen; kräftige schwarze und rote Tinte; sorgfältige Buchschrift. Von der ersten erhaltenen Zeile (rot) ist nur noch der untere Teil erhalten.


Rückseite (Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite oben): Sechs Zeilen; Zeilenanfänge abgebrochen, die Enden von Zeilen x+2–6 sind vollständig; am linken Rand evtl. der Rest einer

weiteren Kolumne; blasse schwarze Tinte; unsorgfältige, rasche Schrift. Die Zeile x+1 ist nur noch in Spuren vorhanden.


Auf Vorder- und Rückseite reicht der erhaltene Text jeweils bis zur letzten Zeile der Kolumne.


Datierung: Aufgrund paläographischer Kriterien ziehen wir die 20. Dynastie in Betracht. Wir orientieren uns u. a. an:


 (A24): Form bis spätestens 21. Dynastie: Möller (1927: 2), Möller (1936: 2), Verhoeven (2001: 106–107)


 (A26): wegen der Krümmung des ausgestreckten Armes spätestens 21. Dynastie: Möller (1927: 1), Möller (1936: 1), Verhoeven (2001: 106–107)


 (D2): Typ g bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 2, 26)

 (N34): Das Zeichen lässt sich am ehesten mit Schreibungen der 20. Dynastie vergleichen: Möller (1927: 53), Möller (1936: 57), Verhoeven (2001: 164–165)

 (U4): Form spätestens der 21. Dynastie: Möller (1927: 42), Möller (1936: 45), Verhoeven (2001: 188–189)

 (V28): eher eine Tendenz zu Formen des Neuen Reiches: Möller (1927: 47), Möller (1936: 50), Verhoeven (2001: 198–199)

 (Y1): Form des Neuen Reiches und der 21. Dynastie: Möller (1927: 48), Möller (1936: 52), Verhoeven (2001: 204–205)

 Die aufwendige Gestaltung weist in das Neue Reich: Möller (1927: 55), Möller (1936: 59), Verhoeven (2001: 212–213)

Möglicherweise gehören die Fragmente 1 und 2 zusammen. Die Handschriften beider Vorderseiten und der Rückseite von Fragment 2 scheinen identisch zu sein. Die Rückseite von Fragment 1 weist einen ganz anderen Duktus und Erhaltungsgrad auf und dürfte eine sekundäre Beschriftung sein.

<sup>32</sup> Siehe: <https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/11774/> (Zugriff am 19.03.2022).

## Vorderseite

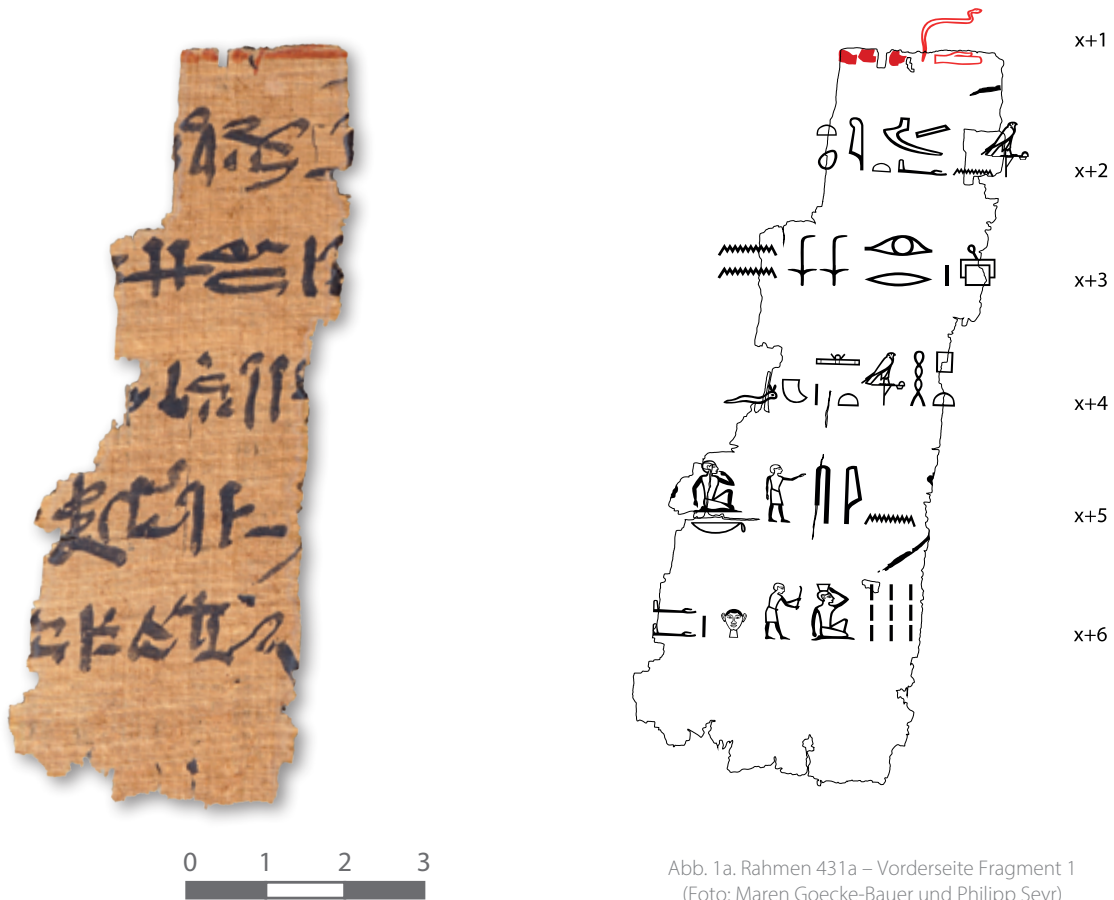


Abb. 1a. Rahmen 431a – Vorderseite Fragment 1  
(Foto: Maren Goecke-Bauer und Philipp Seyr)

x+1 ...]. *dd*-<sup>r</sup>*mdw*(?)<sup>1</sup> [...

x+2 ...]. *n M*<sup>s</sup>.*t* [...

x+3 ... *r*]-*s*<sup>3</sup> *jri*(.*t*) *nn* [...

x+4 ...] *Pth md*<sup>3</sup>.*t*=*f* [...

x+5 ...]. *njs*=*k* . [...

x+6 ...] 9 *βi*(.*w*) *hr* <sup>c</sup>.*wj* [...

x+1 ...]. <sup>r</sup>*Worte*(?)<sup>1</sup> *sprechen* [...

x+2 ...]. der/für *Maat* [...

x+3 ... *n*]ach dem Machen von diesem/*n* [...



x+4 ...] *Pth* sein(en) *Meißel* [...

x+5 ...]. du rufst / sollst rufen . [...

x+6 ...] neun, gehoben auf die *Arme* [...

## Anmerkungen

x+1

Falls die Lesung  zutrifft, könnte es sich womöglich bei den Resten um den Beginn eines Rezitationsvermerks *dd-mdw* () handeln.

x+3

Ein weiterer Beleg für die Phrase *r*]-*s*<sup>3</sup> *jri*(.*t*) *nn* findet sich in P. UC 32057, 2,11, ed. Collier & Quirke (2004: 60<sup>33</sup> und Tafel) sowie Grapow (1958: 462).

33 Fälschlich *m-s*<sup>3</sup> umschrieben.

x+4

Der Meißel des Ptah wird im Mundöffnungsritual<sup>34</sup> und in Totenbuchspruch 23 mit der Mundöffnung assoziiert.

x+6

Die Wendung  $\beta i(.w) hr^c.wj$  findet eine Parallele in P. MMA 35.9.21, 7,15.<sup>35</sup>

Der untere der beiden Arme am Zeilenende zeichnet sich durch eine ungewöhnliche Strichführung aus, da die vorne abgesetzte Hand die Form eines Winkels annimmt, vgl. Beispiele bei Verhoeven (2001: 118, Nr. D36) aus der Dritten Zwischenzeit.

### Rückseite

x+I.x+1 ...].

x+2 ...-s]bj.w

x+3 ...].w(?)

x+4 ...].w

x+5 ...].-rn=f

x+6 ...].  $M^{\beta\beta}$ -jt=f

x+II.x+1 ..[. . . .

x+I.x+1 ...].

x+2 ... Der-die-F]einde-[...]

x+3 ... Der-die(?)-.]-[...]

x+4 ... Der-die-.]-[...]

x+5 ...].-sein-Name

x+6 ...]. Der-seinen-Vater-sieht

x+II.x+1 ..[. . . .

### Anmerkungen

x+I.x+1

Bei dem Zeichenrest handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um den unteren Teil eines zeilenabschließenden  $\mathcal{A}$ ; vgl. den sehr langen Abstrich desselben Zeichens in den Zeilen x+3 und x+4.

x+3-4

Es handelt sich vermutlich um ähnliche Gottesnamen wie in Z. x+2, deren letzten Teil jeweils ein pluralischer Ausdruck bildet.

x+6

Die Schreibung ermöglicht die Lesungen *jt* „Vater“ und *jt=f* „sein Vater“, wenn man eine nicht unübliche Haplographie des *f* annimmt.<sup>36</sup>  $M^{\beta\beta}$ -*jt=f* „Der-seinen-Vater-sieht“ ist eine häufiger belegte Wächtergottheit, die öfters Mitglied einer



Abb. 1b. Rahmen 431a – Rückseite Fragment 1  
(Foto: Maren Goecke-Bauer und Philipp Seyr)



<sup>34</sup> Piccione (1981–1982: 79–80); vgl. den Reinigungstext aus TT 57 und 106 bei Sadek (1973: 65).

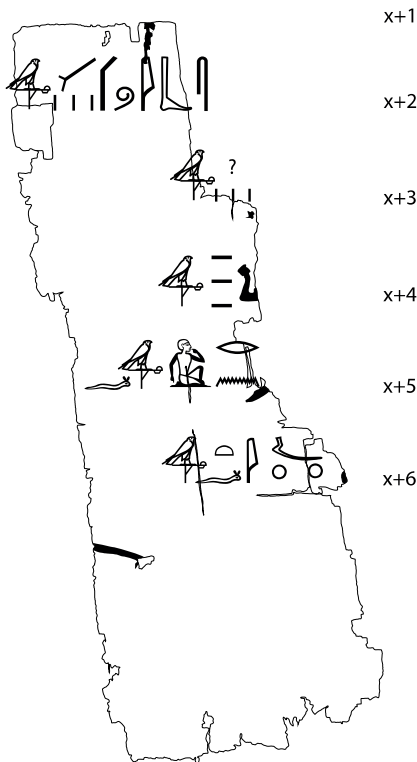
<sup>35</sup> Goyon (1999: 64, Taf. VI).

<sup>36</sup> Zu den Schreibungen des Wortes siehe Burchardt (1910).

Göttergruppe ist.<sup>37</sup> Interessanterweise erscheint in denselben Gruppen auch ein Gott namens *Jri-rn=f-ds=f*,<sup>38</sup> mit dem ...]-*rn=f* der vorausgehenden Zeile verbunden werden könnte.

x+II.x+1

Der Ausstrich des ersten Zeichens der letzten Zeile dieser Spalte könnte von  oder  stammen.



### Kommentar

Vorderseite: Es dürfte sich um die Reste eines Ritualtextes handeln. Darauf deutet nicht nur das Vorkommen der Gottheiten Maat (x+2) und Ptah (x+4), sondern auch eine Formulierung wie „n]ach dem Machen von diesem/n“ (x+3), wodurch ein Handlungsschritt markiert wird, hin. Die Lesung eines rubrizierten Rezitationsvermerkes *dd-[mdw(?)* (x+1) würde dazu passen, sicher auch „du rufst / sollst rufen“ (x+5). Eine im weitesten Sinne mythologische Aussage wird in x+4 gemacht, wo „Ptah sein(en) Meißel“ vorkommt. Doch die Reste sind insgesamt zu gering, als dass sie nähere Aussagen über die Art des Rituals erlauben würden. Allerdings ist es vielleicht nicht als Zufall zu werten, dass einzelne Wortverbindungen wie der Meißel des Ptah (x+4) und die Phrase „gehoben auf die Arme“ (x+6) speziell in funerären Texten Parallelen haben.

Rückseite: Dass es sich um eine Liste von Gottheiten in stichischer Schreibung handelt, machen die Gottesdeterminative, mit denen alle Zeilen enden, deutlich. Der erste z. T. erhaltene Name „Der-die-Feinde-[...]“ (x+I.x+2) lässt bereits vermuten, dass es sich um einen kämpferischen und das Böse abwehrenden Gott handelt. Auch die Namen in den Zeilen (x+5–6) ähneln denen von Wächterdämonen, die in genau dieser Reihenfolge in Tanis auf dem Sarg des Psusennes und in seinem Grab belegt sind (*Jri-rn=f-ds=f* und *M<sup>33</sup>-jt=f*).<sup>39</sup> Normalerweise steht *M<sup>33</sup>-jt=f* voran.<sup>40</sup> Die Zusammensetzung der Göttergruppen, typischerweise Schutzgottheiten des Osiris, variiert. Einen Namen mit der Komponente *sbj.w* innerhalb dieser Konstellationen konnten wir allerdings nicht finden.

<sup>37</sup> LGG 3, 199–200; Volokhine (2017: 68–70).

<sup>38</sup> LGG 1, 471–472; LGG 3, 199b.

<sup>39</sup> Belege 19 und 20 in LGG 3, 199–200.

<sup>40</sup> LGG 3, 199b–c.



## 2.2. Fragment 2

### Beschreibung

Fragment von 8,3 cm × 3,0 cm (Höhe × Breite); feine Qualität, hellbrauner Papyrus; keine Klebung.

Vorderseite: Fünf Zeilen; Zeilenanfänge und -enden fehlen; kräftige schwarze und rote Tinte; sorgfältige Buchschrift. Von der ersten erhaltenen Zeile (rot und schwarz) ist nur noch der untere Teil erhalten. Die Schrift läuft parallel zu den Fasern.

Rückseite (Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite oben): sechs Zeilen; Zeilenanfänge und -enden fehlen; kräftige schwarze und rote Tinte; sorgfältige Buchschrift; von der ersten (schwarz) und letzten (rot) Zeile sind nur noch geringe Spuren vorhanden.

Auf Vorder- und Rückseite reicht der erhaltene Text jeweils bis zur letzten Zeile der Kolumne.

Datierung: Zur möglichen Zusammengehörigkeit der Fragmente 1 und 2 siehe in der Beschreibung zu Fragment 1. Fragment 2 selbst gibt keinen Anlass, von der dort gegebenen Datierung abzuweichen.

### Vorderseite

- x+1 ...]. [...  
 x+2 ...]. *ts(?) smd.t(?)* . [...  
 x+3 ...]. = *f jri* [...  
 x+4 ...] = *f(?) m hf.w* [...  
 x+5 ...] = *fj pd(.w)* [...
- x+1 ...]. [...  
 x+2 ...]. Spruch(?) (am)(?) Halbmonatsfest(?)  
 . [...  
 x+3 ...] sein [...]. **Machen** [...  
 x+4 ...] **er(?) / sein(?) als Schlange** [...  
 x+5 ...] **seine beiden** [...] **ausgestreckt** [...

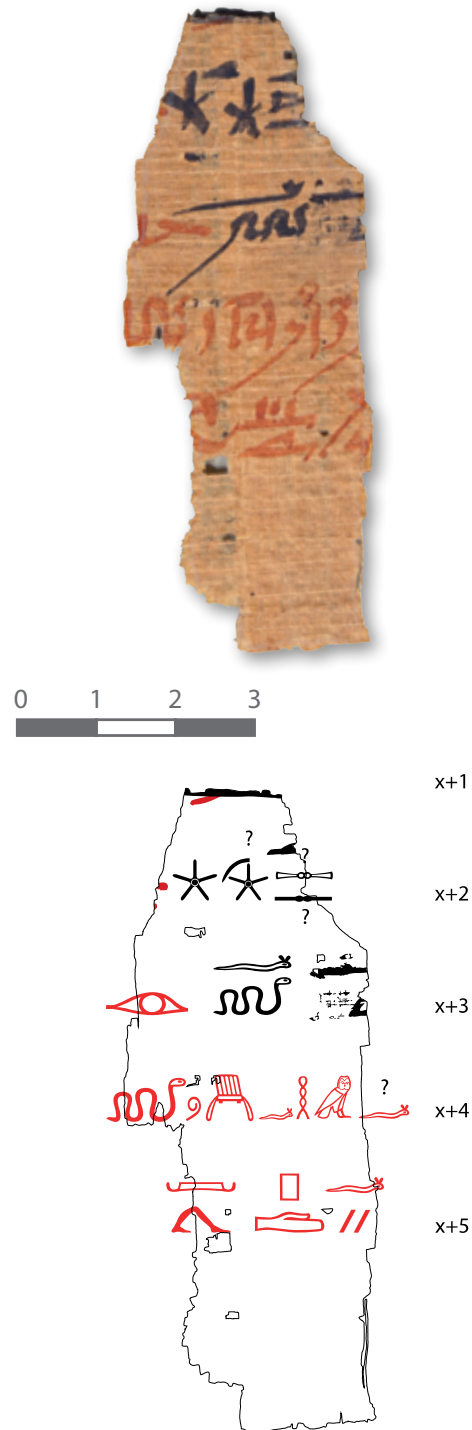





Abb. 2a. Rahmen 431a – Vorderseite Fragment 2  
 (Foto: Maren Goecke-Bauer und Philipp Seyr)

### Anmerkungen


x+1

Die Zeile enthält das Ende eines Rubrums und dann den Ausstrich vielleicht eines  oder  in schwarzer Tusche.


x+2

Die Lesung am Zeilenanfang ist unsicher, da die zur Hälfte verlorene, langgezogene -Gruppe ohne Determinativ bliebe. Alternativ könnten die Zeichen daher auch als ungewöhnliche Schreibung (fehlerhafte Abkürzung?) des Dekannamens *ts-rq* gelesen werden, der seit der Zeit Sethos' I. belegt ist.<sup>41</sup>

*smd.t* ist als Vorschlag zu verstehen. Den folgenden Stern fassen wir versuchsweise als Determinativ auf.



Die Reste des Rubrums am Zeilenende lassen an  denken und könnten somit einen neuen Textabschnitt einführen.

x+3

Die erste erhaltene Gruppe am Zeilenanfang wirkt verwaschen und scheint korrigiert worden zu sein. Falls sie mit der nachfolgenden Gruppe als Schlangennamenname zu lesen ist, wäre eine Auflösung als  in der Verbindung [*hry-*]*h.t=f* [„der-auf-seinem-Bauch“<sup>42</sup> denkbar, eine Bezeichnung u. a. von Schlangen und Würmern (*Wb.* 3, 135, 3), mit der in P. Ebers, 19,7 (= Eb 61) ein Eingeweidewurm bezeichnet wird.<sup>43</sup>

Mit dem rubrizierten Verb *jri* beginnt wohl die Handlungsanweisung, wahrscheinlich als unpersönliches passives *sdm=f* wie in Zeile x+4 der Rückseite.

x+4

Das erste Zeichen, von dem nur ein Ausstrich erhalten ist, wird als  oder  zu verstehen sein.

x+5

Aufgrund des Dual-Personalpronomens halten wir am Zeilenanfang Ergänzungen wie *rd.wj* „seine beiden Beine“ oder *‘.wj* „seine beiden Arme“ für gut möglich.

### Rückseite

x+1 ...]. [...

x+2 ...]. *kʿw* .. [...

x+3 ...]. *šsr* [...

x+4 ...]. *jri.w m tʿ snb* [...

x+5 ...]. *m hʿβ.w* [...

x+6 ...].

x+1 ...]. [...

x+2 ...]. ... .. [...

x+3 ...]. *šsr*-Schlange .. [...

x+4 ...]. (*werde*) *gemacht aus gesunder Erde* [...


x+5 ...]. *als Schlange* [...

x+6 ...].

### Anmerkungen

x+3

Vor dem roten Stern könnten sich möglicherweise die Reste eines weiteren rubrizierten Sterns befinden.

Die Schlaufe des Zeichens  ist hier weniger hoch als in x+2, weil sie auf einem anderen Zeichen sitzt.

Wegen des Schlangendeterminativs und wegen des Kontextes, in dem wiederholt von Schlangen die Rede ist, übersetzen wir „*šsr*-Schlange“. Die Gottheit, deren Name *šsr* als „Der mit dem Pfeil (= Giftzahn?)“ verstanden wird, erscheint in unterschiedlicher Gestalt (LGG 7, 127); vgl. auch WPL, 1033, die die *šsr*-Gottheiten als personifizierte Pfeile der Sachmet versteht<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Neugebauer & Parker (1969: 139, 159); vgl. auch *Wb.* 5, 404, 13.

<sup>42</sup> LGG 5, 374.

<sup>43</sup> Grapow (1958: 195); LGG 5, 374.

<sup>44</sup> Ausführlicher zu den Pfeildämonen der Sachmet s. Ritner & Scalf (2019).

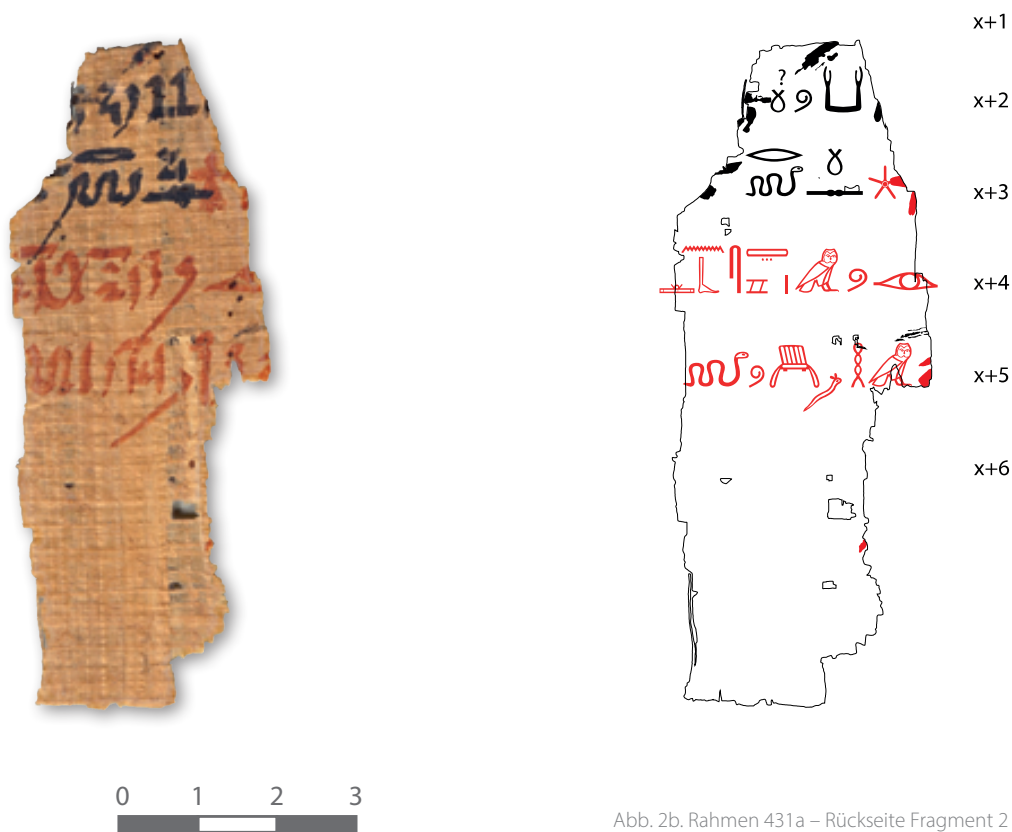


Abb. 2b. Rahmen 431a – Rückseite Fragment 2  
(Foto: Maren Goecke-Bauer und Philipp Seyr)

x+4

Zu *tʿ* „Erde“ als Bezeichnung für eine spezifische Substanz vgl. im Choiakritual 33 und 117 (Chassinat 1966: 270 mit Kommentar auf S. 276 und Chassinat 1968: 772; *Dend.* X 31,6 und 44,4; Umschrift und Übersetzung bei Cauville 1997: 17, 25).

x+5

Bemerkenswert ist die Linienführung im Zeichen *ꜥ*, bei dem der erste Teil der Schlange als separater gerader Strich ohne Ausführung des Kopfes geschrieben wird. Die weiteren Windungen folgen wie in x+3.

x+6

Das ist die letzte Zeile der Kolumne, in der an der vorderen Bruchkante der Ausstrich eines roten Zeichens zu sehen ist.

### Kommentar

Vorder- und Rückseite scheinen thematisch zusammenzugehören, kommen doch auf beiden Seiten auffällig oft Schlangen vor. Einzelne Wörter verweisen auf astronomische (Vorderseite x+2 und Rückseite x+3) und religiöse (Rückseite x+3) Konzepte. Der Text ist folglich im weitesten Sinne religiöser Natur. Da zudem eine Art Handlungsanweisung zumindest implizit in Rückseite x+4 erhalten ist, die ebenso wie andere Partien rubriziert ist, vermuten wir in dem Fragment die Reste eines Ritualtextes oder religiösen/magischen Manuals.

### 3. COD. MS. 431B: FRAGMENTE 3 UND 4 (ABB. 3 UND 4)

#### Beschreibung

Fragment 3: 6,4 cm × 10,0 cm (Höhe × Breite); etwas gröbere Qualität, mittelbrauner Papyrus, stellenweise vergraut; keine Klebung.

Vorderseite: Vier Zeilen, wobei von der ersten Zeile nur noch ein winziger Rest einer Unterlänge vorhanden ist. Die Zeilenanfänge sind vollständig, die -enden zerstört; stellenweise blasse schwarze Tinte; flüssige, manchmal nachlässige Schrift vertikal zu den Fasern, was dem ramessidischen Usus bei Briefen entspricht.<sup>45</sup>

Rückseite (Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite unten): Vier Zeilen, die Zeilenanfänge sind vollständig, die -enden zerstört. Von Zeile x+1 fehlt darüber hinaus die obere Hälfte. Tinte wie auf der Vorderseite; die Schrift neigt zu Nachlässigkeit.


Fragment 4: 5,7 cm × 9,2 cm (Höhe × Breite); gehört sicherlich zu Fragment 3, da Papyrusqualität, Tinte und Schriftduktus übereinstimmen; keine Klebung.


Vorderseite: Drei Zeilen, wobei das Ende von Z. y+1 erhalten ist; von Zeile y+3 ist das untere Drittel weggebrochen.

Rückseite (Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite unten): Drei Zeilen, wobei die Zeilenanfänge fehlen; das Ende von Zeile y+2 ist erhalten; der Papyrus ist im Bereich von Zeile y+1 vergraut, vermutlich aufgrund von Auswaschungen.


Da beide Fragmente annähernd vergleichbare Maße haben, gehen wir davon aus, dass sie dadurch zustande gekommen sind, dass der Papyrus, ein Brief, entsprechend gefaltet war und an den Falzen gebrochen ist.<sup>46</sup> Das lässt vermuten, dass es sich weder um einen Musterbrief noch um eine Archivabschrift, sondern um einen tatsächlich verschickten Brief handelt.

Datierung: Wie für Fragmente 1 und 2 kommt mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit die 20. Dynastie in Betracht. Dafür sprechen insbesondere folgende Kriterien:


 (G41): Typ c bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 176, Teil 2: 145 in VS y+3 und RS x+4, jedoch Typ b in VS x+1)

 (I10/D46): Typ c bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 179, Teil 2, 156)

 (S29): Typ b bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 206, Teil 2, 279)

 (U10/Z2): Typ b bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 210, Teil 2, 302)

 (V30): Typ a bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 215, Teil 2, 326)

 (Y5/N35): Typ b und c bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 226 f., Teil 2, 383 f.)

 (Aa18): Typ b bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 231 f., Teil 2, 406)

#### Vorderseite

- x+1 [...] [...]  
 x+2 *n p<sup>3</sup> wb<sup>3</sup> n ntr n[b ... jmy (?)*  
 x+3 *wn=k m ḥs.t Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntr.w [...*  
 x+4 *r-ntj sdm=j md.wt nb(.wt) j.h<sup>3</sup>b[=k ḥr-r=w*  
 y+1 *...].[..]=j(?) jt j.n=k h<sup>3</sup>b n=j*  
 y+2 *...]. bn tw=k rḥ.tw r-dd<sup>3cc</sup>{}*  
 y+3 *...] p<sup>3</sup>j=j ḥrj m-r<sup>3-c</sup>*
- x+1 [...] [...]  
 x+2 im *wb<sup>3</sup>* eines je[den] Gottes [... Mögest(?)]  
 x+3 du in der Gunst des Amun-Re, des Königs der Götter, sein [...  
 x+4 Und: Ich habe alle Worte gehört, [über] die [du] geschickt hattest [  
 y+1 *...].[.. me]ine(?) Gerste,*“ so sagtest du.  
 „Schicke mir  
 y+2 *...]. Du weißt nicht, dass angeschmiert hat*  
 y+3 *...] mein Vorgesetzter auch.*

<sup>45</sup> Černý (1939: XVII–XVIII); zu materiellen Aspekten von Briefen siehe zuletzt Gabler & Soliman (2018: 1–5).

<sup>46</sup> Zur Vielfalt belegter Falttechniken siehe Krutzsch (2008). Die Kleinheit der Münchner Fragmente lässt keine Aussage zur einstigen Faltung zu.

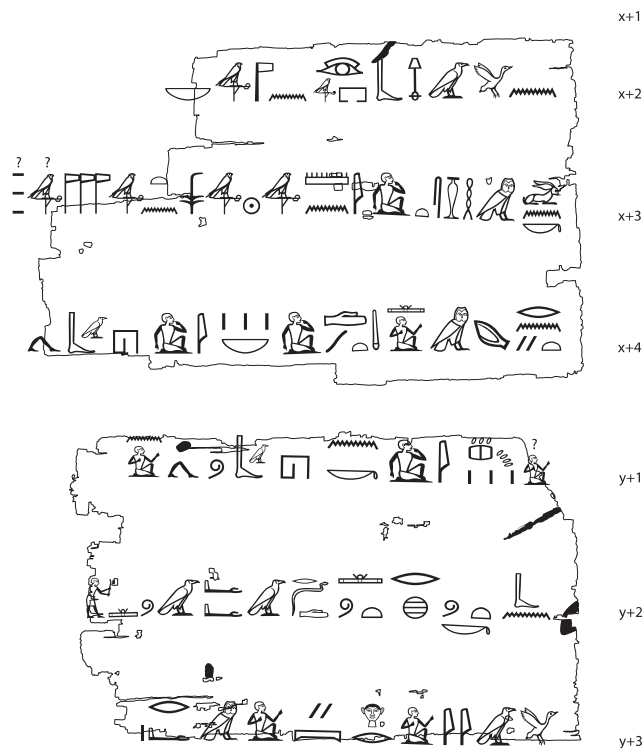
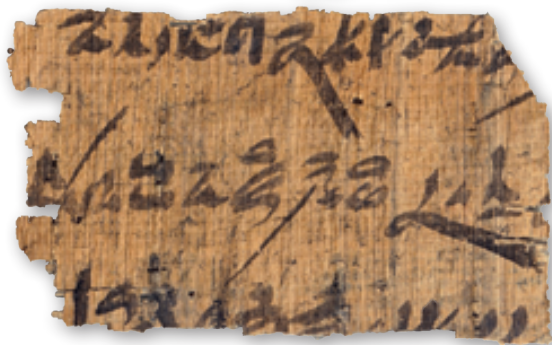
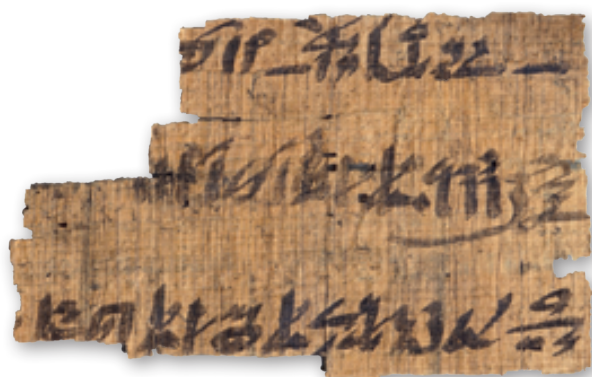


Abb. 3. Rahmen 431b – Vorderseite Fragmente 3 und 4  
(Foto: Maren Goecke-Bauer und Philipp Seyr)

### Anmerkungen

x+2

Die Phrase bildet einen Teil der einleitenden Begrüßung des Briefpartners. Nach dem gängigen Formular bieten sich zwei Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten an:

[*jw=j h'.kw*] *n p<sup>3</sup> wb<sup>3</sup> n ntr n[b m-mn.t]* „[ich stehe] im *wb<sup>3</sup>* eines jeden Got[tes täglich]“ z. B. nach P. Turin Cat. 1971, r<sup>o</sup> 6–7<sup>47</sup> und P. BM EA 10411, r<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>48</sup>, beides Briefe des Schreibers

*Bw-th-Jmn* (i)<sup>49</sup> an seinen Vater, den bekannten thebanischen Nekropolenschreiber *Dhwty-ms* (ii) (auch genannt *Try*), vom Ende der 20. Dynastie.

Oder die Nennung eines Gottes erfolgte in einer Phrase wie z. B. „Gott G.N., der] im *wb<sup>3</sup>* eines jeden Gottes [ist“ in ähnlicher Weise wie in P. Bologna 1094, XI,1–2.<sup>50</sup>

Zur ungewöhnlichen Schreibung des Wortes *wb<sup>3</sup>* mit dem zusätzlichen Determinativ des Falken auf der Standarte siehe die Parallele in dem

<sup>47</sup> *Late Ramesside Letters* (LRL) 16. Siehe Janssen (1991: Taf. 92–93) und Černý (1939: 31–33).

<sup>48</sup> Siehe Janssen (1991: 11–15, Taf. 1–4).

<sup>49</sup> Nummerierungsschema nach Davies (1999).

<sup>50</sup> Gardiner (1937: 10).




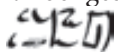


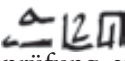
Brief P. Turin Cat. 2026, r° 11<sup>51</sup> an *Bw-th-Jmn* (i), der vermutlich von seinem Vater geschrieben wurde. Vgl. ansonsten zu den Schreibungen von *wbʿ* Spencer (1984: 4–5). Mit der Übersetzung von *wbʿ* halten wir uns bewusst zurück, weil die gängige Wiedergabe als „Vorhof“ oder „Temenos“ zu eng bzw. unzutreffend ist, wie Cabrol (2001: bes. 82–87, 757–761) zeigt. Nach ihren Ausführungen kann *wbʿ* durchaus verschieden gebraucht werden und u. U. sogar das ganze Vorfeld eines Tempels meinen. Aufgrund des fehlenden Kontextes verzichten wir daher auf eine Übersetzung.

x+3

Parallele Begrüßungswünsche finden sich in dem Brief des Arbeiters *Hʿy* P. DeM 3, r° 3–4<sup>52</sup> aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie,<sup>53</sup> in dem es heißt *jmy wnn=k m ḥs.t Jmn pʿy=k nb* „Mögest du in der Gunst des Amun, deines Herrn, sein!“

x+4

Zur Schreibung von *hʿb* mit hochgestelltem Aleph über dem Bein an dieser Stelle  und in y+1  vgl. z. B. auch in der Handschrift des *Nḥt-Sbk* (Mitte 20. Dynastie) in P. DeM 5, r° 2<sup>54</sup>: . Auch in der 19. Dynastie findet sich die Schreibung mit hochgestelltem Aleph, wie die beiden Beispiele  (O. DeM 114, r° 6)<sup>55</sup> und

 (O. Letellier, 7)<sup>56</sup> zeigen. Nach Überprüfung einer willkürlichen Auswahl von insgesamt 88 Belegen für die Schreibung *hʿb* (aus 67 Briefen, die aus dem Bereich von Deir el Medine stammen), stellte sich heraus, dass die beiden Varianten von Aleph über dem Fuß bzw. Aleph vor dem Bein in der 19. und 20. Dynastie relativ gleichmäßig verteilt sind. Nur in den herangezogenen Beispielen der *Late Ramesside Letters* der späten 20. Dynastie finden sich keine Belege für Aleph über dem Fuß.

Wird Aleph über den Fuß gesetzt, treten tendenziell die hohen Ausführungen von Aleph (Wimmer, Typ b<sup>57</sup> = hohe Form mit Welle und Typ c = hohe ‚z‘-Form) eher in der 19. Dynastie auf, die niedrigeren Zeichen (Wimmer, Typ d bzw. die Tupfer oder Punkte) eher in der 20. Dynastie und bestätigen damit Wimmers Eindruck der chronologischen Verteilung.<sup>58</sup> Da Aleph in unserem Brief mit der niedrigen ‚z‘-Form (Typ d) geschrieben wird, möchten wir das als ein Indiz für eine Datierung in die 20. Dynastie werten. Später, seit der Ptolemäerzeit, wird es üblich, den Freiraum über dem Fuß durch ein winziges Aleph auszufüllen, sofern nicht schon ein anderes Zeichen dort steht, siehe Möller (1936: 11 Anm. 3 und 17 Anm. 3).

51 LRL 50. Lesung nach Černý (1939: 72), die Stelle ist recht zerstört und damit unleserlich; siehe auch Janssen (1991: Taf. 103–104).

52 Černý (1978: 13–15, Taf. 18, 18a).

53 Davies (1999) hat P. DeM 3 nicht in seiner prosopographischen Untersuchung zu den Handwerkern aus Deir el Medine aufgenommen. Da in der 20. Dynastie zahlreiche Personen namens *Hʿy* belegt sind – siehe den Personennamenindex bei Davies (1999: 289–290) –, kann keine Zuordnung zu einem bestimmten Individuum vorgenommen werden.

54 Černý (1978: 18–19, Taf. 21, 21a). Faksimile vom Foto, © IFAO. Auch die Briefe P. DeM 4, 5, 6 und 22 des *Nḥt-Sbk* wurden von Davies (1999) nicht bearbeitet. Dieser Name ist im Deir-el-Medine-Material der 20. Dynastie nicht sehr häufig belegt. Neben dem (Ober-)Polizisten weist die DeM Database lediglich vier weitere Belege für einen *Nḥt-Sbk* aus, u. a. als Schreiber in P. Genf MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063, v° IV, 2. Der Verfasser der o. g. vier Briefe war sicherlich auch verantwortlich für das nachträglich eingefügte Kolophon in P. Chester Beatty I, r° XVI, 9. Mit den Briefen hat sich Sweeney (1998: 101–122) ausführlich beschäftigt.

55 Černý (1937: 1, Taf. 1A, 1).


56 Letellier (1980: 127–133, Taf. IX).

57 Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 170; Teil 2, 124).


58 Wimmer (1995: Teil 1, 170).




y+1


Ganz am Anfang des Erhaltenen ragt ein langer Ausstrich wie von einem =f oder einem w herein.



Die Ausführung der Determinierung von *h3b* in Form einer Ligatur aus zwei Schrägstrichen oder einem Punkt über laufenden Beinen benutzte z. B. auch der Schreiber *Jmn-ms* aus der zweiten Hälfte der 20. Dynastie im Brief P. DeM 8, r<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>59</sup>: 



y+2

Das fragmentarische Zeichen am Zeilenanfang könnte möglicherweise als  zu verstehen sein.

 : Die w-Schleife kann sowohl in der 19. Dynastie (z. B. O. DeM 10080, 1<sup>60</sup> ) als auch der 20. Dynastie (z. B. O. Leipzig inv. no. 1891, 1<sup>61</sup> ) mit einem weit unter die Grundlinie reichenden Ausstrich geschrieben werden.

„ ist ein seltenes Wort und wird teilweise unter Vorbehalt z. B. als „harm“<sup>62</sup>, „accuse“<sup>63</sup>, „malmener, maltraiter, rudoyer“<sup>64</sup>, „importune“<sup>65</sup>, „bedrohen“<sup>66</sup>, „oppress“<sup>67</sup>, „unter Druck setzen“<sup>68</sup>, „verlustig gehen“<sup>69</sup> oder „deal

with“<sup>70</sup> gedeutet. Das Verb scheint primär eine juristische Bedeutung zu haben, denn es begegnet auch im Dekret des Haremhab in §5 (Z. 28; *Urk.* IV 2150, 2), wo es von Kruchten (1981: 101) diskutiert wird, der sich für „rudoyer“ entscheidet. Weitere Belege finden sich im Prozess des Mes N 24 und 27 (KRI 3, 429, 16 und 430, 6; 19. Dynastie) oder dem Dekret des Amun für Henuttaui (21. Dynastie; mit , Winand [2003: 657 Anm. b], diese beiden Belege schon bei Gardiner [1905: 21 Nr. 59; vgl. 40 zu Seite 21] und Gardiner [1948: 16–17 mit Korrektur der Fehllesung  in *Wb.* 1, 2]). In hieratischer Schreibung begegnet das Verb auch im O. BM EA 65956, v<sup>o</sup> 8, einem Protokoll vom Ende der 19. Dynastie (= O. Nash 2; *HO* 47, 1). Die genannten Belege werden bereits von Kruchten (1981: 101) in seiner Diskussion berücksichtigt.

Im Gegensatz zu unserem juristisch verwendeten Verb steht ein anders determiniertes „ „bauen o. ä.“<sup>71</sup>, „glätten“<sup>72</sup> oder „bestreichen, tünchen“<sup>73</sup> mit den Varianten  im Mittleren Reich

59 Černý (1978: 20, Taf. 24, 24a). Faksimile vom Foto, © IFAO. In der 20. Dynastie sind einige Personen namens *Jmn-ms* im Deir-el-Medine-Material belegt, u. a. als „Schreiber“ (z. B. O. Berlin P 10663), als „Schreiber des Wesirs“ (P. DeM 9), als „wahrer Schreiber der Hathor“ und „königlicher Schreiber“ (O. DeM 429) oder auch als „Schreiber des Tempels der Hathor, Herrin von Hut(sechem)“ wie in dem Brief P. DeM 8, v<sup>o</sup>. Da die Person oder die Personen aber nicht wirklich greifbar sind, wurde ihnen von Davies keine Nummer zur Unterscheidung der Individuen zugewiesen, doch siehe die Diskussion „Amenmose – ‘scribe’ or ‘draftsman’?“ bei Davies (1999: 100).

60 Grandet (2006: 81–82, 269); *Zeit Sethos’ II.* Faksimile aus der Publikation.

61 O. Leipzig inv. no. 1891 (*HO* 26, 4); aus Jahr 2, Ramses III., siehe Černý & Gardiner (1957: 8, Taf. 26–26A, Nr. 4). Faksimile vom Foto © Ägyptisches Museum – Georg Steindorff – der Universität Leipzig.

62 Gardiner (1905: 21).

63 Gardiner (1948: 16–17); *Wb.* 1, 2, 14.

64 Meeks (2010: 8–9).

65 Pflüger (1946: 263).

66 Helck (1961: 419).

67 Davies (1995: 80).

68 Helck (1955: 120).

69 Allam (1973: 218–219); Quack (1997: 329).

70 *KRITA* 3, 309 zu 429, 16 und 430, 6.



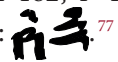
71 *Wb.* 1, 2, 13.

72 Hayes (1942: 31).

73 Hannig (2006: 2); Meeks (2010: 8).

(P. Reisner II, B 13<sup>74</sup>) und  $j^w$  in der Amarnazeit<sup>75</sup>. Wir möchten zur Diskussion stellen, dass diese bisher als verschiedene Wörter verstandenen  $3^c$  letztlich identisch sind.<sup>76</sup> Von einer Bedeutung „anstreichen“ könnte sich eine übertragene Verwendung herleiten – so wie im Deutschen „ansmieren“ auch im Sinne von „betrügen“ gebraucht werden kann. Soweit wir die Belege überblicken, ließen sie sich alle auf diese Weise erklären. Natürlich gehört das eher umgangssprachliche Wort „ansmieren“ einem anderen Sprachregister als das ägyptische  $3^c$  an, bietet aber den übersetzungstechnischen Vorteil, dass es wie das ägyptische Verb transitiv ist.

y+3

: Zur Schreibung von  vgl. z. B. auch O. Ashmolean Museum 182, r<sup>o</sup> 4 (Qenbet-Protokoll, Mitte 20. Dynastie): <sup>77</sup>

### Rückseite

y+1 ...]  $n^3j=j sm.w(?) m-r^3-^c hr-jr n^3.w$ y+2 ...]  $jh jm=n bn ndm rmt jw=f$ y+3 ...]  $nb.w jr n^3.w hm.wt hbs.w$ x+1  $ndnd p^3 .[...].[...]$ x+2  $ntj m-dj=j bn tw (m-)s^3=w r-dr=w j(?)[...]$ x+3  $m-dr jry tw Jmn m s[r(?) ...]$ x+4  $di=j p^3 rmt r .[...]$ 

y+1 ...] meine Kräuter(?) auch. Was anbelangt die

y+2 ...] was mit uns? Ein Mensch hat es nicht angenehm, der

y+3 ...] Gold. Was anbelangt die Kupfer(gegenstände) (und) Stoffe

x+1 fragen nach dem .[...].[...]

x+2 die ich habe: &lt;...&gt; ist/bin/bist nicht hinter ihnen allen her .[...]




x+3 seit Amun dich zum B[eamten(?)] gemacht hat [...]

x+4 ich gab den Menschen (Akk.) zu ..[...]

### Anmerkungen

y+1

Wir denken versuchsweise an eine kurze Schreibung für  $sm.w$  „Kräuter“ wie beispielsweise in den Nekropolenjournalen O. DeM 42, r<sup>o</sup> 4 sowie v<sup>o</sup> 8 und 11 oder O. DeM 47, r<sup>o</sup> 6, 10, 19 und v<sup>o</sup> 8 aus dem ersten Regierungsjahr Ramses' IV. Die Lesung ergibt sich durch Ausschreibungen z. B. in O. DeM 42, r<sup>o</sup> 7.

Statt des Zweigs  ist eine Auffassung als  möglich. Da das Wort ohne Determinativ  o. ä. geschrieben ist, scheidet  $jhwtj.w$  „Landarbeiter“ aus. Alternativ mag  $jhwt.w$  ( $h.w$ ) „Felder“<sup>78</sup> zu verstehen sein, dessen Determinierung aber ebenfalls fehlen würde.

Der darauffolgende Haken bleibt vorerst unerklärt. Wir sind uns unsicher, ob man evtl. an das Zahlzeichen für 1/8 Arure denken darf, siehe Möller (1927: 61, Nr. 689). Aber würde man nicht das Wort  $st^3.t$  „Arure“ dabei erwarten? Oder sollte etwa das Zeichen für 1/2  $hq^3.t$  vorliegen? Dazu vgl. Möller (1927: 62, Nr. 708). Alternativ könnte man

<sup>74</sup> Simpson (1965: Taf. 5, 5A).

<sup>75</sup> *Wb.* 1, 40, 6; Murnane & van Siclen (1993: 96, 103).

<sup>76</sup> Auf die Suche nach einer Grundbedeutung für  $3^c$  begibt sich auch Théodoridès (1979: 104–105, Anm. 47), der verschiedene bisherige Übersetzungsvorschläge diskutiert, dabei allerdings die Belege aus dem handwerklichen Bereich unberücksichtigt lässt. Er vermutet eine Verbindung unseres Verbs mit dem Substantiv  $3^c$  „Fremd(sprachiger)“ (*Wb.* 1, 3, 1–2), indem sich „als Fremder angesehen werden in“ zu „verdrängt werden aus“ entwickle, was schließlich Übersetzungen wie „malmener“ („grob behandeln“) rechtfertige. Hierher gehört auch P. BN 199,2, 4 = LRL 33, siehe Janssen (1991: Taf. 86) und Černý (1939: 53).

<sup>77</sup> Faksimile vom Foto.

<sup>78</sup> *Wb.* 1, 214, 5–6.







x+2

Zu *m-dj* siehe Théodoridès (1970).




Nach *tw* fehlt auf jeden Fall etwas. Entweder man nimmt eine rein graphische Haplographie für *tw.tw* oder den aus phonetischen Gründen leicht möglichen Ausfall eines Suffixes =*j* an. Sogar *tw<=k>*, das in einem Brief naheliegt, ist denkbar.

Der Ausdruck „hinter jemandem sein“ kann „suchen“, „verfolgen“ oder „hüten“ meinen.

x+3

Das Zeichen am linken Rand des Fragments entspricht paläographisch eher  als . Die Lesung ist allerdings insgesamt fraglich.

x+4

Das Ende könnte als  oder  zu lesen sein. Da (*r*)*di* + *r* Bedeutungen wie „etw. hinzutun zu etw. anderem“ (*Wb.* 2, 467, 2), „jemanden anstellen, um etwas zu tun“ (mit Infinitiv) (*Wb.* 2, 467, 25) oder „jmd. zu einem Amt ernennen“ (*Wb.* 2, 467, 37–38) haben kann, ergibt sich aus dem Zusammenhang kein Hinweis für die Lesung. Alternativ mag man schon an eine sehr kursive Schreibung von  *bnr* „draußen“ denken (als Frage aufgeworfen von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert). Eine derart verkürzte Schreibung begegnet tatsächlich schon in der späten 20. Dynastie z. B. in P. Turin Cat. 1888, r<sup>o</sup> 2,11 und 13.<sup>80</sup>

### Kommentar

Die Reste lassen erkennen, dass es sich um einen Brief handelt. Erhalten sind etwa auf der Vorderseite in x+2–3 Phrasen, wie sie für Grußformeln typisch sind. In Vorderseite x+4 wird dem Adressaten bestätigt, dass sein Schreiben gelesen worden ist. Nach einer Lücke unbekanntem Ausmaßes wird aus der früheren Korrespondenz zitiert. In ihr ging es um Getreide des Briefpartners. Uns ist nicht klar, ob im weiteren Verlauf auch noch

aus dem Brief des Adressaten zitiert wird oder ob bereits die Antwort des Schreibers des Münchner Papyrus vorliegt. Es folgt jedenfalls die Bitte, dass etwas (Getreide?) geschickt werden soll (Vorderseite y+1), und der Hinweis darauf, dass wohl jemand übervorteilt worden ist, der Briefpartner es aber gar nicht weiß (y+2). Wie der Vorderseite y+3 erwähnte Vorgesetzte damit zusammenhängt, muss offen bleiben.

Auf der Rückseite wird die landwirtschaftliche Thematik zunächst weitergeführt (y+1), ehe eine rhetorische(?) Frage (y+2) und eine satzenartige Aussage (y+2) darauf hinzudeuten scheinen, dass das Thema der Übervorteilung noch nachwirkt. Anschließend werden ein Edelmetall sowie Kupfer und Stoffe erwähnt (y+3), was genauso im Zusammenhang mit finanziellen Transaktionen wie z. B. mit einer Grabausstattung stehen könnte. Nach einer weiteren Lücke folgen auf dem unteren Fragment zunächst eine Erkundigung (x+1), dann geht es um Menschen oder Sachen, die beim Absender sind und hinter denen unbekannte Personen nicht „her seien“ (x+2). Unklar ist auch die Fortsetzung zum Ende des Erhaltenen: Dass Amun den Adressaten (per Orakelentscheidung?<sup>81</sup>) zu einem Beamten(?) gemacht hat (x+3), dient als zeitlicher Referenzpunkt für eine nicht mehr erhaltene Aussage, mit der die letzte Zeile, der zufolge der Absender „den Menschen/Mann“ zu etwas „gab“, in Verbindung stehen könnte. Die Verwendung des bestimmten Artikels zeigt, dass diese Person schon vorher im Brief erwähnt gewesen sein muss.

Der Papyrus dürfte im thebanischen Raum geschrieben worden sein. Dafür spricht das Vorkommen von „Amun-Re, König der Götter“ in der Briefeinleitung (Vorderseite x+3) und des Amun als Wohltäters(?) des Adressaten (Rückseite x+3).

Alles in allem stellen uns die beiden Fragmente vor zahlreiche inhaltliche Probleme.

<sup>80</sup> RAD 67.

<sup>81</sup> So als Idee von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert ins Spiel gebracht.



#### 4. COD. MS. 431C: FRAGMENT 5 (ABB. 5 UND 6)

##### Beschreibung

9,1 cm × 6,6 cm (Höhe × Breite); feine Qualität, hellbrauner Papyrus, in der oberen Hälfte großflächig leicht vergraut, in der unteren Hälfte verlaufener Fleck; keine Klebung. Die Fasern sind dicht aufeinandergepresst, so dass sie jeweils auf der anderen Seite durchscheinen, was die Bestimmung der Faserverläufe schwierig macht. Zwei kleine Löcher am oberen Rand des Papyrus scheinen uns so regelmäßig zu sein, dass sie vermutlich absichtlich gemacht worden sind. Ob sie antik sind, vermögen wir nicht zu sagen.

Vorderseite: Das Ende einer Zeile im oberen Drittel des Papyrus; am Anfang intensiv schwarze, dann sehr blass werdende Tinte; flüssige, großzügige, aber unregelmäßige Schrift parallel zu den Fasern.

Rückseite (Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite oben): Das Ende einer Zeile im oberen Drittel des Papyrus; mittelgraue Tinte; mit ausgefranter Binse geschrieben; kursive Geschäftsschrift; zuletzt zusätzliche intensiv schwarze Flecken, die schalig aufliegen.

Datierung: Angesichts der geringen für uns lesbaren Textmenge ist eine detaillierte Diskussion nicht möglich. Uns scheint eine Datierung in das Neue Reich möglich.

##### Vorderseite


1 ...]. *nn*(?) ...



1 ...]. ....

##### Anmerkungen

1

Die gesamte Lesung ist unsicher, wobei folgende Punkte anzumerken sind:

: Zur grundsätzlich möglichen Schreibung des Demonstrativums *nn* mit nur einer Wasserlinie

siehe auch das aus dem administrativen Bereich und evtl. aus dem Umfeld von Deir el Medine stammende O. Berlin P 11298, 4:<sup>82</sup>  .




Die Tusche der darauffolgenden Zeichen ist sehr blass. Zuerst könnte eine Form von  in Ligatur mit einem darüber befindlichen Zeichen vorliegen, danach  oder .



Abb. 5. Rahmen 431c – Vorderseite Fragment 5  
(Foto: Maren Goecke-Bauer und Philipp Seyr)


<sup>82</sup> Siehe Deir el Medine online: <https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/fragment.php?id=262> (Zugriff am 31.01.2022). Faksimile vom Foto © Deir el Medine online.

### Rückseite

- 1 ].  $t^3(?)$  rnp.t  
1 ]. das(?) Jahr.

### Anmerkungen

1

Alternativ könnte die erste Gruppe  gelesen und als Ende eines vorausgehenden Wortes verstanden werden. Von der Verbindung des  $t^3(?)$  mit dem vorausgehenden Zeichen ist nur noch ein Bogen unterhalb der Zeilengrundlinie erhalten.

Eine Phrase  $t^3$  rnp.t könnte als „das (= dieses) Jahr“ oder „heuer“ übersetzt werden (*Wb.* 2, 430, 12).

Die schwarzen Flecken gehören nicht zur Beschriftung des Papyrus (vgl. Beschreibung).

### Kommentar

Das Fragment gibt Rätsel auf. Abgesehen davon, dass der Inhalt völlig unklar bleibt, ist merkwürdig, wie es dazu kommen konnte, dass auf einem Papyrusblatt auf Vorder- und Rückseite jeweils nur eine einzige Zeile steht.

### 5. FAZIT

Die hier vollständig publizierte Sammlung hieratischer Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek München zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass sie nach unserem Wissen die frühesten nach Bayern gelangten hieratischen Papyri umfasst. Mit allergrößter Wahrscheinlichkeit sind sie nämlich bereits 1773 als Teil der Sammlung des Jesuitenpaters Ferdinand Orban (1655–1732) in den Besitz der Universität Ingolstadt übergegangen, deren Rechtsnachfolgerin die Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München ist. Von wem Orban die Papyri hatte, ist genauso unbekannt wie ihr Erwerbungszeitpunkt.

Es handelt sich um insgesamt fünf Papyrusfragmente, die heute unter drei Signaturen aufbewahrt werden und von denen zwei ziemlich sicher von einem einzigen Papyrus stammen. Allen Papyri gemeinsam ist ihre bescheidene Größe und ihre Datierung in das späte Neue Reich. Die fragmentarische Erhaltung erlaubt nicht mehr, als den Inhalt der Papyri allenfalls ansatzweise zu greifen. Deutlich ist immerhin, dass in den Papyri verschiedene Textgattungen vertreten sind. Wir haben es mit zwei religiösen Stücken,



Abb. 6. Rahmen 431c – Rückseite Fragment 5  
(Foto: Maren Goecke-Bauer und Philipp Seyr)

zwei Fragmenten eines Briefes (dieser aus dem thebanischen Raum) und einem Papyrus, dessen Charakter völlig unklar ist, zu tun. Die Sammlung scheint also zufällig zusammengekommen zu sein.

Besonders möchten wir auf das Vorkommen des Verbs „*ʿ*“ im Brief der Fragmente 3+4 hinweisen. In der Diskussion dieses seltenen Wortes schlagen wir vor, die bisherige Annahme zweier unterschiedlicher Verben „bestreichen, anstreichen“ und „übertreiben, schlecht behandeln“ usw. zugunsten der Ansetzung eines einzigen Verbs aufzugeben. Wir halten die Grundbedeutung

„anstreichen“ für wahrscheinlich, aus der sich eine übertragene Verwendung ähnlich dem deutschen „anschmieren“ entwickelt haben könnte, so dass wir es letztlich mit zwei Gebrauchsweisen eines einzigen Verbs zu tun hätten, die durch die benutzten Determinative unterschieden wurden.

Wir danken den Verantwortlichen der Münchner Universitätsbibliothek sowie den Herausgeberinnen und Herausgebern des vorliegenden Sammelbandes für die Möglichkeit, diese kleine Sammlung hier vorstellen und diskutieren zu können.

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# A Wine-Jar Label in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

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## ABSTRACT

The Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin holds approximately 3,000 objects. These derive mainly from excavations—forming part of the division of finds from digs conducted by the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society), for instance—or were acquired from Irish travellers to Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Among the museum's holdings, the only item inscribed with hieratic script is an unpublished wine-jar label (E72: 80). Almost no information is available about the find-spot or acquisition history of this pottery sherd, though this contribution will show that the label itself may shed new light on the provenience of the sherd.

## 1. WINE-JAR E72: 80

### 1.1. Physical description

The light brown sherd is 12.5 cm high and 11.5 cm wide.<sup>2</sup> It comes from a Marl D amphora belonging to Aston's (2004: 189) B1-Type.<sup>3</sup> The obverse is inscribed with three lines of text in black ink. Approximately 2 cm to the right of the third line, the Roman numeral 36 has been written in pencil; the meaning of this number is unknown (fig. 1).

In modern times, the reverse has been used to detail such information as the inventory number in white ink over a layer of protective polish.

In addition, two small paper notes have been attached to the reverse (fig. 2):

- 1 The older note, positioned in the top left corner, reads: 'Wine of the House of Amenhotep III. The year 39' (handwritten in Latin script with black ink), together with the number 384/9 (handwritten in red ink).
- 2 The second note, positioned towards the centre of the sherd, bears a similar text, typed in black ink: '9 Inscription: "Wine of the House of Amen-hotep III. The year 39" '. This sheet also details the measurements of the sherd: '5 by 4 ½ in., 15-'.

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1 See Quirke & Taylor (2007: 43).

2 The thickness of the sherd is unknown to me.

3 My gratitude goes to David Aston who provided me with this information and related bibliography. Furthermore, as Aston (2007: 21) states, during the 18th Dynasty Marl D amphorae of type B1 are commonly used to store wine from the Western Delta.



Fig. 1. E72: 80, obverse (© National Museum of Ireland, Dublin)



Fig. 2. E72: 80, reverse (© National Museum of Ireland, Dublin)

## 1.2. Text

The text consists of three lines of hieratic that run horizontally from right to left across the sherd. The sherd is broken, and only the beginning of the text is preserved.

- (1) *rnp.t-sp 29* [...]
  - (2) *jrp n p<sup>3</sup> [hb-sd]*
  - (3) *tp.y n hm=f 'w.s* [...(?)]
- (1) Regnal year 29 [...]
  - (2) Wine for the [*sd*-fest]
  - (3) first of his majesty l.p.h.

### Comments

#### Line 1

Both of the paper notes attached to the reverse of the label mention a 'year 39'. However, if one compares the shape of the numbers 20 and 30 in G. Möller (1927: 56) and in M. Leahy (1978: 62), it is clear that the upper part of the number, which is bent in on itself, more closely resembles the number 20 than the number 30.



Fig. 3. E72: 80, obverse (hieroglyphic transcription by Martina Landrino)

W. Hayes (1951a: 44–48) lists 89 different types of wine jar label. When regnal years are mentioned in the texts on these labels, they are always followed by the word ‘wine’. In our case, the second line of the label begins with ‘wine’ and it is possible that line 1 is thus preserved in its entirety.

Line 2

The final legible signs are Gardiner signs G41 and G1. These are followed by traces of ink that appear to belong to a tall, narrow sign, possibly Gardiner sign V28 (*h*), which would reinforce the reconstruction of ‘*hb-sd*’ in the lacuna.

Line 3

The adjective ‘first’ at the beginning of the line confirms that ‘*hb-sd*’ is the only word missing from the end of line 2. No further traces of ink can be detected after ‘majesty l.p.h.’ and it is possible that the line ended here and that no text has been lost. If so, the formula on the label would reflect Hayes’ type 13 (1951a: 44).

## 2. FINAL REMARKS

Wine jar labels dating to the New Kingdom have been found in large numbers at various archaeological sites, including Deir el-Medina, Malqata, and Tell el-Amarna, and are now scattered around different museum collections. The labels held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York are of particular interest, as they share a number of similarities with the label in Dublin, both in terms of their content and structure.<sup>4</sup>

The pottery sherds in New York, excavated at Malqata between 1910 and 1920 during campaigns conducted by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, date to the

reign of Amenhotep III. They were published by W. Hayes in 1951 in a series of three articles, then republished by M. Leahy (1978).<sup>5</sup> The texts of these labels exhibit a clear structure.<sup>6</sup> This structure was detailed by W. Hayes (1951b: 82) as follows:

- 1 Regnal year of production and packaging; the inclusion of the season, month, and day was not necessary for wine—only for more perishable goods;
- 2 Content of the jar;
- 3 Quality;
- 4 Quantity;
- 5 Occasion for which the substance was delivered;
- 6 Origin of the commodity;
- 7 Name and title of the official who contributed;
- 8 Name and title of the specialist who produced the commodity.

Details of the type (1), (2), and (3) appear on the Dublin label, conforming with Hayes’ type 13 (1951a: fig. 4).

The year to which the Dublin label is dated is of interest, as the wine held in its jar was produced for the first jubilee of an unnamed king. This was celebrated on the occasion of a ruler’s 30th regnal year, though festivities typically began already in the 29th year. Not many jar labels dated to regnal year 29 have been discovered, however. M. Leahy (1978: 13) lists only three such labels, while W. Hayes (1951a: 56, fig. 16) lists only two. Few New Kingdom pharaohs ruled for 29 years or more, and even fewer had their names associated with a jubilee. In his chronology of New Kingdom rulers, E. Hornung (2006: 198–209) lists only Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep III as celebrating such a jubilee. The dates of these pharaohs are compatible with the palaeography of our label, though the palaeographic evidence does not

<sup>4</sup> A search of the online catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art using the term ‘wine label’ returns 134 results. See <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search?department=10&q=wine+label> (accessed 10.01.2023).

<sup>5</sup> A new publication is in preparation by Niv Allon.

<sup>6</sup> Hayes (1951b: 82) notes that the Malqata sherds are inscribed with a larger variety of formulae than the Amarna sherds. See Bouvier (2003: 31–40) for further analysis of the phraseology on wine-jar labels from the Ramesside period.

permit us to assign the label more specifically to the reign of one of these rulers.<sup>7</sup>

The Dublin label does not include the name of a king, a house, or a domain, though the second paper note attached to the reverse of the object reads ‘Wine of the House of Amen-Hotep III’. Two explanations for this discrepancy are possible: the sherd was originally larger and a part of it has gone missing, or the person who wrote the paper note provided an interpretation of the label rather than a literal translation of its text. The first explanation is most unlikely, however, as the measurements given after the translation of the label correspond to the object’s current dimensions. The author of the note, whoever they were and whenever they wrote it, was clearly convinced that

the label dated to the reign of Amenhotep III and that it was most probably found at Malqata. In support of this interpretation, the present author would point to the similarities between the Dublin label and the Malqata material. It would seem that the Dublin label indeed dates to the reign of Amenhotep III and it was presumably discovered in the area of his palace in Western Thebes.

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<sup>7</sup> The ductus and shape of the signs are typical of the 18th Dynasty, e.g., Gardiner signs Q3 (Möller 1927: 34), W23 (Möller 1927: 44), and U36 (Möller 1927: 43).



# From Egypt to Bologna

## Stories of Collectors and Objects Inscribed with Hieratic Texts

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### ABSTRACT

The Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna holds a fair number of texts written on papyrus, textile, wood, and terracotta. These are mainly incomplete documents or small fragments—of interest nonetheless—that date from the New Kingdom to the 2nd century AD. In general, their archaeological provenience is unknown, though it is possible to partially reconstruct the circumstances that brought them to Bologna. This article investigates the provenance of these documents before shifting attention to the documents dating to the New Kingdom: two texts on papyrus, to which the Bologna Egyptian collection owes part of its renown from the 19th century onwards, and four shabti statuettes.

### 1. INTRODUCTION [D. P.]

The Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna (MCABo) holds a fair number of hieratic texts, including ten documents inscribed on papyrus,<sup>1</sup> five mummy bandages,<sup>2</sup> two wooden scribal palettes,<sup>3</sup> and four shabti statuettes.<sup>4</sup> Collectively, these date from the New Kingdom to the 1st millennium BC. The papyri and mummy bandages consist primarily of incomplete documents or small fragments, though they are no less

interesting for this. The origins of these objects are unknown, though it is possible to reconstruct—at least in part—the circumstances that brought them to Bologna. The present article considers the provenance of these objects, before turning to the New Kingdom hieratic texts in the collection. The fame of the Bolognese collection is due in part to two of these texts, both of which date to the 19th Dynasty, namely the *Neo-Egyptian Miscellany* dating to Year 8 of Merenptah (1206 BC)<sup>5</sup> and the

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1 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 351–353, no. 3161–3166, 3170, 3175). This catalogue corresponds to the Egyptian antiquities inventory in the museum as of 1895. Subsequent acquisitions, including other shabtis, papyri, and mummy bandages, were inventoried with numbers that followed on from those assigned by Kminek-Szedlo; see Pernigotti (1994: 47, 1–2 = inv. no. 3358–3359). The Egyptian collection's inventory numbers are currently preceded by the acronym MCABo EG.

2 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 238, no. 2009, 355, no. 3174).

3 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 348, no. 3136–3137).

4 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 253, no. 2110, 254, no. 2118, 257, no. 2142, 260, no. 2162).

5 Kminek-Szedlo (1895, 352–353, no. 3162). See Chabas (1870a: 9–11; 1870b); Rossi (1871: 49, no. 1094); Lincke (1878; 1879: 14–44; 1880: 12–13); Gardiner (1937: 1–12); Caminos (1954: 3–36); Curto (1961: 159, no. 411); Bresciani (1975: 60–61, pl. 36); Pernigotti (1979: 7–18; 1981b: 343, no. 4, 2006: 51–63); Piacentini (1990: 136, no. 85); Raggazoli (2019: passim).

*Letter from Bakenamon to Ramose*.<sup>6</sup> These have aroused the interest of scholars since the 19th century.

## 2. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION [D. P.]

Most of the objects inscribed with hieratic texts in the Museo Civico Archeologico belonged to the collection of the Bolognese painter Pelagio Palagi (1775–1860).<sup>7</sup> Between the 1820s and 1840s,<sup>8</sup> Palagi acquired over three thousand Egyptian antiquities, which he later offered at a discounted price in a bequest to his native city, together with numerous other collections. Held in the Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio of Bologna (BCABo), the documents in the Palagi archive allow us to reconstruct the extensive network of relationships that Palagi wove in order to enlarge his collections,

as well as allowing us to identify his primary contacts for the purchase of Egyptian antiquities.<sup>9</sup>

Palagi purchased a scribal palette as well as some papyri and mummy bandages with hieratic texts in 1831 from Giuseppe Nizzoli, chancellor at the Austrian consulate in Egypt from 1818–1828. The *Catalogo Dettagliato della Raccolta di Antichità Egizie riunite da Giuseppe Nizzoli* (1827) provides a basic description of these materials in “Articolo II: Oggetti in legno”, “Articolo XIX: Maschere, Ornamenti, Tele, ed altri Oggetti”, and “Articolo XX: Papi”.<sup>10</sup> The scribal palette is listed among other wooden objects in “Articolo II”.<sup>11</sup> “Articolo XIX” mentions “6 pieces of canvas with hieratic writing, and beautiful hieroglyphic representations painted in black”.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, “Articolo XX” briefly describes seven “papyri”—mostly fragments—of varying sizes: three in hieratic script, one of which is said to be large and

6 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 351, no. 3161). See Chabas (1870a: 11; 1873); Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1086); Lincke (1878: 5; 1879: 5–14, 38–44; 1880: 10–12); Kminek-Szedlo (1882); Möller (1910: 9–11); Wolf (1930); Curto (1961: 159, no. 410; 1963: 123–125); Pernigotti (1981b: 343, no. 3); Piacentini (1990: 135–136, no. 84); KRI 4, 78–81; Kaplony (1992).

7 BCABo, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 25, fasc. 1, Palagi's autobiography, see Matteucci (1974); Grandi & Morigi Govi (1976); Poppi (1996); Royere (2017).

8 For an overview of the collection, see Bresciani (1975; 1985); Pernigotti (1980); Jaeger (1993); Morigi Govi & Pernigotti (1994); Picchi (2011; 2015).

9 Bonora & Scardovi (1979); Bonora (1987).

10 Pernigotti (1991: 46–79) republished this catalogue.

11 Nizzoli (1827: 13, II, no. 10) states that this scribal palette, with two dedicatory inscriptions to Thutmose III in incised hieroglyphs and ten painted lines in hieratic script, came from a tomb in Memphis. It corresponds to Rossi (1871: 11, no. 158) and Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 348, no. 3136); see Petrie MSS 3.1.96 (<https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-3-1-96>; accessed 04.03.2023); Curto (1961: 157–158, no. 406); Bresciani (1975: 36–37, pl. 13); Morigi Govi & Pernigotti (1994: 127). “Articolo II” also details some shabti figurines without hieratic inscriptions.

12 “*Sei pezze di tela con scrittura jeratica, e rappresentazioni geroglifiche bellissime dipinte in nero*” (Nizzoli 1827: 36, XIX, no. 11–16). These bandages correspond to Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 238, no. 2009, 355, no. 3174), who gives the number 2009 to five of them. For further information on the Ptolemaic bandages MCABo EG 2009a–b, see Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 114174 ([totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114174](https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114174); accessed 04.03.2023) and TM 114005 ([totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114005](https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114005); accessed 04.03.2023). For further information on the bandage MCABo EG 3174, which contains chapters from the *Book of the Dead* of the divine father Hor, see Pernigotti (1981a), who dates it to the 30th Dynasty or early Ptolemaic period; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 114109 ([totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114109](https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm114109); accessed 04.03.2023).

beautifully written with various demotic characters;<sup>13</sup> two smaller papyri in demotic;<sup>14</sup> an all figurative papyrus with hieroglyphic inscriptions;<sup>15</sup> and two papyri that remained rolled-up with only the initial vignettes with hieroglyphic texts visible.<sup>16</sup>

A *Nota dei prezzi di dettaglio fissati sui vari pezzi della Collezione egizia di Gius. Nizzoli come da relativo Catalogo a stampa fatto in Alessa d'Egitto l'anno 1827* was drawn up by Nizzoli and addressed to Palagi after the latter had purchased the collection.<sup>17</sup> This handwritten document specifies that the prices of the objects in the catalogue would have increased by 20% if sold individually. It does not mention the six mummy bandages, while the scribal palette and all of the papyri are listed in the same order as the catalogue. The most expensive items listed in the document are an unopened papyrus roll, valued at 500 Austrian lire, and the Ramesside miscellany, valued at 800 Austrian lire.<sup>18</sup> It seems that Nizzoli was well aware of the commercial value of these texts inscribed

on papyrus,<sup>19</sup> particularly the value of the hieratic miscellany. The importance of the miscellany had undoubtedly been confirmed by Jean-François Champollion and Ippolito Rosellini, to whom Nizzoli had shown his collection in Alexandria in 1828, shortly before leaving Egypt for good. Rosellini had been commissioned by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II, to assess the quality, value, and rarity of the objects in Nizzoli's catalogue with an eye towards their acquisition. In a letter written to the Grand Duke on 28th August 1828 following his inspection,<sup>20</sup> Rosellini attributes the value of the collection to the presence of certain very valuable bronzes and a large hieratic papyrus fragment (certainly the Ramesside miscellany). After negotiations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany failed, Nizzoli found a buyer in Palagi for his collection of Egyptian antiquities.

In addition to Nizzoli, the well-known Venetian antiquarian Louis P. de Sivry also sold Palagi at least one papyrus (and almost certainly a second one) along with various other Egyptian

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- 13 Nizzoli (1827: 36, XX, no. 4–6). No. 4 corresponds to Rossi (1871: 47, no. 1082) and Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 354, no. 3165); for further information on this fragment of Nesientefnut's *Book of the Dead*, which dates from the Ptolemaic period, see Pernigotti (1981b: 345, no. 10); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57412 (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57412; accessed 04.03.2023). No. 5 corresponds to the Ramesside miscellany; see Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 352–353, no. 3162). No. 6 can perhaps be identified with Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1089) and Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 354, no. 3163); for further information on this fragment of Djedkhonsuuefankh's *Book of the Dead*, see Pernigotti (1981b: 344–345, no. 8), who dates it to the 22nd–26th Dynasty; Piacentini (1990: 228–229, no. 180); Niwiński (1989: 253 = Bologna, 1), who dates it to the 11th–10th century BC; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134402 (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134402; accessed 04.03.2023).
- 14 Nizzoli (1827: 36, XX, no. 7–8), corresponding to Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1093 and 1091) and Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 355, no. 3173 and 3171). These fragments, concerning dreams, are dated to the mid-2nd century BC and are thought to come from the Serapeum of Saqqara; see Botti (1941: 10–19); Bresciani et al. (1978); Quack (2008: 373–374); Prada (2013: 93), though only in relation to MCABo EG 3173.
- 15 This fragment of an Amduat papyrus corresponds to Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1090) and Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 355, no. 3169). See Curto (1961: 105, no. 136); Pernigotti (1981b: 344, no. 6), who dates it to the 22nd–25th Dynasty; Niwiński (1989: 253 = Bologna, 3), who dates it to the 11th–10th century BC.
- 16 Nizzoli (1827: 36, XX, no. 1–2), who specifies the Theban provenance of no. 1. These papyri may correspond to Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 355, no. 3175, 354, no. 3164); see also Rossi (1871: 12, no. 174, 48, no. 1085).
- 17 BCABo, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 31, fasc. 2, lett. c, no. 3. This document is *sine data*.
- 18 The scribal palette is valued at 80 Austrian lire.
- 19 In 1825, Nizzoli had already paid homage to L.S. Peruzzi, the Grand Duke of Tuscany's chamberlain, with a bas-relief, a hieratic papyrus, and four crocodiles in an attempt to sell the collection to Leopold II. See Picchi (2022).
- 20 Biblioteca Universitaria, Pisa (BUPi), *Ippolito Rosellini* Archive Fund, MS 379, *Copialettera di I. Rosellini a S.A.I. e R. il Granduca. Alessandria, 26 Agosto 1828*.

objects of significant artistic value.<sup>21</sup> A letter sent by de Sivry to Palagi dated 17th June 1831,<sup>22</sup> mentions a papyrus damaged due to an unspecified cause, for which the Bolognese painter paid 150 francs. The antiquarian blamed himself for the incident and offered Palagi the second papyrus at a discount, lowering the price from 400 to 300 Milanese lire. De Sivry also allowed him to establish payment periods and methods—conditions that Palagi certainly appreciated. Unfortunately, the letter does not describe the two papyri and, at present, no other helpful documentation has been found to identify them.

It is possible that the Sanquirico brothers, antique dealers active in the Lombardy-Veneto region who often competed with de Sivry,<sup>23</sup> also sold at least one papyrus to Palagi, with whom they did business for several decades. A letter sent to Palagi on 3rd March 1826 by the artist Giovanni de Min states that the Sanquiricos purchased a papyrus from Giovanni B. Belzoni's heirs in Padua.<sup>24</sup> The Bolognese painter was then trying to acquire the Belzoni family's antiquities, including a second papyrus, in a worse state of preservation than the one sold to the Sanquirico brothers.<sup>25</sup> By hiding behind such intermediaries as de Min, Palagi hoped to achieve a better selling price and to avoid further financial aggravation from shrewd dealers such as the Sanquiricos. Negotiations with the Belzoni family did not go

well because an economic agreement could not be reached. However, at least one object, a faience shabti from the tomb of Sety I, later became part of the Palagi collection, most likely thanks to Alessandro Sanquirico's role as intermediary.<sup>26</sup>

Although it unfortunately lacks both the date and sender's name, another handwritten document from the Palagi archive mentions two other papyri: '[...] one is well preserved with 13 of the 14 braccia, the other fragment is two braccia.'<sup>27</sup> This *Nota degli oggetti esistenti a Genova* corresponds to a list of materials available for sale and which may have been offered to a preferred customer like Palagi. It is not clear, however, whether the transaction was successful, given that none of the other objects mentioned in the document are traceable among Palagi's assets.<sup>28</sup>

The documents traced so far demonstrate the painter's interest in different types of inscribed materials. Nonetheless, for more detailed descriptions of those objects bearing hieratic script, it is necessary to refer to the lists and catalogues made subsequent to Palagi's death. This is especially true of the shabti statuettes.

The *Elenco degli oggetti d'arte e antichità e mobiliare esistenti nel Museo di Pelagio Palagi* was drawn up in Milan in the summer of 1860 in anticipation of Palagi's collections being transferred to the city of Bologna.<sup>29</sup> The list includes five so-called 'papyri' and over a dozen fragments.

21 Picchi (2009; 2012: 100–101).

22 BCABo, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. f, no. 3.

23 Picchi (2009; 2012: 100–101).

24 BCABo, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 6, fasc. 32. For more information on de Min, see Dal Mas (2009).

25 BCABo, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 4.

26 Picchi & Chilò (2021).

27 '[...] l'uno ben conservato di 13 in 14 braccia, l'altro frammento di due braccia'; BCABo, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 1. "Braccia" is an Italian unit of length, typically used for fabrics; its value ranged from 0.58 to 0.70 m depending on the region.

28 BCABo, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 1. This document was probably attached to an as yet unidentified letter. The Palagi Archive Fund keeps lists and catalogues of antiquities not purchased by the painter.

29 Archivio Storico Comunale di Bologna (ASCB), *Scritture private 1859–1860* Archive Fund, *Elenco degli oggetti d'arte e antichità e mobiliare esistenti nel Museo di Pelagio Palagi*. Although Palagi had moved to Turin in 1832 at the request of Carlo Alberto of Savoy, he left his Egyptian collection behind in his house-museum in Milan.

The compilers did not distinguish hieratic from demotic texts, nor did they specify the total number of (only partially identifiable) fragments. This handwritten document also mentions ‘some wraps of mummy cloth,’<sup>30</sup> possibly corresponding to the mummy bandages and at least one of the unopened Nizzoli papyri. From a letter sent to Palagi from Milan on 23rd April 1845 by his friend and scientific consultant Carlo Zardetti,<sup>31</sup> we know of the failure to unroll one of these. Referring to a previous exchange of letters, Zardetti wrote to his friend, ‘Concerning the Papyrus, if it can’t unroll, woe to it.’<sup>32</sup> Moreover, this failure is confirmed by mention of an unopened and cloth-wrapped papyrus roll in subsequent inventories and catalogues until at least 1895. The list drawn up in Milan includes ‘2 quadrangular and elongated palettes with inscriptions,’<sup>33</sup> corresponding to the scribal palette in the Nizzoli collection<sup>34</sup> and another whose acquisition history is unknown.<sup>35</sup> Shabtis are grouped by material in the list (faience, stone, and wood) and their place of display in the Palagi house-museum (shelves 28, 30, and 36). No mention is made of wooden and stone shabti statuettes with hieratic text.

Between the arrival of the Palagi collections in Bologna and the opening of the first Museo Civico in some rooms of the Archiginnasio Palace in 1871, the study of the Egyptian collection was entrusted to Francesco Rossi, Egyptologist of the Museo di Antichità ed Egizio in Turin, who published the collection in the catalogue *Cenni Storici, Relazioni e Cataloghi del Museo Civico di Bologna per la inaugurazione fatta il 2 ottobre 1871, in occasione del V Congresso Internazionale di Antropologia e Archeologia Preistoriche*. His descriptive cards of the objects in the collection are concise but detailed.<sup>36</sup> The same can be said of the *Sub-allegato Collezione Palagi*, the Palagi collection inventory catalogue compiled in the 1870s following their acquisition by Bologna. Its section on the Egyptian collection is attributable to Rossi.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, the two texts are exact copies. Rossi opens the first section of the catalogue with a chapter dedicated to Palagi’s wooden and stone shabtis,<sup>38</sup> although he does not mention figurines with hieratic text. Both the scribal palettes are described in the second chapter. Rossi translates the hieroglyphic text on the palette from the Nizzoli collection, while identifying the writing on the other palette as hieratic.<sup>39</sup> With respect to the fabrics, he

30 ‘[...] alcuni involti di tela di mummia [...]’; ASCBo, *Scritture private 1859–1860* Archive Fund, *Elenco degli oggetti d’arte e antichità e mobiliare esistenti nel Museo di Pelagio Palagi*, chap. “Antichità Egizie in legno”, subtitle “Scansia N. 36”, no. 49 (see ANNEX 2).

31 For more information on Zardetti, see Savio (2007).

32 ‘Quanto al Papiro, se non puossi svolgere, peggio per il Papiro’; BCABO, *Pelagio Palagi* Archive Fund, b. 24, fasc. 81.

33 ‘2 tavolette quadrilunghe con iscrizioni’; ASCBo, *Scritture private 1859–1860* Archive Fund, *Elenco degli oggetti d’arte e antichità e mobiliare esistenti nel Museo di Pelagio Palagi*, chap. “Antichità Egizie in legno”, subtitle “Scansia N. 30”, no. 10 (see ANNEX 2).

34 Nizzoli (1827: 13, II, no. 10); Rossi (1871: 11, no. 158) and Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 348, no. 3136).

35 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 348, no. 3137). See also Rossi (1871: 11, no. 168); Curto (1961: 158, no. 407); Bresciani (1975: 36–37, pl. 14), who speaks of inscriptions in demotic and in Greek painted in black on both sides; Zauzich & Röllig (1990: 321) after Bresciani; Morigi Govi & Pernigotti (1994: 127).

36 Rossi (1871: 7–52).

37 The *Sub-Allegato Collezione Palagi* is held in the historical archive of Bologna’s Museum.

38 Rossi (1871: 7, no. 1–69, 8, no. 77–108). Rossi groups the shabtis by material and place of exhibition, alternating them with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuettes and a corn-mummy.

39 Rossi (1871: 11, no. 158) corresponds to Nizzoli (1827: 13, II, no. 10) and Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 348, no. 3136). Rossi (1871: 11, no. 168) corresponds to Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 348, no. 3137).



reduced the number of mummy bandages from six to five, one of which is said to be in poor condition, listing them in different places in the text.<sup>40</sup> His descriptions allow us to identify with absolute certainty some of the papyri in the Nizzoli collection and to formulate some hypotheses for others that are less recognizable.<sup>41</sup> It has nonetheless proved challenging to determine when and from whom Palagi acquired those papyri that are unrelated to the Austrian chancellor's collection. These include a 'Papyrus in beautiful hieratic characters consisting of twenty-seven lines' that corresponds to the well-known *Letter from Bakenamon to Ramose*;<sup>42</sup> a fragment of a hieratic funerary papyrus;<sup>43</sup> a fragment of a hieroglyphic funerary papyrus in poor condition;<sup>44</sup> various papyrus fragments enclosed in a frame, most in hieratic script except for a tiny fragment in hieroglyphic,<sup>45</sup> and a 'demotic papyrus from the temple of the Ptolemies, with seven lines. Four short lines can still be seen in the lower part in Greek writing.'<sup>46</sup> This last is

another well-known document from the Bologna collection.<sup>47</sup>

In 1881, the Palagi collections were transferred from the Archiginnasio Palace to the nearby Galvani Palace, together with the Etruscan finds from the Bolognese area and other antiquities previously exhibited at the Regio Museo dell'Università, which also included a hundred Egyptian objects. All the Egyptian materials were shown in Rooms III–V on the first floor of the Museo Civico's new home and entrusted to the care of the Egyptologist Giovanni Kminek-Szedlo.<sup>48</sup> The scribal palettes and shabtis with hieratic text were exhibited in Room IV. Kminek-Szedlo's catalogue provides the first detailed description of these figurines as part of the Palagi collection.<sup>49</sup> The papyri were placed in Room V, except for the 'rolled, cloth-wrapped papyrus in awful condition,' which was exhibited in the same showcase as the textiles and human remains in Room IV.<sup>50</sup>

40 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 238, no. 2009, 355, no. 3174); Rossi (1871: 11, no. 167, 48, no. 1088) and MCABo, Museum Archive Fund, *Sub-Allegato Collezione Palagi* [1870s], no. 1134 and 1489 (see ANNEX 3).

41 See ANNEX 4.

42 '*Papiro in bel carattere jeratico composto di ventisette linee*'; Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1086) and MCABo, Museum Archive Fund, *Sub-Allegato Collezione Palagi* [1870s], no. 1487 (see ANNEX 3). This papyrus corresponds to Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 351, no. 3161).

43 Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1087); Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 354, no. 3166). For further information on this fragment of a Ptolemaic *Book of the Dead*, see Pernigotti (1981b: 345, no. 9); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57413 (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57413, accessed 04.03.2023).

44 Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1083); Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 354, no. 3168). For further information on this fragment of Twi's *Book of the Dead*, 18th Dynasty, see Naville (1886: 55, Ie); Pernigotti (1981b: 342, no. 2); Munro (1987: 288, no. 55); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 133546 (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133546, accessed 04.03.2023).

45 Rossi (1871: 48, no. 1084); Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 355, no. 3170). See Pernigotti (1981b: 344, no. 7; 1993: 57–59, pl. II–III, fig. 1–2; 2000); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 57151 (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57151, accessed 04.03.2023).

46 '*Papiro demotico del tempio dei Ptolomei, di sette linee. Nella parte inferiore si scorgono ancora quattro brevi linee in scrittura greca*' (Rossi 1871: 48, no. 1092).

47 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 355, no. 3172). For more information on this documentary papyrus, dated to Year 12 of Ptolemy IV Philopator (210 BC), see Botti (1941: 3–10); Curto (1961: 160, no. 412); Pernigotti (1981b: 345–346, no. 12) with a detailed bibliographic note; Piacentini (1990: 182–183, no. 128).

48 For further information on Kminek-Szedlo, see Curto (1963); Vachala (1986); Pernigotti & Piacentini (1987).

49 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 253, no. 2110, 254, no. 2118, 257, no. 2142, 260, no. 2162).

50 '*Papiro arrotolato e avvolto nella tela in cattivissimo stato*'; Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 355, no. 3175). This papyrus probably corresponds to Nizzoli (1827: 36, XX, no. 1).

In the museum's catalogue of Egyptian antiquities, published by Kminek-Szedlo in Turin in 1895,<sup>51</sup> the papyrus section opens with the *Letter from Bakenamon to Ramose* and the Ramesside miscellany, to which the author contributed two large descriptive cards, including a partial reproduction and translation of their texts. These texts are amongst the Bologna collection's most important holdings and have been the subject of extensive study since the 1870s. Kminek-Szedlo himself dedicated a publication to the *Letter from Bakenamon to Ramose*, with which he began the list of papyri in his catalogue.<sup>52</sup> With the exception of the cards for the mummy bandages, which again number six as indicated in Nizzoli's catalogue,<sup>53</sup> the cards for the papyri follow Rossi, with the addition of the number of lines of text and (where possible) the owner's name in hieroglyphs and translation.

Kminek-Szedlo also attributed various fragments from the same *Book of the Dead* in hieroglyphic script to the Palagi collection.<sup>54</sup> However, there appears to be no trace of these fragments or papyrus in the earlier catalogues and lists, assuming that this papyrus was not simply hidden among the fragments described generically in the 1860 *Elenco degli oggetti d'arte e antichità e mobiliare esistenti nel Museo di Pelagio Palagi*—if that is the case, it becomes unclear why Rossi did

not mention it. One possible explanation for this papyrus' absence from these earlier lists is that it was placed inside a coffin or box—alongside some mummies—only to be rediscovered when these materials were transferred from the Archiginnasio Palace to the nearby Galvani Palace. Based on the current documents, however, the erroneous attribution to Palagi of a papyrus from another donation cannot be ruled out.

Moving on from Palagi's collection, it was almost a century later that the Bologna collection came to acquire an additional twelve small papyri, practically all of which are fragments—two in hieratic,<sup>55</sup> nine in demotic,<sup>56</sup> and one in Greek<sup>57</sup>—as well as five mummy bandages in demotic,<sup>58</sup> and an ostrakon bearing demotic text.<sup>59</sup> These were the result of a generous gift in 1987 by a private individual who gave the museum a collection of 85 objects of primarily philological interest.<sup>60</sup> These recent acquisitions aside, the collection of objects bearing hieratic texts in Bologna has undergone little change since Kminek-Szedlo's 1895 catalogue. Five of the six mummy bandages remain, although one is very damaged.<sup>61</sup> In addition, the papyrus roll 'in an awful state' has degraded to the point that it now consists of numerous micro-fragments. These particular fragments have still not been examined thoroughly enough to determine their exact contents; neither has the

51 Kminek-Szedlo (1895).

52 Kminek-Szedlo (1882).

53 Four of the mummy bandages were exhibited in Room IV (MCABo EG 2009) and one in Room V (MCABo EG 3174).

54 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 354, no. 3167). For further information on this fragment of Wnherptah's *Book of the Dead*, 18th Dynasty, see Pernigotti (1981b: 342, no. 1); Piacentini (1990: 228–229, no. 179); Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134263 (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134263, accessed 04.03.2023).

55 MCABo EG 3358 and 3359; Pernigotti (1994: 46–50, VI.1–2).

56 MCABo EG 3349–3357; Pernigotti (1994: 46–50, VI.3–11).

57 MCABo EG 3360; Pernigotti (1994: 46–50, VI.12).

58 MCABo EG 3343–3347; Pernigotti (1994: 46–50, V.1–5).

59 MCABo EG 3348; Pernigotti (1994: 46–50, VI.13).

60 Pernigotti (1994).

61 This is one of the bandages included in inv. no. MCABo EG 2009; Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 238, no. 2009). See also Nizzoli (1827: 36, XIX, no. 11–16).

possibility of their being at least partially reassembled been seriously considered.<sup>62</sup>

Of the hieratic texts on the Bologna scribal palettes, papyri and mummy bandages, only two can be dated to the New Kingdom, and more precisely to the Ramesside period: the *Letter from Bakenamon to Ramose* (fig. 1a–b) and the well-known miscellany dating to Year 8 of Merenptah (fig. 2), both published several times. It is worth pointing out that the fragment of the *Book of the Dead* inscribed for the divine father of Amon Ahmose is no longer dated to the 19th Dynasty but to the 21st–22nd Dynasty (fig. 3).<sup>63</sup> The list of

New Kingdom objects with hieratic text is further expanded by the four wooden and stone shab-tis (fig. 4a–d, 5a–b, 6a–b and 8a–b) of uncertain acquisition, published here for the first time, but which in any case belong to the Palagi collection.

These texts await a critical edition that will be published as part of a joint project between the Museo Civico Archeologico of Bologna and the Museo Egizio of Turin. The attempt to reconstruct the circumstances that led these Egyptian antiquities to Bologna represents this project's first step.

62 Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 355, no. 3175). The author wishes to thank Susanne Töpfer and Renaud Pietri for a preliminary classification of these fragments, that probably belong to one or more documents with funerary texts in hieratic script and likely date to the Third Intermediate Period.

63 Due to its size, this papyrus may be one of the unopened rolls from the Nizzoli collection; this papyrus perhaps corresponds to Nizzoli (1827: 36, XX, no. 2). For further information on Ahmose's *Book of the Dead* (MCABo EG 3164), see Curto (1961: 104, no. 134); Pernigotti (1981b: 343–444, no. 5), who dates it to the 19th Dynasty; Niwiński (1989: 153 = Bologna, 2), who dates it to the 11th–10th century BC; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134403, (totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134403, accessed 04.03.2023), which dates it to the 21st–22nd Dynasty.





Fig. 1a and b. Letter from Bakenamon to Ramose, 19th Dynasty, MCABo EG 3161 (© MCABo, photo G. Bianchi)



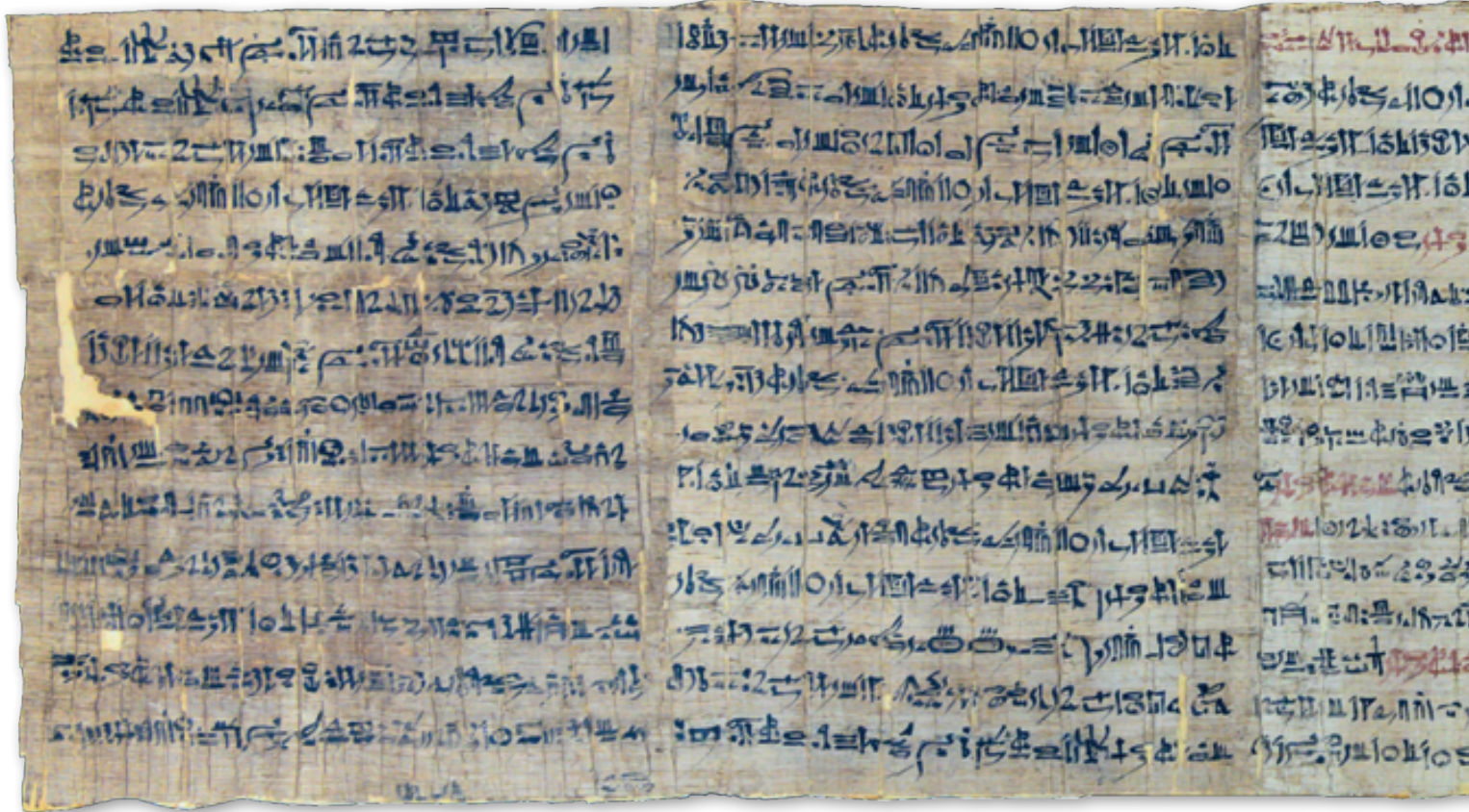




Fig. 2. *Late-Egyptian Miscellany*, Year 8 of Merenptah, 1206 BC, MCABo EG 3162 (© MCABo, photo G. Bianchi)

Fig. 3. Fragment of Ahmose's *Book of the Dead*, 21st–22nd Dynasty, MCABo EG 3164 (© MCABo, photo G. Bianchi)



### 3. OBJECTS IN THE MCABO INSCRIBED WITH HIERATIC TEXTS FROM THE NEW KINGDOM

#### 3.1. Stick-shabti of Sa-iah [P. W.]

**Inventory Number:** MCABo EG 2142

**Provenance:** Palagi Collection

**Origin:** Thebes

**Date:** Late 17th–early 18th Dynasty

**Material:** Wood, ink

**Measurements:** H: 2.8 cm; L: 2.8 cm; W: 2.4 cm

**Bibliography:** Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 257, no. 2142)

#### *Description*

The crude execution and overall appearance of this wooden mummiform figure are typical of the so-called Theban ‘stick-shabtis’ of the 17th and early 18th Dynasties.<sup>65</sup> The body is cursorily fashioned from a branch, some sapwood of which remains on the back. Undercuts are used to create the projection of the feet and the head. The head is cursorily fashioned with angled sides and a square chin, while details of the eyebrows and eyes are painted rather than carved. The figure has a tripartite wig: the base of its back is created using a horizontal undercut, while the inner sides of the front lappets are indicated with faint inked lines. Five horizontal strokes between the front lappets undoubtedly represent the rows of a broad collar.<sup>66</sup>

Seven horizontal lines of poorly executed text composed in hieratic with a few semi-cursive signs are arranged down the body of the figure. The text is faded in places and entirely worn away in others, while a knot in the lower third of the figure appears to have influenced the scribe’s arrangement of lines 5 and 6, ultimately affecting the preservation of the signs around it.

*Hand copy of the inscription and transcription*



<sup>65</sup> Schneider (1977: I, 296–298); Whelan (2007). For a brief discussion of this and other stick-shabti head types see: Whelan (2007: 38–40, fig. 23). Other stick-shabtis with this head type include: Tomb of Tetiky (TT 15) in Carnarvon & Carter (1912: pl. XII.2, two figures top row left, bottom row figure 2nd from left); Leiden 2.1.2.1 in Schneider (1977: III, pl. 7); Janes (2002: 9, no. 2); Petrie Museum London UC 40199 and 40210 in Whelan (2007: 98–99, 114–115).

<sup>66</sup> Decoration on stick-shabtis is uncommon and is generally more elaborate. See, for example: Petrie Museum London UC 40172 in Whelan (2007: 63–64); Tübingen 165 in Brunner-Traut & Brunner (1981: 267–268, pl. 63).



Fig. 4a–d. Stick-shabti of Sa-iah, late 17th–early 18th Dynasty, MCABo EG 2142 (© MCABo, photo M. Bozzoli)





c.



d.

*Transliteration*

- L1. *i [šʒ]wʒbty ipn*  
 L2. *wsir ... r ...*  
 L3. *irt im m hrt-ntr ...*  
 L4. *hrt.f r kʒt šht ...*  
 L5. *r sm[hy] r hnt*  
 L6. *šcy n imntt n iʒbtt ...*  
 L7. *sʒ-iʒh kʒ(.i/.f/.k?)*

*Translation*

- L1. O, this [sha]wabty  
 L2. the Osiris ...? ...  
 L3. (to) do there in the god's land...  
 L4. his duties to work the fields...  
 L5. to irrigate to transport  
 L6. sand of the east (and) of the west...  
 L7. Sa-iah (I/he/you shall say?)

*Comments*

The preserved text represents a slightly corrupted and incomplete redaction of the shabti spell.<sup>67</sup> It begins with an invocation and, though it is badly faded at the beginning, the word “shawabty” is certain on the basis of the partially visible lasso sign (Gardiner V4). This conforms to the typical spelling for this type of figure.<sup>68</sup> The owner’s name, following the introductory title “the Osiris” in line 2, has worn away. Line 7, however, preserves the male name Sa-iah written with a semi-cursive

pintail duck sign (Gardiner G39) and a hieratic crescent moon (Gardiner N12), below which may be the abbreviated hieratic seated man determinative.<sup>69</sup> The two hieratic signs following Sa-iah are clear (Gardiner A2, Gardiner V31) and appear to belong to an uncompleted attempt at the concluding phrase *kʒ.k*, “you shall say” (or a variant thereof);<sup>70</sup> no other signs are visible.

**3.2. Shabti of Bak-[...] (?) [A. G.]**

**Inventory Number:** MCABo EG 2162

**Provenance:** Palagi Collection

**Origin:** Unknown

**Date:** New Kingdom, 18th–19th Dynasty

**Material:** Limestone, ink

**Measurements:** H: 27.4 cm; L: 9.1 cm; W: 6.4 cm

**Bibliography:** Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 260, no. 2162)

*Description*

This mummiform shabti is in a good state of preservation, though it was broken in two at the knees and repaired. The deceased, wrapped in a funerary shroud, is depicted wearing a tripartite wig with regular strands of engraved hair that were originally painted—faint traces of the black paint are still visible in the grooves of the stone. The strands end with a double horizontal band. The face is finely carved into the limestone, and the ears are clearly visible. A *usekh*-collar covers the upper

<sup>67</sup> A variant of Schneider’s version IIA: Schneider (1977: I, 83–86).

<sup>68</sup> Schneider (1977: I, 137–138). The absence of two vulture signs (Gardiner G1) as phonetic complements in the writing of the word is also found on a stick-shabti for Djehuty-mes in the British Museum (BM EA 16006) (Schneider 1977: III, fig. 3).

<sup>69</sup> *PN I*, 280, no. 13. Petrie Museum London UC 4020, in Whelan (2007: 100–101), displays a similar semi-cursive pintail duck sign in a name otherwise composed in hieratic script. C. Vandersleyen (2005: 29–30, 39–50) proposed that the downward curving crescent moon was in use from the early 18th Dynasty onwards. However, the discovery of several linen fragments and stick-shabtis displaying 17th Dynasty characteristics with inscriptions containing either the upward or downward curving crescent moon associated with an offering chapel and funerary shaft suggest that the date might be slightly earlier; see Galán (2017: 217–221). Although uncommon, at least one other individual named Sa-iah is attested at Thebes on an 11th Dynasty precursor of the shabti found at Deir el-Bahri; see Winlock (1922: 34, fig. 36). The feminine version of the name, Sa.t-iah, occurs on a stick-shabti in the British Museum (EA 65677); [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA65677](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA65677), accessed 04.03.2023.

<sup>70</sup> The omission of a suffix pronoun is not uncommon in stick-shabti inscriptions, e.g., Cairo CG 47916 and CG 47920; see Newberry (1930–1957: pl. VII–VIII).





Fig. 5a and b. Shabti of Bak-[...] (?), 18th–19th Dynasty, MCABo EG 2162 (© MCABo, photo M. Bozzoli)

part of the chest, running from shoulder to shoulder. The arms are crossed under it, and the figure holds a broad-bladed hoe in the left hand, and a narrow-bladed hoe in the right hand.

On the front of the shabti, a hieratic inscription is partially visible between two vertical lines traced in black. The inscription is painted in black.

#### *Hand copy of the inscription and transcription*



#### *Transliteration*

C1. *ḥtp*<sup>71</sup> (?) *dd* (?) *wsir bʿk*-... (?)

#### *Translation*

C1. A boon (?) said (?) the Osiris Bak-... (?)

#### *Comments*

Due to the shabti's state of preservation, the inscription is only partly legible. The opening of the formula suggests the so-called 'offering spells'<sup>72</sup> while the group *bʿk* after *wsir* may be read as the beginning of the name of the deceased.

The material and dimensions, as well as the stylistic and iconographic features are typical of the New Kingdom, especially the 18th Dynasty.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.3. Shabtis of Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet) (?) [A. G.]

**Inventory Numbers:** MCABo EG 2110 and MCABo EG 2118

**Provenance:** Palagi Collection

**Origin:** Theban region

**Date:** New Kingdom, 19th–20th Dynasty

**Material:** Wood, plaster, paint

#### **Measurements:**

MCABo EG 2110, H: 19.3 cm; L: 6.0 cm;

W: 3.8 cm

MCABo EG 2118, H: 19.3 cm; L: 5.5 cm;



W: 3.8 cm

**Bibliography:** Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 253–254, no. 2110 and 2118)

#### **MCABo EG 2110 (fig. 6)**

#### *Description*

Made of wood and painted over a thin layer of plaster, this mummiform shabti is only partially preserved. On the surface, a few cracks and loss of colour are visible, while the feet are almost completely lost. A black tripartite wig frames a reddish face, the details of which are outlined in black, though the eyes are painted white with red

<sup>71</sup> The reading *ḥtp* (R4) has been suggested for the sign  which appears to have been written in cursive fashion. Other readings are possible, though they make no sense in this context: *ḥmw* ('40'), see Möller (1927: 56, 626) and Wimmer (1995: 439); *n* (D35), see Möller (1927: 10, 111) and Wimmer (1995: 50). The subsequent sign  can be read as a determinative Y1, see Möller (1927: 48, 538) and Wimmer (1995: 376, Ramses III., 12–21); or a *t* (V13), see Möller (1927: 47, 528) and Wimmer (1995: 318); or the sign N18, used instead of X4 as a determinative, see Möller (1927: 30, 330) and Wimmer (1995: 373).

<sup>72</sup> See Schneider (1977: I, 303).

<sup>73</sup> Leiden, RMO AF 12a and CI 3. See Schneider (1977: II, III, 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.1.5).



Fig. 6a and b. Shabti of Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet)?, 19th–20th Dynasty, MCABo EG 2110 (© MCABo, photo M. Bozzoli)

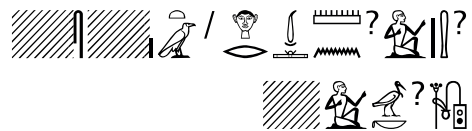
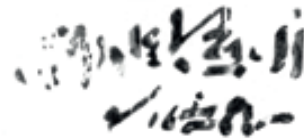
pupils. A *usekh*-collar is outlined upon the yellowish background of the chest using white, red, and blue lines. The arms are in relief and crossed on the chest: each hand grasps a rope that is attached to a seed bag or a basket that is slightly visible on the back of the shabti. Both the hands and the ropes are red in colour. The figurine was painted in white, reproducing a shroud, and is decorated with three red horizontal bandages around the body. On the front, a column of hieratic text appears in black on a yellow background framed by a red line. On the back, another two lines of black hieratic text are visible.

### Hand copy of the inscription and transcription

#### Front



#### Back



### Transliteration

#### Front

C1. *i...im.y-r(?) sh.tyw n<sup>74</sup> imn<sup>75</sup>...*

#### Back

L1. *hm (?)<sup>76</sup> mn (?) hr/t<sup>77</sup>...s...*

L2. *sš b<sup>3</sup>k...*

### Translation




#### Front

C1. ...the overseer of marsh-dwellers<sup>78</sup> of [the domain of] Amun...

#### Back

L1. Servant...

L2. The (?) scribe and servant (?)...

<sup>74</sup> The word *sh.tyw* has been written with the determinatives  (A24) and  (A1). For the first sign, see Wimmer (1995: 16, Ramses III., 12–21, h); for the A1 sign followed by the sign  (N35), see Wimmer (1995: 7, Ramses II., 26–45; Ramses III., 22–32, b).

<sup>75</sup> For the writing of *imn*, see Wimmer (1995: 384, Ramses III., 12–21, c–d).

<sup>76</sup> *hm* ‘servant’ can be related either to the deceased or the shabti itself; see Schneider (1977: I, 148).

<sup>77</sup> The translation of the sequence *mn hr/t* in this context is not clear, although partially certain from a palaeographic point of view, see Wimmer (1995: 307, Ramses III., 12–21).

<sup>78</sup> For the title *im.y-r(?) sh.tyw*, also translated as ‘Overseer of field-workers/peasants,’ see *Wb.* 4, 231, 15–18; *Wb.* 4, 232, 1–7 and Al-Ayedi (2006: 132, 374); Alù (2022).



**MCABo EG 2118 (fig. 7)***Description*

This mummiform shabti is covered by a thin layer of plaster overpainted. The state of preservation is quite good, though the feet are almost completely lost. The shabti wears a black tripartite wig; its face is painted red with black and white details. The body of the statuette was painted in white, reproducing a shroud with three almost completely faded vertical red bandages. The chest is covered by a *usekh*-collar outlined in green, red, and blue lines on a yellowish background. The figure's arms are crossed and both hands, red in colour, are empty. A bag for seeds is visible on its back.

On the front, a column of hieratic inscription appears in black on a yellow background framed by a red line. On the back, traces of text are detectable but no longer readable.

*Hand copy of the inscription and transcription*

## Front

*Transliteration*

## Front

C1. *i k³ n wᵇ im.y-r(?) šḫ.tyw n<sup>79</sup> imn<sup>80</sup> ...*

*Translation*

## Front

C1. Oh(?), the *ka* of the *wab* priest and overseer of the marsh-dwellers of [the domain of] Amun...

*Comments*

The state of preservation of the two shabtis does not allow for a complete reading and interpretation of the inscriptions. In both cases, the name of the owner is lost.<sup>81</sup> The two shabtis bear the title 'overseer of the marsh-dwellers of [the domain of] Amun', while MCABo EG 2110 also bears the title 'wab-priest'. The *ductus* of the frontal inscriptions seems like it should be attributed to two different scribes. Palaeographic analysis dates the inscriptions to the Ramesside period. The material and stylistic and iconographic features suggest the Theban region during the 19th–20th Dynasty.

A similar shabti is known from the same collection.<sup>82</sup> It is similar in both decoration<sup>83</sup> and dimensions<sup>84</sup> with a frontal hieroglyphic inscription where the title of 'overseer of the marsh-dwellers of the domain of Amun' is followed by the name Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet).<sup>85</sup> Two other wooden shabtis, both inscribed in hieratic with a front column of text and a back inscription referring to Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet), are held by the

<sup>79</sup> For the sign A1 followed by the sign  (N35), see Wimmer (1995: 7, Ramses II., 26–45; Ramses III., 22–32, b).

<sup>80</sup> For the writing of *imn*, see Wimmer (1995: 384, Ramses III., 1–11, ca).

<sup>81</sup> My sincere thanks to Paul Whelan and Gabriele Conte who revised my interpretation of the inscriptions and provided valuable advice.

<sup>82</sup> MCABo EG 2112. See Kminek-Szedlo (1895: 254, no. 2112); Curto (1961: 109, no. 153).

<sup>83</sup> See MCABo EG 2112 (fig. 8).

<sup>84</sup> MCABo EG 2112, H: 19.2 cm; L: 3.2–5.9 cm; W: 1.9–4.2 cm.

<sup>85</sup> The anthroponym *P³-n-rnw* (PN I, 109, 16) is an abbreviated form of *P³-n-rnn-wtt* (PN I, 109, 17), 'the one of the goddess Renenutet'.





Fig. 7a and b. Shabti of Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet)?, 19th–20th Dynasty, MCABo EG 2118 (© MCABo, photo M. Bozzoli)

Museo Gregoriano Egizio in the Vatican.<sup>86</sup> One of these, MV.19155.0.0, bears the titles ‘*wab* priest of Amun’ and ‘scribe’, while the other, MV.19159.0.0, the titles ‘*wab* priest’ and ‘overseer of the marsh-dwellers’. The figurines from Bologna and the Vatican share common stylistic features<sup>87</sup> as well as palaeographic<sup>88</sup> and textual similarities.<sup>89</sup> It is possible that they form part of

the same funerary equipment and thus belong to the same Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet).

Several other artefacts and monuments bearing the name Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet) are known from the Ramesside Period, but there is no evidence of a connection between them and the wooden shabtis in Bologna and the Vatican.<sup>90</sup>

Inv.	Name	Titles
MCABo EG 2110	Illegible	Overseer of the marsh-dwellers of [the domain of] Amun
MCABo EG 2112	Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet)	Overseer of the marsh-dwellers of the domain of Amun
MCABo EG 2118	Illegible	<i>w'b</i> -priest, Overseer of the marsh-dwellers [of the domain] of Amun
MV.19155.0.0	Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet)	<i>w'b</i> -priest of Amun, scribe
MV.19159.0.0	Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet)	<i>w'b</i> -priest, Overseer of the marsh-dwellers

Table 1. Name and titles from MCABo EG 2110, EG 2112, EG 2118 and MV.19155.0.0, MV.19159.0.0

<sup>86</sup> MV.19155.0.0 and MV.19159.0.0. See Grenier (1996: 53–55).

<sup>87</sup> For pictures of MV.19155.0.0 and MV.19159.0.0, see Grenier (1996: pl. XXXV–XXXVI).

<sup>88</sup> See Grenier (1996: 54–55).

<sup>89</sup> See Table 1.

<sup>90</sup> A group of related terracotta shabtis is divided across several museum collections and TT 400: mummiform examples are held in Turin (Museo Egizio, Cat. 2617 and Cat. 2618), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, inv. 650 [a 1063]; see Aubert & Aubert 2005: 87), Cairo (Egyptian Museum, CG 48325 and CG 48326; see Newberry 1930–1957: 317), Sèvres (Musée National de Céramique, MNC 4295; see Bulté 1981: 81–82), Kraków (Muzeum Czartoryskich, XI–902; XI–903 and XI–904; see Schlögl 2000: 51–53), Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 10781 [missing since the end of the war in 1945] and ÄM 10782; see Moje [in press]), and New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985.383). Shabtis in the dress of daily life are held in Cairo (Egyptian Museum, CG 48327 and CG 48328; see Newberry 1930–1957: 317) and Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 10783 [missing since the end of the war in 1945] and ÄM 10784; see Moje [in press]). According to Bulté (1981: 82) and Aubert & Aubert (2005: 87), at least one other shabti is to be found in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, unfortunately without an inventory or accession number). In TT 400, other terracotta shabtis belonging to Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet) were found together with the lid of a shabti box; see Schreiber (2015: 43–48). A different terracotta shabti is held in Florence (Museo Archeologico Nazionale “Museo Egizio”, 6582; see Cavillier 2017: 110–111). Three faience shabtis are also known: two in the dress of daily life (Amasis Collection, S–1579; see Janes 2020: 4; sale Drouot, Boisgirard & Antonini, 18.06.2014 no. 18); and one in the shape of a mummy (sale Drouot, Bergé, 29.05.2013 no. 28.). The Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin holds a shabti box (ÄM 733), while a votive stela from Abydos is held in Leiden (RMO L.XI.5). Two other votive stelae are known from the mortuary temple of Merenptah (The Manchester Museum, 1554; see Demarée 1983: 60–62) and from Deir el-Medina (The Bankes Collection, no. 10; see Černý 1958: no. 10). The name Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet) also appears on two ostraca (Cairo CG 25804, on which see Černý 1935: 93–94; and DM 606, on which see Sauneron 1959: 11 and <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=7445>, accessed 06.22.2022) and on an offering-table from the Petrie Museum London (LDUCE–UC14446; see Stewart 1976: 63 and <https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/petrie/19835>, accessed 06.03.2023).



Fig. 8a and b. Shabti of Pa-en-ren(e)nu(tet), 19th–20th Dynasty, MCABo EG 2112 (© MCABo, photo M. Bozzoli)

## ANNEX I

*Catalogo dettagliato della raccolta di Antichità Egizie riunite da Giuseppe Nizzoli, Alessandria d'Egitto, 1827*

## ARTICOLO II

*Oggetti in legno*

...

10. Una paletta, o tavolozza a colori ad uso di pittore, trovata in una tomba a Menfi. Al di sopra della paletta, si vedono due intagli rotondi, entro cui stavano i vari colori de' quali si vedono chiaramente tuttavia le tracce: più basso vi è nel mezzo incavato il luogo per conservare i pennelli, e lateralmente vi è una linea verticale di geroglifici aventi ciascuna un *Cartouche*. Dissotto vi sono 8 linee di scrittura jeratica ed è alta poll. 15, larga 5 e mezzo.

...

## ARTICOLO XIX

*Maschere, Ornamenti, Tele, ed altri Oggetti*

...

- 11 a 16. Sei pezze di tela con scrittura jeratica, e rappresentazioni geroglifiche bellissime dipinte in nero.

## ARTICOLO XX

*Papiri*

1. Un papiro scritto in carattere geroglifico con figure e rappresentazioni assai ben conservate. Questo papiro è ancora rotolato nel modo stesso in cui fu trovato a Tebe, e calcolando la sua grossezza e diametro sarà lungo circa 12 piedi e forse più. Alto pollici 9 e mezzo.
2. Uno detto con caratteri geroglifici, figure e rappresentazioni. Dalla grossezza del rotolo e lunghezza di questo papiro si può calcolare che possa essere lungo di 7 a 8 piedi piuttosto che meno: è alto poll. 5.
3. Altro papiro piccolo che derotolato si trovò bene conservato. È lungo poll. 13 alto poll. 6. La piccola rappresentazione del medesimo tutta figurata, accompagnata da linee di geroglifici è molto interessante, e differisce dagli altri papiri.
4. Altro papiro trasportato, ed incollato sopra carta da lucidare, è lungo piedi 1 e poll. 17 alto poll. 7. la prima parte lunga un piede, è tutta coperta di rappresentazioni relative alla coltivazione ed ai lavori della campagna, con molte altre allegoriche, ed il resto del papiro ossia la seconda parte è tutta piena di scrittura jeratica. Nella parte inferiore orizzontale, il papiro è un poco frammentato, e mancante.
5. Un papiro [storico] lungo tre piedi e poll. 17 alto poll. 8 che si dispiega e ripiega a piacimento con tutta facilità e comodità scritto in bella scrittura jeratica e con varj caratteri demotici. È alquanto tarmato ma tutto insieme il papiro è interessantissimo.
6. Un altro papiro frammentato in lingua jeratica facile a dispiegarsi, ed è lungo poll. 25 alto 8.
7. Un piccolo papiro di forma verticale scritto per quanto sembra in caratteri demotici lungo poll. 12 largo 3 e mezzo e si dispiega facilmente.
8. Altro piccolo papiro simile lungo poll. 7 largo 3.



## ANNEX 2

**ASCBo, Scritture Private 1859–1860, Elenco degli oggetti d'arte e antichità e mobiliare esistenti nel Museo di Pelagio Palagi**

## Antichità Egizie in legno

*Scansia N. 30*

...

10. Un gatto seduto ed una statuetta frammentata di donna seduta sulle calcagna con due tavolette quadrilunghe con iscrizioni.

...

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 37. Papiro in caratteri demotici della lunghezza di m. 2.29. con molti guasti in tutta la sua estensione svolto steso sopra lastre di vetro.  | 150 |
| 38. N. 3 frammenti di papiro in caratteri demotici inverniciati.  | 60  |
| 39. Altro frammento di papiro in caratteri demotici colla figura della defunta finamente dipinta.   | 120 |
| 40. Papiro di bella conservazione in caratteri demotici ad inchiostro rosso e nero con rappresentaz <sup>e</sup> lineare della libaz <sup>e</sup> del defunto e Osiride.  | 200 |
| 41. Papiro frammentato con iscriz <sup>e</sup> demotica e rappresentaz <sup>e</sup> lineari della trabez <sup>e</sup> di un tempio con Urei e giudici dell'Aumenti a sinistra, libazioni e scene mistiche a destra. | 130 |
| 42. Grandioso papiro con breve iscriz <sup>e</sup> demotica.  | 50  |
| 43. Piccolo papiro circolare con rapp <sup>e</sup> lineari di varie divinità.   | 40  |
| 44. N. 3 frammenti di papiro con caratteri demotici.  | 50  |
| 45. Due simili frammenti con figure e caratteri demotici.   | 40  |
| 46. Vari frammenti di papiri scritti e dipinti.   | 20  |
| 47. Frammento di un grandioso papiro con iscriz <sup>e</sup> geroglifica.   | 20  |
| 48. Frammento di papiro rozzamente delineato.   | 30  |

*Scansia N. 36*

49. ... alcuni involti di tela di mummia...

## ANNEX 3

MCABO, Museum Archive Fund, *Sub-Allegato Collezione Palagi* [1870s]

1125. Altezza 0.38 — Tavolozza in legno d'uno scriba su cui si vedono ancora tracce del colore rosso e nero. Porta i cartelli di Tothmes: da una parte ha l'iscrizione: Dio buono (ra-men kheper) sole stabilitore del mondo, amato da Ammone signore dei troni del mondo, datore di vita. Dall'altra: figlio del sole Tothmes amato da Ptah del muro meridionale (cioè di Menfi), datore di vita. Seguono poi alcune linee in scrittura ieratica poco leggibili (n° di marca 2169).
- ...
1134. Lunghezza 0.43 — Quattro LISTE di tela scritte in carattere jeratico, una di esse in cattivissimo stato (n° di marca 2178).
1135. Altezza 0.38 — Tavolozza in legno di uno scriba su cui si scorgono ancora avanzi di colori. Era tutta scritta in carattere ieratico la massima parte del quale è ora scomparso (n° di marca 2179).
- ...
1141. Altezza 0.21 — Papiro arrotolato ed avvolto nella tela in cattivissimo stato (n° di marca 2185).
- ...
1483. Lunghezza 106, altezza 0.17. — Frammento di papiro jeratico funerario. A sinistra è rappresentata la parte superiore della Sala del giudizio, a destra una scena dei Campi Elisi (n° di marca 3103).
1484. Lunghezza 0.72, altezza 0.38. — Frammento di papiro funerario geroglifico in cattivo stato (n° di marca 3104).
1485. Varii frammenti di papiri rinchiusi in una cornice. Il maggiore di essi alto 0.17 lungo 0.10 ed ha disegnato superiormente due divinità una con la penna della giustizia sul capo, l'altra è ornata dello Pschent inferiormente la dea Nebtis. Sono in scrittura jeratica ad eccezione di uno piccolissimo in geroglifico (n° di marca 3105).
1486. Lunghezza 0.75, altezza 0.10. — Papiro funerario ieratico. Vi ha a destra una scena in cui il defunto Aah-mes avanti ad una tavola d'offerta fa atto di adorazione ad Osiride residente nell'Amenti. Seguono quindi tre pagine in bel carattere jeratico (n° di marca 3106).
1487. Altezza 0.46, largo 0.10. — Papiro in bel carattere jeratico composto di ventisette linee. Essa contiene una lettera dello scriba della tavola Bakenammon al padre suo Ramessu di Ermopoli, in cui il figlio ragguaglia il padre intorno alle commissioni affidategli principalmente di quanto ha fatto per ottenere la consegna di uno schiavo fuggito dalla casa paterna (n° di marca 3107).
1488. Lunghezza 0.46, altezza 0.06. — Frammento di papiro jeratico funerario (n° di marca 3108).
1489. Frammento di tela con scrittura jeratica. La scena superiormente designata è tolta dalla vignetta che accompagna il capitolo decimo quinto del libro dei morti, in cui è rappresentato il defunto che sostenuto da Anubi innanzi ad una divinità posta sopra un pilone riceve l'acqua di vita ecc (n° di marca 3109).

1490. Lunghezza 0.65, altezza 0.16. — Frammento di papiro ieratico funerario. Della scena che era designata sulla parte destra del papiro non vi ha più che la figura del defunto in atto di adorazione (n° di marca 3110).
1491. Lunghezza 0.36, altezza 0.22. — Papiro del genere detto astrologico. A destra il cielo sotto forma di donna colle braccia distese e formante arco col corpo, di fronte alla testa della donna è disegnato uno scarabeo tutto il cielo comprende tre registri; nel primo registro sono disegnati quattro serpenti, con gambe, mani e teste umane che in atto di adorazione precedono tre divinità; nel secondo registro sono designati quattro Dei che tirano la barca del Sole, nel terzo il defunto disteso in forma di mummia poggia il capo sui piedi della donna che forma il cielo, vengono poscia quattro *akimu* o divini nocchieri armati del remo (n° di marca 3111).
1492. Altezza 0.20, larghezza 0.09. — Piccolo frammento di papiro demotico contenente 12 linee (n° di marca 3112).
1493. Lunghezza 1.00 alt. 0,30. Papiro demotico del tempio di Ptolomei composto di sette linee [Nella parte inferiore si scorgono ancora quattro brevi linee]<sup>64</sup> in scrittura greca (n° di marca 3113).
1494. Altezza 0.31, larghezza 0.08. — Piccolo frammento di papiro demotico formato di 25 lineette (n° di marca 3114).
1495. Lunghezza 2.26 altezza 0.19. — Grande papiro ieratico rinchiuso in una cornice posta sopra la vetrina che contiene gli amuleti. Esso ha nel diritto undici pagine di dieci linee ciascuna in bel carattere jeroglifico ed una pagina nel rovescio. Questo papiro che porta la data dell'anno ottavo di Meneptah I contiene una serie di brevi lettere scritte tra funzionari di diversi ordini, e tra altri personaggi (n° di marca 3115).

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<sup>64</sup> The description of this papyrus is incomplete in the *Sub-allegato Collezione Palagi*, indicating that the text was copied by Rossi (1871).

## ANNEX 4

**Comparative Table, Scribal Palettes, Papyri, and Mummy Bandages  
in the Palagi Collection**

Kminek-Szedlo 1895 = MCABo EG inv. no.	<i>Sub-allegato Collezione Palagi [1870s]</i>	<i>Cenni storici, relazioni e cataloghi... 1871</i>	<i>ASCBo Scritture Private 1859-1860 Elenco degli oggetti d'arte...</i>	Nizzoli 1827
		<i>Prima Sala Collezione Palagi Frammenti di papiri inquadriati</i>	<i>Antichità Egizie in legno Scansia N. 30 &amp; N. 36</i>	<i>Articolo II Articolo XIX Articolo XX</i>
3136	1125	158	Scansia 30, no. 10	II.10
3137	1135	168	Scansia 30, no. 10	//
2009 (5 bandages)	1134	167 (4 bandages)	Scansia 36, no. 49 (?)	XIX.11-16 (6 bandages)
3161	1487	1086	Scansia 30, no. 44 (?)	//
3162	1495	1094	Scansia 30, no. 37	XX.5
3163	1490	1089	Scansia 30, no. 39	XX.6 (?)
3164	1486	1085	Scansia 30, no. 40	XX.2 (?)
3165	1483	1082	Scansia 30, no. 41	XX.4
3166	1488	1087	?	//
3167	//	//	Scansia 30, no. 46 (?)	//
3168	1484	1083	Scansia 30, no. 47	//
3169	1491	1090	Scansia 30, no. 43	XX.3
3170	1485	1084	?	//
3171	1492	1091	Scansia 30, no. 44 (?)	XX.8
3172	1493	1092	Scansia 30, no. 42	//
3173	1494	1093	Scansia 30, no. 44 (?)	XX.7
3174 (1 bandage)	1489 (1 bandage)	1088 (1 bandage)	Scansia 36, no. 49 (?)	XIX.11-16 (6 bandages)
3175	1141	174	Scansia 36, no. 49 (?)	XX.1 (unopened roll)



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# The New Kingdom Hieratic Collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze — “Museo Egizio”

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## ABSTRACT

The New Kingdom Hieratic Collection of the “Museo Egizio” in Florence is not large, but it contains pieces of some interest. This contribution offers a general overview of the formation of the collection and the nature of its holdings; it is designed to serve as a starting point for the re-evaluation of the collection. It also offers an account of the way in which the New Kingdom Hieratic materials were acquired and details their provenience, whether known or inferred. Finally, it presents a preliminary catalogue of the items in the collection.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

*‘Il Museo Egizio di Firenze, come ebbi già modo di far rilevare, fin dalle sue origini, non poté mai vantare parità di ricchezza quanto ai papiri con la pregevolissima suppellettile archeologica.’<sup>1</sup> Thus Giuseppe Botti commented on the lack of papyri in the “Egyptian Museum” in Florence in 1964,<sup>2</sup> in particular the lack of ‘Hieratic specimens of the Classical Pharaonic Period.’ Botti’s description*

might equally be applied to the entirety of the New Kingdom Hieratic Collection, which is not large, though it does contain pieces of some interest. The aim of this contribution is to offer a general overview of the formation of the “Museo Egizio”’s collection and the nature of its holdings; it is designed to serve as a starting point for the collection’s re-evaluation.

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1 Botti (1964: 221): ‘Since its origins, the Egyptian Museum of Florence, as I have already had the opportunity to point out, could never boast the same richness in papyri as in other very valuable archaeological items.’ Similarly, Ippolito Rosellini complained of his poor luck in finding inscribed documents of good quality. See Gabrieli (1926: 21; Ippolito Rosellini’s letter to Luigi Maria Ungarelli, 24th May 1833). See also Rosati (2003).

2 The “Egyptian Museum” in Florence forms a major part of the National Archaeological Museum. It was founded in 1855 by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II of Lorraine-Habsburg, as the “Egyptian Museum,” a traditional name that is still maintained today. At that point, the Franco-Tuscan Expedition collection was moved to the convent of the Monache of Fuligno, where it was united with the Egyptian materials from the Grand Duke’s collection (which has been transferred from the Uffizi Gallery). The “Egyptian Museum” was then merged with the “Etruscan Museum” founded in 1870. In 1880, the two sections—now called the Royal Archaeological Museum of Florence—were moved to their present location, the Medici Palazzo della Crocetta (1619–1620). For the history of the “Egyptian Museum” of Florence, see Del Francia (1991a; 1999).



## 2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC COLLECTION: MATERIALS, PROVENIENCE, AND ACQUISITION [A.C.]

This section will discuss the size and nature of the collection, the way in which the New Kingdom hieratic materials were acquired, as well as their provenience, whether known or inferred.

### 2.1. Papyri

With respect to the papyri in the collection, the situation remains the same as it was when described by Botti. Of the approximately 100 papyri preserved in the museum, those papyri that are inscribed in Hieratic and which can be dated to the New Kingdom are the 12 fragments purchased in Thebes by Ernesto Schiaparelli during his first mission to Egypt in 1884–1885.<sup>3</sup> Originally collected in a single envelope (Botti 1964: 222), these fragments were assigned by Schiaparelli the progressive number ME7125 in the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani*.<sup>4</sup> This inventory number included different documents that were subsequently divided by Botti during a review of the collection carried out in 1945–1947 (Botti 1947: 252–254) with a view to their publication. Botti retained the number that Schiaparelli assigned to the larger fragment and assigned new inventory numbers to the others, which were different in both their content and the character of their writing.<sup>5</sup> He also identified the provenience of some texts from Deir el-Medina and offered

transliterations and an initial overview of their contents (Botti 1964).

### 2.2. Ostraca

The collection holds approximately 136 ostraca, of which 34 are inscribed in Hieratic and can be dated to the New Kingdom (the others are inscribed in hieroglyphic, demotic, greek, and coptic). As for the ostraca, problems with respect to the attribution of their original inventory numbers mean that it is often difficult or impossible to establish their provenience. This problem is common to other classes of material in the “Egyptian Museum”<sup>6</sup> and arises because many of the objects that were not exhibited in 1855 at the *Cenacolo del Fuligno* (the first location of the “Egyptian Museum”) were not registered in the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani* drawn up in 1856 by Arcangelo Migliarini. They remained in storage or in the Curator’s Office, and the information relating to them was lost. These finds were registered, often with brief descriptions and without indications of their dimensions, in the *Supplemento all’inventario esistente dei monumenti egiziani conservati nel gabinetto del Conservatore e nel magazzino del Museo*<sup>7</sup> drawn up by Schiaparelli in 1878 as volume IV of the Catalogue. This volume gave an account of the exact contents of the collection at that point.

Even Schiaparelli, who later recorded gifts and acquisitions between 1882 and 1894, did not include in the Catalogue all the finds he acquired during his missions to Egypt, as noted by Pier

3 On Schiaparelli as the Director of the “Egyptian Museum” of Florence and on his missions to Egypt, see Del Francia (2008); Guidotti (2008).

4 Inv. No. 47125 (ME7125). Objects will be presented with their current Inventory Number (Inv. No.) from the *Registro Cronologico d’Entrata* (Register of Materials Entering the Museum) of the Archaeological Museum of Florence, along with the number they were assigned in the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani* (Catalogue of Egyptian Monuments), drawn up by Michele Arcangelo Migliarini in 1856 and continued by his successors until the present (volumes I–VIII), specified by the initials “ME”. On Migliarini, see Neri Calamari (1931). For the complex history of the inventory of the museum’s collections, see Arbeid & Leonini (2019: exp. 45, note 24). I would like to thank Barbara Arbeid for her help in understanding the complex history of the Museum’s Catalogue.

5 Inv. No. 50057–50066a–b (ME10057–10066a–b).

6 The same problem is common to vases, ushabtis, and other materials: Del Francia (1991b); Del Francia (2016).

7 Supplement to the Existing Inventory of Egyptian Monuments Preserved in the Curator’s Office.

Roberto Del Francia (2006: 8–9). The revision of the Catalogue carried out by Giuseppe Botti in the 1940s brought further confusion; many objects had by this time lost their inventory numbers<sup>8</sup> and were not recognizable from their cursory description in the Catalogue, and were as such recorded as ‘not found.’<sup>9</sup> A new inventory number was assigned to these pieces (not just to those pieces that had previously not been properly inventoried) and the numerical values assigned to the finds were redistributed randomly by class. Del Francia subsequently tried to solve this problem with a revision of the collection catalogue in 1972–1980 (Del Francia 1991b: 8), but was not always able to fully resolve the situation (Del Francia 1991b: no. 95). In our review of the collection, we first followed the numbers present on the object if coeval with the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani*. Where the numbers displayed variations, we followed the latest revision carried out by Del Francia,<sup>10</sup> since he took into account all the museum’s documents, including those in the archive. Where it remained impossible to reach an unambiguous conclusion, we decided to retain the numbers assigned to objects by Giuseppe Botti (preceded by a B. to avoid confusion). In this way, it becomes possible to examine the materials and their provenience.

(1) A group of nine ostraca—Inv. No. 42616–42617, 42619–42625 (ME2616–2617, ME2619–2625)—form part of the older acquisitions brought to Florence by Ippolito Rosellini.<sup>11</sup> Inv. No. 42627 (ME2627), a

limestone ostracon purchased by the Franco-Tuscan Expedition, was then reassembled by Botti with Inv. No. 42623 (ME2623). The number ME2627 was then reused by Botti to register another limestone ostracon with no clear information about its acquisition and provenience. Two ostraca—Inv. No. 42618 and 42626 (ME2618 and 2626)—are part of the Ricci collection (Guidotti 2011), but the number of Inv. No. 42626 (ME2626), a small limestone ostracon as described in the Catalogue, was probably replaced by Botti, who could not find ME2626, with a small pottery ostracon without a clear provenience. Finally, a group of Ramesside limestone ostraca should also be mentioned; these form part of the antiquities purchased by the Franco-Tuscan Expedition in Egypt in 1828–1829 and are inscribed both with markings and illustrations of furniture.<sup>12</sup>

(2) Six ostraca—Inv. No. 47137–47142 (ME7137–7142)—form part of the antiquities purchased by Schiaparelli during his first mission to Egypt in 1884–1885. The entry in the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani* mentions six hieratic ostraca and fragments, leading us to infer that some pieces were not assigned a proper inventory number at the time. The provenance of these finds is said to be *Tebe (necropoli)*, indicating that they are from Western Thebes. Unfortunately, Botti, who probably did not recognize the correct correspondence between some of these

8 Astorre Pellegrini (1906), publishing a group of Coptic ostraca, complained of the lack of information or tags that could be used to identify these ostraca in the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani*. Pellegrini traces back his numbers 1, 4–9, 11, 13, 15–17 to the ostraca Inv. No. 47143–47152, 47455–47456 (ME7143–7152, 7455–7456) purchased by Schiaparelli. His numbers 2, 3, 10, 12, and 14 (No. Inv. 45635, 45636, 45634, 45631 and 45630–ME5635, 5636, 5634, 5631, 5630) are said to have been found in stores without information, though they are probably from Thebes. As a result of the work carried out for the present article, we now know that ME5635 and ME5630 were part of the antiquities purchased by the Franco-Tuscan Expedition, as they are mentioned by Migliarini (1831: 103–104, no. 115–116).

9 In a manuscript by Botti preserved in the Museum, 2500 objects are listed as ‘not found.’ Among the ostraca not found at that time were Inv. No. 42626, 47143–47144, 47146–47152, 48135–48144 (ME2626, 7143–7144, 7146–7152, 8135–8144).

10 Where they differ, we indicate both the present Inv. Nos. and those used by Botti.

11 On the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt, see Betrò (2010; 2013) with bibliography.

12 Inv. No. 42628–42633 (ME2628–2633). Killen & Weiss (2009, 140–142, 145–154: ME2628–2630).



Fig. 1. Ostraca inscribed with the story of *Khonsuemheb and the ghost*, Inv. No. 42616–42617—ME2616–2617  
(© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

original pieces and their numbers, reused the inventory numbers for other ostraca. More recently, Del Francia has tried to rectify these substitutions, but with mixed results, such that doubts remain concerning their identification.<sup>13</sup> Inv. No. 47138 (ME7138) is said by Del Francia (1991b: 9, no. 10) to be of unknown provenience.

(3) Two ostraca in silex and one in limestone—Inv. No. 48503–48505 (ME8503–8505)—form part of the bequest by the Cav. Olimpio Bartolucci, General Consul of Sweden, and were acquired by the museum in 1892.<sup>14</sup> We possess no information about their provenience.

<sup>13</sup> Inv. No. 47139 (ME7139) = B. 8139; Inv. No. 47140 (ME7140) = B. ?; Inv. No. 47141 (ME7141) = B. 8135; Inv. No. 47142 (ME7139) = B. 8142.

<sup>14</sup> Archivio del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, b. 1, Museo egizio. Carteggio scientifico dal 1880 al 1894, f. 4, Legato Bartolucci (anno 1892), Pos. A/1. In the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani* and in the documents in the archive, these ostraca are all described as ‘*ciottoli del deserto*’ (desert pebbles) or silex. Initial work on Bartolucci’s bequest, including the listing of objects, was carried out in March–April 1892 by the Director of the Museum, Luigi Milani; by the Inspector, Giuseppe Sordini; and by the Curator Oreste Marraccini. Ernesto Schiaparelli was in Egypt until 20th April 1892, and was only involved in the final stage of this work. This might explain the incorrect identification of the material.

(4) As to the last 13 ostraca—B. 8136 and Inv. No. 49537, 49544–49553, 49562 (ME9537, 9544–9553, 9562)—it is impossible at the moment to determine their acquisition history or their provenience. Again, they were partly replaced by Del Francia, trying to fix the incorrect identification made by Botti.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.3. Other materials

We can complete our picture of the collection's hieratic holdings with an overview of inscriptions on other materials:

- (5) Inv. No. 42634 (ME2634): cover of a wooden box, inscribed with an inventory related to a man called Amennakht. It forms part of the collection of antiquities purchased during the Franco-Tuscan Expedition in 1828–1829.
- (6) Inv. No. 46394 (ME6394): sandstone block, depicting Ramesses II before Amun, probably from the temple erected by Ramesses IV in the Asasif valley.<sup>16</sup> The construction of this temple was continued by Ramesses IV's two successors, Ramesses V and VI, but never completed. There is a hieratic graffito of Sethmes, a scribe and the son of Ameniotef, on the block.<sup>17</sup> It was purchased by Ernesto Schiaparelli during his first mission to Egypt (1884–1885).
- (7) A group of wooden stick ushabtis, dated to the 17th–18th Dynasties; their texts are written in Hieratic. Three of the ushabtis form part of the antiquities collected during the Franco-Tuscan Expedition in Egypt in 1828–1829,<sup>18</sup> while two were purchased by Schiaparelli in 1884–1885.<sup>19</sup>

(8) We should also mention a small leather fragment bearing a hieratic inscription (Inv. No. 47126—ME7126), purchased by Schiaparelli in 1884–1885 and dated by Botti in his inventory sheets to the 20th Dynasty. The piece was damaged during restoration work by E. Caudana in 1942 and is now lost.<sup>20</sup>

## 3. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC COLLECTION: PRELIMINARY CATALOGUE OF THE MATERIALS [F.C.]

### 3.1. Papyri

All the papyri were purchased by Ernesto Schiaparelli in 1884–1885 at Thebes and probably came from Deir el-Medina. All this material dates to the Ramesside period.

#### Inv. No. 47125 (ME7125)

h. 11 cm

l. 20 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 225–226, pl. 112–113).

Fragment of a letter (four lines on the recto, six on the verso).

#### Inv. No. 50057 (ME10057)

h. 5.7 cm

l. 2.5 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 225, pl. 108–109).

Fragment of a letter (two lines on both recto and verso).

#### Inv. No. 50058 (ME10058)

h. 2.4 cm

l. 8.5 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 225, pl. 110–111).

<sup>15</sup> Inv. No. 49551 (ME9551) = B. 7139; Inv. No. 49552 (ME9552) = B. 7142; Inv. No. 49553 (ME9553) = B. 7140.

<sup>16</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, n° 424–426; Budka (2009: 17–45).

<sup>17</sup> Schiaparelli (1887: 510–511, no. 1800). For the reading of the name Sethmes, see infra 3.3. In the *Catalogo dei Monumenti Egiziani*, the piece is said to be from a tomb.

<sup>18</sup> Inv. No. 42370–42372 (ME2370–2372): Cavillier (2016: 21–26).

<sup>19</sup> Inv. No. 46552–46553 (ME6552–6553): Cavillier (2016: 27–30).

<sup>20</sup> Archivio del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, B. 172, Sopr. Antichità Etruria, POS. 7, 7/1, 1925–1950, Firenze, 24 giugno 1942, XX°. On Emilia Caudana, see Boffula Alimeni (2020: 45–57).



Fragment of a letter (one line on the recto, two on the verso).

**Inv. No. 50059 (ME10059)**

h. 2.6 cm

l. 10 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 225, pl. 110–111).

Fragment of a letter (one line on the recto, two on the verso).

**Inv. No. 50060 (ME10060)**

h. 5.3 cm

l. 2.5 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 224, pl. 106–107).

Fragment of a literary text (?) with red punctuation (four lines on the recto, one on the verso).

**Inv. No. 50061 (ME10061)**

h. 5.8 cm

l. 2.1 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 224, pl. 106–107).

Some signs across three lines.

**Inv. No. 50062 (ME10062)**

h. 9 cm

l. 4.5 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 223, pl. 106–107).

Three lines, probably religious in content.

**Inv. No. 50063 (ME10063)**

h. 4.2 cm

l. 2.1 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 224, pl. 106–107).

Fragment of a journal (four lines on the recto and three lines on the verso).

**Inv. No. 50064 (ME10064)**

h. 3 cm

l. 3.3 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 224–225, pl. 106–107).

Small fragment (with a line on the recto, forming part of the name of Ramesses, and one line on the verso).

**Inv. No. 50065 (ME10065)**

h. 5.1 cm

l. 2.5 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 224, pl. 106–107).

Fragment of a religious (?) text (with one line on the recto and four lines on the verso).

**Inv. No. 50066a (ME10066a)**

h. 11.3 cm

l. 13 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 223, pl. 102–105).

Fragment of an administrative account (three lines on both recto and verso).

**Inv. No. 50066b (ME10066b)**

h. 17.5 cm

l. 7.5 cm

Bibl.: Botti (1964: 223, pl. 102–105).

Fragment of an administrative account (ten lines on the recto, eight lines on the verso).

### 3.2. Ostraca

None of the ostraca derive from excavations; they are all the result of acquisitions. Their original provenience is the Western Theban area. On the basis of the content of some, we can easily recognize the village of Deir el-Medina as their place of origin (e.g., inv. 42619–42621; 42625; 42628–42630; 47137). All of this material dates to the Ramesside period.

**Inv. No. 42616 (ME2616)**

h. 30 cm

diam. 13 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

Bibl.: Erman (1880: 98–99); *LES* 91, 9–93, 12; Von Beckerath (1992: 90–107)

Thirteen lines written on the recto containing the story of *Khonsuemheb and the ghost*.

**Inv. No. 42617 (ME2617)**

h. 28.5 cm

l. 21 cm

Pottery



Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: Erman (1880: 98–99); *LES* 91, 9–93, 12;  
Von Beckerath (1992: 90–107)

Ten lines written on the recto containing the story of *Khonsuemheb and the ghost*.

**Inv. No. 42618 (ME2618)**

h. 15.3 cm

l. 13.8 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

Bibl.: unpublished.

List of foods and their quantities written in two columns: six lines in the first column, five lines in the second one. There are visible traces of a single line on the verso.

**Inv. No. 42619 (ME2619)**

h. 30.9 cm

l. 19.5 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

20th Dynasty (Ramesses III?)

Bibl.: Erman (1880: 96–97); Černý & Gardiner (1957: 12, pl. XXXIX–XXXIXA, no. 2); Wolterman (1996: 147–170).

Thirteen lines on the recto and twelve lines on the verso. Black punctuation on the recto and on the upper part of the verso.

Recto and upper part of the verso: school text, praise of the profession of scribe.

Verso: visit of a vizier to the workmen's community of Deir el-Medina.

**Inv. No. 42620 (ME2620)**

h. 13.2 cm

l. 22 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

20th Dynasty (Ramesses III)

Bibl.: Erman (1880: 97); *KRI* 5, 467; Helck (1965: 345); Allam (1973: 147 no. 143, pl. 34–35).

Six lines of text. A record of the transfer of a storehouse from one workman to another workman in front of several named witnesses.

**Inv. No. 42621 (ME2621)**

h. 17.9 cm

l. 20.2 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

20th Dynasty (Ramesses III?)

Bibl.: Allam (1973: 148–149 no. 144, pl. 36–39); *KRI* 5, 478, 14–480, 4.

Ten lines on the recto and eleven on the verso containing a report about the inspection of tombs.

**Inv. No. 42622 (ME2622)**

h. 20 cm

l. 9.8 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

Bibl.: unpublished.

Eight lines on the recto and ten on the verso containing a hymn to Theban gods.

**Inv. No. 42623 (ME2623)**

h. 15.9 cm

l. 17 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

Bibl.: unpublished.

Six lines comprising the medico-magical spell attested in P. Chester Beatty V (verso 6,5–6,10)<sup>21</sup>.

**Inv. No. 42624 (ME2624)**

h. 25.7 cm

l. 14.2 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition

Bibl.: Farina (1931–1932: 316–317); Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. CXI).

21 Gardiner (1935: pl. 29).

Ten lines on the recto and six on the verso bearing part of two school texts: pAnastasi I (VI, 5–VIII, 3)<sup>22</sup> and the first section of the *Kemyt* (in two columns)<sup>23</sup>.

**Inv. No. 42625 (ME2625)**

h. 5.5 cm  
l. 13.3 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: Erman (1880: 97–98); Spiegelberg (1902: 327–328); Allam (1973: 149–150, pl. 34–35); *KRI* 5, 501, 5–9.

Four lines on the recto and one on the verso concerning a quarrel between two workmen from Deir el-Medina.

**Inv. No. 42626 (ME2626)**

h. 2.9 cm  
l. 3 cm

Acquisition: unknown  
Pottery  
Bibl.: unpublished.

Some numbers on two short lines.

**Inv. No. 42627 (ME2627)**

h. 12 cm  
l. 19.5 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: unknown  
Bibl.: unpublished.

Four lines with red punctuation bearing a magical text.

**Inv. No. 42628 (ME2628)**

h. 11.5 cm  
l. 20.3 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: Killen & Weiss (2009: 145–150).

An order for pieces of furniture or a receipt for the sale/manufacture of pieces of furniture.

**Inv. No. 42629 (ME2629)**

h. 9.2 cm  
l. 14 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: Killen & Weiss (2009: 151–152).

An order for pieces of furniture or a receipt for the sale/manufacture of pieces of furniture.

**Inv. No. 42630 (ME2630)**

h. 9.5 cm  
l. 12 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: Killen & Weiss (2009: 153–154).

An order for pieces of furniture or a receipt for the sale/manufacture of pieces of furniture.

**Inv. No. 42631 (ME2631)**

h. 16 cm  
l. 21.5 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: unpublished.

Ostrakon with numerals on both the recto and verso.

**Inv. No. 42632 (ME2632)**

h. 9.7 cm  
l. 13 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: unpublished.

Ostrakon with numerals on both the recto and verso.

**Inv. No. 42633 (ME2633)**

h. 7 cm  
l. 10 cm  
Limestone

Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
Bibl.: unpublished.

<sup>22</sup> Fischer-Elfert (1983: 64–79).

<sup>23</sup> Posener (1951: pl. 1).

Ostrakon with a representation of funeral equipment and numerals.

**Inv. No. 47137 (ME7137)**

h. 12 cm

l. 16 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: probably purchased by Schiaparelli, 1884–1885, Thebes

Bibl.: unpublished.

List of workmen.

**Inv. No. 47138 (ME7138)**

h. 21 cm

l. 31 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

A fragment from the first section of the *Kemyt*<sup>24</sup>.

**Inv. No. 47139 (ME7139)**

h. 7 cm

l. 9.5 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: probably purchased by Schiaparelli, 1884–1885, Thebes

Bibl.: unpublished.

Two lines of a receipt for borrowing a pick.

**Inv. No. 47140 (ME7140)**

h. 6 cm

l. 6.5 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: probably purchased by Schiaparelli, 1884–1885, Thebes

Bibl.: unpublished.

Three lines of a school exercise.

**Inv. No. 47141 (ME7141)**

h. 11.5

l. 9

Limestone

Acquisition: probably purchased by Schiaparelli, 1884–1885, Thebes

Bibl.: unpublished.

Magical text on six lines.

**Inv. No. 47142 (ME7142)**

h. 9 cm

l. 9.5 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: probably purchased by Schiaparelli, 1884–1885, Thebes

Bibl.: unpublished.

List of food written in red ink on the recto (eight lines) and the verso (twelve lines).

**B8136**

h. 17.5 cm

l. 15.4 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Twelve lines of a non-literary text.

**Inv. No. 48503 (ME8503)**

h. 10 cm

l. 14 cm

Silex

Acquisition: bequest of the Cav. Olimpio Bartolucci

Bibl.: unpublished.

Three lines of a non-literary text whose ink is extremely faded.

**Inv. No. 48504 (ME8504)**

h. 8.5 cm

l. 9.5 cm

Silex

Acquisition: bequest of the Cav. Olimpio Bartolucci

Bibl.: unpublished.

Four lines of a non-literary text whose ink is extremely faded.

24 Posener (1951: pl. 1).

**Inv. No. 48505 (ME8505)**

h. 15.7 cm

l. 11 cm

Limestone

Acquisition: bequest of the Cav. Olimpio Bartolucci

Bibl.: unpublished.

Magical text on sixteen lines on the recto and thirteen on the verso. The text is extremely faded.

**Inv. No. 49537 (ME9537)**

h. 6 cm

l. 7 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on two lines.

**Inv. No. 49544 (ME9544)**

h. 8.3 cm

l. 7.4 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on two lines.

**Inv. No. 49545 (ME9545)**

h. 7.9 cm

l. 5.6 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on two lines.

**Inv. No. 49546 (ME9546)**

h. 7.2 cm

l. 5.8 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on two lines.

**Inv. No. 49547 (ME9547)**

h. 5.5 cm

l. 6.2 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on one line.

**Inv. No. 49548 (ME9548)**

h. 10 cm

l. 6 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on two lines.

**Inv. No. 49549 (ME9549)**

h. 7.3 cm

l. 7.7 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on one line.

**Inv. No. 49550 (ME9550)**

h. 9.6 cm

l. 10.5 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on one line.

**Inv. No. 49551 (ME9551)**

h. 9.5 cm

l. 6.5 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Remains of a few signs on two lines.

**Inv. No. 49552 (ME9552)**

h. 8.7 cm

l. 7.5 cm

Pottery

Acquisition: unknown

Bibl.: unpublished.

Jar label on two lines.

**Inv. No. 49553 (ME9553)**

h. 9.8 cm  
 l. 7.4 cm  
 Pottery  
 Acquisition: unknown  
 Bibl.: unpublished.  
 A single line consisting of a few signs.

**Inv. No. 49562 (ME9562)**

h. 7.5 cm  
 l. 8.7 cm  
 Pottery  
 Acquisition: unknown  
 Bibl.: unpublished.  
 Two lines with the final part of a cartouche.

**3.3. Other materials****Inv. No. 42634 (ME2634)**

h. 41.5 cm  
 l. 23.9 cm  
 20th Dynasty  
 Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
 Provenance: probably Deir el Medina  
 Bibl.: unpublished.  
 Wooden lid of a box inscribed with an inventory related to Amennakht.

**Inv. No. 46394 (ME6394)**

h. 29 cm  
 l. 43 cm  
 19th–20th Dynasty  
 Acquisition: Schiaparelli purchase, 1884–1885, Thebes  
 Bibl.: Schiaparelli (1887: 510–511, no. 1800); PM 2<sup>2</sup>, n° 425.  
 Two line graffito traced on a temple relief of Ramesses II by the scribe Sethmes.<sup>25</sup>

**Inv. No. 42370 (ME2370)**

h. 9 cm  
 l. 2.3 cm  
 Wood  
 Stick ushabti  
 17th Dynasty  
 Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
 Bibl.: Cavillier (2016: 21–22, no.1).  
 Seven lines bearing spell 6 of the *Book of the Dead*.

**Inv. No. 42371 (ME2371)**

h. 8.7 cm  
 l. 2 cm  
 Wood  
 Stick ushabti  
 17th Dynasty  
 Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
 Bibl.: Cavillier (2016: 23–24, no. 2).  
 Six lines bearing spell 6 of the *Book of the Dead*.

**Inv. No. 42372 (ME2372)**

h. 17.5 cm  
 l. 3.7 cm  
 Wood  
 Stick ushabti  
 17th Dynasty  
 Acquisition: Franco-Tuscan Expedition  
 Bibl.: Cavillier (2016: 25–26, no. 3).  
 Eight lines bearing the names of the owner and his family.

**Inv. No. 46552 (ME6552)**

h. 11 cm  
 l. 2.4 cm  
 Wood  
 Stick ushabti  
 17th Dynasty  
 Acquisition: Schiaparelli purchase, 1884–1885, Thebes  
 Bibl.: Cavillier (2016: 27–28, no. 4).  
 Seven lines bearing spell 6 of the *Book of the Dead*.

<sup>25</sup> Schiaparelli (1887: 511) reads wrongly Thutmose.



**Inv. No. 46553 (ME6553)**

h. 11.5 cm

l. 3 cm

Wood

Stick ushabti

17th Dynasty

Acquisition: Schiaparelli purchase, 1884–1885, Thebes

Bibl.: Cavillier (2016: 29–30, no. 5).

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**4. FUTURE PERSPECTIVES**

This contribution has provided an initial overview of the nature and content of the New Kingdom Hieratic materials in the Egyptian Department of the National Archaeological Museum of Florence. Federico Contardi is in charge of the study of the unpublished materials in this collection. Publication of these materials is planned in due course.

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# The State Hermitage Museum

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## ABSTRACT

The Egyptian collection of the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg contains hieratic papyri and ostraca dating to the New Kingdom. This paper gives an overview of the collection and its history, and highlights some manuscripts as prime examples of their textual genres.

### 1. LITERARY TEXTS

Literary texts in the State Hermitage collection are represented by *The Instruction for Merikare* and *The Prophecy of Neferti*. The unprovenanced papyrus bearing these First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom texts were discovered by W.S. Golénisheff in the storage room of the Hermitage Museum in 1876. Golénisheff subsequently unrolled and divided this papyrus into six parts. He initially referred to it as Papyrus no. 1, though it is listed as no. 1116 in his catalogue of the Egyptian collection of the Hermitage (1891: 182). *Merikare* was later assigned the inventory number ДБ 1116А, while *Neferti* was assigned the number ДБ 1116В.

Both texts are written on the recto in a small careful script that is characteristic of the 18th Dynasty. The papyrus is dark and very thin, and its fiber structure is degraded. There are losses, some of which are significant, but both texts are preserved from beginning to end, which makes the Hermitage papyrus the basis for their study. On the verso of the papyrus are household records (Golénisheff 1913: pl. XV–XXII, XXVI–XXVIII) that provide a *terminus ante quem non* to the literary texts—Year 18 of Amenhotep II.

The papyrus was presented almost immediately by Golénisheff at the Third International Congress of Orientalists with a preliminary but essentially correct interpretation (Golénisheff 1876). Its publication was delayed for a long time, however, due to the difficulty of photographic reproduction. His *editio princeps* was published in 1913, with handwritten hieroglyphic transcriptions and reproductions of the best possible quality, though without a translation (Golénisheff 1913: pl. IX–XIV, XXIII–XXV). It remains the only publication to date.

The first translations of these important texts appeared immediately after their publication (Gardiner 1914), but despite the fact that the number of works devoted to them is significant, they remain perhaps the least studied of Middle Kingdom classics. In the Soviet Egyptological tradition, *Neferti* and *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* became some of the most important evidence for a social revolution at the end of either the Middle or the Old Kingdom (Струве 1935), a view that later influenced the theory of ‘royal propaganda’ in Middle Kingdom literature (Posener 1956). Soviet Egyptology perceived *Merikare* as a genuine royal teaching (Рубинштейн 1948; 1950; 1956) and the



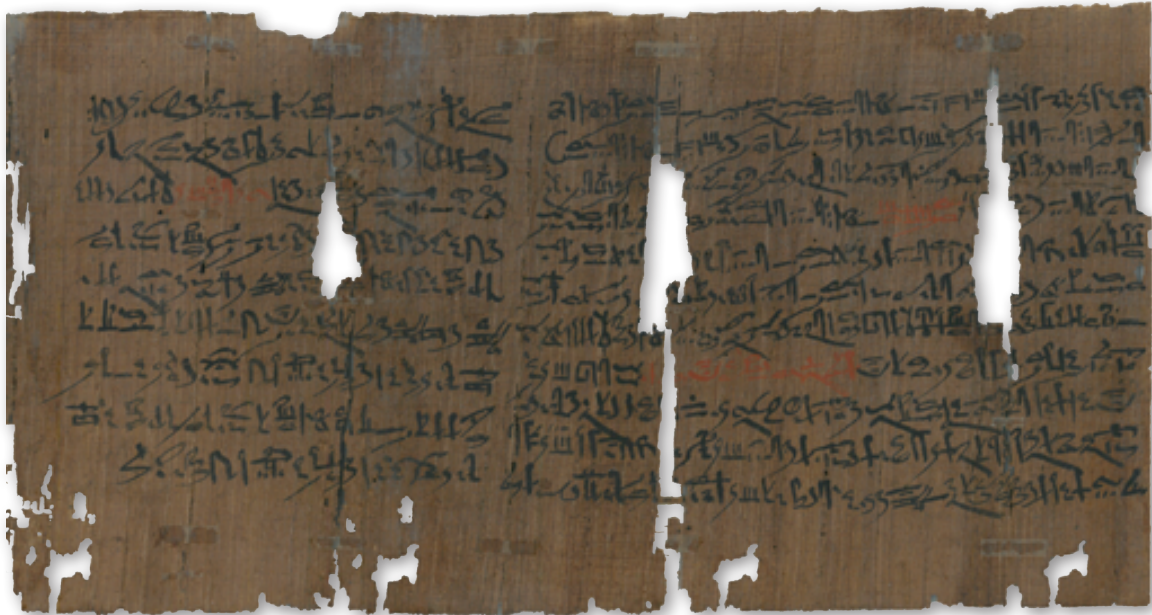


Fig. 1. P. Hermitage DB-1116A, r, ll. 131–141, 142–150 (© State Hermitage Museum)



Fig. 2. P. Hermitage DB-1116B, r, ll. 24–34 (© State Hermitage Museum)



first political treatise in history, while disbelief in Western scholarship that this text really dated back to the First Intermediate Period lessened its importance in the West.

In the 1970s, synoptic publications of both texts, including numerous incomplete Ramesside versions, were undertaken by Wolfgang Helck (1970 [1992]; 1977). Helck's editions are well reputed, though they are not infallible, as Helck did not have access to the originals. Joachim Quack's *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare* (1992) is esteemed among recent work on *Merikare*, though it has largely been surpassed (especially as concerns the dating and the historical situation of the text) by Arkady E. Demidchik's monograph (Демидчик 2005). It is little known, however, since it was published only in Russian. Hans Goedicke's study of *Neferti* (1977) should also be mentioned, though it is insufficient in terms of historical context and its connection with cultural tradition.

## 2. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

### 2.1. Papyri

The collection holds four Ramesside letters on papyri.

#### 2.1.1. Letter ДВ-5595

Letter ДВ-5595 (Müller & Nikolaev 2014: 11–26) was transferred to the State Hermitage collection from the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow (inv. No. I 1 b 97) in December 1930, probably because the name and the title there were the same as P. Hermitage ДВ-1119. The letter had previously been in the collection of Golénisheff. Unfortunately, Golénisheff's card-catalog, which is now in the Oriental Department of the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts, bears very little information about this object. The card number 4669 carries only a brief note: 'Papyrus. Manuscrit hiératique contenant lettre.' We do not know how the letter came into Golénisheff's collection. There is also no information about the text in Golénisheff's

archive in Paris, which was moved there after the Russian revolution.

Translation (from Müller & Nikolaev 2014):

(1) Scribe Hui of the Ptah-temple to the chantress of Amun Ta-merut (2) daughter of Petiay, her mother is Iniu-nehay, saying: (3) I gave an oath to Ptah, [to all who respect (4) your name (?)] that you will be alive, and you have prompted me to make another great oath (5) to Ptah, saying: (I) will \not/ copulate (with) Hathor, daughter of Pa-shed (6) [I will not forget] that oath, and I... (7) ... I enter.....

There are no secure criteria for dating the letter under discussion. Judging by the shape of the hieratic signs; the letter's grammatical structure; and the title *šm'.y(t)-n-Jmn*, the letter was probably written during the early Ramesside period (19th to early 20th Dynasty, c. 1250–1150 BC). It most probably comes from Upper Egypt, though with little likelihood from Deir el-Medina.

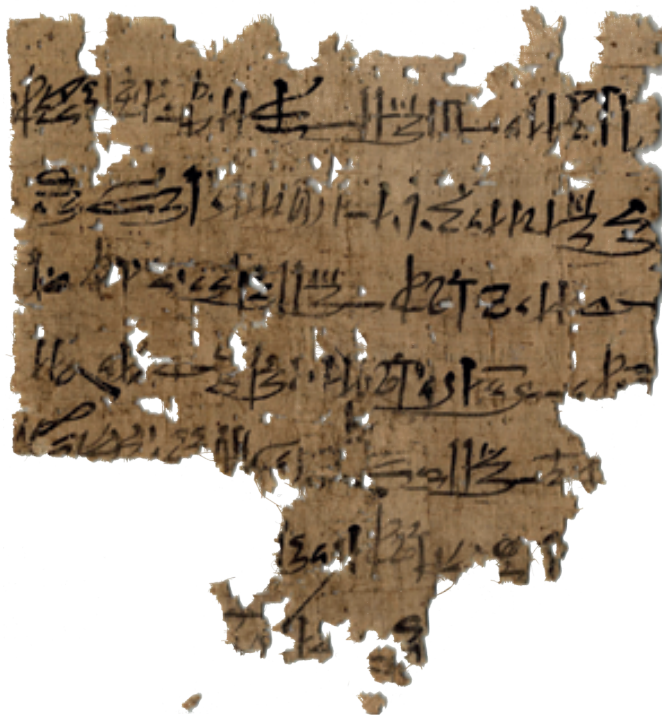


Fig. 3. P. Hermitage ДВ-5595 (© State Hermitage Museum)

### 2.1.2. Letter $\Delta B$ -1117

Letter  $\Delta B$ -1117 is well known to specialists (Lieblein 1873: 31–34; Golénischeff 1891: 182–183; Bakir 1970: pl. 19, pl. XXV; KRI 3: 489–490; Wenté 1990: 116, No. 137; KRITA 3: 347). Unfortunately, very little is known about the acquisition history of this piece and its entrance into the collection. Three unrolled papyri in poor shape are mentioned in the ‘*General-Katalog der Sammlung ägyptischer Antiquitäten von Castiglione, bestehend aus 1200 Stücken*,’ which was drawn up when the Egyptian collection acquired from Francis Castiglione by the Russian Academy of Science was transferred to the Hermitage Museum. There are reasons to believe that these three unrolled papyri were in fact P. Hermitage  $\Delta B$ -1117, P. Hermitage  $\Delta B$ -1118, and P. Hermitage  $\Delta B$ -1119.

Translation (from Wenté 1990):

(1) The scribe and lector priest Wernemty (?) communicates to his lord, the overseer of cattle Su (?) of the Temple of Ptah: In life, prosperity and health! This is a missive (2) to inform you. I am calling upon all the gods of Pi-Ramessu-miamon, l.p.h., to keep you healthy (3) daily and to keep you in the favor of Pharaoh, l.p.h., your good lord, daily.

A further matter: Please write (4) me about your condition and also about the condition of men and property (?) because I’m concerned about them.

A further matter (5) to the effect that I’m alive today, but I don’t know about my condition hereafter. Farewell!

The papyrus seems to belong to a corpus that is now divided between St. Petersburg and Leiden. There is a possibility that all three Ramesside letters in St. Petersburg come from the Castiglione collection. As for the Leiden Ramesside letters, they were purchased from the famous antiquarian G. Anastasi, as noted by Janssen (1960: 31). There are reasons to believe that Anastasi and his agent Castiglione might have divided their holdings. There are other Egyptian antiquities originally belonging to a single complex that are also now split between Leiden and the Hermitage (for instance, the stelae forming a Middle Kingdom cenotaph from Abydos; see Bolshakov & Quirke 1999: 33). Two other Hermitage letters (P. Hermitage  $\Delta B$ -1118 and  $\Delta B$ -1119) most probably belong to the same Leiden group, as both share the same origin and characteristics typical of the Anastasi epistolary corpus.

The letter was most probably written during the reign of Ramesses II.



Fig. 4. P. Hermitage  $\Delta B$ -1117  
(© State Hermitage Museum)



### 2.1.3. Letter ДВ-1118

Letter ДВ-1118 is also well known to specialists (Lieblein 1873: 34–35; Golénischeff 1891: 183; Bakir 1970: pl. 19–20, pl. XXVI; KRI 3: 490; Wente 1990: 117, No. 138; KRITA 3: 347–348). For the acquisition details of this piece, which dates to the reign of Ramesses II, see the notes to letter ДВ-1117.

Translation (from Wente 1990):

(1) The scribe and lector priest Wernemty (?) greets the master chariot-maker Huy: (2) In life, prosperity and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the Gods! I am calling

upon all the gods who are in the vicinity of (3) Pi-Ramessu-miamon, l.p.h., to keep you healthy, to keep you alive, and to let me see you in health (4) and fill my embrace with you. A further matter: Please write me about your condition and that of your people, for (5) I'm concerned about them.

A further matter to the effect that I'm alive today, but I don't know about my condition hereafter.

(6) A further communication to the chantress of Amon Naia: What is your condition? How are you?

A further matter: The papyrus scrolls are here.



Fig. 5. P. Hermitage ДВ-1118 (© State Hermitage Museum)

## 2.1.4. Letter DB-1119

Letter DB-1119 belongs to the same group as DB-1117 and DB-1118. As stated by Golénischeff (1891: 183), the papyrus was unrolled in 1882. A French translation was made by Golénischeff (1891: 183–184) and a hand-written transcription by A. Gardiner (currently in the Griffith Institute Archives). A full publication appeared only in 2015 (Makeeva & Nikolaev 2015: 365–376).

Translation (from Makeeva & Nikolaev 2015):

*Verso*

(1v.) The scribe Nebmehy greets his brother, his friend, the scribe Huy of the temple of Ptah. (2v.) In life, prosperity and health and in the favor of Ptah, every day! I am praying to Ptah of Ramesses-meriamon, l.p.h., to (3v.) Pre-Harakhti and to all the gods of [Per-Rames]

ses, l.p.h. (4v.) [to keep you healthy], to keep you alive, to let me see [you in health] and alive, while I am alive, and that I (5v.) fill my embrace with you for my heart is covered (?) very much.

Thus saying: Do not start (6v.) to sit around idle! Pray to Ptah, pray to Sekhmet, Bastet, Nefertum, who are in the (7v.) temple of Ptah, (that they) rescue me this one time because the enmity is flame, (8v.) which is burning, the one which is here.

Also, I have sent to you with regard for several letters, but you have (9v.) sent me neither good nor bad. Don't stop praying continually to Ptah, saying: (10v.) Bring me back alive and tell this also to Horus Menkheperre. It is good if you take notice.



Fig. 6. P. Hermitage DB-1119  
(© State Hermitage Museum)

*Recto*

(1r.) Another communication, being the words to the servant Shemsuenptah. Also: How are you? How are you? I am calling upon (2r.) all the gods of Per-Ramesses, l.p.h. to keep you healthy, to keep you alive.

Further: (3r.) please, pray to Ptah to bring me back alive, for I am here in the middle of enmity (4r.) No one says: I will live. Also, would you please send (a letter) to me on your condition. It is good if you take notice.

*Address*

(5r.) The scribe Nebmehy to the scribe Huy of the temple of Ptah.

The papyrus can be firmly dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

**2.2. Ostraca****2.2.1. O. Hermitage ДВ-1125**

O. Hermitage ДВ-1125 is of unknown provenance, though it formed part of the collection by at least 1891, when it was described by Golénischeff (1891: 186). It was first published by M. Matthiew (1930: 25–27), then with corrections by E. Bogoslovsky (Богословский 1973: 82–88). As noted by Matthiew, the text is addressed to a man who is praying to a god; it is most likely part of a hymn, possibly to the young king.

Translation (after the Russian of E. Bogoslovsky):

(1) Your love is the love of a bird;  
Your appearance (2) is the appearance of a (royal) youth;  
Your smell is the smell [...];  
[The color of] (3) your skin is like that of a *rrm.t*-fruit (mandrake?).  
Your lifetime is rich [in years], (4) strong in life-giving.  
Abundance of yo[ur...] (food?) [---] (5) daily.  
Both your eyes shine (6) with joy;  
Your arms are bent (in a gesture) of praise;  
The mouth is [open] (7) for praising the sun when it comes out.

Your mentor --- (8) in the chamber of God, carving (inscription) for the lord of Hermopolis.

(9) Made by the scribe *Jmn-nḥtw*, son of *Jpwi*.

According to S. Polis (2018: 94–96), at least eight literary works written by *Jmn-nḥtw* as known, as defined by the formula *jri.n sš Jmn-nḥtw*. E. Bogoslovsky considered two of these texts, a hymn to Amun (reign of Ramesses IV; see Maspero 1880: 116–117) and a hymn from O. Hermitage ДВ-1125 to be very similar. It is now commonly thought that the text on O. Hermitage ДВ-1125 is not a hymn but “a royal eulogy, although it borrows many topoi from the Love Songs corpus: (Polis 2018: 95 n. 41).

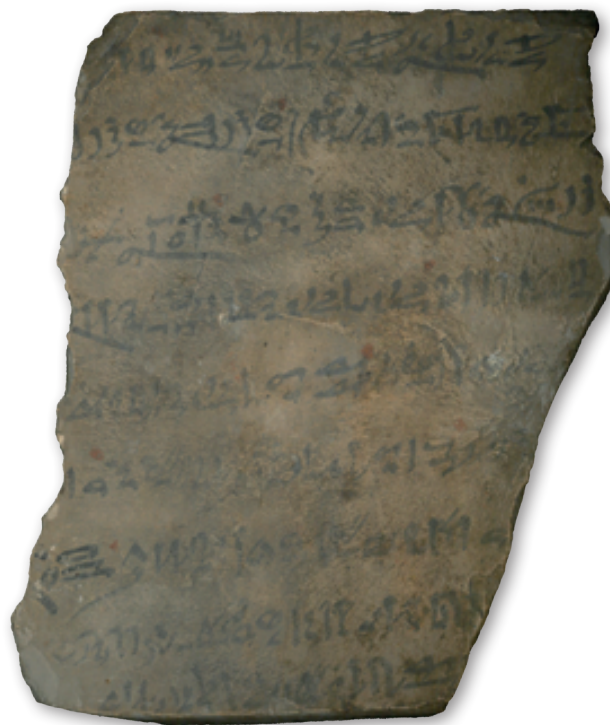


Fig. 7. O. Hermitage ДВ-1125  
(© State Hermitage Museum)



On the basis of marks made by the scribe, Bogoslovsky has divided the text into ‘verses’ in order to better understand its rhythm:

- (1) *mrw.t=k mrw.t n ʒpd.w*
- (2) *qj=k qj n sfʒ*
- (3) *hnm=k hnm [n + one lost word]*
- (4) *[j]nm=k mj pʒ rrm.t*
- (5) *hʿ=k ʿšʒ [m rnpw.t] qnj m sʿnh*
- (6) *pʒ bng n nʒj [---=k] rʿ (?) m mn.t*
- (7) *jrwj=kj brq [m wn]f*
- (8) *ʿwj=kj hʒbw m jʒw*
- (9) *rʒ [wpw] r swʒš rʿ m prj=f*
- (10) *rnn=k [---] m hʒjt ntr hr htj n nb hmn.w*
- (11) *jr(t).n sš jmn-nht.w sʒ jpwj*

The text on the verso is almost completely destroyed; only a couple of signs remain.

Both Bogoslovsky (Богословский 1973: 86–88) and B. Davies (1999: 105–118, chart 9) have unfolded the full genealogical tree of *Jmn-nhtw*, son of *Jpwi*, solving several inconsistencies and describing the careers and professional growth of the members of this family. Bogoslovsky

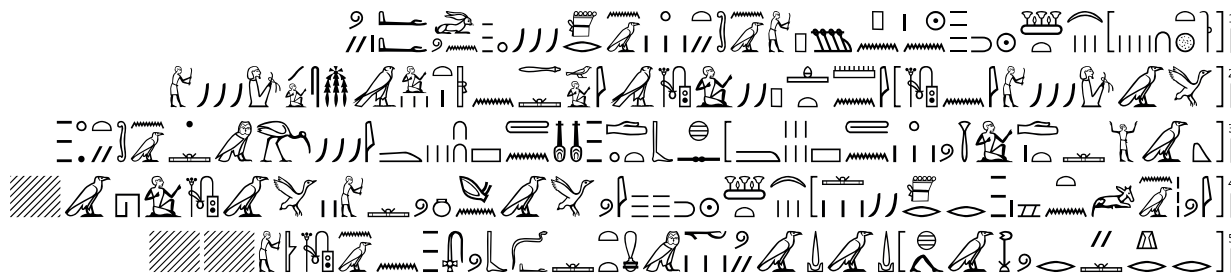
concludes that O. Hermitage was written in the reign of Ramesses IV, in the first half of the 20th Dynasty. Two children of *Jmn-nhtw* (*Jmn-htpw* and *Hr-šri*) are mentioned on O. Hermitage 2973 (described below).

### 2.2.2. O. Hermitage ДВ-2973

O. Hermitage ДВ-2973 was bought by B.A. Turaeff from an antiquities dealer in Luxor during a trip to Egypt in 1909 (Тураев & Фармаковский 1910: 167). After Turaeff's death, the ostracon entered the Hermitage as part of his collection and was assigned the number ДВ-2973. The ostracon was first published by W. Struve (1929: 28–31), then by J. Černý (1931: 395–399), and then again by E. Bogoslovsky (Богословский 1973: 88–93). It was later included in Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions* (KRI 6: 659–660). It is important to note that, in 1930, Černý found the missing right side of the ostracon in a store in Luxor belonging to the dealer Mohasseb. The text from that piece is given in brackets in transliteration below.



Fig. 8. O. Hermitage ДВ-2973 (© State Hermitage Museum)



Translation (after the Russian of E. Bogoslovsky):

(1) Regnal Year 14, Month 3 of Inundation, Day 14.

(On) this day of the receipt of the ochre and color (pigment), which were in the hands of the (2) guardian, by the scribe Imen-hetepu (*Jmn-ḥtp.w*), the scribe Heri-sheri (*Ḥri-šri*), the head of the detachment of workers of Heru-mesu (*Ḥrw-ms.w*). Guardian (3) Kai-djeret (*Qʿi-ḏr.t*). Green paint— $6\frac{1}{2}$  *deben*, best quality blue colour— $23\frac{1}{2}$  *deben* and it was found that the ochre is a (4) powder completely.

Month 3 of Inundation, Day 16.

The two deputies (and) the scribe went<sup>2</sup> (5) down to look for fire-wood, as well as coal for the painters.

Bogoslovsky drew the following conclusions: “in year 14 of Ramesses IX, the head of painters *Jmn-ḥtp.w* and head of the detachment *Ḥrw-ms.w*, in the presence of a royal scribe *Ḥri-šri* responsible for works in the tomb of the ruling king, received paints for the decoration of this tomb from the storekeeper *Qʿi-ḏr.t* (this record gives us names of painters [heads and executors] of the tomb

of Ramesses IX). *Jmn-ḥtp.w* and *Ḥri-šri* were brothers, *Ḥrw-ms.w* was a cousin to them both” (Богословский 1973: 93).

### 2.2.3. O. Hermitage ДВ-5598

O. Hermitage ДВ-5598 was acquired by Golénischeff and constituted part of his collection until 1911 when it entered the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts with inventory number № 4474. In 1930, the ostracon was transferred to the Hermitage, where it was assigned the number ДВ-5598. It was published by Isidor Lurie (1930: 147–151) and later commented upon by Bogoslovsky (Богословский 1973: 79–82), who dated it to the 18th Dynasty.

Translation (after the revised Russian translation by E. Bogoslovsky):<sup>3</sup>

- (1) People, who are at work
- (2) at the estate (i.e., tomb) of the overseer of royal office Sebtj-resy (*Sbtj-rsi*)
- (3) came servants of the office of work force men 5
- (4) came (of) the scribe of the army Men (*Mn*) 10
- (5) craftsmen of the scribe Hj (*Hj*), son of Itj (*Itj*) 12

1 Bogoslovsky read  $24\frac{1}{2}$ , which is most probably incorrect as the number was apparently changed.

2 KRI 6, 659 has some additional signs that might contain the expected determinative of the word. However, traces of these signs cannot be seen on the ostracon, nor is any hint of them discernible in the old photo in Struve’s publication.

3 The editors of the present volume asked R.J. Demarée (Leiden), F. Hagen (Copenhagen), and M. Römer (Berlin) for comments on the translation, which these scholars kindly supplied. Geopolitical developments after 24 February 2022 made communication with our Russian colleagues almost impossible when it came to larger data, and they have been unable to receive and react to Demarée, Hagen, and Römer’s comments. We decided, hopefully with the tacit agreement of our Russian colleagues, to adjust Bogoslovsky’s translation and to add a new hieroglyphic transcription [M. Müller, on behalf of the editorial team].

- (6) servants of Ha (*H<sup>c</sup>*) 5
- (7) the Syrians of Tiwt-dar (*Tjw-dr*) 20
- (8) stone masons of
- (9) {of} Mesuseri (*Msw-šri*)<sup>4</sup> 7

O. Hermitage 5598 is a summary administrative record listing workmen by their number and their compulsory place of work. The detachment of 59 workers who worked on the tomb of Sebekhetresy (*Sbty-rsi*) could provide a statement for

a report on service work. The Hermitage list includes people who were perhaps working on the construction of the funeral temple or the palace of Amenhotep III on the West-Bank of Thebes. There are few real stone masons among them (7), while only five people were taken from the department of labor force; the rest (48) were corvée-workers from private households.

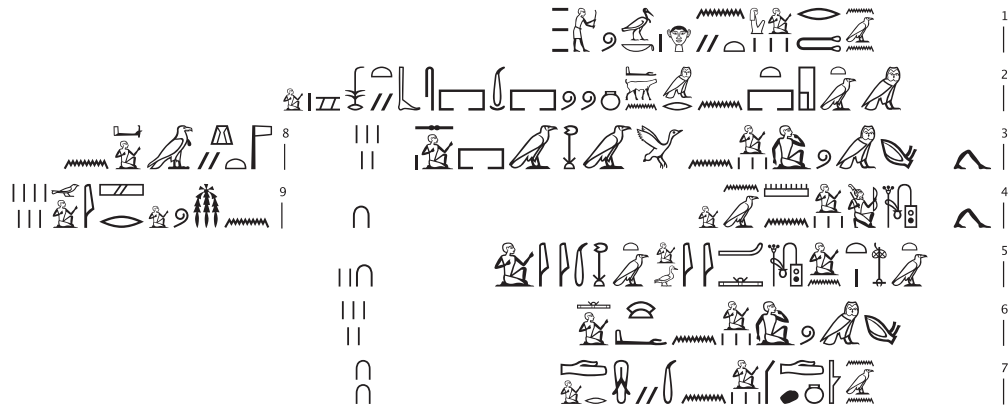


Fig. 9. O. Hermitage DB-5598 (© State Hermitage Museum)

4 Also possible is Mesu the Younger or *'w-šri* or *N'w-šri*.

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# Textile and Fish Accounts from the Palace Administration of Ramesses II in Gurob

## Fragments of Ramesside Administrative Documents in the Museum Kulturen in Lund

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### ABSTRACT

For more than 100 years, the Museum Kulturen in Lund has possessed fragments of an administrative papyrus that exhibits close parallels with administrative texts found at Gurob and belonging to the palace administration of Ramesses II. The arrangement of the fragments, which mainly record fish and textiles, is quite problematic: more than ten fragments are incorrectly arranged on paper, some even upside down, which makes them difficult to read in places. A provisional publication of the papyrus is given here in the hope that greater awareness of the papyrus' existence may lead to its restoration and a subsequent proper edition.

### 1. HISTORY OF THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS IN THE COLLECTION

Several years ago, one of the present authors was informed about the existence of some papyrus fragments in the Museum Kulturen in Lund with inventory number KM 21935. The fragments form

part of the so-called Gurob papyri,<sup>1</sup> and originally belonged to the collection of Adalbert von Lanna,<sup>2</sup> which was sold at several auctions in the early 20th century. The fragments of the Gurob papyri, as well as two *Book of the Dead* papyri,<sup>3</sup> were bought in one of these auctions by Johan Lundgren in 1912 and given to the museum.

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- 1 A black and white photocopy of the papyrus was provided some years ago by Sofia Häggman to Robert J. Demarée. We would also like to thank Charlotte Åkerman, head of the Museum Kulturen's Department for Collections and Production, and Nelly Herberg, photographer, for permission to publish the papyrus and for the recent colour photograph.
  - 2 Adalbert von Lanna (1836–1909) was a Czech industrial who built a large and valuable collection of all kinds of objects, including antiquities.
  - 3 Kulturen KM 21933, papyrus of Ashahat (19th Dynasty), see Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134369 (<https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134369>); Kulturen KM 21934, papyrus of Amenhotep (18th Dynasty), see Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 133549 (<https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133549>; both accessed 23.06.2022).

## 2. PAPYRUS LUND KM 21935

- a. Number:  
1 papyrus consisting of at least 15 fragments.
- b. Provenience:  
Based on provenienced parallels: Gurob.
- c. Distribution according to genre:  
Fragments of administrative texts belonging to the day-book genre, forming part of palace archive documents.<sup>4</sup>
- d. Material published vs. unpublished:  
The papyrus fragments are available online in the Carlotta database, but remain unpublished.

## 3. THE UNPUBLISHED HIERATIC RAD-FRAGMENTS FROM LUND

Despite the poor condition of the fragments, it is clear that they belong to the same group of papyri as the Gurob fragments published by A.H. Gardiner in his *Ramesside Administrative Documents*.<sup>5</sup> In the section on Gurob in his book *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, W.M.F. Petrie (1890: 36) writes: 'Of papyri a few were found, but none in such fine state as those of Kahun. The only royal name is that of Ramesses II. None of the rolls were sealed, and many were crushed up as waste paper.' The fragments of KM 21935 may be similarly described. They are fixed onto paper at random, while some fragments are joined incorrectly together and even placed upside down. The measurements of the 'papyrus' are 34 × 35 cm; the

frame is 43 × 42 cm. At least 15 different fragments are identifiable. Of these, fragments 1, 5, 6, 10, 11, and 13 are presented below in full.<sup>6</sup> The other fragments—separated out from their mount (fig. 1)—are added at the end of the contribution in order to demonstrate that they do not connect with the others and that they should be placed elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

On the right are two fragments (1 and 6) that reflect a kind of Excel spreadsheet listing distributions of garments to a house/palace; they are similar to the Gurob Fragments G, T, and U (Gardiner 1948: 20–24). In the middle is a fragment that lists pieces of cloth and garments and on the left is a fragment, recording deliveries of large quantities of *šn'*-fish that is similar to the Gurob Fragments J, W, and N (Gardiner 1948: 26–28). The deliveries were probably intended for several houses/palaces of Usermaatse-Setepenre-Meriamun (Ramesses II). Further to this, at least two royal daughters are mentioned, though only the name of the second daughter can be read: Nebettawy, the fifth daughter of Ramesses II, who later became his wife; she was eventually buried in QV60.

### 3.1. Fragment 1

List of royal linens consisting of pieces of cloth and garments of differing quality. The empty space above line 1 makes it plausible to suggest that the line forms part of the upper border of a papyrus scroll.

<sup>4</sup> For a general description of the Gurob papyri and their classification, see Hagen & Soliman (2018: 105–108).

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner (1948: 20–22, 26–27).

<sup>6</sup> A full study of the Gurob fragments, including transcriptions, translations and comments, is still needed; see Hagen & Soliman (2018: 106, fn. 122, 123).

<sup>7</sup> A search for joins with, or attributions to, other Gurob fragments was not done here, partly because of the state of publication of these other fragments, and partly because the primary intention of this volume is to provide an overview of various collections around the world.



Fig. 1. Papyrus Lund KM 21935, with added fragment numbers



- (x+1) [...] /// *nḥ wd<sup>3</sup> snb* <sup>3</sup>-*nḥt.w ššr nsw.t idg 2 mss 2 sḏw 2 šm<sup>c</sup> idg 2 mss 2 sḏw 2 /// [...]*
- (x+2) [...] /// ditto 2 ditto 2 ditto 2 ditto 2 ditto 2 ditto 2 /// [...]
- (x+3) [...] /// ditto 2 ditto 2 ditto 2 ditto 2 ditto 1[+1] ditto 2 šm<sup>c</sup> *tnf* /// [...]
- (x+1) [...] /// [House/palace of Usermaatre-Setepenre-Meriamun], l.p.h. Great of Victories<sup>a</sup>. Royal linen: 2 *idg*-headcloths, 2 *mss*-tunics<sup>b</sup>, 2 *sḏw*-loincloths. Thin quality: 2 *idg*-headcloths, 2 *mss*-tunics, 2 *sḏw*-loincloths /// [...]
- (x+2) [...] /// ditto 2 /// [...]
- (x+3) [...] /// ditto 2. Thin quality: 1 *tnf*-cloth /// [...]

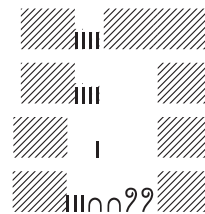
### Comments

- a) The epithet ‘Great of Victories’ allows the reconstruction of the place name House/palace of Usermaatre-Setepenre-Meriamun, which was identified with Piramesse by Gardiner (1918: 136–137).
- b) The scribe wrote a dot after the *s* both here and on fragment 6. Here, in the next *mss* entry even after each *s*. This habit of adding

a dot after each *s* is unusual, though it can be found on other Gurob fragments (e.g., Fragment Y, Gardiner 1948: 25, 2–5), as well as on the younger Mallet papyrus (= Louvre E 11006; photos accessible online; see also Maspero 1870: pl. 1, l. 8), which is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV and is of Theban origin.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.2. Fragment 5

Numbers and a total (?).

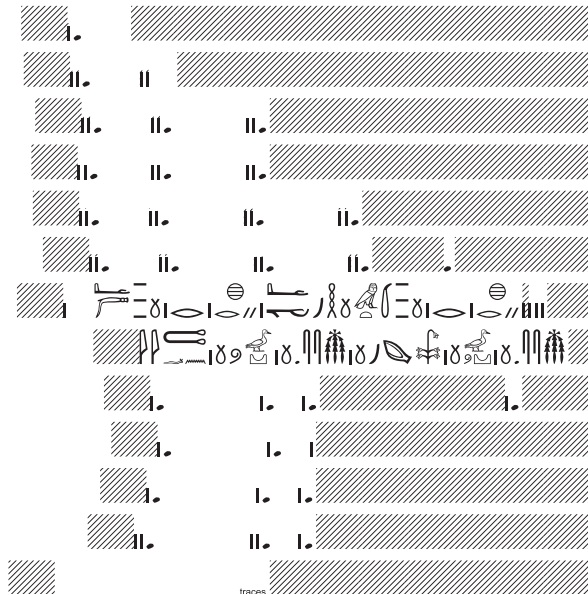


- (x+1) [...] /// 4 /// [...]
- (x+2) [...] /// 4 /// [...]
- (x+3) [...] /// 1 /// [...]
- (x+4) [...] /// 223 [+1?] /// [...]

<sup>8</sup> We would like to thank F. Hagen for the references.

### 3.3. Fragment 6

Mention of bolts or threads, as well as pieces of cloth and garments of differing quality.



- (x+7) [...] /// 4 *hrr.w tm.t hw<sup>c</sup> 1 hrr.w<sup>c</sup>-mh 1 [...]*
- (x+8) [...] /// *mss 1 sdw 1 šm<sup>c</sup> idg 1 mss 1 sdw 1 tnf* /// [...]
- (x+7) [...] /// 4, bolts<sup>a</sup> of textile [for] 1 *tm.t*-textile<sup>b</sup> [for] *hw<sup>c</sup>*-wood, bolts of cloth, cubit 1<sup>c</sup> [...]
- (x+8) [...] /// 1 *mss*-tunic, 1 *sdw*-loincloth. Thin quality: 1 *idg*-headcloth, 1 *mss*-tunic, 1 *sdw*-loincloth, /// *tnf*-cloth /// [...]

#### Comments

- a) Or: 'threads'.
- b) Most probably to be identified with *tm.t*; see *Wb* 5, 306: 'textile for wrapping.' The sign after the 3 plural strokes may be read as *nfr*, but the rendering *ti* (for the beginning of *tim.t*) is more likely as the following ligature hardly reflects the sequence *t-m-t*. In the Gurob Fragment G r<sup>o</sup> 1 and 5 (Gardiner 1948: 20, 4 and 8), *hrr.w* is an independent entry; this may also be the case here, leading to the following translation: 'threads for 1 *tm.t*-textile [to wrap the unknown piece of

furniture that follows].' For a further attestation of *hrr* in the Gurob papyri, see fragment G r<sup>o</sup> 1 (Gardiner 1948: 20, 4).

- c) The combination of D36 + Y1 is considered another rendering for 'cubit.'

### 3.4. Fragment 10

End of Ramesses II's cartouche, followed by an epithet.



(x+1) [...] /// 'nh wd<sup>3</sup> snb dr psd.wt 9 /// [...]

(x+1) [...] /// l.p.h. who expels the 9 bows /// [...]

### 3.5. Fragment 11

List of pieces of cloth and garments in black, as well as different qualities.



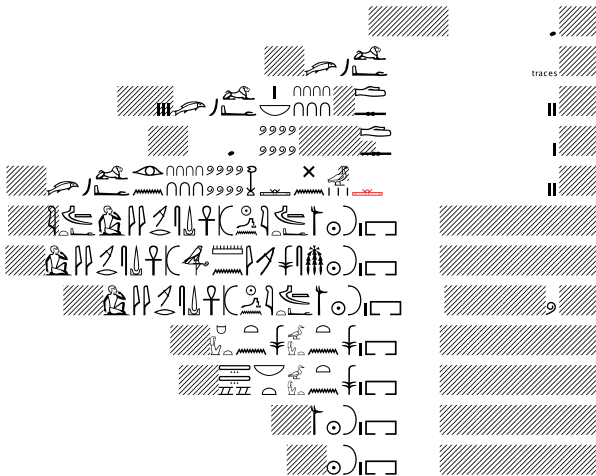
- |        | Col. 1                 | Col. 2                                 |
|--------|------------------------|--|
| (x+1)  | [...] ///              | [m]kw m km /// [...]                   |
| (x+2)  | [...] ///              | mkw m km /// [...]                     |
| (x+3)  | [...] ///              | mkw m km /// [...]                     |
| (x+4)  | [...] ///              | šm <sup>c</sup> /// [...]              |
| (x+5)  | [...] /// <i>idg</i> 7 | šm <sup>c</sup> <i>mss</i> /// [...]   |
| (x+6)  | [...] ///              | šm <sup>c</sup> <i>sdw</i> /// [...]   |
| (x+7)  | [...] ///              | šm <sup>c</sup> <i>tnf</i> /// [...]   |
| (x+8)  | [...] ///              | mkw m km /// [...]                     |
| (x+9)  | [...] ///              | šm <sup>c</sup> m <i>ktt</i> /// [...] |
| (x+10) | [...] ///              | šm <sup>c</sup> /// [...]              |



- (x+1) [...] /// [Cl]oth linen in black /// [...]  
 (x+2) [...] /// Cloth linen in black /// [...]  
 (x+3) [...] /// Cloth linen in black /// [...]  
 (x+4) [...] /// Thin quality /// [...]  
 (x+5) [...] /// 7 *idg*-headcloths | Thin quality:  
   *mss*-tunic ///  
   [...]  
 (x+6) [...] /// Thin quality: *sdw*-loincloths ///  
 [...]  
 (x+7) [...] /// Thin quality: *tnf*-cloth /// [...]  
 (x+8) [...] /// Cloth linen in black /// [...]  
 (x+9) [...] /// Thin quality as covering ///  
 [...]  
 (x+10) [...] /// Thin quality: /// [...]

### 3.6. Fragment 13

List of large quantities of fish, as well as several houses/palaces. The end of the fragmentarily preserved entries in column 1 are not rendered in the transcription and translation.



- (x+1) [...] /// ... /// [...]  
 (x+2) [...] /// *šn*<sup>c</sup> /// [...]  
 (x+3) [...] /// *ds* 70 *w*<sup>c</sup> *nb* *šn*<sup>c</sup> 3[+x] /// [...]  
 (x+4) [...] /// *ds* (?) 800 /// [...]  
 (x+5) [...] /// *dmd*<sup>d</sup> *špd* *šbn* 1870 *iri.n* *šn*<sup>c</sup> /// [...]  
 (x+6) [...] /// *pr Wsr-m*<sup>s</sup>.*t-R*<sup>c</sup> *stp.n-R*<sup>c</sup> *nh wd*<sup>3</sup> *snb*  
*mri-m*<sup>s</sup>.*t* /// [...]  
 (x+7) [...] /// *pr R*<sup>c</sup>-*ms-sw mri-Imn* *nh wd*<sup>3</sup> *snb*  
*mri-* /// [...]

- (x+8) [...] /// *pr Wsr-m*<sup>s</sup>.*t-R*<sup>c</sup> *stp.n-R*<sup>c</sup> *nh wd*<sup>3</sup> *snb*  
*mri-* /// [...]  
 (x+9) [...] /// *pr s*<sup>3</sup>.*t-nsw hm.t-* /// [...]  
 (x+10) [...] /// *pr s*<sup>3</sup>.*t-nsw nb.t-t*<sup>3</sup>.*wi* /// [...]  
 (x+11) [...] /// *pr Wsr-[m*<sup>s</sup>.*t]-R*<sup>c</sup> /// [...]  
 (x+12) [...] /// *pr R*<sup>c</sup>- /// [...]  
 (x+1) [...] /// ... /// [...]  
 (x+2) [...] /// *šn*<sup>c</sup>-fish /// [...]  
 (x+3) [...] /// vessels<sup>a</sup> 70, each: *šn*<sup>c</sup>-fish 3[+x] ///  
 [...]  
 (x+4) [...] /// vessels<sup>b</sup> (?) 800, /// [...]  
 (x+5) [...] /// **total** birds<sup>c</sup> mixed 1870, makes *šn*<sup>c</sup>-  
 fish /// [...]  
 (x+6) [...] /// the house of Usermaat-re-Setepenre  
 l.p.h. beloved of Maat /// [...]  
 (x+7) [...] /// the house of Ramesses-Meriamun  
 l.p.h. beloved of /// [...]  
 (x+8) [...] /// the house of Usermaat-re-Setepenre  
 l.p.h. beloved of /// [...]  
 (x+9) [...] /// the house of the royal daughter  
 and wife ///<sup>d</sup> [...]  
 (x+10) [...] /// the house of the royal daughter  
 Nebettawy /// [...]  
 (x+11) [...] /// the house of User[maat]re /// [...]  
 (x+12) [...] /// the house of Ra- /// [...]

### Comments

- The reading *ds* in this and the following line is clear, though in both cases the determinative is not preserved.
- The incorrect placement of fragment 14 creates some difficulties. Only the beginning of the *s*-sign below the *d* can be recognized.
- For the sign above the plural strokes we propose reading 'fowl', though this does not fit well with the 'total fish' that follows. This may be due to a further misplacement of the fragments, a problem that will remain unresolved until a proper restoration and re-edition of the papyrus.
- The sequence of the titles royal daughter and royal wife argues for the reconstruction of the ensuing name as Merit-Amun.

### 3.7. Fragments 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, and 16

Some of these small fragments consist in turn of more than one piece (fr. 2, 8, 16). Fragments 3, 4 and 7 (mounted at 90° to the proper orientation of the writing) form part of ditto+number-lists. Only parts of the signs on fragments 2, 15 (*ms*), 12, and 16 (100+x; 20) are preserved. Not enough text is preserved on fragments 8 and 9 (fr. 9 mounted at 180° to the proper orientation of the writing) and on fragment 14 to propose a proper reading. All figures not to scale.



Fig. 2. KM 21935 Fragment 2



Fig. 3. KM 21935 Fragment 3



Fig. 4. KM 21935  
Fragment 4



Fig. 5. KM 21935  
Fragment 7 (turned 90°)



Fig. 6. KM 21935 Fragment 8



Fig. 7. KM 21935  
Fragment 9 (turned 180°)



Fig. 8. KM 21935  
Fragment 12



Fig. 9. KM 21935  
Fragment 14



Fig. 10. KM 21935  
Fragment 15

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# Hieratic Texts on Figurative Ostraca: Above, Besides, and Below the Images

## Hieratic Documents in the Medelhavsmuseet (Stockholm)

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### ABSTRACT

The Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm holds only a small number of hieratic documents, mainly from Deir el-Medina. Of note are nine figured ostraca from the Gayers-Anderson Collection, whose images are accompanied by short captions, or which bear longer texts on the other side of the ostraca unrelated to the image. Two of these longer texts, a water delivery to Deir el-Medina and a list of upper Nubian place names, are exceptional and are re-published here with color photographs for the first time. Combinations of images and hieratic texts on ostraca are quite rare, and this article discusses this phenomenon in order to illustrate the dynamic nature of drawing and writing practices in ancient Egypt. Amongst the unpublished hieratic material in Stockholm, the following texts can be identified: a fragment of *The Teaching of a Man for His Son*, joining one of the largest known ostraca of that literary text, as well as several papyrus fragments of another New Kingdom document featuring scenes from the *Opening of the Mouth* ritual.

### 1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS

The Medelhavsmuseet holds 149 limestone ostraca, 1 pottery ostrakon, and 1 papyrus. Its collection is fully accessible online, though interested parties searching the museum's database for hieratic documents may be surprised to find more figurative ostraca than hieratic texts in their search results. This is not the result of errors in the database, however. In fact, nine of the museum's limestone ostraca are inscribed in hieratic, either with a few words, with captions, or with short texts (mainly administrative). The pottery

ostrakon in the Medelhavsmuseet (MM 11054) is also inscribed in hieratic, while the museum also possesses a hieratic document consisting of several fragments of a ritual papyrus (MM 30256). These fragments were previously glued onto cardboard and later removed. No further information about the papyrus' provenience and acquisition date are available, though the attachment of the papyrus to cardboard points to practices before 1950.

The provenance of the museum's ostraca is clearer. All of the museum's 149 limestone ostraca once belonged to R.G. Gayer-Anderson Pacha (1881–1945),<sup>1</sup> who donated his collection in 1935 to the Egyptian Collection, now housed in

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1 Foxcroft (2016).

the Medelhavsmuseet.<sup>2</sup> At the time, the Egyptian Collection was being built by Crown Prince Gustav Adolf (1882–1973), who later became king. The museum’s pottery ostrakon was bought in 1931 in Luxor by P. Lugn (1881–1934), the director of the Egyptian Collection from 1928 until 1934. Deir el-Medina seems to be the most likely origin of all the ostraca in the museum. Most of the ostraca presented below were published in the past with a full description by B.E. Peterson.<sup>3</sup>

Combinations of hieratic inscriptions and figurative representations on ostraca are less common than combinations of images and hieroglyphic captions. Of the ostraca in the Gayer-Anderson Collection, 9 of 149 exhibit different combinations of figurative representations and hieratic inscriptions; these will be discussed below.

## 2. THE INDIVIDUAL NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS: AN OVERVIEW

- a. Number  
10 ostraca and 1 papyrus
- b. Provenience  
It seems plausible that the origin of all 10 ostraca is Deir el-Medina. The papyrus may be of Theban origin.
- c. Distribution according to genre  
5 administrative texts, 3 image captions, 1 student exercise on numbers, 1 literary text (on an ostrakon), 1 prayer and 1 ritual text (on papyrus)<sup>4</sup>

### d. Publication

The nine hieratic limestone ostraca from the Gayer-Anderson Collection have been partially published; the focus of their publication was the images, however, and only in some cases were the hieratic texts on the ostraca treated in full. The papyrus MM 30256 and the pottery ostrakon O. MM 11054 are both unpublished. In addition, the front side of two other ostraca, O. MM 14127 and O. MM 14140, as well as the back side of O. MM 14138, are unpublished. The hieratic text on the front of O. MM 14020 and O. MM 14126 are published for the first time here.

## 3. THE UNPUBLISHED HIERATIC DOCUMENTS IN THE MEDELHAVSMUSEET, STOCKHOLM

### 3.1. MM 11054—‘The Teaching of a Man for His Son’ §6.3–8.15

Material: pottery (marl)

Measurements: H: 9.3 cm; W: 7.3 cm

Colour: black and red ink

Description: the triangular ostrakon with a nearly horizontal upper border is broken on all sides. It carries the remains of seven partly faded lines, with only a few traces of colour attesting to the existence of lines 1 and 7.

The ostrakon joins O. DeM 1665 II. Line x+4 of O. MMA 11054 joins to line x+2 on the left side of O. DeM 1665 II.

<sup>2</sup> Peterson (1973: 67).

<sup>3</sup> Peterson (1973). See <https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web> and use the search term “hieratic” for colour photographs, descriptions, bibliographical references, etc. I would like to thank Sofia Häggman for providing me with high-resolution photographs and further information.

<sup>4</sup> The total of genres is higher than the total of objects since O. MM 14127 has texts of different genres on each side. O. MM 14138 which contains on the same side an image caption and a single sign which both can also be categorized as student exercise was not added to the genre count as well as 14020 with the list of the place names from Kush which also can be ‘labelled’ as writing exercise.

<sup>5</sup> I thank H.-W. Fischer-Elfert for helping to identify the text. The translation of the preserved verses here is based on Fischer-Elfert (1999).



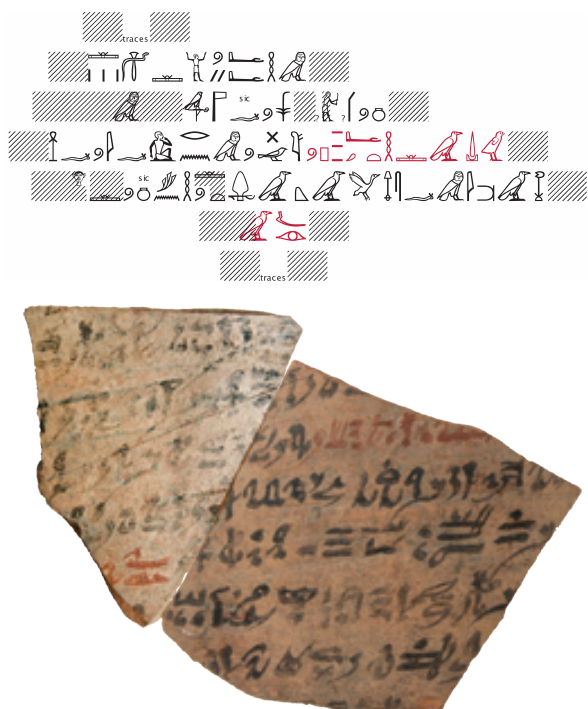


Fig. 1. MM 11054 (left; © Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)  
+ O. IFAO 1665 II (right; © IFAO)

(x+1) [...] /// [...]  
 (x+2) [...] /// *m ḥ<sup>c</sup>.wt w<sup>3</sup>d (= wd).n* [...]  
 (x+3) [...] /// traces *sw f<sup>(sic)</sup> ntr m m[yw ...]*  
 (x+4) [...] *w<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup> ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w pw šwi* (O. DeM 1665 II)  
*m rn=f iw=f šn* /// [...] (O. MM 11054)  
 (x+5) [... *p]ḥ<sup>3</sup> im=f sbk.tw* (O. DeM 1665 II) *ḥn.tw*  
 /// [...] (O. MM 11054)  
 (x+6) [...] /// *m<sup>33</sup>* /// [...]  
 (x+7) [...] /// [...]

(x+1) [...] /// [...]  
 (x+2) [...] /// rejoice at [his] commands<sup>a</sup> /// [...]  
 § 6.3  
 (x+3) [...] /// traces<sup>b</sup> God<sup>c</sup> [reveals] himself [to  
 him (?)]<sup>d</sup> through /// [...] § 6.8  
 (x+4) [...] *Not harmed is who avoids* his name, he  
 surrounds /// [...] § 7.1–7.2  
 (x+5) [...] ///... (?), *be wise*, restrain yourself ///  
 [...] <sup>e</sup> § (7.4)–7.5  
 (x+6) [...] /// see<sup>f</sup> /// [...] § 8.1  
 (x+7) [...] /// [...]

### Commentary

The surviving lines from both ostraca are included in the rendering of the ostrakon here, though the comments below refer only to O. MM 11054.

- a) The scribe wrote *w<sup>3</sup>d* instead of *wd*.
- b) The join between the two ostraca allows us to assign the remains on O. DeM 1665 II x+1 to §6.8 and not to the end of §6.9 (see the transliterations in Fischer-Elfert 1999, Tafelband: §6.8, §6.9), though this unfortunately does not help to clarify the text at the end of §6, which is only attested in a few divergent witnesses. It seems that an original *sw* was corrected to *iw=f* on O. MM 11054. The signs on either side of the break do not fit with the *swb<sup>3</sup>.n=f* that is attested in the two other witnesses.
- c) The *ntr*-sign is parallel to P. B. 15738 rt. (= P. Berlin P. 15742 recto), though another (undeciphered) word follows the *ntr*-sign before the preposition *m*, in contrast to the parallel. See Fischer-Elfert (1999, Tafelband: §6.8).
- d) The *f* after *sw* points to a corruption (see the rendering of *w<sup>3</sup>d* instead of *wd* above) between the two text variants.
- e) The rendering of the line profits from the parallels in §7.5 and is therefore not indisputable.
- f) The text on O. MM 11054 confirms that the beginning of § 8 consists of a rubric. On the problem of the verse coherency in §7 and the attribution of verses to different stanzas/paragraphs, see Fischer-Elfert (1999, Textband: 110–111).

### Bibliography

Fischer-Elfert (1999); Posener (1980: 97, pl. 77–78).

## 3.2. MM 14020—Place Names in Kush



Fig. 2a and b. MM 14020, front and back (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)



Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 17.4 cm; W: 13.7 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: front up = back down; on the front side, a list consisting of the names of foreigners runs across nine lines. The remains of a palimpsest turned 90° to the left are found at the beginning of lines 6–9. The faded but still legible hieratic text starts at the right edge, indicating that the text

was written after the right side of the back of the ostracon was broken; the missing backside of the two heads facing left on the back of the ostracon also indicate as much.

- (1) *rn.w n n<sup>3</sup>-n rmt<sup>3</sup> (?)*
- (2) *p<sup>3</sup> (?) n kš rsi /// (?)*
- (3) */// traces ///*
- (4) *miw*
- (5) *triw*
- (6) *t<sup>3</sup>-g<sup>3</sup>-d<sup>3</sup>*
- (7) *irm*
- (8) *p<sup>3</sup> ʾb-h<sup>3</sup>*
- (9) *p<sup>3</sup>-mw-qd*

- (1) The names of the people<sup>a</sup>
- (2) that<sup>b</sup> from southern<sup>c</sup> Kush<sup>d</sup> ///<sup>e</sup>
- (3) ///<sup>f</sup>
- (4) Miu<sup>g</sup>
- (5) Teriu<sup>h</sup>
- (6) Tagadja<sup>i</sup>
- (7) Irem<sup>j</sup>
- (8) Ibha<sup>k</sup>
- (9) Pamued<sup>l</sup>

### Commentary

The ostrakon was previously published without a photo. It was discussed by K. Zibelius (1972: 197, pl. VII; transliteration and drawing), but Zibelius' comments on the toponyms are given in alphabetic order, resulting in a presentation of the place names that is spread over the entire book. See also the two recent references to the ostrakon by J. Cooper (2020). The main text of the palimpsest seems to start with *rn*.

- a) The reading *rm̄t* is not certain; for a different rendering of the sign read as *r*, see the beginning of line 5. The edge of the ostrakon seems to be intact. If one reads *rm̄t*, we would expect the first group of signs in line 2 to be the determinative of *rm̄t*, but the traces of the signs there (with a diagonal stroke) do not support such a reading. The reading *rm̄t* was also questioned by J. Cooper (2020: 333 n. 11).
- b) The first sign in line 2 is most probably a bird: *mwt* (?). There are no traces of an aleph after the first sign, read as *pʒ*, which makes the most sense here. Only a dot is clearly visible.
- c) For the reading of the first of the last two signs as *rsi*, see J. Darnell (1986: 18, fn. 13).
- d) Discussed by K. Zibelius (1972: 165–169).
- e) There are traces of another sign that looks like an 'nh, but this reading remains doubtful.
- f) K. Zibelius' (1972: 196) proposed rendering of the first sign as *tp* can be excluded.
- g) For Miu, see K. Zibelius (1972: 118–120).
- h) For Teriu, see K. Zibelius (1972: 175).
- i) The reading of the first group as *tʒ* is not entirely certain. Is this perhaps a misspelling of the toponym *qdi- qʒ-dʒ-i*? See K. Zibelius (1972: 160).
- j) For Irem, see K. Zibelius (1972: 84); J. Darnell (1986: 18–21).
- k) For different renderings of 'Ibhʒ identified as 'Ibšk, see K. Zibelius (1972: 74–75) and the discussion in J. Cooper (2020: 126, 128, 454).

- l) For the reading of Pamuqed and its interpretation as a shortened form of *pʒ-ym-ʒ-n(y)-mw-qd*, see J. Cooper (2020: 273–274, 524).

### Bibliography

Zibelius (1972: 197, transliteration, pl. VII, drawing); Peterson (1973: 71–72, no. 8, pl. 6, only the back side with faces); Darnell (1986: 17–23); David (2013: 168–169, back side with faces); Cooper (2020).

### 3.3. MM 14021 –Captions (?) to images with the names of two Syrians

Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 18.6 cm; W: 20.8 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: front top = back top; front: the heads of two Syrians facing one other. Below the left head are the faded remains of two lines of a hieratic inscription/caption. Back: drawing of three heads facing right, one of which (in the centre) is identifiable as a Libyan. Of the other two heads—both of which are behind the central head—only faint traces are preserved. Below these two heads is the front part of a bull facing right.

### Comments

It was not possible to identify more of the hieratic caption ( $\omega$  [24]) than Peterson (1973: 92), even after trying inversion and the use of different filters. Peterson's rendering of the forms of the first two signs is doubtful.

### Bibliography

Peterson (1973: 92, no. 78, pl. 44); Peterson (1987: 123–124); Minault-Gout (2002: 178); Sackho-Autissier (2013: 285).



Fig. 3a and b. O. MM 14021, front and back  
(© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)



Fig. 4. Detail of O. MM 14021,  
front (© Medelhavsmuseet,  
photo: Ove Kaneberg)





### 3.4. MM 14028—Numbers

Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 10.0 cm; W: 5.9 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: drawing of a head facing left. At 90° below the head are four lines of numbers in hieratic.

𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎	(1)	24
𐎎𐎎	(2)	20
𐎎𐎎	(3)	20
𐎎𐎎	(4)	20

#### Comments

The orientation of the numbers and the head makes it unlikely that they are related. It is possible that the numbers represent an exercise made in parallel to the rendering of the head. The fact that the scribe writes the hieratic sign for ten twice instead of writing the sign for twenty might support the classification of the numbers as an exercise.

#### Bibliography

Peterson (1973: 73, no. 14, pl. 9).



Fig. 5. MM 14028 (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)

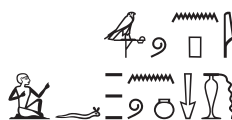
### 3.5. MM 14092—Captions to images of Anubis and Horus

Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 8.8 cm; W: 10.0 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: front top = back 90°; on the front is the head of a baboon facing right; on the back are the heads of two animal-headed gods, both facing right, a falcon and Anubis, each with a caption in hieratic above their head. They are separated by a ridge that forms two different surface areas; the head of Anubis is turned 90° in relation to the falcon. A substantial part of the surface is missing from the back.



*Inpw*  
*kbh-sn.w=f*

Anubis

The one who refreshes his brothers

#### Bibliography

Peterson (1973: 80–81, no. 42, pl. 26)





Fig. 6a and b. MM 14092 front and back (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)

### 3.6. MM 14126—Water delivery to houses

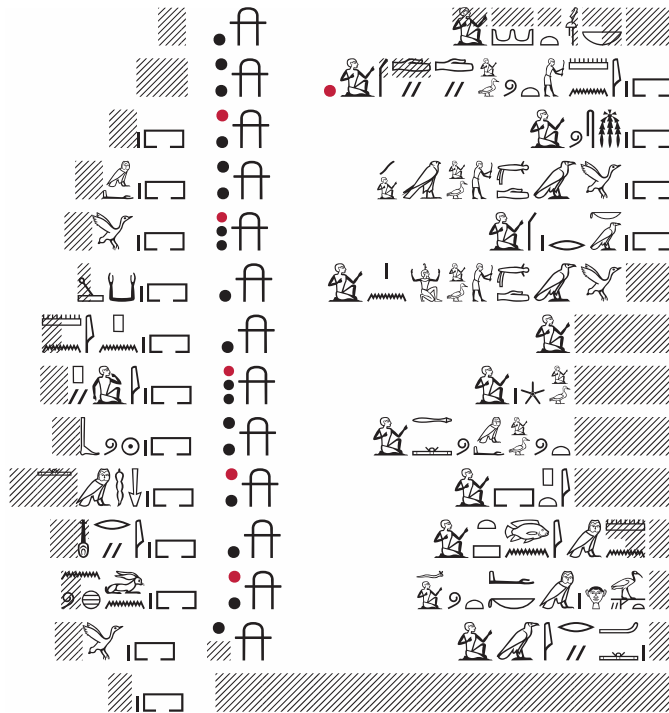
Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 17.4 cm; W: 13.7 cm

Colour: black and red ink

Date: first half of the reign of Ramesses II, before Year 40

Description: front top = back down; only the right edge is intact, the other sides are broken. On the front is a house list noting deliveries of water in two columns separated by a ridge. On the back is an unskilled drawing of a head facing left.



Column 1	Column 2
(1) [pr] Nb- <i>imn</i> [t.]t	h[3r 1/] ///
(2) pr <i>Imn-nḥt z3 Di</i> [d]i	h3r ½ ///
(3) pr Ms	h3r ½ pr ///
(4) pr P3-šd z3 ḥri	h3r ½ pr M'///
(5) pr K3r	h3r ½ pr P3'///
(6) [pr] P3-šd z3 Ḥḥ-nḥw	h3r ¼ pr K3-s3 ///
(7) [pr] ///	h3r ¼ pr Pn- <i>imn</i> ///
(8) [pr] /// z3 Sb3	h3r ½ pr Ipy///
(9) [pr] ///tw z3 Mw- <sup>ᶜ</sup>	h3r ½ pr R <sup>c</sup> -wb///
(10) [pr] ///-ipt	h3r ½ pr Sn-ndm///
(11) [pr I]mn-m- <i>int</i>	h3r ¼ pr Iry-///
(12) [pr] Dhwti-ḥr-mkt.f	h3r ¼ pr Wn-nḥw ///
(13) [pr] Ḥ-r-i	h3r ¼ pr P3-///
(14) [pr] ///	[...] pr ///

Column 1	Column 2
(1) [the house] of Nebamen[te]t (i)	kh[ar 1/] ///
(2) the house of Amennakhte (xi) son of Didi (i)	khar ½ ///
(3) the house of Mose	khar ½ the house of ///
(4) the house of Pashed son of Hori (-)	khar ½ the house of Ma-///
(5) the house of Kar/Kel (i?)	khar ½ the house of Pa-///
(6) [the house of] Pashed (i) son of Hehnekhu (i)	khar ¼ the house of Kasa (i or iii) ///
(7) [the house of] /// <sup>a</sup>	khar ¼ the house of Penamun (ii or i) ///
(8) [the house of] /// son of Seba (i, ii or iii)	khar ½ the house of Ipy (i) ///
(9) [the house of] /// te son of Muaa (-)	khar ½ the house of Raweb[en] (iii, ii, v) ///
(10) [the house of] ///-opet (-)	khar ½ the house of Sennedjem (i) ///
(11) [the house of A]menemone (i or iv)	khar ¼ the house of Ari[nefer] (i)///
(12) [the house of] Djehutihermaketef (i)	khar ¼ the house of Wennekhu (i) ///
(13) [the house of] Huria <sup>b</sup>	khar ¼ the house of Pa-///
(14) [the house of] ///	[khar ...] the house of ///

### Commentary

Despite its publication by J. Janssen (1979: 9–15), the ostracon is included here with several additions and corrections (see DeM Database, O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14126). Janssen (1979: 11–12) dated the ostracon towards the end of the 19th Dynasty, but this was corrected by P. Grandet (2003: 23). Grandet notes that the handwriting on the ostracon is very similar to O. DeM 843, which can be dated before Year 39 of Ramesses II. Theoretically, later dates might be possible, as a house might have kept its designation after the

death of the inhabitant it was originally named for; alternatively, it might have been inhabited by fathers and sons with the same names over two generations (Pashed [i/ii] son of Hehnekhu[(i/ii)] or by namesakes attested over a longer period like Raweben. In such cases, there is a possibility that some of the identifications of persons made by Davies (1999) are circular, though the new dating proposed by Grandet would invalidate the arguments for a younger date. K. Gabler (2018: 126) questions Janssen's proposed dating and



Fig. 7a and b. MM 14126, front and back (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)

supports Grandet's dating (Gabler 2018: 638) on the basis that house names might be maintained even after the death of the original or an earlier inhabitant. That said, administrative documents related to houses/households do not support the assumption that houses continued to be designated by the name of deceased inhabitants.<sup>6</sup>

The following additional remarks on the identification of the persons named on this ostracon (see the 'Davies numbers' after the names in the translation above) are therefore based on the fact that the earliest attested owner/inhabitant of a house provides a date *ante quem non*. The latest attestation of that person in the Deir el-Medina provides a plausible date *post quem non*. Useful

<sup>6</sup> Hagen (2016) published a house list which includes the house of the guardian Amenemone (iv), who was active during the reign of Ramesses II.

in this respect is the name Djehutihermaketef (i), which is attested for only one individual at Deir el-Medina;<sup>7</sup> B. Davies' (1999: 89, see also 46) assumes that Djehutihermaketef (i) was already a man of 'fairly advanced middle age' in Year 5 of the reign of Ramesses II (he is last attested in Year 8 on O. IFAO 1086; see Andreu 1985: 20–21), an assumption that is supported by the disappearance of his son Huy (x) from the Deir el-Medina records before Year 40. If Davies is correct, it is possible to suggest dating the ostrakon to the second decade of the reign of Ramesses II at the latest. Further arguments for an early date are furnished by the names Muaa and Huria who are not attested in the Deir el Medina records thus far. This absence accords with the absence in our data for the first decades of the reign of Ramesses II, a period for which not all members of the community of workmen and their genealogies are known, in contrast with the period after Year 40 of Ramesses II (see, for example, O. DeM 706) and the later 19th Dynasty.

- a) The reading *zj* proposed by J. Černý (see *KRI* VII, 196) is doubtful; [Nefer]-renpet also appears to be possible here.
- b) The name Huria is not attested thus far for any workmen in Deir el-Medina. For the name, see PN I, 253: 18 in combination with Schneider (1992: 168–169).

### Bibliography

Peterson (1973: 73, no. 17, pl. 9, only the image); Janssen (1979: 9–15); Eichler (1990: 151–152, only col. I); *KRI* VII, 196–197; Grandet (2003: 23); Gabler (2018: 126, 638); Gabler & Salmas (2022: 92–93); see also the 'Remarks' in the DeM Database, O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14126.

### 3.7. MM 14127—Administrative note and prayer to Osiris

Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 18.8 cm; W: 19.5 cm

Colour: black and red ink

Description: front top = back down; besides a few small chips, the edges of the ostrakon are intact. The front of the ostrakon is inscribed with a faded prayer in eight columns with each unit of the prayer separated by a red horizontal stroke. The hieroglyphs share certain palaeographical characteristics with ostraca signed by the chief draftsmen Amenhotep (vi), son of Amennakhte (v), such as the rendering of the *htp*- and the *w*-sign. Two other prayers written by Amenhotep (vi), also in columns with red horizontal dividing lines, are attested on O. DeM OL 6605.<sup>8</sup>

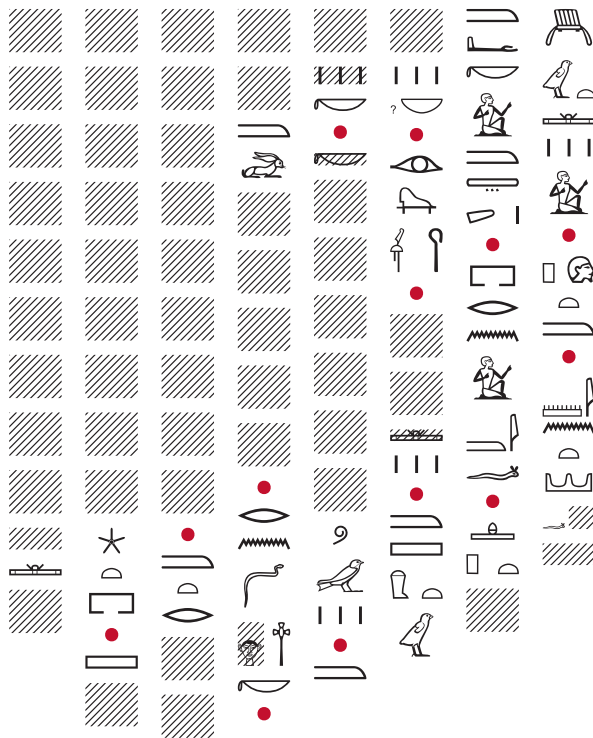
It seems plausible that the standing figure depicted in a pose of adoration on the back of the ostrakon is of a part with the prayer on the front; this would make it an illustration of the act of prayer. The figure faces left, its legs are broken off, and the front parts of its arms are completely faded. The unrelated administrative hieratic text across three lines is also faded; it is turned 90° in relation to the figure, following the natural horizontal veins of the stone.

7 The names Wennekhu (i) and Ari-[nefer] (i) are also only attested once. Their deaths are also said to have taken place before Year 40 of Ramesses II.

8 The ostrakon will be published by the present author and Stéphane Polis in one of the forthcoming volumes on literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina kept in the IFAO.



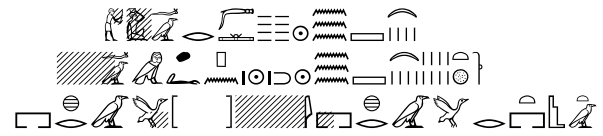
## Front



- (1)  $\text{ʒ}w.t=i - tp.t m - imn.t ///$
- (2)  $mk.wi m t^3 - pr.n=i im.f - htp$
- (3)  $/// nb (?) - Wsir hq^3 imnt.t - /// - m št^3w$
- (4)  $/// w.k - k ... /// ... w - m$
- (5)  $/// m wn ///... /// - r nđ hr.k -$
- (6)  $///... /// - m (?) tr ///$
- (7)  $///... /// d^3.t - ... ///$
- (8)  $///... ///$

- (1) I rejoice, furthestmost in the west ///
- (2) I'm on earth while I'm going forth therein, satisfied ///
- (3) /// Osiris, lord of the west ///.../// in the netherworld (Shetyt)
- (4) /// ... ///<sup>a</sup>
- (5) ///... /// hail
- (6) ///... /// - at the time<sup>b</sup> ///
- (7) ///... /// netherworld (Dat) - ///
- (8) ///... ///

## Back



- (1)  $\text{ʒ}bd 4 šmw sw 8 mh r f^3[i]?$
- (2)  $rnp.t 8 \text{ʒ}bd 4 šmw sw 11 hrw pn grh m f^3 ///$
- (3)  $t^3 s.t r p^3 hr i /// [...] p^3 hr$

- (1) 4th month of the Shemu season day 8 occupied with carrying<sup>c</sup> ///
- (2) year 8, 4th month of the Shemu season day 11<sup>d</sup>, on this day, inactivity of carrying (?)<sup>e</sup> ///
- (3) the place to the tomb /// the necropolis

## Commentary

- a) If one ignores the red traces, which are only visible close to the right dividing line, the reading  $kk[w]$  'darkness' is possible.
- b) Reading uncertain due to the lost determinative.
- c) The irregular surface at the end hampers the identification of the determinative of  $f^3i$ .
- d) It is possible to read the day in line 2 here thanks to a better photograph. The new reading 11 replaces the reading 20 as proposed in the DeM Database; see 'Dates Attributed.'
- e) The determinative of  $f^3i$  at the end of the second line is not preserved.

## Bibliography

Peterson (1973: 84, no. 52, pl. 31 = front; back unpublished); Demarée in the DeM Database, O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14127.





Fig. 8a. MM 14127, front (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)

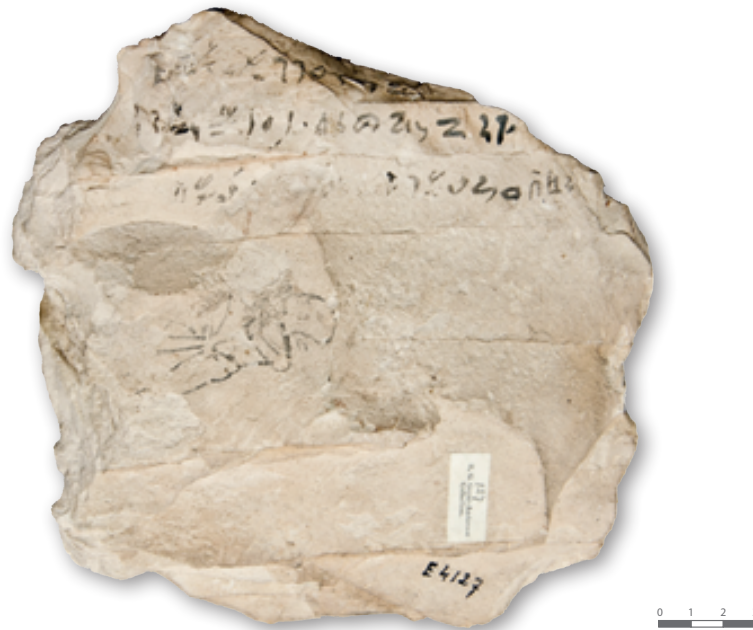


Fig. 8b. MM 14127, back (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)

### 3.8. MM 14129—Payment for a chair and list of furniture

Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 8.8 cm; W: 8.2 cm

Date: 20th Dynasty

Colour: black and red ink

Description: front up = back down; front: the ostracon is fragmentarily preserved and bears a list of five irregular lines that mention pieces of furniture (several boxes, a chair, a table) with a workmen's mark beside each item, all rendered in red. At 180° to the list are three lines of a payment account written in black ink between the images of the furniture; back: several workmen's marks in red. The group of 3 *sw*-plants at the top was previously thought to form part of an inscription, but it may instead be identified as another workmen's mark.



(1) /// [<sup>3</sup>n]y-nḥtw r ḏb<sup>3</sup>w p<sup>3</sup> qniw

(2) /// ḥ<sup>3</sup>r 1

(3) /// iri.n sniw 1

(1) /// [An]ynakhte in exchange for the *qni*-stool

(2) /// sack: 1

(3) /// making *sn*iw: 1

#### Commentary

The ostracon was published in full by Killen & Weiss (2009: 143–144) with notes and comments. The workmen's marks were analysed and listed by Soliman (2016: 345, 365, 370). One group of marks on the front of the ostracon, consisting of the signs *nb* and *nfr* (below the two boxes on the top right, when turned 180°), was not rendered by Soliman.

#### Bibliography

Peterson (1973: 107, no. 149, pl. 80); Killen & Weiss (2009: 143–144); see also the DeM Database,

O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14129; discussion of the workmen's marks and the furniture: Soliman (2016: 345, 365, 370); the ostrakon was only mentioned by Janssen (1992: 59).



### 3.9. MM 14138—Crocodile with a caption, a sign, and further sketches

Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 8.2 cm; W: 10.0 cm

Colour: red ink

Description: front top = back top 90° turned left; front: the word for crocodile is written below a drawing of a crocodile. Several other unrelated drawings/signs are rendered in red: a goose with its head turned downward; the hieratic sign *w*<sup>c</sup> below it; to the right, a baboon with a sun disc on its head; below, a duck; and to the right, what is most probably a hieratic *k* with a further sign below. Partly covered by the *w*<sup>c</sup>-sign and the duck is another drawing of a crocodile; back: indistinct head, facing right.



(1) *mshw*

(2) *w*<sup>c</sup>

(1) crocodile<sup>a</sup>

(2) sole

#### Commentary

The indistinct face on the back was not published by Peterson.

- a) The crocodile could also be the determinative of *msh*, as rendered here, making the text a caption.

#### Bibliography:

Peterson (1973: 107, no. 147, pl. 79).

Fig. 9a and b. MM 14129, front and back  
(© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)





Fig. 10a and b. MM 14138, front and back (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)

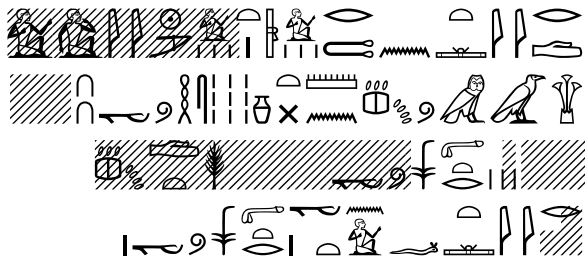
### 3.10. MM 14140—Transaction, payment

Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 9.1 cm; W: 9.9 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: front up = back 90°; square ostracon inscribed on the front with four lines of a receipt. In the lower left corner is a drawing of an indistinct round item. The back of the ostracon bears three unskilled drawings of heads, all facing left. The head at the top is perhaps that of a king wearing the blue crown; only a forehead is rendered with a broad faded stroke in the drawing below. The third head, also drawn with a broad line, is broken in the area of the neck.



- (1) *rdi.t n rmt is.t Mry-r<sup>c</sup>*
- (2) *ḥmw (?) mnt 9 šḥw 20 ///*
- (3) */// 3 mtrsw /// bd.t*
- (4) *[rd]i.t=f n.i ḥ.t mtrsw 1*

- (1) Given to the member of the crew Meryra<sup>a</sup>
- (2) bran (?)<sup>b</sup> 9 *mnt*-jars, 20 poles ///
- (3) /// 3, *mtrsw*-object, /// barley
- (4) What he gave me: wood, 1 *mtrsw* -object<sup>b</sup>

#### Commentary

- a) The reading is based on weak traces.
- b) According to the determinativ it must be a kind of grain, most probably *ḥmw* rendered in syllabic writing; for *ḥmw* see *Wb.* 3, 82.
- c) This word is apparently a *hapax legomenon*. The reading is not wholly certain. The adjective *mtr* can be excluded as the expected determinatives are missing.

#### Bibliography

Peterson (1973: 93, no. 80, pl. 43 = front; back unpublished).



Fig. 11a and b. MM 14140, front and back (© Medelhavsmuseet, photo: Ove Kaneberg)

### 3.11. MM 30256—‘Opening of the Mouth’ ritual

Material: papyrus

Measurements: H: 17.4 cm; W: 13.7 cm

Colour: black and red ink

Description: inscribed on one side. The 8 papyrus fragments were previously glued onto cardboard. They were later removed and placed under glass with fragments 2, 3, and 4 suggesting a single unit, though the overall positioning of the fragments is arbitrary. The ritual text with verse points and rubra is written in a neat hieratic which supports dating the papyrus fragments towards the end of the New Kingdom.

#### Commentary

A transliteration of the few partially preserved words is not given here. In line x+1 of fragment 1,

the reading ‘*rf n msd[m.t]* ‘a bag of eye-paint’ is clear, as is the reading *sw<sup>b</sup>* ‘purify’ in line x+2 of the same fragment. In light of the other fragments, it is clear that ‘*rf n msdm.t*’ forms part of the *Opening of the Mouth* ritual, where this phrase is attested in scene 56B a (see also 55II m). The initial *msiw* in line x+2 of fragment 3 might tentatively be located in scene 73 e. According to the grouping of the scenes by E. Otto (1960), this might mean that the papyrus contained a series of scenes from the last part of the ritual.<sup>9</sup> As to the other fragments, the initial *sw<sup>b</sup>* in line x+2 on fragment 1 might belong to scene 58 a (*sw<sup>b</sup> NN*) or to scene 63 f (where it is rendered differently). Otherwise, the Stockholm fragments of the *Opening of the Mouth* ritual cannot be correlated any further with

<sup>9</sup> Altmann-Wendling (2016: 91). A new edition of the *Opening of the Mouth* ritual is in preparation under the direction of J.F. Quack: texts on papyri (Altmann-Wendling), texts from tombs (Engelmann von Carnap).



other extant versions of the ritual, including the most extensive late New Kingdom version of the ritual on Butehamun's coffin, or with the *Opening of the Mouth* ritual scenes preserved on other New Kingdom papyri (Contardi 2017). Each of these versions preserve a different set of scenes (Turin CGT 54041: 69C, 71; Turin CGT 54042: 65C, 70B, 71, 72; Turin CGT 54043: 61, 65C, 69C, 70B, 71; Turin CGT 54044: not indicated). Palaeographic analysis of CGT 54042 and CGT 54043 and the formal differences between CGT 54041 (with red

horizontal writing lines) and our papyrus make it clear that our fragments do not belong to any of these papyri, even though they share certain formal characteristics, as well as verse points and rubra (CGT 54042 shares both verse points and rubra, CGT 54043 only verse).

### Bibliography

Contardi (2017); Otto (1960).

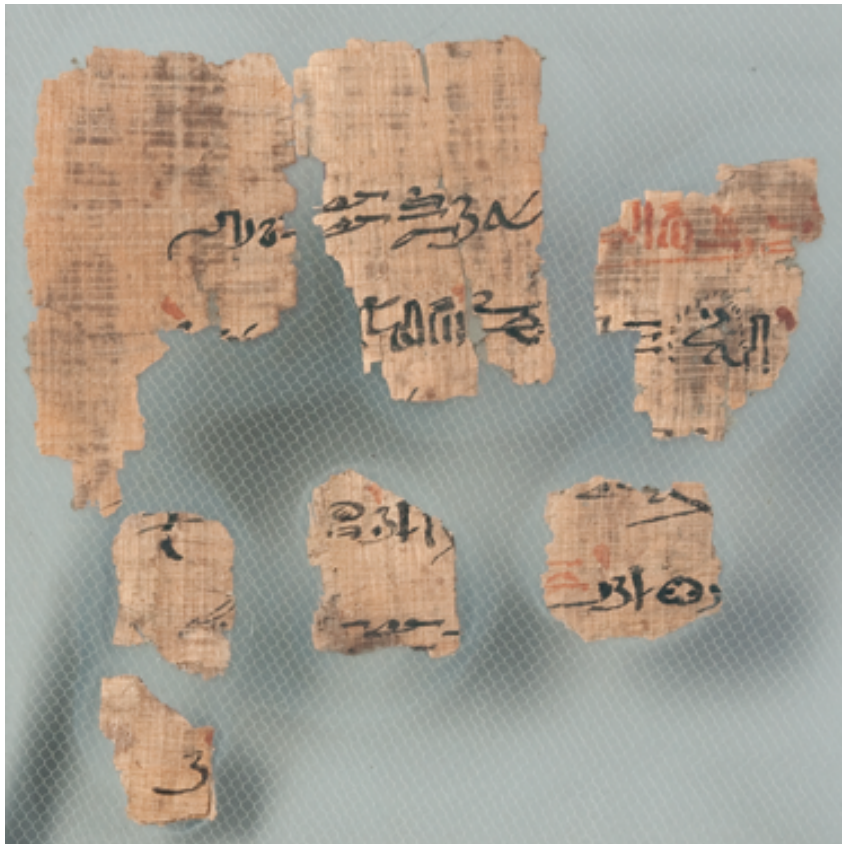
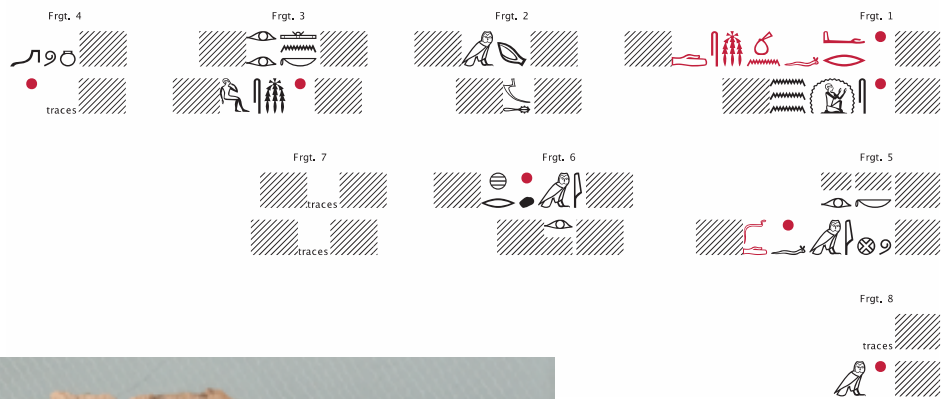


Fig. 12. MM 30256  
(© Medelhavsmuseet,  
photo: Ove Kaneberg)

#### 4. COMBINATIONS OF HIERATIC INSCRIPTIONS WITH FIGURATIVE REPRESENTATIONS ON OSTRACA, AND THEIR VALUE FOR STUDIES OF WRITING AND DRAWING PRACTICES

The number of ostraca in the Medelhavsmuseet bearing a combination of hieratic inscriptions and figurative representations—9 out of 149 figurative ostraca—is relatively high. In comparison, there are only around a dozen such ostraca in the older publications of the figurative ostraca from Deir el-Medina (Vandier d’Abbadie 1937–1959: O. IFAO 2001–3053) and nine in the more recent publications (Gasse 1986: O. IFAO 3100–3372).<sup>10</sup> This section will discuss two aspects of this type of ostraca: (1) the relation of image and text, and (2) the use of the document, especially in cases where the image and text are unrelated. A preliminary overview of the different combinations of hieratic text and image attested on these ostraca precedes this discussion.<sup>11</sup>

In the first place, we encounter examples which demonstrate an initial intention to create an image with a caption in hieratic rather than to pursue the standard combination of image and hieroglyphic text. In these cases, the caption names or describes the figure or animal depicted in the image. See, for example, O. MM 14092, where Anubis’ name is written besides his head

and where the caption ‘The one who nourishes his courtiers’ appears above the head of the falcon. Another example of the same type probably appears on O. MM 14021, where (the remains of) the hieratic inscription forms a caption that gives the foreign names or toponyms related to the two Syrian heads.<sup>12</sup> Such short captions (with images accompanied by hieratic writing) are quite common, and may point to an *ad hoc* decision on the part of the scribe to write in hieratic, perhaps because they were in a hurry (?), or simply because they were more familiar with the hieratic than the hieroglyphic script. An example of this may be O. IFAO 2594, which bears two partly preserved drawings of Amun-Ra and Mut; their names are rendered in hieratic in a horizontal line below their baseline (Vandier d’Abbadie 1937: 122, pl. 77).

Different to these captions, but also instantiating a direct link between image and hieratic text, are signatures introduced by *iri.n*.<sup>13</sup> These do not work to elucidate the image but instead point to the production process/the producer. Captions and signatures usually appear on the same side of the ostrakon as the image. When this is not the case, it is not always easy to prove a correlation between text and image.<sup>14</sup> That said, there are instances where the text and image are congruent despite the fact that they appear on different sides of an ostrakon. Good examples are captions that

<sup>10</sup> The different numbers provided in the two publications cited here are due to the authors’ different selection criteria. In other corpora, as well, the number of similar ostraca is not very high: 13 of 439 figurative ostraca in Dorn (2011) from the workmen’s huts to the east of the tomb of Ramesses X; 19 of around 130 ostraca in Daressy (1901, in connection with Dorn 2011: 177–180) from the entrances of the tomb of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX; 5/38 ostraca in Demarée (2002) from the British museum—to mention only some of the published corpora of figurative ostraca.

<sup>11</sup> Dorn (2011: 73–76, fig. 82).

<sup>12</sup> For other examples, see O. Louvre E 14311 = O. DeM 2218 (Grandet 2013: 134); ostrakon Museum Hannover RP inv. 5950 (Seidel 1993: 75). The caption ‘from the chief of the *medjay* for the man of the crew III’ on Museum Hannover RP inv. 5950 can be interpreted in two ways: it might be related to the drawing of a bull that appears below the inscription, indicating the person who made the drawing and gave it to the named workman; or it might be seen as an illustrated transaction receipt for a real bull.

<sup>13</sup> On signatures, see Dorn (2017: 603, fig. 9), which provides an example of a hieratic signature on a drawing (O. DeM 2218 = ostrakon Louvre E 14311), as well as several examples of signatures rendered in hieroglyphs.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, O. IFAO OL 6790 (Dorn & Polis 2019: 29–35) with a drawing on one side and a name with a title on the other side (written in hieratic without the introductory *iri.n*).

appear to work as speech acts. These are found mainly in prayers, where we might encounter an image of a supplicant along with a text, either on the same side of the ostrakon or on its front and back. An example of an ‘illustrated’ prayer written in hieratic is to be found on O. BTdK 41,<sup>15</sup> where a supplicant appears on the front and a short prayer on the back of the ostrakon. A corresponding example, with only a hieroglyphic text, is O. MM 14127.<sup>16</sup>

Another example of the combination of image and writing are those instances where a hieratic text is illustrated with an image (the inverse of a caption). An example is O. Louvre E 23554, an order for four windows (Barbotin 2013: 235, no. 87), where the drawing of the window illustrates the text. The measurements of the window, also written in hieratic, form another ‘layer’ and function as captions to the image. The hieratic text and the measurements are comprehensible independent of each other. The drawing clarifies the text, but does not independently transmit the entirety of the content. Another example of a hieratic text with an illustration is to be found on O. Leipzig ÄMUL 5251 (Fischer-Elfert 2016: 28–30). The goal of this hieratic text, an incantation known from several other parallels, is to proscribe the powers of the Nubian demon Sehaqeq, though the Leipzig ostrakon is the only one to depict the demon. The image illustrates part of what is described in the text—the demon—though the text does not need the image, while the image alone cannot convey the entirety of the message. The image of Sehaqeq functions here as a representation of the addressed without naming the sender.

In the context of administrative documents on ostraca, we find other instances of images

combined with hieratic texts, in particular tomb plans (Dorn 2023: 183–216; Heisel 1993: 76–153). These are not classified here as figurative ostraca with hieratic texts, but as a particular type of administrative document for the planning and recording of tombs.

There also exist a wide variety of combinations of image and hieratic text where the text and the image are not (or are only partly) related. These illustrate dynamic drawing and writing practices and represent less-common uses of the same document (*Textträger*) for image and text.

There are also several cases of crude images, such as those on O. MM 14028, O. MM 14126, and O. MM 14140, that can be identified as drawing exercises. With respect to the texts on these ostraca, it is notable that school texts only rarely appear in combination with images, as in the case of two letter exercises<sup>17</sup> and instances of the Kemyt.<sup>18</sup> This may point to different educational practices for scribes and draftsmen, who did not use at the same time the same writing/drawing material.

The use of the front and the back of ostraca for unrelated purposes (see above), where we encounter a drawing on one side and an unrelated hieratic text on the other side (e.g., O. MM 14020, O. MM 14026, and O. MM 14140), lead us to ask: was the drawing or the text produced first? Is it possible to determine whether the text and the image were made by the same person? What insights do these objects provide into practices of re-use? In addition to cases where text and image are clearly separated, there are other cases where the lack of relation between a text and an image on the same side of an ostrakon are explicitly visualised: in the case of O. MM 14028 and O. MM

15 Dorn (2011: 233, 467 with pl. 46–47, 685–686).

16 The execution of the drawing of the supplicant on the two ostraca is very similar, suggesting that they were made by the same draftsman.

17 O. BTdK 77 (Dorn 2011: 241, 440); O. BM EA 50711 (Demarée 2002: 31, pl. 104–105).

18 See Brunner-Traut (1979: 71–72): copies of the Kemyt with drawings on the other side (Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum EGA 4761.1943) or on the same side (Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum EGA 4758.1943).

14129, for example, a hieratic text written in black ink is turned 180° to drawings of furniture in red ink and set in empty line like spaces between the drawings of the wooden furniture. Other more careless examples exist as well, where images are drawn over hieratic texts (e.g., O. BTdK 77b, faces drawn over a letter exercise) without first erasing the text by scratching or with water; where hieratic texts are written over an image; or where a text is written over an image that was washed off before the text was written out (palimpsest, O. BM 50711). In each of these cases, the questions above can be useful in attempting to understand the writing and drawing practices. In general, irrespective of what was already written or drawn on an ostrakon, ostraca were used as writing or drawing surfaces in different ways to papyrus, which was often reused after the initial text was washed off, a practice (washing or even scratching) that is only rarely attested for ostraca.

A final observation concerns figurative ostraca bearing depictions of gods, so-called ostraca-stelae, which were sometimes also inscribed with

unrelated texts. The combination of an image of a god with an unrelated text confuses the general interpretation of an image of a god as a religious object. At least some such ostraca attest to a process of ‘desacralisation,’ or suggest that they were considered to be exercises, or that the non-religious content was not perceived to ‘interfere’ with the image of the god. Examples are O. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum EGA 103.1949, which depicts a ram/goat behind an offering table, a form of Amun, drawn over a partially erased administrative text on the front side, with another administrative text on the back side; O. BM EA 8505, with two drawings of Osiris Wennefer on the back and measurements of a royal tomb on the front side that continue on the back at 90° perpendicular to the Osiris figures, partly covering the hieroglyphic caption and the offering table in front of the figure of Osiris Wennefer; and O. Cleveland Museum of Art (inv. 1987.156), which features a drawing of a goddess breast-feeding Ramesses II on one side and deliveries of grain and bread on the other side.

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# *Nil novi sub sole?*

## Hieratic Documents in the Museum Gustavianum (the Uppsala University Collection)

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### ABSTRACT

The Uppsala University collection contains four hieratic ostraca, four hieratic jar labels and no papyri. One of the ostraca and all of the jar labels found in the Ramesseum (Bouvier 2003) are published here for the first time. Of the other three ostraca, two contain house lists (Hagen 2016), and O. Armitage contains a magical text (Shorter 1936; Quack forthcoming): all were recently published or are in the process of being republished.

### 1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS

The collection of the Museum Gustavianum contains a small number of objects that were inscribed with hieratic texts during the New Kingdom: these consist of four limestone ostraca and four jar labels. The few texts in the collection written in hieratic script are evidence of the low interest in this type of object on the part of the persons who purchased and donated objects for and to the Uppsala University collection. Among these persons were Queen Victoria of Sweden (1862–1930), Karl F. Piehl (1853–1904),<sup>1</sup> Sten V. Wångstedt (1904–1986) and Zsolt Beöthy (1848–1922), whose collection was bought in 1936 by Ede Mahler.<sup>2</sup>

Three of the four limestone ostraca are connected with Torgny Säve-Söderberg (1914–1998) who purchased two of them (Inv. no. Victoria Museet: VM 3000 and VM 3001) in 1956 in

Qurna<sup>3</sup> and who probably received the third ostrakon (VM 2364) as a gift from his friend Alan H. Gardiner (1879–1963) in the 1940s. On the upper edge of the last of the four limestone ostraca (VM 1082) is a faded inscription written in ink in an old-fashioned style of writing that mentions ‘Qurna’—the supposed place of acquisition and/or the findspot of the ostrakon.

No information is preserved on the collection’s old inventory cards concerning the provenance or the circumstances of the acquisition of the four jar labels (Inv. no.: VM 669, 1318, 1404, 1895). The only indication concerning their entry into the collection are the old hand-written inventory numbers on each jar label—these point to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century when a large number of ostraca, mainly Coptic, were bought and later given to the collection.

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1 Piehl acquired several hundred Coptic ostraca; these formed part of his research interests.

2 More information about these individuals can be found in Dorn et al. (2020: 117); on Wångstedt, see Holthoer (1986: vii–ix).

3 Hagen (2016: 207, fn. 12).

## 2. THE INDIVIDUAL TEXTS: AN OVERVIEW

- a. Number:  
4 ostraca and 4 jar labels
- b. Provenance:  
Ostraca: Deir el-Medina (based on internal evidence; one with the note 'Qurna');  
Jar labels: Ramesseum (?)
- c. Distribution according to genre:  
Ostraca: 2 administrative texts, 1 magical text, 1 accounting text (*r*<sup>o</sup>) and 1 (probably) religious text (*v*<sup>o</sup>); Jar labels: administrative, wine delivery
- d. Material published vs. unpublished  
3 of the 4 ostraca are published; the 4 jar labels are unpublished.

The three larger ostraca (VM 2364, VM 3000 and VM 3001) are already published. VM 3000 and VM 3001 were on display for many years in the former exhibit in the Museum Gustavianum, which is currently (2022) under reconstruction. From 2024 onwards, the new exhibition of the Egyptian collection will probably display all three ostraca.

### 2.1. VM 2364: The magical ostrakon Armytage

Ostrakon Armytage, named after its original owner, has been known since 1936 when it was published in a four-page article by A.W. Shorter (1936: 165–168, pl. VIII–IX).<sup>4</sup> This well-preserved and neatly written ostrakon contains two magical spells, both designed to protect the beneficiary of the spell from an aggressor. In the first spell,

the aggressor is identified with mud; in the second, a fly is set in the aggressor's stomach so as to act against him. Both spells use analogies and call for the support of certain deities. Based on palaeographic criteria, the ostrakon can be dated to the 20th Dynasty, while Deir el-Medina can be identified as its place of origin. Following its publication, the ostrakon's whereabouts are unknown. J.F. Quack is currently preparing a new edition of the ostrakon; his re-examination of the original has permitted improvement of several of Shorter's readings.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.2. The two administrative ostraca VM 3000 and VM 3001: House lists from Deir el-Medina

Together with O. Liverpool M13624, these two ostraca form a small group of documents which attest to the practice of recording the members of individual households in Deir el-Medina already in the 19th Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> This practice is much better attested for the following dynasty, during which more such lists (known as 'Stato Civile') were made and recorded on papyrus.<sup>7</sup> The interpretation of these documents as house lists by the editors<sup>8</sup> of the 'Stato Civile' as well as by the editors of further, recently identified papyrus fragments belonging to the 'Stato Civile' has superseded their classification as census documents.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.3. VM 1082: Fragment of a tablet with an accounting text and an unidentified religious (?) text

The ostrakon labelled 'Qurna' is so far unpublished. An initial publication is given below.

4 Further translations have been published since the first edition: see Dieleman (2019: 109–110) and Borghouts (1978: 1–2, no. 2–3). The text has been encoded both in the TLA (search for Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae > Projekt 'Digital Heka,' Universität Leipzig > Magische Ostraka Neues Reich > oArmytage) and *Ramses Online* (not yet available online, as of 23.02.23).

5 Quack (forthcoming).

6 For the publication of this group of ostraca see Hagen (2016: 207–212).

7 Demarée & Valbelle (2011).

8 Hagen (2016: 211–212); Müller (2012: 218).

9 Demarée et al. (2020: 196–199).



**2.4. VM 669, VM 1318, VM 1404 and VM 1895: Wine jar labels of Ramesses II**

The place of origin of the fragmentarily preserved jar labels' might be the Ramesseum at Western Thebes, as is suggested by the parallel texts from that location published by G. Bouvier (2003: 207–212). The labels reflect well-known formulae and attest to wine deliveries in Year 3 and Year 7.

**3. THE UNPUBLISHED HIERATIC DOCUMENTS FROM THE MUSEUM GUSTAVIANUM (THE UPPSALA UNIVERSITY COLLECTION)**

**3.1. VM 1082**

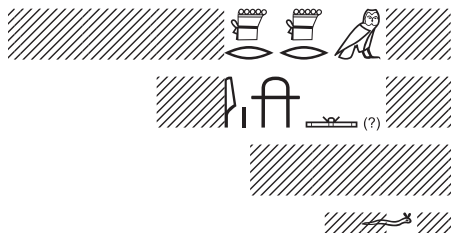
Material: limestone

Measurements: H: 6.0 cm; W: 7.0 cm; D: 1.6 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: smooth front side suggesting classification as a tablet, upper edge at right angle to the front, rough back side; left and right side broken; clear traces of palimpsest on front—remarks: indication of provenance on the edge: 'Qurna.'

Front



- (1) [...] /// *m drdr* [...]
- (2) [...] /// (?) *dmd h³r 1 i* /// [...]
- (3) [...] /// *traces* /// [...]
- (4) [...] /// *tr* /// [...]
- (1) [...] /// on both sides<sup>a</sup> (?) /// [...]
- (2) [...] /// (?)<sup>b</sup> total 1 khar /// [...]

Back



- (1) [...] /// *traces* /// [...]
- (2) [...] /// *zh³.w n³ rmt.w mi* [...]
- (3) [...] /// *n³y.w iri[w] Pth (?)* [...]
- (2) [...] /// [the?] scribes and the people just like /// [...]
- (3) [...] /// their companions<sup>c</sup> of Ptah /// [...]



Fig. 1. VM 1082 front: ostracon  
(© Museum Gustavianum, photo: John Worley)



Fig. 2. VM 1082 back: ostracon  
(© Museum Gustavianum, photo: John Worley)

### Comments

I wish to thank Annie Gasse for comparing the ostracon with similar palette-like ostraca<sup>10</sup> to which O. VM 1082 ultimately does not appear to belong, as well as Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert and Robert J. Demarée for comments on the reading of the verso.

- a) The reading of the signs which follow *drdr* (?) is uncertain and the phrase might alternately be rendered ‘in the ribs (?)’. If the determinative is not read as the flesh sign (F51) but as the sign A1, then the reading *drdr* ‘foreign’ cannot be excluded. Taking into account the traces before the *m*, one might also consider *mḥ m drw.w* ‘filled with colour.’ The second *dr*-sign was drawn differently to the first—a practice that is observed in other cases where a sign is written twice.
- b) It might be possible to read the sign before ‘total’ as a rendering of a bird (F38 or F39) followed by three plural strokes, but the sequence of birds followed by *ḥʿr* is problematic.
- c) The hieratic rendering of the sign A47 (seated shepherd with a stick) deviates from the standard form.

### 3.2. VM 669, VM 1318, VM 1404 and VM 1895: Wine jar labels of Ramesses II

#### 3.2.1. *Inv. no.:* VM 669—other older numbers: 374. and (8.)

Material: marl

Measurements: H: 11.0 cm; W: 5.5 cm; D: 0.6 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: body sherd.

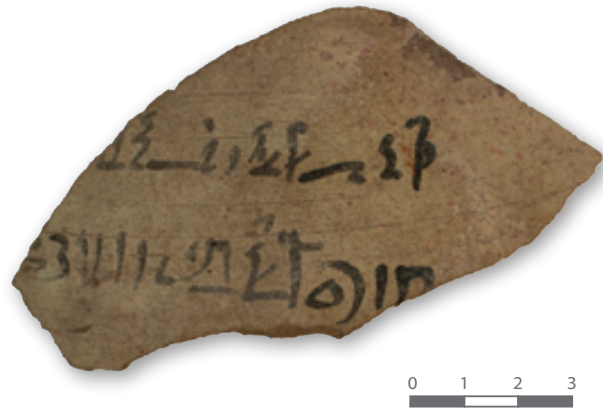


Fig. 3. VM 669: jar label Ramesses II  
(© Museum Gustavianum, photo: John Worley)

- (1) *rnp.t sp 7 irp n tʿ ḥw[t ...]*  
 (2) *pr Wsr-mʿ.t-Rʿ stp.n-Rʿ ḥw wdʿ snb m p[ʿ...]*  
 (1) Year 7, wine of the temple [...]  
 (2) from the estate of Ramesses II in [...]

### Comments

- a) Renderings of *irp* followed by *w* are rather rare in the corpus of jar docketts from Year 7: see Bouvier (1999: pl. 32, no. 108; pl. 39, no. 138). The inscription corresponds with type IVd, see Bouvier (2000: pl. 21, no. 634, pl. 45, no. 744; 2003: 69, 73).

#### 3.2.2. *Inv. no.:* VM 1318—other older numbers: 372. and (6.)

Material: marl

Measurements: H: 6.3 cm; W: 6.0 cm; D: 0.5 cm

Colour: black ink

Description: body sherd.



- (1) [...] /// *Wsr-mʿ.t-Rʿ stp.n-Rʿ ḥw wdʿ* [...]  
 (1) [...] Ramesses II l. p. [...]<sup>a</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The group of ostraca that share some of the features of palettes—both their shape and the smooth surface(s)—is under study by Annie Gasse.



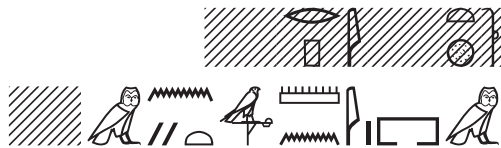
Fig. 4. VM 1318: jar label Ramesses II  
(© Museum Gustavianum, photo: John Worley)

*Comment*

- a) The isolated cartouche displays only a small remnant in front and above (line 1?). The state of preservation of the cartouche does not allow an identification of the formula type.

3.2.3. *Inv. no.:* VM 1404—*other older number:* 139.

Material: marl  
Measurements: H: 3.5 cm; W: 7.1 cm; D: 0.6 cm  
Colour: black ink  
Description: body sherd.



- (1) [rnp.t sp X] irp [...]  
(2) m pr 'Imn nty m /// [...]  
(1) [Year X]<sup>a</sup>, wine of [...]  
(2) from the estate<sup>b</sup> of Amun which is located at /// [...]

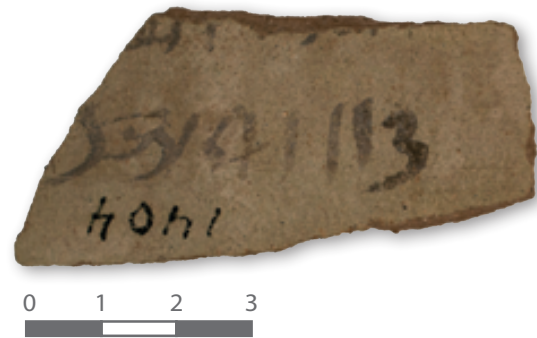


Fig. 5. VM 1404: jar label Ramesses II  
(© Museum Gustavianum, photo: John Worley)

*Comments*

- a) The reading of the fragmentary opening of line 1 is not fully certain. The inscription corresponds with type VIIa; see Bouvier (2003: 80, 86).  
b) For the rendering of *pr* without the upper horizontal stroke, see, e.g., Bouvier (2000: pl. 107, no. 1044). The rendering of *nty* is similar to some renderings of *hri*, but the latter can be excluded here because of the following *m*; see Bouvier (2000: pl. 82, no. 917).

3.2.4. *Inv. no.:* VM 1895—*other older number:* 198.

Material: marl  
Measurements: H: 4.0 cm; W: 8.2 cm; D: 0.6 cm  
Colour: black ink  
Description: body sherd.



Fig. 6. VM 1895: jar label Ramesses II  
(© Museum Gustavianum, photo: John Worley)



- (1) *rnp.t sp 3 irp nfr* [...]  
 (2) *m pr 'Imn k*[<sup>3</sup>- ...]

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- (1) Year 3, good wine [...]  
 (2) from the house of Amun *k*[<sup>3</sup>-*n-kmt* ...]

## Comment

- a) The formula corresponds to type Ib; see Bouvier (2003: 42, 54; 1999: pl. 1–13).

# Documents conservés dans les institutions de Genève

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## ABSTRACT

Since its foundation between 1818 and 1820, the former Musée Académique, now called Musée d'art et d'histoire, records the presence of four papyri identified by Champollion, two of them belonging to the *Late Ramesside Letters*, a group of correspondence that has been later enriched by two other subsequent acquisitions. Moreover, a magical papyrus was further acquired in 1937, thanks to the contribution of Alan H. Gardiner. The inventory of these hieratic documents consists also of three ostraca, donated in 1927 and 1944 by the heirs of Édouard Naville.

## HISTOIRE DES COLLECTIONS DU MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE ET DE LA FONDATION MARTIN BODMER<sup>1</sup>

Créé en 1818/1820 sous l'impulsion d'Henri Boissier (1762–1845), le Musée académique comprend dès son origine une section archéologique qui accueille plusieurs objets égyptiens. Le don d'une momie et de son cercueil en 1824 par Pierre Jean Fleuret (1771–1832), négociant genevois actif en Égypte, suscite une certaine émulation, comme le feront une douzaine de pièces offertes par le consul Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852) en 1825. Les registres anciens attestent ainsi de l'acquisition de trois papyrus, dons de Louis Albert Necker de Saussure (1786–1861), du général Heinrich Menu von Minutoli (1772–1846) et du consul Drovetti, sans que ne soit précisé le type d'écriture ou la langue transcrite. Parallèlement, un inventaire

contemporain signale que trois autres papyrus sont en possession de Fleuret, dont un écrit en hiéroglyphes.

Un inventaire récapitulatif des collections du musée, effectué en juillet 1825 par H. Boissier, comprend 133 objets égyptiens. Parmi ceux-ci, il mentionne quatre papyrus (un grand et trois petits, « dont l'un écrit sur ses deux faces »). Ce sont manifestement les quatre papyrus hiéroglyphiques que Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) catalogua lors de sa visite à Genève en automne 1826 : deux *Livre des Morts* tardifs (inv. D 190 et D 229) et deux lettres relevant du dossier des *Late Ramesside Letters* (inv. D 191 et D 192).

Les quatre décennies suivantes sont pauvres en acquisitions (une centaine d'items), parmi lesquels il faut dénombrer un papyrus supplémentaire qui se rattache au *Late Ramesside Letters* (inv. D 187) et un *Livre des Morts* en hiéroglyphes

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1 Chappaz (2003a : 99–117; 2003b : 215–219); Chappaz (2009); Chappaz & Vuilleumier (2002); Lüscher (2014); Wild (1972).



cursifs du Nouvel Empire (inv. D 189, don Burdallet, juge de paix, en 1867). On ignore leur provenance.

En 1872, les collections d'Antiquités sont séparées du Musée académique et regroupées au sein du Musée archéologique, sous la direction dynamique d'Hippolyte-Jean Gosse (1834–1901). Ce passionné, médecin légiste de son état, avait déjà entrepris un premier inventaire moderne (alphanumérique) des collections dès 1866, et le musée s'enrichira considérablement dans tous les domaines durant son mandat, de la préhistoire au Moyen-Âge, et de la Sibérie à la Terre-de-feu ! Ce sont près d'un millier d'artefacts qui vinrent ainsi grossir les collections pharaoniques et coptes, sous forme de dons suscités ou offerts par le directeur ou d'achats auprès d'antiquaires.

En 1874 par exemple, H.-J. Gosse offre cinq papyrus hiératiques, dont on ignore également la provenance. Ce lot comprend des fragments de miscellanées (inv. D 405 et D 408), ainsi qu'un contrat de mariage (inv. D 409) qui se rattachent à des papyrus conservés aujourd'hui au musée de Turin, un fragment de *Livre des Morts* de la Troisième Période intermédiaire (inv. D 406) et une autre lettre du dossier des *Late Ramesside Letters* (inv. D 407). En 1937, il sera procédé à un échange tripartite sur la proposition d'Alan H. Gardiner : les trois fragments complémentaires aux documents de Turin seront remis au musée italien qui les conserve désormais, le savant britannique remettant de son côté au musée de Genève le papyrus magique (inv. 15274) issu de ses propres collections.

1910 marque l'inauguration du Musée d'art et d'histoire, bâtiment dans lequel les autorités de l'époque ont voulu réunir les collections des beaux-arts, des arts décoratifs, l'archéologie et les collections rassemblées par le mécène Walther Fol (1832–1890), qui comprennent environ deux cents objets égyptiens (mais aucune inscription

hiératique). C'est donc à cette nouvelle institution que les héritiers d'Édouard Naville (1844–1926) offriront quelques documents acquis par l'égyptologue genevois durant sa carrière, au nombre desquels on compte deux ostraca hiératiques : un compte rendu oraculaire (inv. 12550) et un extrait de la *Satire des Métiers* (inv. 12551). Ces deux objets viennent compléter d'autres dons faits du vivant de Naville, ainsi qu'un certain nombre d'items (bas-reliefs, statues) remis par l'Egypt Exploration Fund à la suite de ses travaux, principalement à Bubastis et à Deir el-Bahari.

Durant le xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, quelques achats et dons (dont un ostracon remis par le gendre des Naville, inv. 18324) ont permis d'affiner la collection égyptienne et de développer également la présentation de la Nubie (fouilles de Charles Bonnet à Tabo et à Kerma). Parmi les achats figure un papyrus hiératique tardif du *Livre des Morts*, enrichi de nombreuses vignettes (inv. 23464).

La dernière acquisition importante date de 2006. Il s'agit d'archives (photographies, notes, textes de cours, dessins) d'Édouard et Marguerite Naville (1852–1930) remises au musée par leurs descendants. Quelques documents concernent l'édition du *Livre des Morts*, mais l'essentiel du dossier préparatoire à cette importante publication (1886) est conservé au département des Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Genève.

La Bibliotheca Bodmeriana / Fondation Martin Bodmer, sise à Cologny dans les environs de Genève, est indépendante du Musée d'art et d'histoire. Son fondateur (1899–1971) avait pour objectif de réunir une bibliothèque représentant les différents aspects du génie humain (« *Weltliteratur* »). La vaste collection comprend, pour sa partie égyptienne, une dizaine de papyrus funéraires, des textes grecs et coptes, ainsi qu'une vingtaine d'objets pharaoniques, dont un ostracon (extrait de la *Satire des Métiers*, inv. 12) acquis sur le marché londonien.

**FONDATION MARTIN BODMER /  
BIBLIOTHECA BODMERIANA, COLOGNY**

Genre du document : **texte littéraire (O. Bodmer 12)**

Lieu de conservation : Fondation Martin Bodmer, Coligny (Genève)

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : inv. 12

Mode d'acquisition : achat à Londres, 1938

Provenance : inconnue

Support, matière, technique : éclat de calcaire, texte tracé à l'encre noire

Dimensions : 16,7 × 17,8 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (9 lignes) et verso (9 lignes)

État de conservation : ébréchures sur les bords

Présentation rapide du contenu : *Satire des Métiers* (extraits; strophes XVI, XVII, XVIII)

Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : —

Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —

Remarques : —

Datation : époque ramesside, XIX<sup>e</sup> ou XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie

Bibliographie : Brunner (1944 : 18, 155–168); Helck (1970 : 93–105, ostracon no. 95); Gagnebin (1972 : 7–8, fig. 5); Jäger (2004 : 9, xlv, LVIII–LXIV); Chappaz & Vuilleumier (2002 : 66–70, 171, fig. 17–18)

**MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE DE LA VILLE DE GENÈVE**

Genre du document : **lettre (P. Genève D 187)**

Lieu de conservation : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : D 0187

Mode d'acquisition : ancien fonds, avant 1867

Provenance : probablement Thèbes

Support, matière, technique : papyrus, texte tracé à l'encre noire

Dimensions : 17,5 × 17 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (8 lignes); verso (7 lignes, l. 7 = adresse)

État de conservation : déchirures; partie supérieure gauche (recto) perdue

Présentation rapide du contenu : dossier des *Late Ramesside Letters* : lettre du maire de Thèbes... au scribe de la Nécropole Tjaroy

Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) :

[...] <sup>c</sup>-*tw-rf*, *imy-r pr*, *ḥ<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> n Niwt*, *ḥry pdt n n<sup>3</sup> pdtyw*, *p<sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup> n pr* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 7)  
*T<sup>3</sup>-ry*, *sš n (p<sup>3</sup>) ḥr* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 2; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 7)

Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —

Remarques : —

Datation : fin de la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie

Bibliographie : Černý (1939 : XI, 41–42, no. 26); Wente (1967 : 57–58); Wente (1990 : 178 no. 294); Janssen (1991 : 52, pl. 57–58)

Genre du document : **lettre (P. Genève D 191)**

Lieu de conservation : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : D 0191

Mode d'acquisition : ancien fonds, avant 1826

Provenance : probablement Thèbes

Support, matière, technique : papyrus, texte tracé à l'encre noire

Dimensions : 25 × 22 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (17 lignes); verso (21 lignes)

État de conservation : quelques déchirures

Présentation rapide du contenu : dossier des *Late Ramesside Letters* : lettre de Henouttaoui, chanteuse d'Amon, à Nesamenopé, scribe de la tombe royale

Date(s) mentionnée(s) :

An 2, Akhet 2, jour 27 (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 1–2)  
(An 2), Akhet 3, jour 2 (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 2)

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) :

*Ḥnwt-t<sup>3</sup>wy*, *šm<sup>3</sup>yt n(t) Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt n<sup>3</sup>rw* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)  
*Ns- Imn-ipt A*, *sš n p<sup>3</sup> ḥr* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)  
*P(3)-n-t<sup>3</sup>-ḥwt-nḥt*, *sš* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 6)

*S<sup>3</sup>-ry, sš* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 8)  
 [...], *ms hr* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 10)  
 [...], *wh<sup>c</sup>* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 10)  
*It-nfr, wh<sup>c</sup>* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 13)  
*P<sup>3</sup>-sny, p<sup>3</sup> imy-r šnwty?* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 5)  
 [...], *it* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 6; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 9; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 12)  
*Ns-p<sup>3</sup>-mdw-šps, p<sup>3</sup> imy-r pr n Imn, w<sup>c</sup>b* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 7)  
*P<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>-wnm=f* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 8)  
*P<sup>3</sup>-wnš, w<sup>c</sup>b n pr Mwt* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 11)  
*Tm<sup>3</sup>m?* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 14)  
*Mn-M<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>-nht, imy-r pr-ḥd, imy-r šnwty* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 15)  
*Hri, sš wdḥw* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 15)  
 [...], *imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> n t<sup>3</sup> st Mry-Dḥwty* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 16)  
 [...], *stm, p<sup>3</sup> <sup>c3</sup> n pr* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 17)  
*Ns-Imn-ipt B, it-ntr, ḥm-ntr n Nbwt* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 17–18)

Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : *t<sup>3</sup> ḥwt nt ḥḥ rnpwt* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 16–17)

Remarques : —

Datation : fin XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie

Bibliographie : Černý (1939 : XII, 57–60, no. 37); Helck (1965 : 892); Wild (1972 : 22, 40–41); Allam (1973 : 303–307, pl. 100–101); Janssen (1986 : 30–31); Wente (1990 : 174–175 no. 290); Janssen (1991 : 52, pl. 59–60); Mahmoud (2002 : 768–769, 774); Ritschard (2003 : 99, 114, 116); Quack (2008); Lefèvre (2022a : 240–242)

#### Genre du document : **lettre (P. Genève D 192)**

Lieu de conservation, institution : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : D 0192

Mode d'acquisition : ancien fonds, avant 1826

Provenance : probablement Thèbes

Support, matière, technique : papyrus, texte tracé à l'encre noire

Dimensions : 15,5 × 19 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (9 lignes); verso (1 ligne = adresse)

État de conservation : déchirures

Présentation rapide du contenu : dossier des *Late Ramesside Letters* : lettre du chanteur du général Pentahoures au scribe de la Nécropole Thoutmès

Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) :

*P<sup>3</sup>-n-t<sup>3</sup>-ḥwt-rs, ḥsy n p<sup>3</sup> imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)

*Dḥwty-ms, sš n hr <sup>c3</sup> špsy* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1–2; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)

*Hmt-šrit, ḥsynt* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 2)

*Šd-m-dw<sup>3</sup>, šm<sup>c</sup>yt n Imn* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 2)

Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —

Remarques : palimpseste

Datation : fin de la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie

Bibliographie : Černý (1939 : IX, 33–34, no. 17); Wente (1967 : 51); Wild (1972 : 22, 41); Janssen (1991 : 52, pl. 61–62); Ritschard (2003 : 99, 114, 116)

#### Genre du document : **lettre (P. Genève D 407)**

Lieu de conservation : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : D 0407

Mode d'acquisition : don Hippolyte-Jean Gosse, 1874

Provenance : probablement Thèbes

Support, matière, technique : papyrus, texte tracé à l'encre noire

Dimensions : 28 × 21 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (16 + 3 lignes de notation en tête); verso (20 lignes, l. 20 = adresse).

État de conservation : plusieurs déchirures

Présentation rapide du contenu : dossier des *Late Ramesside Letters* : lettre du scribe de la Nécropole Thoutmès à son fils Boutehamon, scribe de la Nécropole

Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) :

*Dḥwty-ms, sš n p<sup>3</sup> hr pr-<sup>c3</sup> šps n ḥḥ m rnpwt n pr-<sup>c3</sup> w.s.* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 20)

*Bw-th-Imn, sš n p<sup>3</sup> hr* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1–2; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 20)

[...], *p<sup>3</sup> imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 6)

Šd-dw<sup>3</sup>, šm'yt n 'Imn (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 13)  
 Hmt-šri (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 13)  
 Hnsw-p<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup>w, hry <t>hw (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)  
 Hr-'Imn-pn<sup>c</sup>=f? (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 10; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 17)  
 'Imn-p<sup>3</sup>-nfr (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 10; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 17)  
 'Imn-m-ipt-nht (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 10)  
 P<3>-n-t<sup>3</sup>-hwt-rs, hsy n p<sup>3</sup> imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 11)  
 T<sup>3</sup>-ry, sš (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 18)  
 K<sup>3</sup>-ry, s<sup>3</sup>w (r<sup>o</sup> notation, l. 1)

Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : niwt (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 16; v<sup>o</sup>, l. 7)

Remarques : notation au recto sans rapport apparent avec le texte de la lettre

Datation : fin XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie

Bibliographie : Černý (1939 : VIII, 13–17, no. 8);  
 Maystre (1963 : 28–30); Wente (1967 : 33–37);  
 Chappaz (1986 : 16–17, no. 7); Wente (1990 :  
 187–188 no. 310); Janssen (1991 : 52, pl. 63–64)

**Genre du document : textes magiques; journal  
 (P. Genève 15274)**

Lieu de conservation : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : 015274

Mode d'acquisition : ancienne collection A.H. Gardiner. Acquis en 1937, à la suite d'un échange tripartite conclu en novembre 1937 entre le Museo Egizio de Turin, A.H. Gardiner et le musée de Genève. Le papyrus fut apporté à Genève le 2 décembre 1937 par J. Černý, qui emporta les papyrus MAH D 0405, D 0408 et D 0409 (dons de Hyppolite-Jean Gosse du 13 février 1874) à Turin dans la poursuite de son voyage (source : Archives inédites du Musée d'art et d'histoire).

Provenance : probablement Thèbes

Support, matière, technique : papyrus, texte tracé à l'encre noire et rouge

Dimensions (partie conservée) : ~ 168,5 × 21,5 – 22,5 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (7 pages : I–VI = 9 lignes; VII = 10 lignes); verso (6 pages : I = 6 lignes;

II = 7 lignes; III = 3 lignes; IV = 4 lignes : V = 7 lignes + 1 ligne intercalaire; VI = 3 lignes; le papyrus est monté en cinq sous-verres

État de conservation : nombreuses déchirures et lacunes; r<sup>o</sup> I et r<sup>o</sup> VII partiellement conservés

Présentation rapide du contenu : textes magiques (r<sup>o</sup> I–VII; v<sup>o</sup> V) et *memoranda* concernant la communauté de Deir el-Médina (v<sup>o</sup> I–IV et v<sup>o</sup> VI)

Date(s) mentionnée(s) :

An 6, Chémou 3, jour 23 (v<sup>o</sup> I, l. 1)

An 3, Akhet 3, jour 28 (v<sup>o</sup> II, l. 1)

An 6, Chémou 3, jour 16 (v<sup>o</sup> III, l. 1)

An 6, Chémou 3, jour 25 (v<sup>o</sup> IV, l. 1)

[An 6, ..., ...] (v<sup>o</sup> VI, l. 1)

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) :

Mntw-ms, hry md<sup>3</sup>y n p<sup>3</sup> hr (r<sup>o</sup> VII, l. 10)

H<sup>c</sup>-m-W<sup>3</sup>st, <sup>3</sup> (v<sup>o</sup> I, l. 4)

'Imn-ms, md<sup>3</sup>y (v<sup>o</sup> I, l. 4)

Nht-Sbk, md<sup>3</sup>y (v<sup>o</sup> I, l. 4)

H<sup>3</sup>d-nht, sš n pr-hd n t<sup>3</sup> hwt nswt-bit (Wsr-M<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> mry-'Imn) (v<sup>o</sup> I, l. 5)

P<sup>3</sup>-<hm>-ntr, sš (v<sup>o</sup> II, l. 2)

P<sup>3</sup>-nfr-m-ddt, sš n p<sup>3</sup> hr? (v<sup>o</sup> II, l. 4–5)

<sup>3</sup>b-*imntt*? (v<sup>o</sup> II, l. 6–7)

<sup>3</sup>-nht (v<sup>o</sup> III, l. 1)

D<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>y (v<sup>o</sup> III, l. 2)

P<sup>3</sup>-idhw (v<sup>o</sup> III, l. 2)

Mntw-p<sup>3</sup>-H<sup>c</sup>py (v<sup>o</sup> III, l. 2)

Nht-Sbk, sš (v<sup>o</sup> IV, l. 2)

Ipy, sš (v<sup>o</sup> VI, l. 3)

Lieu(x) mentionné(s)\* :

p<sup>3</sup> htm n p<sup>3</sup> hr (v<sup>o</sup> I, l. 3)

t<sup>3</sup> hwt nswt-bit (Wsr-M<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> mry-'Imn) (v<sup>o</sup> I, l. 5)

Remarques : papyrus probablement palimpseste

Datation : Ramsès III – Ramsès IV

Bibliographie : Deonna & Gielly (1938 : 3);  
 Massart (1957); Roccati (1982); Grandet  
 (2003 : 13); D'Andiran (2010 : 145–146);  
 Roccati (2011 : 128–131); Charron & Barbotin  
 (2016 : 202 no. 16, 261–263)

**Genre du document : texte juridique / oracle  
(O. Genève 12550)**

Lieu de conservation : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : 012550

Mode d'acquisition : ancienne collection É. Naville; don de sa famille en 1927

Provenance : probablement Thèbes

Support, matière, technique : éclat de calcaire, texte tracé à l'encre noire

Dimensions : 31 × 34,8 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (13 lignes); verso (3 lignes)

État de conservation : quelques passages effacés

Présentation rapide du contenu : compte rendu juridique / oracle à propos d'un litige sur une propriété foncière

Date(s) mentionnée(s) :

An 11, Akhet 3, jour 6 (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)

(An 11), Akhet 3, jour 9 (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 8)

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) :

*P<3>-n-t3-wr<t>*, *sš n p3 hr* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1; r<sup>o</sup>, l. 11)

*In-hr-h'w* A, alias *H'w?*, *rmṯ n ist* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1; r<sup>o</sup>, l. 7)

*In-hr-h'w* B, *rmṯ* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 2)

*K3-n-r* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 2)

*H3y*, *3 n ist* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 3; r<sup>o</sup>, l. 5; r<sup>o</sup>, l. 7)

*Q3h3* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 3; r<sup>o</sup>, l. 4)

*H'w* A, alias *In-hr-h'w?* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 4)

*Imn-m-ipt*, *rmṯ <n ist>* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 5; r<sup>o</sup>, l. 10)

*Mry-R'* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 6)

*H'w* B, alias *In-hr-h'w?* (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 7)

*Nfr-htp* A (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 9)

*Wn-nfr*, *sš* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)

*Nht-<m-Mwt>*, *<3> n <ist>* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)

*Ipwy*, *w'eb*, *<p3> hm-ntr* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 2)

*Nfr-htp* B, *w'eb* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 2)

[...], *w'eb* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 3)

[...], *w'eb* (v<sup>o</sup>, l. 3)

Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —

Remarques : —

Datation : Ramsès III

Bibliographie : Deonna (1928 : 7, 9); Allam (1969); Allam (1973 : 193–195, pl. 54–56); Černý (1973 : 296–297); Bierbrier (1980 : 100); KRI V 452,7–453,16; McDowell (1990 : 256–259)

**Genre du document : texte littéraire (O. Genève 12551)**

Lieu de conservation, institution : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève

Numéro(s) d'inventaire : 012551

Mode d'acquisition : ancienne collection É. Naville; don de sa famille en 1927

Provenance : inconnue

Support, matière, technique : éclat de calcaire, textes tracés à l'encre noire et rouge

Dimensions : 20 × 30,5 cm

Aspect matériel : recto (7 lignes); verso (7 lignes)

État de conservation : première ligne du recto effacée

Présentation rapide du contenu : *Satire des Métiers* (extraits; strophes I, II; III, début IV)

Date(s) mentionnée(s) :

Péret 2, jour 5 (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 3)

Péret 2, [...] (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 6)

Péret 3, jour 4 (v<sup>o</sup> l. 1)

Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : [*Ht*]i (r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1)

Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : *hnw* (« Résidence », r<sup>o</sup>, l. 2; r<sup>o</sup>, l. 6)

Remarques : —

Datation : époque ramesside, XIX<sup>e</sup> ou XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie

Bibliographie : Deonna (1928 : 7, 9); Maystre (1938); Helck (1970 : 12–35, ostracon no. 98); Castioni et al. (1977 : 32 no. 18); Jäger (2004 : 9, xli, I–XXI); Ghiringhelli (2022 : 243–245)



**Genre du document : étiquette de jarre ou texte littéraire? (O. Genève 18324)**

Lieu de conservation, institution : Musée d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève  
 Numéro(s) d'inventaire : 018324  
 Mode d'acquisition : don Edmond Fatio-Naville, 1944  
 Provenance : inconnue, sans doute Thèbes  
 Support, matière, technique : terre cuite, texte tracé à l'encre noire et rouge?  
 Dimensions : 10,7 × 10,4 cm  
 Aspect matériel : 3 lignes fragmentaires; une quatrième grattée?  
 État de conservation : tesson brisé; parties droite et gauche perdues  
 Présentation rapide du contenu : —  
 Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —  
 Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : [...], *Hr k3 nht* (l. 3)  
 Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —  
 Remarques : —  
 Datation : XIX<sup>e</sup> ou XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie  
 Bibliographie : Deonna (1945 : 2); Lefèvre (2022b : 246–247)

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**COLLECTION PARTICULIÈRE****Genre du document : texte littéraire (O. Genève coll. part.)**

Lieu de conservation : collection particulière, Cologny (Genève)  
 Numéro(s) d'inventaire : —  
 Mode d'acquisition : inconnu, avant 1980  
 Provenance : probablement Thèbes  
 Support, matière, technique : éclat de calcaire, texte tracé à l'encre noire  
 Dimensions : 22,5 × 12 cm  
 Aspect matériel : recto (11 lignes); verso (traces de traits peints)  
 État de conservation : ébréchures sur le bas; lignes inférieures partiellement effacées  
 Présentation rapide du contenu : *Enseignement loyaliste* (extrait : strophe III)  
 Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —  
 Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : —  
 Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —  
 Remarques : probablement palimpseste, sur un texte effacé  
 Datation : époque ramesside, XIX<sup>e</sup> ou XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie  
 Bibliographie : Chappaz (1982)

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# National Museums Scotland

## New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in Edinburgh

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### ABSTRACT

This contribution catalogues the 19 New Kingdom Hieratic inscriptions in the collections of National Museums Scotland (NMS). The collection is made up of 14 wooden labels, 1 pottery sherd, 1 travertine fragment, 1 fragment of papyrus letter, and 2 limestone ostraca. It provides an overview of the history of NMS and its formation from The Royal Scottish Museum, The University of Edinburgh's Natural History Museum, and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, detailing each collection's origin and development. The provenance and find spots of the hieratic material is also discussed focussing on the key donors: the pioneering Scottish archaeologist and antiquarian Alexander Henry Rhind (1833–1863), the Scottish surgeon Dr John Ivor Murray (1824–1903) and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt; describing the full histories of several objects for the first time. A full publication history for the texts follows, with their contents described. The inscriptions include a unique tomb warning from a Theban tomb and one of two attestations of the poem/hymn of the 'King upon his chariot'. A case study of 14 late 18th Dynasty wooden labels naming princesses is also presented. The labels were collected in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna during Rhind's excavations. The case study examines their archaeological context and compares them with examples of wooden name labels from other 18th Dynasty royal tombs, as well as several in historic private collections as a means of assessing their dating, usage, and previous identification as relics of post-robbery re-burials.

### 1. HISTORY OF NATIONAL MUSEUMS SCOTLAND

The ancient Egyptian collections of the National Museums Scotland have their origins in three, historically intertwined institutions: the University of Edinburgh, the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and the Royal Scottish Museum.

The Industrial Museum of Scotland was founded by an 1854 Act of Parliament, making it

the first UK national museum outside London.<sup>1</sup> It was renamed the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art in 1864 and opened in 1866 before the building's completion in 1875.<sup>2</sup> To reflect its national status, it was renamed the Royal Scottish Museum (RSM) in 1904.<sup>3</sup> During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Museum supported excavations conducted by the Egypt Exploration Fund/Society, Egyptian Research Account, the

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1 Lidchi (2016: ix).

2 Lidchi (2016: xiii).

3 Lidchi (2016: xiv); History see <https://www.nms.ac.uk/about-us/our-organisation/history/> (accessed 15.10.2021).



British School of Archaeology in Egypt and the University of Liverpool.<sup>4</sup> Objects were also purchased from excavators and from antiquities market vendors. The collection was heavily shaped by Cyril Aldred (1914–1991), who worked for the Museum 1937–1974, opening a new, permanent ancient Egyptian gallery in 1972.<sup>5</sup> He acquired many objects by purchase, donation, and transfer from other museums, these acquisitions generally reflected his art historical focus and did not include any New Kingdom hieratic material.<sup>6</sup>

The University of Edinburgh's Natural History Museum formed several distinct collections over its history, originating in natural history and medical specimens collected in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, many of which were later lost. The 19th century led to a re-development under the Regius Professor of Natural History, Robert Jameson (1774–1854), who collected vast numbers of specimens from individuals travelling the world as part of colonial governance.<sup>7</sup> Despite his successes, an 1852 request for treasury funds

to expand the galleries was rejected. Instead, it was agreed that a national collection would be founded with the circa 75,000 objects in the collection, being transferred to the Industrial Museum of Scotland in 1854.<sup>8</sup> An initially close connection between the Museum and University, typified by the West College Street bridge which connects the buildings, quickly soured. The University severed ties with the Museum in 1873 following disagreements over the administration of the collections.<sup>9</sup> Objects from the University collection in NMS are identified by their accession number prefix: A.UC.

Following its 1780 formation, fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland began donating objects for display.<sup>10</sup> Initially displayed in rented accommodation across Edinburgh, moving frequently,<sup>11</sup> the collections focused on Scottish material, with select comparative and ethnographic material.<sup>12</sup> Following years of financial difficulties and problems securing permanent accommodation, the Society agreed to make the collections 'National Property' in 1851,<sup>13</sup>

4 See [Potter] (2020: 76–100).

5 Bothmer et al. (1997: 3–5).

6 Stable et al. (2021).

7 Natural History Collections: The Royal Museum of the University (<http://www.nhc.ed.ac.uk/index.php?page=4.7>, accessed 15.10.2021).

8 Manley & Dodson (2010: 2–3); Natural History Collections: The Royal Museum of the University (<http://www.nhc.ed.ac.uk/index.php?page=4.7>, accessed 15.10.2021).

9 Swinney (1999); Natural History Collections: The Museum of Science and Art (<http://www.nhc.ed.ac.uk/index.php?page=4.8>, accessed 15.10.2021); Natural History Collections: The Third Natural History Collection (<http://www.nhc.ed.ac.uk/index.php?page=4.9>, accessed 15.10.2021).

10 Stevenson (1981a) and (1981b); Our History (<https://www.socantscot.org/about-us/our-history/>, accessed 15.10.2021).

11 The accommodation was as follows: a no longer standing Old Town house near St Giles' Cathedral; Chessel's Buildings; Gosford's Close/Lawn-market; Castle Hill; 42 George Street; The Royal Institution; 24 George Street; and The Royal Institution for a second stay following the completion of the National Gallery of Scotland for the Royal Scottish Academy. Stevenson (1981a).

12 Stevenson (1981a: 43–44, 69) reports that the first Egyptian objects entered the collection c. 1827–1831. Wilson (1849: 118–123) provides a list of sixty-eight Egyptian objects in Case XX. Ethnographic material was generally treated as an extension of natural history.

13 This transaction was conducted through a Deed of Conveyance signed with the Board of Manufactures on behalf of Parliament. This ensured that the collections would be preserved and displayed in proper accommodation, paid for by the government rather than the Society. Stevenson (1981a: 80–81); Lidchi (2016: xii).

becoming the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (NMAS) when it reopened in 1859.<sup>14</sup> This agreement ensured that, though still under the control of the Society, the museum would be housed and financed by the government. The early Egyptian collections were greatly enhanced by the donations of Alexander Henry Rhind (1833–1863), who was integral in organising their display, typological arrangement and contextual interpretation, which made them a focal point of the galleries.<sup>15</sup> From 1891, the museum was housed with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in a purpose-built Gothic revival building on Queen Street, until NMAS was amalgamated with the RSM in 1985.<sup>16</sup> Several proposals were made to move part or all the NMAS collections to the Museum of Science and Art/RSM but were all rejected.<sup>17</sup> With a greater focus on Scottish history, a series of permanent loans of ‘art objects’ were made to the RSM which included circa 1000 Egyptian objects in 1939.<sup>18</sup> These objects were formally accessioned in 1956. The NMAS and the RSM merged in following the National Heritage (Scotland) Act 1985, establishing National Museums of Scotland (from 2006 known as National Museums Scotland).<sup>19</sup>

## 2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MATERIAL

### 2.1. The size of the collection

The NMS collection of New Kingdom hieratic material consists of: 1 papyrus, 2 limestone ostraca, 14 wooden labels, 1 pottery sherd and 1 travertine fragment.

### 2.2. Provenance

Sixteen objects inscribed with New Kingdom hieratic are associated with Alexander Henry Rhind (1833–1863) and his archaeological work in Luxor.<sup>20</sup> Often erroneously described as a lawyer, and even in one case as English,<sup>21</sup> A.H. Rhind was an antiquarian and archaeologist born in Wick, Caithness, northern Scotland and educated at the University of Edinburgh. Following his studies, influenced by developments in Scandinavian archaeology and its application to Scottish prehistory, he conducted systematic excavations near his home in Wick, resulting in his election to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, aged 19.<sup>22</sup> In 1853, he supervised the excavation of an Iron Age brooch at Kettleburn, donating all the finds to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.<sup>23</sup> Advancing pulmonary disease prompted him to seek warmer climates,<sup>24</sup> eventually making his way to Egypt. He

<sup>14</sup> The official address was Museum of Antiquities, but the longer name was in persistent use by 1860, Stevenson (1981b: 143). It was also alternatively known as the National Museum of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

<sup>15</sup> Stevenson (1981b: 147); Irving & Maitland (2015: 94–95).

<sup>16</sup> Our History (<https://www.socantscot.org/about-us/our-history/>, accessed 15.10.2021).

<sup>17</sup> Stevenson (1981b: 156, 182, 188). In 1875 the Royal Society of Edinburgh proposed to move the whole NMAS collection to the Museum of Science and Art; in 1906 the RSM Director, James Johnston Dobbie (1852–1924) proposed to loan or transfer Egyptian and Assyrian objects to the RSM; in 1919 a new proposal was made to transfer all foreign objects to RSM.

<sup>18</sup> Stevenson (1981b: 194); Lidchi (2016: xv).

<sup>19</sup> National Heritage (Scotland) Act 1985 (<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1985/16/contents>, accessed 15.10.2021).

<sup>20</sup> Irving & Maitland (2015); Gilmour (2015); Bierbrier (2019: 391–392).

<sup>21</sup> Bouvier (2009: 59).

<sup>22</sup> Stuart (1864: 2).

<sup>23</sup> Rhind (1851–1854) and Rhind (1853).

<sup>24</sup> Gilmour (2015: 430–431).

applied a similar systematic approach to Egyptian excavations, focusing on ‘closed finds’ and their proper recording.<sup>25</sup> His stated objective was to find an undisturbed tomb (preferably 18th–19th Dynasty), with ‘deposits...*in situ*’ from which the change in material culture over time could be studied.<sup>26</sup> In early 1857,<sup>27</sup> he and his team of Qurnawi excavators discovered a tomb in the lower slopes of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, which had been used and reused for over a thousand years before being sealed circa 9 BC. The ‘Rhind Tomb’, which has since been lost, was found following the exploration of a neighbouring T-shaped tomb.<sup>28</sup> The T-shaped tomb had been robbed in antiquity; from the debris of the tomb, 14 wooden labels inscribed in black ink naming 18th Dynasty princesses were recovered (fig. 1: A.1956.154–167, not shown to scale).<sup>29</sup> The labels are discussed in full in section 3.1.

A.H. Rhind also probably collected ostraca A.1956.319 (fig. 2) and A.1956.316 (fig. 3, r<sup>o</sup> on left, v<sup>o</sup> on right). The precise provenance of ostracon A.1956.319,<sup>30</sup> which preserves a section of the

hymn/poem ‘King upon his chariot’, is not known. As O. Turin S.9588 was found at Deir el-Medina during the excavations of E. Schiaparelli (1909–1912), it is likely, given their shared composition, that A.1956.319 also originated there.<sup>31</sup> A.H. Rhind (1862: 41, 165–166) records his activity around Deir el-Medina and Medinet Habu.<sup>32</sup> His work in this area is evidenced by a statue of an official presenting the statue of a young king which may have been found in the Khenu Chapel,<sup>33</sup> a ceramic ostrakon inscribed with work gang identity marks in red ink found ‘behind the temple’ in the village,<sup>34</sup> and several other objects.<sup>35</sup>

The find-spot of A.1956.316<sup>36</sup>, which features a warning to tomb visitors, is also unknown. Luxor seems probable as all the ostraca in the 1863 catalogue are listed as coming from Thebes.<sup>37</sup> It is probable that it was found in A.H. Rhind’s excavations, though he does not describe it, so it is also possible that it was a purchase. Given the size and shape of the 9.1 kg stone, it seems likely that it was originally part of a structure, possibly a low wall enabling the inscription to be read easily.<sup>38</sup>

25 Irving & Maitland (2015: 87–88).

26 National Museums Scotland Library, SAS.MS.UC60/28 quoted in Irving & Maitland (2015: 92).

27 National Museums Scotland Library, SAS.MS.500: 104–106 places this c. 3rd March 1857.

28 Maitland (2017: 38).

29 Rhind (1862: 84).

30 H. 219 × w. 106 × d. 30 mm.

31 Inferred by Manley (2008).

32 Rhind (1862: 41, 165–166).

33 A.1956.139: Maitland (2022: 171) Rhind noted that the statue was ‘Found in the course of excavations near Der el Medinet’, National Museums Scotland Library Special Collections, SAS.MS. UC60/17/3.

34 A.1956.242: [Society of Antiquaries of Scotland] (1863: 4), where it is described as ‘38. A Fragment of Pottery bearing a few rude hieroglyphics, like a learner’s work. From an excavation behind the Temple of Der-el-Medineh—Thebes.’

35 [Society of Antiquaries of Scotland] (1863: 3) includes ‘Vases found in a small Pit–tomb in the Valley of Der-el-Medineh.’ It is also possible that A.1956.98, a copper alloy chisel, was found in the area due to the inclusion of an incised *hq*’ sign on the wooden handle, common to 18th Dynasty Deir el-Medina. Pers Comm. M. Maitland, D. Potter and D. Soliman.

36 H. 245 × w. 173 × d. 150 mm.

37 [Society of Antiquaries of Scotland] (1863: 4).

38 Černý (1967: 50).

This structure was probably at the entrance to a tomb, as indicated in Face A, 1–2, through the use of *p<sup>3</sup>y r-st* ‘this tomb passage.’<sup>39</sup> S.I. Groll (1991: 145–146) has shown that a semantically strong *p<sup>3</sup>-A* construction such as *p<sup>3</sup>y r-st* can be understood as referring to the location the inscription was placed, thus implicating ‘here’.

Papyrus A.212.113.1<sup>40</sup> (fig. 4) was donated to the NMAS in January 1858 by the Scottish surgeon Dr John Ivor Murray (1824–1903)<sup>41</sup> with 4 other papyri and 17 other ancient Egyptian objects.<sup>42</sup> Known for his illustrious medical career in China, Japan, Hong Kong and as a military surgeon during the Crimean War, J.I. Murray was in Egypt and Sinai between 20 March and 10 June 1854, the details of which are preserved in his journal.<sup>43</sup> Murray was introduced by the unofficial French consul, Victor Gustave Maunier (1819–1847),<sup>44</sup> to a ‘Copt curiosity merchant’ operating from a shop which had to be entered by crawling inside on all fours, where he made several purchases including ‘some much damaged papyri.’<sup>45</sup> It is probable that the papyri purchased were A.212.113.1–5, though this is uncertain. The dealer was likely Todros Bolos (fl. 1856–1898), a Consular Agent for Prussia and prominent dealer, whose hidden stores were also described by A.H. Rhind (1862:

248, 253).<sup>46</sup> A.212.113.1–5 were unrolled at a meeting of the Society of Biblical Archaeology on 4 November 1884 by Samuel Birch (1813–1885) and John Rylands (1801–1888), before being framed, glazed, and traced.<sup>47</sup> It was necessary to re-number the Murray papyri circa 1966 due to repeated confusion over their attribution; the smallest fragment of papyrus—the letter fragment—became A.212.113.1 even though it had previously been accessioned as A.212.113.3.<sup>48</sup>

The jar label preserved as ceramic sherd A.1921.1499 (fig. 5) and the travertine fragment from the body of a vessel A.1921.1480 were excavated in the large, multi-chambered tomb 474 at Gurob, along with jewellery, amulets, an ivory Bes inlay, and a scaraboid inscribed for Thutmose III, amongst other items, by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt.<sup>49</sup> It was distributed to the RSM as part of a group of 211 objects from the excavations at Gurob, Lahun and Sedment (A.1921.1460–1671). The sherd preserves the black ink label [*irp*] *nf[r n] hrw 6 m pr n mn-hprw-r<sup>c</sup>* ‘[Wine of] good [quality of] day 6 of the estate of Thutmose IV.’<sup>50</sup> The travertine fragment is inscribed *t<sup>3</sup> m<sup>h</sup>t* ‘the tomb’ in now blurred black ink.<sup>51</sup>

39 Černý (1967: 48–49).

40 H. 61 × w. 55 mm.

41 [British Medical Journal] (1903: 339–340); Waterson and Macmillan Shearer (2006: 682).

42 Papyri: Roman period abbreviated Books of Breathing of Pamonthes–aa A.212.113.4 and an un-named woman A.212.113.5: Coenen (2004: 105–112). *Book of the Dead* of the God’s Father Paiistjenef, A.212.113.2 and A.212.113.3: Reymond (1972: 125–132).

43 Journal of John Ivor Murray, army surgeon (1824–1903): National Library of Scotland, NLS MS.9843.

44 Weems (2019).

45 NLS MS.9843, 59.

46 Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 25, 248–250, 268).

47 Birch (1884–1885: 79–89).

48 Reymond (1972: 125–132).

49 Brunton & Engelbach (1927: 15–16, pl. xx, xxviii, l).

50 H. 85 × w. 59 mm.

51 H. 93 × w. 89 × d. 24 mm.





Fig. 1. A.1956.154-167





Fig. 2. A.1956.319

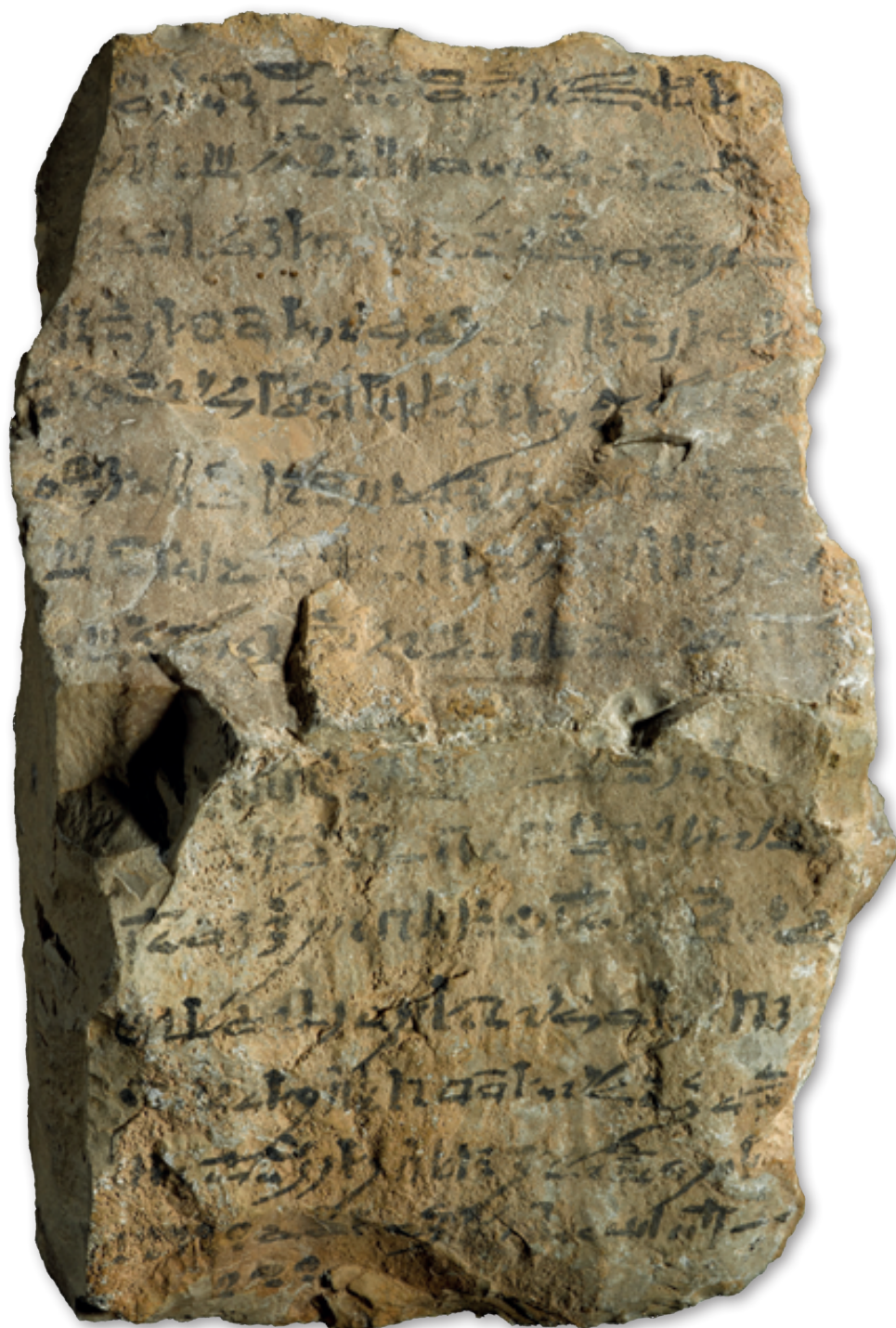


Fig. 3. A.1956.316





Fig. 4. A.212.113.1



Fig. 5. A.1921.1499

### 2.3. Genres represented within the collection

Labels: A.1956.154, A.1956.155, A.1956.156, A.1956.157, A.1956.158, A.1956.159, A.1956.160, A.1956.161, A.1956.162, A.1956.163, A.1956.164, A.1956.165, A.1956.166, A.1956.167, A.1921.1499, A.1921.1480

Literary/Historical Fiction: A.1956.319<sup>52</sup>

Miscellaneous: A.1956.316

Letter: A.212.113.1

### 2.4. Publication of material

A.212.113.1, letter fragment: Unpublished and not included in other publications of the J.I. Murray papyri.<sup>53</sup>

A.1956.316, a warning to tomb visitors: Full edition by J. Černý (1967). Transcriptions made by A.H. Gardiner and T.E. Peet.<sup>54</sup> A.H. Gardiner and J. Černý (1967) state that this ostrakon had previously held the museum number 912, however, M. Murray (1899: 514) describes ‘912’ as a ‘Limestone ostrakon, inscribed with fifteen lines of Coptic.’ It seems more likely that ostrakon A.1956.316 is to be identified with 917 ‘Ostrakon, inscribed with sixteen lines of hieratic.’<sup>55</sup> Highlighted by recent NMS exhibitions.<sup>56</sup>

A.1956.319, Poem/Hymn of the ‘King upon his chariot’: Though the two inscriptions do not overlap in content, A.1956.316 and O. Turin

S. 9588 (Formerly CGT 57365) represent two parts of a longer composition, meaning that their publication history is necessarily entwined. The NMS ostrakon, which can be identified as ‘916’ in M. Murray (1899: 514) was first published by A. Erman (1880), and the Turin ostrakon by J. Černý (1927). The two inscriptions were published and discussed together for the first time by W.R. Dawson and T.E. Peet (1933). The composition is formed around punning word–plays utilising chariot terminology, to describe the King and his actions against his foreign enemies. A.R. Schulman (1986a); (1986b), U. Hofmann (1989: 210–211) and R. Pietri (2017) discuss the technical terminology and loan words related to chariotry. Further translations of the NMS inscription have been published by A. Erman (1923: 348–349) and B. Manley (2008), who also discussed the author’s possible inspiration and intentions. B. Manley (2014) discussed the NMS ostrakon and the compositional method of the author, their linguistic knowledge, skill, and ability. C. Manassa (2013) discussed the composition as an element of historical fiction, exploring the mechanics of the puns, the representation of royal power, intertextualities with ‘The Capture of Joppa’, and possible settings for ancient performance. A bibliographic summary and translation of the NMS ostrakon was published by L. Popko (2012) for the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. Transcriptions by A.H. Gardiner and T.E. Peet are held in the Griffith Institute.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Poem/hymn known variously as ‘Poem on the King’s Chariot’, ‘The King of Egypt upon his Chariot’, ‘The Hymn to the King in His Chariot’, and ‘King upon his chariot’, Dawson & Peet (1933); Manley (2008); Manassa (2013).

<sup>53</sup> Birch (1884–1885: 79–89); Coenen (2004: 105–112).

<sup>54</sup> Gardiner 52.6–8; MSS.31.78.3–6. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute (<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4higaros.html>, accessed 15.10.2021). Peet 1.159. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute (<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hipee.html>, accessed 15.10.2021).

<sup>55</sup> Murray (1899: 514, 517–528). The same confusion between 912 and 917 is apparent in other NMS documents. From the description, it is probable that 912 should be identified as A.1956.321.

<sup>56</sup> Maitland (2017: 15); Potter (2017).

<sup>57</sup> Gardiner 52.1–5; MSS.31.79.3–8. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute (<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4higaros.html>, accessed 15.10.2021). Peet 1.156–8. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, (<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hipee.html>, accessed 15.10.2021).

A.1956.154–167, wooden labels: Circumstances of their discovery and the content of the inscriptions were first described by A.H. Rhind (1862: 83–87; 1863: 19–29) and published in facsimile by S. Birch (1863: 18, Pl.12). Included in several catalogues of the NMAS<sup>58</sup> including by M. Murray (1899: 450–463, 493, 519). Translated and discussed as comparators for other wooden labels and inscriptions by A. Wiedemann (1883: 123; 1895: 7–8), A. Erman (1893), W. Spiegelberg (1894: 66) and P. E. Newberry (1903: 359–360). W.M.F. Petrie (1894: 143–145) also discussed the labels in relation to 18th Dynasty chronology and royal personalities, publishing line drawings of A.1956.154 and A.1956.163. A. Dodson and J.J. Janssen (1989) republished the Rhind, Wiedemann and Amherst labels, providing a synthesis of these sources and a hypothesis for dating the group, expanded on by A. Dodson (1991). They have been further discussed by G. Bouvier (2009), P. Litherland (2018: 224, 402) and in a comprehensive study by F. Adrom (2021). Transcriptions of the labels made by J. Černý are now in the Griffith Institute.<sup>59</sup> Highlighted in recent NMS displays and exhibitions.<sup>60</sup> A discussion of the labels and their context is presented in section 3.1.

A.1921.1499, label on sherd and A.1921.1480, travertine fragment: Published in the excavation report by G. Brunton and R. Engelbach (1927: 15–16, pl. xxviii).

### 3. CASE STUDY: THE RHIND LABELS

The fourteen labels are not uniform, each showing the markers of quick manufacture such as unfinished, uneven drill holes and saw marks. They are stela-shaped, with two having more angled shoulders (A.1956.160, A.1956.167). The un-treated wood was written on directly with black ink. The inscriptions vary, with some simply providing the name of the individual, while others also include a brief list of associated staff.<sup>61</sup> The ten/eleven deceased princesses were either daughters or granddaughters of the king.<sup>62</sup>

Name	Accession Number	Dimensions (H×W×D mm)
<i>nbtī</i> <sup>3</sup>	A.1965.154	59×40×5
<i>ḥnwt-īwnw</i>	A.1955.155	78×49×7
<i>ḥnwt-īwnw</i>	A.1956.156	77×50×8
<i>pypwy t<sup>3</sup> šryt sp iwy</i> <sup>63</sup>	A.1956.157	73×53×9
<i>pth-mryt</i>	A.1956.158	76×54×9
<i>py-ihī</i> <sup>3</sup>	A.1956.159	68×48×8
<i>sīt-ḥri</i>	A.1956.160	71×52×8
<i>pypwy t<sup>3</sup> šryt</i>	A.1956.161	73×50×7
<i>pypwy t<sup>3</sup> šryt sp iwy</i>	A.1956.162	85×50×9
<i>tī-<sup>3</sup></i>	A.1956.163	70×53×8
<i>py-ihī</i> <sup>3</sup>	A.1956.164	70×54×9
<i>wi<sup>3</sup>y</i>	A.1956.165	90×57×7
<i>tīt<sup>3</sup>w</i>	A.1956.166	75×28×9
<i>nfrw-īmn</i>	A.1956.167	65×50×8

<sup>58</sup> [Society of Antiquaries of Scotland] (1860: 4); (1863: 4).

<sup>59</sup> Černý NB 17.57, 5–7 (<https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/notebook-cerny-mss-17-57>, accessed 15.10.2021).

<sup>60</sup> ‘The Tomb: Ancient Egyptian Burial’ 2017: Maitland (2017: 38–39), and NMS Touring Exhibition ‘Discovering Ancient Egypt’ 2019–2021.

<sup>61</sup> For a comparison of the formulae used in the Rhind, KV 40, KV 64 and WB1 labels see Adrom (2021: 54).

<sup>62</sup> Newberry (1903: 360); Spiegelberg (1894: 66). Regarding the epithets *m<sup>3</sup>-ḥrw* and *šsr* see Adrom (2021: 53).

<sup>63</sup> Bouvier (2009: 63); Adrom (2021: 55, fn. 281) and Bickel (2021: 33) suggest that there may be two individuals named *Pypwy*, one nicknamed *t<sup>3</sup> šryt* and another who was ‘Die sehr kleine (Tochter) der Iwy’, indicated by *šryt sp*. This is reflected within the table.



Two other objects were recovered from the tomb: A.1956.168, a clay seal matrix on strips of linen naming *nb-m<sup>s</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> mry dh<sup>t</sup>y inpw* comparable to Malkata seals,<sup>64</sup> and a stone bearing an inscription in the same style as the labels, now lost.<sup>65</sup>

From A.H. Rhind's publications and notebooks, we can reconstruct the currently unlocated Rhind Princesses' Tomb (RPT) where these objects were found.<sup>66</sup> It is a T-shaped tomb with an undecorated six pillared hall (circa 40×50 feet) and a sloped passage leading to the burial chamber in one corner. The courtyard of the RPT was apparently extended later to add the so-called 'Rhind Tomb.'<sup>67</sup> The RPT was sealed in two locations: the main entrance was sealed with a plastered mud-brick wall impressed with rows of seals of 'Amunoph III', a hole breaking through it around 2 feet from the floor.<sup>68</sup> A second wall with stamps of the necropolis seal, showing of a jackal over nine captives, sealed the burial chamber.<sup>69</sup> No images of these seals were published, meaning the Amenhotep III identification has been characterised as a mistaken identification.<sup>70</sup> However, A.H. Rhind's notebook includes a sketched cartouche with *nb-m<sup>s</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>* followed by an animal attacking a downed enemy and with further signs.<sup>71</sup> When collated with the Malkata-type seals, the A.1956.168, *nb-m<sup>s</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> mry dh<sup>t</sup>y inpw*, makes the connection to Amenhotep III more apparent.<sup>72</sup>

The breach of both walls left an unsurprising scene: 'The floors were strewn with bones, torn bandages, fragments but these not numerous—of mummy boxes, and (in the lower chamber) with mummies themselves, their wrappings ripped up along the throat and breast.' 'A careful search' that A.H. Rhind 'caused to be made' by his team resulted in the fourteen wooden labels, seal and stone. The nature of the tomb and its contents led A.H. Rhind to conclude that the royal names in the inscriptions did not indicate the presence of any royalty, but instead the burials of 'slaves or attendants of the palace.'<sup>73</sup> However, considering the similar excavations of KV 40, one can readily imagine a tomb utilised for members of the royal family which had been the target of thieves.<sup>74</sup>

A.H. Rhind did not identify the find-spots of any of the RPT objects, noting only the position where the bodies were 'chiefly deposited.'<sup>75</sup> This was characteristic of his approach in Egypt, where his focus on intact tombs meant that he did not plan those which had been robbed. The RPT was a 'comparative failure' and a 'disappointment',<sup>76</sup> as it did not assist with his research aims in his eyes. P. Litherland (2018: 402) has suggested that the burials of RPT were reburials, due to the lack of canopic jars, but if the search of the spaces was superficial and the spaces were as disordered as KV 40, canopic jars may have been heavily

64 Dodson & Janssen (1989: 126).

65 Published by Birch (1863: pl.12); Dodson & Janssen (1989: 132). Present in [Society of Antiquaries of Scotland] (1863: 4) as '24. A Flint, similarly inscribed. From the same Tomb—Thebes,' although no longer included in Murray (1899).

66 Rhind (1862: 83–87); Rhind (1863: 21); National Museums Scotland Library, SAS.MS.500: 104–106; Maitland (2017: 38).

67 In NMS, SAS.MS.500: 106, Rhind numbers RPT as '1' and the now eponymous tomb as '2'. Plan: Maitland (2017: 38).

68 Rhind (1892: 83); NMS, SAS.MS.500: 104.

69 Rhind (1862: 83–84). Goedicke (1993) states that the earliest known necropolis seal dates from the reign of Thutmose IV.

70 For example: Dodson & Janssen (1989: 135).

71 Rhind (1862: 83); National Museums Scotland Library, SAS.MS.500: 104. A.1956.168 has been confused in PM I/2, 671 as the door seal, and is addressed by Dodson & Janssen (1989: 126).

72 Dodson & Janssen (1989: 126, pl. XI).

73 Rhind (1862: 87).

74 Bickel (2021: 25–28).

75 Rhind (1862: 84); National Museums Scotland Library, SAS.MS.500: 104.

76 Rhind (1862: 87).

fragmented or hard to locate.<sup>77</sup> The search was not exhaustive, indeed, it is likely that a fine gilded and inlaid wooden box inscribed for Amenhotep II A.1956.113 was found within the tomb, but went unmentioned.<sup>78</sup> A. Dodson and J.J. Janssen (1989: 127, fn. 22) also suggest that following the 1857 work, the tomb was re-entered, leading to the Wiedemann and Amherst labels entering the market. Such a re-entry or other exploration might also account for several canopic fragments sharing filiation and names,<sup>79</sup> and additional fragments of the box A.1956.113 acquired by NMS in 2016.<sup>80</sup>

When first published, the labels were described as mummy labels or ‘tesserae’ with A.H. Rhind stating that their purpose was to be attached to a body.<sup>81</sup> This interpretation was influenced by the mummy labels he purchased in Luxor, but also possibly by his collaborator, S. Birch.<sup>82</sup> Their attachment to bodies was certainly an inference rather than evidentially based. Their identification as mummy labels influenced the interpretation of other labels,<sup>83</sup> and led J. Quaegebeur (1978: 241) to describe them as ‘distant precursor(s)’ of later mummy labels. Finds of wooden labels in the tombs of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun support a proposal first put forth by W. Spiegelberg (1894: 66), suggesting that the labels could have been tied to objects instead.<sup>84</sup> This interpretation is supported not only by the duplication of names, unnecessary for bodies, but also the inscribed

stone,<sup>85</sup> and by the survival of a length of linen tape associated with A.1956.162, comparable to a 23 cm length of twisted string found in KV 40.<sup>86</sup> G. Bouvier (2009) has stepped further away from the ‘mummy label’ description, preferring to call the objects ‘name tablets.’

Discussion of their dating initially focused on the reign of Thutmose III due to the inclusion of *mn-hpr-r* in several filiation statements,<sup>87</sup> until P. E. Newberry (1903: 359–360) proposed that this related the royal children to Thutmose IV, contrary to A. Erman’s (1893) previous 20th Dynasty proposal. As part of their reassessment of the group, A. Dodson and J.J. Janssen (1989) suggested that ‘Year 27, Peret 4, Day 11’ (1) *rnpt-sp 27 3bd 4 prt (2) sw 11* of A.1965.154 r° 1–2 referred to a 21st Dynasty reburial under Psusennes I. This hypothesis linked the *mn-hpr-r* of several labels to the High-Priest of Amun, Menkheperre and suggested palaeographic similarities to TT 320 reburial docket.<sup>88</sup> A 21st Dynasty dating was reiterated by A. Dodson (1991), excluding Ramesses XI as a candidate for ‘Year 27’ due to the use of the *whm-mswt* style by that year. The reburial hypothesis has also been repeated by U. Verhoeven (2001: 10, 110) and P. Litherland (2018: 402).

G. Bouvier (2009) has challenged the reburial hypothesis, drawing on comparative 18th Dynasty labels from the tombs of Tutankhamun (KV 62),

77 For the KV 40 canopic equipment: Münch (2021).

78 Dodson & Janssen (1989: 126).

79 Legrain (1903: 138).

80 V.2016.43: Maitland (2017: 42).

81 Rhind (1862: 83–87; 1863: 21).

82 Rhind (1862: 83–87).

83 For example: Newberry (1903: 360).

84 Kondo (1990: 96–97); Černý (1965: 15, 27).

85 Dodson & Janssen (1989: 133).

86 Kat. 3–11—FN 321 in Adrom (2021: 58, 76–77).

87 Birch (1863: 18); Wiedemann (1883: 123–136).

88 Dodson & Janssen (1989: 134).

Amenhotep III (WV25) and Thutmose IV (KV 43),<sup>89</sup> which may also be supplemented by the KV 40 wooden labels and those found in Wadi Bairiya.<sup>90</sup> He suggests that the lack of contents listing in the labels from shared burials (RPT, KV 40 and WB1) is due to the need for the identification of owners, which would not be necessary in the kings' burials.<sup>91</sup> G. Bouvier proposes that 'year 27' of A.1956.154 is that of Amenhotep III, specifically referring to the date of Nebtia's funeral.<sup>92</sup> The hypothetical reburial team would instead be the household staff involved in the funeral.<sup>93</sup>

Thanks to a comparative corpus of 18th Dynasty labels, G. Bouvier (2009: 66) and F. Adrom (2021: 54) have also been able to clarify palaeographic matters, preferring a dating in the third decade of the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>94</sup>

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This interpretation is further supported by the seals of Amenhotep III discussed above, as well as a clearer understanding of the circumstances of A.H. Rhind's exploration of the tomb and by the finds in WB1 and KV 40. Given the shared names of household staff in several labels, it is apparent that the princesses died in a short period around year 27 of the reign of Amenhotep III, leading G. Bouvier (2009: 69) to propose a possible infectious illness. The tomb was clearly robbed, as other royal family tombs were, and it may be that the space was reused over time in the same manner as KV 40 and the 'Rhind Tomb' were. A future re-identification of the Rhind Princesses' Tomb in the lower reaches of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna may provide further information about this enigmatic burial.

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<sup>89</sup> Bouvier (2009: 66); Adrom (2021: 48, fn. 241).

<sup>90</sup> Adrom (2021); Litherland (2018: 223–225).

<sup>91</sup> Bouvier (2009: 66–67).

<sup>92</sup> Bouvier (2009: 65–66).

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<sup>94</sup> A. Dodson has also accepted this dating: Litherland (2018: 403, fn. 10).

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# New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in The Hunterian, University of Glasgow

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## ABSTRACT

The Hunterian Museum within the University of Glasgow is home to Rev. Colin Campbell's ostraca, collected in Thebes at the turn of the 20th century and most probably hailing from Deir el-Medina. This brief article provides a genre-based introduction to the collection and is complemented with new photography that offers the opportunity to supplement published readings. Case studies include a discussion of the materiality of a magical spell within the collection, and a publication of an unknown additional line on a duty roster.

## 1. HIERATIC MATERIALS WITHIN THE COLLECTION

The Hunterian's Egyptological collection within the University of Glasgow houses a variety of textual material ranging from Old Kingdom stelae to Ptolemaic Period papyri, much of which has not been widely published.<sup>1</sup> Some materials derive from the Glasgow Egypt Society's support of various archaeological missions, including the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, while others were donated by individual donors, notably Janet May Buchanan.

The majority of The Hunterian's textual material is in the hieroglyphic script, but there are a few examples of cursive scripts. Within the collection are some fragmentary examples of Books of the Dead, the majority of which are written in cursive hieroglyphs (e.g., GLAHM: D.1925.44). Two fragments are written in hieratic (GLAHM: D.65; GLAHM: D.42) and are likely to date to the Saite Period.<sup>2</sup> Only one of The Hunterian's shabti figures bears a hieratic inscription and dates to the 22nd Dynasty (GLAHM:D.1993.1).<sup>3</sup>

From the New Kingdom, the hieratic material is primarily comprised of ostraca, most probably

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1 The Egyptological material is described briefly in Robertson's general catalogue (1954). Michael Jones prepared several draft sections of a planned catalogue of Egyptological materials, including collections of textual material, but these were never published. Individual items have records within a museum database which can be searched: <http://collections.gla.ac.uk/>.

2 We are very grateful to Rita Lucarelli and especially to Foy Scalf for sharing their expertise on these papyri.

3 This shabti is almost identical in its inscription ('Chantress of Amun, Mistress of the House, Satmut') to another in Liverpool Museums (1963.188.38), which also bears a black ink hieratic inscription. A third shabti, also in Liverpool Museums (56.5.78) bears a shorter version of the black ink inscription, omitting the title 'Chantress of Amun'. One further shabti

from the Deir el-Medina area originally. These were collected by Rev. Colin Campbell (1848–1931) in Luxor over a period of eight years and were donated to the University by him shortly before his death. All examples are discussed below.

## 2. AN INTRODUCTION TO CAMPBELL'S OSTRACA IN THE HUNTERIAN

Rev. Campbell offered a share of his collection of Egyptian antiquities to the University of Glasgow in 1925, with additional material going to the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh and the McManus Art Gallery and Museum in Dundee.<sup>4</sup> In his letter to the University, he described the materials going to Glasgow as comprising several ostraca, fragments of the *Book of the Dead* and 'a few genuine *antikas*.'<sup>5</sup> Trained as a theologian, Campbell was interested in Egyptology throughout his life. He held the prestigious Gunning Lectureship in Egyptology at the University of Edinburgh from 1915 until 1919, and again between 1919–1921.<sup>6</sup> In addition to lecturing and working with collections like the scarab seals in the McManus Museum in Dundee,<sup>7</sup> Campbell also published one article (1906) and several books (1908, 1909a, 1909b, 1910a, 1910b, 1912).

Throughout his career as a minister at St. Mary's church in Dundee (1882–1904), Campbell suffered ill health and had sought out warmer climates as a remedy. His visits to Egypt became an annual winter event, especially once he officially retired from his ministry in 1904.

While in residence in Egypt, Campbell took the opportunity to produce facsimile paintings of Theban tomb scenes, alongside the photographs he included in his publications. He gifted his facsimile paintings to the University with the rest of his collection mentioned above. The copies he made of hieroglyphic inscriptions (for example, from scenes in the tombs of Menna – TT 69 and Pashedu – TT 3<sup>8</sup>) are produced with great accuracy and only exhibit the occasional minor error. It seems that he taught himself how to read hieroglyphs, and it is possible that he also learned to read hieratic, although no confirmation of this has so far come to light. He certainly spent time in the company of Egyptologists in Luxor: an article of his published in *The Scotsman* newspaper on February 17, 1906, describes an invitation from Édouard Naville to tour the site of his excavations at Deir el-Bahri on the day, fortuitously, when the latter's workmen discovered the famous Hathor shrine of Thutmose III.

If Campbell attempted a translation of his ostraca himself, it does not survive. Most of his ostraca bear pencil marks in a variety of colours which designate them with numbers in his own handwriting, so he certainly sorted them. He must, also, have discussed them with A.H. Gardiner, who mentioned his first and second views of the ostraca in his publication with J. Černý (1957: vii):

[...] the kindness of the late Rev. Dr. Colin Campbell (d. 1931) enabled me many years ago to study in London some twenty splendid specimens, all of which have now become the property of the Hunterian

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belonging to the same woman is in the Petrie Museum (LDUCE-UC34368). Again, it is flat backed, holding identical implements in its hands, with a black ink hieratic inscription. We are indebted to Ashley Cooke and especially to Glenn Janes for discussion of the shabti's date and parallels.

4 For an overview of C. Campbell's life and a discussion of his collection—in particular his Theban tomb facsimile paintings—see McDonald & Coupar (2012).

5 Archived letter in the University of Glasgow Special Collections, GB 247 MR 54/37.

6 Details of his lectures were published regularly in *The Scotsman* newspaper. They focused on historical and religious topics principally.

7 We are grateful to Christina Donald and Averil Anderson for sharing this information with us.

8 Judgement scene from the tomb of Menna (TT 69): Glasgow D.1925.42; scene from the tomb of Pashedu (TT 3): D.1925.42.10.

Museum of Glasgow University, whose Director, Miss Anne S. Robertson, has been good enough to send a few to Oxford to be copied and revised by Černý; for one reason and another only seven are represented in the present volume, the remainder being reserved for its successor.

Although two of Campbell's hieratic ostraca bear a note of 'Medinet Habu' (D.1925.87 and D.1925.91), the exact findspots of the rest of his ostraca are not recorded. In all likelihood, they were purchased from dealers over the eight or so winters he spent in Luxor.<sup>9</sup> Campbell was able to distinguish hieratic from demotic inscriptions amongst his collection but dated all of his ostraca to the Ramesside Period and did not recognise that one of his ostraca actually dated to the Ptolemaic Period (D.1925.91). His jotted numbers are often on thicknesses so as not to interfere with texts, but occasionally he used the recto (D.1925.85) or verso (e.g., D.1925.66) or both (D.1925.70) to make his note. In the case of D.1925.80, the orientation of his noted number might indicate that he misunderstood the reading direction; this ostrakon bears a number of workmen's marks, so it is no wonder that it proved a challenge.

Campbell's collection of hieratic ostraca was published in 1993 by A.G. McDowell following several visits to Glasgow to study the ostraca in person. In addition to transcriptions and translations that she made herself, McDowell made use of notes and transcriptions, both published and unpublished, made by A.H. Gardiner and J. Černý.<sup>10</sup> Her translations are reliable, and her

notes are detailed, and they need no revision at this time. However, in one case discussed below, a further line that was not included in McDowell's publication has come to light. Additionally, we felt that it was appropriate to offer some additional remarks on material details of certain ostraca that were not recorded by McDowell. Finally, since McDowell simply published the ostraca sequentially according to Campbell's numbering, we offer as a supplement a brief overview of the texts by genre.

## 2.1. Genre

Twenty-six of Campbell's ostraca have texts that have been dated to the New Kingdom; the majority come from the 19th and especially the 20th Dynasty, with only one (D.1925.87) dated to the 18th Dynasty. In terms of content, they fall into several broad categories.

Most numerous are those ostraca listing exchanges of goods between workmen, of which there are nine examples.<sup>11</sup> In many cases, the names of both givers and receivers are extant and identifications with known persons from Deir el-Medina have been made by McDowell. One of these exchanges (D.1925.81) is couched in an unusual format almost like a testament and comes across as slightly defensive about some of the goods received. A further ostrakon, D.1925.83, is also focused on property (namely slaves), but takes the form of a letter. Two more letter-like documents are known, but both are probably literary in nature; one is the 18th Dynasty document mentioned above.<sup>12</sup>

9 According to A.H. Gardiner (1957: v), ostraca were readily purchased from dealers in Luxor: 'The foundation of my own collection goes back to my second visit to Egypt in 1907, when large and fine hieratic ostraca could be purchased from the Luxor dealers at 20 P.T. at about 4 shillings apiece, while good smaller ones were obtainable for 5 P.T. or less.' Campbell (1906: 156) is known to have 'happened upon' one fragment dating to the Amarna Period, but it is most likely that he obtained his ostraca from dealers as Gardiner did.

10 Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. XXXIX, XXXIXA, XL, XLA, XLII, XLIIA, XLV, XLVA, LVII, LVIIA, LXIII, LXIIIA, LXVI, LXVIA) included seven of Campbell's ostraca in their *Hieratic Ostraca*. They had planned to include thirteen more in the second volume, but this never appeared. See McDowell (1993: 1).

11 D.1925.66, D.1925.70–72, D.1925.74, D.1925.78, D.1925.81–82, D.1925.89.

12 D.1925.84, D.1925.87 (the latter is the only example of a text that has been dated to the 18th Dynasty).



Commodities are also mentioned in three ostraca that contain duty rosters. Two contain ‘funny signs.’<sup>13</sup> To be added to the group is D.1925.68, which contains a list of workmen who have been commissioned for other duties.

Campbell’s collection contains five ostraca with hymns, all to Amun-Re except for one short and fragmentary hymn to Hathor which A.G. McDowell (1993: 13) thought was too fragmentary to translate (D.1925.73); it is presented below among the case studies. To this small group of literary texts, a rather garbled collection of lines from *The Satire of the Trades* can be added (D.1925.77). A.G. McDowell (1993: 26–27, 30–31) suggested that D.1925.90 and D.1925.85 contain fragments of otherwise unknown literary compositions. The former might be an example of another model letter, like D.1925.84 mentioned above. Again, to be counted with this group is D.1925.86, which is exceptional amongst Campbell’s collection for containing a fragmentary sketch of a baboon on its verso. It seems likely, however, that Campbell purchased it for its recto, which contains a very clearly written titulary of Ramesses III.

## 2.2. Case Studies

### 2.2.1. Materiality matters: D.1925.79

The stand-out text amongst Campbell’s collection is D.1925.79, a squarish block of limestone which weighs c. 1.5 kg (fig. 1). Its text is further distinguished by being written on all sides of the block, including the top and bottom thicknesses, which means that to read it, one has to rotate it in one’s hands—which is no easy task considering the stone’s weight. The text itself is a magical incantation against a venomous snakebite. Perhaps the materiality of the medium contributed to its efficacy. It may have been placed on the body of the person it sought to cure so that they could feel the benefit. The final lines (fig. 1d) on the verso’s bottom thickness were not transliterated by



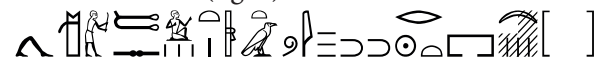
Fig. 1a–d. D.1925.79; photo by Sam Dyer  
(© University of Glasgow Photographic Unit)

<sup>13</sup> D.1925.67, D.1925.80. The third in this group is written conventionally: D.1925.76.

McDowell, but new photography has made several signs more visible.

### 2.2.2. Additional text: D.1925.76

It has been generally accepted that D.1925.76 joins with O. Ashmolean Museum 52, which is itself broken into two halves. McDowell's publication reunited the fragments and produced a continuous transcription and translation.<sup>14</sup> During photography, we discovered an additional line in faint black characters containing a date on the right side of the recto (fig. 2):<sup>15</sup>

  
 [...] Peret 3, day 23, when the crew ascended [...]

Peret 3, day 23 is cited on the main text of the recto on our Hunterian fragment (l. 6). Peret 3, day 24 starts halfway along l. 7. Our text could be an addendum, perhaps added as an inserted afterthought when the scribe realised he had left no space in the main text. There is a mistake further on in the text (l. 13: Peret 3, 20 written instead of Peret 3, 28), perhaps a further indication that the scribe was not paying full attention.



Fig. 2. D.1925.76 recto bottom thickness; photo by Sam Dyer  
 (© University of Glasgow Photographic Unit)

### 2.2.3. Extratextual markings

A.G. McDowell (1993: 32) noted that D.1925.92 had 'rows of short red and black lines' on its verso, which she suggested tentatively might be 'pen trials or cleaning.' Figure 3b shows these markings which occur alongside other more articulated forms which might be practice signs. Visible also on the verso is Campbell's pencilled number '21' and the double straight lines that appear on several of the ostraca.



Fig. 3a and b. D.1925.92, recto and verso; photo by Sam Dyer  
 (© University of Glasgow Photographic Unit)

14 A.G. McDowell (1993: 15–16, pl. XIV–XV).

15 We owe this reading to Robert J. Demarée and Matthias Müller.

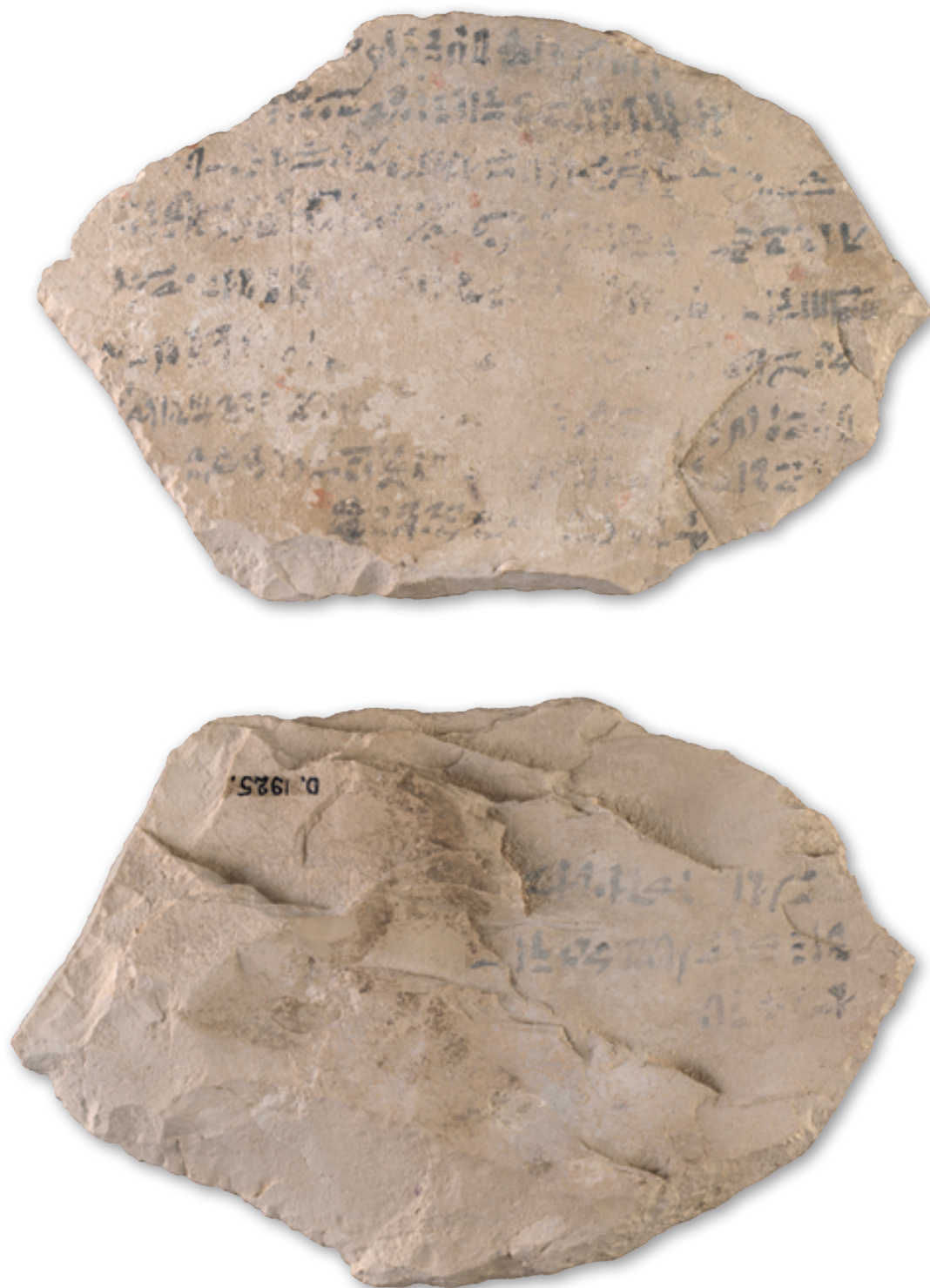


Fig. 4a and b. D.1925.73, recto and verso; photo by Sam Dyer (© University of Glasgow Photographic Unit)

2.2.4. *Unpublished hymn to Hathor:*  
D.1925.73

McDowell provided a transcription of the hymn on the recto, which mentions the goddess Hathor in its first line, but she did not translate it.<sup>16</sup> The text has suffered considerable surface abrasion, which has faded its signs unevenly across the recto, although verse points in red remain visible throughout most of the text (fig. 4a).

The three short half-lines on the verso are a different text, again not translated by McDowell. The scribe used the ostrakon only to its central point, to the left of which the surface of the stone was too uneven to be a good surface for writing. All three lines are also faded, but not to the same extent (fig. 4b). Most signs are visible, although several were read differently by Gardiner and McDowell.<sup>17</sup> They do not appear to be connected with the text on the recto.

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16 McDowell (1993: pl. XI). The note on the line drawing of the ostrakon on this plate indicates that the central area has been ‘rubbed off’, but this is due to the surface abrasion rather than a deliberate action done, for example, to re-use the ostrakon.

17 McDowell (1993: pl. XII). McDowell notes on pl. XIIa two places where she has offered a different reading from Gardiner’s, and further differing readings could be pointed to; for example, in l. 1 A.G. McDowell reads a *d* which may be an eye-sign.





# New Kingdom Hieratic Material at the British Museum

## Unedited Fragments from a Fake Papyrus Roll in the British Museum (P. BM EA 10720.6 and P. BM EA 10720.4)

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### ABSTRACT

The British Museum holds one of the most significant collections of written culture from Ancient Egypt and Sudan, including the famous Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, a large collection of *Book of the Dead* papyri and copies of the best-known pieces of ancient Egyptian literature and poetry. The collection has been the focus of numerous publications and national and international touring exhibitions, but only a minor part of it is on permanent display.

Addressing the requirements outlined in the call for papers, the current article focuses on the hieratic material from the New Kingdom—excluding the *Book of the Dead*. The amount of available material is still vast; hence this contribution can only present an overview of the larger contexts while occasionally highlighting individual objects. Specific dates and references to object publications have been kept to a minimum. Such metadata can be found through the British Museum’s online database: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>. Easy access to the relevant material discussed in this paper can be gained by searching for ‘hieratic’ as general keyword and subsequently specifying ‘New Kingdom’ in the field ‘Culture/period/dynasty’.

The case study presents several hieratic papyrus fragments (P. BM EA 10720.4 & 6) for the first time. They form part of a fake papyrus roll that entered the British Museum in 1935. The different fragments date from the New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period. Their content is difficult to determine, but most of them seem to contain religious or magical texts, except for P. BM EA 10720.6b, which reflects a very early fragmentary version of the Onomasticon of Amememope.

## 1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS [I. R.]

### 1.1. Acquisition history

Objects from Egypt have formed part of the British Museum collection since its foundation

in 1753. Papyri and ostraca were not part of the core holdings but entered the museum from the 1820s onwards. Henry Salt (1780–1827), then consul-general in Egypt, collected papyri<sup>1</sup> and ostraca<sup>2</sup>, which were later purchased by the British

1 E.g., P. BM EA 10190, EA 10326, EA 10417, EA 10055, EA 10341+EA 10118.5, EA 10401, EA 10375, EA 10430. The references to the individual frames are only provided when necessary to distinguish texts.

2 E.g., EA 5623, EA 5634, EA 5641, EA 5644.

Museum as part of his first and third collections, in 1821 and 1835.

William John Bankes (1786–1855) travelled in Egypt in 1815–1818 and is known to have collected papyri at Thebes on his second journey to Upper Egypt (1818). Bankes' always astute scrutiny led him to recognise that one of his papyri (EA 75025) was a palimpsest and he noted on it that this implied that 'papyrus was either not very abundant or not very cheap' (Usick 2005: 4). A substantial group of *Late Ramesside Letters* (also referred to as the 'Bankes papyri') were transferred to the British Museum for specialist care and storage by the National Trust in the 1950s and 1990s when they were identified among the papers of Bankes.<sup>3</sup> The latter batch of documents discovered in the library of Kingston Lacy, the stately home bequeathed to the National Trust by Walter Ralph Bankes (1853–1904) in 1981, entered the British Museum collection in 1996 (Edwards 1982: 126; Quirke 1996: 16–17; Demarée 2005: 1).

The largest and most famous papyrus series arrived at the British Museum in the early 1800s and throughout the middle of the 19th century when the Department of Antiquities was headed by Samuel Birch (1813–1885) (James 1981: 14–22). The acquisitions were attributed a modern title, referring to the name of the collector or collection, followed by a number or letter referring to the specific papyrus in that collection, e.g., P. Chester Beatty 8.

The Greek merchant Giovanni Anastasi (1780–1860) is particularly associated with a large number of important papyri now distributed between Leiden, London, and Paris. Serving as the Swedish-Norwegian Consul in Egypt between 1828 and 1857, Anastasi conducted a large trade in antiquities, buying objects directly from the inhabitants of Saqqara and Thebes. His second collection, including hundreds of papyrus fragments, was sold to the British Museum in September 1839 (Taylor 2009: 561–562). These included

more than 50 papyri, including the eight famous hieratic papyri from the New Kingdom that bear his name: P. Anastasi I–VIII (EA 10222, EA 10243–EA 10249). The British Museum acquired more objects from his collection at an auction in 1857, including two hieratic letters (EA 10101, EA 10104).<sup>4</sup>

The year 1857 was significant for the British Museum papyrus collection as also the P. Abbott (EA 10221) and the d'Orbiney papyrus (EA 10183) were acquired then. The Anastasi papyri were catalogued and enumerated together with the Sallier papyri, which had been acquired by the British Museum in the same year as the first Anastasi batch (1839). François Sallier (1764–1831) was a collector of Egyptian antiquities, and at the time of his death in 1831, had a small but excellent collection. The gems were the papyri consulted by Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) in Aix-en-Provence; most famously the hieratic documents known as Sallier I–IV (EA 10181–EA 10182, EA 10184–10485) dating to the New Kingdom.

In the winter of 1854–1855, many important papyri, including a batch relating to the Theban tomb-robberies, were disposed of by native and other dealers. A considerable part was bought by Anthony Charles Harris (1790–1869), a merchant based in Alexandria, including the New Kingdom masterpieces that are now known as the Great Harris Papyrus (EA 9999), the literary P. Harris 500 (EA 10060), the Harris Magical Papyrus (EA 10042), and some judicial documents dealing with tomb robberies (EA 10052–EA 10054). Some other papyri of the tomb-robbery series were purchased by Luigi Vassalli (1812–1887) on the same occasion, but sold to the British Museum in 1856 (EA 10068 and EA 10383). In the same year, another papyrus from the same find bearing the name of Vanbrugh was presented to the British Museum (EA 10403). Harris had left his property under the terms of his will to Ms. Selima Harris (c. 1827–1899), who agreed to sell her adoptive

<sup>3</sup> E.g., EA 10302+EA 75019, EA 75015–EA 75029, EA 75039.

<sup>4</sup> An early *Book of the Dead* (18th Dynasty) was also included in this group (EA 10281).

father's antiquities but only as an entire collection. In 1872, the Trustees of the British Museum agreed upon a price that satisfied the vendor and the whole collection was handed over to Birch (Dawson 1949: 164; Bierbrier 2019: 208).

During the years between the two World Wars, the papyrus collection received quite exceptional additions which extended its range in time and breadth (James 1981: 28). In 1930, a collection of literary, religious and medical texts from Thebes, including the remarkable *Dream Book*, was presented by Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968). In antiquity, this group of over forty papyri were gathered over more than a century by successive owners until it was deposited in a tomb-chapel. Many of the manuscripts, now named after their first modern owner, were scattered after their discovery. Most came to the British Museum (EA 10682–EA 10699), but others are in the Chester Beatty Library and Gallery in Dublin, the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo, and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

The museum continued to attract significant acquisitions of papyri, principally by individual purchases, gifts and bequests. For example, the two hieratic administrative texts from the New Kingdom EA 10333 and EA 10400 were purchased in 1841 after the collection of the English classical scholar and religious official Rev. Samuel Butler (1774–1839) was made available, EA 10731 and EA 10732 were donated by Mrs. Essie Winifred Newberry (1878–1953) in 1950, EA 10950 was purchased from Rev. T.S. Nevill in 1978, and EA 73666–EA 73668 were acquired from the heirs of Hugh Algernon Percy, 10th Duke of Northumberland (1914–1988) in 1991. The tradition of naming the papyri after the donor continued when desired, such as the Baldwin papyrus from Asyut, donated by the British lawyer Edward Thomas Baldwin (1846–1937) in 1882, or P. Lansing (EA 9994), purchased from the American missionary Rev. Dr. Gulian Lansing (1925–1892) in 1886.

Some papyri went through several hands before they ended up at the British Museum, such as the liturgical papyrus EA 10819. Originally in the possession of the Italian mathematician and collector Count Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869; Quirke 1993: 10), it was purchased from Mrs. L.D. Feldman (unknown), who sold papyri to the museum in 1969, with contribution from Sir Alan Henderson Gardiner (1879–1963; Černý 2001). Gardiner was instrumental in expanding the collection having donated some of his own papyri and ostraca to the museum in 1958<sup>5</sup>, but also bringing new potential acquisitions to the attention of the museum (Gardiner 1962: 48, 50–51). For example, the Chester Beatty papyri were presented to the British Museum by Gardiner.

The late 19th–early 20th century system of ‘partage’ whereby foreign missions were permitted to ship abroad a share of the finds made during their excavations (Stevenson 2015: 4), had little impact on the enlargement of the papyrus collection, but other hieratic material from the New Kingdom entered the museum in this way.

Many hundreds of ostraca or inscribed vessel fragments arrived at the museum via this route during the first half of the 20th century, as they were excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), later renamed the Egypt Exploration Society (EES). As many institutions, the British Museum paid a subscription to the EEF on the explicit understanding that it would receive objects from the Fund's excavations in return. After excavation, the finds were accrued to the EEF and subsequently distributed to the many institutions and individuals who had subscribed. A close link with the EEF was forged by Henry R.H. Hall (1873–1930), assistant and later Keeper at the British Museum, who joined the Fund's excavations at Deir el-Bahari in 1903. This secured the return in objects to the museum. Hieratic material acquired this way include the many inscribed jar fragments from Amarna, ostraca excavated by Petrie at the Ramesseum, and the wall fragments and ostraca

5 EA 10568, EA 10775–EA 10780.

from Deir el-Bahari. In 1891, further fragments of inscribed wine-jars from Amarna were purchased from George Willoughby Fraser (1889–1923), who was attached to the EES. Ostraca from Nubia were donated by the EES to the British Museum later, such as material from Buhen in 1958–1959, Sesebi in 1988, and Amara West as late as 2016. Several inscribed ostraca from Matmar were acquired in a more direct way in 1930, as the result of the British Museum's own excavations by Guy Brunton (1878–1948).

The acquisition approach more common for papyri, i.e., purchase or donation through dealers or private individuals, also applied to the acquisitions of some ostraca although on a smaller scale. To list just a few examples: the administrative text recording a dispute over a tomb (EA 5624) was purchased from Giovanni d'Athanasia (1798–1854) in 1837; four ostraca were bought from Robert James Hay (1799–1863) in 1868; a group of ostraca from Karnak were purchased from Sir Ernest A.T. Wallis Budge (1857–1934) in 1887, assistant-curator and later Keeper at the British Museum; a hieratic letter to the scribe Karu was donated by Thomas Garnet Henry James (1923–2009) in 1963 (EA 66587). A number of ostraca from Deir el-Medina came to the museum at the end of the 19th century through private donations.

Mohammed Mohassib (1843–1928) and William Talbot Ready (1857–1914) were two important dealers, who sold ostraca to the museum in the early 20th century. Mohassib was an Egyptian antiquities dealer from Luxor (Hagen & Ryholt 2016: 245). Active from the early 1880s, many important antiquities now in European collections passed through his business, although the items he traded included some notorious forgeries. He was extensively used as a source of

material by Budge. For example, many of the Deir el-Medina ostraca were purchased from him in 1912. Ready was employed by the British Museum as repairer and cleaner of antiquities, particularly in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department, until about 1884 after which he appears to have specialised as a dealer. His sales to the Museum begin in 1886, but the museum acquired about 22 New Kingdom ostraca from Thebes through him in 1907.<sup>6</sup> Scholars who worked in Thebes for extended periods of time, such as Norman de Garis Davies (1865–1941), would pick up inscribed ostraca. Their collections were often donated to the British Museum later as part of heritage-related agreements.

## 1.2. Cataloguing and conservation history

Following the system devised by Champollion for the Musée Charles X—later the Louvre—in 1826, many museum collections classified their objects by type, and assigned inventory numbers accordingly.<sup>7</sup> As a result, inventory numbers of papyri and ostraca often follow each other as large batches were catalogued together. Objects from a single acquisition were usually kept together, which is reflected in later revisions of inventory numbers.

All Egyptian papyri were kept in the Department of Manuscripts until 1840, when those in hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic scripts were transferred to the Department of Antiquities, the predecessor of the current Department of Egypt and Sudan. Samuel Birch had instituted a 'slip' catalogue in the late 1830s with numbers running to 10,000 (Usick 2009: 108). These included a large number of ostraca and other hieratic inscriptions, but there appears to have been some delay in incorporating papyri into that

<sup>6</sup> And a much larger number of demotic ostraca.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Birch who introduced a consistent system of inventory numbers for Egyptian objects in the British Museum in the mid-1830s (Usick 2009: 108) acknowledged his debt to Champollion's system in a note at the beginning of his 'Egyptian Room [Catalogue]': AES Ar.15.

numerical sequence.<sup>8</sup> Regarding papyri, Birch at first cited them by reference to their source; Salt, Anastasi, John Barker (1771–1849), d’Athnasi, with numbers relating specifically to those collectors or auction lot numbers. Some papyri from the Anastasi collection were numbered at purchase, but renumbered when studied or published in facsimile (Quirke 1993: 3). Birch was not a great collector, but he catalogued the collection in great detail.

The blue paper slips often mention whether the papyrus is glazed or placed ‘in a portfolio’; not all of them were mounted between sheets of glass then. The papyri became only firmly associated with catalogue numbers in the 1850s–1860s when they received the numbers 9900 to 10142 and 10181 to 10999. After that, the remaining 25% of papyrus fragments was registered more randomly among other objects, hence the numbers do not follow in large batches (with new numbers into the 76000s). These numbers, immediately following an ‘EA’ prefix (for ‘Egyptian Antiquities’), are known as the ‘big numbers’ and are used in publications by staff and external scholars.

The process of framing papyri can be traced back to 1887 when the Board of Trustees reports:

[...] deterioration being noticed in the papyri exhibited on the walls of the North West staircase, they had been taken down and many of them cut into lengths and mounted under glass for arrangement on shelves: two specimens of each sort being preserved for the use of students to be exhibited in the present Etruscan Room. Mr Renouf [then Keeper] recommended that the more important of the unpublished texts be reproduced by autotype.<sup>9</sup>

Consequently, shorter parts of papyrus rolls are now kept in individual frames; a sequential frame number follows the main number. For example, EA 9999,3 is the third frame (out of 79). This cataloguing system suits practical purposes, but does not reflect ‘ancient’ information as the frames do not correspond with the original sheets of a papyrus roll. The discrepancy is often forgotten, however, and ‘frames’ are mixed up with ‘sheets’, giving the false impression that the original roll consisted of an equal number of sheets.

Many museum collections now follow a system where the date of acquisition or registration is part of the number. In this case, the number yields useful information about the history of the collections. For example, the British Museum ‘composite registration number’ 1889,0511.7 means the object was registered in 1889 although it could have entered the museum earlier. This system is used throughout the British Museum, but the Department of Egypt and Sudan retained the older ‘big’ numbers as prime identifier of objects when revising the system. For example, ostrakon EA 26867 also has the registration number 1891,0716.66 referring to its acquisition year (1891). In publications, the objects would be referred to as EA 26867.<sup>10</sup>

Egyptological and papyrological publications, in particular text editions, frequently add ‘p’ for ‘papyrus’ in front of the catalogue number BM EA prefix, for example pBM EA 10071 or, shorter, pEA 10071. The same can sometimes be seen for ostraca; oEA 24563, although this is less common. As our entire collection is easily accessible online, we refrain from using this addition. Papyri and ostraca should be considered objects alongside other type categories, i.e., we do not add a letter ‘s’ to a number of a stela (in for example s1172).

8 This information was developed in discussion with John Taylor (spring 2022), who will publish his research on the history of inventory numbers.

9 Minutes of the meeting of the board of Trustees. Letter dated 10 December 1887.

10 The attribution of registration numbers has not been carried out consistently, however, and many papyri never received a date related number.



## 2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MATERIAL

### 2.1. Number of papyri, ostraca, and other hieratic material

The British Museum database yields 1432 objects from the New Kingdom that have been provided with a hieratic inscription. Anyone who has worked with museum databases will realise that this number is unreliable due to tricks and faults in search engines, inconsistencies, and potentially missing information.<sup>11</sup>

The largest group (785) consists of inscriptions and dipinto on sherds of pottery vessels and limestone flakes (ostraca). Shorter hieratic annotations on complete vessels, bowls and amphorae should be added to this group. Many are small fragments with only a few signs. The ostraca have been less well documented and researched than the papyri, but their preservation and cataloguing has been more straightforward.

The database yields 372 records for hieratic papyri from the New Kingdom—excluding *Book of the Dead*.<sup>12</sup> This number is not very representative, however, as individual papyrus frames appear as separate records even when they belong to a larger roll, and some frames contain several fragments that originally did not belong together but were grouped for other reasons. Too fragmentary or small, they may not have merited the usage of separate frames. Fragments that entered the museum around the same time or were acquired as part of the same batch were mounted together regardless of their content. Hence, the number of

hieratic papyri from the New Kingdom must be lower; probably around 120 (at least).

Several small boxes house numerous tiny fragments, which cannot be attributed with certainty. They are not all related to the same context or manuscript and acquisition details are unknown. Some of them were conserved and mounted between glass in 2013 maintaining the groupings as they appeared in the boxes. For example, EA 76450r includes fragments that yield New Kingdom hieratic, which has been identified by Stephen Quirke as ‘New Kingdom literary similar to Anastasi papyri in hand and condition (16/1/92).’ These fragments appear under one number. Until further research takes place and the exact content of those fragments and their potential link becomes clearer, they will appear with the same inventory number.<sup>13</sup> The collection also holds a few intact ancient papyrus rolls, in one case sealed with two oval clay seals (EA 36831).

Other examples of New Kingdom hieratic in the British Museum collection include inscriptions or dipinti on statuettes and shabtis, jar sealings, magical bricks, mummy labels and mummy wrappings, scribal palettes, stelae, writing boards, wall fragments, a stool, a sandal and a wooden headrest. These will not be discussed in more detail here but can be consulted on Collections Online.

### 2.2. Findspots<sup>14</sup>

The original findspot of many New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the British Museum is unclear; about half of the collection has no recorded

11 It was not possible to check all the information in the context of drafting this article.

12 Most of the *Book of the Dead* papyri in the British Museum collection are of later date or cannot be dated more precisely.

13 Until proper identification has taken place and fragments can be re-housed accordingly, potentially unrelated fragments in a single frame can be further distinguished by letters: ‘a’, ‘b’, ‘c’, etc. (This is the method used at the University of Michigan: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/tech/listdef.htm>). Colleague John Taylor is currently preparing a paper on the history of museum numbers. Some of these fragments relate to others that were bundled together in new rolls upon discovery (e.g., EA 76548). These modern ‘made-up’ rolls are kept as examples of the phenomenon common in the early 20th century to roll small, dispersed fragments into a fake bundle to increase their sale value.

14 ‘Findspot’ is more specific than ‘provenance’, which is also used for information on (more recent) acquisition.

origin within Egypt. Many of the manuscripts were bought by individuals rather than excavated, so their archaeological context is now lost. Those that have a recorded provenance mostly come from Thebes while a much smaller number of papyri is registered as coming from Memphis, Kom Medinet Ghurab, and Asyut. The largest groups of ostraca come from Thebes and Amarna, followed by Matmar, and a few individual pieces from Aswan, Elephantine, Abydos, and Armant. Ostraca from Nubia come from Buhen, Sesebi, and Amara West. When considering all hieratic material from the New Kingdom, more places in Egypt are represented.

The Theban material comes overwhelmingly from Deir el-Bahari, Deir el-Medina, and Karnak. Thebes was one of the sites most targeted by collectors and explorers during the 19th and 20th centuries. It was also a central place for antique dealers to set up shop, most of them in connection with consular agents. The centre of their operations was around Luxor temple and in or near hotels, such as the Winter Palace as well as at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Hagen & Ryholt 2016: 102–115). As archaeological context was often unclear, papyri and ostraca that were purchased in Thebes could theoretically have come from elsewhere. The Theban provenance of hieratic inscriptions that were discovered during excavations is more reliable. For example, wall fragments with graffiti and dipinti and more than a hundred ostraca from Deir el-Bahari were excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Despite the lack of clear context, large groups of papyri and ostraca have been attributed to a place by the appearance in the texts of well-known individuals, their handwriting, or other typological considerations. This is especially true for the Deir el-Medina material, and its ostraca, most of which have been attributed to this site by internal reference. The Chester Beatty papyri

IV, V and XVIII almost certainly belonged to the archive of Qenhershepsef and his extended family at Deir el-Medina (Pestman 1982: 155). The *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* have been thought to come from Thebes or Memphis (Hagen 2006: 93). We must remain cautious, however, in attributing texts to well-known sites because certain types of manuscripts have not been found elsewhere. For example, the authorship of the *Loyalist Instruction* of Kaires was only recently confirmed by a copy from the Asyut necropolis, a site that had hitherto not yielded a copy of this text.<sup>15</sup>



Fig. 1. Inscribed vessel fragment from Amarna, EA 59337.  
Amarna, 18th Dynasty, 1550–1295 BCE  
(© British Museum)

The largest group of inscribed pottery fragments come from Amarna (more than 400), for the most part hitherto unpublished (fig. 1). Archaeological excavations at Amarna began in 1891–1892 with William F. Petrie (1853–1942), proceeded in 1896

15 A New Kingdom copy is known from nearby Rifeh (UC 32781: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/rifeh/uc32781.html> [accessed 24.04.2022]); Verhoeven (2009: 87–98).

with Alessandro Barsanti (1858–1917), and in 1907–1914 with Ludwig Borchardt (1863–1938). Subsequently, new excavation seasons were funded by the EES from 1921 to 1936.

The letters, administrative and literary papyri from Kom Medinet Ghurab were excavated by W.M.F. Petrie between 1888 to 1890, hence their provenance is reliable (Hagen & Soliman 2018: 105–108). Most of the Ghurab papyri went to the Petrie Museum, but 18 fragments (EA 10775–EA 10780) were given to the British Museum by Gardiner and catalogued in 1958. The settlement context is unique; the best-preserved papyri from the pharaonic period were found in tombs or temples located in desert conditions.

A smaller part of another New Kingdom palace archive from Memphis was acquired in Egypt in the early 1890s by Lord Warkworth (EA 73666–EA 73668; Barns 1948). Other papyri from Memphis are the *Tale of the Two Brothers* (P. D’Orbiney, EA 10183), the records of a royal dockyard of Thutmose III (EA 10056,1–4), and P. Anastasi II (EA 10243).

P. Baldwin (EA 10061) seems to have been found at Asyut, probably in a tomb. The large roll was torn into two pieces by the modern looters before it was sold. One part was acquired by the British Museum in 1882, but it was only realised in 1994 that it is the bottom half of the (upper) part now in the Musée de Picardie in Amiens (P. Amiens; Janssen 2004).

### 2.3. Genres

By the New Kingdom, both writing and types of written texts proliferated; most genres are known by this period. Some of the best-known literary works date from the 19th and 20th Dynasties. The genres displayed are surprisingly varied: literary, dedicatory, educational, epistolary, funerary, legal, religious, magical, medical, mortuary, royal,

satire, administrative (including financial), and mathematical (Edwards et al. 1964: 86–111). The distinction between categories is not always easy to make as there is overlap between the genres, and different types of text can appear on the same object. Many papyri and ostraca have been reused, with traces of palimpsest hampering legibility.

#### 2.3.1. Literature and poetry

When Champollion discovered Pentaour’s poem recounting *The Battle of Qadesh* (EA 10181,1–11) and *The Teaching of King Amenemhat* (EA 10182,1) in the Sallier collection in 1828, he failed to recognise the literary character of the texts. He realised that the collection contained ‘non-funerary’ manuscripts, including ‘odes or litanies in praise of a pharaoh’ (Champollion 1868: 18; Sallier 1828), but for him the importance lay in their historical information. The *Teaching of King Amenemhat*, in which the dead king Amenemhat I describes to his son how he was murdered, was composed in Middle Egyptian, but the surviving versions date to the New Kingdom. Apart from the Sallier papyrus, other versions of this tale appear on ostraca.<sup>16</sup> Despite the focus on royal names and chronological interest, early engagement with these manuscripts encouraged reconsideration of ancient literature among Egyptologists, including poetry (Parkinson 2022). Over 200 copies of this text have now been found at sites all over Egypt, suggesting it was a standard component of the New Kingdom syllabus. Recently identified examples of the text on ostraca from Amara West in present-day northern Sudan present evidence for literary classics being copied and read outside Egypt.<sup>17</sup>

The *Tale of the Two Brothers* (and a flirtatious wife) on P. D’Orbiney (EA 10183) was the first text described as ‘literature’ by modern Egyptology (1852). The French Egyptologist Emmanuel de

<sup>16</sup> E.g., EA 5623; EA 5638; EA 43471; EA 57458; EA 57478; EA 57479; EA 65598; EA 66407; EA 85612, EA 85613.

<sup>17</sup> EA 85612–EA 85613; Parkinson & Spencer (2017).



Rougé (1811–1872) referred to Inene’s copy as ‘the first sample of Egyptian genius in a purely literary genre’, and ‘a work of pure imagination’ (de Rougé 1908: 303–319; Posener 1974: 1–5; Parkinson 2022). It has been variously interpreted as a fairy tale, a historical allegory, and a political satire, among others. New Kingdom versions of other masterpieces of Egyptian poetic literature, such as *The Tale of Sinuhe*, are attested on ostraca of the British Museum collection.<sup>18</sup>

Authorship was rarely attributed in pre-classical antiquity, but one of the texts from a private library at Deir el-Medina (EA 10684,5) commemorates eight ‘great’ authors of the past. These learned scribes foretold the future and their sublime writings caused them to be remembered:

Is there any here like Hordedef? Is there another like Imhotep? There have been none among our family like Neferti and Khety, their leader. Let me remind you the names of Ptahemdjedhuty and Khakheperreseneb. Is there another like Ptahhotep or Kaires? (Parkinson 1991: 149–150.)

Most of these scribes are known from other sources. The *Words of Khakheperreseneb* are preserved on a wooden writing-board from the early to mid-18th Dynasty, inscribed with ‘The collection of words, the gathering of verses, the seeking of utterances with heart-searching’ (EA 5645; fig. 2). The poem addresses the wickedness of men and the corruption of society. Further copies have



Fig. 2. Writing-board inscribed with the *Words of Khakheperreseneb*, EA 5645. Egypt, early to mid-18th Dynasty, 1550–1350 BCE  
(© British Museum)

18 E.g., EA 5632 and EA 5629. At the British Museum, the famous *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* is only preserved on a Middle Kingdom papyrus (EA 10274).

recently been identified on other writing boards (Hagen 2019: 177–208), showing that the text had been an established part of the literary canon.

The other scribes mentioned are well known from so-called Teachings or Instructions. These didactic works, mostly ascribed to famous sages, discuss general matters of life and moral principles in the form of short sayings and warnings. The *Teaching of Khety*, commonly known as the *Satire of Trades*, is the best represented example of the genre in the British Museum collection and appears on several ostraca<sup>19</sup> and papyri<sup>20</sup>. Some of the latter (EA 10775 and EA 10778) from Kom Medinet Ghurab also contain the *Teaching of Hordjedef*, a text dealing with the provision for the hereafter and the behaviour within the family, society, and household.<sup>21</sup> The related *Teaching of a Man for his Son* is further preserved on ostrakon EA 65934 and the leather roll EA 10258. The text deals with royal ideology, loyalty, and topics that are relevant for senior officials who still want to pursue a career at the court or in the judiciary. The *Instruction of Amennakht* is preserved on ostrakon EA 41541.

The Teachings vary in their tone and didactic emphasis, one of the most provocative being the *Loyalist Instruction* of Kaires (Posener 1976; Parkinson 1997: 235–245; Verhoeven 2009: 92). His Teaching, preserved on an ostrakon from Deir el-Medina (EA 5632), stresses Egyptian hierarchy and the dependence of the elite on their servants and subordinates: field-labourers should not be overworked lest they run away; a harsh master ultimately undermines his own prosperity. The ostrakon contains six faint lines of a duplicate text of the *Tale of Sinuhe* on the back.

Love poems provide similar intimate glimpses into ancient everyday life, as they are surprisingly

direct about love and romance. The love poems preserved on P. Harris (EA 10060) were probably sung, using the elements of the natural world—growing fruit, capturing birds, swimming in the Nile—as metaphors to talk about affection and desire. Similar evocations to nature can be found in hymns. The longest surviving *Hymn to the Inundation* is a literary composition believed to have been composed in Middle Egyptian, although surviving (rather corrupt) copies date from the New Kingdom.<sup>22</sup> The combination with miscellanies, magical texts and some jottings on the same papyrus rolls stresses the flexibility with which the ancient Egyptians archived their literature. P. Harris 500 also yields the well-known stories *The Doomed Prince* and *The Capture of Joppa*. The latter refers to the Palestinian campaign of Thutmoses III. After having failed to take Joppa by direct assault, his general Djehuty achieved victory by a manoeuvre of infiltrating the city by hiding two hundred soldiers in baskets. Literary works in the extensive Chester Beatty corpus include the *Tale of Truth and Falsehood* (P. Chester Beatty 2–3; EA 10682,1) and the *Scribal Controversy*, a satirical letter by Hori (P. Chester Beatty 17; EA 10697). The most complete version of this satirical letter survived on the P. Anastasi I (EA 10247), probably from Memphis. A copy of part of P. Anastasi I, 3 is attested on ostrakon EA 65603. The satirical letter employs sarcasm and irony in its attempt to improve the quality of the student's mind above the level of mere memorising facts, places, or terms of the natural world (Fischer-Elfert 1986: 290). It resembles compositions in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies dealing with the inattentive student and has been characterised as a self-mockery or learned joke (Parkinson 2022: 277).

19 E.g., EA 47896+EA 41650; EA 65943; EA 65597; EA 29550.

20 P. Anastasi 7, EA 10222,1–4; P. Chester Beatty 19, EA 10699,1–10; Sallier papyri, EA 10182; EA 10775 and EA 10778. J.F. Quack notes (pers. comm. 2013) that EA 10775e directly joins to P. Amherst XIV (Pierpont Morgan Library), which has rubrics.

21 For the relationship of this text with the *Teachings of a Man for his Son*, see the summary in Verhoeven (2020: 247–255).

22 E.g., P. Anastasi VII, EA 10222,5–6; the Sallier papyri II–III, EA 10182,11–14; P. Chester Beatty V, EA 10685,1–7.



Public structures were criticised and ridiculed in social satire in which the known world is turned upside-down or officials are mockingly portrayed as animals. As they have left little trace in the formal monumental record, it is difficult to grasp the original cultural context in which such concepts emerged. A literary praise (eulogy) in honour of Sety I at the Afterlife-tribunal on the recto of P. Northumberland Nr. III (EA 73667) is combined with a ‘secularised’ version (or parody) of the weighing of the heart ceremony (verso). Similar pessimism concerning the next life is reflected in the so-called *Song of the Harper* on P. Harris 500 (EA 10060), in which the ephemeral of life and a hedonistic attitude towards the present life is revealed.

The *Book of Kemit* is not of a strictly literary character, but it is often incorporated into the literary genre because of its wide distribution and usage as a school text in Deir el-Medina (Petersmarck 2012; Verhoeven 2020: 242). Seven attestations of the *Book of Kemit*, or model letters similar to it, appear on ostraca.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.3.2. *Miscellanies*

Many of the previously discussed text genres reappear in a corpus of texts known as the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (often referred to as LEM), typical of the 19th and 20th Dynasty (Gardiner 1937, xii–xxi). The manuscripts contain—as the English term indicates—a miscellaneous collection of didactic classical works such as the historical *Story of Apophis and Seqenenre* (P. Sallier I; EA 10185) combined with other types of texts such as hymns<sup>24</sup>, model letters<sup>25</sup>, magical texts<sup>26</sup> and administrative writings<sup>27</sup> or simple jottings.<sup>28</sup> The

diversity of texts preserved on one roll has been appreciated by modern scholars as can be seen in their cataloguing of the content of P. Anastasi V (EA 10244<sup>29</sup>): Reproaches to an idle and incompetent scribe (6.1–7.5); The sorry plight of the soldier in summertime (7.5–8.1); Advice to a youthful scribe (8.1–9.1); Prayer to Thoth for skill in writing (9.2–10.2); Be a scribe for the soldier’s lot is hard (10.3–11.1); Reprimand for failure to execute an order (11.2–11.6); Congratulations to a military officer upon promotion (11.7, 12.1–13.1); Letter about a bull (13.2–13.7); Letter about a bull (14.1–14.6); Good Wishes (14.7–15.5); The scribe is not taxed like the peasant (15.6–17.3); I too was once an idle scribe (17.3–18.5); Fetch the Medjai (18.6–19.2); Enquiries about two runaway slaves (19.2–20.6); A letter asking for news (20.6–21.8); A letter to a quarryman (21.8); A letter to a quarryman (22.1–22.6); I have sent thee to school, be industrious there (22.7–23.7); A letter concerning three stelae (23.7–23.8); A letter concerning three stelae (24.1–25.2); A letter of reproof (25.3–27.3); Complaint against excessive tax (27.3–27.7).

The compilations are usually copied by a single individual, probably as reference works or textual resources for fully trained scribes (Hagen 2006). The different texts may have had different functions, however, and no single function is applicable to all manuscripts. The distribution of the different compositions varies considerably from manuscript to manuscript. For example, most of P. Anastasi II (EA 10243,1–4) is taken up by hymns and praises while P. Sallier I (EA 10185) balances model letters, hymns, praises and wisdom sayings equally. Among the most popular pieces are variations on the theme of superiority

23 E.g., EA 5640–EA 5641, EA 21216, EA 21186, EA 21284, EA 29548, EA 65597.

24 E.g., P. Chester Beatty IV; EA 10684, and V; EA 10685.

25 E.g., P. Chester Beatty V; EA 10685.

26 E.g., P. Chester Beatty XVIII; EA 10698 and Papyrus EA 10085 + EA 10105.

27 E.g., P. Sallier IV; EA 10184; P. Anastasi III.

28 E.g., P. Anastasi VI; EA 10245,2.

29 Unpublished small fragments apparently from this manuscript are now EA 76453.

of the scribal profession, echoing the classical Middle Kingdom composition of the *Teaching of Khety*.<sup>30</sup> Letters with the well-known literary *topos* of the inattentive student<sup>31</sup> also appealed, perhaps especially to fully trained scribes (Hagen 2006: 87). A further unfinished example can be found on ostrakon EA 65945.

### 2.3.3. Administrative

The largest number of administrative texts concern accounts, deliveries and transportation of commodities,<sup>32</sup> perhaps for taxation purposes<sup>33</sup>, calculations of salaries or distribution of rations to the work-force,<sup>34</sup> and lists of personnel<sup>35</sup>. One part of the *Satirical Letter of Hori* (P. Chester Beatty XVII; EA 10697) concerns the problem of provisioning for a group of five thousand soldiers. EA 10401, for example, deals with types of commodities that are being collected as taxes from six temples in Upper Egypt, including gold, copper, textiles, fruits, millstones, cattle, and bread (Janssen 1991b: 79–94).

The pottery jar labels from Amarna identify the original content of the jar as meat, honey, oil, incense, and linen, followed by information on the year, the provenance/place of production of the commodity, and often the title and name of the supervisor of production. Such labels are important pieces of evidence for different aspects of commodity production, as well as valuable sources to reconstruct economic and social relations during the Amarna period. EA 57458 combines such administrative information with a version of the *Teaching of Amenemhat*.

The absence and presence of workmen is a topic particularly popular in Deir el-Medina.<sup>36</sup> One ostrakon (EA 5634) dated to the 40th year of the reign of Ramesses II contains a register of the names of some workmen engaged in work on the royal tomb, each name being followed by a note of the days on which the man was absent from work and the reason for his absence; among the reasons given are sickness, caring for another workman who was sick, brewing beer, and other domestic hindrances.

Many administrative texts relate to fleets, shipyards, or the movement of people and goods over the river.<sup>37</sup> The papyrus records of a royal dockyard of Thutmose III (EA 10056,1–4) shed light on a shipyard at a location called Perunefer, perhaps near Memphis (Bietak 2009a–b; Gundacker 2017). The text deals with the building and repair work on several ships in the Egyptian navy. A particular concern is tracking the movement of goods. The later P. Baldwin (EA 10061 + P. Amiens) relates to a fleet of ships and records the journey of 21 grain barges from the great temple of Amun-Re at Thebes (Janssen 2004). The handwriting is speedy with extremely abbreviated signs, and difficult to read. Many of the place names mentioned are obscure because the papyrus records information about a region otherwise little known from documents – Asyut.

Most of the papyri from Kom Medinet Ghurab contain regnal years in the headings securing a Ramesside date (c. 1250–1200 BCE). Some fragments show notations of where the king is, a common feature in many administrative documents relating to the royal court (Hagen

30 E.g., P. Lansing; EA 9994, 1–7.

31 E.g., P. Anastasi III, Sallier I, P. Lansing; EA 9994,7.

32 E.g., EA 5630, EA 50740, EA 65937. Ostrakon EA 50738 contains a list of workmen receiving lamps.

33 E.g., EA 10447; EA 10341+ EA 10118.5, EA 63510.

34 E.g., EA 5635, EA 50726, EA 50744, EA 50728, EA 66302, EA 50733, EA 66409, EA 50739, EA 50736, EA 73668.

35 EA 10341+EA 10118.5.

36 E.g., EA 50729, EA 50745, EA 50730.

37 E.g., EA 66412.

2016). The broad range of entries resembles that of daybooks from temple archives; accounts of deliveries received, goods distributed, and letters sent (Hagen & Soliman 2018: 106). The management of resources is a recurring theme, echoing that of other institutional archives.<sup>38</sup> Some papyri are simple lists of names, such as EA 10776–EA 10777 (Politi 2001: 107).

P. Chester Beatty I mentions the handing over of a box, perhaps containing administrative accounts, on two separate occasions (Donker van Heel & Haring 2003: 9–10). The records from Deir el-Medina also sporadically mention the arrival of actual (copies of) letters sent to the vizier.<sup>39</sup> Some texts touch upon royal matters: EA 50722 records the arrival of the vizier to announce the accession of Ramesses VI while EA 65944 yields an administrative text recording measurements of elements of a royal tomb, almost certainly that of Ramesses VI in the Valley of the Kings.

The Great Harris Papyrus (EA 9999,1–79) was originally one of the longest to survive from ancient Egypt; the full roll was forty-two metres long. The first three sections describe the donations made by King Ramesses III (1184–1153 BCE) to the gods and temples of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. The amounts were colossal: the list relating to Thebes alone includes 309,950 sacks of grain and large quantities of metals and semi-precious stones. The next section of the papyrus deals with several minor temples. The final section recounts the historical events of the reign and lists the possessions of all the great temples at the time of the king's death. The text presents the chaos at the beginning of the 20th Dynasty (about 1186–1069 BCE) including military battles with the Sea Peoples, Libyans and Meshwesh, and other foreign expeditions. This section is clearly idealised, glorifying the king rather than presenting a

trustworthy historical narrative. The account ends with the death of Ramesses III and the accession of his son Ramesses IV (1153–1147 BCE).

Inscribed papyri are occasionally re-used for administrative purposes, hence accounts appear in combination with literary pieces, such as EA 10246 or P. Chester Beatty XVI (EA 10696), or they are palimpsests, which makes them hard to read. For example, the few traces on EA 75039 are calculations of average arable land, hence sufficient to identify it as a tax assessment account (Demarée 2005: 28).

#### 2.3.4. *Business and legal*

Many business texts, especially those on ostraca, deal with individual transactions and matters which were purely ephemeral: a list of priced objects given by the workman Amenwa (EA 5636), quantities of water supplied by various carriers (EA 5638), payments for the construction of beds (EA 5644, EA 50737), a business text containing a list of articles taken to the prospective bride's(?) house by an unnamed man, who was rejected for a second time (EA 65936), a payment in kind given by the workman Paneb to the coppersmith Amenemwia for engraving on a cauldron and to another coppersmith for finishing the work (EA 65935). Such administrative records frequently shed valuable light on the economic and social conditions of their time. Some of them are written in letter form and overlap with the epistolary genre.<sup>40</sup>

The evidence for crime in ancient Egypt is diverse and can be found in royal decrees, administrative texts, such as court proceedings, and private writings (Müller-Wollermann 2015: 228–235). A special problem that occurred widely was the plundering of tombs, those of ordinary people as well as kings (Peet 1930). Looting royal tombs

38 E.g., EA 10777, EA 10779.

39 E.g., P. Chester Beatty III, EA 10683.

40 E.g., EA 50711, EA 63505. EA 65933 containing a letter to the vizier(?) by the foreman Hay, which is a record (*snnj*) of wooden objects to be made for a superior by the foreman Khonsu.

was punishable by death, but there seems to have been no such penalty for plundering private tombs. Several judicial documents deal with tomb robberies during the reigns of Ramesses IX and XI in the 20th Dynasty and testimonies of several tomb robbers (EA 10052–EA 10054, EA 10068, EA 10383, EA 10403). The Abbott papyrus (EA 10221) contains the official report on tomb-robbing in the reign of Ramesses IX (1142–1077 BCE). EA 10403 concerns the theft of the copper fittings from a portable chest belonging to Ramessesnakht, High Priest of Amun, during the late part of the reign of Ramesses XI. A porter and possible witness, Ahautinufer, was forced to give the names of all the men he had seen go into ‘this place and do damage to the fittings of this portable chest’. He suggested that Pentehetnakht, who allegedly knew about the affair, should be questioned, and added quite incidentally that the culprits were the same group who damaged the portable chest of Ramesses II and the *gs-pr* (probably also a chest) of Sety. Pentehetnakht was brought forward and described the attack in detail. Depositions were taken from the thieves in the temple by the scribe of the Necropolis Nesamenope, who is known from other similar cases.

In a legal proceeding, the plaintiff was required to bring the complaint against the defendant, who was then given the court order by a tribunal. The parties were not represented by lawyers but spoke for themselves and presented any relevant evidence. The writer of an ostrakon (EA 5631) mentions that he had been condemned to a term of forced labour for embezzlement, but his father had appealed to the king and had obtained his release. Ostrakon EA 65930 describes the trial and condemnation of the woman Heria accused of stealing a workman’s spike, and subsequent report to the vizier. P. Salt 124 (EA 10055) describes a series of charges by Amennakht to the vizier about the actions of a chief foreman Paneb.

Many disputes concerned matters of property or inheritance.<sup>41</sup> EA 10568 is an account of a session of the local *qnb.t*-council at the town of Kom Medinat Gurab dealing with a conflict between some individuals, who together inherited some slaves, and thus each owned a share in their work.

Disputes over property could also be settled by consulting an oracle. A 20th dynasty papyrus (EA 10335) narrates the oracular proceedings which led to the identification of a thief who had stolen five garments from a certain Amenemuia, a keeper of a storeroom. In a letter addressed to an oracle (EA 10950), the anonymous writer requires the god (or priest of the oracle) to decide in the matter of some garments for which he is unable to account to the vizier. Having failed to engage the god before, he now entrusts this letter with someone who would be admitted to the sanctuary.

The highest offices in the land, even kingship, were occasionally filled by oracular revelation. Ostrakon EA 5624, for example, describes how the deified king Amenhotep I decided over the ownership of a tomb in favour of a workman in the Theban necropolis named Amenemope. In another ostrakon (EA 5625), the occupation of a house at Thebes is disputed, and the same deity was asked to settle the case.

### 2.3.5. *Epistolary*

Of the numerous letters that survive from the New Kingdom, some of the most interesting are those from Deir el-Medina. The letters occasionally mention incidents in the lives of the members of this community which can be confirmed from other documents. The largest consistent corpus—23 papyri—concerns the *Late Ramesside Letters*, an extensive correspondence between well-known inhabitants of Thebes. A large number of letters are by and to Dhutmose and Butehamun and address day to day concerns such as household maintenance, farming instructions, and inquiries

41 E.g., EA 50734.



about work.<sup>42</sup> In one of the most beautiful letters, Butehamun expresses concerns about his father Tjaroy (i.e., Dhutmose), who is about to go on a long trip (EA 10284).

Butehamun reappears in the so-called Bankes papyri, an exceptional group of Late Ramesside Letters that include previously unknown letters by well-known Ramesside correspondents and the missing half of an already published letter (Janssen 1991a). Among the documents discovered in the early 1990s in the library of Kingston Lacy (EA 75015–EA 75018, EA 10302+EA 75019, EA 75020–EA 75025, EA 75039), several were immediately recognised as belonging to the private papers of a family of scribes attached to the Theban necropolis administration of the Late Ramesside Period. The topics covered are very diverse, from disputes about the handling of servants (EA 75015) and a plot of land in the Sobek temple complex at Gebelein (EA 75016) to a unique correspondence between female inhabitants of Deir el-Medina regarding assistance on agricultural matters and the manufacture of clothes (EA 75018).

A smaller private dossier is the correspondence on papyrus of Ahmose of Peniat, probably from Thebes. Ahmose worked during the mid-18th Dynasty and is known from other sources. In the four letters kept at the British Museum (EA 10102–EA 10104 and EA 10107)<sup>43</sup>, different people write him regarding domestic affairs: instructions about the construction of a house, the price for a bed and the order of wood (EA 10102; fig. 3), a maidservant (EA 10107), or just to say hello (EA 10103).



Fig. 3. Letter by Mentuhotep to the scribe Ahmose of Peniat with instructions about the construction of a house, including the height of the walls in cubits, EA 10102. Thebes, 18th Dynasty, 1550–1295 BCE (© British Museum)

<sup>42</sup> E.g., EA 10326, EA 10419, EA 10440, EA 10375, EA 10411.

<sup>43</sup> The remaining two are in the Louvre; P. Louvre 3230; for a detailed discussion of the entire group, see Glanville (1928: 294–312).



Other letters reveal individual communications between workmen (EA 10248, EA 50734) or priests (EA 5627), or are addressed to scribes (EA 66587) or the vizier (EA 50723, EA 65933). Some concern outstanding payments and relate to the genre of business texts.<sup>44</sup> The scribe Meh adds a request for a papyrus roll and ‘some good ink’ (EA 73666). Others combine such letters with literary pieces such as the *Prophecy of Neferti* (EA 5627). But many have not yet been identified in greater detail, partly because they are too fragmentary, or are under study.<sup>45</sup>

### 2.3.6. Religious

Apart from the *Book of the Dead*, New Kingdom religious literature in hieratic include liturgical texts and poetical compositions that are more intimate and resemble psalms of the Old Testament, e.g., a praise to Amun.<sup>46</sup> The principal ritual text of the extensive Chester Beatty corpus is for the daily cult of Amun and the dead king Amenhotep I (P. Chester Beatty IX; EA 10689,1–8). The text is combined with a book of invocations. Prayers to Amun are also found on ostraca<sup>47</sup> as is a hymn to a goddess (Seshat?) in her many different names (EA 41542).

One of the most important examples of this genre in the British Museum collection is the liturgical text of Paa (EA 10819), which must once have served the lector priest to perform his mortuary service (Assmann 2005: 152–153). The mortuary liturgy is shown here in the actual context in which it was used—on a papyrus—and not in its usual displaced position in coffin or tomb decoration. Many of the spells reappear on the

walls of Theban tombs (TT 29, TT 50, TT 100, and TT 353).

Other texts have been labelled ‘religious’ (or magical) without being able to identify the nature of the text, such as P. Chester Beatty 14 (EA 10694).<sup>48</sup>

### 2.3.7. Magical/medical

Since many ailments were thought to be caused by evil demons, magic was considered the most effective method of treatment; spells suitable for use in such cases were therefore interspersed with prescriptions of drugs and were intended to be recited while the drugs were being administered. The most elaborate medical/magical handbooks in the British Museum collection are the London Medical papyrus from the 18th Dynasty (EA 10059), the Chester Beatty Medical Papyrus (EA 10686), and further papyri in the Chester Beatty series from the 19th Dynasty.<sup>49</sup> Besides magical books such as the Harris Magical Papyrus (EA 10042), there are many collections of magical spells dedicated to specific diseases and other misfortunes. Incantations against snake bites and scorpions were particularly common.<sup>50</sup> Papyri of this kind could be dedicated to the protection of someone and should be kept close or worn as an amulet by its owner. For example, the amulet papyrus EA 10732 is written for the protection of Amennakhte, born of Tarekhânou, against the *sr*-inflammation (fever).

For the ancient Egyptians, every day of the year had significance and calendars were drawn up in which each day was specified as lucky or unlucky, good or bad. In Egypt, many days in the

<sup>44</sup> E.g., EA 50711, EA 63505, EA 65933.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., EA 5626, EA 14009, EA 10287 + EA 10418, EA 10069, EA 10779, EA 29551, EA 66300, EA 71507.

<sup>46</sup> E.g., P. Anastasi II, EA 10243; EA 10780.

<sup>47</sup> E.g., EA 50719, EA 50720, EA 14124.

<sup>48</sup> Pers. comm. S. Beck, who is studying this papyrus.

<sup>49</sup> EA 10690–EA 10693, EA 10695–EA 10696, EA 10698–EA 10689.

<sup>50</sup> E.g., EA 9997,1–2, EA 10085+EA 10105, EA 10309, EA 10687.

year were anniversaries of events in the mythological history of the gods and thus acquired a happy or unhappy reputation. The papyrus Sallier IV (EA 10184,6) is one of the most extensive calendars to survive from ancient Egypt. To designate a day as good or bad, the author of the papyrus labels it as *nfr* 'good' in black ink or '*ḥ*' 'bad' in red ink (underlined in the example below). In EA 10184,6, each day is considered as consisting of three equal parts, and may be entirely good, entirely bad, or partly good and partly bad. A day of which the first two-thirds were good and the evening bad was marked *nfr nfr ḥ*, and so on.

*2nd month of the inundation, day four: bad, good, bad. You shall not come forth from your house in any way on th[is day] y. Everyone, who is born on this day, will die of an epidemic on this day! (Leitz 1994: 66–67.)*

Whereas the outlook for an individual's day could be consulted in the calendar of lucky and unlucky days, it was believed that dreams could reveal the future. P. Chester Beatty III (EA 10683,1–4) contains parts of a dream book used to determine a person's fate, written in the unmistakable handwriting of the famous scribe Qenherkhepshef from Deir el-Medina (Szpakowska 2011: 509–517). The beginning and ending of the manuscript are lost; the rest is divided into columns starting with 'If a man sees himself in a dream' followed by a list of actions. Then, it is stated whether this is a good or bad omen and how the dreamer would benefit or suffer from it. Furthermore, the dream book distinguishes different personalities, including a description of the most typical aspects of their nature.

If a man sees himself in a dream fetching vessels from the water: good—the finding of increased life in his house.

If a man sees himself in a dream, seeing his penis erect: *bad*—this means victory for his enemies.

The genre is less well attested on ostraca from the New Kingdom. The earlier mentioned list of absentees (EA 5634) includes illnesses as reasons for absence of work and one specific man served the community as a doctor. This unique example does not yield the elaborate treatments we find on papyri, however.

### 3. PUBLISHED VS UNPUBLISHED

From the 1840s onwards, Samuel Birch was made responsible for making available as much texts as possible to specialists. He and his immediate successors focussed on papyri. This led to *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collection of the British Museum*, in which numerous important manuscripts were presented as hand-coloured images: P. Sallier 1–3 in 1841 (vol. I); the Anastasi papyri 1–4 in 1842 (vol. II); the Anastasi papyri 5–8 and P. Sallier 4 in 1844 (vol. III) and P. Abbott and d'Orbiney in 1860 (vol. IV), see Birch 1841, 1842, 1844, and 1860. Other texts from the New Kingdom were incorporated in more focussed publications, for example: *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collection of the British Museum* (Birch 1868), which included ostraca; *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of Ramses III, now in the British Museum* (Birch 1876), *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series: the Chester Beatty gift* (Gardiner 1935) and *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fourth Series. Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, edited with texts from other collections, by Iorwerth E.S. Edwards (1960).

Many hieratic texts on papyri and ostraca were collated and published by Gardiner, regularly in collaboration with another scholar and encouraged by his work on the great dictionary in Berlin (Gardiner 1962: 46). In view of Gardiner's mastery of hieratic, his scholarship was often sought when new papyri appeared (Černý 2001: 146). When Mr. and Mrs. Chester Beatty presented a series of Egyptian papyri to the British Museum, Gardiner had already studied the texts, and had himself

provided for the skilled assistance of Hugo Ibscher (1874–1943) in Berlin in arranging and mounting the papyri. The publication of these documents was entrusted to Gardiner by order of the trustees and appeared as *Third Series: the Chester Beatty gift* in 1935. Hieratic texts on ostraca were the subject of *Hieratic Ostraca* by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner (1957).

The series *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* continued with *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* by Jac. J. Janssen as volume VI (1991a). This catalogue of Late Ramesside correspondence is primarily devoted to the documents that were omitted from J. Černý's *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels 1939). Volume VII, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum: Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* by Christian Leitz (1999) is devoted to five hieratic documents which may be broadly categorised as magical and medical texts including the well-known Magical Papyrus Harris and the London Medical Papyrus. Jac. J. Janssen's *Grain Transport in the Ramesside Period: Papyrus Baldwin (BM EA 10061) and Papyrus Amiens* is volume VIII (2004) and the last one devoted to New Kingdom manuscripts. British Museum publications go on to feature new papyrus finds such as the *Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri* by Robert J. Demarée (2005) while updating older publications with Demarée's *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002). Significant parts of the collection have been studied and disseminated outside British Museum series, such as the famous literary pieces and poetry by Richard Parkinson (1991; 1997).

In 2014, *The British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* (BMPES) was established. Dedicated to research related to the cultures of Egypt and Sudan and collection centred, this

peer-reviewed series will include treatises of written culture.<sup>51</sup>

However selective, the above overview illustrates that most of the British Museum papyri and, to a lesser extent, the ostraca, have been the subject of numerous books and journal articles. Only 11 papyrus fragments have never been published or cited (fig. 4).<sup>52</sup> In many of the publications, the written sources have appeared alongside parallels from other collections in support of the translation and interpretation of a text. Fischer-Elfert's *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (1992) and Leitz's publication of the *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky days* (1994), or the inclusion of literary works in general books on ancient Egyptian literature, are just a few examples. Dedicated text editions with a commentary such as Leitz's 1999 book of magical and medical papyri, are less common. Comprehensive treatises that also consider material aspects, palaeography, provenance, and collection history of papyri are few and far between.

Many famous papyrus series and large numbers of ostraca could be revisited and published in a more comprehensive matter (see the case study below). For example, the important group of the Gurob palace archive papyri were never fully published. Apart from early transcriptions of some of the fragments, only a few pieces have been translated (Griffith 1898; Gardiner 1948: 14–35; Gardiner 1953; Helck 1961–1969).<sup>53</sup> The c. 400 inscribed fragments of pottery vessels from Amarna were photo-documented in 2017 awaiting further treatment. Nonetheless, the collection is well known and various corpuses are studied by scholars across the globe.<sup>54</sup> Numerous New Kingdom ostraca from Thebes are under study by Malte Römer (18th Dynasty material) and

51 Such as The Greenfield Papyrus (EA 10554) by Giuseppina Lenzo (2023).

52 These are mostly very small fragments and it is expected that they at least some belong to already known manuscripts; EA 10101, EA 10566, EA 10749, EA 71507, EA 10118.5 + EA 10341, EA 10069, EA 10189, EA 10204, EA 10400, EA 71508.

53 Some literary documents were published by Fischer-Elfert (1998: 85–92).

54 E.g., EA 10118.5 + EA 10341 and EA 71507.



Fig. 4. Unpublished fragment EA 71507. Egypt, 20th Dynasty, 1186–1069 BCE (© British Museum)

Robert J. Demarée and colleagues from the NINO in Leiden (end 20th–beginning 21st Dynasty).<sup>55</sup> Aurore Motte is examining the attestations of the Kemit-book while Frederik Hagen is revisiting some of the Teachings and the above mentioned Gurob papyri.

In-house efforts of dissemination focus on digitising the papyrus and ostraca collection to support the records online with an image. As a result, about 80% of the papyrus collection has been digitised in recent years.<sup>56</sup> Many of the British Museum’s written sources have been used

in large scale lexicographic and palaeographic projects, such as the TLA (<https://aew.bbaw.de/tila/index.html>) and AKU (<https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/>). In 2014, the British Museum records were linked with Trismegistos; an interdisciplinary portal of papyrological and epigraphical resources from Egypt and the Nile valley (800 BCE–800 CE), now expanding to the Ancient World in general (<https://www.trismegistos.org/>). Updating Collections Online will remain a curatorial priority with a future focus on the ostraca collection.

<sup>55</sup> Summarising only the larger groups; information on ongoing work is indicated as such on Collections Online under the respective record entry.

<sup>56</sup> Many *Book of the Dead* papyri remain to be digitised as colour demands more complicated imagery procedures.



#### 4. CASE STUDY: P. BM EA 10720.6 AND P. BM EA 10720.4 [S. B.]

##### 4.1. Introduction

Two plates of papyrus fragments with the inventory numbers P. BM EA 10720.4 (registration no. 1935,0511.1.4) and 10720.6 (registration no. 1935,0511.1.6) entered into the collection of the British Museum in 1935.<sup>57</sup> They originally belonged to John Lee (1783–1866),<sup>58</sup> and were apparently left at the Solicitors' Rutter and Marchant after Lee's death. The fragments appear to form part of a fake papyrus roll.<sup>59</sup> A more general statement about the plates is given on P. BM EA 10720.6: 'Fragments of papyri from Hartwell House, opened by Mr. Lee and Mr. Bonomi.<sup>60</sup> The notes are by Lee.' On the same plate, an additional note reads (from right to left, top to bottom): 'No 3. It was found within No 2 but rolled round the interior part of it.'<sup>61</sup> Below fragment 10720.6b, a note reads: 'No 1. or the outer piece of the roll which was opened by Mr. Lee on the 22nd July, 1845' and 'It is supposed to be ancient Enchorial by Mr. Bonomi. Hartwell 31 August, 1847.' The label on the left side states: 'No. 4. This was within No. 3 and it was found rolled round the mass of Blank Papyrus within it.' Further information is to be found on plate P. BM EA 10720.4a–e which says: '1847, 31 August: These pieces were within a Roll which was No. 1 and were rolled round the two ends of the Roll—lengthways.'

Putting all of this information together, it becomes possible to state the following: our object originally consisted of a blank papyrus roll (no. 1) in which the fragments a–e in plate BM EA 10720.4 were rolled lengthways. Fragment 10720.6c (no. 4) was rolled around this blank papyrus roll, and

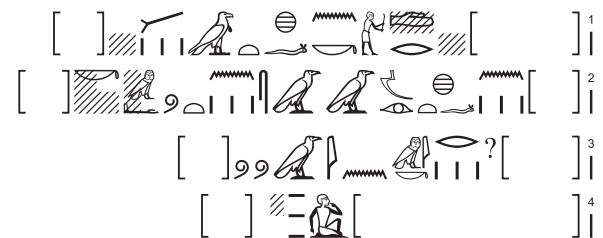
covered by fragment 10720.6a (no. 3). The outer piece of this construct was apparently fragment 10720.6b (which is also labelled no. 1). Note that none of the pieces actually was labelled as no. 2.

All of the fragments carry hieratic writing dating to different periods; the fragments are also in different states of preservation (see below). The oldest fragment dates to the New Kingdom (18th/19th Dynasty) and the youngest fragment to the Third Intermediate Period (22nd/23rd Dynasty).

##### 4.2. Editions

###### 4.2.1. P. BM EA 10720.6a

The fragment P. BM EA 10720.6a measures approx. 13.0 × 7.8 cm. The remains of an inscription in four lines appear on the (real) recto. The height of the script is approximately 1 cm and the space in between the lines is approximately 2.5 cm. The hieratic writing reflects a trained hand. Palaeographically, the manuscript can be dated to the Ramesside Period, though the lack of surviving signs mean that it is not possible to provide a narrower dating. The content of the text is not entirely clear, though the surviving text suggests a group of people (suffix =sn) acting on behalf of somebody else (suffix =k).



<sup>57</sup> My deepest thanks go to Patricia Usick, Archive Department Egypt and Sudan, for the background information and for helping to read the notes on the plates.

<sup>58</sup> Bierbrier (2019: 270).

<sup>59</sup> Compare Leach & Tait (2000: 243).

<sup>60</sup> For Joseph Bonomi (1796–1878), see Bierbrier (2019: 58).

<sup>61</sup> Below fragment P. BM EA 10720.6a.





Fig. 5. P. BM EA 10720.6

- (1) [... d]r<sup>2</sup> n=k [h]ft.jw [...] <sup>a</sup>  
 (2) [... =s<sup>2</sup>]n<sup>b</sup> hft m<sup>33</sup>=sn tw m[k<sup>c</sup> ...]  
 (3) [... r<sup>2</sup>.w] jm=k<sup>d</sup> n j<sup>3</sup>w.w<sup>e</sup>[...]  
 (4) [...].w [...]

- (1) [...] the enemies [are repel]led<sup>2</sup> for you [...]  
 (2) [... th]ey<sup>2</sup> [...] while they watch you [...]  
 (3) [...] with/in you for/because of [...]  
 (4) [...]

### Commentary

- a** [... d]r<sup>2</sup> n=k [h]ft.jw [...]: A verb is to be expected at the beginning of the line. The surviving signs make more than one lemma possible. Other possibilities—beside *dr* “to repel” (*Wb.* 5, 374.5–10), which is widely used in combination with the word *hft.jw* “enemies” (*Wb.* 3, 276.12–277.5)—would be *ndrj* “to seize” ([...] the enemies [are seiz]ed for you [...]; *Wb.* 2, 383.6), *skr* “to strike” ([...] the enemies [are stru]ck for you [...], *Wb.* 4, 308.4) or *dr* “to repel” (*Wb.* 5, 595.5–9) as a synonym for *dr*. The lemma *ndrj* is mostly but not exclusively attested with *sbj*. One would expect *j* and *w* before  $\text{𓂏}$ —the typical spelling used during the 19th and 20th Dynasties—but the surviving hieratic text argues against this interpretation. The form *ndrj* is not attested for *ndrj*, and this word is thus rather unlikely. The same can be said for *dr*. The lemma *skr* is not well attested during the New Kingdom and the expected writing of this word differs from the signs visible on the papyrus; see *Wb.* 4, 308.4, Lesko (1987, III: 103). As such, the most likely choice is the verb *dr*. Other possible translations are ‘[They will re]pel<sup>2</sup> you. The enemies [...]’ or ‘[and they have repel]led<sup>2</sup> you. The enemies [...]’ (suggested by M. Müller).
- b** [... =s<sup>2</sup>]n: The addition of *s* at the beginning of the line is implied by the suffix =*sn* after *m<sup>33</sup>* in the same line.
- c** m[k ...]: The surviving signs are inconclusive. The graph *m[k]* might stand for the lemma *mkj*

“to protect” (*Wb.* 2, 160.1–21). It might reflect the beginning of a new sentence, or it might be a stative qualifying the previous pronoun *tw*. Yet, it could also be the beginning of the noun *mkw.t* “protection” (*Wb.* 2, 160.22–161.4). Alternatively, it might be the particle *m=k* “behold” and mark the start of a new phrase. Other readings are also possible—see (*Wb.* 2, 160–161)—but it is difficult to decide which is most likely without context.

- d** [... r<sup>2</sup>.w] jm=k:  $\text{𓂏}$  is visible at the beginning of the line, probably the remnants of a noun. The *jm=k* that follows appears to finish the statement.
- e** n j<sup>3</sup>w.w: The preposition *n* is probably the beginning of a modal clause. The following word has to be some sort of substantival expression like a noun, infinitive, or substantival *sdm=f*-form. The remaining signs leave too many options for interpretation.

### 4.2.2. P. BM EA 10720.6b: Another Attestation of the Onomasticon of Amenemope

Papyrus BM EA 10720.6b consists of two fragments. The largest measures approx. 10.5 × 6.9 cm and bears a four-line inscription on the (real) recto. The height of the line is approximately 0.7 cm and the distance between the lines is also 0.7 cm. The smaller fragment (circa 4.4 × 7.4 cm) has no direct joint to the larger but it continues the text. The verso of both pieces is blank. The manuscript reveals traces of a palimpsest on the recto and partly on the verso. The text is the well-known ‘Onomasticon of Amenemope’ and it is thus possible to estimate the approximate length of the column. Only one square appears to have broken off (lines 1–2) at the beginning of the text. Two or two and half squares are missing from the lost space between the surviving fragments. Three to four squares of writing have been lost from the end. As such, the column would have been approximately 19 cm long. The surviving text belongs to

the section ‘Sky, water, earth’ (part II),<sup>62</sup> which forms part of the beginning of the ‘Onomasticon,’ but it does not belong to the ‘Introductory heading’ (part I).<sup>63</sup> Because there are no traces of ink above the first line—though the height of the line is higher than expected—it can be assumed that there was another column before this one.







The Onomasticon of Amenemope survives in the following attestations (in chronological order):<sup>64</sup>

- R:** The Ramesside papyrus fragments: 20th Dynasty (Ramesseum/Thebes)<sup>65</sup>
- G:** The Golenischeff Onomasticon (= P. Pushkin 169): end of the 20th Dynasty (Ramesses XI; el-Hiba)<sup>66</sup>
- L:** Leather roll (= BM EA 10379): very end of the 20th Dynasty (Memphis?)<sup>67</sup>
- OC:** Cairo ostrakon J. 67100: end of the 20th/beginning of the 21st Dynasty (Thebes)<sup>68</sup>
- H:** P. Hood (= P. BM EA 10202): early 21st Dynasty (provenance unknown)<sup>69</sup>
- B1–B2:** P. Boulaq IV: Middle of the 21st Dynasty<sup>70</sup>

**BT:** P. BM EA 10474.4 v<sup>o</sup>; 22nd Dynasty (Thebes)<sup>71</sup>

**W-b:** Wooden writing board (= BM EA 21635): 23rd Dynasty or later (provenance unknown)<sup>72</sup>

**OR:** Ostrakon: (Ramesseum/Thebes)<sup>73</sup>

The papyrus is written in a beautiful, even Ramesside Period hand. Because the number of the used signs is limited, a more precise dating of the fragmentary manuscript is hard to come by. Nonetheless, the hieratic is very similar to the hieratic on papyrus Harris I (= P. BM EA 9999); the hand here is especially similar to the hands from Heliopolis (frame 25–42) and Memphis (frame 44–56).<sup>74</sup> Differences occur in the signs  (D19),  (D46),  (F22),  (G1),  (I3), and  (S36). It can thus be assumed that the papyrus fragments date to the 20th Dynasty, and more specifically to the reign of Ramesses IV (approx. 1153–1147 BC). The only other document dating to the same time are fragments from the Ramesseum in Thebes (attestation **R**). Unfortunately, these fragments are only available

<sup>62</sup> See Gardiner (1947, I: 37, 4\*–13\*); Herbin (1986: 189–195).

<sup>63</sup> See Gardiner (1947, I: 37, 1\*–3\*); Herbin (1986: 188–189).

<sup>64</sup> The abbreviations introduced by Gardiner (1947, I: 26), are used here as well.

<sup>65</sup> Spiegelberg (1898, pl. XLIII–XLV, XLVII); Gardiner (1947, I: 32–34); Herbin (1986: 188). The 19th–20th Dynasty date given by Herbin (1986: 188), probably following the statement by Spiegelberg (1898) on the plates, is slightly off; Gardiner (1947, I: 24–25) writes that the earliest possible date for the development of the text is under Ramesses III. As such, a 20th Dynasty date is estimated.

<sup>66</sup> Gardiner (1947, I: 27–29); Herbin (1986: 188).

<sup>67</sup> Gardiner (1947, I: 30–32); Herbin (1986: 188). Following Glanville (1926: 173), Fr. Herbin (1986: 188) dates the manuscript to the 19th–20th Dynasty. Gardiner (1947, I: 31) argues convincingly against Glanville’s dating. The provenance is not stated in the BM’s database, but Gardiner (1947, I: 30) mentions that it was stated on the original frame that the object came from Memphis. This cannot be verified, as the object was re-framed at some point.

<sup>68</sup> Gardiner (1947, I: 34); Herbin (1986: 188).

<sup>69</sup> Gardiner (1947, I: 29–30); Herbin (1986: 188).




<sup>70</sup> Gardiner (1947, I: 35); Herbin (1986: 188).

<sup>71</sup> Posener (1945: 112); Herbin (1986: 187). The abbreviation BT is based on the source of the acquisition (E.A.T. Wallis Budge) and the find spot (Thebes).

<sup>72</sup> Gardiner (1947, I: 34).

<sup>73</sup> Spiegelberg (1898, pl. II); Gardiner (1947, I: 35). Dating the object is difficult due to the few visible signs on the ostrakon in the facsimile.








<sup>74</sup> Compare Möller (1909, column “Harris H. M.”).

in facsimile, though they still bare a strong resemblance to P. BM EA 10720.6b. Particularly striking is the similarity between the sign  – the upper curve has a particular swing<sup>75</sup>—and the ligature ,<sup>76</sup> though the sign  is shaped in entirely different fashion.<sup>77</sup> The height of the lines and the distance in between the lines is also the same. Overall, the similarity is remarkable and it can be assumed that the fragments from the Ramesseum date from approximately the same time. Consequently, the Ramesseum papyrus fragments and the piece presented here would seem to be the oldest known attestations of the Onomasticon of Amenemope.<sup>78</sup>

- (1)  $[nh]t(jw)^a r(y)r(yj.t)^b$   
 $krr(wjw)^c h^3h^3(.tj)^d [s:h\dot{d}-t^3] kk.wj [šw]^e$
- (2)  $[h^3b]^f k^3(.tj)^g sty jtn(w)^h j^3d.t^i$   
 $[^3wd.t s]^3k(w) [srm.t]^j$
- (3)  $[nn.w] mt(r)^k j^3r.t^l jj(w)m(^c)^m h^3n.w^n$   
 $[...H]nw(.t)^o šp [hnm.t]$
- (4)  $[hnm.t]^q h[n]n[y]n[y]^r nw(.y)^s b(p^3)[r]k^3(tj)^t$   
 $hnt.j^u ph.w [šd.t^2]^v$
- (1) [“the strong” one], “sow/hippopotamus”, storm, tempest, [dawn] darkness, [light]
- (2) [shad]ow, sunlight, ray of the sun, dew, [..., sn]ow?, [a body of water]
- (3) [Nile], flood, river, sea, wave, [lake], pond, [well]
- (4) [basin?], irr[iga]tion [ba]sin, water, p[ool, (southern) part], (northern) par[t, well?]



### Commentary

- a**  $[nh]t(jw)$ : Only the last few signs of the word  $[nh]t(jw)$  have been preserved. The “strong one” is a star constellation; see Gardiner (1947, I: 5\* [no. 8]); Herbin (1986: 190 [no. 8]).
- b**  $r(y)r(yj.t)$ : The word  $rr.t$  can also mean a star constellation known as “sow” or “hippopotamus”. The writing of the word here differs slightly from its attestation in the other sources. The determinative at the end is more likely a pig  (E12) than a hippopotamus  (E25). More interesting is the spelling of the lemma: . The reading is certain. Compare the // in <s>ty (l. 2). See Gardiner (1947, I: 5\*, no. 9); Vernus (1976: 136 note x); Herbin (1986: 190, no. 9).
- c**  $krr(wjw)$ : See Gardiner (1947, I: 5\*, no. 10); Herbin (1986: 190, no. 10).
- d**  $h^3h^3(.tj)$ : The writing here differs from this word’s other attestations in the sources. See Gardiner (1947, I: 5\*, no. 11); Herbin (1986: 190, no. 11).
- e-f**  $[s:h\dot{d}-t^3] kk.w(j) [šw] R^2[h^3b]w$ : Only the determinative of  $s:h\dot{d}-t^3$  after  $h^3h^3.tj$  has been preserved here. The gap after the expected  and before  is approx. four and a half to five squares long. The determinative  implies that only  $s:h\dot{d}$  was written in the gap but the space is too large to house only the determinatives of  $h^3h^3.tj$  and  $s:h\dot{d}$ . It could be that 

<sup>75</sup> Compare e.g., Spiegelberg (1898, pl. XLIV.M1, XLVII.50, 77).

<sup>76</sup> Compare e.g., Spiegelberg (1898, pl. XLIV.M2, 7).

<sup>77</sup> Compare e.g., Spiegelberg (1898, pl. XLIII.B1 [l. 3], XLV.N [l. 2]).

<sup>78</sup> According to Gardiner (1947, I: 25), the titles that appear in the text are typical of the Ramesside period, becoming common under Ramesses III and later, though the cities named in the text point to a later date. All the attestations of city names are considered duplicates, but they are not identical. It could be that these city names are later additions to the onomasticon.



- functioned as the determinative for the entire group. In addition, *s:hḏ-tʿ* and *hʿhʿ.tj* were finished with . Only the beginning of *kk.w(j)* “darkness” is still visible. At the beginning of the fragment, only one square seems to be missing from each line, while the end of the word [*hʿb*]*w* is still legible. It can therefore be assumed that the lemma [*šw*] is to be reconstructed at the end of this line. For further information on these words, see Gardiner (1947, I: 5\*–6\*, no. 12–15); Herbin (1986: 190, no. 12–15).
- g** *k(ʿ)h(ʿ)*: See Gardiner (1947, I: 6\*, no. 16); Herbin (1986: 190, no. 16).
- h** *sty jtn(w)*: The graph at the beginning of the word is difficult to read due to both a tear in the papyrus and the palimpsest below. Nevertheless, the signs appear to be *znk*—a typical hieratic form for that came into use under Ramesses IV; see Möller (1909: 14, no. 167), especially Harris H.M. Compare also the writing in G and Lesko (1987, III: 115). See Gardiner (1947, I: 6\*, no. 17); Herbin (1986: 191, no. 17).
- i** *jʿd.t*: See Gardiner (1947, I: 6\*, no. 18); Herbin (1986: 190, no. 18).
- j** [*ʿwd.t s*]*ʿk(w)* [*srn.t*]: Only the determinatives of the word [*ʿwd.t*] have been preserved and the estimated space of two to two and half squares fits the reconstruction nicely. The beginning of [*s*]*ʿk(w)* is also partially destroyed. After the usual determinatives the lemma *srn.t* should be restored. For these words, see Gardiner (1947, I: 6\*, no. 19–21); Herbin (1986: 191, no. 19–21).
- k** [*nn.w*] *mt(r)*: At the beginning of the line, the word *nn.w* “Nile” can be reconstructed, of which only parts of the determinatives have been preserved. The list continues with *mt(r)* “flood”. See Gardiner (1947, I: 6\*–7\*, no. 22–23); Herbin (1986: 191, no. 22–23).
- l** *j(ʿ)r.t*: This writing of the lemma *jtr.w* is not known from any of the other attestations of the Onomasticon. Similar spellings without the can be found in H () and G (); see also Lesko (1982, I: 60). The scribe was probably thinking of another word and wrote an *ʿ* after the initial *j*. See Gardiner (1947, I: 7\*, no. 24); Herbin (1986: 191, no. 24).
- m** *jj(w)m(ʿ)*: The writing of the word “sea” here is the same as in the other attestations. See Gardiner (1947, I: 7\*, no. 25); Herbin (1986: 191, no. 25); Hoch (1994: 52, no. 52).
- n** *hʿn.w*: The determinatives of *hʿn.w* “wave” are lost in the gap. See also Gardiner (1947, I: 7\*, no. 26); Herbin (1986: 191, no. 26).
- o** [... *H*]*nw(.t)*: The initial which would be expected here, has not been preserved. None of the other attestations of the text has I3 as additional determinative to the usual ; see Gardiner (1947, I: 7\*, no. 27); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 27). It might be the case that the similar sounding word *hntj* “to be greedy” (*Wb.* 3, 121.12–13), which can also be used to describe crocodile shaped enemies (*LGG* 5, 228, *Wb.* 3, 121.14), caused the scribe to use the crocodile (I3) as a determinative as well.
- p** *š*: The expected final determinative has not been preserved. For this lemma, see Gardiner (1947, I: 7\*, no. 28); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 28).
- q** [*hnm.t*]<sup>R:4</sup>[*hnm.t*]: As mentioned before, three to four squares are missing at the end of the line and approx. four at the beginning of line four. The word *hnm.t* was presumably written at the end of the line and *hnm.t* at the beginning of the next. The available space suggests that a short version of the latter was employed here, as in BT (no. 30). See Gardiner (1947, I: 7\*, no. 29–30); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 29–30), too.
- r** *h[n]n[y]n[y]*: The lower part of the line is broken off and the lemma *hnnyny* is only partly preserved. For this word, see Gardiner (1947, I: 7\*–8\*, no. 31); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 31).
- s** *nw(.y)*: The same/a similar writing of the word *nw.y* “water” is used in H () and G (). See Gardiner (1947, I: 8\*, no. 32); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 32).

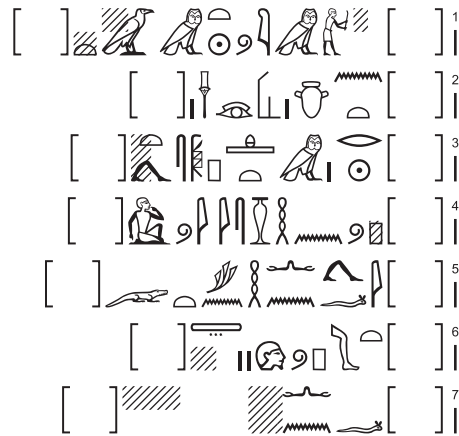


- t** *b(pʒ)[r]k(ʒ)t(j)*: The middle of the word is lost in the space. The writing differs in all of the attestations. It is thus difficult to say how the graph for “r” should be reconstructed. For the word, see Gardiner (1947, I: 8\*, no. 33); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 33); Hoch (1994: 106–107, no. 131).
- u** *hnt.j*: See Gardiner (1947, I: 8\*, no. 34); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 34).
- v** *ph.w*: The ending of the word is missing and the spellings vary in the different sources; see Gardiner (1947, I: 8\*, no. 35); Herbin (1986: 192, no. 35). It cannot be proved, but it is likely that the beginning of the next word [*šd.t*] “well” was written at the end of this line.

#### 4.2.3. BM EA 10720.6c




P. BM EA 10720.6c measures circa 14.5 × 4.5 cm. The remains of an inscription of seven lines are to be found on the (real) recto. The verso is blank. The height of the lines is approximately 0.7 cm and the height between the lines is circa 1.0 cm. It was written by a skilled scribe and the hieratic can be dated palaeographically to between the 21st and 22nd Dynasties. Certain hieratic graphs are not attested before the 21st or 22nd Dynasty (e.g., [D6], [T18]) or are written differently after that period (e.g., [D56]). Nonetheless, the few remaining signs make it difficult to date the text more precisely. The content of the fragment is hard to determine. A third person singular masculine line (suffix =f) appears several times.

- (1) [...] *m šw.t m ʒ[t ...]*<sup>a</sup>
- (2) [...] *n.t jb<sup>b</sup> rs šhm<sup>c</sup> [...]*
- (3) [...] *r hrw m htp<sup>d</sup> šms.t<sup>e</sup> [...]*
- (4) [...] *pw n hš.jjw [...]*<sup>f</sup>
- (5) [...] *yj]j=ʒ<sup>g</sup> nn hn.t [...]*<sup>h</sup>
- (6) [...] *t pw tp-t[ʒ ...]*<sup>i</sup>
- (7) [...] =f nn [...]<sup>j</sup>



- (1) [...] in the shadow, with the [...]
- (2) [...] of the heart, while the (divine) power (a)wakes [...]
- (3) [...] to the day in peace. Maidservant<sup>2</sup> [...]
- (4) [...] for the praised one[s<sup>2</sup> ...]
- (5) [...] while] he [co]mes. There is no greedy one<sup>2</sup> [...]
- (6) [...] is life ti[me<sup>2</sup> ...]
- (7) [...]

#### Commentary

- a** [...] *m šw.t m ʒ[t ...]*: The sign , the determinative of the previous word, is visible at the beginning of the line. This is followed by an adverbial phrase. As the determinatives are missing for ʒ.t, several translations are possible: “at the moment” (*Wb.* 1, 1.16), “in <his> moment” (*Wb.* 1, 2.1) or “with the strength” (*Wb.* 1, 2.3–4), or shortened forms of “place, mound” (*Wb.* 1, 2.5, 26.9–15), “spine” (*Wb.* 1, 2, 26.3–6) or “standard” (*Wb.* 1, 2, 26.7).
- b** [...] *n.t jb*: The word before the *nisbe n.t* has not been preserved. The *nisbe* was probably attached to a feminine noun, though the *nisbe*’s *t*-ending may also have a purely graphemic function, i.e., as a hieratic filling feature.
- c** *rs šhm [...]*: The sign after the word *rs* is clearly a kind of scepter or standard, though it has more than one possible meaning in hieratic:  (*šhm*, *hrp*, ‘b<sup>3</sup>) or  (‘h<sup>4</sup>); see Verhoeven

- (2001: 172, 182). Nevertheless, the reading *sh̄m* “(divine) power” (*Wb.* 4, 243.5–245.2) makes the best sense here (*h̄* “mast” [*Wb.* 1, 128], *hr̄p* “sceptre” [*Wb.* 3, 326.6], *hr̄p* “director” [*Wb.* 3, 328.2–19], *b̄* “sceptre” [*Wb.* 1, 176.17–18]). The translation ‘while the (divine) power (a)wakes [...]’ is given here, but there are other options. *rs* could be an imperative: ‘wake (up) power [...]’, or it may be read as a participle in the *nfr-sw*-construction (“watching/waking of power”).
- d** [...] *r hrw m h̄tp*: The signs here are well preserved, but the meaning is somewhat obscure. The remains of a tiny curve below the lines are visible at the beginning of the line; it is possible that these belonged to *w*-rope, *f* or *m*.
- e** *šms.t*: Again, the reading is clear, but the connection of *šms.t* to the previous phrase is obscure. The *t*-ending implies a feminine participle or relative form but the reference to *r hrw m h̄tp(.w)* is not congruent with the preceding phrase. The lemma *šms.t* may also be read as the noun “maidservant” (*Wb.* 4, 487.1); in this case, it would represent the start of a new sentence. The word is barely attested, though it usually refers to a maidservant of a deity.
- f** [...] *p.w n h̄s.jjw* [...]: The remains of the word at the beginning of the line cannot be reconstructed. The lemma *n* could be the preposition *n*, which would then be translated as an indirect object, or as “for”, “because of”, etc.; see *Wb.* 2, 193.3–194.10. Alternatively, it could be interpreted as a *nisbe* for the indirect genitive construction. It cannot be stated with certainty if the word *h̄s.jjw* is plural or not; it has to be some kind of substantival expression because it is used after *n*.
- g** [...] *yj=j=f*: The first sign on the right seems to be *j*. As such, the reading *yjj=f* “[...] while] he [co]mes” is likely, though other translations are possible depending on the words in front of it.
- h** *nn hn.t* [...]: The reading of the sign after the crocodile is not certain. The negation implies either a non-existence clause or a negated future tense. As such, it could also be translated as ‘[...] won’t be greedy [...]’. Compare also the same phrasing in line r° 7.
- i** [...] *pw tp-t̄³* [...]: The first two signs in this line could also represent the ending of different words related to body parts: *jns.t* “lower leg, shin” (*Wb.* 1, 99.18–20), *ḡ.t* “hoof” (*Wb.* 1, 168.5–6), *w̄r.t* “leg” (*Wb.* 1, 287.4–8), *p̄d-m̄s.t* “knee cap” (*Wb.* 1, 500.7–8), *m̄s.t* “knee” (*Wb.* 2, 32.4–13), *mn.t* “thigh, haunch” (*Wb.* 2, 68.8–15), *mn.t* “lap” (*Wb.* 2, 68.10), *h̄f̄.t* “coiling” (*Wb.* 3, 73.8), *sbk.t* “leg” (*Wb.* 4, 94), *sst* “calf (of the leg)” (*Wb.* 4, 279.5), and *st* “leg (especially of Osiris)” (*Wb.* 4, 325). Other possibilities are *w̄r.t* “flight” (*Wb.* 1, 287.1–2), *tp.t-rd* “task?” (*Wb.* 5, 290.6)—only attested for the Old Kingdom—and *tp-m̄s.t* “head on knee (attitude of mourning)” (*Wb.* 5, 285.6–8). The lemma *tp-t̄³* may be read either as “earthling, living one” (*Wb.* 5, 292.5–11) or “lifetime” (*Wb.* 5, 274.29), which leaves *pw* to be read as a copula or demonstrative pronoun. It is difficult to arrive at a meaningful translation.
- j** [...] *=f nn* [...]: Too little of the text has been preserved here to make any sense of this line. See the commentary to line r° 5, which seems to have the same structure.

#### 4.2.4. P. BM EA 10720.4a

This papyrus fragment, along with the other fragments mounted in frame 4, was part of the inner piece consisting of the blank papyrus roll. The fragments were used at both ends to give the roll a more authentic appearance.<sup>79</sup> Papyrus BM EA 10720.4a originally represented the beginning of a column, of which only eight lines remain. The fragment measures circa 10.5 × 4.5 cm. The height of the lines is 0.8 cm and the space in between

79 See also 4.1. Introduction above.



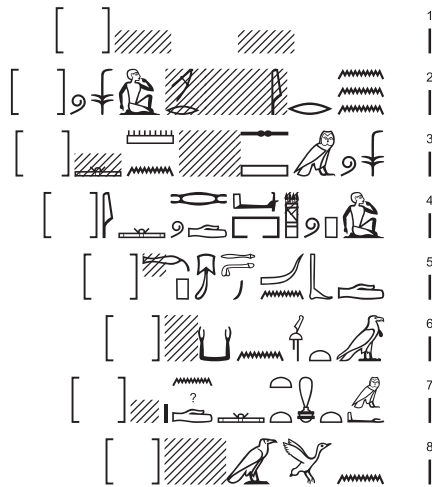
Fig. 6a: P. BM EA 10720.4



Fig. 6b: P. BM EA 10720.4




the lines is approximately 0.5–0.6 cm. The hand is trained but the writing is somewhat sloppy. Palaeographically, the fragment can be dated to the 18th to 19th Dynasty. Too little of the text remains to make sense of the lines.





- (1) [...] <sup>a</sup>
- (2) *mw r* [...] *mr* *sw* <sup>b</sup>
- (3) *sw m zš*[...] *mn* [...] <sup>c</sup>
- (4) [...] *pw ḥ* ‘*d(w) j*[...] <sup>d</sup>
- (5) *db n(j) ʿ(t) kʿp*[...] <sup>e</sup>
- (6) [*ms*].*tj(w) jmn(t).j n kʿ* [...] <sup>f</sup>
- (7) *m-ʿ=t mj.t(j)t ndʿ* [...] <sup>g</sup>
- (8) *n pʿ* [...] <sup>h</sup>

- (1) [...]
- (2) water to [...] love<sup>2</sup> him
- (3) him with/in [...] remain [...]
- (4) [...] palace, while the f[orm<sup>2</sup>] is perceived [...]
- (5) horn of a (female) donkey, [...]
- (6) western [off]spring of [...]
- (7) together with you<sup>2</sup> likewise. [...]
- (8) for the djed-pil[lar ...]

### Commentary

- a** [...]: Only part of the lower part of the line remains; it is not possible to make out any of the signs with any certainty.
- b** *mw r* [...] *mr* *sw*: In addition to the reading “water”, the sign  may simply be a

determinative for some kind of water. The following group of signs is not entirely clear, though it seems to end in *mr* (suggested by R. Pietri).

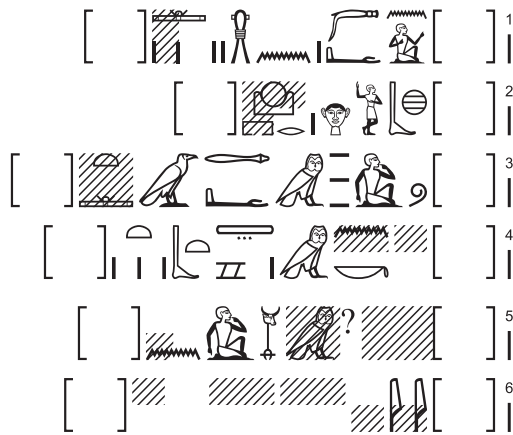
- c** *sw m zš*[...] *mn* [...]: In addition to the translation “him with/in” (reading *sw* as the direct object with the preposition *m* opening an adverbial expansion), the two words here could also be interpreted as “He is in/as/with...”. These signs are followed by *zš*[...], but the subsequent signs are barely visible. Only the word *mn* remains after the gap in the text.
- d** [...] *pw ḥ* ‘*d(w) j*[...]: The sign  is clearly visible at the beginning of the line. It has to be a determinative for a word on the previous line, now lost. The following *pw* (reading suggested by M. Müller) suggests either a nominal sentence (di- or tripartite nominal sentence) or—less likely—a demonstrative pronoun for the previous word. The verb ‘*d* “to perceive” (*Wb.* 1, 238.14) is often connected with the shape of one of these. The final *j* could potentially be amended to *j[r.w]* “form, creation” (*Wb.* 1, 113.13–15).
- e** *db n(j) ʿ(t) kʿp*[...]: The reading is more or less certain (partially suggested by M. Müller and R. Pietri), though the meaning is obscure.
- f** [*ms*].*tj(w) jmn(t).j n kʿ* [...]: The  and *t* make one reading most likely: *mst.w* “offspring” (*Wb.* 2, 151.10–12). This lemma can be expanded by an attribute. The spelling of *jmnt.j* “western” (*Wb.* 1, 86.15) is unexpected. The word *mst.w* is often used with an indirect genitive construction that refers to the subject that this offspring belongs to. Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear who this is in the present context.
- g** *m-ʿ=t mj.t(j)t ndʿ* [...]: Besides *m-ʿ=t mj.t(j)t* “together with you<sup>2</sup> likewise,” the reading *m=t mj.t(j)t* “behold, likewise” is also possible, though the former seems more likely. The following group of signs begins a new sentence; not enough remains of the text to make any sense of it.



**h**  $n p^3$  [...]: The last line is as mysterious as the others and does not provide any insight into the content of the original text. The sign  $\text{𓏏}$  is poorly made but the following  $^3$  confirms the reading.

#### 4.2.5. P. BM EA 10720.4b

This fragment was also part of the inner piece of the fake papyrus roll. It is approximately 9.1 cm high and 3.0 cm wide. The lines are 0.7 cm high and the space in between them 0.9–1.0 cm. The remains of six lines survive on the (real) recto—the verso is blank—but only five are legible. It is not entirely clear whether line 1 was the actual first line. The papyrus can be dated palaeographically to the end of the 21st or the 22nd Dynasty.<sup>80</sup> The content is not clear, but the vocabulary suggests that the fragment was part of a magical or religious text.



(1) [...]  $n=j$   $m\dot{h}$   $n$   $z^3$ [.w...]<sup>a</sup>

(2) [...]  $hb$   $hr$   $^3h$ [.t...]<sup>b</sup>

(3) [...]  $w$   $m$   $^3$ [.t...]<sup>c</sup>

(4) [...]  $n=k$   $m$   $t^3$   $tb.wt$  [...] <sup>d</sup>

(5) [...]  $m^2$   $hty(.t)^2$   $n(.j)$  [...] <sup>e</sup>

(6) [...]  $jj$  [...] <sup>f</sup>

(1) [...] for me<sup>2</sup> the (fore)arm for protection[s ...]

(2) [...] dancer above the horiz[on ...]

(3) [...] with the great ...]

(4) [...] for you on earth. Reward [...]

(5) [...] in the throat of fm[ ...]

(6) [...]

#### Commentary

**a** [...]  $n=j$   $m\dot{h}$   $n$   $z^3$ [.w...]: The  $n=j$  may be read as either the remains of a  $sdm.n=f$ -form or as the indirect object. The determinative of  $m\dot{h}$  implies the reading “arm” (*Wb.* 2, 120.1).

**b** [...]  $hb$   $hr$   $^3h$ [.t...]: The “dancer above the horizon” is otherwise unattested. It is also possible to read “[...] while dancing above the hori[zon ...]” or the like here.

**c** [...]  $w$   $m$   $^3$ [.t...]: Two determinatives of the previous word survive at the beginning of the line. These are not meaningful enough though to narrow down potential additions. The same may be said about  $^3.t$ . Because only the determinative  $\text{𓏏}$  has been preserved, it is not possible to choose from the many potential lemmata that are written down here.

**d** [...]  $n=k$   $m$   $t^3$   $tb.wt$  [...]:  $n=k$  is interpreted as an indirect object here, but it could also form the remains of a  $sdm.n=f$ -form. The lemma  $tb.wt$  “payment, reward” (*Wb.* 5, 261.3) cannot be convincingly connected with the previous phrase; it is interpreted here as the beginning of a new sentence.

**e** [...]  $m^2$   $hty(.t)^2$   $n(.j)$  [...]: The subsequent  $n$  indicates that the one possessing the throat (?) was named in the text. The ink of the papyrus is faded before [...]  $m^2$   $hty.t$  ( $m$  suggested by R. Pietri).

**f** [...]  $jj$  [...]: Only the remains of the signs have been preserved here.

#### 4.2.6. P. BM EA 10720.4c

This rather long fragment was also part of the inner piece of the fake papyrus roll. It measures circa 13.2 × 2.5 cm. The script has a height of 0.7 cm and the distance between the lines is approximately 1.0–1.1 cm. Eight lines of an inscription have been

<sup>80</sup> The more distinct signs in the text share a great likeness to the graphs used in the so-called “Takelothis” papyri; see Verhoeven (2001: passim).

preserved. The few remaining signs can perhaps be dated palaeographically to the 21st to the 22nd Dynasty. Only a few words survive, and the content is obscure.

1a: or ↓



- (1) [...]w n [...]a
- (2) [...]=j (hr)<sup>2</sup> dh<sup>n</sup> [...]b
- (3) [...]z<sup>3</sup>.w (hr) jt.y r [...]c
- (4) [...] tr<sup>2</sup> ph.w(j)<sup>2</sup> [...]d
- (5) [...]wy jw w<sup>c</sup> [...]e
- (6) [...]j jw [...]f
- (7) [...]jj jw hpr [...]g
- (8) [...]sp]r.tj r dm[j ...]h

- (1) [...]
- (2) [...] I<sup>2</sup> appoint<sup>2</sup> [...]
- (3) [... the guar]dian<sup>2</sup> takes to [...]
- (4) [...]
- (5) [...] while/the one [...]
- (6) [...] while [...]
- (7) [...] while develop [...]
- (8) [...cam]e to the to[wn ...]

### Commentary

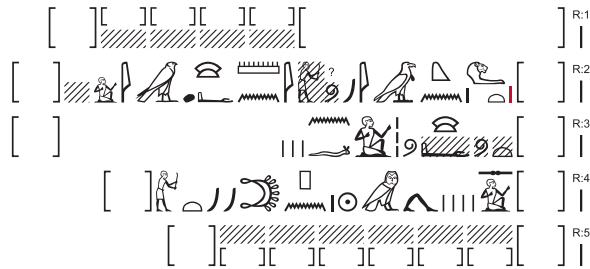
**a** [...]w n [...]: The group 𓂏𓂐 can also be reconstructed as, e.g., *wrš.w* “guardian” (*Wb.* 1, 366.7–13), *nw* “time” (*Wb.* 2, 219.1–15), *hrw* “day” (*Wb.* 2, 498–500.24) or *dw<sup>3</sup>.w* “morning” (*Wb.* 5, 244.4–15). The other signs are more or less clear, though it is difficult to make sense of them.

- b** [...]=j (hr)<sup>2</sup> dh<sup>n</sup> [...]: The verb *dh<sup>n</sup>* means “to appoint” (*Wb.* 5, 479.6–21). It is not clear who is appointed here. Other translations are also possible.
- c** [...]z<sup>3</sup>.w (hr) jt.y r [...]: For the combination *jt r*, see *Wb.* 1, 149.14.
- d** [...] tr<sup>2</sup> ph.w(j)<sup>2</sup> [...]: The reading is clear, but does not provide enough information to make sense of it.
- e** [...]wy jw w<sup>c</sup> [...]: Only the remains of the previous word survive at the beginning of the line. The subsequent particle *jw* initialises either a main clause or a secondary clause.
- f** [...]j jw [...]: The first group of signs may be reconstructed as: *bt<sup>3</sup>* “to run” (*Wb.* 1, 484.15), *mrj* “groom” (*Wb.* 2, 100.5, Hoch 1994: 132–134 [173], Lesko 1982, I: 226–227), *hfd* “to rush, to flee in terror” (*Wb.* 3, 75.14, Hoch 1994: 225–226 [310], Lesko 1984, II: 110), *sg* “to open a way, to break a trail” (*Wb.* 4, 320.4, Hoch 1994: 269 [382]), *kt<sup>n</sup>* “charioteer” (*Wb.* 5, 148.12–17, Hoch 1994: 341–345 [506]), *twh<sup>3</sup>* “to withdraw” (*Wb.* 5, 255.5), *tkšš* “to trample” (*Wb.* 5, 336.1), *th<sup>3</sup>* “lame one” (*Wb.* 5, 388.10, Lesko 1989, IV: 133), or *dg<sup>3</sup>* “to walk” (*Wb.* 5, 499.15). Because the particle *jw* follows immediately afterwards, a noun seems more likely here than a verb, though a verb is also possible. The particle might also begin a new sentence.
- g** [...]jj jw hpr [...]: The ending 𓂏𓂐𓂑 is most likely the ending of a previous noun. The determinative is not specific enough to reconstruct the lost word from the many potential options.
- h** [...]sp]r.tj r dm[j ...]: The remains of the beginning of the line suggest *spr* (*Wb.* 4, 102–103) here; this usually appears with the preposition *r*. This is followed by *dm[j ...]* (suggested by R. Pietri).

### 4.2.7. P. BM EA 10720.4d

Fragment d measures approximately 3.2 × 5.7 cm. The lines have a height of 0.6 cm and the space in between the lines is approximately 0.4–0.6 cm. Of the first and fifth line of a five-line inscription only parts survive on the recto. A number (?) in

red can also be read in the second line (R: 2). The verso carries three lines of a text, but these are too poorly preserved to make any sense of them. The fragment can palaeographically be dated to the 21st Dynasty.



- R: 1 [...] <sup>a</sup>  
 R: 2 [...] 1 *h<sup>3</sup>.t kn.tjw Jmn-h<sup>c</sup>.w hr.j* [...] <sup>b</sup>  
 R: 3 [...] *tw h<sup>c</sup>.w=j n=f 3<sup>c</sup>*  
 R: 4 [...] *z 4 jw(.w) m hrw pn 'h.wt(y)* [...] <sup>d</sup>  
 R: 5 [...] <sup>e</sup>  
 V: 1–3 [...] <sup>f</sup>

- R: 1 [...]  
 R: 2 [...] 1, beginning [...], Amun-kha (and) Hori [...]  
 R: 3 [...]  
 R: 4 four men came on this day, tenant? [...]  
 R: 5 [...]  
 V: 1–3 [...]

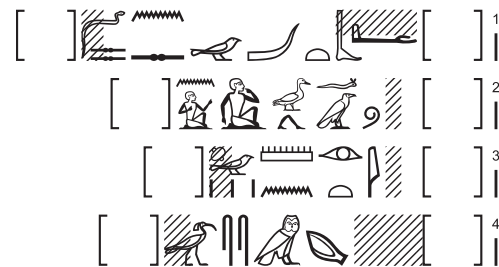
### Commentary

- a** [...]: All that survives here are the remains of some black ink in the upper left corner of the fragment.
- b** [...] 1 *h<sup>3</sup>.t kn.tjw Jmn-h<sup>c</sup>.w Hr.j* [...]: The number one (?), written in red ink, is visible at the beginning of the line. What was counted has not been preserved. The meaning of the subsequent phrase is not entirely clear. The graph could either be read *h<sup>3</sup>.t* as given above (confirmed by H.-W. Fischer-Elfert) or, alternatively, *dr.t* (suggested by R. Demarée). The names *Jmn-h<sup>c</sup>.(w)* (PN I: 30.19) and *Hr.j* (PN I: 251.8) were suggested by M. Müller and R. Pietri.
- c** [...]: This line is extremely faded. Only single signs written in black ink are partially legible.

- d** [...] *z 4 jw(.w) m hrw pn 'h.wt(y)* [...]: The reading was suggested by M. Müller and R. Demarée.
- e** [...]: Only the remains of the upper part of the line have survived.
- f** [...]: The verso carries three lines of an inscription that are too poorly preserved to be read with any certainty.

### 4.2.8. P. BM EA 10720.4e

The remains of four lines of text survive on the (real) recto of this fragment. The verso is blank. The fragment measures approximately 7.3 × 3.2 cm. The height of the lines is 0.7–0.8 cm and the space in between the lines is 1.0–1.1 cm. The manuscript can be dated palaeographically between the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. The text is about a woman who apparently (ritually) defiled herself. She is subsequently supported by an anonymous first person (suffix =j). Someone or something then suffers, before the female speaker is somehow purified at the end.



- (1) [...] *'b)(t).n=z<sup>a</sup> dz=z* [...] <sup>b</sup>  
 (2) [...] *wβ.n=j* [...] <sup>c</sup>  
 (3) [...] *j jr.t mn.w* [...] <sup>d</sup>  
 (4) [...] *sdm=s s<sup>3</sup>[h.w ...]* <sup>e</sup>
- (1) [...] after she [def]iled herself [...]  
 (2) [...] I supported [...]  
 (3) [...] make/made sufferings [...]  
 (4) [...] she listens to the (ritual) recitat[ions...]

### Commentary

- a** [...] *'b)(t).n=z*: The word *'b* “to dirty, to pollute, to be impure” (*Wb.* 1, 176.1) is often used in

- combination with the lemma *w<sup>b</sup>* or *'b* “to be pure, to purify” (*Wb.* 1, 175.4–10, 280.12–282.5) and seems to be connected to Sakhmet (who can inflict these kinds of impurities). See, amongst others, Edel (1944: 4–6), *GdM* VII.1: 137, Cauville (1997: 81), and the discussion in Wilson (1998: 143–144, with further literature), as well as Rizzo (2007: 123–135, especially 123–124, 128–130). The text is interpreted here as a secondary clause “[...] after she [def]iled herself,” but it is also possible to interpret the phrase as a main clause: “[...] she [def]iled herself” or as a passive voice: [... *'b*].*tw n=z* “[...] (it) was def]iled for her” or the like.
- b** *dz=z* [...]: Reading suggested by M. Müller.
- c** [... *wf<sup>3</sup>.n=j* [...]: The determinatives of *wf<sup>3</sup>* “to discuss, to support” (*Wb.* 1, 306.4) are unexpected here. The walking legs (𐀀 [D54]) probably belong to the verb *z<sup>3</sup>* “to betake oneself (to, under)” (*Wb.* 3, 413.1–2) or *z<sup>3</sup>j* “to linger, to creep” (*Wb.* 3, 418.15–419.3). It is also possible to read the text as a secondary clause here: “[...] after I supported [...].”
- d** [...]*j jr.t mn.w* [...]: The beginning of the line is lost. It is thus difficult to say who or what suffers or let suffer.
- e** *sdm=s s<sup>3</sup>[h.w ...]*: The last sign in this line is slightly odd, but it seems to be 𐀀 (G25). For *s<sup>3</sup>h.w*, see *Wb.* 4, 24.1–10.

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

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

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### 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)<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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).<sup>5</sup> His *Notebooks* confirm the scale of these purchases in 1886–1887, perhaps mainly demotic, Greek and Coptic,<sup>6</sup> and during his Theban West Bank season in 1908–1909, some with figures, suggesting New Kingdom material.<sup>7</sup> 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.’<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> Alan H. Gardiner (1879–1963) recorded 1907 as the start of his own hieratic ostraca collection, shortly before the Petrie Qurneh season.<sup>10</sup> 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*;<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup>

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 Assiut<sup>14</sup>, and UC 34366 Papyrus Greg<sup>15</sup>, 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)

<sup>14</sup> Petrie (1907); Posener (1976: 6–7).

<sup>15</sup> Janssen (1997).

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

Weights, undocumented: 1 late 18th Dynasty (Amarna?), 1 Ramesside<sup>16</sup>

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).<sup>17</sup> 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;<sup>18</sup> and some ‘pictorial ostraca’ or ‘figured ostraca’ (Page 1983).<sup>19</sup>



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])

<sup>16</sup> Petrie (1926); Valbelle (1977).

<sup>17</sup> 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).

<sup>18</sup> 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).

<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> Around the same time he published a lengthy article<sup>23</sup> in which he provided translations of several texts from that volume, but curiously he did not include any of the Gurob papyri.<sup>24</sup> 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,<sup>25</sup> and W. Helck cited some of the material in his *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*.<sup>26</sup> 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*.<sup>27</sup> A handful of fragments have subsequently been published in various articles,<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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,<sup>30</sup> 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).<sup>31</sup> 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,<sup>32</sup> but this has so far not been identified, at the Petrie Museum or elsewhere.<sup>33</sup>

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.<sup>34</sup> The second set is a group of three papyri apparently found together in a jar at Lahun,<sup>35</sup> but originally

said to have been found at Gurob.<sup>36</sup> 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.’<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> Lahun seems, on balance, the more likely origin for these documents,<sup>39</sup> 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,<sup>40</sup> 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

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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.<sup>41</sup>

### 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,<sup>42</sup> although there are perhaps some earlier ones,<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup>

### 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.<sup>48</sup> *The Instruction of a Man for His Son* survives in at least three copies,<sup>49</sup> 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*.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup>

Other notable texts are some fragments of a Ramesside hymn to Amun known from the roughly contemporary P. Chester Beatty XI,<sup>52</sup> which is on the back of another hymn (or a personalised prayer?).<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup>

### 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.<sup>55</sup> More fragmentary documents mention the harvest tax (*šmw*),<sup>56</sup> the branding of cattle,<sup>57</sup> the issuing (and delivery?) of textiles and precious material (lapis lazuli, malachite) from (or to?) the palace storerooms,<sup>58</sup> 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,<sup>59</sup> 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).<sup>60</sup> 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,<sup>61</sup> or original letters.<sup>62</sup>

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,<sup>63</sup> 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.

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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).

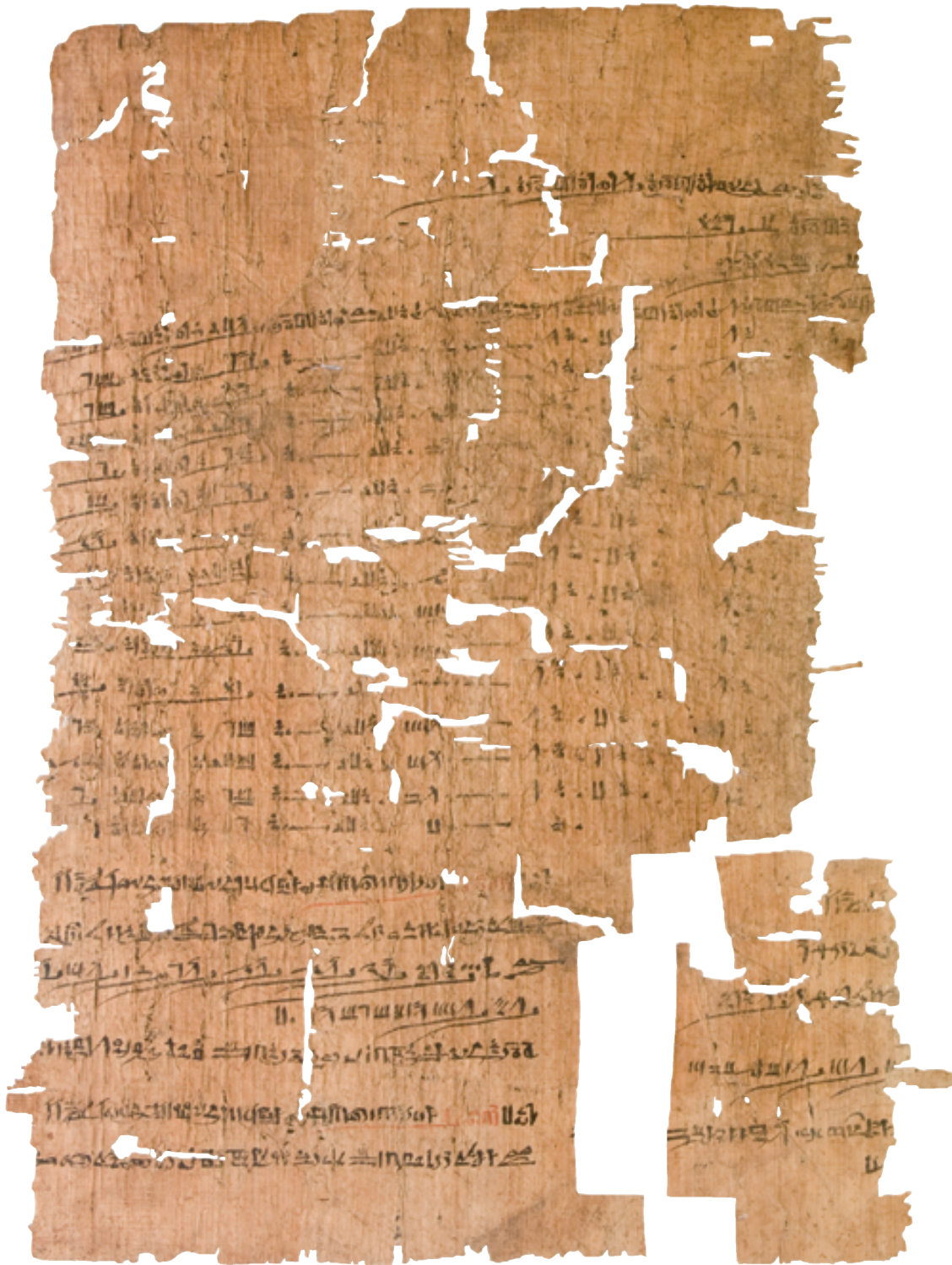


Fig. 2. A page from the Gurob palace day-book, with a table of wages paid in oil, dated entries noting the delivery of fish, and withdrawals from the palace storerooms (P. UC 32784, back; © UCL)





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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	literary; documentary	see case-study above
Rifa tomb 120 papyrus	UC 32781	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	literary	Petrie (1907: 27, pl. 27 O); Posener (1976)
undocumented papyrus (work on king's tomb)	UC 34366 = Papyrus Greg	20 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	documentary	Janssen (1997)
undocumented writing-boards (Assassif?)	UC 59419–21	early 18 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	documentary	cf. Petrie (1927: 67, no. 102)
Ramesseum, Thebes	UC 31942, 32225, 32932–33021, 71099	19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	literary	Spiegelberg (1898: pl. 1–11, <i>passim</i> )
Ramesseum, Thebes	UC 32224, 33022	19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – TIP	documentary	Spiegelberg (1898, pl. 12)
West Thebes kingship temples	UC 30036, 31935	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	literary	Petrie (1897: 17, pl. 20.5 and 20.11)
West Thebes kingship temples	UC 31920, 32026	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	documentary	Petrie (1897: 17, pl. 20.1–20.2)
Osireion, Abydos	UC 32012, 45672–45677	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	documentary; votive; names	Murray (1904: 24, pl. 18.1–18.6 and 18.8)
Buhen	UC 21458, 21461+21479	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 20 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 20 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 20 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Petrie (1894: pl. 22–24, <i>passim</i> ) and unpublished
Ramesseum	UC 33035–6, 33038	19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Petrie (1927: 68, no. 105–107), cf. Bouvier (1999–2003)
West Thebes kingship temples	UC 15937, 19159, 30037–40, 31934, 33083–4	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 19 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 20 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 20 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	liturgy (NR.2)	Engelbach & Gunn (1923: 30–32, pl. 78–79)
pottery vase UC 59733	?	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	names	–
shabtis UC 14223, 40173–40213, 40375	? Dra Abu al-Naga	early 18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	names / offering formula	Whelan (2007)
shabWtis UC 39678–71, 39818, 40226–8	?	19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 20 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	names / shabti formula	–
weight UC 2497	? Amarna	late 18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	function?	Petrie (1926: 9–10, pl. 10, no. 2046)
weight UC 39669	? (artists of king's tomb)	19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. – 20 <sup>th</sup> 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
<b>Fragments in the British Museum</b>			
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)

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# New Kingdom Hieratic Documents in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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## ABSTRACT

This paper describes the collection of New Kingdom hieratic documents in the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston. An opening section discusses the history of the museum's Egyptian collection, with special focus on the New Kingdom hieratic documents, including several limestone ostraca and a large group of ceramic ostraca from Deir el-Ballas. The second half of the paper presents a case study of O. Boston MFA 47.1632, which bears an excerpt of *The Teaching of Amenemhat*, investigating the ostrakon's likely provenance, providing textual commentary, and contextualizing the ostrakon within the broader corpus of manuscripts of Amenemhat.

## 1. INTRODUCTION [L. M. B]

Some forty-five hundred antiquities acquired in 1872 form the nucleus of the Egyptian collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Collected in Egypt by Scottish traveler Robert Hay in 1824–1828 and 1829–1834, these objects were purchased from Hay's heirs in 1871 by Samuel Alds Way, a Boston businessman, whose son Charles Granville Way presented them to the Museum the following year (Berman 2001: 11–24). Since then the collection has grown exponentially, partly through gifts and purchases, but mostly from excavations. The collection now includes over sixty thousand objects, the major portion of which derives from the excavations conducted by the Harvard University-Boston Museum of Fine Arts

expedition led by George Andrew Reisner from 1905 to 1947 and awarded to the Museum by the governments of Egypt and Sudan.

New Kingdom hieratic documents comprise a very small portion of the MFA's Egyptian collection. They may be summarized as follows:

Two limestone ostraca with oracle petitions from the Hay-Way collection were published in 1997 by K. Ryholt.<sup>1</sup>

A large limestone ostrakon with inscriptions in hieroglyphics and hieratic was published in 1958 by J. Černý and again in 1993 by D. Berg.<sup>2</sup> The ostrakon was purchased in Egypt around 1909 and acquired by the Museum in 1911 through funds provided by a donor. From the same source comes a small round-topped limestone stele with

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1 MFA 72.659 and 72.666: Ryholt (1997). All accessioned MFA objects are accessible online with images (when available) on the Museum's collections database at [www.mfa.org](http://www.mfa.org).

2 MFA 11.1498: Černý (1958); Berg (1993).

a hieratic inscription painted on the edges and on the back.<sup>3</sup>

The largest group of New Kingdom hieratic inscriptions in the MFA are ninety-two pottery ostraca and one nearly complete beaker. They derive from the palace and settlement site of Deir el-Ballas, excavated by Reisner in 1900 for the Hearst Expedition of the University of California, Berkeley. After the Hearst Expedition was taken over by Harvard and the MFA in 1905, these potshards remained with Reisner at Giza. They were part of the share allotted to Boston in the last division of finds with the Egyptian government when the Harvard-MFA Expedition was closed down in 1947. These ostraca have been consulted by scholars but remain unpublished and unaccessioned.

As a case study we have chosen a literary ostracon of uncertain provenance that may come from the last mentioned group.

## 2. CASE STUDY: A LITERARY EXCERPT IN BOSTON (O. BOSTON MFA 47.1632) [M. G.]

Just one of the hieratic ostraca in the MFA contains a literary excerpt: O. Boston MFA 47.1632, which bears one verse of *The Teaching of Amenemhat*. The ostracon is a pentagonal body sherd from a large Upper Egyptian marl vessel, measuring 13.2×7.5×0.8 cm and bearing one line of hieratic written in black ink (fig. 1).

The ostracon has no recorded provenance. The accession paperwork states that it came ‘from Harvard Camp’, referring to the headquarters of the Harvard University-MFA Expedition at Giza, but this does not necessarily suggest that the ostracon was excavated from Giza, as Harvard Camp served as a storage facility for objects from various sites. The fabric, surface treatment, and

manufacture of the ostracon suggest that it may be from Deir el-Ballas.<sup>4</sup> In these qualities, the ostracon resembles several others in the MFA’s collection—Eg. Inv. 6802, Eg. Inv. 6866, and Eg. Inv. 6936—that were certainly (or, in the case of Eg. Inv. 6936, probably) excavated from Deir el-Ballas by the Hearst Expedition. However, O. Boston MFA 47.1632 differs from many of the MFA’s other ostraca from this site, in that the vessel it comes from was larger and had thinner walls.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the ostracon’s connection to this site remains uncertain. As mentioned above, none of the MFA’s ninety-two hieratic ostraca from the Hearst Expedition’s excavations at Deir el-Ballas have been accessioned, whereas O. Boston MFA 47.1632 was accessioned on December 31, 1947. This suggests that, if O. Boston MFA 47.1632 was in fact part of the group of Deir el-Ballas ostraca, somehow it became separated from the others at some point before late 1947, when Harvard Camp closed and the objects stored there were divided between Egypt and the MFA.

The text is written in neat hieratic with no ligatures. Due to the short length of the inscription, the few distinct sign forms, and the difficulties inherent in dating literary hands, the ostracon’s paleography is of limited use in establishing its dating. Several of the ostracon’s signs appear most similar to examples from the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty, namely the *s*<sup>3</sup> sign (Aa18), which lacks a horizontal crossbar on the bottom, and the sun sign (N5), which has a round shape and a separated dot in the center. The text also includes one unusually formed sign: the night sky (N2), which has two separate dots on either side of the bottom of the scepter, rather than the typical crossbar. Based on my examination of the individual signs, as well as the hand’s overall appearance, I propose a date of inscription in the late 18th or early 19th

<sup>3</sup> MFA 11.1500: Leprohon (1991: 3, 100–105).

<sup>4</sup> P. Lacovara, pers. comm. 23 Jan. 2022.

<sup>5</sup> S.J. Allen, pers. comm. 16 Feb. 2022.





Fig. 1. Ostrakon Boston MFA 47.1632. Harvard University  
—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition.  
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> This date accords with the ostrakon's possible origin of Deir el-Ballas: although the main phases of occupation of the settlement appear to have ended in the mid-18th Dynasty, limited material and a few tombs from the late 18th and early 19th Dynasties suggest that a small community occupied the site in this period.<sup>7</sup> However, O. Boston MFA 47.1632's later date contrasts with the MFA's other Ballas ostraca, which date to the late 17th and early 18th Dynasty.

The ostrakon bears an excerpt of §6a of *The Teaching of Amenemhat*.<sup>8</sup> This verse begins the central section of the poem, in which Amenemhat I describes the attack on him by his bodyguards. Here the poem shifts in tone, from the didactic and lamenting opening stanzas to a dark and dramatic first-person narrative. §6a is among the most frequently copied excerpts of the poem—second only to the opening lines, which are generally the most copied portion of any literary text<sup>9</sup>—appearing in at least forty-one other

manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> I present here a hieroglyphic transcription (fig. 2), transliteration, and translation of O. Boston MFA 47.1632's copy of §6a, along with a brief textual commentary.



Fig. 2. Hieroglyphic transcription of O. Boston MFA 47.1632

*r-s<sup>3</sup> msyt pw h[<sup>3</sup>wj...]*

*It was after dinner, and e[vening...]*

O. Boston MFA 47.1632 displays very little variation with respect to the other copies of §6a, other than an unusually large number of determinatives in *msyt*—no other copy of this verse includes the sun (N5) or its accompanying stroke (Z1)—and traces of an additional sign after *pw*. Due to the break on the left side of the ostrakon, it is difficult to identify this sign with certainty. J. Černý read these traces and the sign I have read as *h<sup>3</sup>* (M12) as a single sign, *mn* (Y5). Although the visible traces do resemble *mn*, this sign is unattested in any of the other twenty-two copies that preserve this portion of §6a, all of which have *h<sup>3</sup>wj* 'evening' (Adrom 2006: 35–36). A more plausible reading is of two separate signs: a *p*, which was written erroneously and then partially converted into the next sign, *h<sup>3</sup>*.

The ostrakon adds to a corpus of over two hundred and fifty copies of *Amenemhat*, the vast majority of which are Ramesside ostraca. Within this corpus, it is uncommon, though not unheard of, to find an excerpt consisting of a single verse, as in O. Boston MFA 47.1632. Due to a variety of factors—including handwriting quality, archeological context, medium of the manuscript, and

6 This opinion is shared by R.J. Demarée (pers. comm., 15 Nov. 2018), and the proposed dating overlaps with the catalog record's date of Dynasty 19–20. J. Černý transcribed the ostrakon in Notebook 65, p. 32, but his brief remarks do not discuss palaeography or dating.

7 Lacovara (2020: 151); Jensen (2019: 1, 460–461).

8 I employ the verse divisions put forth in Helck (1969), which are widely accepted in studies of *Amenemhat*.

9 See, e.g., Parkinson (2009: 193); Hagen (2021: 5).

10 Thirty-nine others are listed in Adrom (2006: 35–36). Two others have been recently published: Asyut dipinto TN2, in Verhoeven (2020: 28–31, pl. 43, 182–183); and T3.L10, in Hagen (2021: 42, pl. 62).

excerpting practices—nearly all of the ostraca bearing excerpts of *Amenemhat* have been identified as scribal exercises. In the case of O. Boston 47.1632, such an identification is plausible, since it is an ostrakon with a literary excerpt, but not definitive.<sup>11</sup> An earlier ostrakon bearing an excerpt of *Sinuhe* (Berlin P 12341), which was most likely copied by a scribal apprentice in 17th-Dynasty Deir el-Ballas, attests to the usage of literary

excerpts in scribal training during the main phase of occupation at the site (Parkinson 2009: 174–175). At the very least, O. Boston MFA 47.1632 suggests that the 18th–19th Dynasty community of Deir el-Ballas continued to participate in literary activity; it may also suggest that this later community included scribal apprentices being trained at the settlement.

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11 On the question of the identification of scribal exercises, see, e.g., Hagen (2012: 91–101); Geoga (2020: 30–33).

# New Kingdom Hieratic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago)

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## ABSTRACT

This article provides an overview of the New Kingdom objects inscribed with hieratic texts from the collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. A brief provenance history introduces the identification of all known published inscriptions, including a short description of the contents and primary bibliography, followed by descriptions of publication projects and ongoing research. Seven ostraca are edited for the first time as examples of the many unpublished texts that remain to be studied.

## 1. HISTORY OF THE HIERATIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM

The Egyptian collection at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was acquired over the course of 1894–1970 through purchases by institutional staff, shares of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), as well as excavations at sites in Egypt and Nubia.

Many of the early acquisitions were obtained as distributions from the Egypt Exploration Fund to subscribers and reflect the diversity of the EEF's activities. The founder and first director of the Oriental Institute, James Henry Breasted, travelled to Egypt and began acquiring artifacts on behalf of the University of Chicago in 1894. Acquisitioning

efforts expanded systematically after 1919 with the founding of the Oriental Institute and associated funding from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his family's foundations. In Egypt, Breasted's purchasing efforts focused on representative examples from dealers in Cairo and Luxor.<sup>1</sup> As the collection grew, the material was displayed on the university's campus, first in Haskell Hall, and since 1930 in the Oriental Institute Museum (OIM).

The founding of the Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey at Thebes in 1924 placed the directors of the survey in frequent proximity to Luxor dealers and their sources.<sup>2</sup> The directors of the survey therefore frequently acted as agents for the director of the Oriental Institute. In addition, staff members of the Epigraphic Survey sometimes collected for themselves, and often they donated

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1 Teeter (2010: 303–314; 2015: 4–11; 2018–2019: 63–73; 2019a: 62–65).

2 Johnson & McClain (2019: 191–195).

their collections to the Oriental Institute Museum. Not surprisingly, given the place and time, their collections included many ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

The Oriental Institute Museum also benefitted from the deaccessioning efforts of other American institutions. In particular, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Detroit Institute of Arts Museum donated collections of inscribed material to the Oriental Institute Museum.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, there has been close collaboration between Chicago institutions with collections of ancient Egyptian cultural heritage, as reflected in the many relationships between materials found in the OIM, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Field Museum.

A search of the collections database for material inscribed in the hieratic script returns 420 results. However, this data has never been comprehensively checked. There are certainly unidentified or misidentified hieratic texts so that this number should be considered provisional. Of these 420 objects, many derived from before the New Kingdom and the majority date to after the New Kingdom. Searching the database for script='hieratic' and period='New Kingdom' produces only 136 results, which likely undercounts the corpus significantly due to un- or misidentified manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. PUBLISHED NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts inscribed in hieratic from the New Kingdom are listed below according to their

accession group with basic provenance details provided. The accession number for the acquisition of a group of objects is provided on the first line; a short description of the accession on the second line; the date of the accession on the third line; and the entire range of Oriental Institute Museum registration numbers for the accession group is given on the fourth line. Following that information, published New Kingdom manuscripts inscribed in hieratic have been individually listed with their accompanying bibliographic references in order of registration number. Institutional registration number is preferred for the citation of individual manuscripts; however, private collection numbers (e.g., Wilson, Nelson, Edgerton) have been included where they had already appeared in the literature.<sup>5</sup> Bibliography listed includes text-only citations and references, and therefore some of the manuscripts listed with bibliography still lack a published text edition. All inscribed objects listed below are on limestone ostraca unless noted otherwise. Further information on the OIM collections and individual manuscripts can be found through the OI online collections database: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>.

### Accession 56 A

Share of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund excavations at Abydos

Accessioned in 1902

OIM E6551–E6904

- (1) OIM E6780: Magic brick of Paibmer.  
Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 289).

<sup>3</sup> Teeter (2019a: 69).

<sup>4</sup> We would like to thank museum registrar Helen McDonald and associate registrar Susan Allison for all their hard work and help in preparing this article. They fielded numerous inquiries and their work in maintaining and updating the collections database was essential to us in gathering the following data. We would also like to thank the editors of this volume for several helpful suggestions and corrections.

<sup>5</sup> These private collection numbers should now be avoided as they were temporarily applied in the field prior to official institutional acquisition. It appears that the numbers were not static as those cited by Černý in his notebooks are different than numbers found in the OI accession records. Readers should note that the Edgerton numbers for hieratic ostraca from Černý's notebooks should be kept completely distinct from the demotic ostraca published as O. Edgerton in Muhs et al. (2021).

- (2) OIM E6785: Magic brick of Paibmer. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 290).
- (3) OIM E6786: Magic brick of Paibmer. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 291).
- (4) OIM E6792: Magic brick of Paibmer. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279, 281, 292).

### Accession 239

Purchased by James Henry Breasted from Mohareb Todros<sup>6</sup>

Accessioned in 1920

OIM E10532–E10552

- (5) OIM E10544: Magic brick of Tuthmosis III. Main text in cursive hieroglyphs, with additional notation in hieratic. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 279–281, 293).

### Accession 329

Share of finds from the Egypt Exploration Fund excavations at Sedment

Accession in 1921

OIM E11489–E11911

- (6) OIM E11828: Wooden box with triangular top. Badly worn hieratic inscriptions on both sides. Bibliography: Petrie & Brunton (1924: pl. LV: 20, LXVI: 17).

### Accession 415

Purchased by James Henry Breasted from Mohammed Mohasseb<sup>7</sup>

Accessioned on October 8, 1923

OIM E12073–E12074

- (7) OIM E12073: Barter contract between the chief of police Montumes, the workman Menna, and another man. Bibliography: DeM Database; Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LXXVII–LXXVIIIA); Théodoridès (1968: 50–55); Allam (1973: 73–76); Manning et al. (1989); *KRI* 6, 138–139.

- (8) OIM E12074: Menna's lament to his wayward son. Bibliography: Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LXXVIII–LXXIXA); *KRI* 6, 215–217; Foster (1984); Dorn (2022: 165).

### Accession 570

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on July 21, 1925

OIM E12284–E13353, E13504–E13513, E30050, E12404B

- (9) OIM E12289: Magic brick of Amenemhat. Main text in cursive hieroglyphs, with additional notation in hieratic. Bibliography: Scalf (2009: 280–281, 294–295).
- (10) OIM E12296: Delivery of supplies. Bibliography: DeM Database; *KRI* 7, 188–189; Helck (2002: 75–76); Teeter (2009: 44–45).
- (11) OIM E12297: Scribal exercise. Bibliography: Unpublished (on display). See below section 3.
- (12) OIM E13512: Dated record of an event. Bibliography: DeM Database; Wilfong (1999).

### Accession 683

Purchased by James Henry Breasted from “unknown Kurna fellahin”

Accessioned on July 6, 1927

OIM E13629–E13652

- (13) OIM E13630: Letter. Bibliography: DeM Database; Demarée et al. (2022: 98, fn. 161, 101). See below section 3.
- (14) OIM E13634: Account of workers' absence. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (15) OIM E13636: Copy of portion of *Instruction of King Amenemhat I for his son Senwosret I*. Bibliography: Foster (1981); Helck (1969); Adrom (2006: no. 204).

<sup>6</sup> See Bierbrier (2019: 460, s.v. Todrous Boulos); Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 248–250).

<sup>7</sup> See Bierbrier (2019: 320); Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 245–247).



**Accession 751**

Purchased by James Henry Breasted

Accessioned

OIM E13691–E13701

- (16) OIM E13692: Account of deliveries.  
Bibliography: DeM Database.

**Accession 964**

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on July 2, 1930

OIM E13951

- (17) OIM E13951: Figures of cat, mouse, and boy with hieratic label on reverse. Bibliography: Breasted (1933: 424, fig. 206); Wilson (1951: fig. 16a); Brunner-Traut (1955: 24, no. 25, pl. 2.1); Brunner-Traut (1968: 14, fig. 9); Peck & Ross (1978: 78, no. 77); Brunner-Traut (1979: 17); Marfoe (1982: 25, fig. 13); Boston (1982: 279, no. 382); Janssen & Janssen (1989: 61, fig. 51); Teeter (2003: 59, no. 27); Flores (2004: 239, pl. 6a); von Lieven (2009: 174); Teeter (2019b: 99, no. 70); Braun (2020: 282, fig. 175); Babcock (2022: 73, 173, Cat. no. 69).

**Accession 2112**

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on June 1, 1936

OIM E16973–E17009

- (18) OIM E16973 (Nelson 12A): Accusation of absence. Bibliography: DeM Database; Toivari-Viitala (2001: 214).
- (19) OIM E16974 (Nelson 8): Letter from a woman. Bibliography: DeM Database; Toivari-Viitala (2001: 192, 228–229).
- (20) OIM E16977: Account of items given to Paneb. Bibliography: DeM Database; KRI 7, 254.
- (21) OIM E16978: Magical Text (parallel to P. Turin Cat. 1993 / CGT 54051, r<sup>o</sup> x+1.4–5) inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: Unpublished. See below section 3.

- (22) OIM E16979: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (23) OIM E16982: Copy of portion of *Instruction of King Amenemhat I for his son Senwosret I*, Va–VIb. Bibliography: Unpublished; Helck (1969: 32–39); Adrom (2006: 29–37). See below section 3.
- (24) OIM E16985: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database; KRI 7, 31.
- (25) OIM E16987: Restitution and penalty after theft inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database; Černý (1937, 187–188); KRI 7, 319.
- (26) OIM E16988: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (27) OIM E16989: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (28) OIM E16991: Letter of complaint to the Vizier To. Bibliography: DeM Database; Wente (1961); KRI 5, 559–560.
- (29) OIM E16993: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (30) OIM E16994 (Nelson 7): Donkey rental. Bibliography: DeM Database; Janssen (2005: 18).
- (31) OIM E16996 (Nelson 13): Letter about a birth. Bibliography: Toivari-Viitala (2001: 179–180).
- (32) OIM E16997: Copy of *Instruction of Hardjedef*, previously considered to be from *Instruction of a man for his son* (r<sup>o</sup>) and copy of unidentified literary text. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 146).
- (33) OIM E16998: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (34) OIM E16999: Copy of *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 144).
- (35) OIM E17002: Copy of beginning of *Instruction of Hardjedef*. Bibliography: Posener (1952); Helck (1984: 2–7).
- (36) OIM E17003: Copy of beginning of *Instruction of Hardjedef*. Bibliography: Posener (1952); Helck (1984: 2–7).

- (37) OIM E17004: Copy of portion of *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1975).
- (38) OIM E17007: Delivery of supplies. Bibliography: DeM Database; KRI 7, 176–181.
- (39) OIM E17008: Horus Cippus, Daressy Text A on obverse and *S'hw* text on reverse. Bibliography: Posener (1977), see no. 1441; Scalf & Muhs (forthcoming).

### Accession 2460

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on June 15, 1939

OIM E17573–E17577

- (40) OIM E17574: Stone weight inscribed in hieratic. Bibliography: DeM Database. See below section 3.
- (41) OIM E17575: Stone weight inscribed in hieratic. Bibliography: DeM Database.

### Accession 3289

Purchased in Egypt by members of the Epigraphic Survey

Accessioned on January 21, 1955

OIM E18876–E19419; E24303–E24307; E25040

- (42) OIM E18876: Oracular inquiry inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database; Černý (1972: 68, pl. 25, no. 95); Papazian (2009); Teeter (2011: fig. 44); Teeter (2012).
- (43) OIM E18877: Letter inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (44) OIM E18878: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (45) OIM E18879: Payment. Bibliography: KRI 7, 289.
- (46) OIM E18880: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database; Soliman (forthcoming).
- (47) OIM E18881: Account of deliveries. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (48) OIM E19109: Letter. Bibliography: Unpublished. See below section 3.

- (49) OIM E19120: Ritual text with medico-magical contents. Bibliography: Ritner (1993: 150, fn. 679). See below section 3.
- (50) OIM E19123 (Edgerton 5, Nelson 22): Donkey rental inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: Janssen (2005: 6).
- (51) OIM E19134: *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1973).
- (52) OIM E19141: *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 145).
- (53) OIM E19149: *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 143).
- (54) OIM E19150: Account. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (55) OIM E19154 (Edgerton 10, Nelson 65): Donkey rental inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database; Janssen (2005, 6).
- (56) OIM E19208: Account inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (57) OIM E19220: *Instruction of a man for his son*. Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 142).
- (58) OIM E19262: List of workmen. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (59) OIM E19263: Accounts of deliveries and payments. Bibliography: DeM Database.
- (60) OIM E19266: *Hymn to the Inundation* inscribed on pottery ostrakon. Bibliography: Foster (1973).
- (61) OIM E19361: *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1973).
- (62) OIM E25040: *Hymn to the Inundation*. Bibliography: Foster (1973).

### Accession 3652

Purchased by John Albert Wilson in 1929–1930 and 1930–1931

Accessioned in 1975

OIM E25292–E25386

- (63) OIM E25311 (Wilson 25): Hymn to Amun. Bibliography: Wilson (1933: 152–153).
- (64) OIM E25332 (Wilson 108): *Book of Kemyt*. Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (65) OIM E25346 (Wilson 100): Hymn to the coming of the king. Bibliography: Foster (1994); Fischer-Elfert (1999: 71–77).
- (66) OIM E25348: *Book of Kemyt* (Wilson 92). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (67) OIM E25353: *Book of Kemyt* (Wilson 73). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (68) OIM E25374: *Hymn to the Inundation* (Wilson 121). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904–905); Helck (1972: 1–19).
- (69) OIM E25378: *Book of Kemyt* (Wilson 7). Bibliography: Wilson (1935–38: 904).
- (70) OIM E25382: *Instruction of a man for his son* (Wilson 9). Bibliography: Foster (1986); Fischer-Elfert (1998: no. 147).

### Accession 3628

Purchased from the Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Accessioned in November 1967

OIM E26001–29902

- (71) OIM E26539: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (72) OIM E26540: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (73) OIM E26542: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (74) OIM E26543: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).
- (75) OIM E26544: Hieratic inscriptions on ceramic objects from Tutankhamun cache. Bibliography: Winlock (1941).

### Accession L348

Excavated at Medinet Habu

- (76) MH 1: Weight with hieratic notation. Bibliography: DeM Database; Valbelle (1977: 20).
- (77) MH 1866: Deliveries of fish. Bibliography: Unpublished (on display).

Accession Unidentified

- (78) Unnumbered. Bibliography: Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LV,2).
- (79) Unnumbered. O. Nims (sic). Bibliography: Černý & Gardiner (1957: pl. LXII,1).

### 3. OVERVIEW OF PUBLICATION PROJECTS AND ONGOING RESEARCH

As the reader can see from the above documentation, of the 136 identified New Kingdom manuscripts inscribed in hieratic from the OIM, roughly half have been published, cited, or documented in the secondary literature. The remaining unpublished manuscripts, all of which are ostraca, have been the subject of several projects over the preceding three decades. Until his death, Jack Foster had continued studying the literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina, along with his daughter Ann Foster. Edward Wente has been studying the non-literary, administrative material since the 1970s. In addition to publishing several ostraca, he produced preliminary editions of many of the manuscripts, which can be found among the files in the OI Museum Archives.<sup>8</sup> Terry Wilfong had surveyed the collection and provided notes to the OIM on some manuscripts. Robert J. Demarée has made several research visits to examine the New Kingdom hieratic ostraca in the OIM, and he has included some of these in the Deir el-Medina (DeM) database (<https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>). In recent years, two projects to study the literary and administrative texts have been taken

<sup>8</sup> Wente, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). We would like to thank Anne Flannery for her assistance in examining and citing the papers of Edward Wente.

up by faculty of the Oriental Institute as well as graduate students as part of their PhD studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago.

There are many genres of texts represented among the unpublished material. A small selection of representative manuscripts follows to illustrate examples from the unpublished corpus, presented in order of registration number.<sup>9</sup> For considerations of space within this publication, the following editions have been restrained to the basic textual information without recourse to extended commentary or discussions of parallels.

### OIM E12297

Scribal Exercise<sup>10</sup> (reverse uninscribed)

H: 15.1 × W: 6.18 cm

- (1) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 1*
- (2) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 2*
- (3) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 3*
- (4) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 4*
- (5) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 5*
- (6) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 6*
- (7) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t sw 7*
- (8) *ꜥbd 1 ꜥh.t [...]*
- (9) *ꜥbd 1 [...]*

- (1) Month 1, inundation season, day 1
- (2) Month 1, inundation season, day 2
- (3) Month 1, inundation season, day 3
- (4) Month 1, inundation season, day 4
- (5) Month 1, inundation season, day 5(*sic!*)<sup>11</sup>
- (6) Month 1, inundation season, day 6
- (7) Month 1, inundation season, day 7(*sic!*)
- (8) Month 1, inundation season, [...]
- (9) Month 1, [...]



Fig. 1. OIM E12297, scribal exercise  
(photo by Helen McDonald  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

<sup>9</sup> We would like to thank interim director Theo van den Hout, interim chief curator Kiersten Neumann, and the Oriental Institute Museum for permission to publish the following selection of ostraca. Once again registrar Helen McDonald and associate registrar Susan Allison were instrumental in facilitating access, finding photos, and fielding inquiries about these pieces.

<sup>10</sup> Transcription of Edward Wente in the files of the OI Museum Archives. See Wente, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). We would like to thank John Larson and Anne Flannery for their help accessing this material.

<sup>11</sup> In lines 5 and 7, the scribe has used the numeral, rather than the date, form of the signs.



**OIM E13630**Letter<sup>12</sup> (reverse uninscribed)

H: 7 × W: 9 cm

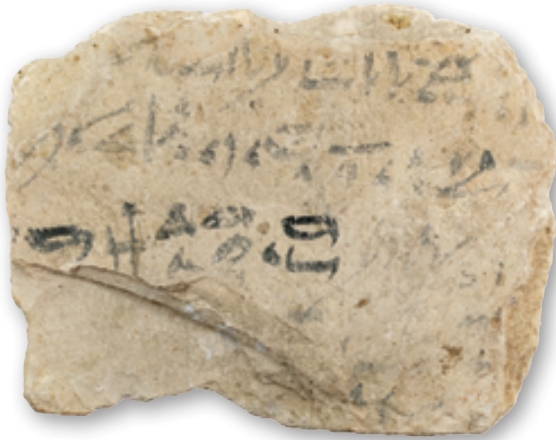


Fig. 2. OIM E13630, letter  
(photo D. 34020 by Foy Scalf  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- (1) [...] ...  $H'y n sn=f sš [P^{(3)}]-n-dw^3$  [...]
- (2) [...]  $n=i p^3 nty nb tw=i hr dd m$  [...]
- (3) [...]  $dd mtw=f rdi.t rh=i sw r$  [...]
- (4) [...] traces [...]
- (5) [...] traces [...]

- (1) [...] ... Khay to his brother, the scribe,  
[Pe]ndua.
- (2) [...] for me all that I am saying [...]
- (3) [...] say and he will let me know it, concerning  
[...]
- (4) [...] ... [...]
- (5) [...] ... [...]

**OIM E16978**Magical Text, Parallel to P. Turin Cat. 1993 / CGT 54051, r<sup>o</sup> x+1.4–5<sup>13</sup> (reverse uninscribed)

H: 9.3 × W: 7.6 cm

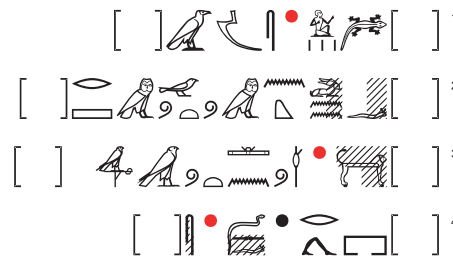


Fig. 3. OIM E16978, magical text  
(photo D. 34021 by Foy Scalf  
© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- 12 Transcription, translation, and commentary of Edward Wente in the files of the OI Museum Archives. See Wente, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>).
- 13 The contents of this ostrakon were originally identified by Robert K. Ritner in a list of notes on OIM ostraca among his office papers. See Ritner, Robert K. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). For parallels, see Roccati (2011: 131–132); Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: pl. CXXXI).



- (1) [...] ‘š<sup>3</sup>.w ° sm<sup>3</sup> [...]
  - (2) [...] ‘=f wnn nqm{.tw} m rš[rš ...]
  - (3) [...] ° wd.n tw Hr [...]
  - (4) [...] pri ds=[f] ° ‘s’[hr ...]
- (1) [... the hearts] of many. [May Horus] slaughter [it ...]
  - (2) ‘his’ [...]. The one who suffers will be in joyful[ness ...]
  - (3) [...] Horus has commanded you [...]
  - (4) [...] goes out<sup>14</sup> himself. [May Horus] ‘over’[throw ...]

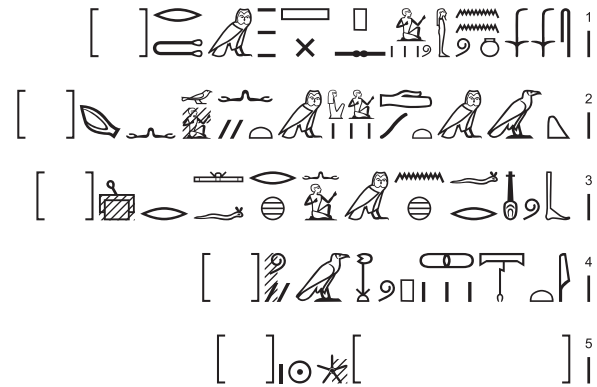
### OIM E16982

Copy of portion of *Instruction of King Amenemhat I for his son Senwosret I*, Va–VIb, over earlier palimpsest illustration of a p<sup>3</sup>-bird (reverse unscribed)

H: 10.1 × W: 12.5 cm



Fig. 4. OIM E16982, copy of portion of *Instruction of King Amenemhat I for his son Senwosret I*, Va–VIb (photo D. 34022 by Foy Scalf © Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)



- (1) *snn.w=i psš.w m rmt* [...]
  - (2) *q<sup>3</sup>md m iwty n sdm* [...]
  - (3) *bw nfr n hm rh=f r ‘s<sup>3</sup>’* [...]
  - (4) ‘*msy*’.*t pw h<sup>3</sup>w* [...]
  - (5) [...] ‘*wnw.t*’ [...]
- (1) my images,<sup>15</sup> which are separated from people [...]
  - (2) lament, as what has not [been] heard [...] <sup>16</sup>
  - (3) goodness for the one who is ignorant that he knows. It was ‘after’
  - (4) ‘the evening meal’ when dusk [...]
  - (5) [...] ‘hour’ [...]

<sup>14</sup> A black point was added above just after *pri*, perhaps during the drafting stage, but the red point was added in the expected position following *ds=f*.

<sup>15</sup> All other preserved exemplars have ‘*nh.w*’ following *snn.w*. See Helck (1969: 32); Adrom (2006: 29–37).

<sup>16</sup> Compared to other manuscript witnesses of this composition, the amount of text missing between the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 consists only of *ir i=w n=i*, between lines 3 and 4 only the missing signs of ‘*s<sup>3</sup> msy*’.*t*, and between lines 5 and 6 only *hpr.w šsp.n=i*. The amount of text missing between lines 2 and 3 is much, much longer. The most likely explanation for this feature is that the scribe committed haplography with *bw*, skipping from *bw nfr* in Vc, which would have occurred just after the end of line 2, to *bw nfr* in Ve.

## OIM E17574

Weight<sup>17</sup>, 698 grams (reverse uninscribed)  
H: 8.9 × W: 9.5 cm

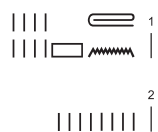


Fig. 5. OIM E17574, weight  
(photo D. 34023 by Foy Scalf)

© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- (1) *dbn* 8  
(2) 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1  
(1) Eight deben  
(2) Eight

## OIM E19109

Letter<sup>18</sup> (reverse uninscribed)  
H: 7.3 × W: 6.7 cm



Fig. 6. OIM E19109, letter  
(photo D. 34024 by Foy Scalf)

© Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

- (1) *ʿssʿ qd Bʿk[i ...]*  
(2) *m ʿnh wḏʿ snb m ḥsy [...]*  
(3) *ʿpʿyʿ=[i nb ...]*  
(1) Draughtsman, Bak[i ...]  
(2) In life, prosperity, and health; in the favor [...]  
(3) m[y lord ...]<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> OIM E19207 is also a stone weight labeled with the *deben*.

<sup>18</sup> Transcription of Edward Wenté in the files of the OI Museum Archives. See Wenté, Edward. Papers, Digital Repository, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>). There are a few traces on the broken right edge.

<sup>19</sup> This restoration here follows the draft suggestions of Ed Wenté. Comments from this volume's editors suggested the scribal hand may be that of Pay (i), for which see Polis (2022), and that the scribe's name could be an alternative restoration.

**OIM E19120**Ritual Text with Medico-Magical Contents<sup>20</sup>

H: 15.5 × W: 14.5 cm

*Obverse*

- (1) [...] ...=sn k3 dd(?) .tw n= 'sn' [...]  
 (2) [...] n3y=f nis.w m 3h.t \i3bt.t/ n.t p.t  
 (3) [...] ... dd.tw r3 pn hr 'pp iri.w m [...]  
 (4) [... rdi.w] hr ht hr [...] ... [...]
- (1) [...] their [...]. Then one gives to 'them' [...]  
 (2) [...] his invocations in the eastern horizon<sup>21</sup>  
 of the sky [...]  
 (3) [...] ... This spell should be recited over  
 Apep,<sup>22</sup> made from [...]  
 (4) [... placed] on the fire, on [...] ... [...]

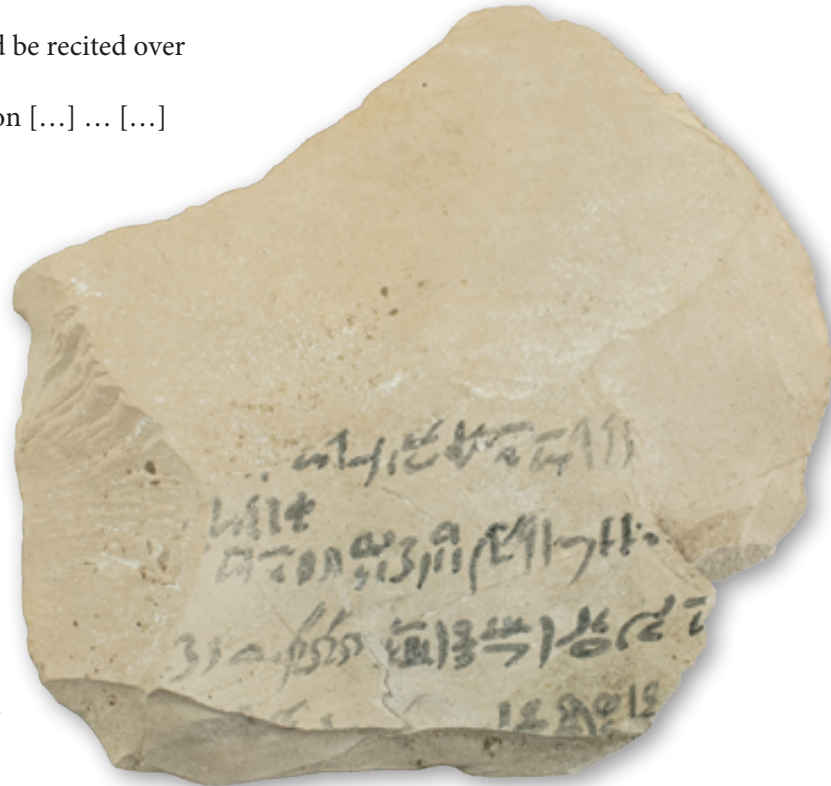
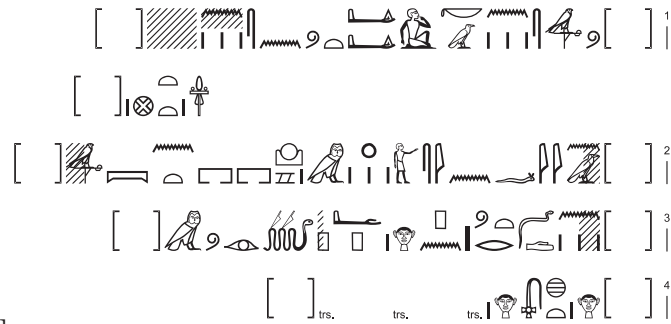




Fig. 7a. OIM E19120, ritual text  
 (photo D. 34025 by Foy Scalf  
 © Oriental Institute of the University  
 of Chicago)

Although there are similarities to the corpus of Pay (i) assembled in Polis (2022), the limited number of signs on this individual ostracon combined with some slight differences in forms makes it difficult to confirm this identification.

- <sup>20</sup> The translation in Ritner (1993: 150, n. 679; 211, n. 977) 'said over an image of Apep, made in [wax (?) ...] put on a fire, ground smooth (*nd-sn*) ...' is slightly misleading as it implies that it is the figure of Apep which is being 'ground smooth,' as if an execration. However, the text on the reverse is written at a ninety-degree angle to the text on the obverse. Although they are likely related, it is uncertain if both sides belong to the same composition. The text is broken on every side and the space between '[placed] upon the fire' and 'ground smooth' is unknown, but there would have been at least the rest of the line on the obverse plus several lines on the reverse separating them. Furthermore, the animal skin determinative before 'ground smooth' demonstrates that it is another ingredient which is being manipulated here.
- <sup>21</sup> Or read  in *ir.t i3bt.t* 'left eye.'
- <sup>22</sup> Or read  'pnn(.t)' 'worm, slug' based on the diagonal stroke on the right side of the sign before the determinative.



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# Two New Kingdom Hieratic Manuscripts from the Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

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## ABSTRACT

This brief essay summarizes two New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the Antiquities collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California. Previously in the possession of the 19th-century manuscript collector Sir Thomas Phillipps, the texts are an early 18th Dynasty *Book of the Dead* scroll belonging to a woman named Webennesre, and a late Ramesside private letter from the end of the 20th Dynasty. The papyri will be included in a digital catalogue publication of twenty ancient Egyptian manuscripts in the Getty collection, scheduled to appear in 2024.

## 1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The antiquities collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum—displayed at the Getty Villa Museum in Pacific Palisades, California—is primarily known for its Greek, Roman, and Etruscan artworks. The Getty Villa itself is modeled on the Villa dei Papiri, a Roman luxury villa excavated at the site of Herculaneum in the Bay of Naples. A lesser-known group within this collection, which has never been publicly displayed or fully published, comprises nineteen *Book of the Dead* manuscripts, ranging in date from the early New Kingdom to the late Ptolemaic Period. Seven of these manuscripts are written on papyrus, while the remaining twelve are written on strips of linen wrappings that belonged to the mummies of three male individuals. An additional text on papyrus records a private letter of the Ramesside

period. The manuscripts were originally owned by the famous English antiquary and manuscript collector Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), and donated to the Getty by rare book dealer Hans P. Kraus Sr. and his wife in 1983. Since that time, they have remained in storage, but current studies are preparing the documents for a full publication and eventual exhibition.

## 2. THE NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC MATERIAL

There are only two New Kingdom manuscripts inscribed with hieratic writing in the J. Paul Getty Museum antiquities collection: a unique *Book of the Dead* papyrus from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and a late Ramesside letter from the end of the 20th Dynasty.

## Inventory Number:

83.AI.46.3 (= TM 134689)<sup>1</sup>

## Materials:

Papyrus, ink

## Measurements:

H: 18.4 × L: 59.5 cm

## Date:

New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, Tuthmosis III–  
Amenhotep II, ca. 1479–1400 B.C.

## Script:

Hieratic, Retrograde Columns

## Language:

Middle Egyptian

## Contents:

Spells 98 → [...] → 136A → 136B → 149 → 150

## Primary Editions:

Scalf (forthcoming)

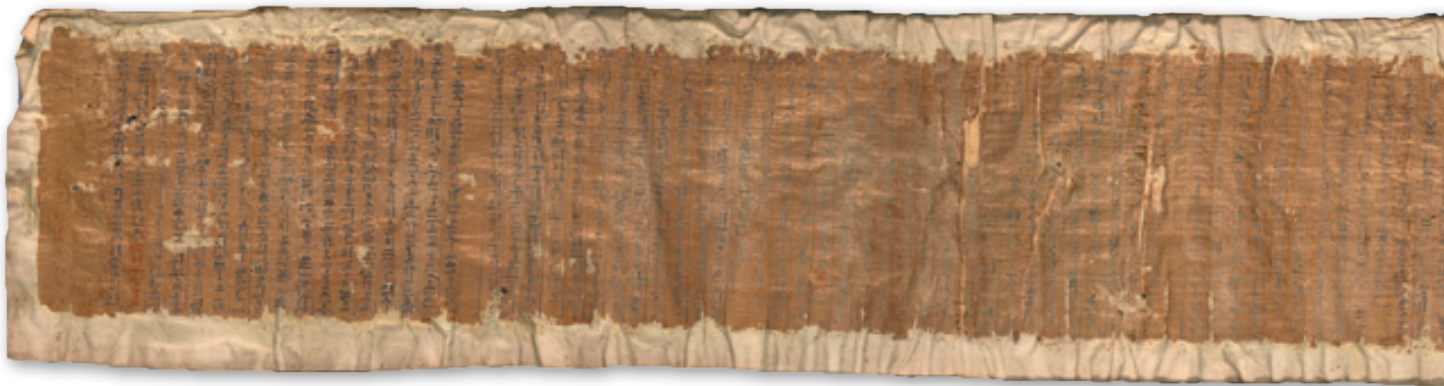
## Citations:

Kockelmann (2008: 133, fn. 96)

This papyrus is medium brown in color and inscribed in black and red ink with 114 columns of hieratic text on the obverse (papyrological recto) organized in retrograde columns. Now mounted onto a fabric backing, the reverse is presumed blank. Two fragments of papyrus from a now lost earlier section of the manuscript, inscribed with

sections of *Book of the Dead* spell 98, have been incorrectly patched above the first four columns. The text then picks up in the middle of spell 136A followed by spells 136B and 149. After these columns is the vignette commonly labeled as spell 150 showing fourteen mounds, each of which has an associated cursive hieroglyphic text naming the mound and its divine guardian. What appears as a blank section of papyrus at the beginning (left edge) actually represents a modern patch of vertical papyrus fibers (papyrological verso). The initial section of papyrus has broken away or was removed. Therefore, an indeterminate length of papyrus is missing from the beginning of the manuscript. The end (right side) is complete along with a blank, protective sheet.

Both the upper and lower edges of the papyrus are damaged throughout. Given the dimensions of the preserved papyrus of 18.4 cm compared to the typical height of over 30 cm, it seems likely that space for illustrations may once have existed at the top of the manuscript. Lower grid lines show that very little to no text is missing at the bottom edge. Along the top edge, columns are missing approximately two to four sign quadrants, most evident where only the introductory rubric *dd mdw in* is missing (e.g., col. 19, 23, 32, 36, 43, 48, 53, 58, 63, 68, 85, 90, and 100). Red ink for rubrics



<sup>1</sup> For updated information for all J. Paul Getty Museum objects, the Collection Pages can be accessed at: <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection>.



is used sparingly: for the title of spell 136B, the column headings before the section for each mound in spell 149, for *ʿp* in col. 35, and for *iw=s pw* in col. 108. Red is also found in the outline of some of the illustration in spell 150.

The restrained use of red, the paleographic forms of the hieratic signs, the layout in columns, the retrograde orientation, and the sequence of spells place this manuscript in the early 18th Dynasty. A number of early New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* manuscripts close with the same sequence of spells,<sup>2</sup> including the papyri of Nu (= TM 134299) and Iuya (= TM 134267), while many of the textual variants share similarities with P. Louvre N. 3073 (= TM 134306). The combination of hieratic and retrograde orientation is highly unusual and suggests that the manuscript was produced as part of early New Kingdom experiments with funerary text formats (Dorman 2019). Contemporary manuscripts employing hieratic columns in standard orientation, as well as similar spell sequences, include the papyri of Muty (= TM 134264) and Ahmose (= TM 134310). Retrograde hieratic columns are attested on the shroud of Ahmose Henut-Tjemehu (= TM 133680), notably in spells 136B and 149 (Dorman 2019: 37). Given these similarities and relationships, the manuscript

is unlikely to be earlier than the reign of Ahmose or later than the reign of Amenhotep III.

The hieratic signs of the scribe are very formal and conservative, often being more reminiscent of earlier styles, while certain signs reflect more contemporary forms. Columnar format restricted the opportunity for more cursive ligatures. Therefore, some signs show a close affinity with cursive hieroglyphs, while others retain a more hieratic character. Similarity of signs throughout the manuscript strongly suggest the hand of a single scribe (apart from the illustrations in spell 150). In the central section of the preserved manuscript, the scribe dipped their brush less frequently and the ink has a washed-out appearance. The consistency of the signs throughout the manuscript clearly demonstrates that they were produced with care and diligence.

The manuscript was produced for a woman whose name is commonly cited as *R<sup>c</sup>-wbn=s*, but this name surely uses honorific transposition and conforms to the pattern *Wbn-n=f-R<sup>c</sup>* (Ranke 1935: 217), *Wbn-n=f-Hr* (TM Nam 14599; Ranke 1935: 77), *Wbn-n=f-T<sup>h</sup>* (TM Nam 19581), and the like, so that the name should be read *Wbn-n=s-R<sup>c</sup>* (rather than an unattested *\*R<sup>c</sup>-wbn=s* that would presumably mean ‘Re is her shining/rising’). However, nowhere in the manuscript is a second

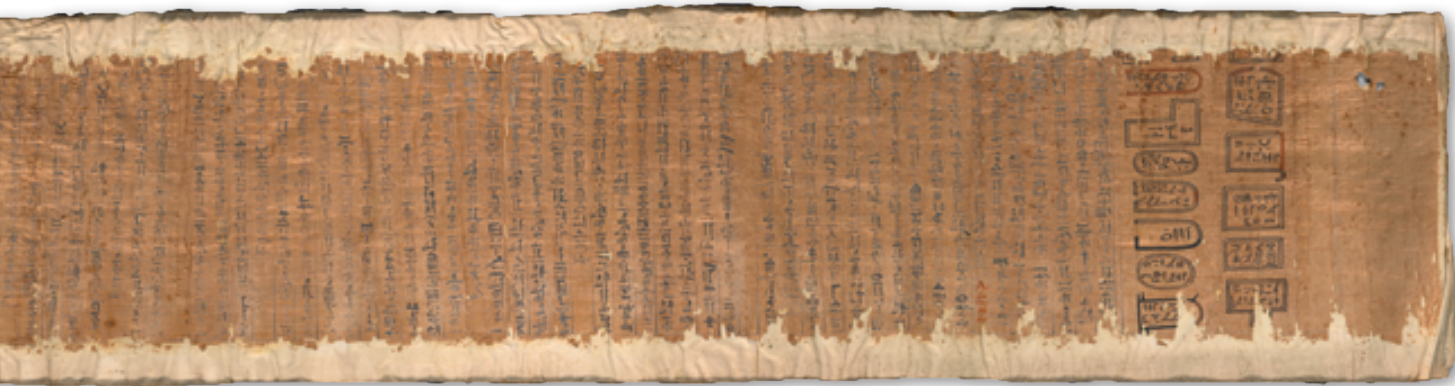


Fig. 1. JPGM 83.AI.46.3

2 See Munro (1988: 143); Lapp (1997: 42, sequence 8).

*n* written in the name; if this interpretation is correct, this might suggest graphic deletion of the sign, potentially the result of consonant clustering (i.e., *Wbn-(n)=s-R* ‘Webennesre’).

There are two further interesting aspects of this manuscript. First is the use of *iw=s pw* ‘This means it has come (to an end)’ rather than *iw=f pw*, a characteristic also found in the papyri of Nu and Iuya following spell 149. Second is the passage that immediately follows *iw=s pw*, which is associated with the spell by the introductory [*dd mdw.w*] in *Wbn-(n)=s-R* *hft sw<sup>3</sup>=s hr nn n i<sup>3</sup>.wt št<sup>3</sup>.wt* ‘[Recitation] by Webennesre when she passes by these secret mounds.’ At the end of this section, Webennesre asks to be endowed with ten arouras in the field of reeds: *s<sup>3</sup>h=k wi m <sup>3</sup>h.t st<sup>3</sup>.t 10 m sh.t i <sup>3</sup>r.w* ‘May you endow me with a field of ten arouras in the field of reeds...’ The hieratic sign used here is the *dekaroura* sign,<sup>3</sup> representing a generic field cultivable by a single person.

Inventory Number:

83.AI.46.1 (= TM 129730)

Materials:

Papyrus, ink

Measurements:

H: 32.4 x W: 21.9 cm

Date:

New Kingdom, 20th Dynasty, Year 10 of the Renaissance Era. Wente (1990: 196).

Script:

Hieratic

Language:

Late Egyptian

Contents:

Letter to Dhutmose from Amenhotep and Butehamun

Primary Editions:

Černý (1939: 28–30, no. 15); Wente (1967: 47–49, no. 15); Wente (1990: 196–197, no. 318); Janssen (1991: pl. 90–91); TLA 18945; Ramses Online

Citations:

DeM Database; Baines (2001: 9, 16); Bouvier (2005, fig. 1); Donker van Heel (2012: 160–163).

This papyrus is light brown in color and inscribed in black ink with seventeen lines on the obverse and eleven lines on the reverse. It would have been cut from a larger roll for the purposes of composing a short letter. The inscription begins on the papyrological verso where the papyrus fibers run vertically (designated V/H, i.e., vertical fibers over horizontal fibers, by J. Černý 1939: ix), and continues on the papyrological recto where the papyrus fibers run horizontally (designated H/V by J. Černý 1939: ix). After inscribing the first seventeen lines on the obverse, the scribe flipped the papyrus vertically and began writing on the upper right of the reverse. An eleventh line on the reverse contains the badly abraded remains of the address located at the bottom of the sheet, separated from the other ten lines by a large space, where it would have been visible on the outside of the folded document. The document is complete, with only slight damage from fraying on the left edge (from the perspective of the obverse). A few minor lacunae appear in the first and final lines. There is a slight separation of the papyrus along a horizontal fold at line nine (obverse) of the text.

As pointed out by previous editors, the hieratic text on this papyrus reflects three phases of writing by the scribe. The scribe began (lines 1–3) with a formal, chancery script,<sup>4</sup> with large signs and relatively minimal ligatures, reflecting the formalized opening in the epistolary address of late New Kingdom letters. With line four, the scribe started to save space by progressively reducing

<sup>3</sup> For the reading *h<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup>*, see Allen (2002: 151–154).

<sup>4</sup> Fischer-Elfert (2020: 656); also called ‘uncial hieratic,’ see Donker van Heel (2012: 162).



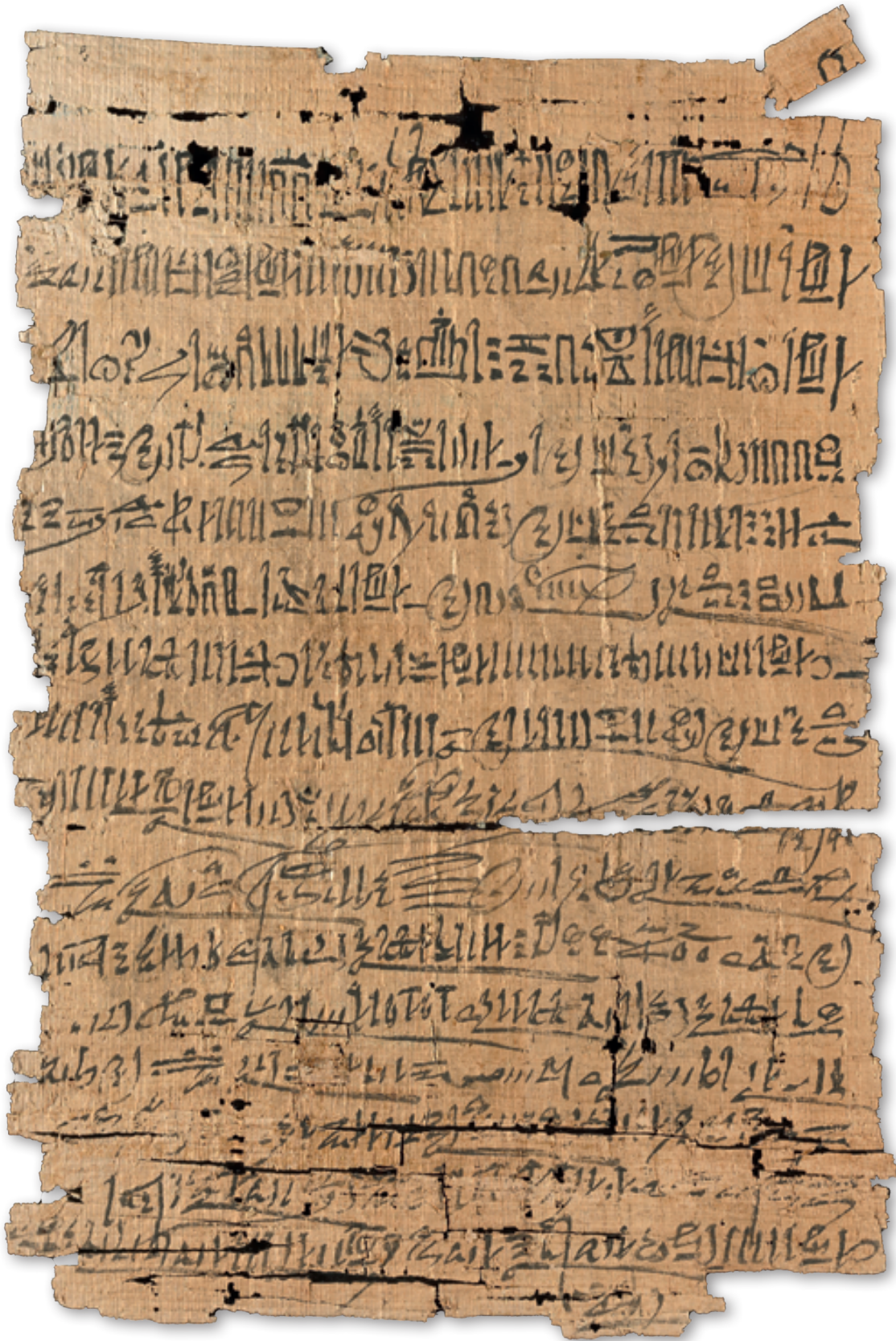


Fig. 2. JPGM 83.AI.46.1

the size of the hieratic signs. As the letter transitions from the formal introduction to the contents proper (lines 9 and following), the scribe's style changes from the formal, chancery script to the cursive hieratic characteristic of administrative documents, clearly written at a much quicker pace, with more ligatures and a flowing style. Although the letter is addressed to the scribe Dhutmose (also called Tjaroy) from Amenhotep, the *ductus* has been identified as the hand of Butehamun, who was the son of Dhutmose. Distinctive features of Butehamun's hand include a small dot above the *dd* group (Bouvier 2005: 104–105), the unligatured *p* group,<sup>5</sup> and the phrase *iw=i h³b r rdi.t m=k* 'I write to have you know' (Bouvier 2005: 105). Thus, it has been concluded that Amenhotep dictated this letter to Butehamun,<sup>6</sup> which further explains the inclusion of a message from Butehamun at the end.

The content of the letter itself is rather brief. In it, Amenhotep assures Dhutmose of the safety of his relatives and associates, while urging Dhutmose to stay out of harm's way for at this time Dhutmose was on a campaign in Nubia. Following Amenhotep's message, Butehamun adds one of his own. He also tells his father Dhutmose that he is praying for him and asks him to send him a letter in his own handwriting so that Butehamun can rest assured that his father is still alive. The letter closes with repeated assurances that Dhutmose's associates back in Thebes are doing well.

### 3. PROVENANCE

Despite its namesake Villa dei Papiri, the holdings of the Getty Villa Museum contain relatively few papyri, and even fewer examples from pharaonic Egypt. J. Paul Getty acquired only a few Egyptian objects for his own collection and for the nascent J. Paul Getty Museum, all of which are currently dated to the 6th century B.C. or later—and no papyri. Two papyrus fragments joined the collection in 1976, a 1st century B.C. fragment with text from Homer's *Odyssey* and a 2nd century A.D. letter on Epicurean philosophy books,<sup>7</sup> followed by a large group of fragments in 1980.<sup>8</sup> The last papyri, several late fragments, were accessioned in 1998.<sup>9</sup>

Against this background, the donation of seven funerary papyri and the New Kingdom letter in 1983 is notable.<sup>10</sup> Together with a group of twelve Ptolemaic mummy wrappings in the same donation, these form one of the largest corpora of ancient Egyptian material in the Getty's collection, apart from its holdings of mummy portraits from Roman Egypt.<sup>11</sup> Donated by Hans P. Kraus Sr. and his wife, these papyri and mummy wrappings represent part of the 'residue' of the remarkable 19th century collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, bart. (1792–1872).<sup>12</sup>

Although far better known for his collections of later manuscripts and printed material, Phillipps, a self-described 'vello-maniac,' added a small but compelling amount of archeological material to his libraries at Middle Hill, Broadway,

5 Janssen (1987); Egberts (1997: 24).

6 Černý (1973: 366); Bouvier (2005: 105).

7 'Papyrus Fragment with Text from Homer's *Odyssey*': JPGM 76.AI.56; 'Fragment of a Letter': JPGM 76.AI.57.

8 'Papyrus Fragment': JPGM 80.AI.26.1.

9 'Group of Papyrus Fragments with Text (4)': JPGM 98.AI.95.

10 'Group of Papyri, including a letter and *Book of the Dead* fragments (8)': JPGM 83.AI.46.

11 'Mummy Wrappings with Texts and Vignettes (12)': JPGM 83.AI.47.

12 Burrows (2019: S40). Having passed by descent to Alan George Fenwick, the bandages and papyri were part of the Phillipps library, which sold to Lionel Keir Robinson and Philip Ramsay Robinson in 1946, who then sold the remainder to Kraus in 1977. This earlier sequence of sales is covered in Munby (1960), and the sale to Kraus in Kraus (1978).



and Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham.<sup>13</sup> The papyri and mummy bandages now at the Getty appear to have been a significant, although not majority, portion of the ancient Egyptian material collected by Phillipps through both auction purchases and personal connections.<sup>14</sup> Phillipps acquired many of his Egyptian papyri at a time when the study of hieroglyphs was still inchoate. Despite this, Phillipps collected a wide range of papyri representing thousands of years and multiple traditions, from pharaonic *Book of the Dead* scrolls to 7th century A.D. Coptic leaves from the archive of St. Pesynthios (Burrows 2014). Some, like the late Ramesside letter JPGM 83.AI.46.1 (= TM 129730), were acquired by Phillipps at auction, already mounted between glass plates.<sup>15</sup> Other New Kingdom material, like the 18th Dynasty scroll of ‘Spells for the Scribe Pa-aa,’ now at the British Museum, remained unrolled during their tenure in Phillipps’ collection.<sup>16</sup> The earlier collecting history of JPGM 83.AI.46.3 (= TM 134689), is unfortunately still unknown. Two invoices from May 1858 from booksellers T&W Boone to Phillipps with entries for ‘Hieratic Rolls on Linen,’ ‘4 Papyri-mounted,’ and a ‘Papyrus with Drawings mounted on Linen,’ underscore both the breadth of Phillipps’ collecting in this area, as well as the challenges of tracing ancient objects often incompletely described or misunderstood in contemporaneous documentation.<sup>17</sup> Despite Phillipps’ obsessive cataloging in other areas of his collection, the earlier Egyptian material appears to have been at the periphery of his focus.

#### 4. ON-GOING PUBLICATIONS AND PROJECTS

A small exhibition featuring highlights from the Getty’s collection of *Book of the Dead* manuscripts is being planned at the Getty Villa Museum for late 2023–early 2024. A small digital exhibit of this material, titled ‘The Getty Book of the Dead,’ is presented online on Google Arts & Culture.<sup>18</sup> A longer-term project will involve close examination of the manuscripts by Getty antiquities curators and conservators to determine the best options for safe, long-term storage and whether any manuscripts require conservation interventions to prevent damage or degradation. Currently, the manuscripts are in moderately stable condition and are not well served by their historic lining or framing, which in some instances may not be safely reversible. Further conservation analysis is needed.

The full group of twenty manuscripts is currently undergoing a comprehensive study by Egyptologist Foy Scalf at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The study will result in a digitally published, open access catalogue from Getty Publications containing a full transcription, transliteration, translation, and commentary for each manuscript (Scalf, forthcoming). Essays from contributing authors will also help contextualize the Getty manuscripts within the broader *Book of the Dead* tradition, and discuss the provenance of this particular body of material in greater detail (Barr, forthcoming). The projected publication

13 Phillipps & Munby (1968: preface). On Phillipps as a collector, see further Burrows (2019).

14 For an expanded look at Phillipps’ ancient materials, see Barr (forthcoming).

15 Mr. Evans, London, July 23, 1831, lot 582.

16 Described as ‘opened for the first time and framed by the British Museum in 1958’ in the lot notes for the Sotheby’s London sale of Bibliotheca Phillipica material on November 25, 1969 [lot 441, ‘Spells for the scribe Pa-aa’] ‘Papyrus’: British Museum EA10819,2.

17 May 15, 1858, MS. Phillipps-Robinson c. 546, fol. 132; May 28, 1858, MS. Phillipps-Robinson c. 546, fol. 136. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

18 <https://artsandculture.google.com/story/ogUheUm1d2fPAg>.



date for this catalogue is 2024. The digital publication format will allow for interactive features, including the ability to zoom in on photos of the

manuscripts in enormous detail, and will hopefully provide a useful template for future digital publications of other groups of Egyptian papyri.

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**Kathrin Gabler** is an Egyptologist who specializes in the New Kingdom, hieratic texts, and the ancient worker's village of Deir el-Medina. Her research interests range from social and economic history to prosopography, to material studies, and 'object biographies.' She is currently a senior research fellow at the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (DAI Kairo). Prior to this, she was an Associate Professor at the University of Copenhagen. She is also conducting a large-scale (re)investigation of tomb TT 217 and developing a cutting-edge research platform (ResearchSpace Deir el-Medina) at the University of Basel in cooperation with the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology in Cairo. Additionally, she is a post-doctoral researcher on the tri-national SNSF/FNRS-funded project *Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt*.

**Jessica Izak** is an accomplished Egyptologist and archaeobotanist, having earned a B.A. in Egyptology from the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich and an M.A. in Archaeology and Natural Sciences from the University of Basel. Currently, she is working at the DAI Berlin at the Natural Sciences Unit, focusing on archaeobotany from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Since 2021 she has been an integral part of the *Crossing Boundaries* project, where she assists with data importation into the Turin Papyrus Online Platform (TPOP), which includes creating and controlling transcriptions, transliterations, and translations of hieratic papyri. Additionally, she is providing editorial work for publications by the team.

**Martina Landrino** is a PhD candidate at the Institute of Egyptology of the University of Leipzig. The purpose of her thesis, *Working Hard for the Pharaoh*, is to complete the first publication of a corpus of around 30 administrative papyri from the village of Deir el-Medina, currently housed at the Museo Egizio, Turin. She is also collaborating with the project *Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt*. Since 2022 Martina has been a member of the team led by Kathrin Gabler working in Deir el-Medina in tomb TT 217.

**Antonio Loprieno** is Professor of Egyptology and History of Institutions at the University of Basel (Switzerland), where he also served as Rector from 2006 to 2015. He studied Egyptology, Linguistics and Semitics at the University of Turin (Italy), and then taught at various European (University of Göttingen, Germany) and American universities (UCLA). His basic research is in the area of Egyptian and Semitic linguistics, social history and cultural studies, particularly the interface of language and culture in Egypt and in the Ancient Near East. More recently, he has become involved in higher education studies, science communication and science advice. Currently, he also presides ALLEA, the European Federation of Academies of Sciences and Humanities.

**Matthias Müller** is a PostDoc Research Associate at the *Crossing Boundaries* project at the University of Basel as well as a PostDoc Research Associate at the ERC-funded DEChriM project at MF Oslo. His fields of research include Ancient Egyptian and Coptic linguistics, Late Egyptian and Coptic philology, and Social History of Egypt in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium CE. His work focuses mostly on language change in Ancient Egyptian-Coptic and on the publication and analysis of hieratic material from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE, as well as the publication and analysis of Coptic texts from various places and regions of Egypt.

**Renaud Pietri** is a Post-Doc Researcher at the University of Liege (Belgium) in the framework of the international project *Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt*. His work focuses now on New Kingdom hieratic sources, especially from the site of Deir el-Medina and from a paleographical point of view. Since 2018 he has been involved in the study of the non-literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina kept at the IFAO (Egypt), led by Pierre Grandet (Action spécifique 17432).

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