New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

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New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

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Andrea F , Kathrin G , Jessica I , Martina L ,
Antonio L , Matthias M , Renaud P , Stéphane P ,
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New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

Introduction

Andrea F , Kathrin G , Jessica I ,
Martina L , Antonio L , Matthias M ,
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Susanne T , Stephan M. U

is book is the rst 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. e endeavour is directly connected to the interdisciplinary project Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt[1] is project is a joint venture of the University of Basel, the University of Liège, and the Museo Egizio, and it is nanced by the SNSF in Switzerland and the FNS-FNRS in Belgium, as well as supported nancially by the Museo Egizio. Since 2019, the Crossing Boundaries project has targeted the rich papyrological materials from the village of Deir el-Medina (ca. 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. e 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. is 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 o er 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Kingdom hieratic materials held in various collections around the world, as well as a series of case-studies discussing unpublished documents from these institutions. e 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 rst volume opens with Egypt and a complete overview of the New Kingdom hieratic material in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. is 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

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 (Ulège Press), for his patience and professionalism in preparing this complex publication; and to Serge Rosmorduc (Paris), who has provided the hieroglyphic text editor JSesh[2] to the Egyptological community for so many years. is 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.

B

G , Kathrin, H , Elena, L , Antonio, M , Matthias, P , Stéphane, P , Renaud & U , Stephan. ••••. Crossing Invisible Boundaries: An Erased Letter to the Chief of the Storehouse wy, in Ola E -A & Burt K (eds.), Proceedings of the Twel h International Congress of Egyptologists ICE XII, rd– th November , Cairo, Egypt, Cairo (Institut français d’archéologie orientale), •••–• •.

P , Stéphane, G , Kathrin, G , Christian, H , Elena, L , Antonio, M , Matthias, P , Renaud, S , Nathalie, T , Susanne & U , Stephan. ••••. Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt (with a ••-€ Progress Report), Rivista del Museo Egizio , [DOI: -•.•€•••/rime.••••.•€••].

R , Serge. ••-,. JSesh Documentation [available online: http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org; accessed ••.•,.••••].

2 Rosmorduc (2014).

New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo

Survey and History of the Collection

Khaled H
Cairo University

ABSTRACT

e Egyptian Museum in Cairo (EMC) holds a large collection of di erent objects bearing hieratic texts. ese 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. e 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 rst time; these illustrate the richness of the New Kingdom Hieratic Collection of the EMC.

1. I

e 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 rst gathered together in the Boulaq Museum and Giza palace and subsequently transferred to the EMC at Tahrir square.[1]

All artefacts entering in the museum were supposed to receive an inventory number directly upon their arrival at the EMC. e museum used four main inventory numbers (in addition to other numbers that were used irregularly),[2] though the chief inventory number used by the museum is the Journal d'entrée (JdE or JE). is rst began to be employed in 1880, when the national Egyptian collections were still housed in the Boulaq Museum.[3] eoretically, objects were to have been recorded in this register as soon as they were accessioned. In practice, however, a number ofobjects remained without JE numbers for long periods of time.[4] 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 Wazir I–II,

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*f* 100404.[5] 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. is 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.[6] It is worth mentioning that the rst 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 di erent fabric dating to di erent periods, but mostly to the Old Kingdom.[7] Interestingly, two volumes in this series were dedicated to hieratic ostraca discovered at di erent locations, some of which were not recorded with JE numbers. In addition, another volume dedicated to hieratic papyri was published by Wladimir Golénische (1856–1947) in 1927.[8]

It should also be mentioned that there are hundreds of objects in the EMC that have been classi ed, grouped, and recorded using CGC numbers, but which have not been published in the series of the Catalogue général. e sta 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.[9] e drafts of these manuscripts contain extensive work by these scholars documenting, describing, translating, and commenting upon these objects in their own handwriting.[10] In an article on the numbering systems used in the EMC, 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.

e 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 o•cially accessioned.[11] TR numbers were also used for objects that entered the Museum in lots—that is, when objects of di erent types were collected into a single box with the goal of sorting and assigning them permanent numbers at a later date.[12] Objects that were returned to Egypt a„er restoration or study missions abroad were also recorded in the TR until they were registered in the permanent records.[13] At present, there are 12 TR registers in the EMC that are available to scholars in hard and so„ copies in the museum's database.[14] e rst page of the rst 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 Golénische (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 ese 12 hard copy registers proceed as follows: rst 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, „h 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.[15]

Day	Month
Year	Monument no. for day

A further inventory system used by the EMC is the Special Register or SR. It was established in 1959–1960 when the Egyptologist Selim Hassan (1887–1961) was chief advisor to the museum.[16] It was an internal recording system used to assign objects to particular curators.[17] 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.[18] 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").[19] 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.

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.

15 As recorded on the first page of the first register.

16 Bothmer (1974: 122).

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

18 Rashed & Badr-El-Din (2018: 44).

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

1.2. e Grand Egyptian Museum as nal destination

e 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 rst 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., identi ed as bearing hieratic texts).

Sometimes, however, one nds 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". e 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. H

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 di erent sections of the museum).

2.1.18th Dynasty hieratic ostraca

2.1.1.Deir el-Bahri[20]

e 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.[21] ese ostraca, which are of di erent types, are stored in several di erent 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.

e 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.[22] Amongst these nds are:

- 238 ostraca from one of the dumps that formed at the site between "the temple avenues of Hatshepsut and Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe"[23]
- 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[24].

20 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).

21 Winlock (1942).

22 Hayes (1960: 29).

23 Hayes (1960: 29).

24 Hayes (1960: 29).

Except for the ostraca discovered during the 1929–1936 seasons, these hieratic ostraca were exported to New York directly a„er the excavation for study.[25] 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 Djeser-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 Tuthmosis II in Amun-Djeser-akhet.[26] Hayes' publication is based on photographs taken by the sta of the Met in New York. In 1953, the Egyptian Government placed an o•cial request for the return of these ostraca from the Met and they entered the EMC in the same year.[27] 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.[28] 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 di erent museums.[29] e group of 400 ostraca now in the EMC would have formed a large part of this project. Römer also published two short papers in 2008 and 2014 discussing aspects of some hieratic ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri. In the rst paper, he published two limestone ostraca discovered by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (DAI) in the Assasif valley: DAI 55 and 56.[30] is publication was based on black and white photos provided by the DAI, and did not provide any information concerning the whereabouts of these ostraca.[31] ese two ostraca are actually stored in the EMC under numbers JE 91422 and JE 91424. e 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.[31] An ostracon of interest discovered at Deir El-Bahri is JE 91421.

Hieratic ostracon Cairo JE 91421

Description

e ostracon (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. e text on the recto is almost complete; it is mostly legible. e text

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

26 Hayes (1960: 30–52).

27 ese 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 Tuthmosis I, were also returned to the EMC in 1953. See the discussion in §3 concerning New Kingdom papyri.

28 e present author found this box by chance in 2013 on the third …oor of the EMC. All of the ostraca in the box were photographed by the Met before they were returned to Egypt. e photo frames are numbered L10551–L10936, while the negatives numbers and some of the eld numbers can also be found (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 eben, 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.]

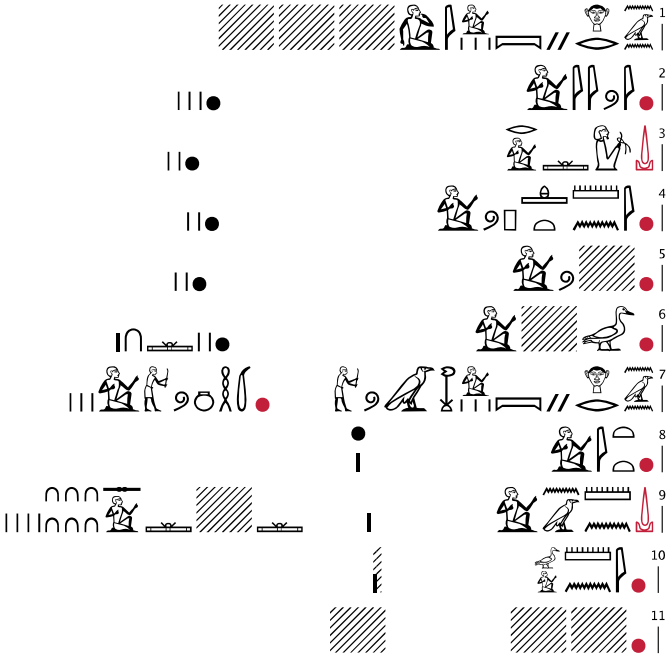
30 Römer (2008: 613).

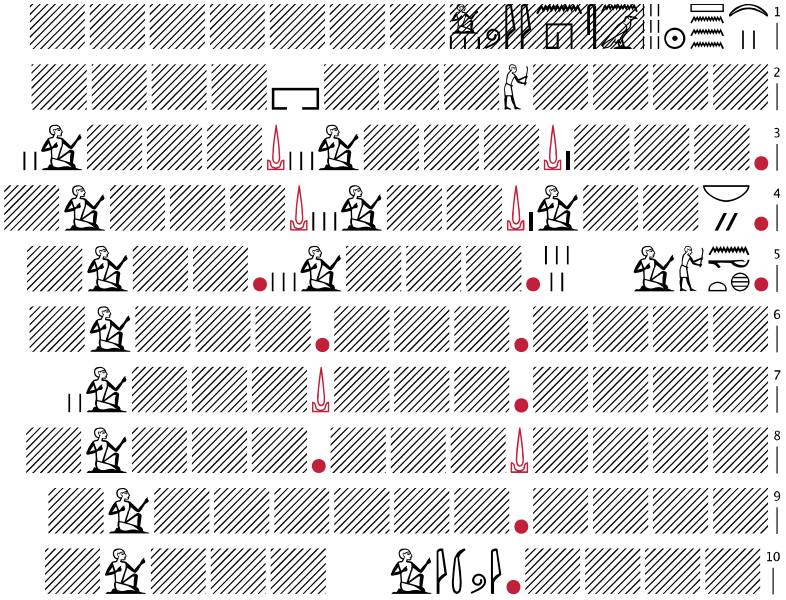
31 e numbers in the database are: JE 91416/ SR 7/18960, JE 91418/ SR 7/18961, JE 91421/ SR 7/18964, JE 91422/ SR 7/18965, JE 91423/ SR 7/18966, JE 91424/ SR 7/18967, JE 91425/ SR 7/18968. My sincere thanks go to Mohamed Ashraf Mekawy-Ouda (Cairo University) for providing me with high-resolution photographs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

on the verso is very faint and traces of intentional erasure are clear from the surface. e 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 .

Hieroglyphic transcription





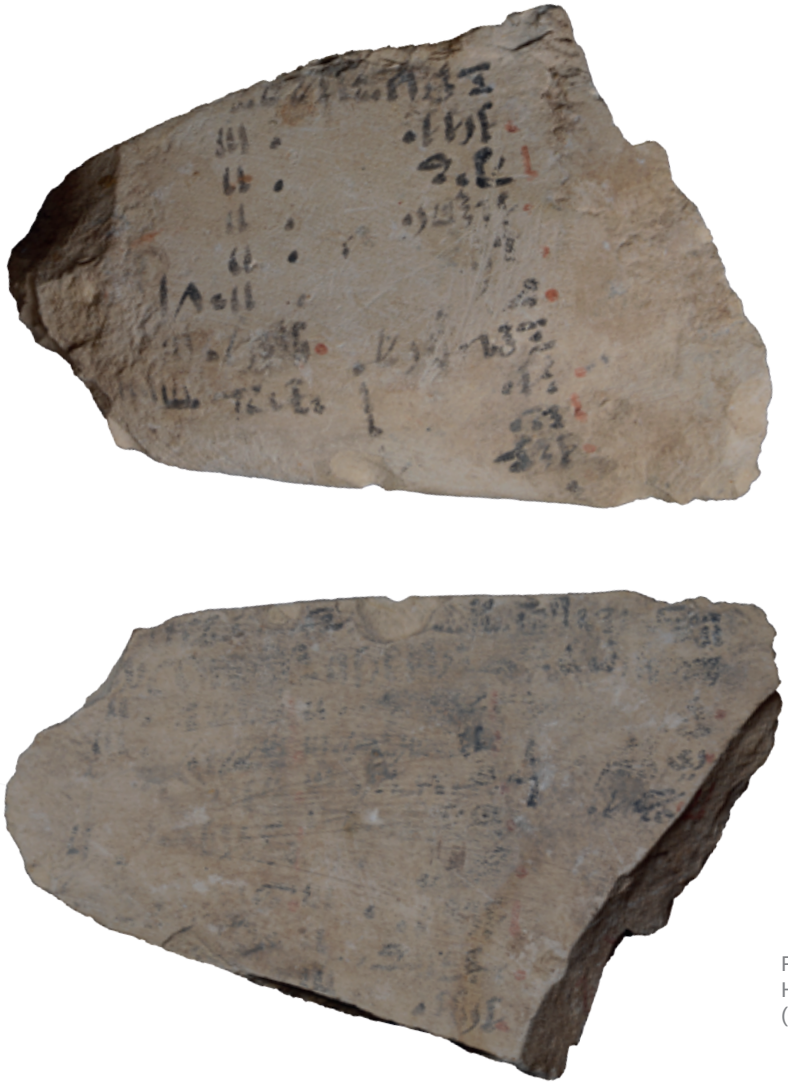


Fig.1a and b.
Hieratic Ostracon Cairo JE 91421 = SR 7/18964
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

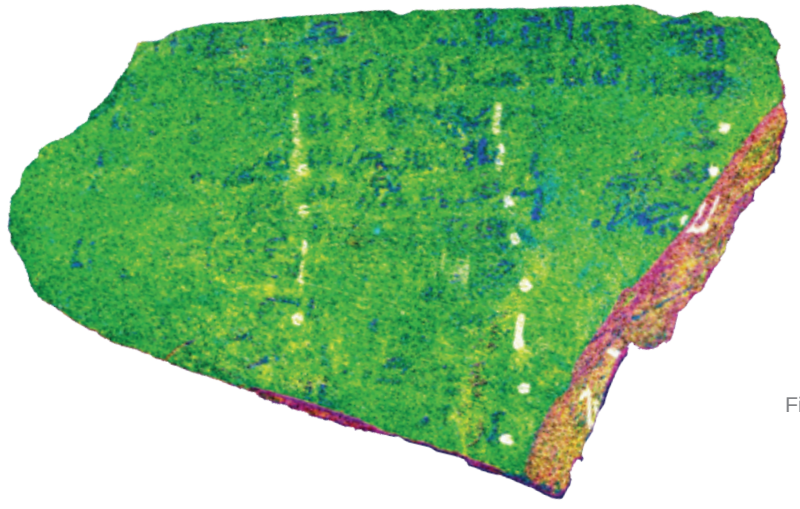


Fig.2. DStretch visualization of the verso

Transliteration and translation of recto

(1) n -n ryw j-[?]
(2) Jwy 3
(3) Jry-r 2
(4) Jmn- tp 2
(5) [†]w 2
(6) S[†] 2, dm 11
(7) n -n ryw y T nw 3
(8) Tty 1
(9) Mn -n 1 [†] dm [†] dm s 64
(10) S-Jmn 1
(11) [†]

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

Comments

e opening line of this ostracon introduces the ryw yw [32] "chiefs of the measurers," followed by a list of names and quantities. is 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 [illegible].[33] Some of the names that appear on this ostracon are mentioned in other ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri, including M , Tyw, and Jmn-tp. [34]

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 TuthmoseIII. ese 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.[35]

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.[36] In the course of surveying the ostraca in the basement, the team discovered two wooden boxes (located in corridor SS.9). ese boxes contained a group of unnumbered and unregistered ostraca in di erent scripts, including hieratic, demotic, and Coptic—the demotic ostraca forming the largest portion of these nds. A colleague and I were authorized to study these hieratic materials as part of our PhD theses.[37] e ostraca in these boxes represent administrative and literary writings. ey are inscribed mainly in black ink with the occasional rubric. eir provenance and acquisition history are not detailed in any of the EMC's records, but

32 is word appears on an 18th Dynasty ostracon from the tomb of Senenmut. See Hayes (1942: 385). Several instances of this term can be found in the database of Ramses Online (https://ulg.ac.be; accessed 01.03.2023).

33 Hassan (2015: 211).

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

35 For additional ostraca from the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis, see Hagen (2021).

36 e 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.

37 e hieratic ostraca in these boxes were divided between the present author and Rasha Isaac (Ain Shams University). Rasha Isaac nished 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 di erent 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 of help in establishing the provenance of these ostraca. It reads: “Below 28 ostraca Hatty N.E.Court & Naville Dump.”[38] ough 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. ese dumps were formed during Naville’s excavations at Deir el-Bahri between 1893–1899. Two of these dumps are already known: the rst was located at the northeast side of the temple, very close to the tomb of Senenmut,[39] while the second is situated to the south of the temple of Nepheptre MentuhotepII.[40]

e 18th Dynasty hieratic ostraca found in this box concern di erent topics. Among them is an ostracon bearing a text commonly attested on the walls of the tombs and known as “visitor’s formulae”.[41] 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.[42]

Hieratic Ostracon Cairo no.443

Another ostracon of interest found at Deir el-Bahri is O.Cairo 443.[43] It bears a letter addressed to the High Priest of Amun Menkheperrâseneb by the wâb-priest Neferef, though the subject of the letter is unclear. Menkheperrâseneb

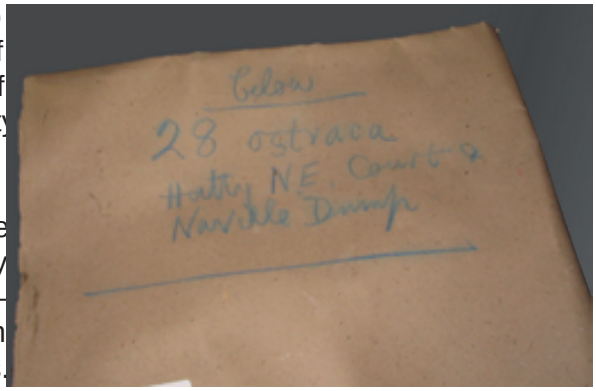


Fig.3. The note found in one of the two boxes in the EMC’s basement (SS.9)

was known as one of the High Priests of Amun at the time of Tuthmosis II and Amenhotep II.[44] According to Helck, he also held other positions, such as overseer of the cattle of Amun.[45]

Description

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

38 My sincere thanks go to Prof. Dr. Robert JDemarée for his assistance in interpreting this note correctly.

39 Winlock (1942: 135).

40 Winlock (1942: pl1). e present author published some of these ostraca in his PhD thesis; see Hassan (2014).

41 Hassan (2013: 183–192); Hassan (2017b: 281–292).

42 Hassan (2015: 179–229); Hassan (2016b: 125–136).

43 is registration number was assigned to the ostracon 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.

44 Urk. IV, 926–936; Helck (1958: 176).

45 Helck (1958: 499).

46 is ostracon was published by the present author as part of his PhD thesis; see Hassan (2014: 131–132, pl. 31–32).

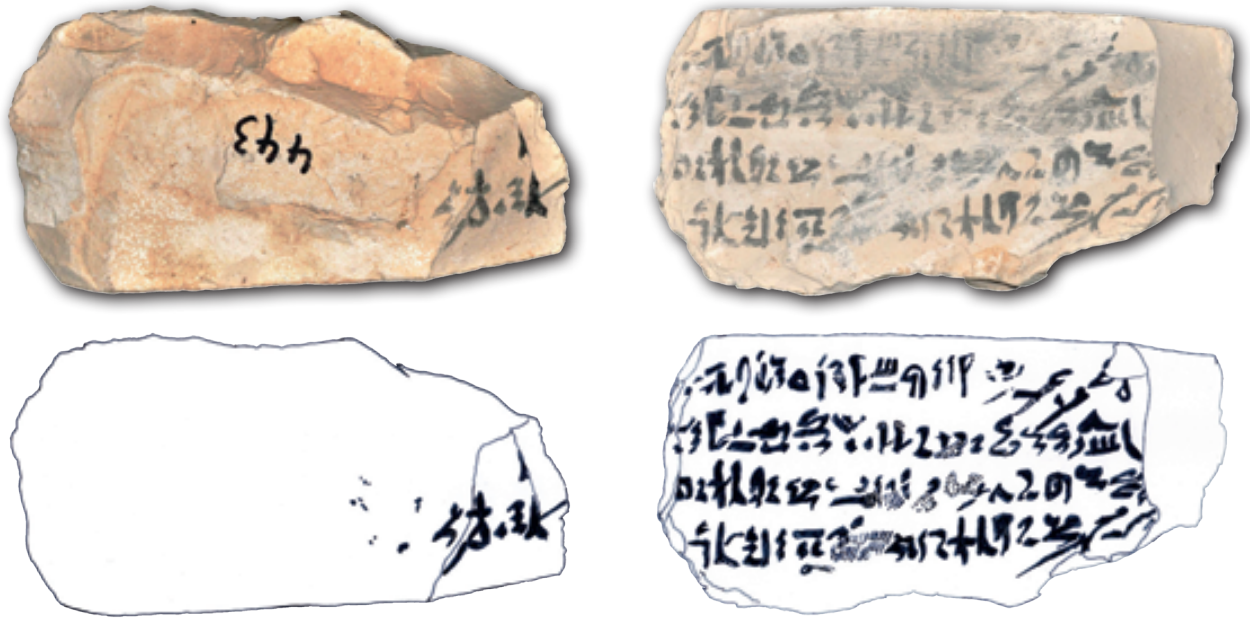


Fig.4a–d. Hieratic Ostracon Cairo 443 (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Hieroglyphic transcription

Recto

Verso

Transliteration and translation

Recto

(1) [w b] Nfr.f d n nb.f m-n r tp(y) n Jmn Mn- pr -R -snb
(2) [h]b pw r rdj.t r p y.j nb ꜥnty w-n qsty
(3) [†] r rdj.t h =f [†] nb n p sb
(4) [† m] (.t)=f p[ ] sb p nty r t w b.t

Verso

(1) ?[w]b?
(2) w b Nfr=f

Recto

(1) [† the wâb-priest] Neferef says to his master, the high priest of Amun Menkheperrâseneb.
(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

Rº 1. : is group was restored as on the basis of a comparison with the same group on the verso.

Rº 2. is an ancient terminal formula. It was used in letters addressed to persons of a higher rank.[47] e 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 ostracon.

Rº 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 .

Rº 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 re ect the remains of (an) older inscription(s).

Vº 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.[48] Both ostraca are held in the EMC under the numbers SR 1/12193, SR 7/21265; SR 1/12204, SR 7/21276,[49] though they were numbered 170 and 171 in Mond's report.[50] ey bear two administrative texts in black ink—these were most probably written by the same hand.[51] ey 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.[52] ese ostraca were published by J. erný (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).[53] 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

47 Bakir (1952: 67).

48 Another hieratic ostracon, OAshmolean Museum 26, was found during Mond's excavations at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna; it dates to the 18th Dynasty. See ‡erný & Gardiner (1957: pl. XXA, no. 4).

49 Like many other objects, each ostracon has two SR numbers, one in SR 1 and the other in SR 7.

50 Megally (1981: 294).

51 Megally (1991: 109). Hieratic ostraca from the 18th Dynasty found at ebes are held in museums other than the EMC, e.g., OAshmolean Museum 10, which records a detailed list of workmen and is held in the Ashmolean Museum (‡erný & Gardiner 1957: pl. XX–XXA, no. 5); likewise, OAshmolean Museum 7 is held in the Ashmolean and records the work of quarrymen in a temple or tomb (‡erný & Gardiner 1957: pl. XII, no. 7; Hagen 2011b: 215). Another hieratic ostracon, found at Deir el-Medina, is housed in the IFAO (inv. 10016a); see Grandet (2006: 1, 001, 7, no. 10002).

52 Gobeil (2015: 4).

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

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

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.[56] 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.[57] The jar labels in Cairo are registered as JE 92541/ SR 15694 (1971) and JE 92542/ SR 15697 (1973).[58] 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.[59]

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.[60] 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

54 Hayes (1951: 35).
55 Hayes (1951: 38). The numbers of these jar labels in the EMC are not mentioned by Hayes.
56 Leahy (1978: 1).
57 Leahy (1978: 1).
58 Leahy (1978: 52).
59 Leahy (1978: IV).
60 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.[61] 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.[62] 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.[63] 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 ‡erný in CGC 25501–25832: SR 4/1210–SR 4/1431.[64] 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.[65] 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.[66] Six of the ostraca published in ‡erný's volume of CGC were found by Daressy while cleaning the tombs at the site. (See the following lists).

Carter-Carnarvon season 1917–1918[67]	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	

61 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, Cairo CGC 25300 has moved to the GEM while the others are still in the EMC.

62 Daressy (1901: 112).

63 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.

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

65 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).

66 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).

67 Most of the JE and SR numbers are not recorded in ‡erný'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[87]	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 erný 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.

. 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/ SR1492	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 V (KV 9), and the area around the tomb of Siptah (KV 47).[68] 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.[69]

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

69 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

e next table shows a group of hieratic ostraca abbreviation B.El.M (see below), the numbers that were recorded in Special Register 4 as hav following B.El.M most probably re…ect the num- ing been discovered by Carter-Carnarvon during bers assigned to the ostraca by Carter-Carnarvon their 1917–1918 season at Biban el-Melouk. (marked in red in the table). Of these ostraca, only Most of these entries are annotated, including one has been moved to the GEM: JE 96553/ SR numbers and abbreviations. With respect to the 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 nders, their provenance, and the excavation season in which they were discovered, in many other cases, very little data was recorded. Sometimes, only the nder'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 nder 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. e following tables record all of these notes (both the notes in the SR and those attached to ostraca). ey are designed to help scholars determine the history of these ostraca. In preparing these tables and comparing the data in the records with known nds 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. e 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). e SR also records four ostraca as having been found by Davies in ebes, 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[70]

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

70 Yet another ostracon 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	ebes	Davies 1907–1908	1821/29.12.21.14
50353	ebes	Davies 1907–1908	1822/29.12.21.17
50355	ebes		1823/29.12.21.6
50356	ebes		1824/29.12.21.21

Table7. Additional ostraca found by Davies (a)

e hieratic ostraca in Table8 are recorded with more details about some of these ostraca, while Davies' name and were discovered in the Valley of the rest are not recorded there.
the Kings. e Deir el-Medina database provides

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				

Table8. Additional ostraca found by Davies (b)

Table9 presents a group of hieratic ostraca their provenance. Based on the working seasons mentioned in Special Register 4, most of which recorded for these objects (= Davies' seasons) are recorded under Davies's name, though no and the notes in the SR, I believe that this group provenance is provided; the entries for some of ostraca was most certainly discovered in the of these ostraca record neither their nder nor Valley of the Kings.

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Finder	Notes in the SR
49557	1929		
49561	1925		Part of no37
49620	1927	Davies 1907–1908	HO W13.
96567	1863	Davies 1907–1908	HO ♀ w.8
96568	1864	Davies 1907–1908	House .4

JE no.	SR 4/ no.	Finder	Notes in the SR
96569	1865	Davies 1907–1908	House .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 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 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.

Table9. Hieratic ostraca from SR4 coming from the Valley of the Kings

Table10 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 Deirel-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.El.M
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	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 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 lt 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 16
96369	1632	Deir el-Medina	Davies	Pr	96387	1650	Deir el-Medina	Davies 1906–09	House ♀

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					
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							

Table10. 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 di erent 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).[71] e vast majority of these ostraca are inscribed in hieratic script; a few are written in hieroglyphs, and some are gured ostraca. e 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).[72] e museum's records contain no mention of their provenance or nder, though it has been possible into determine their provenance, nder, 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" (g. 5). Similar abbreviations, such as "MP" and "NTb", appear in notes in the SR concerning hieratic ostraca found by Davies over di erent

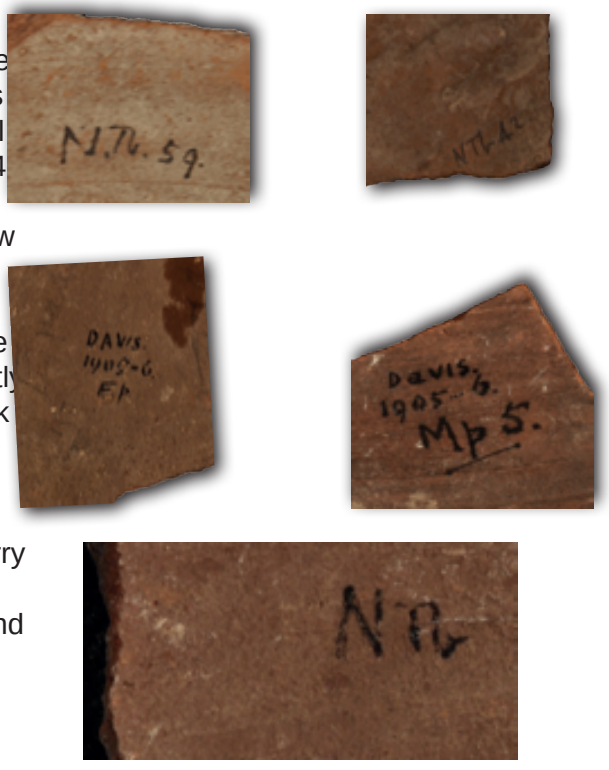


Fig.5. Ostraca from SR 18958/TR 25.1.55.4

71 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. ese materials will be published soon by the present author.

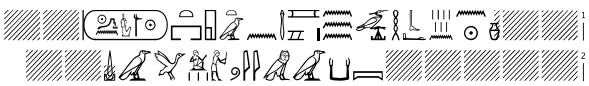
72 For more details about these jar labels, see Ali (2016: 29–35).

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 Pa-Dja.[73] As such, the missing name of the chief of the vineyard here may be Pa-Dja.[74]

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

Hieroglyphic transcription



Transliteration and translation

(1) [†] jrp] n hrw 7 n b[ ]n t w.t (Wsr-M
.t-R stp-n-R) [†]
(2) [†] ry k my.w p[ ]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.[75] 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).[76] 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.[77] Bruyère's excavations yielded thousands of objects that were divided between the EMC, the IFAO, and the Louvre.[78] It would appear that the EMC

73 Bouvier (1999: pl. 60, 61, 64, 67).

74 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).

75 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 (2011: 1). On the importance of publishing new hieratic material, see Dorn et al. (2018: 9).

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

77 Other prominent excavations at Deir el-Medina were led by Ernesto 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 Jesús López in 4 volumes: vol. 1 = 92 ostraca, vol. 2 = 226, vol. 3 = 179, vol. 4 = 118. See López (1978; 1980; 1982; 1984).

78 Gobeil (2015: 3).

selected the larger nds for itself, and that most of the ostraca and papyri were kept by the IFAO.[79] is 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[80] and ‡erný[81] 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".[82] 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. ese boxes may contain hieratic ostraca in su•cient numbers to change the Deir el-Medina-centric picture that I have just drawn.

Table12 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 ostracon written in black ink with a topic very close to the ones usually found in the Deir el-Medina material. is ostracon talks about hiring a donkey to the water carrier Knr.[83] is ostracon 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[84]	1955		Baraize	D.M
96352	1615	Deir el-Medina		D.M	96657	1957		Baraize	D.M

79 Gobeil (2015: 3).

80 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).

81 39 of the hieratic ostraca published by ‡erný 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).

82 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).

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

84 is 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

Table12. Ostraca from Deir el-Medina in the EMC

Table13 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). e digital database of the EMC, however, records that many of these ostraca were found at Deir el-Medina. e 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		

Table13. 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. is is because, while the area yielded many hieratic ostraca, these were not preserved in thee EMC.[85] e Deir el-Medina Database records eight hieratic ostraca from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, most of which date to the Ramesside period.[86] Some of these were assigned SR numbers and a few have JE and CGC numbers. ey were found by Mond during his excavations at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. ey 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.[87]

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.[88] ey are held in the EMC under SR numbers and are all marked "C.A.G" (indicating Sheikh Abd el-Gurna). e SR numbers assigned to these ostraca are 1979–12177–12180–12197–12213–12214–12206–12191–12188–12190–12185–12209–12216.[89]

2.2.4.Other nd-spots

e records of the EMC note several hieratic ostraca as deriving from such general locations as ebes, Luxor, etc. e records for most of these objects do not mention their nders, 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). e ostraca numbered JE 96323, 96326, and 96361 are recorded with the abbreviation "pr", while 96326 and 96361 are recorded in addition with Davies' name. e 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.

85 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). ere is only one number in the SR4 that points to Sheikh Abd el-Qurna: O. SR 4/1748 (=JE 96478).

86 One of the ostraca dates to the 18th Dynasty (SR 12204); it was published by Mond & Myers (1981), see §2.1.2 above.

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

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

89 ese 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 ve are said to have been discovered at ebes (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. e 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". is box contained various objects, including one ostracon, recorded as coming from a Hungarian Expedition in 1983–1984 (Fig. 8). e 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).[90]

is 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.

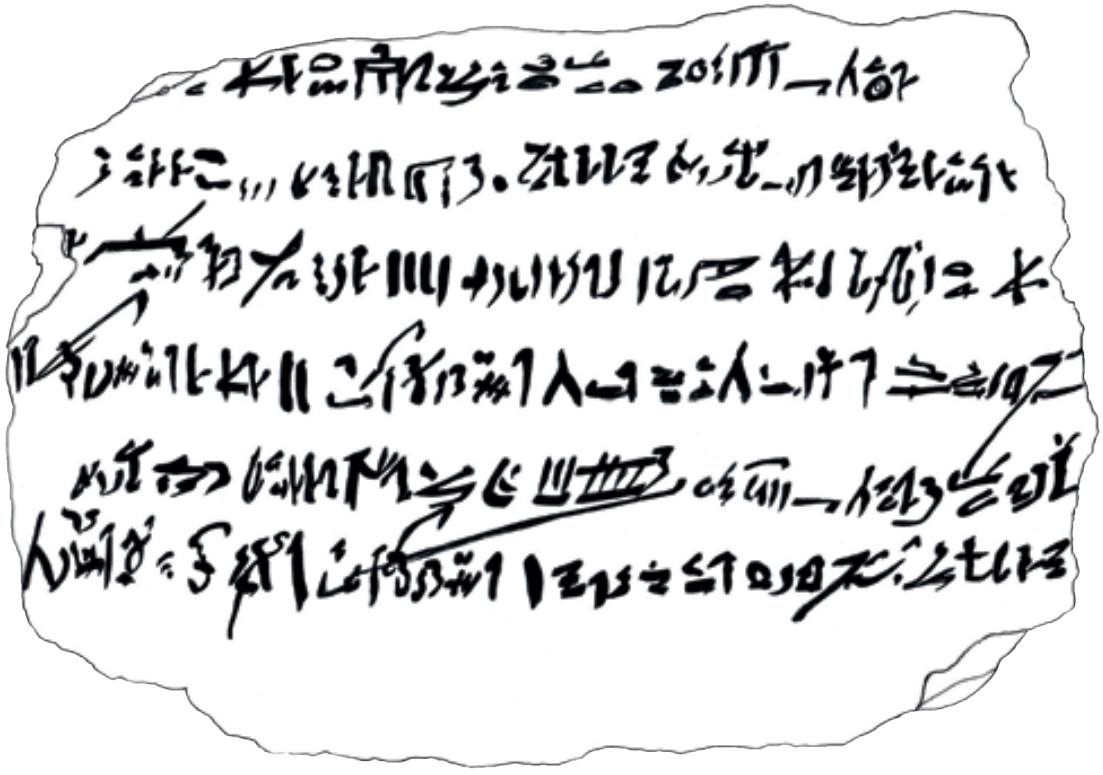


Fig.7. Facsimile of the Hungarian ostracon (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

90 Kákosy et al. (2004).

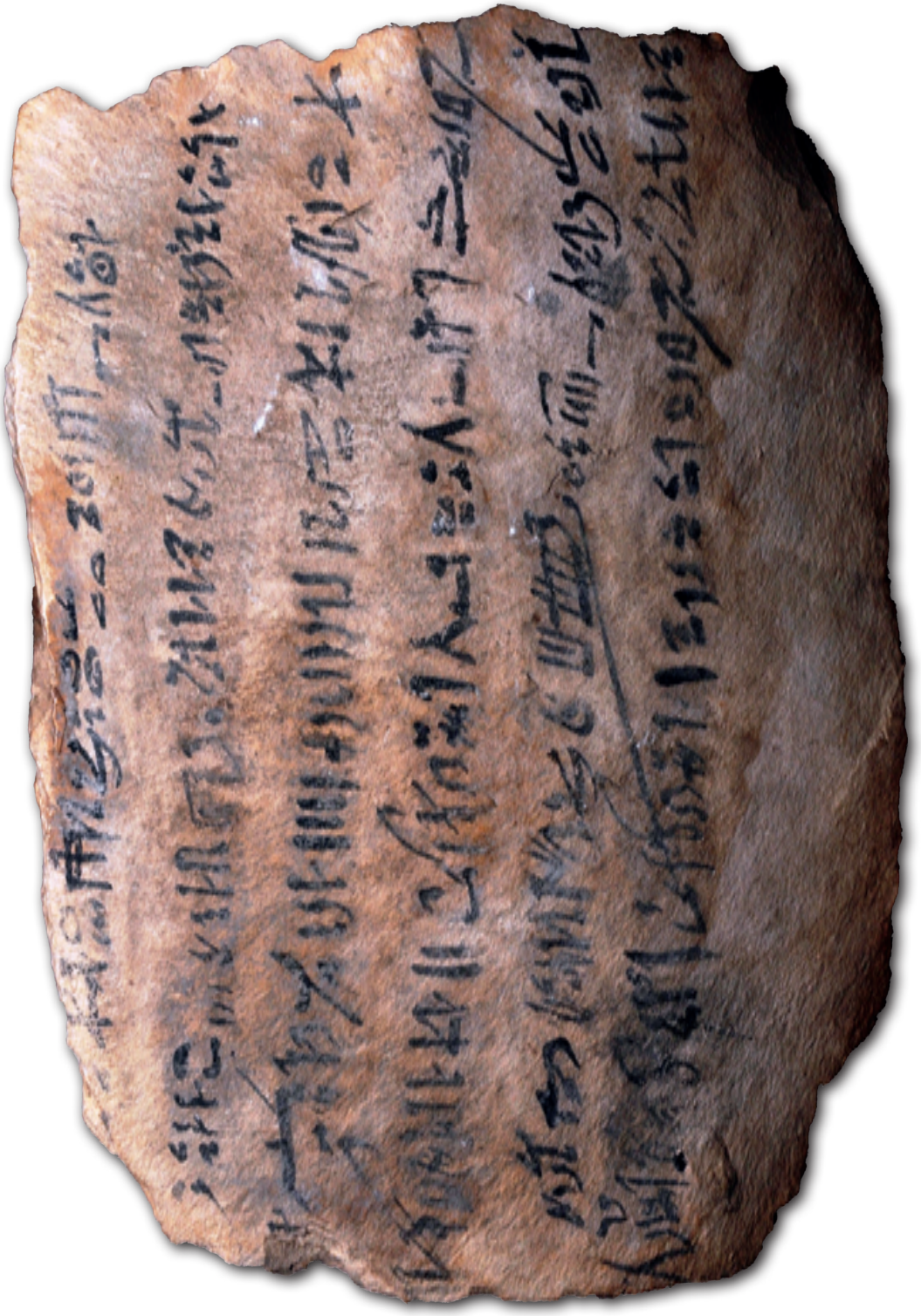
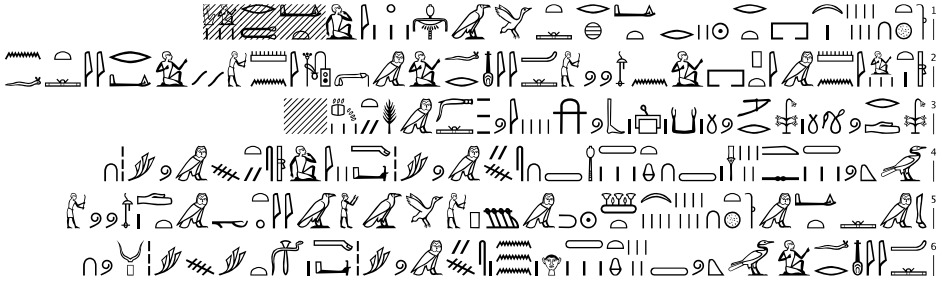


Fig.8. Administrative hieratic ostracon from the excavations of the 1983 Hungarian expedition (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Hieroglyphic transcription



Transliteration and translation

(1) t -sp 17 bd 1 prt sw 2 (m) djt r .tw p
j.dj rm -
(2) jst Jmn-m-jpt n mw wy -nfr m-b sš Jmn
n t rdjt n.f
(3) šm rw w 1, šm mrw 1, kbs 4 jw.w m m
bdty [†]
(4) qw gs 5, s b 10, t 10, smw rš 2, jsy.w 10
(5) w m dj.t m t -sp 17 bd 4 ‰t sw 10 m šsp p
dw yt m- rt mw
(6) wy -nfr qw 5 t r mw sjm rš 1 w yt (mrw)
wp 10

(1) Year 17, 1st month of Peret, Day 2, list of the payment that the
(2) workman Amenemope gave to the cra„sman Huynefer[91] in the presence of the scribe Amunnakhte. Given to him:
(3) n fabric shawl, 1; strip cloth of n fabric, 1; 4 grain-baskets that are full of emmer wheat
(4) bread, 5 half ones; 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 dw y.t-wood by the hand of the cra„sman
(6) Huynefer: bread 5, water-bread 1, vegetables, 1 bundle; vegetables (bundle)??? 10.

Commentary

e text re…ects a transaction between the workman Amenemope and the cra„sman Huynefer in the presence of the well-known scribe Amunnakhte. Several products were given by Amenemope to Huynefer at two di erent dates in Year 17 of Ramesses II. e contents and the handwriting suggest that this text was written by the same scribe as O. DeM 10045,[92] O. Louvre E 27677,[93] and O. Turin CGT 57020,[94] all three of which were written in Year 16 of Ramesses II, as well as O. Florence 2620,[95] which was written in the same year as our ostracon, i.e., Year 17 of Ramesses II.[96]

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 rdj.t r =tw p j.dj NN n NN: this formula is used in texts that record transfers and payments.[97]

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

92 Grandet (2006: 50, no. 10045, pl. 236).

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

94 López (1978: pl. 12, no. 57020).

95 Allam (1973: II 34–35).

96 e author is extremely grateful to Robert Demarée for his comments on this ostracon and for drawing my attention to the other ostraca written by the same scribe.

97 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-b sš Jmn-m t appears on ODeM 10222, which dates to Year 16 of Ramesses III (Grandet 2010: 108), and also on Florence 2620.
L. 3: note the spelling of bs with metathesis.
L. 5: w m dj.t is attested in several texts of the same kind.[98]
L. 5: dw y.t is unclear, though Robert Demarée (pc) suggest that it may be a kind of wood.[99]
L. 6: on the unidenti ed "water-bread", see Janssen (1997: 30).

3. N K E M C Š‹‹

e number of the New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the EMC is relatively low compared to the number of hieratic ostraca. e papyri are to be found in di erent 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. ey date to di erent periods of the New Kingdom, and a few papyri from that epoch were rst 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").[101] In 1927, Golénische 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.[102] A dra„ 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.

e 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/ EM. "Boulaq 11". Found in ebes. 18th Dynasty.[103]
2. SR 4/388/ CGC 58090/ JE 32882/ EM. Found at Saqqara in 1898. Tomb of Re-Nefer-Sem. It lists the names of a number of workmen.[104]
3. SR 4/389/ CGC 58055/ JE 32881/ EM. "Letter". Found at Saqqara in 1898. 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep II.[105]
4. SR 4/390/ CGC 58053/ JE 32745/ EM. "Letter". Found at Saqqara in the tomb of Re-Nefer-Sem in 1897. 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep III.[106]

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

99 Pers. comm. (24 Jan. 2022).

100 is 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 are stored in the museum's basement.

101 e two parts of the CGC published by Mariette-Bey contain 20 hieratic papyri from di erent places (nine were published in the rst volume, and eleven in the second volume). See Mariette-Bey (1871, 1872).

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

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

104 is papyrus was transcribed by ‡erný in his Notebook 145.8–10. ‡erný refers to it only by its JE number.

105 Bakir (1970: pl. 3–4); ‡erný (NB 145.23); Allam (1987: 20–24, pl.).

106 Bakir (1970: pl. 1); ‡erný (NB 145.24); Allam (1987: 1–12, pl. 2).

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

5. SR 4/391/ CGC 58054/ JE 32746/ CGEM. “Letter” Found at Saqqara in 1898. 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep II.[107]
6. SR 4/532/ CGC 58038/ JE 95640. Boulaq 17. Found at Thebes. Hymn to Amun-Ra.[108]
7. SR 4/680/ CGC 58081/ JE 59738/ CGEM. Account of transaction. 18th Dynasty.[109]
8. SR 4/681/ CGC 58082/ JE 59736/ CGEM 14878. Account detailing output of wine and fruit. 18th Dynasty.[110]
9. CGC 58081/ JE 59736/ CGEM 15358. 18th Dynasty.[111]
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.[112]
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

107 Allam (1987: 13–20, pls. 3–4).

108 Černý (NB 145.42–50); Koemoth (1995); Luiselli (2004).

109 Černý (NB 145.63); Mohamadien (2015: 70–81).

110 Černý (NB 145.63); Mohamadien (2015: 91–98).

111 Megally (1975: 165–178).

112 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.[113]

12. JE 52000. 18th Dynasty (Amenhotep III). Magical text (against crocodiles and infections).[114]

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 95573/ GEM 14877. "Rituals of offerings". Consists of seven pieces (a–g). 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II.[115]
2. CGC 58042. Papyrus Boulaq 4 (pl. 10). Teachings of Any. Probably 19th Dynasty.[116]
3. SR 4/385/ CGC 58056/ JE 38334. "Letter-Boulaq 16". Found in Abusir during Borchardt's excavations in 1902. 19th Dynasty.[117]
4. SR 4/392/ CGC 58089/ JE 32749. Found at Saqqara. 19th Dynasty.[118]
5. SR 4/394/ CGC 58092/ JE 95577/ GEM 14877. Boulaq 10. 20th Dynasty, Year 8 of Ramesses III.[119]
6. SR 4/395–644/ CGC 58039/ JE 95578/ GEM 15116 a–g. Boulaq 6. 19th Dynasty.[120] 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.[121]
7. CGC 58057. Letter. 19th Dynasty.[122]
8. SR 4/625/ CGC 58058/ JE 95696. "Letter". Boulaq 16. 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II.[123]
9. SR 396/ CGC 58059/ JE 95579. "Letter". Boulaq 14. 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II.[124]
10. CGC 58060. "Letter". Probably 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II.[125]
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.[126]

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

114 Weill (1922: 651–671); Rogers (2021: 183–203).

115 Golénischeff (1927: pls. XXIV–XXVII); Rose (2008: 294–323); Devauchelle & Widmer (2017: 75–92).

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

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

118 Černý (NB 145.40).

119 Mariette-Bey (1872: 5, pl. 1–2); KRI 5, 449–451; Allam (1973: 289–293, 268, pl. 88–91); Israelit-Groll (1993: 123–134); Jin (2001: 95–102).

120 Koenig (1981).

121 Černý (NB 145.51–8).

122 KRI 1, 238, 4–15; Polis (2008–2009: 75).

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

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

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

126 LRL 62, 4–11.

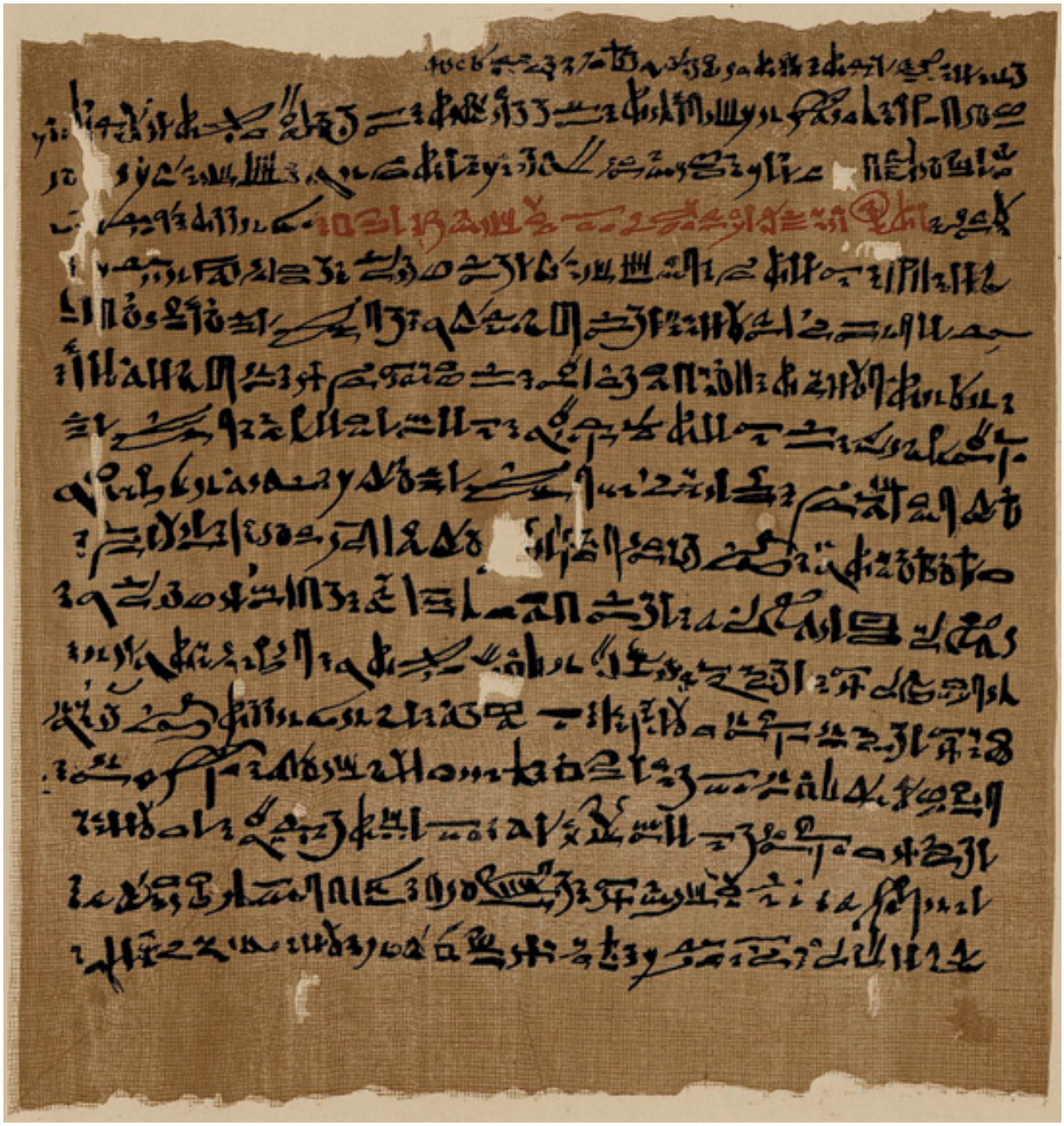


Fig.10. PCairo CGC 58042 (= Papyrus Boulaq 4 = Mariette-Bey 1871: pl. 37)

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.[127]
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.[128]
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.[129]
17. SR627/ CGC 58072/ JE 95698. Account of grain to be used as seeds. New Kingdom.[130]
18. SR676/ CGC 58077/ JE 9573/ GEM 14882. Account of loaves and fruits. Late 18th–early 19th Dynasty.[131]
19. SR 683/ CGC 58084/ JE 95738. Account, bread deliveries from granary. New Kingdom.[132]
20. SR 685/ CGC 58086/ JE 95740/ GEM 14398. Account of meat and bread. New Kingdom.[133]
21. SR 687–688/ CGC 58088/ JE 95742. Account of bread and beer. Late 18th–early 19th Dynasty.[134]
22. SR 6p/ 3712(a)/ JE 52002–JE 52003–JE 52004. Administrative text. Saqqara. 20th Dynasty, Year 15 of Ramesses II.[135]
23. CGC 58091. Administrative text. Probably 19th Dynasty.[136]
24. CGC 58092. Legal text. Boulaq 10. 20th Dynasty, Year 8 of Ramesses II or Ramesses IV.[137]
25. JE 68566 (= SR 600). Papyrus belonging to the so-called "el-Hibeh archive".[138]
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.

127 ‡erný (NB 145.41); Ali (1992: 7–10; 1994: 508–512).

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

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

130 ‡erný (NB 114.59); Mohamadien (2015: 110–121).

131 ‡erný (NB 145.65); Mohamadien (2015: 122–133).

132 ‡erný (NB 145.66); Mohamadien (2015: 99–109).

133 ‡erný (NB 145.61–2); Mohamadien (2015: 134–160).

134 ‡erný (NB 145.63); Mohamadien (2015: 70–81).

135 KRI 7, 263, 4–265, 15; Posener-Kriéger (1996: 655–664; 1981: 47–58); Mor ni (2019: 100, 102).

136 Gabolde (2008: 181); Polis (2008–2009: 75).

137 See Müller (2009: 252).

138 ‡erný (NB 22.25–28); KRI 5, 449, 11–451, 9; Janssen & Pestman (1968: 137–170); Allam (1973: 288–291); Polis (2008–2009: 75).

4. V

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.[139] ey 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.[140] Recently, H. Hagen (2019: 177–208) published three of these boards (nos. 7, and 8)—they feature the literary compositions of Khakheperresenb 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 nd-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[141]	JE 41790/ SR 4/441	Carnarvon Tomb 9, tomb court radim	1908
II[142]	JE 43261 D+56802/ SR 4/708, 709	Carnarvon Tomb 9, tomb court radim	1908
III[143]	JE 43217/ SR 4/694	Carnarvon Tomb 37, chamber C radim, near a basket of scribal equipment	1911
IV[144]	JE 43216/ SR 4/707	Carnarvon Tomb 37, chamber C radim, in an o•ering tray near a basket of scribal equipment	1911
V[145]	JE 51971/ SR 4/700	Carnarvon 62 complex, subsidiary tomb 43, west chamber, foot of co•n.	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 radim	1911?
VIII	JE 43261/ SR 4/699	Carnarvon Tomb 9, tomb court radim	(1908)

Table 14. The Carnarvon tablets in the EMC[146]

139 is nd-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/collection/search/546931; accessed 01.03.2022).

140 Hagen (2019: 179).

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

142 Carnarvon & Carter (1912: 37, pl. 29); Posener (1976: 3–4, 143–148).

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

144 Carnarvon & Carter (1912: 92–93, pl. 76).

145 Maspero (1914: 33–34).

146 is 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.[147] It is 36 cm 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.[148]

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.[149]

147 Daressy (1901: no. 25224).

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

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

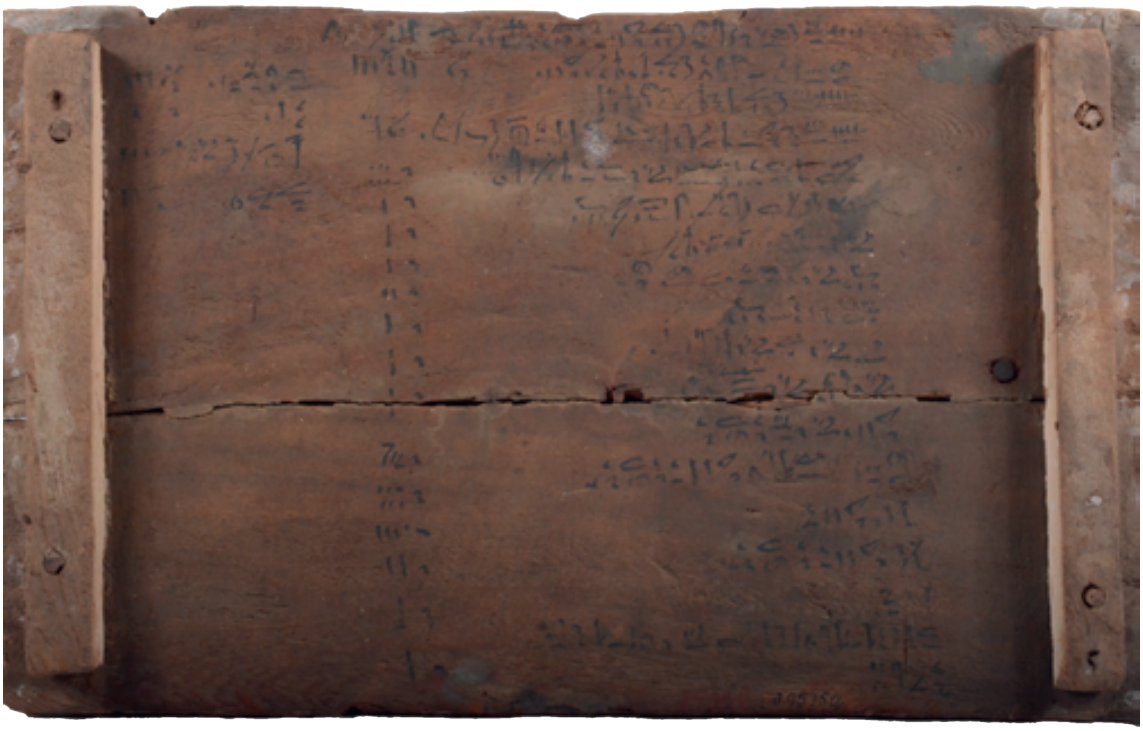


Fig.12. Board Cairo CGC 25366

4.3. Wooden kohl tube with hieratic inscriptions

A wooden kohl tube with hieratic inscriptions (4.2×13.7cm) is held in the EMC under the inventory numbers CG 44703/JE 18553 (13). After a first line that reads *s =k m nfr, m s 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 9×5.4×8cm 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 Penḥene and a woman named Taa. 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.[150] According to the museum's records, the stela was discovered on the island of Philae, though Penḥene is depicted adoring the god Horus, Lord of Buhen, which might suggest that it was originally located in the temple of Horus at Buhen.

150 For the few other hieratic stelae known from the Ramesside period, see Bakir (1952: pl. I–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

B

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Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum für Kärnten

Zwei neuzeitliche Papyruspäckchen

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ABSTRACT

e 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. ese 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. D S L K K

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.[1] Die meisten Objekte sind Kleinfunde. Der Verein bemühte sich allerdings sogar erfolgreich um den Erwerb einer römerzeitlichen ägyptischen Frauenmumie.[2] 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.[3]

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[4] in Luxor erworben], einen von Leodegar Canaval). Sie wurden am 7. Juli 1927 an die Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien verkau•. 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

1 Hamernik (2014: 107).

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

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

4 Bierbrier (2019: 309–310).

Opferhymnus an Sokar-Osiris aus dem 4./3. Jh. v. Chr.) und D12002–12004 (drei abnormhieratische Urkunden eines Archivs.[5]

2. Z P

Zu den Reisemitbringseln des 19. Jahrhunderts gehörten o•enbar auch zwei noch nicht entfaltete Papyri (Objektnummern 300 und 301, Inventarnummern unbekannt; vgl. Abb. 1 und 2). Es handelte sich um dunkelgrau verfärbte Päckchen von 6 auf 2,3 bzw. 4 auf 2 cm (dieses kleinere Päckchen war leicht unregelmäßig zer eddert). Über ihre Herkun• 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.[6] Dies geschah in zwei Sitzungen am 9. und 30. Januar 2015. Die Ö•nung 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 E•ekt hatte, vermuteten wir zunächst darin, dass der fest anha•ende 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 Beschri•ung 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 beschri•et bzw. bemalt. Aber die Stücke gehören nicht aneinander, stellen überhaupt ein Konglomerat von Resten unterschiedlicher Papyri dar.[7] Denn es kommen verschiedene Handschri•en vor. Doch kein Papyrus ist hieratisch beschri•et.

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

5 Hamernik (2014: 110–111); Nationalbibliothek in Wien (1930: 2a, 6). 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) verö•entlicht.

6 Ho•mann (2023) zur Ö•nung der Papyri und zu Fotos der Fragmente.

7 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 aufgebrachte Schmutz, der das hohe Alter und die Echtheit unterstreichen sollte, dürfen 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 beschrieben 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.

Die Redaktion 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

is paper presents an ongoing project concerned with the study and edition of the hieratic ostraca and jar dockets in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels and details its preliminary results. is project is characterised by an interdisciplinary approach that combines philological study with analysis of the materiality of these artefacts and their morphology. ese 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.

A•er an introduction to the project, the Brussels collection of hieratic ostraca and jar dockets is presented and the objectives as well as the methodologies of the study of the limestone and ceramic ostraca explained. is is followed by the publication of ve 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 re ect three di•erent types of manufacture, and that atness 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 o•en possess a clear colour and seem to have derived from large pottery items. Regarding the fabrics of these sherds, the most commonly identi ed 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. I [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 in…uence 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.[1] On the other hand, the archaeological context of the material supports of the texts, whether papyri, tablets, or ostraca, also starts receiving serious attention.[2] Given the obvious benefits of such multi-faceted approaches to Egyptology, the ongoing interdisciplinary edition and study of the hieratic ostraca and jar dockets 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.[3] 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[4] 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. The 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.[5] 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.[6] 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 šr (and s nr), as ostraca can occasionally be made of flint; see, for example, Šerný (1935: 53–54, pl. XCI) for O. Cairo 25665 and 25666; Šerný (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 ostracon 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.[7] Material approaches to these artefacts remain rare,[8] 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[9] 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 modi cations to the ostracon 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.[10] is 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 eban 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 di erent modes of producing ostraca depending on the kind of text that was eventually written on them.[11] e only distinction made in the present project is between ostraca and jar dockets, which obviously belong to two di erent categories of artefacts.[12] e collection in the Brussels Museum consists of 30 jar dockets for wine and oil, as well as 74 hieratic ostraca, either of ceramic or limestone,[13] which divide into 27 literary, religious, and magical texts, as well as 47 non-literary texts. is inventory is not de nitive, however, as the texts on a few ostraca are still to be identi ed. 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. e ve 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. is 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 is latter aspect represents the main di•erence 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 di•erence of manufacture that could be linked to this di•erence. However, it was already noted by C. Wilcken in 1901 that the ostraca on which Coptic eban tax receipts have been written derive from speci c ceramics, di•erent from those used for other the Coptic eban documents. Recently, this ceramic has been identi ed 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 de nition of ostraca, we can exclude dockets (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 MRAH E.00580; see Van de Walle (1963).

as a study of the manufacturing process of these statuettes.[14] Imaging methods such as IR photography, or the use of ImageJ® in combination with DStretch®, are increasingly familiar.[15] 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.[16] 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.[17] Two further applications of the MS PLD will also be tested with respect to the reconstruction of palimpsests and the creation of facsimiles.[18] 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 dockets is presented and the objectives as well as the methodology behind the petrographic and ceramological analyses outlined. is is followed by the publication of ve ostraca as case studies, which are examined from these di erent points of view. A synthesis concludes the paper.

2. T B

[L. D.]

e Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels hold an important collection of New Kingdom ostraca, consisting of 63 illustrated ostraca[19] and 74 hieratic ostraca bearing administrative, literary, and religious texts, as well as 30 jar dockets. e 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. e majority of the artefacts in question come from the eban area, particularly the Ramesseum and Deir el-Medina (or the Valley of the Kings).

2.1. Jar dockets and ostraca from the Ramesseum

e rst jar docket acquired by the Museum appears to be MRAH E.00321, which was o ered 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 dockets entered the collection in the following years, including ve dockets o ered to Capart by Alfred Wiedemann (University of Bonn) and registered on 22nd November 1900 (E.00327 to E.00331), and twenty-three dockets

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 di•erent provenience. See Piquette (2018) and Blakolmsen (2020) for a detailed presentation of di•erent 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. 30) for a temperate opinion on such subjectivity. Moreover, for ‘the technical process of extracting facsimiles’ conceived in the frame of the project Altägyptische Kursivschri en (AKU), see the forthcoming publications quoted by Moezel (2022: 19, fn. 20, fn. 31).

19 Delvaux & Pierlot (2013). On the general history of the Egyptian collection in Brussels, see Vande 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 ostracon o ered 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.

e jar dockets 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.[20] At the beginning of the campaign, Spiegelberg had joined Quibell's team and immediately began to study the many jar dockets that came to light.[21] Most of these appear to have escaped inclusion in the o•cial Distribution Lists of discovered objects and seem to have been sent directly by Petrie to the Institute of Egyptology of Strasburg 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 dockets were o ered by Spiegelberg to Capart for the collection of the RMAH.[22]

e exact provenience of these jar dockets within the Ramesseum complex can be identi ed, as Quibell's excavations focused on the north-western group of storerooms.[23] e jar dockets of the RMAH o„en 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.[24]

e ve jar dockets o ered to the Museum by Wiedemann also come from the Ramesseum.[25] ey 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;[26] 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 nal 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 dockets from the temple.

2.2. e 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. eir texts o„en 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 derivefrom the Valley of the Kings or the temporary dwellings of the tomb workers.[27]

e ostraca purchased in 1900–1901 (E.00301 to E.00320, E.00490, E.05181) were discovered sometime a„er 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.[28] 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 Medineh,' probably on the surface of the Great Pit that was systematically excavated by Bernard Bruyère from 1949 to 1951.[29] The ostraca purchased in 1905–1906 (E.02420 to E.02423) were acquired by Capart in Cairo from Ralph H. Blanchard.[30] 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.[31] 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).[32] 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)[33] and by Petrie in 1902–1903 (O.MRAH E.02537). According to its inventory card, the third ostracon (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. M

[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.

e 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. e nature of the rock—its petrographic composition—can help to locate its geographic source (in our case, with reference to the geology of the eban area). e 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.

is 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 magni cation eld lenses and occasionally lab lenses, a method that proved su•cient for a rst analysis. is 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 identi cation 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 classi cation of the rock that forms the basis of the ostraca, samplings will be conducted at a future stage of the project. is will also enable micro-paleontological studies (nano-fossil identi cation, for instance) and geochemical discrimination analyses, such as those successfully applied to building stones from the same area.[34] e 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 classi cation of the shape of the ostraca will bene t from the use of the Multispectral Portable Light Dome (MS PLD).

e general shape, thickness, and completeness of the artefacts, as well as their possible special design (evidence of a resting edge, design of a speci c outline for the ostracon, etc.) are the features that we detail rst. is requires a description of the two main faces of the ostraca, as well as their edges, in order to distinguish between natural and arti cial scars, deliberate fragmentation, knapping, as well as excavation and 'partage' breakings. With respect to natural fractures, the reference work by Jean-Pierre Colbeaux,[35] 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[36] 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 arti cial knapping in their recent contribution, as well as providing examples of intentionally produced ostraca.[37] 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 di•cult, and the criteria for making such a distinction need to be speci ed. In this case, we evaluated the intentional shaping of ostraca by examining whether or not successive knappings

34 De Putteret al. (2013).

35 Colbeaux (1972).

36 De Leiris (1974); Bahat (1991); Tsirk (2014).

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

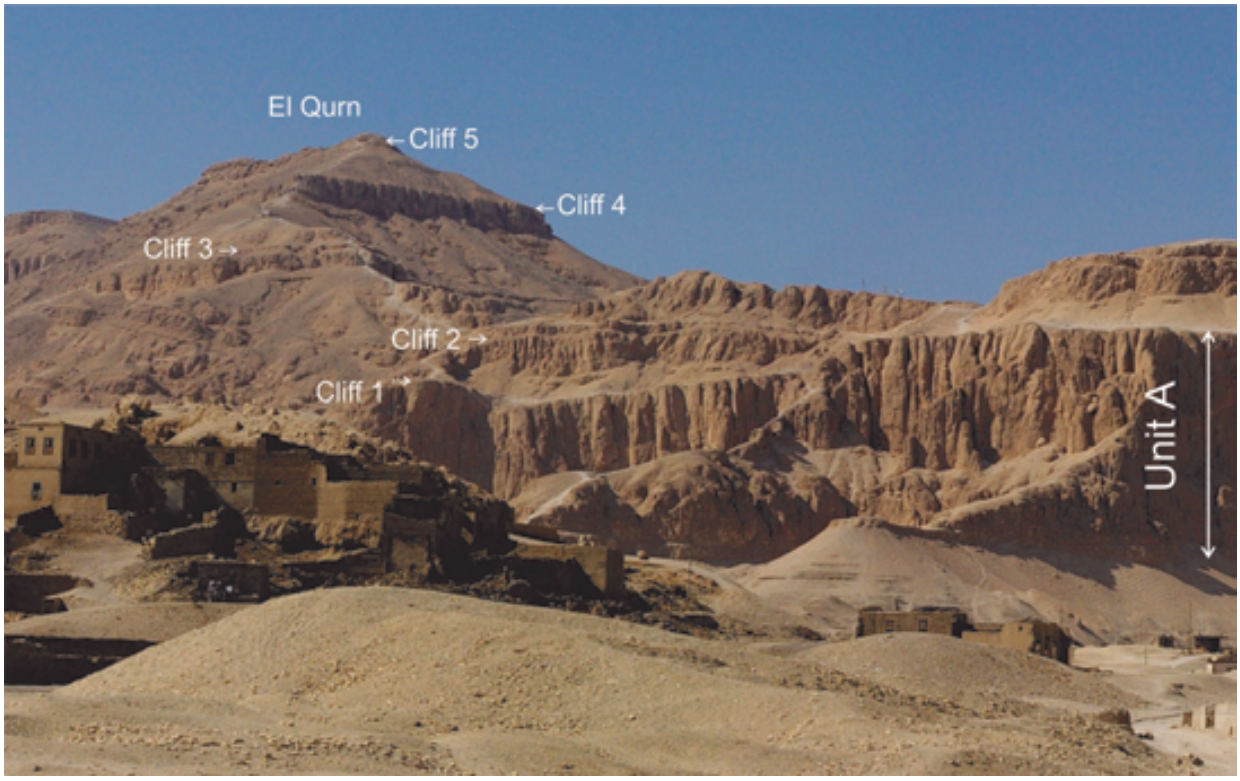
were organised, and if so, how they were organised. This permits a distinction between ostraca that resulted from one percussive blow (such as fragments produced by quarrying or from tomb digging) and ostraca that resulted from successive deliberate flakings. The surface condition of the fractures is 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 refined 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).[38]

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). The 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, there are several other outcrops that together form the lower 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).

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

a



b

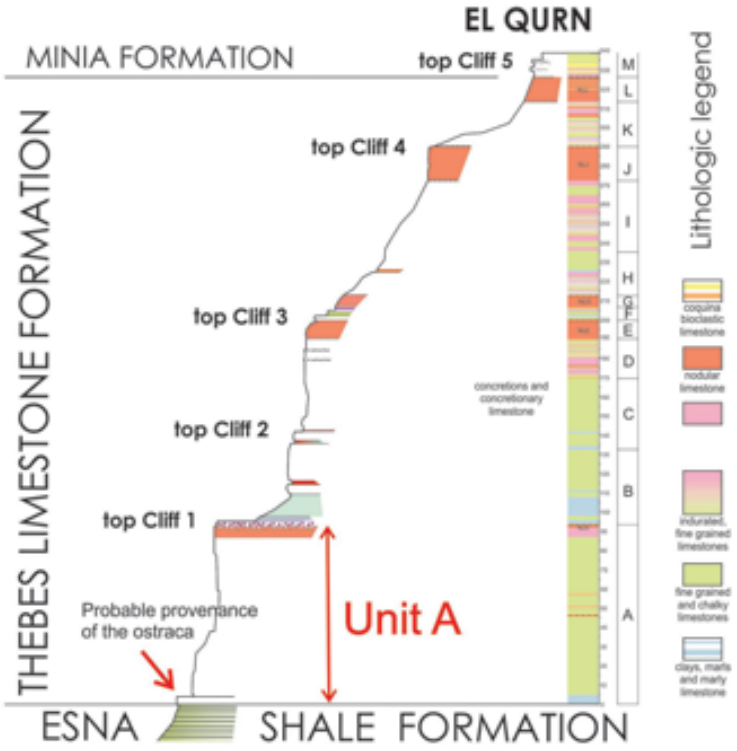


Fig.1a and b. Landscape and stratigraphy of the West Bank opposite Luxor

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 (modi ed 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 Iberian versus non-Iberian 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, MRAH E.00303, E.00304, E.00320, E.02537, and E.06452, are taken as representative of the corpus.[39] 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
	Iberian	Non-Iberian			
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 making of 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

39 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 ebes Limestone Formation, and most probably to its base (1). As such, O. MRAH E.00303 and E.00304 would be of eban origin; this is con rmed by the fact that they both come from Deir el-Medina, as men tioned by Luc Delvaux above. e nely granulose pale beige limestone of O. MRAH E.06452, bought in Luxor in 1930, is probably also of eban origin, though this is expressed with a degree of reservation; it also most likely comes from Deir el-Medina. e limestone varieties that form O. MRAH E.00320 and E.02537 are strikingly di erent from the others (E.00303, E.00304, E.06452). Such coarse varieties of limestone are not, to our knowledge, recorded in the eban region. O. MRAH E.02537 was found in Abydos; O. MRAH E.00320 was bought in Luxor, a situation which requires further examination.

4. S [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.

e corpus of ceramic ostraca in Brussels consists of 30 jar dockets 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 magni cations in order to specify their fabric. e primary objective of this process was to de ne the pottery types and their place of manufacture; we employed the Vienna fabric classi cation system for Egyptian ware.[40] Foreign fabrics are de ned as 'imported fabrics' and their approximate geographic origin is given. e inscriptions on the sherds were also examined and the prospect of potential as well as speci c marks (such as cuttings) was also taken into account.

e chief di•culty was the precise identi cation of the fabric of the sherds. Unlike in eld 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.[41] at 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. ese analyses will comprise optical microscopy and cathodoluminescence (CL) on thin sections, as well as Laser-Induced Breakdown Spectroscopy (LIBS).[42] ese analyses will permit much greater precision with respect to the composition of Egyptian ceramics.[43] Comparative analyses of sherds from di erent 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 eld of ceramology. e extension of our study of the ceramic ostraca in the RMAH to other museum collections would allow further

40 On the Vienna classi cation system, see Nordström & Bourriau (1993: 168–182).

41 For example, even using a lens, it remains di•cult to clearly identify the fabric of Nile clay.

42 LIBS has already been used on Egyptian pottery dating to the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods; see Mahdi (2015).

43 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 Goren et al. (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: OMRAH E.00308, E.00312, E.00318, and E.00322.[44] 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.[45] Texts appear on the outer surfaces of the sherds, as well as the inner surfaces, as with OMRAH E.00318, while the inner surface of items made using Theban Marl clay possesses the same light red colouration as the outer surface.[46] 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.[47]

At this stage of our analysis, no evidence of the preparation of sherds, such as subsequent shaping, has been observed, though the text on 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.[48] It is thus possible to suggest that fragments of large storage jars were preferred as written supports—probably because of the relatively thick surface and the hardness of the sherds.

With respect to the fabric of the ostraca, Nile clay is the fabric most frequently identified. OMRAH E.00308, for example, consists of a hard, coarse, and reddish ware possibly corresponding to Nile D.[49] 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 OMRAH 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 OMRAH E.00308 derives, but certain types of storage jars in Nile D are often associated during the New Kingdom with a creamy white slip on the outer surface.[50]

44 Except for OMRAH E.00322, a detailed description of each ostracon 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 in MRAH E.00313 and E.00314.

47 An exception is OMRAH 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).

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. 96.c–j [Group 31]; 64, 301, fig. 99 [Groups 37–38]).

ese types are large jar with bulging neck,[51] storage jar with thick rim,[52] or bottle.[53]

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.[54] is Marl fabric, typical of the eban area,[55] is characterised by a light red to green ware and is composed of ne limestone particles, quartz, and micas. Iron-red particles are also sometimes visible. e outer surface of this fabric is usually white to green, a result either of the ring process or of the slip. Items from the repertoire of New Kingdom pottery made in this fabric include large jars with bulging necks[56] and neckless ovoid storage jars with thick rims.[57][58]

Finally, O.MRAH E.00312 and E.00322 consist of two di erent 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 con rm its origin. ese 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.[59]

5. C S

5.1. Ostracon MRAH. E.00303 (g. 2)

P : Bought at Luxor on 10th January 1901.

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

[L. D.]

D : is limestone ostracon consists of a thin triangular fragment. H: 11.25 cm; W: 10.25 cm; : 1.95 cm.

M : e rectilinear edge coincides with a natural tectonic joint perpendicular to the planar shape of the ostracon, consistent with the strati cation of the object. e two main faces of the ostracon 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. e le„ edge of the ostracon is sharp, as a result of the intersection of the two main faces. e right edge of the ostracon 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. is edge suggests a late break,

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

52 Jacquet-Gordon (2012: 82, 203, 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 Montserat 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, 205 [Group 49]; 1999: 41–43, pl. 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, g. 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, 72.e [P. 526]).

59 On Canaanite jars, see Aston (1999: 23, 25, pl. 4, 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.

P : The ostracon 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 ostracon; these are foraminifera. Nearly invisible are a number of narrow calcite veinlets perpendicular to the planar design of the ostracon; 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.]

T : The ostracon 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 II.

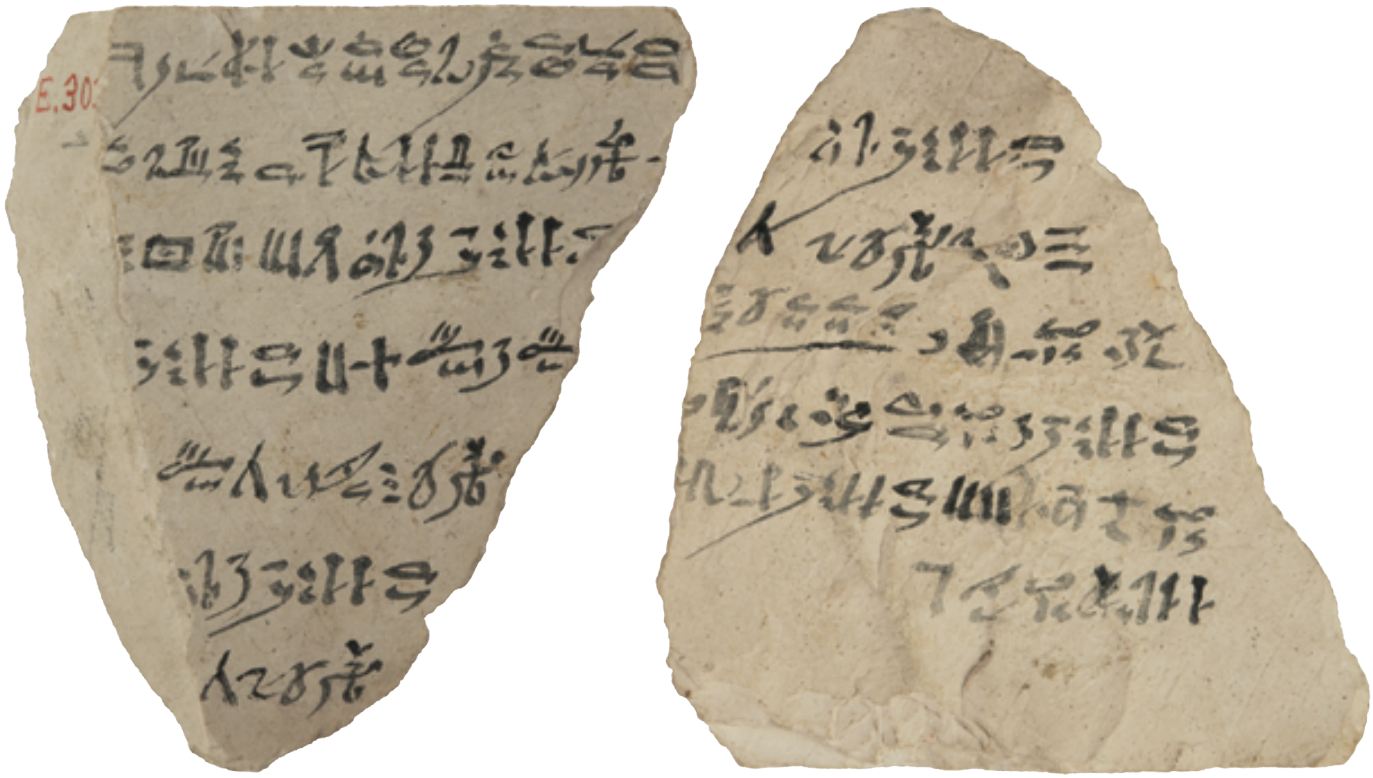
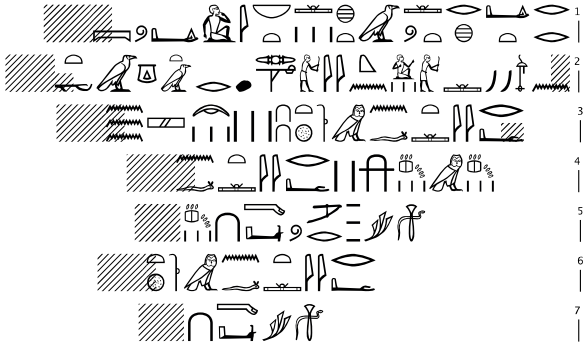


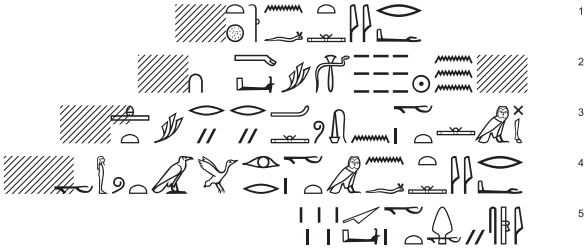
Fig.2. Ostracon MRAH. E.00303

T :

Obverse



Reverse



T :

Obverse

(1) r rd .t r £tw .t nb.t .d w ry [†]
(2) n mww ny-Mnw r t g .t [†]
(3) rdy.t n£f m rnp.t-sp 23 bd III šmw [†]
(4) t-m-t r 2 rdy.t n£f [†]
(5) w -smw mrw 10 -[m- t†]
(6) rdy.t n£f m rnp.t-sp [†]
(7) w -smw mrw 10 [†]

Reverse

(1) rdy.t n£f m rnp.t-sp [†]
(2) [S]mw sw 9 w -smw mrw 10 [†]
(3) w m t n šm 100 rr(.t) tp? [†]
(4) rdy.t n£f m t <r> r p twt n [†]
(5) t nht 4 rdy.t n£f n sš [†]
(6) sy t š d 5

T :

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) rewood, …owers [†] 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.

N :

Obverse

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

Reverse

(3) e incomplete signs at the end of this line probably re…ect t¡d basket.
(5) e name of the scribe at the end of this line is most probably composed using the element ‘Amun’.
(6) e scribe corrected the determinative of ¡sy from M2 to M1.

[R. J. D.]

5.2. Ostracon MRAH E.00308 (pl. 3)

Provenance: 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.

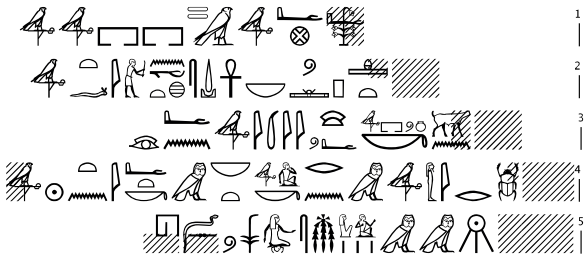
Fabric: Possibly Nile D. The reddish-brown fabric is hard, dense, and sandy. It includes many limestone particles (from 0.1 to 3 mm in size), some being visible on the surfaces, as well as vegetal temper, quartz in average quantities, and golden mica. A creamy slip was applied with a brush to the outer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

[S. B.]

Text: The ostracon is inscribed on one side (convex) with 5 lines in black ink. It is broken 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.

Text:



Translation:

(1) [† wnw-]šm r - ty
(2) [†] tp nb n (w) s(nb) n t
(3) [†] nwḫ.k y.t n
(4) [†] pr m rn.k nb{.t} { }<n>tk tn
(5) [†] illegible signs mmm<.t> ms sw s[ḫf] h[†]

Translation:

(1) [†] t he Southern [Heliopolis], Horakhty
(2) [†] p eace, lord of life, prosperity and health, the strong one, father
(3) [†] y our 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 n w.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, 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 wnn-šm here, though the orthography of šm in wnw-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); Gülden (2001: 67, col. XV, 1 and pl. XIII).

Fig.3. Ostracon MRAH E.00308

(2) For n t ‘the strong one’, compare with Assmann (1983: 251, 2B, 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, vo 1–2: ntk t mw.t [n] tn pr R m nwy.k; see López (1982: pl. 136a–136b) = Fischer-Elfert (1997: 98–102, no. 19).

(4) Compare with the passage of a hymn to the sun-god(?) on O.Berlin P 14263, vo 4: ntk tn n y; see Burkard (2021: 61–62).

(5) e signs preceding nmm<.t> are barely legible. Speleers (1923: 51) does not propose a transcription either. Further to this, epithets including nmm.t are so numerous that any proposed solution would represent nothing more than a guess. See, e.g., P.Leiden I 344, vo 2, 3 and vo 9, 2 for r n m nmm.t and ntš b n nmm.t = Zandee (1992: pl. 2, l. 3 and 9, l. 2, respectively); P.Cairo CG 58038, 6, 4 and 11, 4 for t n n n nmm.t and n.f nmm.t = Luiselli (2004: 74, verse 31 and 98, verse 43, respectively); Assmann (1983: 389) for nmm.t (in the index). A photograph of this ostracon using the Multispectral Portable Light Dome (MS PLD) may eventually permit a reconstruction of these signs.
For the epithet ms sw s.f in solar hymns, see, e.g., Assmann (1983: 384, in the index); Gülden (2001: 9, cd. I, 3 and pl. II). See also Leitz (2002: 412).
e h at the end of the line might represent the rst sign of hmhm ‘to extol’ or hnw ‘to rejoice’.

[B. L.]

5.3. Ostracon MRAH E.00312 (fig. 4)

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

B : Speleers (1923: 51, no. 193); Šerný NB 22.11 and 34.17 (note R. J. D.).

[L. D.]

D : 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.

F : Possibly of Canaanite origin. The fabric is coarse, hard, and dense. It includes many limestone particles (0.1 to 0.5 cm 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.]

T : The ostracon 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 DeM 10333, col. VII; cf. P. Grandet (2017: 314–315). Like other similar texts, it probably dates to the mid-20th Dynasty.

T :

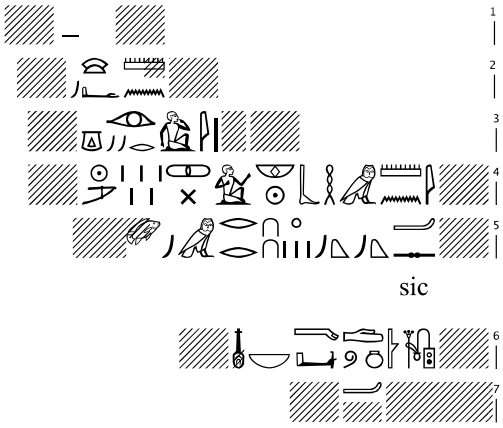


Fig. 4. Ostracon MRAH E.00312

T :

(1) [†] trace[†]
(2) [†]mn - w [†]
(3) [†] 1 rg[s†]
(4) [†] mn-m- b w šbn 5 R-mr[y†]
(5) [†] {s} 20 rmw [†]
(6) [†] sš dw.t Nb-nfr [†]
(7) [†] [[†]

T :

(1) [†] trace[†]
(2) [†A]m enkhew [†]
(3) [†] 1, [†] basket [†]
(4) [†] Amenemhab, 5 assorted loaves. Ramer[y †]
(5) [†] 20 heqeeb fruits, [†] sh [†]
(6) [†] s culptor Nebnefer [†]
(7) [†]he [qeb]-fruit [†]

N :

(2) Amenkhew is probably the son of Amenemone II; see Davies (1999: 214 and chart 4).
(3) For rgs '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 , the scribe made a mistake: the sign below the sign w (F18) should not be s (O34) but the bookroll (Y1). For , a kind of fruit from Nubia, see Janssen (1975: 356–357).
(7) e sign w (F18) is most certainly the rst sign of .

[R. J. D.]

5.4. Ostracon MRAH E.00318 (g 5)

P : 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.

B €Œ: Speleers (1923: 51, no. 199); Šerný NB 22.12 and 34.26 (Notes R. J. D).

[L. D.]

D : is pottery sherd possibly comes from the middle part of a large jar. H: 8 cm; W: 7.5 cm; : 0.8 cm. e 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.

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

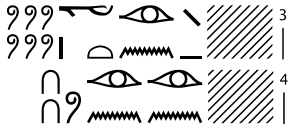
[S. B.]

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

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

T :

Obverse



Reverse

T :

Obverse

(1) [†] 200
(2) dm t 4470
(3) [†] r n t 600
(4) [†] { r n} r n 120

Reverse

(1) [† m-] r.t£f t 500

T :

Obverse

(1) [†] 200
(2) Total: 4470 (units of re)wood
(3) [†]?, makes 600 (units of re)wood
(4) [†] m akes 120

Reverse

(1) [†] f rom him 500 (units of re)wood

N :

Obverse

(4) e scribe wrote r n, ‘makes’ twice by mistake.

[R. J. D.]

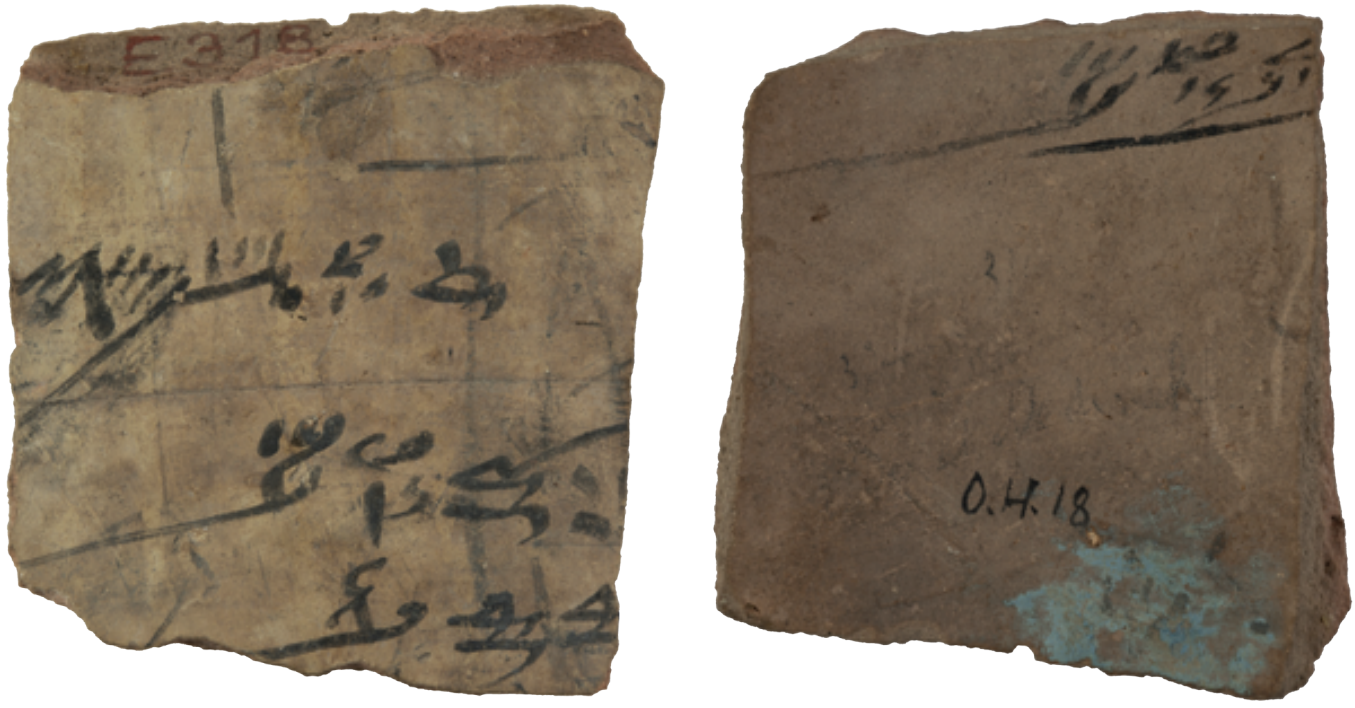


Fig.5. Ostracon MRAH E.00318

5.5. Ostracon MRAH E.06452 (Fig. 6)

P : Bought at Luxor in 1930.

B : Unpublished.

[L. D.]

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

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

P : Finely granulose limestone, pale beige in colour. e rock shares a resemblance with the limestone of O. MRAH E.00303, though it looks more compact, and possibly recrystal lised. 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 ebes Limestone Formation.

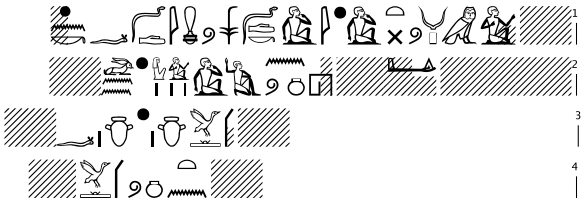
[C. D.]

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

Fig.6. Ostracon MRAH E.06452

The text is a duplicate of the Satire of the Trades, Chapter 27. This ostracon 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, vo and very close to the version on P. Turin CGT 54019, for which see López (1978: 42, 37a–37) and Jurjens (2021: 110–111, 1–3, 117), respectively.

Text:



Translation:

(1) [† sr] m wpw.t=. dỉ.k sw m df n.k [†]
(2) [†] d [.f n.k] hnw wnn [†]
(3) [†m ws n]- b ỉb.f [†]
(4) [†] n [†]

Translation:

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

Notes:

(1) Based on Jäger (2004: LXXXIII–IV, 27,1/1–2) and Jurjens (2021: 117) for P. Turin CGT 54019, vo 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, 27,1), although the author quotes the sentence in O. MRAH E.06452 incompletely, omitting n.k.[60]
(2) The orthography of hnw 'jubilation,' expanded with the determinatives of hnw 'relatives', also appears on O. Turin CGT 57082, vo 5. The reconstruction of n.k is based on the Turin ostracon and on O. DeM 1569, x+5; see Posener (1978: 42, pl. [† d [.f n.k] hnw[†]).
(2–3) ws n- b also appears on O. Turin CGT 57082, vo 6 and on P. Turin CGT 54019, vo 2, 9. As such, ws n 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 ws n- b ended the same sentence as on P. Turin CGT 54019, vo 2, 9, namely {t}< >w h b.tw.f m ws[n], advanced by Jurjens (2021: 120, 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 ostracon and with wnn s [†] on the Turin ostracon, whereas the aforementioned sentence follows directly on P. Turin CGT 54019, vo 2, 8–9.
(3) With the exception of this ostracon and P. Turin CGT 54019, vo 2, 9, the surviving versions of the beginning of Chapter 27.3/1–2 show w.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, vo 1.
(4) For n < n '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 ostracon is broken in a way that makes it impossible to reconstruct the ending of n and to propose an accurate translation. On the two possibilities for the ending, attested in the other sources, see Jäger (2004: 117, 27,3).

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

and Jurjens (2021: 120, 273), who refer to Fischer-Elfert for the meaning of the sentence.

[B. L.]

6. Stone

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, TM.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 ostracon 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.[61]

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 nonliterary) 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,[62] while O.MRAH E.00304 is an intentionally shaped ostracon that bears palimpsests consisting of lists of commodities.[63] That said, while the genre of a text cannot be correlated with the degree of manufacture of the ostracon on which it was written,[64] 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 ostracon that was in the block or the outcrop before it was detached, which explains the 'bumpy' and irregular obverse, in contrast to the flatness of the 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, 134–135); Miller (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, 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.[65]

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 ostracon and on its reverse thus aligns with this identification. In short, just as the characteristics of the limestone of an ostracon can contribute to a determination of its provenience, the fabric of a ceramic ostracon 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.[66] Furthermore, many palimpsests have been identified by Caputo and James M. 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,'[67] a description that might be applied to O.MRAH E.00311, of which list of commodities is a palimpsest too,[68] 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 dockets 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.]

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Jacqueline Harvey and Daniel Waller for improving our English. Any remaining anomalies are entirely our own.

65 See Pelegrin et al. (2015: 344, 350–351).

66 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 Theban tax receipts.

67 Caputo & Cowey (2018: 74).

68 See Speleers (1923: 51, 192), as well as Janssen (1975: 30).

B

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New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in Danish Collections

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ABSTRACT

e 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, ve 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. H N K

In Denmark, two collections contain hieratic texts dating to the New Kingdom: the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection and the National Museum of Denmark. e number of such texts in both collections is relatively modest; the former contains ve 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. Signi cantly, 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 Ryholt (2005; 2019: 392–400).

e 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 rst 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.[1]

1 e 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 ostracon 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. Loukianou, suspected that it was part of the New Kingdom papyrus Leiden I 348 (Borghouts 1971). The missing papyrus was the subject of 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 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 NK

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°, P.Carlsberg 8 v°, P.Carlsberg 326, and P.Carlsberg 917. The collection of New Kingdom

hieratic texts in the National Museum constitutes three ostraca: ONM 11677, ONM 11678, and ONM 11679[2].

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 PCarlsberg 326, however, the findspot can perhaps be identified. Christiansen & Olsen (2015: 330) have argued that the document belongs within Šerny'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 the later 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 PCarlsberg 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 PCarlsberg 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 ONM 11677 (© The National Museum of Denmark)

2 To these should be added the fake papyrus roll Copenhagen NM AA6, which consists of a stick with affixed fragments inscribed with cursive hieroglyphs, one of which contains the owner's (fragmented) name in hieratic (Christiansen & Ryholt 2016: 21, pl. 3). 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, 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, Tardinet (2018) published a preliminary translation of 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 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 ostracon 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^{o}, P. Carlsberg 8^{o}, 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^{o} and P. Moscow 4658, as well as a fragmented ostracon, ODM 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^{o}, P. Carlsberg 917) and one dating to the 19th Dynasty (P. Carlsberg 8 v^{o}). P. Carlsberg 8^{o} 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 E32847 + 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. e height of the papyrus is not known but it is estimated at around 34 cm. e 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. e document measures 19.6 cm in height and only 12.5 cm in width; both the right and le• sides of the papyrus are broken o•. Judging from the standard dimensions of letters from this period, the original papyrus was presumably some 21–22 cm wide. e 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 ostracon 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 9 × 5 cm and contains four lines of text on the front in black ink. e text almost directly parallels O.Berlin P11253. 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. PCarlsberg 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° 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° 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°: 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. C : P. L -C

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 part-recipes with wide-ranging goals; one is a herbal treatise on the divine snw-pt-plant and its seed, the m ; 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 *p.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*-plant and *ʿn - m* -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 *šs .w*-recipes (a much more elaborate recipe type than the *p.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. Bardinet (2018), while a preliminary edition of P. Carlsberg 917 alongside substantial parts of the Louvre papyrus can be found in Schiødt (2020).

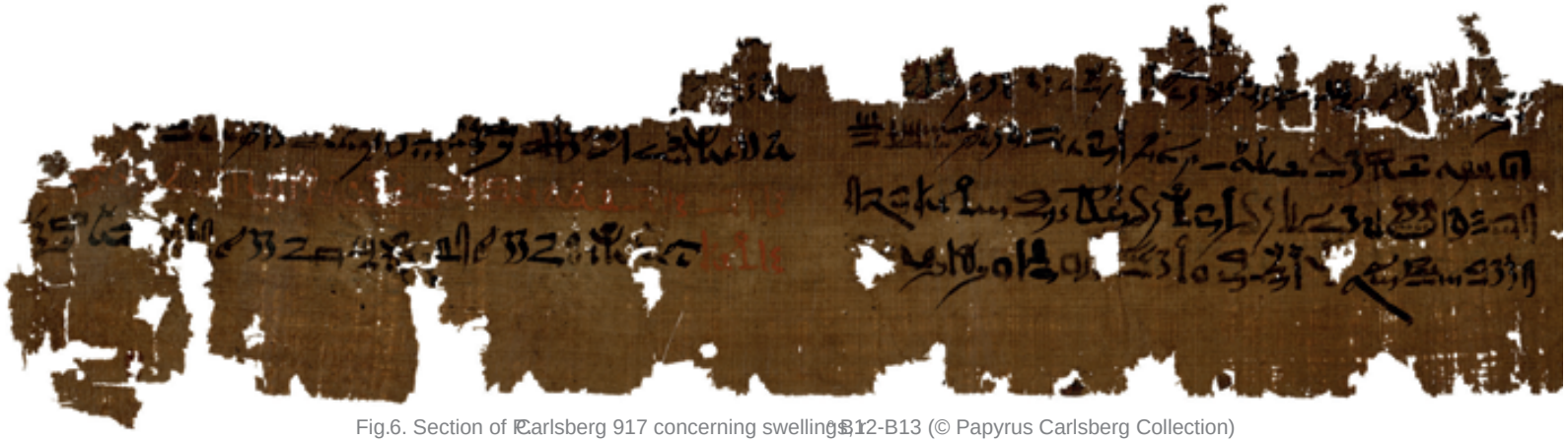

Fig. 6. Section of P. Carlsberg 917 concerning swellings, vs. 12-B13 (© Papyrus Carlsberg Collection)

B

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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 rst 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). is is followed by an overview of the NKH materials themselves, in which I detail their quantities, their textual contents, and their provenance and nd spots. I also provide a note on the numbering system used by the Berlin Museum.

1. H N K B

1.1. e Early Period: 1827–1872

e history of the NKH material in Berlin began in 1827 when the Prussian King acquired the Paris collection of Giuseppe Passalacqua (1797–1865).[1] e following year, Passalacqua became the rst 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 ebes (P 3034). Two other papyri were found in a vessel in Saqqara and consistof 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 o•cer 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. e donation contained nine NKH papyri, including letters and religious and cultic texts,[2]

1 A biography of G. Passalacqua and a catalogue of his collection is currently under preparation by M. Jeya, editor.

2 Pap. Berlin P 3019–21, P 3050, P 3065–67, P 3509, P 7519.

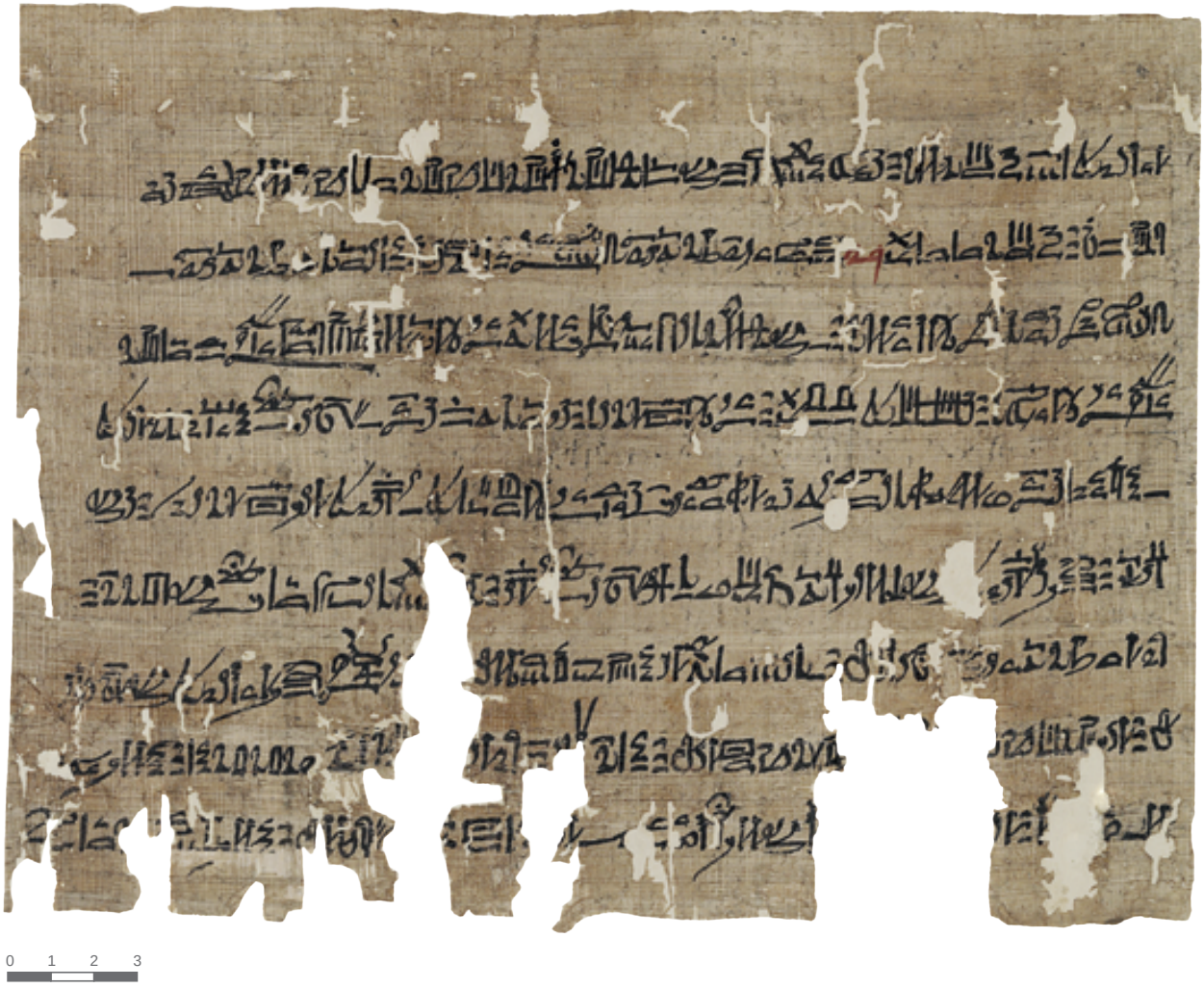

Fig. 1. Papyrus Berlin P. 3043 Pl. B with a Miscellany text—the so-called 'Papyrus Koller' (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photo: S. Steinke)

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. 10002), 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-renenutet).