New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

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New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World

volume 2

Edited by

Crossing Boundaries

Andrea Fanciulli, Kathrin Gabler, Jessica Izak,
Martina Landrino, Matthias Müller, Renaud Pietri,
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In memory of
Juan José Jaime Aloísio Archidona Ramírez
(1992–2024)

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New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World (vol. 2)

Introduction

Andrea Fanciulli, Kathrin Gabler, Jessica Izak, Martina Landrino, Matthias Müller, Renaud Pietri, Stéphane Polis, Nathalie Sojic, Stephan M. Unter

This book is the second of a series of volumes designed to provide a detailed overview of the diverse New Kingdom hieratic materials preserved in various museums and public collections around the world. The endeavour is directly connected to the interdisciplinary project *Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt*. This project is a joint venture of the University of Basel, the University of Liège, and the Museo Egizio. Between 2019 and 2023, it was financed by the SNSF in Switzerland and the F.N.S.-FNRS in Belgium, as well as supported financially by the Museo Egizio.

The *Crossing Boundaries* project has targeted the rich papyrological materials from the village of Deir el-Medina (c. 1350–1050 BCE) held in the Museo Egizio, seeking to enhance our understanding of the scribal practices that lie behind the production of the texts from this community. The driving methodological motto of *Crossing Boundaries* has always been to adopt a *contextualized* approach to these written materials; as we progressed on the Deir el-Medina materials, the need to develop a clearer picture of *all* the hieratic materials available from the same period quickly became evident. This led to the present publication, the existence of which allows us to expand our perspective on Deir el-Medina and to situate our results from the *Crossing Boundaries* project against a much broader background.

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Kingdom hieratic materials held in various collections around the world, as well as a series of case-studies discussing unpublished documents from these institutions.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

Each volume is arranged geographically and proceeds in alphabetic order—continent by continent and country by country. The second volume contains overviews (and case studies) of 13 European museums and collections (see the Table of Contents), including the French National Library (BnF, Paris), the Louvre (Paris), the Museo Egizio (Turin), the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden), and the Vatican Museums. We should stress that we have only targeted 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 nine; these editors worked together on these articles as main- and co-editors. These two-person teams acted independently and were supported by Jessica Izak. 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 Rob Demarée (Leiden) for his continuous support and the many insights that he shared throughout the publication process; to Daniel Waller for copy-editing all of the abstracts and some of the papers; to Baudouin Stasse (ULiège Press), for his patience and professionalism in preparing this complex publication; and to Serge Rosmorduc (Paris), who has provided the hieroglyphic text editor JSesh to the Egyptological community for so many years. This tool was used to produce 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 the publication of scientific books, 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.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Juan José Jaime Aloísio Archidona Ramírez (1992–2024), who sadly passed away last February. As a promising Egyptologist, Juan contributed significantly to the success of the *Crossing Boundaries* project. In 2019, he participated as an intern at the Museo Egizio in Turin, where his contributions were crucial to the encoding of numerous texts in the TPOP database that are integral to our project. We are honoured to acknowledge his invaluable contributions.

New Kingdom Hieratic at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

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ABSTRACT

The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna holds several New Kingdom hieratic documents, among which is the famous Papyrus Ambras. This article provides an overview of the collection and its acquisition history, the presently available material and its composition as well as its state of research. A case study examines the inscription as well as the text carrier of Ostracon Vienna 5988 in detail, taking a holistic approach to both the object and its text.

1. History of the collection[1]

The Egyptian collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna holds a number of ancient manuscripts, among them hieratic texts written mostly on ostraca and papyri; 29 of these texts are currently classified as being written in New Kingdom hieratic.

While the history of the collection stretches back into the 16th century,[2] it is not possible to determine exactly when the first object bearing a hieratic inscription entered the assemblage. In 1824, however, A.v. Steinbüchel (1790–1883)[3] inventoried the Habsburg possessions in the k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet (one of the predecessor institutions of the Kunsthistorisches Museum). During this process, he registered more than 30 papyri, all of which had most probably been acquired three years earlier by E.A. Burghart in Egypt.[4] The exact provenance of

1 This contribution results from an ERC Starting Grant, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No 757951). The results published here are solely within the authors' responsibility and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the funding agency or the host institution (Department of Classical Studies of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at the Austrian Academy of Sciences), which must not be held responsible for either contents or their further use.

2 The collection began its life as the private collection of the then-ruling Habsburg family; cf. Kunsthistorisches Museum https://www.khm.at/en/visit/collections/egyptian-and-near-eastern-collection/history-of-the-collection/ (accessed 06.01.2024).

3 Bierbrier (2012: 524).

4 Cf. Satzinger (1984: 31).

these papyri, however, remains unknown, mainly due to a lack of information about E.A. Burghart's whereabouts and contacts in Egypt.[5] Further new acquisitions were inventoried in 1826, again by A.v. Steinbüchel, while the famous Papyrus Ambras (P. Vienna ÄS 3876), named after the Ambras Castle near Innsbruck, was acquired some time before 1872.[6] In 1878 and 1883, the so-called *Miramare* collection of the late Mexican Emperor Maximilian—the younger brother of the Austrian Emperor, Franz Joseph I—was integrated into the Kunsthistorisches Museum. It consisted of objects from two major acquisitions made in 1855 and 1865–1866.[7] A great number of hieratic ostraca from the New Kingdom were purchased from the collection of the Egyptologist J. Krall (1857–1905)[8] in 1885, again without information about their original findspots.[9]

Following the acquisition of these hieratic ostraca, major text acquisitions ceased for a time—in part due to the demise of the Habsburg dynasty in 1918, as well as the two World Wars in the first half of the 20th century—though excavations in Egypt funded by the Austrian Academy of Sciences continued to generate an influx of artifacts, mainly from the Old Kingdom.[10] A few objects bearing texts written in New Kingdom hieratic then entered the collection in the second half of the 20th century, e.g. O. Vienna ÄS 9658.[11] Further to this, hitherto un-inventoried objects, e.g. O. Vienna ÄS 10134[12] and P. Vienna ÄS 9340, were registered. In 2013, during inventory/restoration works, a papyrus from the *Miramare* collection (P. Vienna ÄS 10321) was discovered in the jar of an ibis mummy (Vienna ÄS 5174); it has subsequently been discussed in great detail in several individual studies and a monograph.[13] Another recent addition to the New Kingdom hieratic corpus in the Kunsthistorisches Museum is O. Vienna ÄS 5979—an epistolary exercise that appears next to a figurative depiction of the upper torso and head of a king wearing an elaborate *atef*-crown; this was published in transcription and translation by R.J. Demarée (2020).

Currently, a total of 34 hieratic documents are held by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, 29 of which are written in New Kingdom hieratic. As H. Satzinger (1984: 31) pointed out, the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* is incorrect to suggest that the papyri in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

5 H. Satzinger (1991: 368) mentions Antonio Lebolo (1781–1830, Bierbrier 2012: 314) and Giuseppe Nizzoli (1782–1858, Bierbrier 2012: 405) as potential trading agents for Burghart.

6 Cf. https://www.khm.at/en/objectdb/detail/319351/?offset=0&lv=list (accessed 06.01.2024).

7 Cf. Satzinger (1991: 373–374).

8 Müller (1905); Bierbrier (2012: 302).

9 Almost all of these ostraca are suspected to come from Deir el-Medina. Indeed, ostraca from the village account for a large number of the New Kingdom ostraca known to date—both those in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and in other collections. As such, it seems plausible to propose such a provenance for the ostraca in the Vienna collection, especially since J. Krall visited the Theban Westbank on his journey to Egypt in 1885 (cf. Müller 1905: 256–257), where he may well have purchased the ostraca (cf. also Demarée 2020: 93, who suggests that the Vienna ostraca derive from Mariette's excavations in the Valley of the Kings in 1883). For a detailed discussion of the contents of the inscription, which may offer further arguments for this geographical placement, see the case study below.

10 Cf. https://www.khm.at/en/visit/collections/egyptian-and-near-eastern-collection/history-of-the-collection/ (accessed 06.01.2024).

11 Purchased in 1991; cf. Hieratisches Ostrakon https://www.khm.at/de/object/d5f805f516/ (accessed 06.01.2024).

12 Hieratisches Ostrakon https://www.khm.at/de/object/2fe27a1c18/ (accessed 06.01.2024); provenance unknown.

13 Haag & Hölzl (2018); Hölzl et al. (2018); Demarée (2018).

("P. Archduke Rainer") were transferred to the Kunsthistorisches Museum.[14] The numbering system used for the documents—as well as for the entire collection of *aegyptiaca* in the emerging Kunsthistorisches Museum—was first established by E.v. Bergmann (1844–1892).[15] The papyri numbers commence from 3847.[16] A parallel numbering system for the papyri (beginning with "papyrus 1") was subsequently introduced at the latest in 1837, during an exposition of the Habsburg antiquities in the Unteres Belvedere Palace.[17] This system was also adopted by the *LÄ*.

A systematic and comprehensive overview of the Egyptian texts in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, including the New Kingdom hieratic manuscripts, has never been published,[18] though several studies dedicated to individual objects exist.

2. The New Kingdom hieratic material

2.1. Introduction

The Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung (ÄOS; Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection) of the Kunsthistorisches Museum contains hieratic texts from the New Kingdom on papyri (10),[19] ostraca (pottery: 16;[20] stone: 2[21]), and a wooden tablet.[22] Notably, the collection contains several palimpsests.[23]

Dates appear on P. Vienna ÄS 3876 (P. Ambras; *rnp.t-zp 6 m wḥm-msi̯.wt*), P. Vienna ÄS 3933 (*rnp.t-zp 13 ꜣbd 3 pri̯.t sw 4* [+*x*?] of an unnamed Ramesside king), P. Vienna ÄS 3934+3937+9352a+b + P. MMA 3569 (*rnp.t-zp 16 ḫr ḥm nswt-bjtj nb-tꜣ.wj* ⸢*Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿw mri̯-ʾImn.w*⸣), O. Vienna ÄS 5984 (*rnp.t-zp 3* of an unnamed king; wine jar docket), O. Vienna ÄS 9658 (*rnp.t-zp 8* of an unnamed king; honey jar docket), and P. Vienna ÄS 10321 (*rnp.t-zp 6 m wḥm-msi̯.wt*).

2.2. Distribution according to genre

Among the New Kingdom hieratic texts in the Kunsthistorisches Museum are three literary texts: P. Vienna ÄS 3935 bears one of only two known attestations of the Late Egyptian story of a king and a goddess.[24] O. Vienna ÄS 3722a preserves part of the story of *Ḫns.w-m-ḥꜣb* and the Spirit.[25] The third literary text is known as the *Hymn to the Moon* or the *Night Sun* and is found on O. Vienna ÄS 6155 + O. Cairo CG 25214.[26] The magical text P. Vienna ÄS 3925 r° is the earliest attestation of one of the two most common spells of the Horus

14 Cf. Satzinger (1984: 31). For further information about the history of the collection of written artifacts in the Egyptian section of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, see Satzinger (1991; 1992; 1994) and the description on the website of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, https://www.khm.at/en/visit/collections/egyptian-and-near-eastern-collection/history-of-the-collection/ (accessed 06.01.2024).

15 Bierbrier (2012: 55).

16 Cf. Satzinger (1984: 31–32).

17 Cf. Satzinger (1984: 31).

18 For an initial overview, see Helck (1982) and Satzinger (1984: 32–35).

19 P. Vienna ÄS 3876, 3925, 3933, 3934, 3935, 3936, 3937, 9340, 9352, 10321.

20 O. Vienna ÄS 3722a, 5984, 5985, 5986, 5987, 5988, 5989, 5990, 5991, 5992, 5993, 5994, 5995, 9658, 10052, 10134.

21 O. Vienna ÄS 5979, 6155.

22 T. Vienna ÄS 3924.

23 T. Vienna ÄS 3924, P. Vienna ÄS 3925, 9340 (see el-Kholi 2006: 24, 35, 58), P. Vienna ÄS 10321 (Hölzl et al. 2018: 5, 11).

24 Erman (1923: 222–224); *LES*, 95–98; Burkard & Thissen (2009: 75).

25 Erman (1923: 220–222); *LES*, 89–94; von Beckerath (1992: *passim*); Burkard & Thissen (2009: 72–75).

26 Černý (1931: 221–223, fig. 1–3); Vittmann (1980); K*RI* 7, 379–380.

cippi, namely Text A, beginning with the words "Hail to you God, son of a God! (…)". It also includes a set of ritual instructions which do not appear on its later monumental counterparts.[27]

A variety of administrative texts are also held in Vienna. On P. Vienna ÄS 3876 (P. Ambras), several inventories have been preserved which deal with the contents of two storage jars containing papyri and list the respective documents.[28] Of particular interest is the inventory of the second jar, which contained documents concerning the tomb robberies of the late 20th Dynasty. Some of the manuscripts listed in the inventory have actually been identified with other surviving papyri.[29] Two judicial texts also belong to the collection: P. Vienna ÄS 9340 is a protocol for a trial concerning adultery, and T. Vienna ÄS 3924 v°, which is inscribed with a petition.

Other documentary texts include an account for the payment of goods such as textiles, copper, and a donkey (P. Vienna ÄS 3933 r°), and a badly preserved private letter (P. Vienna ÄS 3936) urging its addressees to support a certain *wʿb*- and lector-priest *Nfr-Ptḥ* in dealing with his father's funeral. An epistolary exercise has been made visible using infrared photography on the re-used ostracon O. Vienna ÄS 5979, which is famous for an exquisite royal portrait that was drawn on the ostracon sometime after the inscription.[30]

Another letter appears on the recto of the wooden (?) writing board (T. Vienna ÄS 3924 r°); the choice of writing surface suggests that this was most likely a model letter or draft.[31]

The fragmentary P. Vienna ÄS 3934 + 3937 + 9352a+b, which joins with P. New York MMA 3569, is inscribed on the recto and verso with several texts, two of which were written at a 180° angle to the others. One text mentions a visit by Ramesses III to a royal institution apparently located in Heliopolis; it is followed by a list of members of military forces (Text A r°). The other texts include a letter (Text A v°) and progress reports on tomb construction and the delivery of goods (secondary Texts B on both r° and v°).[32]

In addition to these relatively long documentary texts, shorter document types also form part of the collection. These include jar dockets referring to wine (O. Vienna ÄS 5984) and honey (O. Vienna ÄS 9658)—both of which exhibit the usual formula of such dockets[33]—as well as lists of names (P. Vienna ÄS 3925 v°) and stone weights for fishes along with the names of their respective owners (O. Vienna ÄS 5988). The texts on a number of other ostraca (i.e. O. Vienna ÄS 5985, 5986, 5987, 5989, 5990, 5991, 5992, 5993, 5994, 5995a–c, 10052, 10134) are too poorly preserved either due to fragmentation or abrasion of the text carrier for their precise contents to be determined.

27 Kákosy (1999: 30); Satzinger (2002: 85–86); el-Kholi (2006: 1–14).

28 The documents listed in the inventories are described as being stored in *qb.w(t)* "jars", *Wb* 5, 25.2–6; TLA WCN 880754 and 160130; Ward (1957: 200–201) on P. Ambras I,2 and II,1, cf. el-Kholi (2006: 15–16,17–18); Winand (2011: 32). In several cases (e.g. O. DeM 1 r° 7; O. DeM 4 r° 5, O. DeM 10 r° 4; cf. Černý 1935: 1 [1], 2 [4], 3 [10], pl. I–IA [1, 4], III–IIIA [10]; K*RI* 1, 364.3–5 [ODM. 1], 364.10–11 [ODM. 4], 365.11–13 [ODM. 10]; K*RITA* 1, 300 [ODM. 1, ODM. 4], 301 [ODM. 10]), such receptacles are described to be made from ceramics (*qrḥ.t* "pottery; pot"; *Wb* 5, 62.12–63.4; TLA WCN 161890; Lesko & Lesko 1989: 21) and the word also occurs in the expression *qbj-n-wt* "canopic jars"; see Janssen (1975: 243 [54]); Andreu & Cauville (1978: 19); Lesko & Lesko (1989: 8); TLA WCN 160160.

29 Peet (1930: 179–180); Thijs (2000: 70–80); Winand (2011: *passim*).

30 Demarée (2020: *passim*).

31 Cf. Hagen (2007: 42).

32 K*RI* 7, 268–273; Raue (1999: 411); Ullmann (2002: 506–509).

33 As discussed among others by Haring (1997: 346–347).

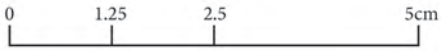

Fig. 1. O. Vienna ÄS 5988
(© Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

3. Case study: O. Vienna ÄS 5988

3.1. Research history

O. Vienna ÄS 5988 (fig. 1) was purchased in Vienna in 1885 from the collection of J. Krall[34] and published by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner (1957: 19, pl. LXVII–LXVIIA, no. 2). A new reading and translation were subsequently given by K.A. Kitchen (*KRI* 5, 604; *KRITA* 5, 465 [A.297]), before the ostracon was republished by M.S. el-Kholi (2006: 67–70, pl. IX–IXA). In addition to these publications, it has also been discussed in several other studies.[35] While all of these studies focused on the inscription on this ostracon, the sherd itself has not been thoroughly examined so far.

3.2. Description and assessment of the body sherd

Measurements: height 7.81 cm, width 8.9 cm,[36] wall thickness: 0.6–0.8 cm, preserved height in correct orientation[37] 8.8 cm.

Raw material: Marl D, according to the Vienna System.[38] Fine limestone inclusions can be seen on the interior and the exterior in addition to some coarser ones (fig. 2). The sherd was hard fired.

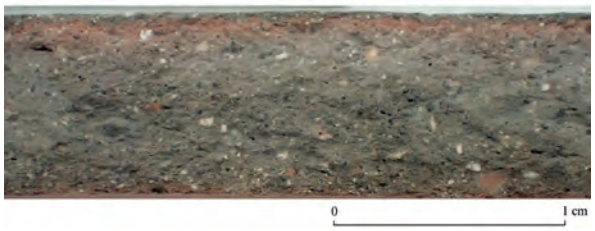

Fig. 2. Section of O. Vienna ÄS 5988.
(© B. Bader, courtesy of Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

Surface: The sherd was fired to a light red on the interior (c. 2,5YR6/6 light red), while the exterior is a very pale brown (10YR8/3). This surface colouring might have developed either due to chemical reactions in connection with salts during the drying or the firing process, as has been shown for other types of marl clays.[39] Alternatively, the surface colour might be due to painting, wash or slip applied to the vessel surface, though this is less likely. The exterior surface of the vessel was left unpolished/unburnished. The smoothing marks are quite obvious and were applied in a vigorous way. Smoothing is usually the last production stage before drying and subsequent firing of pottery vessels, and the uneven surface of the sherd makes it an unusual choice for a medium to write on. Interestingly, the writer did not use the rilling lines for orientation.

Description of the shape of the sherd: The sherd is almost square. B. Bader and J. Jüngling have ascertained that its text is only broken off slightly at the lower part of the right edge, the left edge, and due to a semi-circular break at the lower edge. Examination of the breaks/sections did not allow a secure identification of intentional abrasion; only the upper edge may have been abraded slightly. The other edges do not show differences in the breaks/sections, even where missing letters suggest that the sherd was broken after it had been written on.

34 Cf. el-Kholi (2006: 67).

35 Cf. Valbelle (1977: 25); Janssen (1997: 43, n. 57; 50, n. 94); Quack (2008: 617); Gabler (2018: 217, 234, n. 982).

36 https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/323245/?offset=0&lv=list (accessed 20.01.2024). This measurement relates to the object as a text medium, focussing on the letters.

37 This measurement corresponds to the orientation of the rilling lines (which are at right angles to the writing) and as part of the reconstructed vessel, which is slightly tilted (see fig. 3). The width of the ostracon thus corresponds to the height of the vessel.

38 Nordström & Bourriau (1993: 181–182); Aston (1998: 65–66).

39 Pape (1991); Ownby & Griffiths (2009). D.A. Aston (1998: 65) describes this surface treatment still as "slip". Scientific analyses have not been undertaken for this material. Recently, D.A. Aston thinks it plausible to suspect a kind of "scum" similar to Marl C pottery (personal communication, 19th March 2023); we would like to thank him for discussing Marl D and its shape corpus with us. Any mistakes or misconceptions are, however, ours.

The original vessel was very likely made on a turning device/wheel with some rotary kinetic momentum, because the rilling lines are fine and close together as well as quite strong and horizontal. This is particularly noticeable on the interior. The sherd was turned at right angles for the application of the writing, i.e. the letters are in the same direction as the rilling lines.

Identification of the vessel shape: The interior diameter of the sherd is c. 20.0 cm, suggesting that the original vessel was medium to large in size (fig. 3).

The original vessel was most probably a storage vessel of some kind, for example, a large amphora. Although the smoothing marks on the exterior of the sherd might suggest that it came from close to the base of the vessel, the straight stance and lack of vertical curvature would not fit such an identification, particularly in comparison to standard complete vessels such as amphorae, meat jars, funnel neck jars, etc. from such sites as Qantir, Tell el-Dab'a, Saqqara, Amarna, and Deir el-Medina itself, where this sherd was supposedly found.[40]

The best *comparandum* for the shape of this sherd was the wide neck of a very large amphora made of Marl D. Parallels for this shape and raw material are quite rare (because of their size, not many complete profiles are known for large amphorae). A good parallel could be located in a Ramesside cemetery at Tell el-Dab'a. However, the surface of this vessel had been burnished.[41] D.A. Aston (2004: 192–193) classified his large amphora type as B4 and, based on the published examples known to him at the time, dated it to the reigns of Ramesses III to Ramesses VI. Such a narrow dating frame is problematic, however, due to the small number of complete examples. The biggest obstacle in finding parallels is the large inner diameter of c. 20.0 cm and the almost complete lack of a vertical curve in the shape of the sherd. Most Marl D amphorae seem to have a neck diameter of around 12.0 to 16.0 cm. Two vessel types made of Marl D from Amarna might also be quoted as parallels—jar type ME 1[42] and MF 1.5[43]—but these are very rare indeed.

Summing up, it can be said that although the shape of the original vessel appears to belong best into the Ramesside period, a late 18th Dynasty date cannot be excluded.

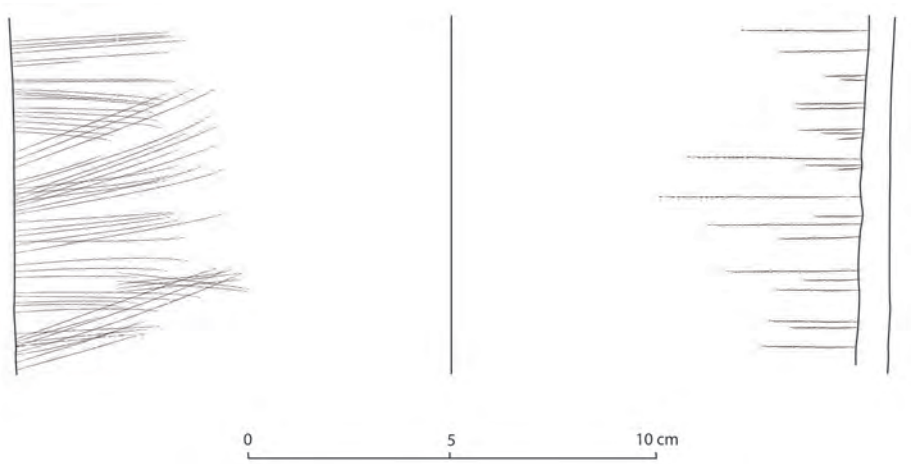

Fig. 3. Drawing by Bettina Bader of the ceramic-sherd O. Vienna 5988. (© B. Bader, courtesy of Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

40 https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/323245/?offset=0&lv=list (accessed 20.01.2024). Cf. Nagel (1938: *passim*), although the raw materials in Nagel's publication cannot be assessed with any certainty.

41 Bader (2006: 38–39 [Reg. no. 8985 V]).

42 Rose (2007: 124–125, 268, cat. no. 566).

43 Rose (2007: 130, 277, cat. no. 603), though it is not certain that this example is Marl D.

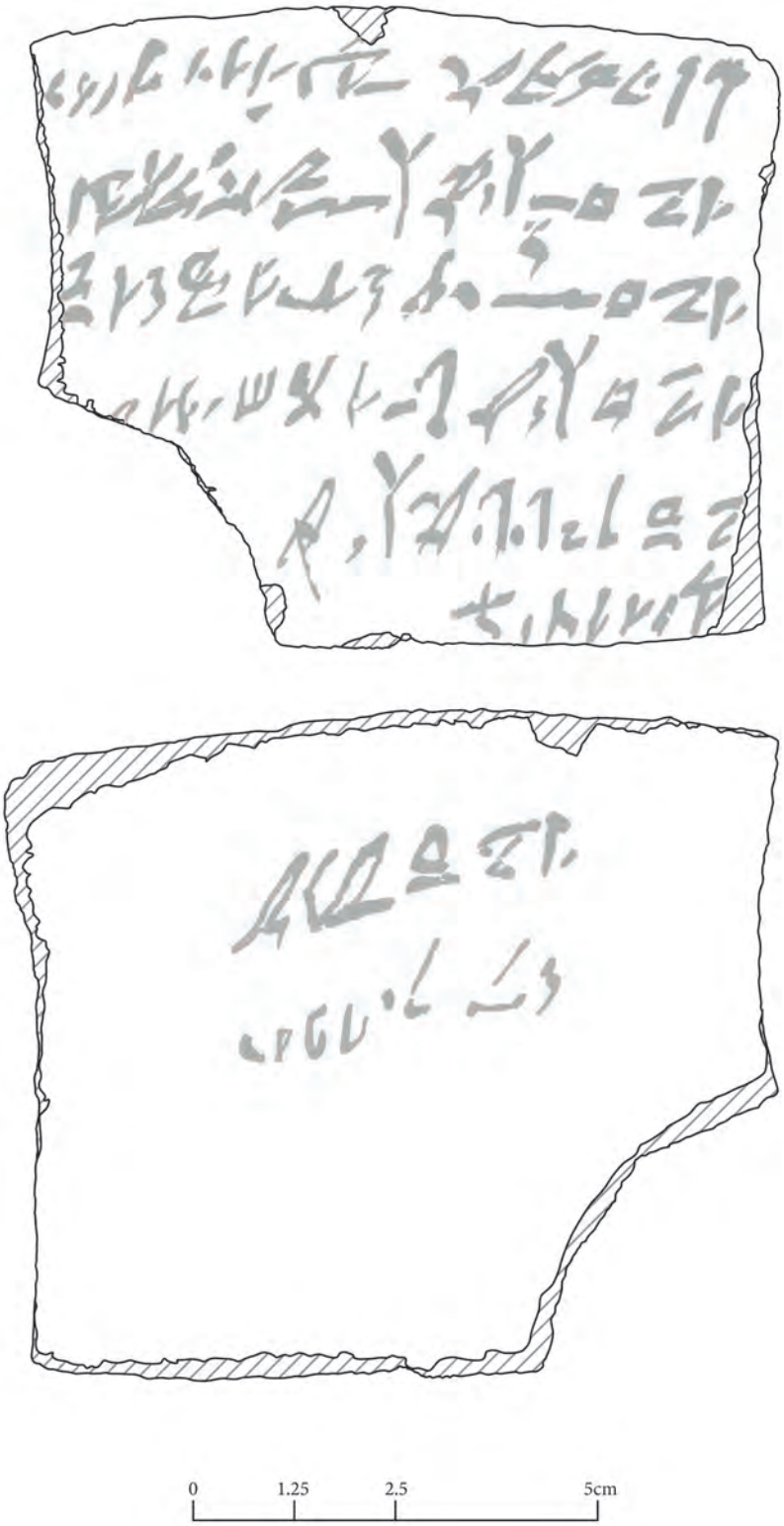

Fig. 4. O. Vienna ÄS 5988 (fac-simile)

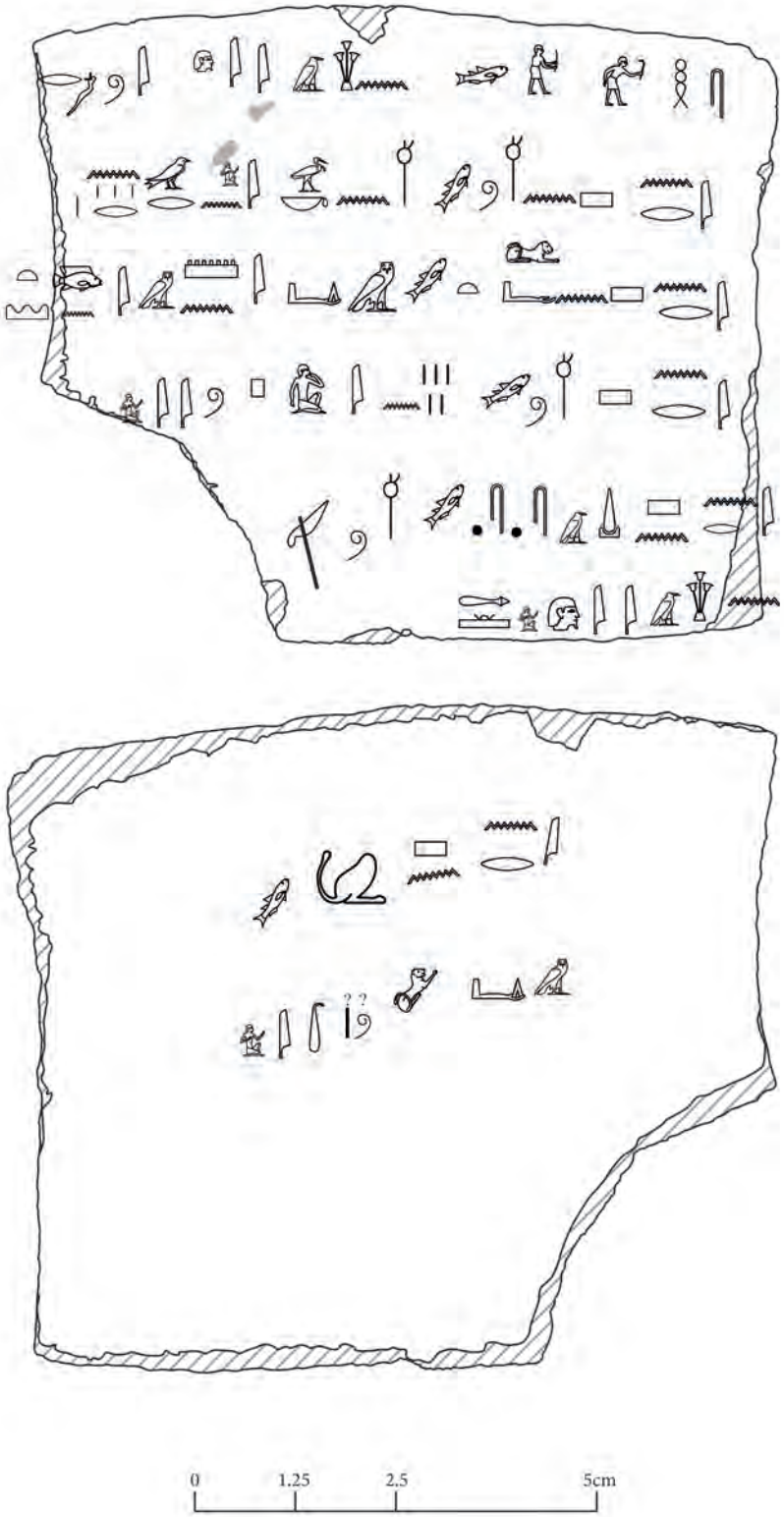

Fig. 5. O. Vienna ÄS 5988 (transcription)

3.3. The inscription[44]

3.3.1. *General remarks*

The sherd is inscribed with hieratic in black ink (fig. 4–5) on both the recto (i.e. exterior) and the verso (i.e. interior). On both sides, the rilling lines of the sherd were not used as lines for the text; rather, the inscription in both cases runs at right angles with respect to the rilling lines (observation made by B. Bader). The script is neat and the signs are separated clearly from one another, only rarely touching; the lines of the text are level and evenly spaced.

The beginnings of six straight lines of text are preserved on the recto, with only minimal loss at the bottom (l. 5–6), though the end of the first line is broken off. The lines are distributed evenly across the sherd, filling the available space on the ostracon. The inscription on the verso consists of two short lines; these appear tilted, but are parallel to the top of the ostracon and perfectly perpendicular to the rilling lines.

3.3.2. *Transliteration and translation*

Recto

1. *s<d>-ḥwi̯ n Ḥꜣjj ỉw=f r* […]
2. *ỉnr n(.j) wḏj {wḏ}<wꜣḏ> n Bꜣkj-n(.j)-wr~l*
3. *ỉnr n(.j) šnʿ{t} m-dj ʾImn.w-m-ỉn[.t]*
4. *ỉnr <n.j> wḏj 5 n ʾIpwjj*
5. *[ỉ]nr n(.j) ḏꜣ~ss {wḏ}<wꜣḏ>* ~~*wgs*~~
6. *[n] Ḥꜣjj-ʿꜣ*

1. *sd-ḥwi̯*-fish for *Ḥꜣjj*, while he is to […]
2. stone (weight) of *wḏj*-fish, fresh, for *Bꜣkj-n.j-wrl*
3. stone (weight) of *šnʿ*-fish with/by *ʾImn.w-m-ỉn.t*
4. stone (weight) of *wḏj*-fish, 5, for *ʾIpwjj*
5. stone (weight) of *ḏss*-fish, fresh, ~~gutted~~
6. [for] *Ḥꜣjj-ʿꜣ*

Verso

1. *ỉnr n(.j) pḥ-rmw*
2. *m-dj Rw~tj*

1. stone (weight) of hind-parts of fish
2. with/by *Rwtj*

3.3.3. *Comments*

Recto

1. *sd-ḥwi̯*: D. Valbelle (1977: 25) and J.J. Janssen (1997: 50 [n. 94]) read *sḥwj* here. They consider it to be a shortened version of the fish name *sd-ḥw.tj*[45]; the written form of the last part of this name on the ostracon, however, is clearly *ḥwi̯*. Similar spellings that omit the *d* in *s<d>* are found on *poids* 5218, 5234, and 5235.[46] The upper half of the initial sign, 𓋴 (𓋴), is somewhat smudged; perhaps, it was corrected from an earlier 𓊪, as suggested by M.S. el-Kholi (2006: 68).

   ỉw: The sign of the flowering reed (Gardiner M17 𓇋) is unusually tall and broad here, particularly in comparison with the preceding instances of the sign in the name *Ḥꜣjj*; judging from the intense colour of the sign, it seems that the scribe re-dipped his brush as he began to write this syntagma.

2. *ỉnr*: In delivery lists, fish are usually weighed (in *deben*) or counted by specimen.[47] Stone weights from Deir el-Medina inscribed with fish species have been found,[48] suggesting that these objects are what are referred to here as *ỉnr (n.j)* [FISH SPECIES], especially because the fish species mentioned on this ostracon are all attested on such stone weights. The fuller

44 For the following section, TLA, DMD, and Ramses Online have been consulted.

45 *Sd-ḥw.tj* have been identified with a multitude of species, for the discussion, see Janssen (1997: 50).

46 Cf. Valbelle (1977: 83, pl. 30 [5218], 87, pl. 31 [5234–5235]).

47 Christophe (1967: 194); Janssen (1997: 37); Antoine (2006: 26).

48 Valbelle (1977: 24–25, § 19).

designation of these stone weights appears to be *fꜣ n.j ỉnr* "weight of stone", abbreviated here to *ỉnr* "stone"[49]; J.J. Janssen (1997: 53), thinking of the fish rather than the stones being focussed on in this inscription, preferred the translation "load".

wḏj: *Tilapia nilotica* (*wḏj*) are frequently attested in fish deliveries to Deir el-Medina and on weights inscribed with the names of fish species from the village.[50] The name of the fish may be spelled *wꜣḏ* (Gardiner M14 𓆑) or *wḏ* (Gardiner V25 𓆓).[51]

wꜣḏ "fresh": Fish were delivered to Deir el-Medina both fresh (*wꜣḏ/wḏ*) and dried (*šw*). Even though these conditions were specified, the respective amounts were added up to form a total amount of the delivered fish.[52]

3. *šnʿ*: A careful collation of the text reveals faint traces of ink to the upper left part of the sign (𓋴), which confirm its reading as Gardiner E23 (𓆑), as suggested by M.S. el-Kholi (2006: 67–68).[53] There is most likely no curved stroke (Gardiner Z5 /) before the fish determinative of this word. The term *šnʿ* apparently was not limited to a particular species,[54] but seems to denote small types of fish in general.[55]

   m-dj: Although the written forms of the preposition *m-dj* "with; by" differ markedly within this text (rº 3 𓏏𓂝𓄿 vs. vº 2 𓏏𓂝𓄿), it seems best to use the hieroglyphic sign Gardiner D37 (𓂝) for both forms (*contra* M.S. el-Kholi's 2006: 67–68 transcription, but in accordance with J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner's 1957: pl. LXVII, no. 2). When transcribed with Gardiner D38 (𓂝), the word might be confused with the particle *m* "behold!", which is definitely not intended here.

   ʾImn.w-m-ỉn.t: The ostracon breaks off in the middle of the name *ʾImn.w-m-ỉn.t*, but its identification is reasonably secure on the basis of the extant signs. The shape of the sign at the lower left edge (𓅓) seems unusual, but since the stroke may well have continued beyond the physical break of the ostracon, and because the complemented form of the word *ỉn.t* "valley", i.e. 𓈖𓅓𓈙𓏲𓏲𓏲, is the usual form among attestations of the same individual,[56] the sign should be read *n* rather than *t* here.

5. *n*: The signs 𓈖 after the word *ỉnr* are missing in M.S. el-Kholi's (2006: 67–68) transcription.

   ḏss: The *ḏss*-fish has not been identified with a known species,[57] but is attested on stone weights from Deir el-Medina[58] and appears to be larger than the *šnʿ*-fish[59]. Remarkably, both *s*-signs feature a black dot; this was noted by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner (1957: pl. LXVII, no. 2), but went unremarked by M.S. el-Kholi (2006: 67).

49 Cf. Valbelle (1977: 5, § 5–6).

50 Cf. Helck (1965: 227 [4]); Gamer-Wallert (1970: 25–26); Valbelle (1977: 24 [with n. 11–12]; 1985: 273); Janssen (1997: 49–50); Antoine (2006: 32).

51 Janssen (1997: 49, n. 91).

52 According to Antoine (2006: 27).

53 A similar form appears on O. Ashmolean Museum 58 (cf. Černý & Gardiner 1957: pl. XLV, XLVA, no. 5), where it may be a misspelling for *wḥʿ* "fisher and fowler" (*Wb* 1, 350.1–6; TLA WCN 48790). However, *wḥʿ* "catfish" (*Wb* 1, 350.12–14; TLA WCN 48830) may be spelled the same way.

54 Gamer-Wallert (1970: 44); Valbelle (1977: 25 & 1985: 273); Janssen (1997: 50–51).

55 Janssen (1997: 51).

56 Cf., for instance, O. Ashmolean Museum 113 rº 6 (Černý & Gardiner 1957: pl. LXXIII, no. 1).

57 Gamer-Wallert (1970: 44–45); Valbelle (1977: 25; 1985: 274); Janssen (1997: 50–51); Antoine (2006: 32, n. 47).

58 Valbelle (1977: 25, n. 10–16).

59 Janssen (1997: 51).

wgs "gutted": The conditions of delivered fish were specified in different ways.[60] Besides "dried" or "fresh" (see above), fish might also be specified as *wgs* "gutted" (as opposed to *tm* "ungutted").[61] It should be noted in this particular case that the sign was crossed out with a diagonal stroke (𓈖), apparently by the same scribal hand. As such, the specification "gutted" should probably be considered an error that was immediately corrected by the scribe: Although fishy, this stone ought to balance out something un-gutted.

6. *ꜣ*: There are several ways to treat the lexeme *ꜣ* appended to the second occurrence of the name *Ḥꜣjj*. M.S. el-Kholi (2006: 68, 70) separated it from the name *Ḥꜣjj*, considering it to be "*unklar, wohl Teil eines Personennamens*". If this is correct, then we would expect traces of the rest of this hypothetical name to be visible, though a careful collation of the ostracon does not reveal any such traces; rather, *ꜣ* is the final word of the line and the syntagma. (Additionally, if *ꜣ* represented the start of yet another name, this would be the only case on this ostracon where an *ỉnr*-weight was assigned to more than one person.) Another possibility is to read *ꜣ* as an abbreviation of the title *ꜣ-n(.j)-ỉz.t* "chief workman".[62] This would be unusual, though, and the position of *ꜣ* after the name argues against this hypothesis. As such, it seems best to regard *ꜣ* as an *ad hoc* qualification, perhaps with the sense of "the elder" (?)[63], used to differentiate between the two bearers of the name in this list.

Between line 1 and line 2—and thus between the names *Ḥꜣjj* and *Bꜣkj-n(.j)-wrl*—there are two smudges of black ink that do not form part of the text proper. They probably do not belong to a potential earlier, erased text either, as there is no further evidence for such. In general, it is noteworthy just how broad a variety of sign shapes was used throughout the document for Gardiner K3 (𓈙) as a determinative/logogram for the names of several fish species: Forms with a fin (r° 1 𓈙; r° 2 𓈙; r° 5 𓈙) alternate with forms without one (r° 3 𓈙; r° 4 𓈙; v° 1 𓈙), while the lower horizontal stroke takes several different positions. The ostracon is thus a good example of how the hand of one scribe may vary across the same document.

Verso

1. *pḥ-rmw*: As suggested by a single instance on *poids* 5194 (= O. Varille 31) from Deir el-Medina,[64] the sign of the fish here should be regarded as a phonogram for the generic term for fish, *rmw*, rather than a determinative.[65] The translation "hind-parts" follows a suggestion by J.J. Janssen (1997: 53 [no. 121]).

2. *Rwtj*: The transcription of the name of this individual as preserved on this ostracon is not without difficulty. J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner (1957: pl. LXVII, no. 2 v°) suggested 𓁹𓂋𓅱𓄿𓏏, while a careful collation of the hieratic original of the passage leads us to propose 𓁹𓂋𓅱𓄿𓏏. Between the sign of the recumbent lion and the supposed vertical stroke before the *tj*-group, there is another curved line that, given the neat, regular

60 For the delivery and processing of fish, see also depictions in tombs of the Middle Kingdom, e.g. Newberry (1893b: pl. XXVIII; 1893a: pl. XII; 1894: pl. XXIII).

61 Janssen (1997: 48).

62 Thus *KRITA* 5, 465 [A.297] with the translation "Hay: the Chief". On the title *ꜣ-n(.j)-ỉz.t*, see *Wb* 1, 127.18 and Steinmann (1980: 146).

63 Cf. Fischer (1973: 5).

64 Valbelle (1977: 78, pl. 26 [5194]).

65 Cf. Valbelle (1977: 23).

scribal hand and the relatively uncorrupted surface of the ostracon at this point, can hardly be an accidental slip of the brush. It is, however, rather uncommon to include an additional "phonetic" complement like 𓂝 in sign-groups of the so-called "syllabic" or "group writing" system that use single vertical strokes, e.g. the group 𓏲𓂋𓂋. Other contemporary attestations of this individual's name both possess a simple 𓏲𓂋𓂋. With some hesitation, and *contra* J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner (1957: pl. LXVIIA, no. 2 Verso) and M.S. el-Kholi (2006: 67), we suggest reading 𓄿𓈖𓂝𓏲𓂋𓂋 here rather than 𓄿𓈖𓏲𓂋𓂋 or 𓄿𓈖𓈖𓏲𓂋𓂋; judging from their shapes, the last phonographic signs in this name should most likely be transcribed as 𓈖𓈖.

3.3.4. *The inscription's date*

The text on the ostracon does not include a dating formula or a king's name; as such, its date may only be established by other means. Six different individuals without any title are listed on this ostracon in a combination that also appears on O. Ashmolean Museum 16[66], O. Cairo CG 25593[67], O. DeM 598[68], O. DeM 10273 (formerly O. IFAO 1258)[69], O. Turin N. 57432[70], and O. UC 39624[71]. The identification of these individuals rests on two presumptions: a) the men listed on O. Vienna 5988 are given in hierarchical order,[72] and b) it is likely that the names correspond to one side of the gang:

66 This ostracon is dated to the reign of Ramesses III in K*RI* 5, 597–598 [A. 284], whereas W. Helck (2002: 429–430) dates it to Year 3 of Ramesses V. As the sequence of names on O. Ashmolean Museum 16 is very similar to O. UC 39624, it is most likely that O. Ashmolean Museum 16 was written around the same time as that ostracon (see below; Year 2 of Ramesses VI); see also Gutgesell (1983: 86). For O. UC 39624, see Černý & Gardiner (1957: 8, pl. XXIV, XXIVA, no. 2).

67 This ostracon is dated to the second half of the 19th Dynasty by J. Černy (1933: 33); to the reign of Siptah-Tausret in K*RI* 4, 421; to Year 2 of Siptah by W. Helck (2002: 177), and after Year 5 by M. Collier (2004: 69–70, 156). For the ostracon, see Černý (1933: 33, 59*, pl. XLIX).

68 This ostracon is dated to the reign of Siptah and Tausret in K*RI* 4, 433–434 [O. DeM 598]. For the ostracon, see Sauneron (1959: 10 [598], pl. 23–23A).

69 The ostracon is dated by P. Grandet (2010: 157) to Year 2 of Ramesses IV, referring to Gutgesell (1983: 318–319, 327). W. Helck (2002: 423) also dated this ostracon to the reigns of Ramesses IV or V. For the ostracon, see Grandet (2010: 157–161 [O. DeM 10273], 380–381), cf. furthermore Gutgesell (1983: 318).

70 This ostracon is dated between Year 10 and 20 of Ramesses III by J. López (1982: 41–42); to the reign of Ramesses III in K*RI* 7, 317–318; and to Year 20 of Ramesses III by W. Helck (2002: 241–242). For the ostracon, see López (1982: 41–42, pl. 139–139A, 140–140A).

71 This ostracon is dated to Year 2 of Ramesses VI by W. Helck (2002: 443, 445), whereas K*RI* 5, 598–599 dates it to the reign of Ramesses III. The latter assumes that the duty-roster on this ostracon corresponds to 19 days. If the duty-roster is that of the left side of the gang—and not, as assumed by M. Gutgesell (1983: 85–86), the one from the right side of the gang—a date within Year 30 of Ramesses III or earlier appears possible (cf. DMD). On the change of persons from one side of the gang to the other, see *inter alia* Gutgesell (1983: 69). For the ostracon, see Černý & Gardiner (1957: 13–14, pl. XLV, XLV, no. 1 r°).

72 Alternatively, the names may have been listed at random or grouped according to the fish-weights. If the list was ordered according to the fish-weights, however, the two entries of *wḏj*-fish would have appeared one after the other (see r° 2 and 4 above). As such, we assume that the list was either compiled at random (a possibility that cannot be ruled out) or according to the hierarchical order of the individuals.

Person[73]	O. Vienna ÄS 5988	O. Ashmolean 16	O. Cairo CG 25593	O. DeM 598	O. DeM 10273	O. Turin N. 57432	O. UC 39624
Ḥ³jj (iii?)[74]	✓	✓	✓	?[75]	✓	?[76]	✓
B³k-n.j-wrl (vii)[77]	✓	✓	×	×	✓	×	✓
ʾImn.w-m-in.t (iii)[78]	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓
ʾIpwjj (iii?)[79]	✓	×	✓	*ʾIpwjj* (iii or iv) ✓	✓	✓	×

73 The numbering of persons follows Davies (1999).

74 At least fourteen different individuals named *Ḥ³jj* can be differentiated at Deir el-Medina (cf. Davies 1999: 289–299). Because *Ḥ³jj* appears at the top of the list, one might think that he was the chief workman *Ḥ³jj* (iv) attested from Year 1 of Amenmesse to Year 22 of Ramesses III (cf. Davies 1999: 20–21); or the deputy *Ḥ³jj* (vii) attested from Year 27 of Ramesses III to Year 2 of Ramesses V or VI (cf. Davies 1999: 25, n. 351). However, the second mention of *Ḥ³jj* with the qualification *ꜥ³* at the end of the name might suggest another identification. As already mentioned above, *ꜥ³* may indicate the age of a person (cf. Fischer 1973: 5) and may have been used here to differentiate between the two men named *Ḥ³jj*. One may speculate that this was necessary if both men of this name had the same rank or status (i.e. workman), as otherwise the title of the higher-ranked chief workmen may have had the same effect. Three different workmen named *Ḥ³jj* are known: *Ḥ³jj* (iii = v?) attested from Year 8 of Ramesses III to Year 3 of Ramesses IV or V (cf. Davies 1999: 215); *Ḥ³jj* (x) attested from Year 2 of Sethnakht and probably to Year 23 of Ramesses III (cf. Davies 1999: 249); and *Ḥ³jj* (xi), a workman affiliated with the left side of the gang, attested from Year 23 (or 24) of Ramesses III and probably to Year 2 of Ramesses V (cf. Davies 1999: 266). As all three of these individuals seem to overlap during the early reign of Ramesses III, this would be consistent with the hypothesis suggested.

75 The *Ḥ³jj* mentioned on this ostracon held the title *ꜥ³-(n.j)-iz.t* and can be identified as the chief workman *Ḥ³jj* (iv). While it might be hypothetically possible to identify *Ḥ³jj* (iv) with the *Ḥ³jj* mentioned on O. Vienna ÄS 5988, we propose in the footnote above that this is not the case; of course, this is not proven, but the usage of *ꜥ³* is rather suggestive.

76 See footnote above.

77 Whereas a total of eight individuals named *B³k-n.j-wrl* is known from Deir el-Medina (Davies 1999: 288), only two of them are affiliated with the left side of the gang: i) the plasterer *B³k-n.j-wrl* (vi), who lived at the end of the 19th Dynasty (Davies 1999: 220 and n. 219; wrongly named as (v) assumes a date around the reign of Siptah), and ii) the workman *B³k-n.j-wrl* (vii), known from the second half of the reign of Ramesses III (cf. Davies 1999: 220). As the other persons listed on this ostracon all appear to be workmen, it seems more likely that *B³k-n.j-wrl* (vii) is the individual referred to on O. Vienna ÄS 5988. This is furthermore corroborated by the date of the other persons mentioned on this ostracon; cf. the appendix below.

78 Among the different workmen with the name *ʾImn.w-m-in.t*, one (i.e. *ʾImn.w-m-in.t* [iii]) is affiliated with the left side of the gang as a workman and is attested from the reign of Seti II to Year 2 of either Ramesses V or VI; cf. Davies (1999: 214).

79 Assuming a hierarchical order of the individuals on O. Vienna ÄS 5988, the mentioned *ʾIpwjj* cannot be identified with either the foreman of this name (i.e. *ʾIpwjj* [ii]) from the reign of Ramesses III or another foreman named *ʾIpwjj* (= *ʾIpwjj* [viii]?; cf. Davies 1999: 52) from the reign of Ramesses IX (Davies 1999: 279). If he were either of these individuals, he would appear further up the list. The workman *ʾIpwjj* (iii), on the other hand, is known from Year 14 of Ramesses III to at least Year 2 of Ramesses IV (Davies 1999: 152). Another workman named *ʾIpwjj*, who worked on the left side of the gang, is attested during the reigns of Amenmesse, Seti II, and Siptah, and may be identified with *ʾIpwjj* (vi) (cf. Davies 1999: 151–152), however, this is not certain. Another possibility is *ʾIpwjj* (vii), a workman known from the reigns of Amenemesse and Siptah (Davies 1999: 180).

Person[73]	O. Vienna ÄS 5988	O. Ashmolean 16	O. Cairo CG 25593	O. DeM 598	O. DeM 10273	O. Turin N. 57432	O. UC 39624
Rwtj (i)[80]	✓	✓	✓	?[81]	✓	✓	✓
Ḥ³jj (x or xi?)[82] [83]	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×

Assuming that the identification of these individuals is accurate and that their respective attested time corresponds to their specific lifetime, this ostracon's inscription may be dated approximately to the second half of the reign of Ramesses III.[83] The *termini ante quos* and *post quos* of this ostracon depend mainly on the identification of the second *Ḥ³jj* mentioned on the ostracon (i.e. *Ḥ³jj* (x) or (xi)). Therefore, two scenarios are possible:

- If *Ḥ³jj* (x) is the individual referred to on this ostracon, then *ʾIpwjj* (iii) would be the individual with the latest possible earliest attestation (i.e. Year 14 of Ramesses III), thus establishing a *terminus ante quem*. *Ḥ³jj* (x) is not known from later than Year *23 of Ramesses III, which would determine this year as the *terminus post quem*.
- If *Ḥ³jj* (xi) is the individual referred to on this ostracon, the *terminus post quem* would be his earliest appearance in Year 23 (or 24) of Ramesses III. The *terminus ante quem* would be determined by *ʾIpwjj* (iii),[84] who is not attested after Year 2 of Ramesses IV.

Lists of fish separated according to species are mainly known from the 19th and early 20th Dynasty.[85] The suggested date of this ostracon in the second half of the reign of Ramesses III would fit well with this evidence.

3.4. Conclusion

Although the vessel fragment as such cannot be dated as closely by king's reigns as the inscription, it is possible to reconstruct a sensible sequence of events, starting with making of the vessel in the late 18th Dynasty at the earliest or during the Ramesside period. An unknown period of time followed, during which the vessel was used and, finally, fell out of use. Then, sometime between i)

80 The existence of two persons with this name is posited solely on the basis that this name is known from several sources that date from the end of the 19th Dynasty to Year 10 of Ramesses IX (cf. Davies 1999: 245–246). As such a time span is too long for one person, it is usually assumed that at least two individuals named *Rwtj* existed. B.G. Davies tentatively assumes that *Rwtj* (i) served on the gang from the late 19th Dynasty until the late reign of Ramesses III, while *Rwtj* (ii) lived between the reigns of Ramesses IV and IX. However, B.G. Davies (1999: 246) himself acknowledges that "this career division is purely an arbitrary one." And while B.G. Davies (1999: 246) identifies *Rwtj*, the father of *Ḳnn³* (iv), on O. DeM 10273 with *Rwtj* (i), P. Grandet (2010: 159) identifies him with *Rwtj* (ii). As *Ḳnn³* (iv) is attested from Year 24 of Ramesses III until probably Year 5 of Ramesses IV (cf. Davies 1999: 246), his father can only be *Rwtj* (i).

81 The spelling of the name *Rwtj* on this ostracon (i.e.) differs considerably from the one on O. Vienna ÄS 5988 (i.e.). As such, one might wonder if they are two different persons.

82 For *Ḥ³jj* see footnote above.

83 See also the appendix below.

84 The attestation span of *Rwtj* (i) is somewhat arbitrary (see above) and can therefore not be used as a *terminus ante quem*. However, if his last appearance is indeed still within the reign of Ramesses III, this would mean a narrower *terminus ante quem* for this ostracon.

85 Cf. Gabler (2018: 217–218, 221, 225, 239). We would like to thank Kathrin Gabler for pointing this out to us.

Year 14 and Year 23/24 of Ramesses III, or ii) Year 23/24 of Ramesses III and the reign of Ramesses IV, this sherd from this vessel was utilised for recording the list of stone weights for fish.

The inscription on the ostracon is legible and has been published multiple times, though its interpretation remains open to debate, as does the central question of its *Sitz im Leben*. A comprehensive answer to this question is perhaps not attainable at the moment; however, a few observations are due that might eventually help to resolve this problem. In this respect, some formal issues are of primary concern. As far as can be discerned today, the inscription has no heading, and its only complex syntagma (*ỉw=f r* […], l. 1) is not entirely preserved, though it was probably not very long. As we have already seen, any potential date is also missing. Thus, the purpose of the document was probably to make available a list that—implicitly—was of immediate practical value, though temporally indistinct (hence, either of lasting or, on the contrary, only very short-term validity). The rest of the inscription appears to follow the pattern *ỉnr n(.j)*—[fish species] (– [specification])—*n*/*m-dj*—[personal name]. According to J.J. Janssen (1997: 53), the word *ỉnr* "'stone' means perhaps an indefinite quantity or weight and may be translated as 'load'" (of fish to be delivered). This meaning is otherwise unattested, however, and the use of stones as weights for fish deliveries, often inscribed with the names of the respective fish species, is well attested for New Kingdom Deir el-Medina.[86] Therefore, there is no need to assume that instead of the weights, "loads" of fish should be regarded as the main subject of the list. The choice of preposition between the names of the fish and of the men is based on the opposition of *n* "for"[87] and *m-dj* "with/from". This is a strong indicator that the present document differs generically from lists of fish deliveries, which usually employ the prepositions <*ỉ*>*n* "by" and *m-ḏr.t* "out of the hand of". One might then hypothesise that the purpose of the list on O. Vienna ÄS 5988 was to record the (then-current) whereabouts of different weights that had been "assigned to" (*n*) or were currently "with" (*m-dj*) someone.

If this interpretation is correct, the ostracon would provide some insight into the practice of using weights rather than being a mere list of items.

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We would like to thank the editorial board of *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World* for the opportunity to contribute to the present volume as well as for their helpful comments. We would also like to express our sincere gratitude to Regina Hölzl and the staff of the Kunsthistorisches Museum for permission to work with the material presented above; we are particularly grateful to Vanessa Novak and Barbara Kovacs for their support in the museum. Last but not least, we are indebted to David A. Aston, Koenraad Donker van Heel, Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert, Roman Gundacker, Elena Hertel, and Annik Wüthrich for their unwavering support, for their comments, and for joining us in discussion. Needless to say, all mistakes and errors of fact or judgement are our responsibility alone.

86 For the corpus, see Valbelle (1977).

87 Relating the text to a delivery, J.J. Janssen (1997: 43–44, n. 57) suggests reading <*ỉ*>*n* "by" rather than *n* "to". He refers to alleged parallels in O. DeM 82, 83 (= O. IFAO 638 and 327), see Černý (1935: 22, pl. 52, no. 82–83), and 205 (= O. IFAO 73), see Černý (1937: 4, pl. 5, no. 205) and O. Berlin P 10839, see Möller & Gardiner (1911: pl. 35), which are, however, actual accounts of fish deliveries with a vastly different phraseology. Following the assumption that no deliveries of fish are accounted for in this ostracon, this suggestion is rejected here.

Appendix: The homonymous individuals on O. Vienna ÄS 5988 and their date

The following table lists all of the homonymous individuals mentioned on O. Vienna ÄS 5988, allowing for an easy comparison of the individuals in question and their assumed dates:[88]

Title	Name	First known attestation	Last known attestation
Plasterer	*Bꜣk-n.j-wrl* (vi)	End of the 19th Dynasty	
Workman	***Bꜣk-n.j-wrl* (vii)**	**Later half of Ramesses III**	
Workman	***ʾImn.w-m-ỉn.t* (iii)**	**Reign of Seti II**	**Year 2 of Ramesses V or VI**
Foreman	*ʾIpwjj* (ii)	Reign of Ramesses III	
Foreman	*ʾIpwjj* (viii?)	Reign of Ramesses IX	
Workman	***ʾIpwjj* (iii)**	**Year 14 of Ramesses III**	**Year 2 of Ramesses IV**
Workman	*ʾIpwjj* (vi?)	Reign of Amenmesse	Reign of Siptah
Workman	*ʾIpwjj* (vii)	Reign of Amenmesse	Reign of Siptah
Chief Workman	*Ḥꜣjj* (iv)	Year 1 of Amenmesse	Year 22 of Ramesses III
Deputy	*Ḥꜣjj* (vii)	Year 27 of Ramesses III	Year 2 of Ramesses V or VI
Workman	***Ḥꜣjj* (iii = v?)**	**Year 8 of Ramesses III**	**Year 3 of Ramesses IV or V**
Workman	***Ḥꜣjj* (x)**	**Year 2 of Sethnakht**	***Year 23 of Ramesses III**
Workman	***Ḥꜣjj* (xi)**	**Year 23 (or 24) of Ramesses III**	**Year 2 of Ramesses V (?)**
Workman	***Rwtj* (i)**	**End of the 19th Dynasty**	**Reign of Ramesses III (?)**
Workman	*Rwtj* (ii)	Reign of Ramesses III (?)	Year 10 of Ramesses IX
Workman	*Ḳnnꜣ* (iv)	Year 24 of Ramesses III	*Year 5 of Ramesses IV

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New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in the French National Library

With a Focus on an Unpublished Deir el-Medina Archive (P. BN Ms. Égyptien 237)

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ABSTRACT

The National Library in Paris holds about 21 accession numbers corresponding to at least 275 fragments of texts written in hieratic on papyri during the NK and the end of NK/early TIP, which have been acquired during the 19th Century. The collection includes oracular decrees; *Late Ramesside Letters*; registers and accounts from the Memphite Archives; religious, literary, and administrative texts and drawings from Deir el-Medina; as well as a part of the *Conspiracy of the Harem* and of the *Tale of Astarte*.

1. History of the collection

The presence of Egyptian artefacts in the French National Library (Bibliothèque nationale de France or BnF) dates back to the library's existence as a royal institution, and many of these artefacts entered the possession of the king or the crown in similar fashion to other antiquities.[1] Their acquisition was overseen by such notable antiquarians as Rascas de Bagarris (1601–1620), Gros de Boze (1719–1753), and the Abbot Barthélemy (1753–1795). In order to understand the history of these Egyptian artefacts, as well as the route by which they arrived in their present locations—in the Louvre, the Muséum National d'Histoire naturelle, the Musée d'archéologie nationale de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and numerous museums all over France—it is important to bear in mind the various relocations of the royal court over the centuries, as well as the upheavals of both the French Revolution and other regime changes, in addition to institutional changes and the redistribution of the collections across the French cultural landscape during the 19th and 20th centuries. Neither can a complete overview of the

1 There is a separation between the king's private collection and the royal collections (which were meant to be enriched by and passed on from king to king). The "Cabinet des Médailles" or "Cabinet de France" (now Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques of the BnF, often referred to as MMA inside the BnF, and not to be confused with the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art), for example, was established on the basis of the royal collection under Philippe Auguste (1165–1223). Later, Charles IX (1560–1574) established the role of keeper or "*garde particulier des médailles et antiques du roi*". The cabinet took a stable shape during the reign of Henri IV (1594–1610), and then passed into the hands of the public during the French Revolution (see Aghion & Avisseau-Broustet 1994).

Egyptian antiquities in the custody of the BnF neglect to mention the collection of the typographer L. Mandel (1921–2006), which is held in the Arsenal and consists of writing samples from all over the world on various surfaces,[2] and the 22nd Dynasty sarcophagus of Irbastetoudjaennéfou, exhibited in the Louvre since 2017 (Desclaux & Payraudeau 2017).

1.1. History of the BnF papyrological collection

The papyrological collection of the BnF (papyrus, ostraca, tablets, textiles, etc.) has undergone little change relative to other types of Egyptian artefacts in the collection. Before 1860, the papyrological material was held in the Cabinet des Antiques under the umbrella of the Cabinet des Antiques and the Cabinet des Médailles (often referred to simply as the Cabinet des Médailles, due to the pre-eminence of the numismatic collections) until it was transferred to the BnF's Manuscripts Department.[3] Research was conducted in 2021–2022 by J. Auber de Lapierre on the history of the Greek and Coptic papyrus collections in the BnF, while an ongoing project is currently surveying the BnF archives; the results of these projects should shed further light on this transfer to the Manuscripts Department.[4] Since 1860, a few private collections have entered the Cabinet des Médailles, meaning that a few papyri and other Egyptian manuscripts in the collection are actually in the Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques (MMA). These materials include three funerary papyri in cursive hieroglyphs from the 18th and 21st Dynasties gifted to the library by H.T. d'Albert (1802–1867), duc de Luynes in 1862 (two under the shelfmark inv. 53.1 and one as inv. 53.2). And while a few papyri and books on linen entered the collection even earlier (during the 18th century), most of the items in the papyrological collection were donated or acquired during the 19th century as a result of the many antiquities that came onto the market following the French Campaign in Egypt and Syria (1798–1801).[5]

A description of the pharaonic papyri in the collection has been published by C. Ragazzoli (2012) as part of a four-year project partly conducted in the BnF. As "*chargée de recherches documentaires*", she identified and fully described the collection for the library's online catalogue "BnF Archives et manuscrits" (in Extensible Markup Language [XML] and currently being enriched using the Encoded Archival Description [EAD] standard, with a permanent URL or Archival Resource Key [ARK]). As part of this project, most of the collection was digitized.[6]

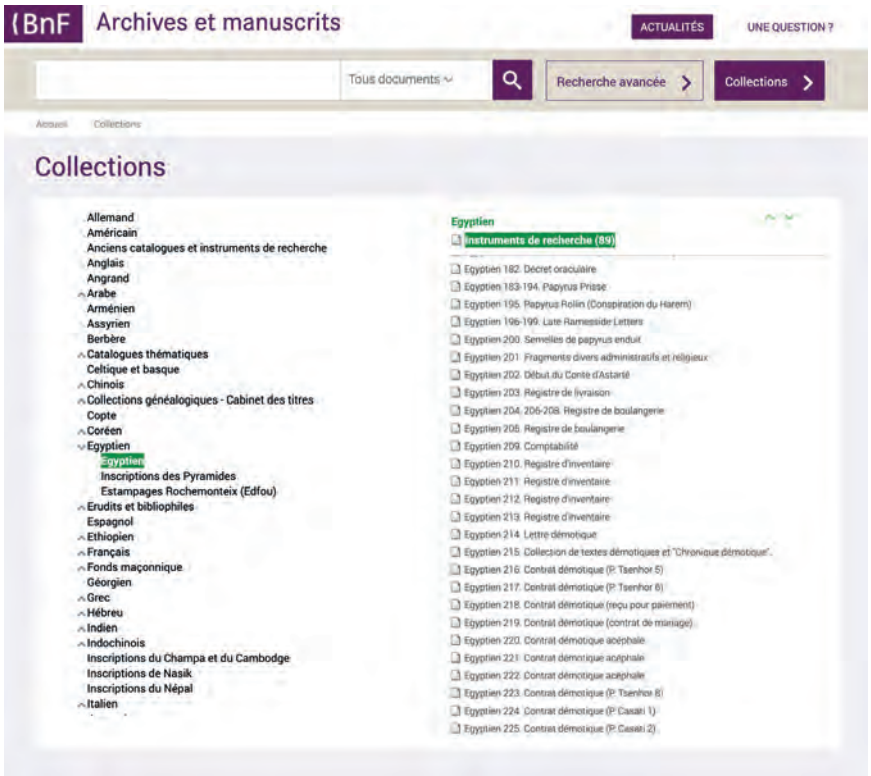
2 Among the 18 Egyptian artefacts in L. Mandel's collection are a hieroglyphic inscription carved on limestone, the feet of a sarcophagus, scarabs, a shabti, amulets and seals, and five papyrus fragments written in Greek, Coptic, and Arabic.

3 Note the entry under the 31st May 1860 in *Le Journal du Cabinet des Médailles*, 1854–1889, Ms 141 (Archives of the BnF MMA): "Tous les papyrus sont remis au Dépt des MS."

4 We are indebted to Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet and colleagues from the MMA, who notify us each time they come across new information about the Egyptological collections in the archives. These archives are being catalogued in the "BnF Archives et manuscrits" (https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/; accessed 12.06.2023) and have been partly digitized.

5 See Desclaux (2022).

6 The digital files on Gallica are freely downloadable in HD via the IIIF button and may be freely published, embedded, etc. for non-commercial purposes with the appropriate credit and a link to the original source. The terms of use are available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/edit/und/conditions-dutilisation-des-contenus-de-gallica (accessed 12.04.2023).



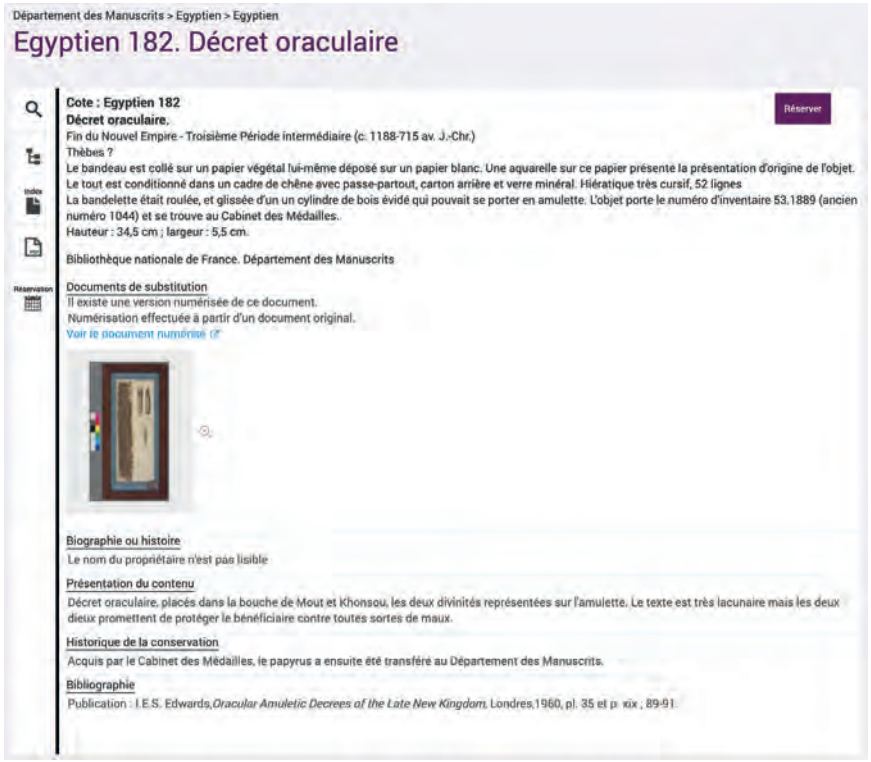


Fig. 1a and b. Snapshot of the online catalogue "BnF Archives et manuscrits" and description of BnF Ms. Égyptien 182 (Oracular Decree; https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark: /12148/cc589009; accessed 25.01.2024)

1.2. History of the New Kingdom hieratic collections

The New Kingdom hieratic texts (*NKHT*) in the BnF were all acquired during the 19th century. Most of them were purchased on the art market, though a few were given to the BnF in 1891 as the Virey papyri. The first papyri to enter the BnF were those brought back by F. Cailliaud (1787–1869) from Deir el-Medina in 1824. Two other notable acquisitions were the Papyri Rollin, bought in 1846 and probably from the Memphis Residence, and the Deir el-Medina lot acquired through the Mauduit sale in 1887.

2. The New Kingdom hieratic material

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

Except for some labels in Demotic, the pharaonic papyrological material held in the BnF consists only of texts on papyrus and textiles. The BnF assigns inventory numbers to individual physical units (the frame). As such, a given text may be divided across several inventory numbers, while another inventory number may embrace several different texts or documents (as in the case of Égyptien 237). 21 inventory numbers in the BnF relate to hieratic texts written during the New Kingdom and the early Third Intermediate Period, all on papyri:

- Égyptien 182: an oracular decree (end of NK–early TIP) that was rolled up inside an 8 cm long reed cylinder topped with the heads of Mut and Khonsu, with a double suspension ring on the back. Entered the BnF in March 1844, bought for 11.25 francs from Morel Fation; sale Linck; Registre 1838–1850, p. 25 nº 974.[7] Provenance: Thebes? Published in I. Edwards (1960: XIX; 89–91, pl. 35). Digitized.
- Égyptien 238: an oracular decree from the 21st Dynasty, published in I. Edwards (1960: 93–94, pl. 36), and two unpublished amuletic formulae. AKA the "Virey fragments" (20th–21st Dynasty). Provenance: unknown. Donated by P. Virey (possibly together with a gift by P. Virey [nº 2894] specified as Eg. 236 on 9th July 1891); Registre 7, 1848–1895]. Being prepared for publication by S. Donnat. Digitized.
- Égyptien 195: P. Rollin AKA Harem Conspiracy (Ramesses IV). Acquired from Rollin, 12 rue Vivienne, on 10 November 1846, along with the Memphis Archives, the *Tale of Astarte* and six demotic papyri—all for 1,200 francs. Registre 1838–1850: 50, nº 1888: "other fragment without date, very nice handwriting." Provenance: Thebes. Published. Digitized.
- Égyptien 196–199: 19 Late Ramesside Letters (20th–21st Dynasty). According to W. Spiegelberg (1895: 202), these letters may have belonged to F. Cailliaud. The Cailliaud collection was bought for the BnF by the state and registered on 3rd November 1824; Registre 1817–1828. Provenance: Deir el-Medina, excavations from 1817–1818.[8] Partly published by J. Černý (1938) and E. Wente (1967). Under study for publication by F. Hagen and C. Ragazzoli. Digitized.
- Égyptien 201: Letters and funerary or magical texts (19th–21st Dynasty). Under study for publication by F. Hagen and C. Ragazzoli. Digitized.

7 There is a drawing and some notes on the papyrus that date to c. 1850; cf. Égyptien 214. Restoration work on Égyptien 214 revealed a date hidden under the frame: "February 1850". The 1862 inventory gave the new inventory number 1889 to Égyptien 182, indicating "a. [for ancient] 1044". Égyptien 182 is described in Legrain (1894–1896, vol. 3: 944, inv. 1889).

8 See Gee (2022: 183–184).

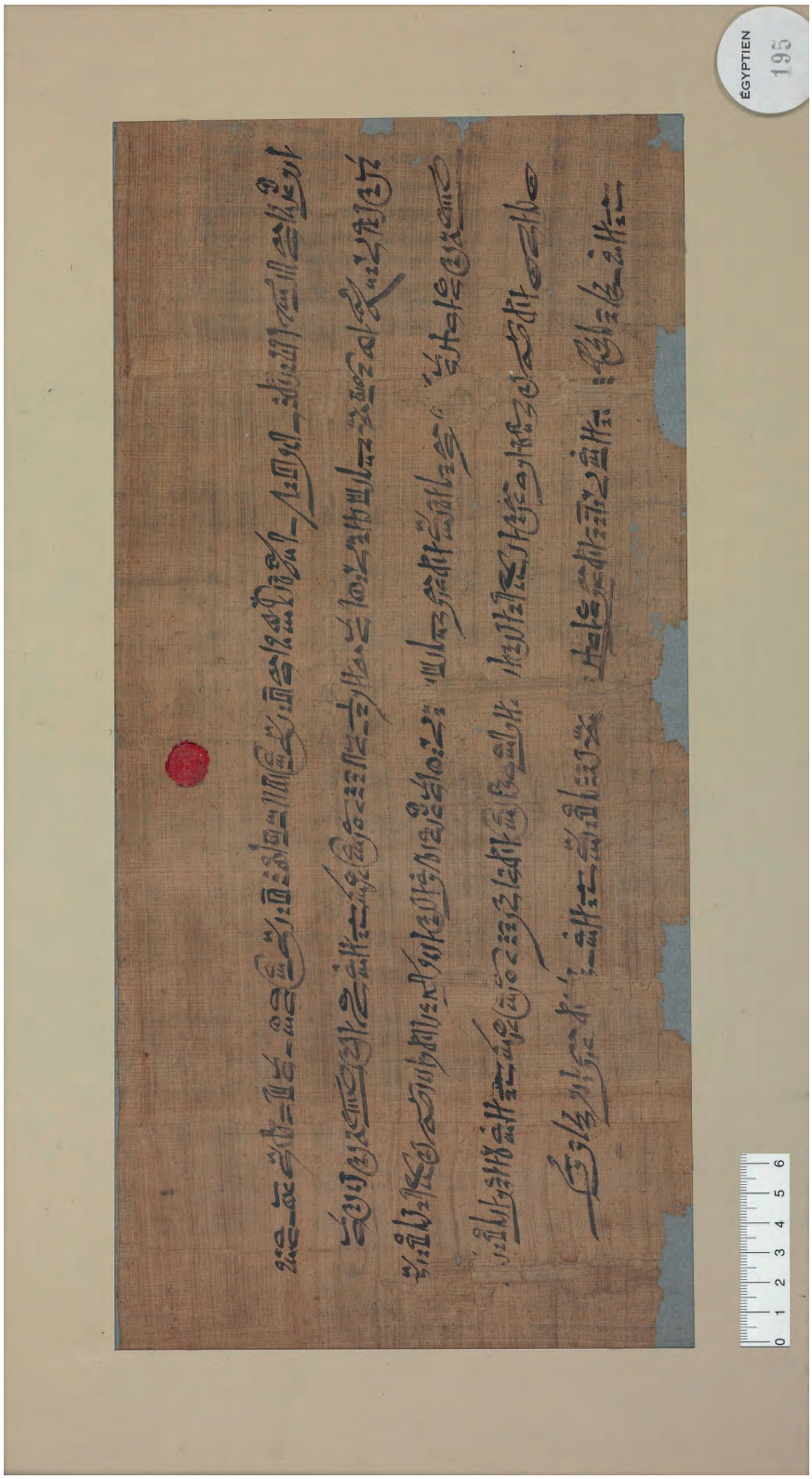
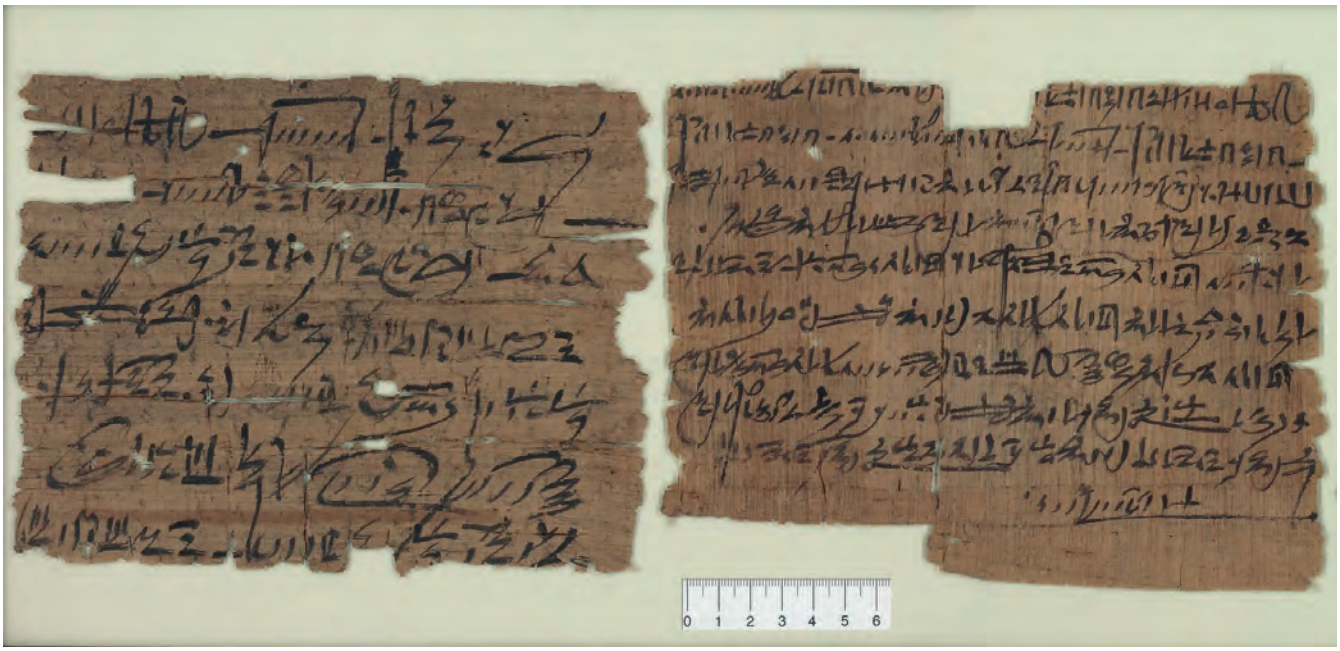


Fig. 2. Harem Conspiracy (P. Rollin), BnF Ms. Égyptien 195

– Égyptien 203–213: Accounts, bakery registers, inventories, archives from the Memphis Residence (Sethi I). W. Spiegelberg (1896: 1) notes that two papyri from this lot (Égyptien 205 and 206) were reported by J.-F. Champollion in 1828 to be in Cairo, in the possession of an employee of the French Consulate. Acquired from Rollin, 12 rue Vivienne, 10th November 1846, along with the Harem Conspiracy, the *Tale of Astarte*, and six demotic—all for 1,200 francs; Registre 1838–1850: 49–50. First Published in W. Pleyte (1868). Partly digitized.

Below are the details given in the Register (translated from French) for a number of other documents:

– nº 1882: manuscript on papyrus, inscribed on both sides; from Year III, with a cartouche; now Égyptien 211 "Accounts" and 212–213 "Inventory of wood for carpentry". Not digitized.
– nº 1883: other; inscribed on both sides; from Year 2 (*sic*), with accounts of the days 10, 11, 12 of the same month; now Égyptien 210 "Inventory of wood for carpentry" and maybe Égyptien 209. Not digitized.
– nº 1884: manuscript on papyrus with a cartouche (line 13); now Égyptien 207 and 208 "Bakery Register". Not digitized.
– nº 1885: other (perfectly preserved); from Year 2, with the cartouche of "Ménephta" (in fact Sethi I) (1583 ACN); now Égyptien 204 and 206 "Bakery Register". Digitized.
– nº 1886: other fragment; Year III of the same king with the date 29 Athyr (1582 ACN); now Égyptien 203 "Delivery of bird". Digitized.
– nº 1889: other; from Year II of "Ménephta" (in fact Sethi I), 5 Choiak; now Égyptien 205 "Bakery Register". Digitized.



– Égyptien 202: the *Tale of Astarte* (c. 1420). Acquired from Rollin, 12 rue Vivienne, 10th November 1846, along with the Harem Conspiracy, the Memphis Archives, and six demotic papyrus—all for 1,200 francs; Registre 1838–1850: 50, nº 1887: "other fragment, Year V of the same king". Published in P. Collombert & L. Coulon (2000). Digitized.
– Égyptien 237: more than 200 fragments of religious, literary, and administrative texts, including drawings. W. Spiegelberg (1895: 202) mentions that these items were bought from a binder in Paris. Provenance: probably from Deir el-Medina. Under study for publication by F. Hagen and C. Ragazzoli. Not Digitized.

2.2. Provenances

The *NKHT* from the BnF appear to derive from two main locations: the Memphis Archives and the Theban area (in particular, Deir el-Medina).

2.3. Distribution according to genre

The BnF collection comprises a few examples of oracular decrees, amulets, and magical-religious texts, as well as one literary tale. Archives from both the Residence and the community of Deir el-Medina, as well as *LRL* from the same site, constitute more than 95 % of the *NKHT* held in the BnF.

2.4. Published vs. unpublished materials

Recent work demonstrated that some significant manuscripts held in the BnF remain unpublished—perhaps even forgotten. However, most of the *NKHT* will soon see publication.

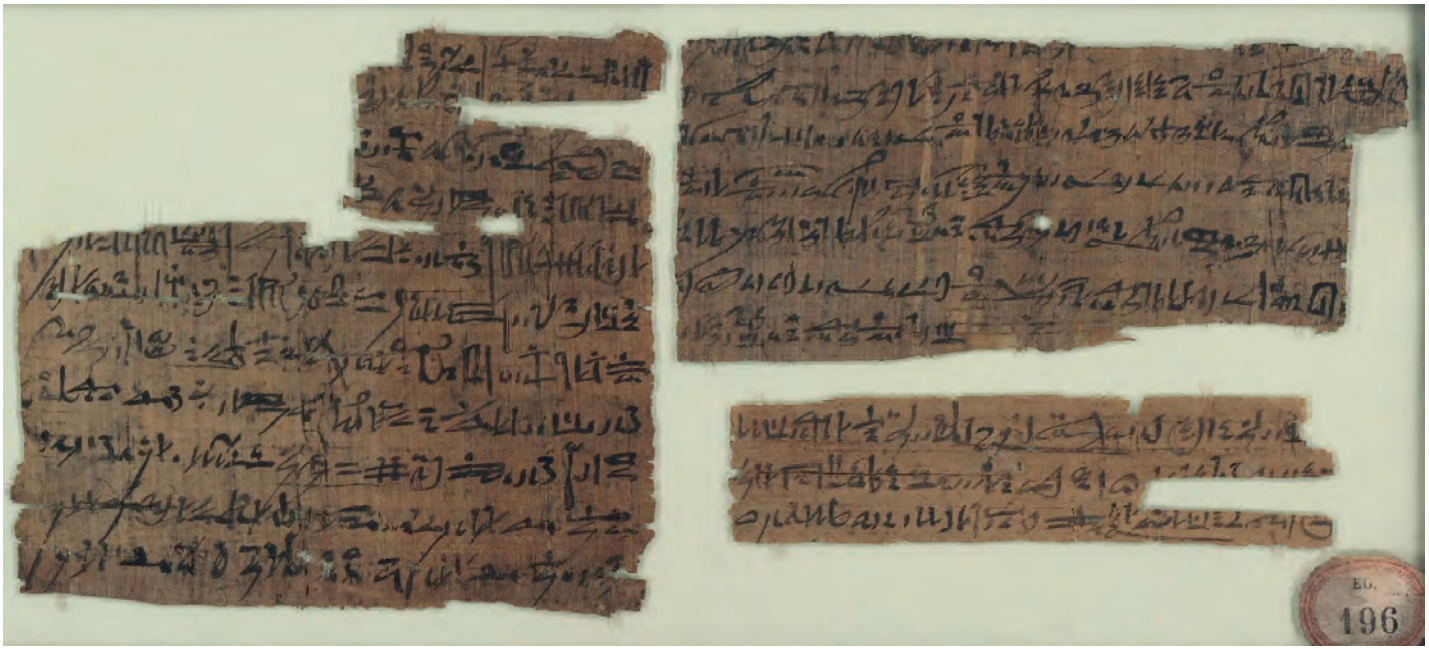


Fig. 3. *LRL* from Deir el-Medina, BnF Ms. Égyptien 196

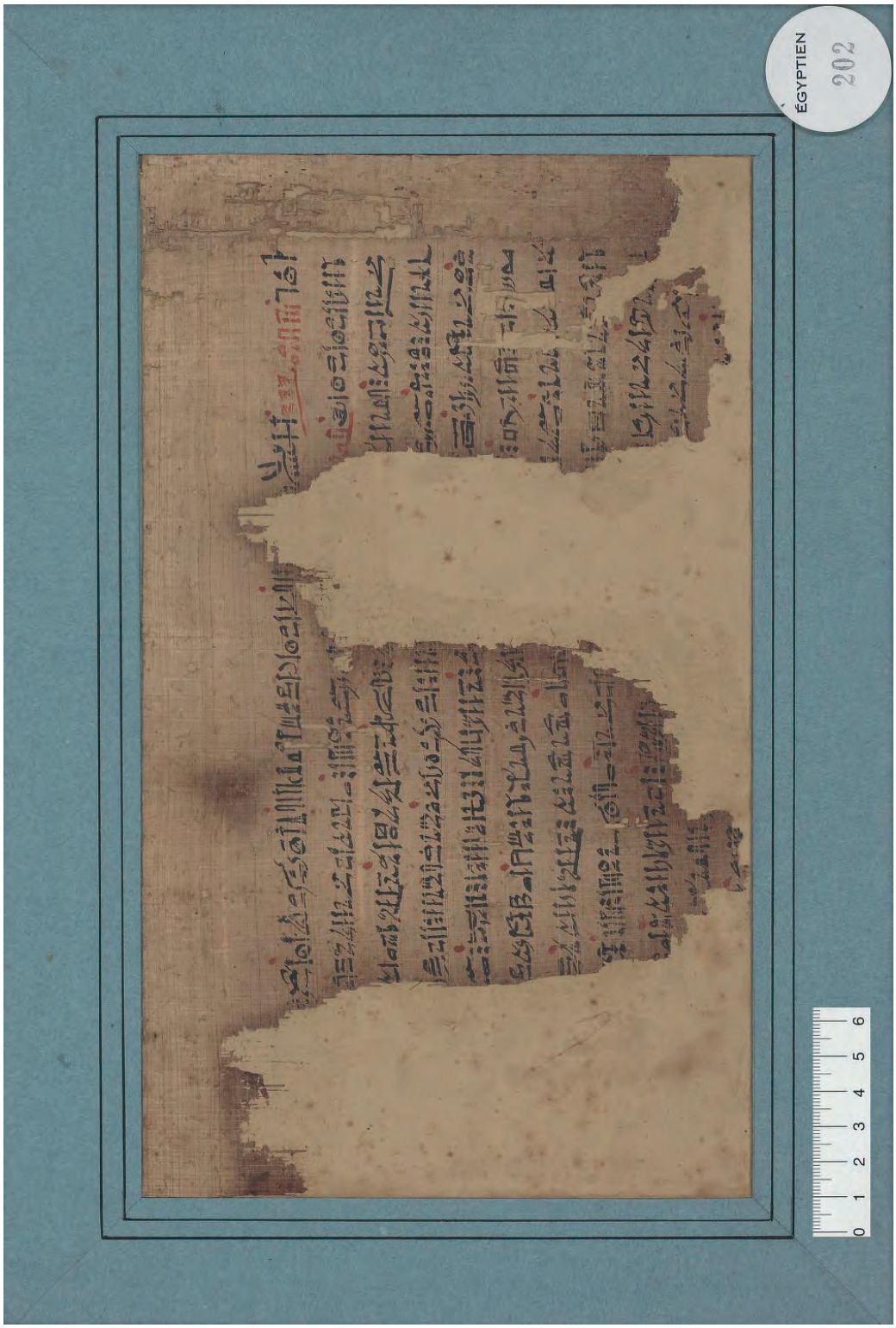


Fig. 4. Beginning of the *Tale of Astarte*, BnF Ms. Égyptien 202

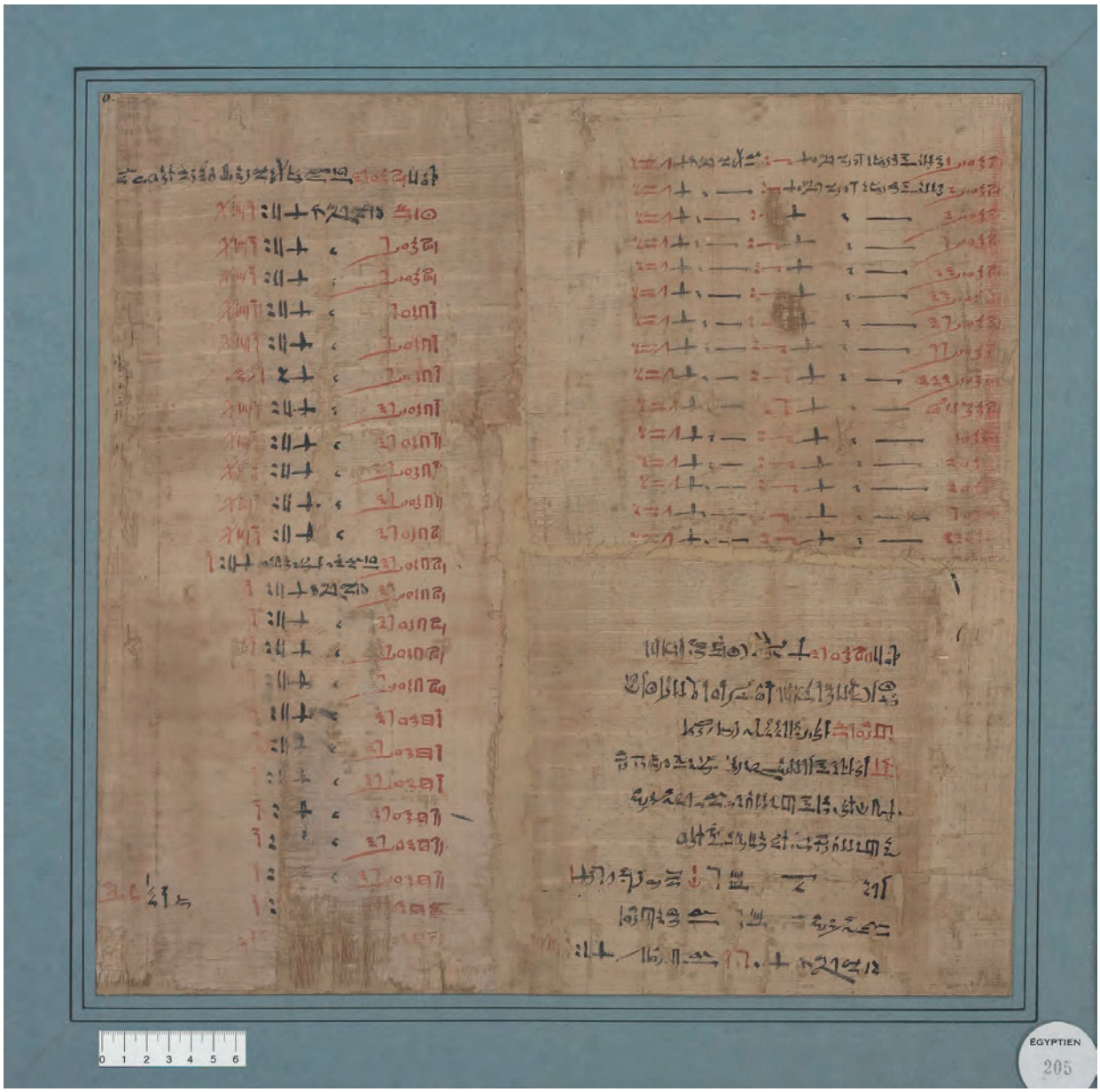


Fig. 5. Bakery register from the Memphite archives of Sethi I, BnF Ms. Égyptien 205

3. An on-going project: the Deir el-Medina archive of Papyrus BnF Ms. Égyptien 237 (with Fredrik Hagen)

Institutional inventories and catalogue numbers sometimes conceal items or lead to them being forgotten. An inventory number and brief description, for example, may elide certain details of a dossier that then disappear from memory, even as the items remain physically present in the collections. And indeed, this is the case for an important group of papyri in the BnF. The lot is correctly inventoried, but its original description did not account for either the extent or its scholarly value. In the published inventories and catalogues, the lot in question (lurking behind the BnF inventory number Ms. Égyptien 237) is said to contain around 30 epistolary and administrative fragments, a description that elides over 200 additional fragments. This material (over 240 fragments in total) is the largest group of papyri from the New Kingdom to come to light in the past thirty years. It includes literature, administrative documents, letters, and (exceptionally) even drawings. These fragments can be shown on the basis of internal evidence to come from the village of Deir el-Medina in Thebes, and to date from the second part of the 20th Dynasty. The modern biography of this ensemble can also shed light on both known and unknown agents involved in the transfer of Egyptian artefacts to Europe in the 19th century.

F. Hagen and C. Ragazzoli are currently editing the fragments for publication. The fragments themselves are being conserved by E. Menei and will be mounted between sheets of glass following their study and publication.

3.1. The modern story of the archive: a regressive narrative

3.1.1. *Rediscovery in 2011 of a partially known dossier*

As mentioned above, between 2007 and 2011, C. Ragazzoli (2012) created a new online inventory of the papyri in the BnF. The inventory also provides a general survey of the collection and its state of preservation. While the vast majority of the BnF collection is conserved in wooden frames and between sheets of glass—with one inventory number per frame—the item inv. nr. 237 presented some problems upon its rediscovery as part of C. Ragazzoli's work. This item corresponded to an old tailor-made archival box with a lid that, once opened, revealed a bundle of cardboard sheets. Over time, the latter had become deformed due to stress and could not be removed from the box without further damage.[9] Eventually, the box was dismantled and it became clear that, at an unknown date, the fragments of papyri represented by inv. nr. 237 had been glued onto paper or tracing paper that had then been incased (and glued) onto a cardboard frame behind a window made of cellulose acetate (rhodoide)—this had then decayed, leading to distortion of both the paper and the papyri glued to it. The rhodoid was removed and E. Menei was commissioned to conserve the individual fragments; these will be remounted under the supervision of F. Hagen and C. Ragazzoli after a full study of the contents of the dossier.

3.1.2. *Papyri BnF 237 in the literature*

At least some of the fragments represented by BnF 237 are known in Egyptological literature and within the Manuscripts Department:

– In the typewritten inventory of the collection made by M. Muszynski (1975) and held by the department, the entry for 237 read: "237: Fragments (15 et 19, cartons). Bibl.: il y a un

9 See the photo in Ragazzoli (2012: 31, fig. 11).

fragment des *Late Ramesside Letters*, pour lequel on verra SPIEGELBERG, Correspondance, et BAKIR, Epistolography."[10] The entry suggests a total of 35 fragments mounted on "cartons," including a letter fragment.

– M. Bellion's "catalogue of published or mentioned papyrus" presents "P. BN 237" under the heading "letter" and four sub-headings or categories (accounts, letters, Necropole, and a lexicographic mention of a medical/magic text). She makes reference to eight "cartons" (4, 11, 21, 22, 25, 26, 30, 32).[11] She also gives a reference to W. Spiegelberg (1896: 78) and K*RI* 1, 280–281, which corresponds to the recto of one fragment (BnF Ms. Égyptien 237, carton 27). She connects 8 fragments (numbered from 1 to 8) to 8 "cartons" corresponding to the fragments published in the *Correspondance du temps des rois-prêtres* by W. Spiegelberg). The third category "nécropole—Carton I" is a large fragment belonging to the day book of Deir el-Medina, made available by K.A. Kitchen in the sixth volume of his Ramesside inscriptions (K*RI* 6, 339–340). The fourth is mentioned by G. Posener with respect to the word *nbw* "aphonie, stillness," which appears in the text on the verso of a fragment from carton 26.[12]

Other Egyptologists visited the BnF at various points and also copied some of the fragments. In the period between the two World Wars, these scholars numbered:

– A.H. Gardiner, probably around 1929, as may be inferred from his notebook.[13]
– J. Černý in September 1934. J. Černý collated A.H. Gardiner's copies and made his own copies of a total of 21 fragments (letters and logbook excerpts).[14]
– T.E. Peet, whose examination of the fragments is mentioned in J. Černý's notebook (see above).

The principal publication of BnF 237 was by W. Spiegelberg who spent most of his career in Strasbourg, and who devoted a monograph to the vast collection of accounts from the Memphite Residence of Sethi I (BnF n° 203–213 mentioned above). W. Spiegelberg plainly surveyed the entire collection in the BnF, along with the epistolary fragments. He would also have been around when the fragments assigned inv. nr. 237 arrived in Paris. In his *Rechnungen* (1896) he included a fragment "*PAP. B.N.* 237" with a record of a delivery of loaves on the recto in longhand, as well as an absentee workers' list on the verso (which he did not mention; see below).[15] The fragments of letters from the late 20th Dynasty were included in his *Correspondance du temps des rois-prêtres* (6 fragments).[16]

3.1.3. *From Vincent Boutin, spy for Napoléon in Egypt in 1813–1814, to the acquisition of the dossier by the Bibliothèque nationale in 1887 (with a detour via Drovetti)*

The fragments assigned inv. nr. 237 were first purchased in "two envelopes" from the Nantes' antiquarian A. Levy, who in 1887 put on sale a collection belonging to a so-called Dr. Mauduit, also from Nantes. The transaction is documented

10 Muszynski (1975).
11 Bellion (1987: 80–81).
12 Posener (1965: 192).
13 Griffith Institute, Gardiner MSS 23.9.
14 Griffith Institute, Černý MSS 17.3.
15 Spiegelberg (1896: 78).
16 Spiegelberg (1895: 88–97).

in the archives of the Manuscripts Department.[17] There can be found a letter from G. Maspero (1846–1916), who often pointed the BnF towards papyri that might be of interest, whether Egyptian or Coptic. This letter is dated 20th July 1887 and is addressed to L. Delisle (1826–1910), the director of the Bibliothèque nationale. The letter mentions "*deux enveloppes contenant des fragments de papyrus de bonne époque provenant de la collection du Dr. Maudruit (sic) de Nantes*" sold by "*la librairie ancienne et moderne de A. Levy, sise au 10, rue Boileau de Nantes*". In the letter, G. Maspero advises the library to offer 200 francs for the envelopes. In a letter to L. Delisle dated 23rd July 1887, A. Levy offered the BnF both the papyrus *and* some further small objects for 300 francs. L. Delisle subsequently returned the small objects to A. Levy with a payment of 200 francs for the papyri. There is no mention in these letters of provenance, though G. Maspero does mention in his letter that "*les notes au crayon et à l'encre sont de l'écriture de Devéria*".

Following this lead, we were able to find more information in the archives of the curator of the Louvre, T. Devéria (1831–1871), which are currently held in the Library of the National Museums in Paris and in the National Archives in Pierrefitte (shelfmark: 20144775/1–20144775/34). Among T. Devéria's archives is a wooden box of lexical slip cards (nº 13) which include several entries concerning Dr. Mauduit's fragments. One of these cards in particular provides crucial information about the modern history of these papyri: "*Fragments des papyrus de M. Mauduit de Nantes / voir (?) format 1, règles d'Aménophis I, de Ramsès III, ~~et 19e dynastie~~ / ~~généralités~~, panthéon, Ammon, et Isis*" and on the back: "*Le colonel du Génie Boutin né au Loroux près Nantes, chargé par l'Emp. Napoléon I de connaître les trois régences a apporté d'Égypte les fragments de papyrus qui sont maintenant en la possession de M. Mauduit de Nantes*".

The name of V.-Y. Boutin (1772–1815) conjures up a very different world—that of the western "rediscovery" of Egypt driven by the universalist and colonial aims of Europe and of Napoleonic France in particular. In future research, we intend to conduct a thorough exploration of existing archives that refer to V.-Y. Boutin, his Egyptian trip, and his collection of antiquities, but some key information is already available.[18] Born in 1775, V.-Y. Boutin graduated from the École du Génie of Mézières in 1792, was made a captain in the army in 1795, and campaigned in Switzerland, Italy, and the Netherlands. He joined Napoléon's Grande Armée and fought against the English in Dalmatia as part of the defense of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. In 1808, he was sent to Algeria to reconnoiter the fortifications of Alger. He was then entrusted with a secret political and military mission in the Near East and stayed in Egypt from 1811 to 1813. The official reason for his presence in Egypt was to convey official news to French residents there of the "*heureux accouchement de sa Majesté l'Impératrice et la naissance du roi de Rome*."[19] In fact, V.-Y. Boutin was there to collect military and political intelligence about Egypt. As cover for this mission, he adopted the persona of an antiquarian and explorer, there being many such persons in Egypt at this time.

V.-Y. Boutin landed in Alexandria at the end of May 1811 and was introduced to Viceroy Mehemet Ali (1769–1849) by the French Consul B. Drovetti, who is well-known for his active policy of collecting antiquities throughout Egypt. V.-Y. Boutin obtained permission from Ali to buy wheat at a good price and to travel around the country. He left for Upper Egypt with B. Drovetti (V.-Y. Boutin would then travel to the Red Sea and Siwa, about which the English consul at the time complained

17 BNF, Archives modernes 241 (11), letter 24.657.

18 We draw here upon Berjaud (1950: 177–193).

19 Berjaud (1950: 177).

to the sultan.)[20] While collecting intelligence, V.-Y. Boutin acquired a collection of statuettes, papyri, and small antiques that were found in his luggage after his death in 1815.[21] B. Drovetti's role in the acquisition of these materials is known to us from a letter he wrote about the antiquities that he provided to V.-Y. Boutin: "*Messieurs Autran doivent vous remettre quelques objets d'antiquités qui se trouvaient faire partie d'une expédition faite par la maison Fua, Loria et Tilche de compte de M. Boutin. Les parents de cet officier, ignorant que presque tout ce qu'il leur laisse en fait d'antiquités, il l'a reçu de moi, sans compter les frais d'un voyage dans la Haute Égypte et l'hospitalité assez dispendieuse d'un an, ont exigé que je contribue au payement des frais pour les objets qu'on a dû laisser et dont M. Boutin avait bien voulu se charger pour remettre en France ou pour me renvoyer, tels que les gravures qu'il avait voulu que je lui confie pour les faire encadrer. Si les frais que réclament MM. Autran ne sont pas trop considérables, je vous prie de leur en tenir compte; autrement, avant de retirer ces objets, vous aurez la bonté de m'en prévenir pour que je voye s'il ne me convient pas mieux de leur en faire l'abandon.*"[22] But even if a link between (at least part of) V.-Y. Boutin's collection and B. Drovetti is firmly established, the papyri's place of origin can only be deduced on the basis of internal clues in the document (West Thebes, Deir el-Medina). The papyri may have come from an excavation commissioned by B. Drovetti and V.-Y. Boutin, and/or been bought on the antiquities market flourishing at the time.

Other artefacts in V.-Y. Boutin's collection are already known. A statue kept in the Louvre, which also passed through the hands of the physician Dr. Mauduit, completes V.-Y. Boutin's collection. It is accompanied by a molding made in 1859 by Dr. Mauduit himself, which subsequently passed through T. Devéria's hands before he in turn gave it to the Louvre in 1860. The statue itself entered the Louvre in 1954 (as E25398). The dedication of the object to Thoth *nb Ḫmnw nṯr ꜥꜣ* and to the regional god *Shepsy nswt Ḫmnw ḥry-tp nṯrw* connects it with Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, as well as demonstrating that V.-Y. Boutin's collection was composed of objects with different origins.[23] A *Book of the Dead* from the Ptolemaic period—Toulouse 73.1.6, known as the Papyrus Varille—also formed part of V.-Y. Boutin's baggage according to the scholars who published it.[24] An inventory of V.-Y. Boutin's baggage was made after his death by the French consul in Aleppo before it was sent to France; the inventory mentions "*un paquet de toile cirée contenant dix paquets plus ou moins gros de manuscrits anciens sur papyrus*".[25]

3.2. A Deir el-Medina archive

3.2.1. *Overview*

The dossier P. BnF 237 currently consists of around 240 fragments. Some are the size of a postage stamp, while most are more substantial (c. 10 cm). The larger fragments from a Deir el-Medina logbook (see below) make up an entire section of a scroll (c. 20 cm [full] height, 35 cm cumulated length). These logbook fragments were published by K.A. Kitchen in his *Ramesside Inscriptions*[26] from J. Černý's notes in the Griffith Institute. The

20 Berjaud (1950: 182–185).

21 Berjaud (1950: 193).

22 Letter nº 78, 3rd May 1818 to P. Balthalon (chargé d'affaires à Marseille), MS 508 (1, 16) 11 to 12 in Guichard (2003: 297). Thanks to Christophe Barbotin for bringing this letter to our attention, in addition to the two objects referred to in the next two footnotes.

23 https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark: /53355/cl010004035 (accessed 12.06.2023), with complete bibliography.

24 Guillevic & Ramond (1976: 9).

25 Quoted by Guillevic & Ramond (1976: 14).

26 *KRI* 6, 339–340.

logbook embraces the delivery of rations, visits from officials, and details of workmen missing from work.

Most of the fragments in the dossier are administrative (60 %)[27] or of a related nature, mixing shorthand and bookhand scripts. Fragments of letters (12 %) round off the administrative part of the dossier. Many fragments (15 %) reflect a wide repertoire of literary texts—narratives, poetry, hymns, and medico-magical texts. Last but not least, 13 % of the fragments bear a variety of drawings, including a royal scene with a protocol in hieroglyphs relating to the monumental repertoire, the representation of some topographic features with the typical black and pink dotted surface (that represent desert or mountains), and a magical theme with a scorpion.

3.2.2. *Dating of the materials and prosopographic data*

Most of the data harvested so far from the logbook point to its use in the second part of the 20th Dynasty. The longer sections from the logbook are dated to Year III, probably of Ramesses VI, while the palaeography of some fragments suggests that they may well date from the 19th Dynasty. A fragment of a letter mentions the fan-bearer on the right-hand side of the king, the Mayor and Vizier Neferronpe (carton 22, fragment a). Neferronpe is attested from the accession of Ramesses IV (c. 1153) to the accession of Ramesses VI (c. 1144).[28] In addition to appearing in the texts of many ostraca, he also appears in the texts on P. DeM 24 and P. DeM 28, which belonged to the archives of Qenherkhepshef (Scribe of the Tomb between approx. 1240–1195). Among the various fragments of the logbook featuring lists of workmen, we publish one below that includes the workman Khonsu-imen son of Iyrniwtef (fig. 6), who is also mentioned in a list on an ostracon that comes from the workmen's huts in the Valley of the Kings.[29]

(x+2, 1) *ḥ³t-sp 3 ³bd 2 prt sw 2*[…]
(x+2, 2) *t³-sryt j³ bn jn.f m ḥnw*
(x+2, 3) *³bd 3 prt sw 6 nty m wsf*
(x+2, 4) *ʿ³-p³-ṯ³w (m-ʿ) ḥry.f*[30]
(x+2, 5) *Jpwy (m-ʿ) ḥry.f*
(x+2, 6) *Ḫnsw s³ Jy-r-njwt.f (m-ʿ) ḥry.f*
(x+2, 7) [*Jy-r-njwt.f*] *(m-ʿ) ḥry.f*

(x+2, 1) Regnal year 3, month 2 of Peret, day 2[…]
(x+2, 2) the standart since he won't be able to bring jars.
(x+2, 3) Month 3 of Peret, day 6, he who is absent:
(x+2, 4) Aapatjaw, (with) his boss
(x+2, 5) Ipuy, (with) his boss
(x+2, 6) Khonsu son of Iyrniutef, (with) his boss
(x+2, 7) Iyrniutef, (with) his boss.

Finally, the royal protocol in the figurative scene belongs to Ramesses VII (*nswt-bjty Wsr-M³ʿt-Rʿ Stp~n Rʿ* […] *ḏt r nḥḥ mj jt.f* […]).

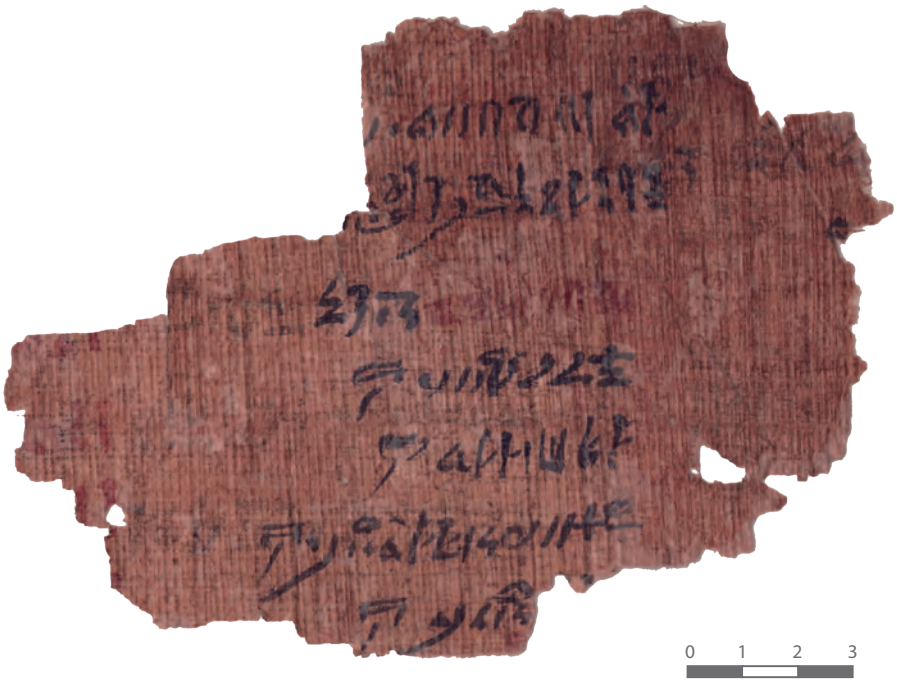
As mentioned above, our current state of knowledge permits us to date the dossier to the second part of the 20th Dynasty, sometime between the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV to the reign of Ramesses VII, a gap of around 25 years. The repertoire covered by the ensemble—both visual and textual—is heterogenous, though it would be fairly typical of a Head-Scribe of Deir el-Medina, mixing papers evocative of a private library with literary books and other documents pertaining to his professional activities within the institution of the Necropolis (logs of local events, deliveries, workmen's lists, etc.).

27 Including a fragment in carton 27 with an account of bread and cakes published in hieroglyphic transcription by W. Spiegelberg (1896: 78).

28 Černý (2001: 103).

29 O. BTdK 651 (= Dorn 2011: 407, pl. 523–525).

30 On this formula and for a possible cause of absence, compare O. BM EA 6634 and O. BM EA 66409, vº 1 (with a very similar hand) in Demarée (2002: pl. 25–26, 212).



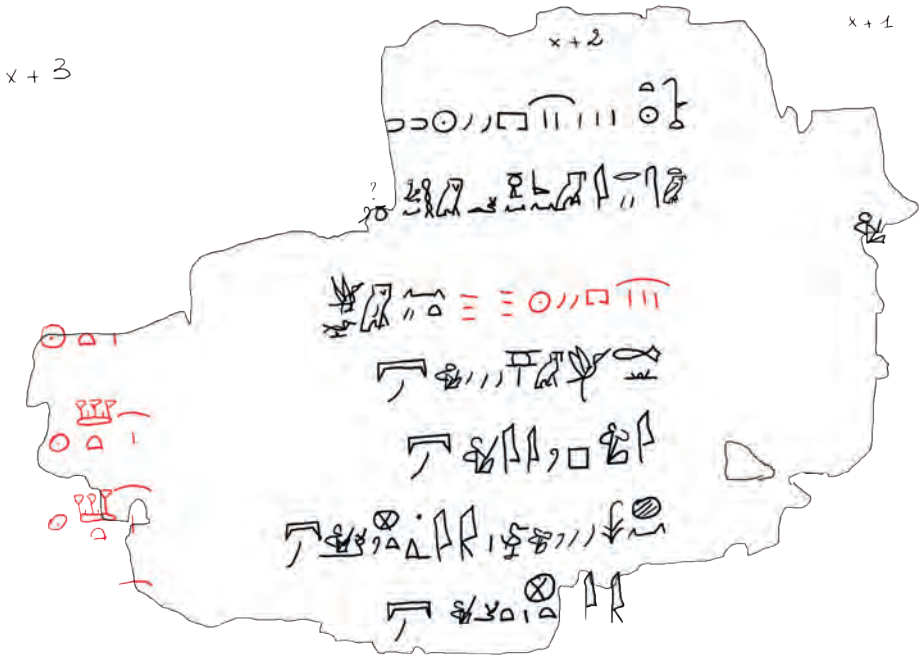


Fig. 6. Shorthand palimpsest fragment (originally "carton 27"), v°.
The recto contains a list of loaves in longhand, Spiegelberg (1896: 78)

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31 According to M. Dewachter (2015: § 7), the date added to the first page of the first volume is to be questioned, as the redaction of the Register is more likely to have taken place c. 1890, before G. Legrain first traveled to Egypt.

Le veau du dessinateur Hormin (P. Louvre E 32309)

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ABSTRACT

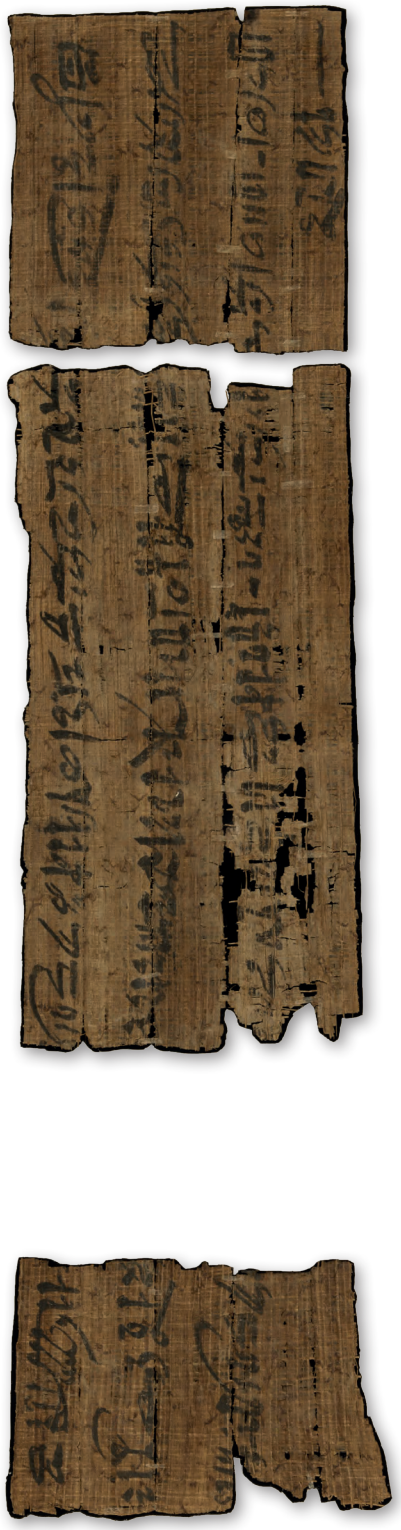
In 1995, the collections of the Louvre's Department of Egyptian Antiquities were augmented with a group of papyri acquired from a Paris dealer. These papyri were found folded with a preserved binding for some of them. The lot from Deir el-Medina had been acquired in the 1930s in Luxor, then remained in the family of its original owner, according to the seller. It includes several magical papyri and two letters: one in Coptic, intact, and the other from the Pharaonic period, in several fragments, which is the subject of this contribution.

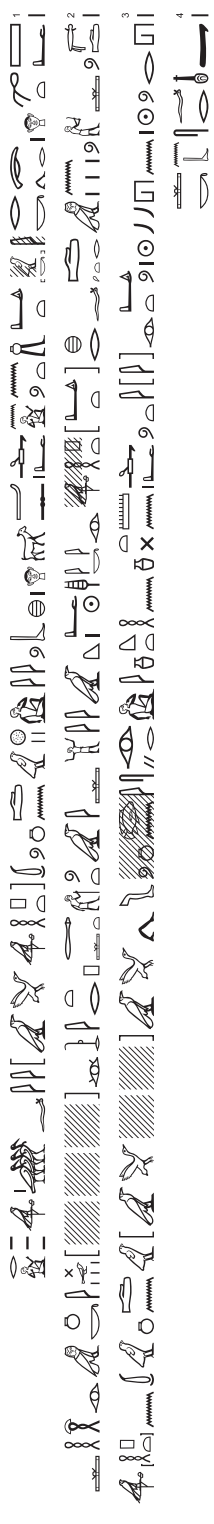
1. Le document

La documentation photographique remise avec le lot montre qu'avant son ouverture, cette lettre se présentait à l'origine sous la forme d'un « paquet » rectangulaire fermé par 9 tours d'une ficelle de lin qui avait été nouée autour du papyrus (fig. 1). Celui-ci mesurait 7,3 cm de long pour 1,6 de large ; l'épaisseur n'a pas été mesurée mais elle indique un pliage. Des dommages, lacunes et cassures sont visibles en plusieurs endroits. Une intervention de dépliage par voie mécanique, conduite avant la proposition d'achat, a entrainé des pertes supplémentaires. Le document se présentait, à l'issue de celle-ci, sous la forme de neuf fragments de hauteur sensiblement égale mais de longueurs variables. Plusieurs étaient jointifs.

Fig. 1. La lettre dans son état d'origine
(© Musée du Louvre, photo : Marc Étienne)

Fig. 2. La lettre après restauration. À gauche : recto ; à droite : verso (E 32309 © Musée du Louvre, distr. RMN-Grand Palais, photo : Georges Poncet)


0 1 2 3



Après acquisition, une restauration complète a été réalisée par E. Ménei, qui a permis la consolidation des fragments subsistants et leur remontage. Dans son état actuel (fig. 2), ce papyrus se présente sous la forme d'une bande comportant trois fragments opisthographes non jointifs, mesurant respectivement :

– fragment 1 : h. = 6,9 à 7 cm ; la. = 6,9 à 7,1 max. (fragment comportant le bord latéral droit) ;
– fragment 2 : h. max. = 6,8 à 7 cm ; la. max. = 14 cm (fragment central) ;
– fragment 3 : h. = 7,5 cm à gauche, 6,8 cm à droite ; la. max. = 5,2 (fragment comportant le bord latéral gauche).

Chacun de ces fragments se compose de trois autres plus petits qui ont été raccordés. Les trois grands fragments ont pu être repositionnés en s'aidant des formules épistolaires. Ainsi, la lacune la plus importante entre les fragments 2 et 3 peut être évaluée entre 4,3 cm et 4,6 cm. La longueur totale du document peut quant à elle être estimée à environ 29–30 cm pour une hauteur moyenne de 7,5 cm. Comme pour d'autres lettres, notamment de la XXe dynastie, le scribe a utilisé une bande de papyrus découpée dans un rouleau, ou peut-être une chute de papyrus, si la forme irrégulière d'un des fragments est bien celle d'origine. Le papyrus de couleur beige clair est de bonne qualité et ne comporte pas de joints dans les parties subsistantes. Bien que sa dimension ne corresponde pas à une demie hauteur (env. 22 cm) ou un quart de hauteur (env. 11 cm) d'un rouleau de taille standard de l'époque, la largeur estimée du document — qui est la hauteur du rouleau d'origine —, s'accorde avec certains modules employés au Nouvel Empire[1].

Le début de la lettre avec sa formule d'introduction se trouve sur la face — que nous désignerons par « recto » — où les fibres se présentent de façon verticale. Cette disposition est commune à beaucoup de lettres écrites sur des bandes de papyrus coupées dans un rouleau et tournées à 90° en vue de leur nouvel usage. Ces fibres verticales correspondent de ce fait à celles de la face perfibrale constituant l'intérieur du rouleau d'origine. Une fois le bas de la bande atteint, le scribe a continué d'écrire sa missive en retournant le papyrus (rotation à 180° par rapport à l'axe horizontal). Le « verso » de la lettre comporte ainsi des fibres dans le sens horizontal, appartenant à la face transfibrale du rouleau d'origine. Le haut du « recto » correspond ainsi au bas du « verso ». Ce document suit donc les usages en vigueur pour beaucoup de lettres ramessides[2].

L'écriture est belle et soignée au début du document et tend, comme sur d'autres lettres, à devenir plus nerveuse et moins appliquée sur le verso, sans pour autant perdre son élégance[3]. Les lignes de texte ont aussi une direction ascendante sur les deux faces. Ce phénomène d'écriture montante peut avoir pour cause une mauvaise disposition de la bande de papyrus au moment de la rédaction. Cependant il peut traduire aussi la manifestation d'une cause passagère de nature émotionnelle et suffisamment intense pour susciter cette dynamique du geste. La mise en page est assez resserrée mais claire. Il y a cependant très peu de marges en haut et en bas du feuillet et encore moins de marges extérieures. Le recto comporte trois lignes de texte et le verso quatre, la dernière ligne comportant un trait noir qui précède la salutation finale. Les lignes sont alignées à droite et leur espacement assez régulier, bien qu'il augmente quelque peu avec la remontée de l'écriture. À une exception près et qui est peut-être délibérée (r^o^ 2–3), le scripteur n'a pas sous-estimé

1 Černý (1939 : XVIII) ; Bakir (1970 : 21–22). Remarquer les modules du P. Phillip (32,5 cm) qui est aussi une lettre, ainsi que ceux du P. Turin Cat. 1966 (38,5 cm) et du P. Chester Beatty III (33,5 cm) ; un module voisin se rencontre aussi dans les lettres démotiques avec une utilisation et des types de pliages similaires (Depauw 2006 : 71–80).

2 Černý (1939 : XVIII) ; Dorn & Polis (2019 : 25).

3 Cf. Janssen (1987) pour l'appréciation de l'écriture.

la place dont il disposait pour la rédaction de son message. Il s'agit d'une erreur d'appréciation qui entraine généralement une césure des mots et chasse des signes à la ligne suivante.

Les cassures horizontales que présentaient les plus petits fragments correspondent aux plis de la lettre lors de sa fermeture par pliage ou enroulement, phénomène que l'on rencontre également dans le cas des papyrus-amulettes[4]. L'usage voudrait que le scribe ait plié sa lettre à partir du bas du verso ce qui aurait pu pour effet ici d'avoir la formule de salutation visible sur l'extérieur. Or, la photographie de la lettre dans son état d'origine semble plutôt indiquer que le recto avec les fibres verticales se trouvait à l'extérieur, peut-être avec le nom et les titres du destinataire visibles. Les traces de signes hiératiques y sont cependant trop imprécises sur la photographie. Il est fort vraisemblable que la partie supérieure de la lettre a été rabattue sur l'ensemble formé par la partie inférieure rabattue sur la partie centrale[5]. L'état initial du document montre qu'un nouveau pliage a été effectué, cette fois dans un sens latéral, masquant ainsi les pliages horizontaux. Il a été fait au moins à deux endroits qui peuvent correspondre à l'emplacement des lacunes du papyrus. Ce type de pliage en vue d'une fermeture est bien attesté au Nouvel Empire pour divers types de documents (dont les lettres et les papyrus-amulettes), comme l'ont établi les recherches menées par M. Krutzsch sur cette question[6].

2. La teneur de la lettre

2.1. Translittération

Recto

1. *šs qd Ḫr-Mnw n pꜣ Ḫr [ḥr] nḏ ḥr.t n jmy-r(ꜣ) ḥmw.w n S.t Mꜣʿ.t Rw[ty m ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb m ḥs.wt] Jmn-Rʿ*
2. *n(y)-sw.t nṯr.w r-nty tw=j ḥr ḏd n [Mr=s-]gr ḥnw.t Jmnt.t jw=j ʿḥʿ=kw ḥr ḏꜣḏꜣ nꜣ ḏw[.w …] n Jmn-Rʿ n(y)-sw.t nṯr.w P-*
3. *tḥ n tꜣ S.t-Nfr.w n(y)-sw.t Jmn-ḥtp ʿ.w.s nb pꜣ dmj jm snb=k jm ʿnḫ=k [jm rnp]=k wnn tꜣy=j*

Verso

1. *šʿ.t ḥr spr r=k jw[=k] (r) dj.t jn=tw n=j wʿ bḥs ḥr ḫꜣby sp-sn wd [Ptḥ pꜣ]y=f bꜣw r=j*
2. *šd n m ḏrt=f ḥr [dj] Ptḥ jry=k ʿḥʿw qꜣ jꜣw.t ʿꜣ.t ptr […] jnk m jr wꜣḥ*
3. *hrw n hrw dj.t jr[y]=tw wʿ(.t) mn(.t) n ḥnq.t j.jr sjn pꜣ [… pꜣ] wdn n Ptḥ*
4. *nfr snb=k*

Notes de transcription

Recto 1

Rw(ty) Plusieurs graphies sont possibles pour la restitution de cet anthroponyme dont il ne subsiste que le début, avec une trace de la partie supérieure du signe de *rw* au bord de la lacune. On peut restituer *Rwtꜣ*, *Rwtj* ou *Rwty* selon les diverses occurrences et graphies attestées de ce nom. La graphie *Rwty* a été retenue compte tenu de l'identité probable de ce personnage, cf. *infra* § 3.2.

m ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb m ḥs.w(t) On peut restituer dans la lacune *m ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb m ḥs.w(t)*, selon le formulaire usuel de

4 Donnat (2016 : 3–5).

5 Černý (1939 : XIX), mais il existe plusieurs cas de pliages singuliers ; voir par exemple le cas du P. Ermitage ДВ-1119 : Makeeva & Nikolaev (2015 : 366) et Nikolaev & Bolshakov (2024 : 194–195).

6 Krutzsch (2008 : 173). Ici, le type de pliage correspondrait à celui des *Faltpäckchen* II ou III pour ce document.

salutation qui précède la séquence de vœux (Bakir 1970 : 5). Le choix de la graphie de *ḥs.w(t)* se base sur le parallèle fourni par le P. DeM XVI, r° 1 (Černý 1978 : 27, pl. 30–30a, l. 1), graphie présente également sur l'O. DeM 429, r° 1–2 (Černý 1951 : 24, pl. 23,) qui est aussi une lettre du dessinateur Hormin. Deux autres lettres du même personnage donnent les leçons suivantes : sans les traits du pluriel sur le P. Ashmolean 1958.112, r° 1 (Eyre 1984 : 197) ; sur l'O. DeM 10096, r° 2 (Grandet 2006 : 99, 292).

Recto 2

Jmn-Rʿ La graphie est aussi présente sur le P. Ashmolean 1958.112, r° 2 (Eyre 1984 : 197).

Ny-sw.t nṯr.w La graphie de *ny–sw.t* pour l'épithète d'Amon *ny-sw.t nṯr.w* est attestée par la variante graphie présente sur le P. DeM IV, r° 2 (Černý 1978 : 15–16, pl. 19–19a).

ḥr ḏ³ḏ³ n Le repositionnement des fragments à l'aide des lignes de fracture et de l'alignement des fibres permet de lire *ḥr ḏ³ḏ³ n*, la préposition composée ayant le sens de « au sommet de, sur ». Du fait de la présence de l'article défini *n³*, le *n* avec lequel elle se construit généralement a été élidé. On a deux ligatures différentes d'un même groupe [*ḏ³* et *³*] en raison d'une interruption du tracé du premier groupe et de la reprise du tracé par une attaque du pinceau pour écrire le deuxième groupe. La graphie s'accorde avec la paléographie de la XXe dynastie (Wimmer 1995 : 306).

jm snb=k jm ʿnḫ=k jm rnp=k Dans le cas de *jm ʿnḫ=k,* Hormin a groupé assez étroitement les signes : le *ḫ* est assez proche du signe-*ânkh*, et ce groupe est très proche du trait oblique du signe *k*. Le signe *n* est très court, comme dans la graphie de *snb*, ce qui est courant dans l'écriture d'Hormin (Keller 2001 : 77). On attend pour la graphie du verbe *ʿnḫ* la présence probable, comme pour celles de *snb* et *rnp*, de la ligature . Cependant, compte tenu de la proximité des signes, la graphie est aussi envisageable. On peut restituer dans la lacune *jm=k rnp* avec comme graphies possibles ou , ce qui a un impact minime sur l'écartement des fragments. Ces éléments de la formule épistolaire permettent de positionner les fragments avec un espacement assez précis. La lacune peut être estimée entre 4,3 et 4,5 cm, selon la graphie de *rnp* retenue.

Verso 1

jw=k (r) dj.t jn=tw n=j wʿ bḥs Restituer dans la lacune par comparaison avec la graphie de *jw=k* présente d'autres documents de la main d'Hormin, comme le P. Ashmolean 1958.112, r° 4 (Eyre 1984 : 197), l'O. DeM 429, r° 3 (Černý 1951 : 24, pl. 23), et l'O. LACMA M.80.203.194 (= O. Michaelides 79), r° 6 et v° 2 ; elle est aussi employée par d'autres scribes de l'époque ramesside tardive, par exemple dans la lettre que porte le P. Nevill, r° 1 et 5 (Barns 1949 : 70).

Verso 2

ḏr.t=f Remarquer le signe de remplissage au-dessus du *f*, qui correspond à une caractéristique des pratiques d'écriture d'Hormin. On en trouve de similaires dans le P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.112 au-dessus de certains signes, notamment des *ḏ* : Keller (2001 : 77, n. 52), qui renvoie à Eyre (1984 : 202).

[*p³y*]*=f b³w* Restituer *p³y=f* dans la lacune, *=f* renvoyant au dieu Ptah possesseur des *baou*, terme souvent traité comme un collectif masculin singulier (Borghouts 1982 : 39, n. 3 ; Mathieu 1994 : 336–337), à propos de l'O. DeM 1690.

ḥr dj Ptḥ Les traces subsistantes penchent en faveur de la restauration de *dj* plutôt que

ḏd dans la lacune, ce qui correspond au contexte et à la formule attendue.

[…] *jnk* Le papyrus est endommagé à cet endroit avec une lacune, un assombrissement et un effacement partiel des signes. Le pronom indépendant *jnk* est employé ici comme marquant la possession « à moi, mien, qui me revient » (Neveu 1996 : 241, § 41.4), interprétation qui serait ici la plus plausible compte tenu du contexte. Il porte sur le mot en lacune se terminant par la ligature qui le précède. Cette dernière peut s'interpréter comme , qui correspondrait à la fin du mot *bt³* « faute ». Ce terme est en effet régulièrement employé dans un contexte de l'aveu d'une faute morale ayant entrainé un châtiment (Vernus 2003 : 321) et conviendrait bien ici. Une autre lecture possible est , qui correspond à la fin de la graphie de la particule optative *bsj*. On aurait dans ce cas *bsj Ø jnk*, alternative à la construction *bsj sw jnk* exprimant une possession à caractère hypothétique non réelle (Neveu 1996 : 197, § 36.3). Cette lecture, qui serait séduisante dans le contexte de cette lettre, ne m'est pas connue. Elle n'a pas été retenue car elle ne s'accorde pas avec les traces subsistantes.

Verso 3

sjn Il y a sous le signe du poisson *jn* des traces d'un trait horizontal qui correspond au *n* servant de complément phonétique, ce qui est conforme à l'écriture de ce groupe (Wimmer 1995 : 160). Le trait vertical visible sous cet élément horizontal est en revanche curieux. Il correspond peut-être à une façon singulière de terminer le retour du signe *n* en tournant le calame ou à un trait de remplissage assez typique des fioritures dont Hormin use fréquemment (Keller 2001 : 77).

p³ […] Une partie des fibres est repliée et celles-ci n'ont pu être séparées en vue de leur repositionnement. Il y a de plus à cet endroit une tache et une délamination du support qui gênent la lecture des signes, qui ont pâli. Les traces de l'aleph de l'article *p³* sont visibles et il y a peut-être la préposition *n* devant l'article. Les traces subsistantes de traits horizontaux et concaves autoriseraient, sous toutes réserves, la restitution du signe , par comparaison avec son tracé en v° 1. Le signe serait alors une graphie abrégée de *bḥs*, ce qui conviendrait bien au contexte.

2.2. Traduction

Ro 1 Le dessinateur Hormin **(a)** (de l'institution) de la Tombe s'enquiert du chef des artisans de la Place de Vérité **(b)** Rou[ty **(c)** en vie, force, santé dans la faveur d']Amon-Rê, roi *Ro 2* des dieux : je dis à Mér[es]ger maîtresse de l'Occident **(d)** tandis que je me tiens **(e)** au sommet des montagnes **(f)** [… à] Amon-Rê, roi des dieux, et Pt *Ro 3* ah de *Ta-set-neferou* **(g)**, ainsi qu'(au) roi Amenhotep v.s.f., seigneur du village, **(h)** qu'ils fassent que tu sois en bonne santé, que tu vives et [que tu rajeunisses] **(i)** chaque jour.

Dès que cette *Vo 1* lettre te parviendra, tu me feras chercher un tout jeune veau **(j)** ! [Ptah (?)] a laissé éclater sa colère divine (*baou)* **(k)** contre moi. *Vo 2* Sauve-nous de sa main **(l)** et puisse Ptah [faire en sorte que] **(m)** tu accomplisses une grande durée de vie et une longue vieillesse. Vois **(n)** […] qui est la mienne ! Ne cesse pas, *Vo 3* jour après jour, de faire en sorte que l'on prépare une jarre-*menet* de bière **(o)** (et) fournis vite le [veau (?)…pour (?)] l'offrande destinée à Ptah.

Vo 4 Puisse ta santé être bonne !

Notes de traduction

(a) Pour le dessinateur Hormin, fils de Hori, personnage bien connu de la communauté de Deir el-Médineh (Davies 1999 : 24–25, 168–170, où il est référencé comme Hormin (i) fils de Hori (ix) avec le point sur la question de savoir s'il existe un second personnage portant ce nom). La mention du titre intégral

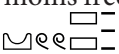
d'Hormin comme dessinateur de la Tombe retient l'attention car elle est peu fréquente dans la documentation hiératique et sur les graffiti, où l'on rencontre plutôt les titres de *sš qd n S.t Mꜣʿ.t* ou la variante *sš qd ꜣḫty ḥḥ* (Keller 2001 : 356–359). Le titre de *sš qd n pꜣ Ḫr* est plus rare dans la documentation des papyrus et ostraca. Elle l'est tout autant dans les lettres connues de ce personnage, où ce dernier mentionne son titre sous la forme *sš qd*, parfois abrégé en *sš*. Il figure néanmoins sur le papyrus P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.112, r° 1, si l'on suit la restitution de C. Eyre (1984 : 198, note a). On remarquera la variante unique *sš qd n pꜣ Ḫr ḫnj* « dessinateur de la Tombe enclose » que présente l'O. LACMA M.80.203.194 (= O. Michaelides 79). Pour les caractéristiques de l'écriture de ce personnage et les dates de son activité, cf. *infra* § 3.1.

(b) *Jmy-rꜣ ḥmw.w* : on a ici une variante de la graphie du mot *ḥmww* comportant le déterminatif de la maison, par confusion avec la graphie de *ḥmw.t* « atelier ». Il se retrouve écrit de façon abrégée dans le même titre sur l'O. DeM 10387, daté par P. Grandet (2017 : 144) d'entre l'an 16 de Ramsès III et l'an 6 ou 7 de Ramsès VI (?). Cette lettre fournit ainsi une autre attestation de ce titre à la XXe dynastie. Le mot *ḥmw.w* est à traduire « artisans » et non « charpentiers ». Le titre « chef des artisans » se rapporte ici à *Set Maât*, l'institution administrative chargé de travaux en divers endroits de la rive gauche de Thèbes et souvent distinguée soigneusement de l'institution de la Tombe dans la documentation (Ventura 1986 : 56–58).

(c) *Rw(ty)* : cet anthroponyme n'est pas courant dans la documentation de Deir el-Médineh. Il reste rare avant et pendant la XIXe dynastie, avant d'être à nouveau attesté à la XXe dynastie (Gutgesell 2002 : 42). Ce personnage serait à identifier avec le Ruta (ii) de B. Davies (1999 : 245–246), du fait de sa période d'activité et de la date de cette lettre, cf. *infra* § 3.2.

(d) La primauté accordée à Méresger dans l'énumération des divinités du formulaire des salutations est rare. C'est en général Amon-Rê qui vient en tête de cette dernière. Il en existe cependant quelques exemples, comme sur l'O. Berlin P 10664 datant de l'époque de Ramsès II (K*RI* 7, 164–165 ; Wente 1990 : 238). La *Deir el-Medina Database* renvoie à 8 occurrences de l'épithète *ḥnwt Jmnt.t* portée par Méresger, complétant celles recensées par B. Bruyère (1930 : 135, 300–313), dont 3 sont sur des ostraca et 5 sur des papyrus. Toutes figurent dans des lettres.

(e) Le verbe *ʿḥʿ* est à comprendre ici dans son sens littéral « se tenir en un endroit » (*Wb* 1, 218.3–219.20). Cependant, compte tenu du contexte, le sens d'« attendre » (*Wb* 1, 220.4–6), attesté par le P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 4–7 (Demarée 2006a : pl. 14) ou celui ou d'« être inactif » attesté par l'O. DeM 1010, r° 7 (Grandet 2006 : 109) pourraient également convenir compte tenu du contexte. Cette tournure est aussi à comparer à des expressions similaires dans des lettres concernant un personnage qui se tient devant une divinité (Aménophis Ier dans le P. Phillipps B.20.12, r° 15–1, cf. Luiselli 2011 : 300) ou dans l'avant-cour (*wbꜣ*) d'un lieu consacré à une divinité (Amon-de-la-bonne-rencontre dans le P. Turin Cat. 1971, r° 6–7, cf. Luiselli 2011 : 298). Son emploi peut avoir été induit par la proximité physique existant entre Hormin et la cime thébaine au moment de la rédaction de la lettre, cf. *infra* § 3.2.

(f) L'expression *pꜣ ḏw* est bien connue pour désigner un massif montagneux, notamment celui de la Vallée des Rois dans l'O. DeM 834, v° 2 et l'O. DeM 232, col. II,9 (Grandet 2003 : 15). L'expression *nꜣ ḏw.w* est en revanche moins fréquente. On la trouve avec la graphie  dans les lettres de la fin de la XXe dynastie pour désigner les massifs montagneux désertiques de Nubie, comme dans le P. Phillipps, r° 5–6 (Černý 1939 : 28–30 ; Luiselli 2011 : 300, avec bibliographie) et le

P. Cat. Turin 1971, r° 5 (Černý 1939 : 31–33 ; Luiselli 2011 : 298, avec bibliographie). Ici, ces montagnes désignent celles de la zone désertique de la rive gauche thébaine. Par ailleurs, il faut désormais ne plus considérer *ḥnw.t ḏw.w* comme une épithète d'Ahmès Néfertary, mais comme un anthroponyme (Gabolde 1992 : 165–166, n. d).

(g) Il s'agit de Ptah de la Vallée des Reines (*LGG* III : 175) qui possède un sanctuaire commun avec Méresger à proximité de ce lieu (Leblanc 1989 : 5–6 ; Bruyère 1930 : 11–13 ; Luiselli & Dorn 2016). Le passage à la ligne au milieu du groupe servant à écrire le nom du dieu Ptah mérite d'être remarqué. Il peut être dû à une erreur d'appréciation de la place disponible, phénomène qui est attesté sur d'autres documents, dont des lettres (Ragazzoli & Tallet 2018 : 75 ; Winand 2020 : 18–19). Cependant, compte tenu de la disposition régulière du reste du document et l'unique occurrence de ce procédé, cette césure pourrait-être délibérée du fait des circonstances particulières de la rédaction de la lettre, cf. *infra* § 3.3.

(h) Cet « Aménophis du village », (*LGG* I : 335) est l'une des formes d'Aménophis Ier divinisé vénérées à Deir el-Médineh (Černý 1927 : 167–170 ; Hollender 2009).

(i) La restitution dans la lacune est assurée par la fréquence de la formule de souhaits *jm snb=k jm ʿnḫ=k jm rnp=k* dans les lettres d'époque ramesside. Pour la difficulté de traduction induite par le passage du discours indirect au discours direct, cf. Winand (1992 : 172, n. 58) et Grandet (2006 : 70) dans son commentaire de l'O. DeM 10066, r° 1.

(j) Lit. « tu feras en sorte que me soit apporté » c'est-à-dire « tu me feras chercher ». Pour l'absence de l'écriture de la préposition *r* dans le Futur III, cf. Winand (1992 : 504–510, § 791 et 507) ainsi que Vernus (2021 : 97, n. i).

L'expression *bḥs ḥr ḫby* est rare et pose un problème d'interprétation du fait de sa graphie. Le mot *bḥs* désigne bien ici un veau et non, comme parfois, le jeune animal d'autres espèces. Dans les papyrus relatifs aux ventes de bétail des époques saïtes et perses étudiés par E. Cruz-Uribe (1985 : 48–49), on remarque que les veaux concernés par les transactions sont souvent décrits par rapport à leur posture (« alors que le veau est debout ») et la proximité avec leur mère (« qui est avec elle (la vache) à ses pieds »), ou comme suivant celle-ci. On pourrait avoir ici une indication similaire notée à l'aide d'un complément adverbial formé avec la préposition *ḥr* suivie d'un infinitif. Le verbe employé pourrait être *ḫ³b* (*Wb* 2, 229.7–11, *3ae lit.*) « se pencher, se courber, s'incliner », avec une variante graphique, et évoquerait alors la posture du veau accédant aux pis de sa mère. Le verbe *ḫbj* « danser, sautiller » et par extension « gambader » (*Wb* 3, 250.5–13) pourrait aussi convenir si la finale *-y* marque bien l'infinitif d'un verbe *3 ae inf.*, cf. Winand (1992 : 57–58, § 103), tout comme l'un de ses synonymes *ḫbb* (F*CD* 187) ou *ḫb³* (*Wb* 3, 253), qui n'est peut-être qu'une variante graphique de *ḫbj* employé pour évoquer des danses comportant des acrobaties ou des contorsions. Le déterminatif employé reste néanmoins incongru. Je suggère de rapprocher cette expression d'une autre tout aussi rare, *bḥs ḫ³bw*, qualifiant également un veau, étudiée par P. Lacau (1951). Elle désigne un veau nouvellement né, qui n'a pas encore de dents et tête encore sa mère. Les graphies ramessides de *ḫ³bw* sont toutes du type . On en aurait ici une variante sous la forme *ḥr ḫbwy*, le sens de « têter » pouvant mieux expliquer le déterminatif. On notera cependant qu'aucun verbe *ḫbj* « têter » n'est attesté, cf. Prada (2018).

(k) Littéralement « Ptah a lancé ses *baou* contre moi » ; la graphie *wdn* employée est en fait celle du verbe *wdj* (*Wb* 1, 384.15–387.25). Une graphie de ce verbe avec le déterminatif se rencontre déjà dans les *Textes des Sarcophages* (*CT* I, 31d–32a). Ce verbe se construit avec la préposition *r* avec le sens de « lancer contre,

darder ». Cette construction est utilisée pour la flamme ou le souffle brûlant (*hh)* qui jaillit violemment de la bouche de divinités contre des ennemis pour les anéantir. On trouve également ce verbe avec le sens de « lancer un sort » contre quelqu'un (Yamazaki 2003 : 42, n. e). Il ne figure cependant pas au nombre de ceux qui décrivent généralement la façon dont une divinité déchaine sa colère (Vernus 2003 : 317–319). Compte tenu du contexte, cette formulation est particulièrement intéressante. La graphie utilisée est porteuse de sens et résulte d'un choix délibéré, cf. *infra* § 3.3.

Pour le terme *bꜣw* et ses traductions « manifestation, capacité d'action, colère divine », cf. Green (1979), Borghouts (1982), Vernus (2003) et Winand (2003 : 659, n. h).

(l) On attend normalement après l'impératif l'expression du COD pronominal sous la forme du pronom dépendant ou du nouveau pronom COD (Winand 1992 : 155–156, § 252–253) ; la graphie est signalée par F. Junge (2005 : 77, § 2.2.1) comme une graphie du pronom dépendant de la 1re personne du pluriel et absente de la plupart des grammaires de néo-égyptien. On pourrait aussi la considérer comme une graphie défective du nouveau pronom dépendant *(t)w=n*, ce qui semble moins probable. On attendrait plutôt un pronom singulier *wj* et il est difficile de voir une erreur ou un emploi euphémique de « nous » pour « moi ». Le pluriel ne fait pas de doute, indiquant qu'Hormin associe ainsi le destinataire de la lettre à son sort, cf. *infra* § 3.5.

Pour le transgresseur qui se trouve dans la main (*ḏr.t*) d'une divinité dans la phase où il subit le châtiment qu'elle inflige, voir les exemples rassemblés par P. Vernus (2003 : 318–319). L'emploi du verbe *šdj* « retirer », « éloigner » et aussi « sauver » (*Wb* 4, 560,8–562,19) est dans ce contexte plus souvent employé pour exprimer l'action de la divinité qui sauve un individu d'un élément néfaste ou de sa colère. Ici, il s'applique à l'action d'un être humain soulignant l'importance que le rédacteur lui confère, cf. *infra* § 3.3.

(m) Il existe de nombreux parallèles à cette expression introduite par la particule *ḫr* employée comme élément de liaison pour exprimer le souhait lié à l'action d'une divinité (Neveu 2002 : 40, § 1.8.1, rem. 2). La forme est ici suivie du verbe *jrj* au prospectif complétif avec *-y* marqué (Winand 1992 : 242 et 252, § 399g). La particule *ḫr* est employée comme élément de démarcation, très bien justifié ici par le contexte opposant punition et octroi de bienfaits.

(n) On peut traduire « vois », introduisant un point d'attention dans le corps de la lettre comme le fait Hormin dans le P. Ashmolean 1958.112, r° 5 (Eyre 1984 : 197). La traduction « prête attention à cela », serait aussi séduisante dans ce contexte. Dans ce cas, *ptr* constituant alors un élément interpellatif ou présentatif, d'une situation patente aux yeux du locuteur et qu'il chercherait à faire constater par son interlocuteur (Winand 2004 : 108).

(o) Bien que l'expression *wꜣḥ hrw n* « ajouter un jour à » suivie d'un mot exprimant une unité de temps soit attestée (Fischer-Elfert 1999 : 58, § 3.2), il faut ici considérer *wꜣḥ* dans son sens de « cesser (de), (s')arrêter (de) » (*Wb* 1, 256.4–5), que l'on rencontre dans la documentation de Deir el-Médineh, notamment sur l'O. DeM 10259 avec une construction analogue (Grandet 2010 : 142–143). L'expression *hrw n hrw* est à considérer comme une locution adverbiale, variante de *hrw ḫr hrw* « jour après jour » (*Wb* 2, 500, VIIIc), qui est aussi attestée avec ce sens (Leitz 1999 : 91–92, pl. 51). La construction verbale consiste en un vétitif catégorique *m jr* suivi de l'infinitif du verbe opérateur *wꜣḥ* régissant ce qui paraît être l'infinitif complétif du verbe *rdj* en dépit de la graphie. Ce verbe est lui-même un verbe

opérateur régissant un prospectif complétif (*jry=tw*).

(p) Le verbe *jrj* a ici le sens de « fournir », attesté dans la documentation de Deir el-Médineh, comme sur l'O. DeM 10380 (Grandet 2017 : 136–137). Employé à l'impératif, il est suivi du verbe *sjn* « se hâter » (*Wb* 4, 38.9–39.9), et non *sjnj* (« attendre quelque chose ou quelqu'un ») qui se construit avec la préposition *n*, comme l'a montré A.H. Gardiner (1911 : 100–102), et est employé de façon adverbiale. Cette proposition forme avec la précédente une séquence (un vétitif suivi d'un impératif). On rencontre cet enchainement sous une forme inversée (impératif suivi d'un vétitif) dans les textes littéraires à caractère sapiential, notamment dans la *Sagesse d'Ani* (P. Caire CG 58042, r° 18,7) ; il sert à exposer deux aspects d'une même conception, comme l'ont souligné S. Polis (2009 : 198, ex. 284) et J.Fr. Quack (1994 : 98–99, 293).

3. Commentaire général

3.1. Le scripteur et rédacteur : Hormin, un dessinateur renommé

Le rédacteur de la lettre est un personnage bien connu de Deir el-Médineh. Il s'agit du dessinateur Hormin (*Ḥr-Mnw* ou *Ḥrj-Mnw* selon les graphies[7] de son nom). Sa maison figure dans le registre de recensement des habitations du village, où il réside avec les membres de sa famille[8]. Il a œuvré en compagnie de son collègue et frère Nebnefer dans la tombe du chef d'équipe d'Inherkhâou le jeune (TT 359). Son style soigné et élégant, voire maniériste, a pu être bien identifié sur les parois de cette tombe[9]. De plus, il est même possible de mettre un visage sur ce nom. Hormin s'y est en effet lui-même représenté et, fait exceptionnel, a signé l'une de ses réalisations[10].

Cette élégance de tracé se retrouve dans son écriture. L'étude très détaillée qu'en a faite C. Keller (2001 : 76–80) sur les papyrus, ostraca et graffiti, a permis de mettre en évidence ses caractéristiques. Dans la paléographie des documents hiératiques qui lui sont attribués, on remarque, dans sa belle écriture soignée et aérée, l'élancement des signes verticaux, l'allongement du signe de l'œil et l'axe oblique marqué du signe du faucon dans les graphies de son nom. Elle s'accompagne fréquemment de quelques fantaisies, tels des petits signes de remplissage d'espaces vides en forme de virgules ou de crochets, notamment au-dessus du signe de la main[11]. Tous ces marqueurs spécifiques se retrouvent dans ce document (fig. 3). Hormin est donc le scripteur de cette missive, laquelle constitue une nouvelle lettre autographe à ajouter à la liste de celles sûrement connues à ce jour, à savoir :

- P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.112, conservé à l'Ashmolean Museum à Oxford (Eyre 1984).
- P. DeM 16, conservé à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Černý 1978 : 27, pl. 30–30a).
- O. DeM 429, conservé à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Černý 1951 : 24, pl. 23).
- O. Michaelides 79 (= LACMA M.80.203.194), conservé au Los Angeles County Museum (K*RI* 6, 254, A.25).

7 Hormin (i) fils de Hori (ix) selon la nomenclature de B. Davies (1999 : 23–24, 168–170, avec discussion sur l'existence peu probable d'un deuxième personnage portant ce nom). Cf. Grandet (2010 : 157–161) concernant l'O. DeM 10273, où il est mentionné avec ses frères Nebnéferou et Pamedounakht.

8 Demarée & Valbelle (2011 : 43–44 ; SC 13a, frag. 74).

9 Keller (2001) ; Cherpion & Corteggiani (2010 : 22–26, 149–150, 153–159) pour le style de ce dessinateur et sa part de travail dans la tombe d'Inerkhâou.

10 Cf. Cherpion & Corteggiani (2010 : 114, 146, pl. 139 et 141) pour ce portrait et le tableau signé.

11 Cf. Keller (2001 : 77–78) et Eyre (1984 : 202) concernant ces signes de fantaisie.

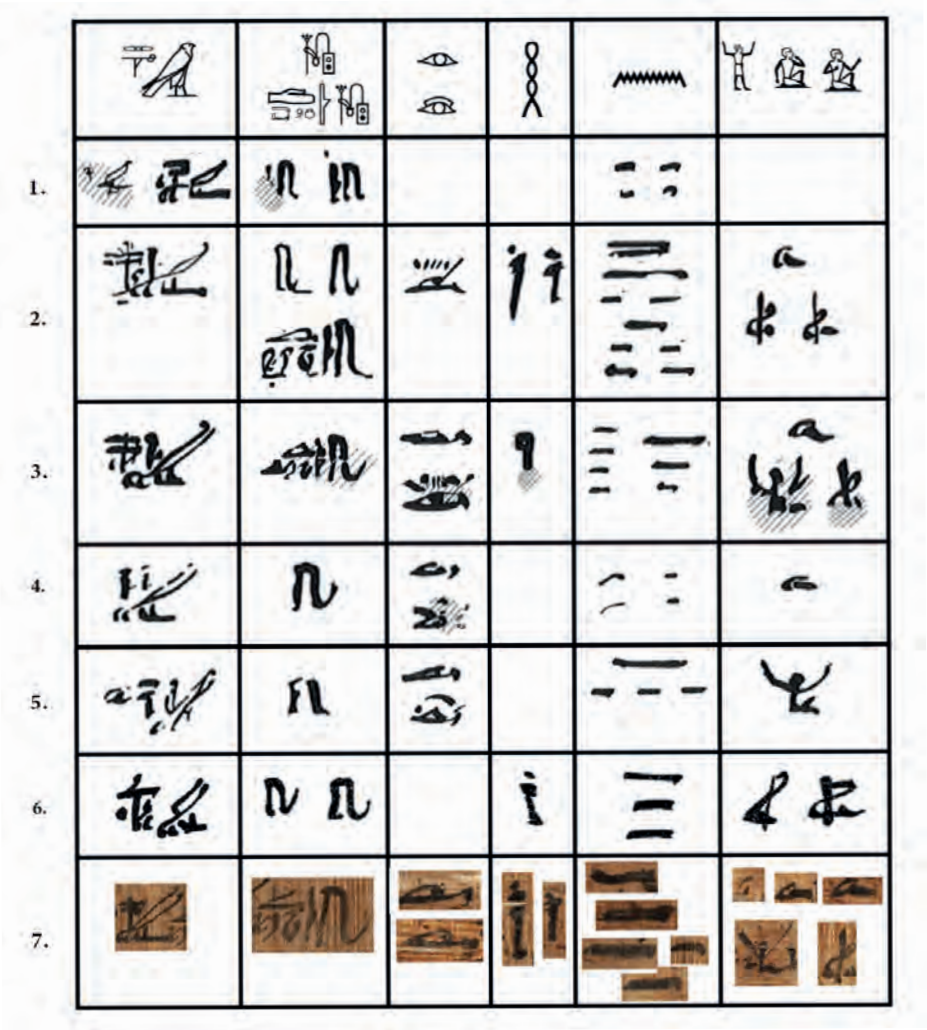


Fig. 3. Paléographie des documents hiératiques écrits par le dessinateur Hormin :
1) O. DeM. 1197 ; 2) P. Ashmolean. 1958.112 ; 3) P. DeM. 16 ;
4) O. ÖNB. Aeg.3 ; 5) O. LACMA M. 80.203.194 (= O. Michaelides 79) ;
6) O. DeM 10096 ; 7) P. Louvre E 32309.
D'après Keller (2001 : 79, fig. 6) et Grandet (2006 : 292)

– O. ÖNB Aeg 3, conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne (Goedicke 1963–1964 : 2–3).
– O. DeM 1009, conservé à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Grandet 2006 : 99, 290).

D'après les papyrus, les ostraca et les nombreux graffiti[12] qui le mentionnent, Hormin a exercé son activité entre l'an 2 du règne de Ramsès IV et l'an 17 du règne de Ramsès IX. Cette lettre est donc à replacer dans cet intervalle de temps de la XXe dynastie. Il est le plus souvent nommé comme le « dessinateur Hormin » ou le « dessinateur Hormin fils de Hori »[13]. Ici, il se désigne comme « dessinateur de (l'institution) de la Tombe », mention inhabituelle en dépit des variantes qu'il peut apporter à son titre principal[14]. L'utilisation par Hormin d'un positionnement social par rapport à l'institution de la Tombe est peut-être un trait qu'il a adopté à la suite de son père Hori (Hori (ix) dans la nomenclature de B. Davies), qui l'utilisait déjà volontiers. C'est aussi probablement une façon de montrer qu'il est l'héritier de son père à ce poste et peut-être déjà de se donner une importance équivalente, ce dont témoignent aussi les titres ronflants qu'il peut adopter[15].

En effet, Hormin appartient au milieu cultivé de Deir el-Médineh. Son père Hori a rédigé un enseignement qui nous est connu par l'O. Gardiner 2[16]. Hormin est par ailleurs le destinataire de l'enseignement composé par Amennakht (v) fils d'Ipouy[17], un autre dessinateur collègue de son père dont il a été l'assistant et auquel il s'associe sur des graffiti[18]. Son statut de lettré rend donc d'autant plus pertinente une analyse des formules et tournures utilisées pour la rédaction cette missive que cette dernière se démarque par son contenu de la correspondance habituelle des habitants du village.

3.2. Le destinataire : un dénommé Routy

Le destinataire et probable récipiendaire de cette lettre est, selon toute vraisemblance, un dénommé Routa ou Routy, selon les graphies possibles pour cet anthroponyme qui est partiellement en lacune dans ce document. Le problème est de savoir qui se cache précisément derrière cet individu et s'il appartient à la communauté de Deir el-Médineh. Différentes possibilités existent ; cette question a été examinée en détail par B. Davies (1999 : 245–247, § 81). À titre d'hypothèse, il propose, sous toutes réserves, de distinguer deux individus. Un premier Routy (Ruta (i)) est membre du côté gauche de l'équipe et son activité aurait débuté vers la fin de la XIXe dynastie et serait attestée jusqu'à l'an 24 de Ramsès III[19]. Un second Routy (Ruta (ii)) est attesté dans l'état actuel de la documentation à partir de l'an 4 de Ramsès IV jusqu'en l'an 10 de Ramsès IX. Ce Routy ne semble pas faire partie de l'équipe de la Tombe, aucun titre ni ascendance pour ce personnage n'étant mentionnés dans les documents recensés. Aux attestations connues, on peut ajouter le Routy cité dans le texte de l'O. OIM 12073 conservé à l'Oriental Institute de Chicago et comportant plusieurs dates du

12 Rzepka (2014) catalogue [6 : 13] et cartes 1 à 4, avec une liste actualisée des graffiti d'Hormin.

13 Entre autres dans les graffiti Rzepka (2014, [6.13]).

14 Keller (2001 : 78–80) et Grandet (2006 : 99 n. l. 1).

15 Cherpion & Corteggiani (2010 : 148).

16 Bickel & Mathieu (1994 : 49–51).

17 Bickel & Mathieu (1994) ; Dorn (2004 ; 2013) ; Vernus (2001 : 377–378). Il s'agit Amennakht (v) fils d'Ipouy (ii) selon la nomenclature de B. Davies (1999 : 105–118, § 81).

18 Bickel & Mathieu (1994 : 37) ; Vernus (2001 : 369–375) ; Luiselli & Dorn (2016 : 102–105, Gr. 1454) ; Rzepka (2014 : graffito 0613b).

19 Cf. Grandet (2006 : 56) concernant l'O. DeM 10051, r^o^ 7, qui fait le point sur cette question.

règne de Ramsès IV[20]. Il se rapporte à une affaire judiciaire concernant des dettes et des échanges de biens dans laquelle ce Routy est impliqué en l'an 4 de ce roi.

Il faut enfin mentionner la liste d'ouvriers datée de l'an 2 de Ramsès IV figurant sur l'O. DeM 10273, qui se raccorde à l'O. DeM 614 (Grandet 2010 : 157–161, 380–381). Un Qenna fils de Routy (r° col. I,7) y figure ainsi qu'Hori-Min fils de Hori (r° col. II,6) qui est identique à Hormin (r° col. IV, 5). Selon B. Davies (1999 : 246), c'est Routy (i) qui serait le père de ce Qenna (iv). Compte tenu de la période d'activité d'Hormin durant les règnes de Ramsès IV à Ramsès IX, c'est bien ce Routy (ii) qui serait le destinataire de cette lettre et dont on aurait ici une nouvelle attestation dans une fourchette chronologique similaire.

L'autre intérêt de ce document est de livrer une mention du titre de ce personnage, à savoir *jmy-r ḥmw.w n S.t Mꜣʿ.t*. Ce dernier soulève cependant des questions relatives à sa traduction (« chef des charpentiers de *Set Maât* », ou « chef des artisans de *Set Maât* ») et de la réalité qu'il recouvre. Comme R. Ventura l'a montré (1986 : 56–58), le toponyme *Set Maât* ne désigne pas ici le village des ouvriers, mais une autre structure administrative comprenant un corps d'artisans qui intervient à divers endroits de la rive gauche. Elle livre des denrées ou supervise des interventions ponctuelles requérant des spécialistes dont les compétences font défaut à l'équipe de la tombe. De ce fait, la traduction « artisans » du mot *ḥmw.w* est à préférer à celle de « charpentiers ». Ces « artisans de *Set Maât* » (*nꜣ ḥmw.w n S.t Mꜣʿ.t*) sont ainsi mentionnés dans le papyrus P. Turin Cat. 2002 (r° III, 24) daté du règne de Ramsès V ou de Ramsès IX et qui correspond à la fourchette chronologique de cette lettre[21]. Le titre porté par Routa (ii) de chef des artisans de *Set Maât* peut donc être considéré avec une portée effective comme correspondant à une réalité hiérarchique de superviseur.

Le texte de l'O. DeM 10387 peut venir conforter cette hypothèse. Il s'agit d'une brève missive de réprimande adressée au « chef des artisans de la Tombe » Amennakht (*jmy-r ḥmw.w n pꜣ Ḫr*). Selon P. Grandet (2017 : 7 et 143–144), ce titre aurait été délibérément employé par une autorité supérieure hiérarchique (le vizir ou un membre de son administration) pour « cibler » celui qui est responsable en titre des activités de l'institution de la Tombe. P. Grandet propose d'identifier cet Amennakht au scribe de la tombe Amennakht (v) fils d'Ipouy (Davies 1999 : 105–106 et 287). Cet ostracon daterait ainsi d'une période se situant entre l'an 16 de Ramsès III et l'an 6 ou 7 de Ramsès VI (?), couvrant aussi la fourchette chronologique possible pour la datation de notre lettre. Hormin aurait alors recours ici à la même tournure formelle pour s'adresser à celui qu'il considère comme le responsable des activités artisanales de *Set Maât*. Cependant, tout comme Amennakht (v), Routy (ii) pourrait ainsi avoir un autre titre correspondant de façon plus précise à sa qualification professionnelle mais qui n'est pas connu par les autres sources disponibles.

De ce fait, il est moins probable qu'il faille voir dans les titres portés par les individus mentionnés dans cette missive une expression des titres prestigieux employés entre individus en affaire dans le cadre de l'*informal workshop* mis en évidence par K. Cooney (2006). Ce type de titres apparaît dans les documents qui illustrent les rapports entre dessinateurs et charpentiers de Deir el-Médineh, basés sur une entente alliant savoir-faire et accès aux matériaux. Ils seraient l'équivalent d'une carte de visite reflétant l'importance d'un talent artisanal recherché par des clients privés ou par une institution travaillant pour le roi ou les temples. Néanmoins, ces documents concernent majoritairement des échanges de services liés à une compétence technique des protagonistes dans un contexte de la réalisation d'objets à caractère

20 Manning, Greig & Uchida (1989).

21 *KRI* 6, 244–245.

funéraire. Dans le cas de cette lettre, bien qu'Hormin soit un dessinateur et que la mention d'*ḥmw.w* apparaisse dans le titre de Routy, son objet est d'une toute autre nature.

Le destinataire de ce document serait donc à identifier avec le Routa (ii) contemporain d'Hormin. Il n'appartient pas à l'équipe de la Tombe, mais à une autre structure administrative de la rive gauche dont il aurait supervisé les activités impliquant des artisans, ainsi que semble l'indiquer son titre. C'est tout du moins comme tel qu'il est considéré par le rédacteur de la missive.

3.3. La circonstance de la rédaction : un nouveau cas de colère divine

Cette lettre constitue un exemple supplémentaire de punition d'un membre de la communauté de Deir el-Médineh par une divinité, en l'occurrence le dieu Ptah[22]. Elle comporte également de nouvelles informations sur l'état de la victime subissant la colère divine. Celle-ci est la conséquence d'une faute morale, par exemple un serment mensonger ou violé. La gestion de ce phénomène au sein de la communauté suivait un déroulement bien précis se déclinant en plusieurs temps[23].

Au moment où il rédige cette lettre, Hormin sait non seulement qu'il est l'objet d'une colère divine, mais aussi que celle-ci émane du dieu Ptah. Les raisons de cette colère et le châtiment qu'elle entraine ne sont pas mentionnés. En revanche, ses effets et leurs symptômes sont subtilement évoqués à travers le vocabulaire et les graphies employées pour certains mots. Les troubles physiques sont similaires à ceux décrits par d'autres victimes de colère divine. Cette dernière est soudaine et brutale avec des conséquences sur le corps[24]. Cependant, les termes employés par Hormin se distinguent de ceux rencontrés habituellement dans ce genre de situation. Le dieu y est dit lancer (*wd)* ses *baou* et l'emploi délibéré de la graphie *wdn* pour le verbe *wdj,* qui renvoie au verbe « être lourd, pesant », lui permet d'évoquer les conséquences de cet acte divin agressif. En effet, il est parfois employé pour décrire l'état d'avachissement d'un malade ou d'un homme abattu (*Wb* 1, 390.14). La sensation d'oppression ressentie par la victime est l'un des effets majeurs de l'action des *baou* ; elle est le plus souvent rendue par le verbe *dns* « être pesant ». Ces deux verbes, *wdn* et *dns*, peuvent qualifier les *baou* eux-mêmes en évoquant l'effet induit par leur action, laquelle va d'une difficulté à respirer à l'étouffement fatal par privation du souffle vital[25]. Grâce à cette graphie, Hormin fait comprendre à son correspondant l'état dans lequel il se trouve, sans pour autant le détailler. Un terme plus explicite figurait peut-être à la ligne 2 du verso, maintenant en lacune. Il relève d'un procédé bien attesté de jeux de graphies dans certains textes, comme les recueils d'interprétations de songes ou des formules des papyrus-amulettes magiques ramessides[26].

Cette lettre en fournit un autre exemple tout à fait singulier. Dans ce moment vécu par Hormin, la punition divine semble avoir atteint une intensité extrême. Les tentatives d'apaisement par l'offrande quotidienne d'une cruche de bière semblent suivies de peu d'effet et l'objet de sa demande lui fait défaut. Sa situation de grande détresse le conduit à tenter d'en limiter par lui-même les effets. C'est à mon sens ainsi qu'il faut interpréter la césure délibérée du nom du dieu Ptah par un passage à la ligne. On pourrait la considérer comme une simple erreur d'appréciation de

22 Pour un recensement des cas de colère divine à Deir el-Médineh, cf. Borghouts (1982) et Vernus (2003). Pour l'emploi de *bꜣw* dans les ostraca de Deir el-Médineh, cf. Grandet (2006 : 110, à propos de l'O. DeM 10107).

23 Borghouts (1982 : 33–35).

24 Vernus (2003 : 317–319, ex. (c) à (e)).

25 Vernus (2003 : 317, ex. 18) ; Winand (2003 : 659–660, n. h).

26 Koenig (2004 : 318) ; Noegel & Szpakowska (2006).

la place disponible, comme le montre l'exemple de la lettre publiée par C. Raggazoli et P. Tallet (2018 : 75), et qui concerne aussi le nom d'un dieu. Cependant, compte tenu de la disposition régulière du reste du document et l'unique occurrence de ce procédé, il est possible de l'expliquer d'une autre façon. Ce biais d'écriture serait ici similaire à celui de mutilation ou de sectionnement de signes hiéroglyphiques représentant des êtres jugés potentiellement dangereux afin d'en neutraliser l'effet néfaste[27]. Ici, c'est l'individu, le lettré qui maîtrise l'écriture et les effets induits par l'élaboration du mot et sa graphie, qui tente dans une tentative désespérée de contrer les effets de la colère du dieu Ptah en agissant sur son nom même. Cette dernière, qui est en train de faire souffrir le scripteur, voit le nom de son agent « brisé » graphiquement lors sa première occurrence. L'acte s'apparente une fois encore aux procédés de contrôle des forces divines par le biais de l'écriture et qui sont utilisés dans les textes des papyrus-amulettes magiques ramessides[28].

Une autre indication importante est fournie par cette lettre : Hormin puni par Ptah ne se trouve pas dans le village mais « au sommet des montagnes ». Cette précision traduit un sentiment de solitude. Elle appelle cependant une question : faut-il y voir une simple figure de style ou l'isolement d'Hormin est-il la conséquence d'une mise à l'écart effective, du fait de son statut de victime de colère divine ? Cette lettre fournirait dans ce cas une attestation sûre de ce type de relégation. Le corollaire de cette question est de savoir à quel lieu dans le voisinage du village pourrait correspondre cet endroit isolé. Ce point sera abordé *infra*, § 3.6.2.

En quoi la punition divine modifie-t-elle le statut social d'un individu au point d'en provoquer le bannissement ? Ce point a fait l'objet de discussions. Certains textes dépeignent celui qui est châtié par une divinité comme un être en marge de la société des hommes, qui doit être exclu de certains espaces rituels au même titre que d'autres le sont en raison de leur état d'impureté[29]. Cela impliquerait que son corps possède la même caractéristique du fait de l'interaction subie avec les *baou*. Elle se traduit par une souffrance physique accompagnée d'un état de faiblesse extrême et de confusion mentale. Les listes de présence d'ouvriers ne comportent pas de mention directe d'une absence due à une telle cause. Le terme *mr(=w)* « malade » peut cependant qualifier aussi celui qui est frappé par la punition divine, comme l'indique la stèle de Nebrê (Berlin 20377)[30] et justifier un éloignement du chantier de la tombe du souverain. Ces états anormaux et graves sont décrits de différentes façons dans les stèles de repentance. Les victimes d'ire divine disent se trouver « dans la main du dieu », indiquant ainsi une perspective de survie très incertaine, cette main (*ḏr.t* et non ʿ) étant rapide et violente[31]. Leur état de désarroi total et les troubles du comportement qui en résultent les font aussi apparaître aux yeux de leurs semblables comme un objet de mépris ou comme des animaux errants mus par l'instinct. Ils ne sont plus considérés comme des humains à part entière. L'exemple de Néferâbou sur une stèle du British Museum (EA 589) est particulièrement explicite[32]. Objet de

27 Thuault (2020 : 106–111) ; Lacau (1913).

28 Cf. Donnat (2016 : 26–27) pour cet aspect d'efficacité graphique de l'écriture hiératique.

29 Esna nº 197, Esna III 11,6–12,1 et Esna V, 341 note c, qui renvoie à S. Sauneron (1960 : 112–113), concernant le *ḫry b3w*, « celui qui est sous l'emprise d'une manifestation divine » (*baou),* commenté par J. Borghouts (1982 : 30).

30 Janssen (1980 : 136–137) et Luiselli (2011 : 377, G.19.17) pour la stèle de Nebrê, avec bibliographie.

31 Vernus (2003 : 318, c). Cf. Grandet (2017 : 159) au sujet de l'O. DeM 10398 qui, au sujet d'une divinité, mentionne sa main vigoureuse (*ḏr.t=f qn=tj*). Sur la distinction entre les deux termes *ḏr.t* et ʿ dans ce contexte et ses implications, cf. Potter (2016 : 155–159) et Shirun-Grumach (1990).

32 Cf. Luiselli (2011 : 361–362, G.19.6), avec bibliographie, et Vernus (2003 : 318, a et 329, doc. 26).

la colère du dieu Ptah, il décrit ainsi l'action de ce dernier : « il m'a rendu comme les chiens de la rue (*mj jwjw.w n jwy.t*) alors que je me trouvais dans sa main. Il a fait en sorte qu'hommes et dieux me voient comme un homme ayant commis une abomination *(bw.t*) contre son maître. » De même, dans la supplique adressée à Rê-Horakhty du P. Anastasi 2, celui qui a commis de nombreuses fautes (*bt³.w*) se décrit comme quelqu'un « qui ne se connaît pas lui-même » (*nn rḫ ḏ.t=f*). Privé de sa capacité de penser (*jwty jb=f*), il passe le jour en se conduisant selon son bon plaisir (*wrš šm m-s³ r³=j*), c'est-à-dire mû par ses instincts et non par la raison. Il se compare à une vache divagante mue par une faim d'herbe instinctive (*mj jḥw m-s³ sjmw*)[33]. Cet état de confusion est décrit dans des termes similaires quand il est provoqué par l'amour, comme le montre un passage de la stance septième du P. Chester Beatty 1 (4,6). Privé de l'être cher, depuis sept jours, le frère se décrit ainsi : « mon corps est devenu pesant et j'ai oublié ma propre personne » (*ḫpr=kw ḥ³.t=j wdn(=w) sḫm=j ḏ.t=j ḏs=j*)[34]. La perfection physique de la bien-aimée est décrite en utilisant la phraséologie religieuse propre aux corps divins et aux statues de culte[35]. Ne pas la contempler pendant une longue période est assimilé à une absence de la divinité et, par voie de conséquence, à une punition de sa part. Il n'est pas étonnant alors que ses effets sur celui qui en est la victime (pesanteur du corps et perte de soi) soient assimilés de façon figurée à ceux de la colère divine.

Par ailleurs, le comportement anormal dû à cet état de confusion provoque aussi une désolidarisation d'éléments qui forment normalement un tout cohérent. Cette dernière peut ainsi expliquer le rejet social du corps qui l'a subie. Dans un passage du P. Anastasi 4 où un scribe réprimande vivement son élève dévoyé qui traine ivre dans les rues, la conséquence de l'ivresse provoquée par la bière est décrite en termes d'une dissociation entre le corps et le *ba* qu'il abrite, ce dernier devant une entité errante (*t³ ḥq.t rwj=f m rmṯ dj=f p³y=k b³ ḥr ḫt t³*). Cette même idée se retrouve dans la suite du texte concernant le jeune homme : « Tu es comme une chapelle vide de son dieu, comme une maison vide de pain » (*tw=k mj k³r šw m nṯr mj pr šw m t³*)[36]. La première expression a été rapprochée fort justement par M. Broze (1996 : 40–41, 238–239) de l'invective de Baba à l'encontre du dieu Rê dans le conte d'*Horus et Seth* du P. Chester-Beatty 1 : « Ta chapelle est vide ! » (*k³r=k šw* !). Elle y exprime la même idée de dissociation et cette insulte sacrilège prive symboliquement et magiquement le dieu-soleil de sa raison d'être. En effet, après l'avoir entendue, Rê est bouleversé (*šnn*, cf. *Wb* 4, 515.10) et tombe dans un état d'apathie avec des conséquences d'ordre physique, psychologique et cosmique. Le dieu est couché dans sa tente, étendu sur le dos (*jw=f nmʿ ḥr psḏ=f*), le cœur triste (*jb=f ḏw=w)* et cet état dure un jour, pendant lequel il est par conséquent absent du monde. Cette description n'est pas sans rappeler celle qui est faite sur la stèle de Nebrê (Berlin 20377) de l'état du scribe Nakhtimen puni par le dieu Amon : il est couché, malade et moribond (*jw=f sḏr(=w) mr(=w) m ʿ-mwt*)[37]. En réponse à l'agression verbale de Baba, qualifiée de faute (*bt³*), les dieux hurlent (*ʿš sgb*, cf. *Wb* 4, 321.5) sur ce dernier, qui est jeté dehors *(r-bnr)* ; il est l'objet de la colère de l'Ennéade, dont le jugement conjugue un éloignement physique et une condamnation d'ordre moral, qui n'est pas sans similitude avec le cas des victimes humaines d'ire divine.

Les exemples ci-dessus insistent tous sur la disparition d'un contenu justifiant l'utilité,

33 P. Anastasi 2, 10,1–11,2, cf. Luiselli (2011 : 199–200) et Vernus (2003 : 321, b).

34 Mathieu (1996 : 30, 43, n. 94).

35 Mathieu (1996 : 235–236, § 146).

36 P. Anastasi 4, 11,8–12,5 (*LEM* 47,9–48,5) et plus particulièrement 11,11, cf. Vernus (2001 : 481).

37 Luiselli (2011 : 377) et Vernus (2003 : 316).

l'importance, voire la raison d'être, du contenant. Ce dernier devient ainsi inutile, puis déliquescent ou délabré. La victime de la colère divine subit un sort comparable et devient, de ce fait, un être à part privé de sa substance et de sa raison, dont le corps et l'esprit sont dissociés, comme l'a remarqué J. Borghouts (1982 : 33). Ce statut hors de toute norme serait équivalent à celui d'un être « séthien », impliquant, de fait, une mise à l'écart dans la marge, c'est-à-dire la frange désertique ou le désert, lieux placés sous la tutelle de ce même dieu Seth. Cette relégation d'ordre physique est d'aussi d'ordre social. L'exclusion de la communauté de vie, mais aussi de celle du travail, de celui qui subit l'ire divine équivaut à une « mort sociale » temporaire anéantissant son statut et les fonctions qui en découlent. Dans le cas d'Hormin, cette mise au ban de la communauté des ouvriers pourrait expliquer la façon dont il se rattache par contraste à l'institution de la Tombe dans la formule de salutation. C'est pour lui le seul, voire le dernier, moyen de s'assurer une existence sociale dans les circonstances de son bannissement rituel de la communauté et de rendre « licite » un contact avec l'extérieur dans l'endroit isolé où il se trouve. Par ailleurs, dans le cas de cette lettre, la circonstance de sa rédaction — la punition infligée par le dieu Ptah — en détermine aussi l'objet : l'apport d'un veau d'un type bien particulier.

3.4. L'objet de la lettre : l'apport d'un veau bien particulier

Hormin demande à Routa de lui faire chercher un veau d'un type particulier (*bḥs ḥr ḫ³by*). Cette mention est inhabituelle et notable dans la documentation de Deir el-Médineh. Quelle que soit la traduction retenue, elle se rapporte à un veau très jeune, voire nouvellement né. Cet animal constitue par ailleurs une denrée coûteuse, tant à la XVIIIe dynastie qu'à l'époque ramesside. Son prix est de 4 *snjw* et l'O. Berlin P 12060 (K*RI* 5, 594–595), daté du règne de Ramsès III ou Ramsès IV, mentionne un lit et un sarcophage donnés en contrepartie d'un veau (*bḥs*)[38]. L'importance cruciale pour Hormin de l'apport d'un veau de ce type est doublement marquée dans sa lettre : cette demande vient en tête des instructions figurant au verso et elle est soulignée par l'emploi de *sp sn* à la fin de sa formulation. Bien qu'il ne soit pas explicitement formulé, la lettre établit un lien indéniable entre cet impératif matériel et la fin à venir de l'état critique d'Hormin. Elle n'en précise malheureusement pas les détails.

De plus, il existe un rapport manifeste entre l'apport de ce veau et l'offrande destinée au dieu Ptah. Cependant, le texte, qui comporte une lacune à cet endroit (v° 3), ne dit pas si le jeune animal en est l'objet exclusif. On notera qu'il existe bien à Deir el-Médineh un bœuf ou un taureau noir spécifiquement lié au dieu Ptah et destiné à être abattu en son honneur[39]. Par ailleurs, le sacrifice de bœufs, de taureaux ou de jeune bétail effectué en l'honneur d'une divinité fait partie intégrante des rituels de culte. Dans la plupart des cas, il donne lieu après abattage à la récupération de parties de l'animal, notamment la graisse et la viande. Or, la viande d'un très jeune veau est impropre à la consommation. Pour son usage en boucherie, l'animal est généralement abattu entre quatre et six mois d'âge. Pourquoi alors ce type de veau s'avère-t-il si indispensable aux yeux d'une victime de l'ire divine ? Est-ce en raison d'une symbolique religieuse à laquelle se rattacherait une nécessité d'ordre rituel ? Quelle serait alors la façon d'employer le bovidé ?

La valeur symbolique du veau est bien attestée dans les sources textuelles et iconographiques. Il y est très régulièrement associé au jeune soleil qui vient tout juste de naître au moment de la création ou du renouveau matinal. Dans les *Textes des Pyramides*, le dieu Rê, qui se manifeste sous cette forme, est un veau d'or *(bḥs nbw)* que

38 Janssen (1980 : 172–176).

39 Valbelle (1985 : 325–326).

le ciel a mis au monde (*TP* 485, § 1029a–b). Il est aussi le tout jeune veau (*bḥs ḫ³bw*) qui, sorti d'un espace verdoyant (*ḥsp*), évolue au sein d'une zone circulaire exempte de dangers et que délimite le corps du serpent *nâou* (*TP* 226,5, § 225a–226b). Cette sortie qui marque l'apparition de l'astre est illustrée par la vignette du chapitre 109 du *Livre des Morts*, connue par les fameux exemples des tombes de Sennedjem (TT 1) et d'Irynefer (TT 290) à Deir el-Médineh. Le veau solaire, au pelage blanc uni ou moucheté de noir, y est représenté passant entre les deux sycomores de turquoise qui marquent son lieu de naissance[40]. La vignette de ce même chapitre dans les livres des morts du 1er millénaire montre ce veau à bord de la barque du dieu Rê[41]. Les litanies du soleil reprennent cette idée dans l'hymne relatif à la deuxième heure du jour. L'astre y est comparé au « veau parfait (*bḥs nfr*) qui est devant Mehyt-ouret »[42]. Cette association étroite entre le dieu solaire sous forme de veau et sa mère perdure à l'époque ptolémaïque dans les textes des soubassements de défilés de nomes. Dans le texte relatif au 3e nome de Basse-Égypte (la province de l'Occident), le dieu est identifié à un tout jeune veau (*bḥs ḫ³bw*) que sa mère Sekhat-Hor met au monde, soulignant ainsi le rôle spécifique de l'Hathor d'Imaou sous son aspect de vache divine pourvoyeuse de lait[43]. Cependant, c'est le lien immédiat avec le ventre maternel après la naissance qu'implique aussi le terme *ḫ³bw*, dont la grande majorité des attestations se trouvent dans des textes à caractère religieux. Comme l'ont souligné M.-L. Arnette et F. Labrique (2015 : 24), ce dernier est employé seul dans la formule 575 des *Textes des Sarcophages* (*CT* VI, 189d) pour désigner le nouveau-né étroitement associé à sa mère. Il y remplace celui de *nḫb* « nénufar », présent dans la formule des *Textes des Pyramides* (*TP* 260, § 322b), et dont il dérive. Les commentatrices y ont vu un enfant, mais le contexte solaire pourrait tout aussi bien faire allusion à un tout jeune veau. Cette dépendance au lait dès la mise-bas est un trait caractéristique de ce dernier, comme l'est sa proximité avec sa mère. Elle renvoie à une réalité biologique bien concrète. Quelques semaines avant la naissance de son petit, l'organisme de la vache commence à produire une substance particulière, le colostrum, concentrée dans les pis. De couleur jaune, riche en protéines et en antibiotiques, il est capital pour la survie du veau, dont le système immunitaire n'est pas opérationnel. Il permet l'activation des défenses naturelles du jeune animal et la régulation de sa température corporelle. Le colostrum n'est produit que pendant les six premiers jours suivant le vêlage avant d'être remplacé par du lait. Il est de ce fait un aliment vital qui évite une mort par infection du veau nouveau-né. Dans le cas du veau représentant le jeune dieu-soleil, ce liquide de couleur jaune est assimilable à l'or qui constitue la chair des dieux. Ce tout premier « lait », comme celui qui lui succède, est considéré comme le véhicule de transmission des chairs et des éléments mous qui constituent l'apport de la mère au corps de l'enfant[44]. Cette tétée initiale après la naissance provoque le transfert du caractère divin des chairs. On retrouve cette même conception dans l'iconographie royale, où le souverain tête le pis d'une vache divine. Le jeune animal acquiert par l'allaitement l'intégrité physique lui permettant d'expulser toute impureté de son corps, comme le souligne un passage du P. Edwin Smith[45]. Dans le contexte visant à neutraliser les effets de la manifestation d'une colère divine, la précision apportée dans la lettre sur le très jeune

40 Buhl (1947 : 88) et Quirke (2013 : 240).

41 Mosher (2018 : 346–349).

42 Graefe (2021).

43 Leitz (2017 : 399–400).

44 Volokhine (2017 : 87–88).

45 P. Edwin Smith, I.6, XIX, 14–18 (Breasted 1930 : 482–483).

âge de l'animal réclamé par la victime prend alors tout son sens et explique son caractère impératif. Le très jeune bovin se trouve dans une phase incertaine de survie qui dépend d'un apport extérieur bienveillant. L'individu puni par la divinité se trouve dans une situation tout à fait similaire et peut lui être comparé, voire assimilé. De ce fait, on peut examiner les modalités pratiques de la possible utilisation de ce veau dans le cadre de rituels mis en œuvre pour obtenir une rémission.

Le recours à de jeunes bovins est bien attesté dans le cadre de rituels où il n'y a pas de mise à mort. Celui de « conduire les quatre veaux » (*ḥw.t bḥs.w 4)* nécessite quatre bovidés chacun ayant un pelage de couleur différente (blanche noire, mouchetée et rouge). Ce rituel royal étudié par A. Egberts (1995) montre le souverain assimilé à Horus, conduisant ces veaux pour piétiner le sol afin de dissimuler l'emplacement de la tombe d'Osiris. Dans les textes décrivant ce rituel, il n'est pas fait mention d'une caractéristique d'âge ni d'un lien particulier avec le dieu Rê. Un autre rituel nécessitant un veau est attesté dans le cadre des funérailles. Il fait l'objet d'une étude détaillée de N. Guilhou (1993) qui a montré que ce veau, dont on mutilait une partie de la patte avant à cette occasion, était assimilé à Horus dont les mains impures avaient été coupées suite à leur contact avec la semence de Seth. Le veau est manifestement jeune car il est constamment accompagné de sa mère. Le léchage du veau par sa mère pour calmer ses souffrances est comparée à l'action bienveillante et purificatrice d'Isis envers son fils. Ce rituel s'inscrit dans le cadre des cérémonies de l'ouverture de la bouche pratiquées lors des funérailles afin de restituer au défunt en état de pureté rituelle l'usage de ses sens. On peut remarquer que cette finalité est proche de celle que viserait à atteindre un rituel devant restaurer l'intégrité d'un corps altéré par l'action des *baou* divins. Dans ce cas, l'usage similaire d'un très jeune veau mutilé dans ce cadre afin d'obtenir la purification d'une souillure ferait sens. Cette mutilation ne semble cependant pas attestée en lien avec une offrande à une divinité.

Un texte me paraît beaucoup plus pertinent concernant l'étude de cette question. Le P. Boulaq 6 comporte un passage (r° VIII, 1–5) étudié par Y. Koenig (1981 : 81–86) dont les indications sont particulièrement intéressantes. Le contexte est celui d'une guérison d'un individu et se présente ainsi :

> *Jm nhm tꜣ 365 n nṯr.w nty wnmy=k smḥw=k jr pꜣ ʿq j.jr=k ḫr tꜣy=k mw.t m grḥ ḫꜣwy ḥr grḥ jw=k (ḥr) ksks m rd=k jw=k snb(=w) (r) sd.t=k jw=j (r) hr 7 hrw.w jrt.t jw=j (r) gš (m) rꜣ=k jw=k sḏr m rq.t jw=k mj jḥ km ḫꜣbw m ḏ.t=f. jw=k (ḥr) snq ḫ.t=k mj Ḥsꜣ.t km jnmw pꜣy=k ḫprw šn tꜣy=k msḏr.t nꜣ jr.ty pḏ(=w).*
>
> « Que les 365 dieux qui sont à ta droite et à ta gauche se réjouissent ! Quant à ta naissance (lit. « entrée »), c'est sous ta mère au cœur de la nuit que tu (l') as effectuée. Tu gambades (lit. « danses ») au moyen de ta patte, tu es bien portant jusqu'à ta queue. Je vais traire (de quoi remplir) 7 jarres de lait que je verserai dans ta bouche, alors que tu passes la nuit dans une couverture de peau. Tu es comme un très jeune (*khabou*) bœuf noir en ses membres, tu têtes, ton ventre est comme celui de Hesat. Ton apparence est de couleur noire, ton oreille est ronde et tes yeux sont larges (…) ».

Le texte du papyrus se poursuit par une demande destinée à faire entendre au patient une parole prononcée par Amon. Devenu l'objet de l'amour (*mrw.t*) de la divinité, ce dernier pourra alors être guéri. Plusieurs éléments sont à remarquer. Le personnage est assimilé à un jeune bœuf noir et non pas à un veau (*bḥs)*, mais il est tout nouvellement né (*ḫꜣbw*). On retrouve aussi ici le contexte nocturne de la mise au monde du bovidé divin que peut évoquer le terme « venir » (*ʿq*)[46], et de son contact immédiat avec le ventre maternel pour la

46 Cf. Arnette & Labrique (2015 : 11) pour l'expression de la naissance à l'aide de verbes de mouvement.

première tétée. Le texte insiste sur l'intégrité physique et la vitalité de l'animal qui en sont probablement la conséquence directe. Le rite manuel va transposer cette circonstance d'ordre mythique dans la réalité grâce à deux éléments en lien avec à la réalité bovine : le lait qui est trait pour remplir 7 jarres et la couverture de peau ou une dépouille d'animal. Le patient, qui en est enveloppé, se voit verser du lait dans sa bouche par l'intervenant, qui joue le rôle de la vache divine Hésat. Il est totalement passif et en situation de dépendance. C'est uniquement après cette intervention conférant vitalité et santé que le patient est assimilé à un bœuf noir nouvellement né (*ḫ³bw)* et dont la viabilité est explicitée par l'énumération des critères physiques d'appréciation d'un bovidé en pleine santé (robe, aspect des yeux et des oreilles).

Le texte du P. Boulaq 6 ne précise pas l'animal dont provient la couverture de peau. Il est tentant de penser qu'il s'agit du cuir d'un bovidé par application de l'un des principes de la magie sympathique qui fait que le semblable agit sur le semblable. De ce fait, si le procédé employé pour secourir la victime de la colère divine s'apparente à celui décrit pour un malade par le P. Boulaq 6, il faudrait en conclure que le très jeune veau demandé par Hormin devait être tué pour en récupérer la peau. L'O. DeM 10387, contemporain de cette lettre, fournit l'attestation d'un telle de pratique : la pièce de viande (*jwf*) qui y est mentionné est en effet destinée à fournir du cuir (*dḥj*) après décharnement[47]. Cette peau constituerait ainsi un élément indispensable à un rite de passage déjà remarqué par Y. Koenig (1981 : 86, n. f.) et ayant un lien étroit avec la mise au monde d'un nouvel être, qui sera détaillé *infra*, § 3.6.2.

3.5. La structure de la lettre et la stratégie du discours

La composition de la lettre suit le schéma épistolaire classique des lettres datées de la XXe dynastie. Elle débute par l'adresse comportant une salutation *(nḏ ḥr.t)* de l'expéditeur, avec son nom et son titre, au destinataire, avec son nom et son titre. Celle-ci est suivie d'une séquence de vœux sous forme d'invocations aux divinités locales, afin de préserver la vie, la santé et la forme physique du récipiendaire. Le corps de la lettre comprenant le contenu informatif, notamment l'objet de la missive, se trouve, comme attendu, après la formule « dès que ma lettre te parviendra » (*wnn t³y=j šʿ.t ḥr spr r=k*), laquelle introduit une série d'instructions à suivre et d'observations relatives à son objet ou aux circonstances qui s'y rapportent. La missive se termine par la formule conclusive *nfr snb=k*.

Une intéressante comparaison peut être faite entre le style de la lettre écrite par Hormin et celui de la missive de l'O. Leipzig 1900[48]. Toutes deux se rapportent à une colère divine à l'œuvre qui nécessite une intervention rapide en vue d'une rémission assortie d'une offrande. La construction de la requête et les tours employés sont cependant différents. Dans le cas de l'ostracon, on est plus proche des formules de requête habituelles employées dans les lettres de Deir el-Médineh[49]. Dans le cas d'Hormin, le ton est tout autre — tout comme les tournures employées —, ce qui invite à les analyser de plus près, vu la personnalité de ce dessinateur.

Bien qu'il se trouve en situation de détresse, Hormin n'a pas perdu tous ses moyens intellectuels : son talent littéraire est perceptible dans les deux parties constitutives de la lettre. Le point de vue qu'il adopte combine, en effet, les données objectives de sa situation de détresse (mal-être physique, isolement) à la représentation qu'il se

47 Grandet (2017 : 143–144).

48 Černý & Gardiner 1957 : 16,1 (r°) et 114,1 (v°) et Borghouts (1982 : 20–22).

49 Sweeney (2001 : 48–53).

fait de sa personne et de son objectif immédiat. Cette dernière conditionne la stratégie de son discours pour obtenir urgemment de l'aide afin de le sortir de son piteux état et selon des modalités ne devant pas être contestées par le destinataire. La fonction directive de sa lettre est une dominante du message. Hormin attribue et reconnaît à son destinataire une capacité d'action dans le but seul de l'obliger à exécuter une action jugée conforme à ses intérêts. Cependant, il a recours à un dosage subtil entre ordres fermes et requêtes, n'hésitant pas à jouer sur le registre affectif pour arriver à cette fin. Ainsi, comme dans le cas des scribes Boutehamon et Amennakht[50], ce document permet d'apprécier le talent d'un lettré baignant dans un milieu cultivé de Deir el-Médineh.

Le ton général de cette lettre est celui d'un supérieur — ou de quelqu'un qui se voit comme tel — qui s'adresse à un subordonné — ou de quelqu'un qu'il considère comme tel — et dont il attend une obéissance totale au regard de l'exécution des consignes exposées. Cependant, une certaine modération du propos est impérative puisque, compte tenu de son statut de victime de la colère divine, Hormin est devenu un être marginal auquel on ne doit *a priori* plus rien. Ainsi, la stratégie du discours se déploie dans les parties de la lettre selon deux registres :

- le registre de l'autorité décliné sur plusieurs modes, qui lui permet de réaffirmer son appartenance à la communauté de la Tombe et marque sa volonté de reconnexion à des structures sociales reconnues ;
- le registre de l'affectif, pour inciter le destinataire à agir par compassion et initier le registre de la morale par le devoir d'assistance.

Dans la partie « formelle » du recto, l'expression des titres d'Hormin et de Routy met en opposition deux institutions de la rive gauche, la Tombe et *Set Maât*, la deuxième venant souvent, comme on l'a vu, en appui de la première. Ainsi, en se réclamant encore de l'institution de la Tombe, Hormin se place dans un rapport hiérarchique implicite. Ce dernier implique que Routy lui obéisse en faisant ce que son institution, *Set Maât*, fait d'ordinaire : lui procurer des biens ou des denrées. Hormin s'adresse, en outre, au responsable hiérarchique le plus élevé de cette dernière (« le chef des artisans ») avec un formalisme délibéré, impliquant qu'il le considère comme chargé de l'exécution de tâches spécifiques. En dépit de son isolement, Hormin considère de fait que les rapports qu'il entretient habituellement avec l'institution prestataire de service restent inchangés, en dépit des circonstances exceptionnelles auxquelles il fait face. Ceci pourrait expliquer l'emploi de la formule *nḏ ḥr.t* « prendre des nouvelles, s'enquérir » marquant une adresse à un interlocuteur de rang égal[51]. Cependant, dans cette partie, le registre émotionnel intervient également. En évoquant ensuite sa position statique au sommet des montagnes, Hormin fait allusion à son isolement, voire sa solitude. De même, par l'énumération des divers lieux du paysage contemplé par le biais de leur divinité tutélaire, Hormin évoque aussi des endroits qui font partie des trajets habituels de la vie quotidienne des ouvriers de l'institution à laquelle il appartient. Sa « désocialisation » du moment est ainsi subtilement gommée. Bien qu'ils fassent partie de la séquence usuelle des vœux épistolaires, les souhaits de santé, de longue vie, et de vigueur qu'il formule à l'égard de son destinataire auprès de ces divinités sont autant de bienfaits qui lui seraient utiles dans sa situation présente.

Mais c'est surtout sur le verso de cette lettre que cette stratégie est la plus manifeste et où s'opère un changement de ton. On trouve en effet dans ces lignes les composantes du discours directif :

- le type d'interaction qui sera engagé entre individus ;

50 Sweeney (1994) ; Dorn & Polis (2019 : 22–23) ; Polis (2017).

51 Ragazzoli & Tallet (2018 : 66–67, n. l. 1).

– le type de situation sur laquelle Hormin choisit d'insister ;
– la façon dont il représente cette situation dans son discours pour faire admettre la nécessité de ses exigences assortie des principes de légitimation dont il use pour se justifier ;
– les actes à exécuter dans le type d'interaction considérée.

Le type d'interaction envisagé est un rapport de supérieur à subordonné[52]. Celui-ci transparaît avec l'emploi de la formule usuelle (« dès que cette lettre te parviendra »). D. Sweeney (2001 : 53) a montré que cette dernière est toujours employée par un supérieur qui s'adresse à un inférieur et précède les directives à exécuter. Ici, l'instruction principale inclut l'objet même de la missive. La forme prend celle d'un ordre renforcé de *sp sn* marquant une priorité haute quant à l'exécution et soulignant l'importance que revêt l'animal qu'il cherche à se procurer. Elle permet aussi à Hormin d'exposer indirectement à son interlocuteur un état de manque.

Le type de situation sur laquelle Hormin enchaine est son propre cas. Il est exposé de façon très directe ([« Ptah ?] a laissé éclater sa colère divine contre moi ») traduisant une conscience effective de sa condition personnelle. Cependant, elle constitue aussi la justification implicite de l'ordre visant à contribuer à réparer cet état critique et le suit immédiatement dans le texte. La façon dont Hormin va inclure cette situation dans son discours pour justifier la nécessité de sa requête le conduit sur un registre affectif et plus expressif. L'usage de l'impératif (« Sauve-nous de sa main ») est ambivalent. Il appartient au registre de l'ordre tout en adoptant le registre d'une imploration proche d'un appel de détresse. En effet, le verbe *šdj* « sauver » est employé ici pour qualifier l'action d'un individu humain et non celle d'une divinité comme c'est généralement le cas dans ce contexte. Ainsi, Hormin prête et confère à Routy une capacité d'agir similaire à celle d'une divinité, du fait de l'importance que revêt son intervention à ses yeux. Ce tour contribue également à créer une relation d'inégalité, basée sur un constat effectif, entre la situation du requérant en souffrance et celle du destinataire dont on souligne par contraste la toute-puissance que confère sa liberté d'action. Dans le même temps, une autre relation directe et plus égalitaire est établie entre le destinataire et le rédacteur qui a recours au « nous » pour la rendre manifeste. Hormin associe ainsi Routy à son sort critique alors que lui seul *a priori* est châtié. Il y a ici le transfert de sa situation négative, tant physique qu'affective, sur le destinataire afin qu'il en soit affecté. L'argument est assez retors car Hormin fait peser sur son bienfaiteur la menace d'une punition divine par Ptah. Cette dernière surviendrait du fait d'une valeur morale transgressée : celle d'un devoir d'assistance dans l'adversité qui ne serait pas accompli. Cette notion de vertu morale annonce le futur registre du discours dans la suite du texte. Transgresser cette valeur qui sert aussi de ciment social à la communauté de Deir el-Médineh et de la rive gauche, c'est aussi s'exposer à l'ire divine. Ce manquement serait d'autant plus impardonnable que le domaine d'activité de Routy au sein de *Set Maât* est aussi placé sous le patronage du dieu Ptah.

De ce fait, Hormin expose ensuite le bénéfice pour Routy de son action à venir. Le lien de cause à effet entre la salvation et la rétribution est établi par l'emploi de la particule *ḥr* suivie d'un prospectif (« et puisse Ptah [faire en sorte que] tu accomplisses une grande durée de vie et une longue vieillesse »). Hormin s'engage ainsi sur quelque chose dont il n'a pas la responsabilité dans le futur. Chose plus étonnante, il préjuge de l'agissement futur du dieu dont il subit le châtiment, tout en ayant la certitude de sa réalisation. Cette dernière obéit en effet à la logique de la rétribution divine d'un acte moral et vertueux conforme à la Maât sociale. Ce faisant, le dessinateur châtié s'efface et ne fait aucune allusion à l'amélioration escomptée

52 Ridealgh (2014) pour une analyse des tours employés dans les lettres indiquant ce rapport.

de son propre état que lui procurera cet acte. Il va même plus loin en énumérant les bienfaits dont Ptah gratifiera Routy pour son aide. On a ainsi l'expression indirecte d'un profit attendu par le rédacteur, qui, subtilement, l'exprime à l'avantage de son bienfaiteur. En effet, ce sont ces mêmes bienfaits qu'Hormin attend de Ptah une fois sa colère passée. Ils sont les opposés des conséquences possibles de la colère divine, à savoir une durée de vie abrégée et un corps souffrant. Ainsi, le rédacteur s'attache à démontrer que l'action demandée est non seulement légitime et juste, mais qu'elle est aussi conforme à l'intérêt du destinataire à travers le bénéfice indéniable qu'il en retirera. Le registre de l'expressivité et de l'affectif se poursuit dans la phrase suivante introduite par *ptr* et constituant une prise à témoin d'une condition présente et propre au rédacteur. Elle se situe dans la droite ligne de l'association précédemment établie entre Hormin et Routy. Un effet d'empathie, voire de compassion, est recherché. Il y a ici une montée manifeste du registre émotionnel visant à émouvoir le destinataire, voire à l'affecter, en avouant une situation négative qui est malheureusement en lacune. Ce tour renforce également le caractère pressant de la demande par l'exposé d'un cumul de malheurs. C'est aussi le point culminant de cette partie de la missive et le point de bascule qui conditionne le ton employé dans la suite du texte.

Ce dernier présente en effet une combinaison d'impératifs qui constituent autant d'injonctions fortes et directes indiquant que les ordres donnés sont catégoriques et ne souffrent aucune désobéissance ou latitude d'exécution de celui auquel ils sont adressés[53]. C'est particulièrement visible avec l'instruction majeure introduite par un vétitif catégorique suivi d'un impératif (« Ne cesse pas, jour après jour, de faire préparer une jarre-*menet* de bière (et) fournis vite le [… pour (?)] l'offrande destinée à Ptah »). La tournure est recherchée et empruntée à la littérature sapientiale. Hormin l'a ici subtilement modifiée en permutant l'impératif et le vétitif (« Ne fais pas ceci mais fais plutôt cela » au lieu de « Fais ceci mais ne fais pas cela »). Il transforme ce faisant le rédacteur en autorité morale qui expose deux aspects de l'idée qu'il développe, laquelle s'apparente ainsi à des conseils pour le bien-agir. À ces derniers sont substituées des tâches d'ordre purement matériel, mais liées aux offrandes à effectuer pour le dieu, et donc à un devoir religieux dont les sagesses se font l'écho. Cette posture est d'autant plus paradoxale que celui qui adopte le ton du sage a commis une transgression morale dont le châtiment divin est la conséquence. La missive se conclut avec la formule *nfr snb=k*, que l'on trouve souvent dans le cadre de rapports de supérieur à subordonné (Bakir 1970 : 66). Elle constitue l'ultime expression du rapport hiérarchique instauré par le rédacteur.

Au terme de cette analyse, on peut constater que si les termes d'une demande ferme sont dominants, ils sont associés à des formules d'une supplique modulant le caractère directif du message. Ces dernières soulignent très discrètement l'inégalité existant entre le rédacteur-victime et le destinataire. Le premier est en situation de faiblesse totale, tandis que le second est le seul en capacité d'agir et donc en position de force pour réparer la disruption. Cet état de fait est délibérément renversé par Hormin par les tournures formelles utilisées tant pour les titres que pour les demandes exprimées. Il reste le supérieur et le destinataire, le subordonné. Par ce biais il rétablit les liens habituels qui le rattachent aux acteurs sociaux de Deir el-Médineh et de la rive ouest de Thèbes ainsi qu'aux modalités et lieux d'exercice de ces pratiques sociales. C'est cet environnement socio-historique et relationnel qui confère au dessinateur son identité ainsi que son statut social, dont il tire une légitimité à faire agir un tiers d'ordinaire au service de sa communauté. Se définissant comme dessinateur et s'affirmant aussi de ce fait comme scribe[54], Hormin agit

53 Polis (2009 : 204).

54 Cf. Laboury (2016) pour la distinction, faite ou non, entre les deux métiers.

en utilisant toutes les ressources de son art et en mobilisant avec virtuosité les tours les plus subtils de son savoir. Cependant, il sait que le destinataire de la lettre sera en mesure de comprendre les messages sous-jacents que véhiculent les jeux graphiques et les tournures subtiles qu'il emploie. Cela implique que Routy possède également des qualités de scribe lettré comparables aux siennes. D'autres documents livrant davantage d'informations sur ce personnage permettront peut-être de confirmer ce fait.

3.6. La lettre d'Hormin dans une perspective anthropologique

Il est aussi possible de proposer une lecture anthropologique de cette lettre en considérant que la manifestation de la colère divine constitue un rite de passage selon la définition qu'en a donnée A. Van Gennep et ses continuateurs[55]. Ces rites de passage sont, d'une part, ceux qui concernant l'ensemble d'une communauté et, d'autre part, ceux qui marquent le cycle de la vie d'un individu, y compris dans les périodes de crises ou d'adversité (rituels *life-crisis*). Ces rites ont un rapport fondamental avec le corps qui subit un certain nombre d'actions et d'interactions accompagnant le changement de statut de l'individu. Ils distinguent aussi au sein d'une société ceux qui ont subi ce changement de ceux qui ne l'ont pas subi. Ils visent ainsi à corriger des disruptions dans le cadre d'un cours d'existence idéal qui ont des impacts physiques ou psychologiques. Dans cette optique, le fait d'être victime de la colère d'une divinité peut se rattacher à la deuxième catégorie des rites de passage. En effet, d'après la documentation existante sur cette manifestation, on peut mettre en évidence les trois temps successifs qui sont caractéristiques de ces derniers :

- la phase de séparation du groupe et ses rites (phase préliminaire) ;
- la phase de marge et ses rites (phase liminaire) ;
- la phase de réintégration et ses rites.

La lettre d'Hormin fournit des indications importantes sur ces différentes phases de façon claire ou plus allusive.

3.6.1. *La phase de séparation du groupe*

Au moment de la rédaction de la lettre, la phase de séparation du groupe est déjà révolue, comme l'indiquent les éléments qu'elle mentionne. Hormin sait qu'une manifestation des *baou* de Ptah est à l'œuvre et qu'il en est la victime. Cela implique que la disruption causée par celle-ci a été remarquée au sein de la communauté, qui sait alors quelle est la divinité concernée et quel membre en est la victime. Cette identification est établie par la consultation d'un oracle divin ou le plus souvent par la « voyante » (*tꜣ rḥ.t*) à la suite d'une consultation directe par la victime des *baou* ou par le biais d'un intermédiaire mandaté par le châtié ou son entourage proche[56]. Cette consultation comporte un questionnement par le requérant et par la voyante également, probablement sur les troubles observés. La documentation disponible ne permet pas de connaître les critères d'identification d'une manifestation de ces *baou* ni les signes qui permettent de les rattacher à telle ou telle divinité[57]. On ne sait pas non plus si des rites particuliers sont mis en œuvre lors de cette consultation de la *rekhet*. C'est à l'issue de celle-ci et du verdict de la voyante, qui semble faire autorité au sein de la communauté, que l'individu châtié se sait paria et devient un individu à part.

Comme on l'a vu *supra* (§ 3.3), cette singularité se manifeste aux yeux de tous par un état physique particulier combinant confusion mentale,

55 Van Gennep (1909) ; Bourdieu (1982) ; Belmont (1986) ; Turner (1990).

56 Borghouts (1982 : 24 et 27, § 8) et Mathieu (1994 : 336).

57 Comme c'est le cas pour les individus sous le coup de « la mort » d'une divinité dans le P. DeM 1, vº 1,3–3,2 (Černý 1978 : 5–6).

troubles du comportement et souffrance corporelle. Elle est aussi cause de relégation ou d'évitement social. La séparation tant physique que symbolique devient alors effective pour marquer l'anormalité de l'individu au sein de sa communauté de vie et constitue le début de la phase de marge. Elle peut se traduire par un confinement au sein de son lieu d'habitation, comme dans le cas des femmes enceintes, ou une exclusion temporaire du village lui-même. C'est peut-être la nature de la manifestation de la colère divine et de la divinité qui en déterminent les conditions.

3.6.2. *La phase de marge*

La lettre d'Hormin se situe plus précisément au moment de la phase de marge et donne des indications partielles sur son déroulement. Cette phase et ses rites sont un moment délicat, voire dangereux pour celui qui s'y trouve. Son corps est l'objet d'interventions visant à abolir un état antérieur anormal hors de son groupe social d'origine et de la protection que ce dernier procure[58]. Ils permettent une mise en conformité de l'individu qui débouche sur sa réintégration au sein de la communauté. C'est sur ce point que cette lettre est particulièrement intéressante, car le groupe social de la Tombe, auquel appartient Hormin, n'est pas mis à contribution pour l'aider à surmonter cette période difficile et en sortir. En revanche, une autre instance locale avec laquelle elle collabore peut lui porter assistance comme elle le fait dans la vie courante. Deux informations importantes relatives à cette phase figurent dans cette lettre : ce dont Hormin a besoin, probablement pour l'accomplissement d'un rite propre à ce moment, et le lieu où se trouve et où, peut-être, ce même rite sera accompli.

La première concerne l'objet de la demande d'Hormin : le très jeune veau qu'il réclame avec insistance et rapidité. Il constitue un élément indispensable et déterminant pour sa délivrance, plus que la simple offrande d'une jarre de bière, qui ne suffit plus, à ce stade, pour apaiser la divinité. Cependant, la lettre n'en précise pas la justification ni l'utilisation qu'Hormin compte en faire. La rareté de la mention de cet animal invite plutôt à privilégier une autre hypothèse. Il est à mettre à mon sens en relation avec les rites devant être effectués dans cette phase. Il a été rappelé *supra* (§ 3,4) que le très jeune veau est assimilé au jeune dieu soleil après sa naissance, doté d'une intégrité physique parfaite et exempt de toute impureté. Le rituel décrit par le P. Boulaq 6 mentionne cette assimilation afin de guérir un individu. Il est possible qu'une partie des rites à effectuer pendant la phase de marge soient similaires. Ils participeraient à un processus de re-mise au monde de l'individu par la réagrégation de ses éléments épars, sa dissociation étant due à l'action de la colère divine. Les mentions conjointes dans le P. Boulaq 6 de la déesse Hésat, du lait qu'elle produit et de celui qu'il faut administrer au patient ainsi que de la couverture de peau sous laquelle il se trouve peuvent en être une confirmation. En effet, cette réagrégation est spécifique de l'action d'une peau d'animal sur des viscères[59]. Elle permet l'habillage des os par les tissus, les muscles, les organes et les vaisseaux sanguins, éléments qui constituent l'apport spécifique de la contribution de la mère à la construction de l'être selon les conceptions égyptiennes de la genèse des individus. Une fois la naissance survenue, l'allaitement vient parachever la cohésion des chairs[60]. Cette viabilité est d'autant plus importante qu'elle est créée par le recours à une peau d'un animal à connotation solaire. On peut citer, dans le cas de la reconstitution du corps d'Osiris, la dépouille de bélier couvrant les membres et viscères divins contenus dans une jarre, comme le montre l'une des vignettes du

58 Centlivres (2000) et Dartiguenave (2012).

59 Spieser (2006).

60 Volokhine (2017).

P. Salt 825, ou encore l'action de la peau apportée par le dieu Amon décrite dans la « liste géographique » du temple d'Horus d'Edfou, et la « procession des canopes » du temple d'Hathor à Dendéra[61]. Ceci explique d'autant mieux dans le cas d'un individu victime de la colère divine la nécessité d'avoir recours à une peau d'animal afin de finaliser cette nouvelle naissance pour retrouver ensuite un corps et une identité sociale viables. Au vu des indications de la lettre, il s'agirait dans ce cas, de celle d'un très jeune veau dont on envelopperait l'individu selon des modalités identiques ou voisines de celles décrites dans le P. Boulaq 6. L'absorption de lait par le même individu complèterait l'opération de viabilisation de ce nouveau corps. Ce rôle du lait serait analogue à celui qu'il tient dans les scènes d'offrande des mammisis d'époque grecque et romaine. Les textes qui les accompagnent se rapportent à un cadre similaire d'un rite de passage lié à la nouvelle vie de l'enfant divin après sa naissance[62].

En effet, d'autres constatations permettent de conforter ce rapprochement entre la recréation symbolique du corps du châtié et la mise au monde d'un enfant. Le processus d'isolement et de réintégration est commun aux victimes d'ire divine et aux femmes en couches. Dans leur cas, à l'issue d'une naissance, l'accouchée et son enfant restent 14 jours en isolement avant de réintégrer la communauté[63]. À l'issue de cette phase et des rites qui l'accompagnent, la mère et le nouveau-né ont tous deux des corps viables et purs, aptes à intégrer la société des hommes. Cette durée de 14 jours est identique à celle de la croissance de la lune jusqu'à sa plénitude. Il y a aussi dans ce dernier cas une re-création d'une intégrité à partir d'éléments épars, celle de l'œil-*oudjat* lunaire ou du corps du dieu Osiris[64]. Au vu de ces éléments, il serait très séduisant de considérer que cette période de 14 jours corresponde aussi à la durée de la phase de relégation de l'individu châtié par une divinité. Certaines mentions textuelles confirment aussi ce parallélisme entre la mise au monde d'un enfant et le processus de rémission. Dans le conte d'*Horus et Seth*, Rê sort de sa catatonie grâce à l'intervention d'Hathor, qui lui montre son sexe. Cet acte le ramène ainsi symboliquement dans le monde de façon tout aussi soudaine qu'il en a été soustrait. Le dieu Rê ne pouvant pas être recréé, c'est sa capacité génésique de créateur qui lui est restituée par l'excitation que provoque la vue du sexe de la déesse. Il n'en reste pas moins que ce dernier est également l'organe de la mise au monde et que cet acte correspond à une des fonctions d'Hathor en tant que maîtresse de la délivrance des femmes enceintes[65]. Pour ce qui est des êtres humains, le texte de la stèle de Neferâbou (Turin, Museo Egizio CGT 50058) en est le meilleur exemple. Puni par Méresger, il se compare à une femme en couches car il est assis sur une brique et peine à reprendre sa respiration[66]. L'oppression due au manque de souffle que cause la colère divine est mise sur le même plan que celle de la femme enceinte lors de sa grossesse, tous deux se déroulant lors d'une phase de marge.

La seconde information fournie par ce document concerne le lieu de relégation d'Hormin durant cette phase. Il y fait allusion de façon assez elliptique (« au sommet des montagnes »), ce qui invite à se demander où pourrait se situer cet endroit au sein de la montagne thébaine. Ce lieu n'est pas totalement isolé. Il est accessible à d'autres intervenants travaillant sur la rive gauche, dont Hormin sait qu'ils sont en mesure de transmettre

61 Spieser (2006 : 223–226, fig. 2) ; Coulon (2005 : 35–36).

62 Caßor-Pfeiffer (2017 : 82–84).

63 Arnette (2014).

64 Koemoth (1996).

65 Arnette & Labrique (2015 : 18–19).

66 Luiselli (2011 : 368–360, G.19.5) ; Arnette & Labrique (2015 : 22).

sa missive à son destinataire et lui apporter ce dont il a besoin. Hormin dispose en outre d'un minimum de matériel pour écrire ainsi que d'un peu de papyrus, la lettre n'étant pas rédigée sur un ostracon. L'énumération des divinités citées dans la formule initiale de salutation peut fournir un indice sur cet emplacement. Elle peut être comprise comme la transposition, sur un mode panoramique, des secteurs du paysage qu'Hormin contemple depuis son lieu de relégation. Le paysage et la topographie des environs de Deir el-Médineh sont en effet étroitement liés à cette phase de marge en tant que lieu de relégation mais aussi de nouvelle naissance conduisant à la réintégration. Il constitue un « micro-environnement religieux », pour reprendre les termes de J. Baines (2001 : 25), où existent des parcours à effectuer, mentalement et physiquement, qui s'accompagnent de pratiques rituelles spécifiques dans les sanctuaires qui les jalonnent. À cet égard, le texte de la stèle de Qenherkhepechef (British Museum EA 278), datée de la XXe dynastie, constitue un bel exemple de cette conception[67]. Dans le cas d'Hormin, cette énumération peut aussi se comprendre comme une évocation du trajet à effectuer et qui le ramènera chez lui, au sein de la communauté. Le point de départ serait ainsi le lieu où il se trouve, dominé par la Cime, et celui d'arrivée, le village sous le patronage du roi Aménophis Ier divinisé, avec la Vallée des Reines comme l'une des étapes intermédiaires. Cet itinéraire de descente correspond au mouvement inverse de la normalité des mouvements des ouvriers se rendant à la Vallée des Rois qu'exprime l'emploi du verbe *ṯsj* « monter »[68] dans la documentation de Deir el-Médineh.

Une partie de cet environnement est évoquée par le paysage sur la stèle d'Amennakht (Turin, Museo Egizio CGT 50059) qui comporte la représentation rare d'une vue d'un secteur particulier de la montagne thébaine[69]. La légende indique qu'il s'agit du « front rocheux vénérable de l'Occident » (*tꜣ dhn.t wr.t n.t Jmnt.t*)[70]. Les têtes de serpents accolées figurées au sommet de la stèle ont été mises en rapport avec les serpents représentés avec la déesse Méresger sur des stèles qui lui sont dédiées. On ne s'est guère demandé si on ne pouvait pas leur trouver un équivalent avec des éléments particuliers et remarquables de cette montagne et voisin d'un front de paroi. Cette stèle comporte également un détail important qui pourrait concerner l'emplacement du lieu de la relégation, qui est aussi celui de la nouvelle naissance. Il se situerait à l'endroit où se trouve la représentation de la déesse Isis, qui porte l'épithète peu courante de « maîtresse des naissances et aux nombreuses formes » (*nb.t ms.wt ʿšꜣ.w ḫpr.w*). Un lieu correspondait bien à ce secteur de la montagne. Il d'agit du lieu-dit « le menhir » dans le prolongement du *ouadi* dit « du dolmen », situé à l'ouest du village. De cet endroit, on aperçoit les longues formations rocheuses verticales résultant de l'érosion et du ravinement. Ces formations peuvent parfaitement avoir été interprétées comme des serpents et elles sont situées en contrebas d'un fort éperon rocheux où passe un sentier antique. L'endroit est proche du sentier reliant Deir el-Médineh à la Vallée des Rois et est aménagé. On y a de surcroît retrouvé un petit oratoire pourvu d'un bassin et des vestiges d'habitations distinctes de celles des travailleurs[71]. Leur présence pourrait s'expliquer dans le cadre d'un lieu spécifique, habitable, atteignable par d'autres mais pouvant être utilisé pour une relégation. De plus, les anfractuosités que comporte la montagne à cet endroit peuvent

67 Luiselli (2001 : 400–401, G.20.2) ; Vernus (2002).

68 Berg (2014 : 184–186).

69 Kaper (2014).

70 Cf. Luiselli (2011 : 78 et 375) et Bruyère (1930 : 12, fig. 8). Cf. Yoyotte (2003 : 283–307) et Gabolde & Rondot (2018) pour la question de la *dehenet* comme désignation d'un front rocheux.

71 Bruyère (1952 : 73–75) ; Demarée (2006b), ainsi que Dorn (2011) concernant les habitations des ouvriers.

aussi abriter un homme pendant cette phase. Un autre endroit possible pour ce lieu de relégation pourrait se situer dans le voisinage de la « station du col ». De là, un observateur embrasse aussi du regard la cime thébaine, la rive opposée de Thèbes, la Vallée des Reines et le village des ouvriers. On y trouve de plus un sanctuaire à flanc de falaise où des rites peuvent se dérouler, et de l'habitat sous forme de structures construites qui constitue aussi un point de contact possible entre individus de même qu'un lieu d'activité administrative où l'on peut trouver de quoi écrire[72]. Il n'est pas étonnant dès lors de trouver de nombreux graffiti dans son voisinage, notamment ceux représentant des personnages, dont Hormin, prosternés devant des divinités locales[73]. Une découverte archéologique pourrait venir conforter le lien existant entre cet endroit et le lieu de relégation et de nouvelle naissance. Il s'agit de l'O. WTHM 53 découvert en 2015 par la mission dirigée par J. Toivari-Viitala dans la hutte 543 de la station du col. Il porte une représentation d'une jeune femme sur un lit aux pieds en forme de dieu Bès et entouré de liserons avec peut-être l'image d'un enfant au niveau de sa poitrine[74]. Cette thématique maternelle, inhabituelle et singulière pour un tel endroit, invite à étendre les fonctions de la station du col. Elle ne serait pas un simple lieu de loisir masculin mais un lieu ambivalent, tout à la fois lieu de vie dans un contexte social structuré mais aussi un lieu d'exclusion de ce corps social. Dans cette optique, le dessin de cet ostracon n'aurait pas été fait dans le cadre de la simple distraction mais renverrait, par analogie avec le sort de la jeune accouchée, à un espoir de retour à la maison d'un individu relégué en cet endroit.

La lettre d'Hormin contient donc des informations ponctuelles relatives aux rites de la phase de marge concernant directement l'individu châtié. Si le veau sert effectivement de viatique et si les rites manuels se rapprochent de ceux décrits par le P. Boulaq 6, il passerait une ou plusieurs nuits avec enveloppement du corps dans la couverture de cuir issue de l'animal. D'autres rites (ingestion de lait ?) non mentionnés peuvent compléter ces opérations. Tous ont pour but de transformer le paria en un être viable et pur à l'issue d'une nouvelle naissance. La missive fait peut-être aussi allusion aux rites relatifs à la phase de marge qui concernent cette fois la communauté à laquelle appartient l'individu relégué. Ils comprennent l'offrande quotidienne d'une jarre de bière à Ptah dont Hormin fait mention et dont il est l'instigateur. Cette offrande de bière permet de maintenir un lien rituel licite avec la divinité en lui rendant hommage[75]. Il valide l'offrande de l'individu exclu des lieux sacrés qui la suscite et permet d'en assurer l'efficacité à son profit. Une offrande d'encens pour des fumigations peut aussi faire partie de ces rites si l'on se réfère au texte de l'O. Leipzig 1900[76]. Cette offrande se déroule probablement dans la chapelle de confrérie propre à la divinité en colère située au sein du village, érigée au voisinage du temple de Ramsès II[77]. Des dons en nature pouvaient en effet être faits par des personnes pour obtenir leur guérison ou celles de leurs proches, et consacrés dans ces chapelles à leur divinité tutélaire[78]. Dans le cas d'Hormin, cette offrande de bière aurait eu lieu dans celle de Ptah. Cependant, compte tenu de l'appartenance de Routy à une instance extérieure au village, elle pourrait avoir lieu dans un autre sanctuaire, comme celui de

72 Bruyère (1939 : 347–362) ; Toivari-Viitala et al. (2012) ; Valbelle (2020 : 458–459).

73 Rzepka (2014 : 50–52) ; Luiselli & Dorn (2016) ; Ragab (2021).

74 Toivari-Viitala (2014) ; Andreu-Lanoë (2021 : 423–425).

75 Comme l'indique la stèle du sculpteur Qen, l. 4 (Clère 1975 : 76).

76 *HO* 16,1 et 114,1 ; Borghouts (1982 : 20–22).

77 Valbelle (1985 : 326–328 ; 2020 : 451–454).

78 Comme l'indique l'O. Turin CGT 57062 (Allam 1981). Cf. aussi Helck (1991) et Valbelle (2020 : 471).

Ptah et Méresger, à proximité de la Vallée des Reines. La question se pose dans les mêmes termes s'il y a abattage du veau qui pourrait s'opérer dans une chapelle de confrérie, en l'occurrence celle de Ptah. Le décor préservé dans l'une d'elles indique en effet que des sacrifices d'animaux pouvaient s'y dérouler[79].

Il subsiste cependant de nombreuses interrogations quant aux rites de la phase de marge. Ce recours probable à une peau de veau pour opérer une nouvelle naissance est-il systématique ou dépend-il du type de punition infligée par la divinité en colère ? Est-elle utilisée une fois ou pendant plusieurs nuits ? Existe-t-il d'autres signes physiques en dehors de l'amélioration de l'état général qui permettent de juger que l'ire divine est terminée ? Est-ce la *rekhet* qui fait de nouveau ce type de constat une fois tous les rites accomplis, pour permettre le retour de l'exclu au sein de la communauté ? Il n'est pas encore possible de fournir de réponses à ces questions dans l'état actuel de la documentation.

3.6.3. *La phase de réintégration*

Il semble que peu de renseignements se rapportent directement à la phase de réintégration, qui marque une identité retrouvée au sein du groupe. Hormin n'y fait pas allusion dans sa lettre, si ce n'est par les bienfaits que Ptah accordera à Routy une fois ses demandes d'Hormin satisfaites. On peut cependant considérer les stèles de ceux qui ont bénéficié de la clémence divine comme des témoins possibles de la phase de réintégration. Ces monuments ont une certaine visibilité de par l'emplacement choisi pour leur implantation, comme l'indique le texte de la stèle du sculpteur Qen (Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitaine inv. 8635)[80]. La transgression est exposée comme un aveu public et la mansuétude de la divinité mise en avant, tout comme sa capacité à punir sévèrement celui qui l'offense. Les différentes phases de la colère divine y sont relatées : punition par la divinité et ses conséquences physiques résultant d'une faute commise, aveu de celle-ci, demande de rémission, puis rémission constatée suite à un changement de disposition de la divinité[81]. On peut remarquer que le terme *ʿnn* + pronom objet « faire un revirement sur soi », étudié par P. Vernus (2003 : 332–334), est employé uniquement pour cette dernière concernant sa clémence, et correspond aussi à ce qui se produit dans les faits à l'individu « pardonné » : il revient (*ʿnn*) au village après en avoir été exclu et avoir opéré un revirement moral suite à la prise de conscience de sa faute. De ce fait, la réalisation de ces stèles et leur installation dans une chapelle peuvent être rattachées à la phase de réintégration et aux rites qui y sont liés. L'individu sauvé rejoint par ces derniers une catégorie spécifique des « châtiés-sauvés » au sein de la communauté de Deir el-Médineh. Ils servent d'exemple pour les autres membres de la communauté afin qu'ils adoptent un comportement modèle d'un point de vue social et moral. Les textes des stèles qu'ils dédient perpétuent leur expérience. Cependant, ils restent muets sur les modalités pratiques et rituelles de leur retour. Dans le cas d'Hormin, une telle stèle n'est actuellement pas connue.

Par ailleurs, on peut se demander si certaines réunions festives ou non, notamment celles se tenant dans les chapelles de confréries, ne pourraient pas également être rattachées à des rites de resocialisation de l'individu frappé par la colère divine, tout comme pour les rites de relevailles[82]. L'étude des types de sièges, notamment les sièges nominatifs retrouvés dans ces chapelles, mais aussi dans les cabanes de la « station du col »,

79 Valbelle (2020 : 451).

80 Clère (1975) ; Luiselli (2011 : 377, G.19.16).

81 Vernus (2003 : 320–325).

82 Arnette (2015 : 38–40).

fournit des éclairages intéressants[83]. Les formules qui y sont gravées font état du fait de « s'asseoir, siéger » dans un contexte d'assemblée, de commémoration ou de fête. Certains comportent la formule *ḫy pꜣ ḥms nfr*, l'expression *ḥms nfr* ayant reçu plusieurs traductions : elle désigne soit l'objet (« bon siège », « bon séjour »), soit celui qui s'y assied (« bon compagnon »), soit l'action de siéger agréablement[84]. On remarquera cependant que dans le cas des sièges portant la formule *ḥms nfr n Jmn* ou sa variante *ḥms ḥr ʿ Jmn*, cette action de s'asseoir est fréquemment associée à un bien-être ressenti et à l'action protectrice et bienfaisante du dieu envers les individus, ainsi qu'une insistance sur la durabilité et la prospérité que leur procure leur bonne santé[85]. Ces sièges renvoient ainsi, tant par les lieux où ils ont été retrouvés (chapelles de confrérie à caractère religieux ou lieux d'habitation de la communauté professionnelle) que par les formules qu'ils portent, à des situations qui associent individus et bien-être. On notera que le fait de s'asseoir au sein d'un groupe et le plaisir qu'il procure sont l'exact opposé de ce que connaît l'individu dans la phase de marge. Durant celle-ci, ce dernier est seul, souvent assis ou couché, souffrant douloureusement et dans une confusion mentale en étant « dans la main » de la divinité. S'asseoir (*ḥms*) à nouveau est le signe d'une santé recouvrée et d'une réinstallation dans un groupe. C'est précisément ce terme qui est utilisé dans le conte d'*Horus et Seth* pour marquer la reprise de fonction du dieu Rê auprès de la Grande Ennéade[86]. Le bien-être résultant de cette présence au sein d'un collectif marquant l'appartenance au groupe social, religieux et professionnel est ainsi rappelé par ces sièges modestes mais témoins de pratiques collectives importantes, signes d'une identité partagée. La rémission de l'individu châtié pourrait ainsi avoir été célébrée dans la salle de réunion de la chapelle de confrérie dédiée à la divinité qui a mis fin à sa colère.

Conclusion

La lettre d'Hormin P. Louvre E 32309 est un document remarquable à plus d'un titre. Elle s'ajoute à la liste des lettres autographes de l'un des plus célèbres dessinateurs de Deir el-Médineh. Elle livre également des informations supplémentaires sur le dénommé Routy mentionné à partir du règne de Ramsès IV et de son titre de « chef des artisans de *Set-Maât* ». En dépit de sa concision, le document fournit également un éclairage nouveau sur le phénomène particulier qu'est la manifestation de la colère divine. La missive permet en effet d'aborder cette question sous l'angle des rites de passage marquant une transition d'un état à un autre pour l'individu châtié et se déroulant selon des phases précises. Elle tend à confirmer l'existence d'un bannissement rituel qui se traduit ici par une relégation en un lieu inhospitalier de la montagne. Grâce à la demande inhabituelle de l'apport d'un veau d'un type spécifique qu'elle contient, on peut discerner la finalité de l'un des rituels nécessaires à la réintégration de la victime au sein de la communauté. Ce rituel s'apparente à une nouvelle mise au monde, analogue à celle du soleil, laquelle recrée une intégrité corporelle à laquelle la punition divine a porté atteinte.

En outre, cette lettre révèle la part de la personnalité de dessinateur « de chair et d'os », pour paraphraser P. Vernus, qui s'exprime dans ce moment d'adversité dû à la colère du dieu Ptah. Durement éprouvé, Hormin montre une intelligence émotionnelle remarquable face à la bascule de son quotidien. Ces lignes ont été rédigées à un moment où il a clairement analysé sa condition. Il sait également quels sont les moyens

83 Valbelle (2020 : 450–456) ; Coulon (2006 : 26–28).

84 Valbelle (2020 : 467–469).

85 Sweeney (2014 : 228).

86 Broze (1996 : 42–44).

envisageables et disponibles pour la gérer. Les directives qu'il donne consistent en effet à mettre en place des actions concrètes qui vont contribuer à le secourir. On peut ainsi deviner le tempérament du personnage qui veut conserver le contrôle de la situation en la gérant par lui-même. Ses remarquables talents de lettré, dont la tournure de ce texte fournit un bel exemple, y contribuent pleinement. Ils lui assurent la maîtrise de sa communication et de son ton afin de convaincre un tiers de lui fournir une aide décisive. Les psychologues actuels y verraient volontiers une belle illustration des concepts de *coping*, d'*empowerment* et de résilience face à l'épreuve. Hormin n'a pas eu besoin d'envoyer cette lettre qui est restée scellée. Il a survécu à la colère du dieu Ptah au vu de la documentation existante le concernant. Il n'en reste pas moins que ce nouveau témoignage s'ajoute à ceux, toujours émouvants, du quotidien des habitants de Deir el-Médineh qui illustrent les relations complexes unissant ces derniers à leurs divinités tutélaires.

Addendum

Au moment du bouclage éditorial de cet ouvrage, R. Pietri m'a très aimablement communiqué l'article de H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (2023) concernant l'ostracon BM EA 41543 recto daté de l'an 3 d'un roi non mentionné. Il comporte un court hymne au dieu Amon écrit par le dessinateur Hormin comme le prouve le tableau paléographique présenté par l'auteur. Il s'ajoute donc à la liste des documents autographes évoqués précédemment. Par ailleurs, du fait de sa composition et de sa métrique élaborée, il est fort probable qu'Hormin en soi aussi l'auteur et fournit un exemple son remarquable talent littéraire.

De plus cet hymne comporte un certain nombre de similitudes avec la lettre du Louvre. Hormin s'y présente comme un « chacal dans ses montagnes » (*wnš n nꜣy=f ḏw.w*) reprenant ainsi le motif de l'animal sauvage et méprisable évoluant dans une zone n'appartenant pas à la sphère des hommes. Hormin se décrit également dans une situation de détresse physique avec privation de la parole que H.-W. Fischer-Elfert interprète comme une figure de style de façon tout à fait convaincante. Cependant au vu des éléments présents dans la missive du Louvre elle pourrait être prise au pied de la lettre.

Enfin, l'analyse de la structure de l'hymne met en évidence une structure du texte se rapportant à des temporalités étroitement liées à des lieux bien précis de la région thébaine, notamment la Tombe enclose dont Hormin se réclame.

Ce même procédé d'évocation spatiale et temporelle se retrouve dans la lettre du Louvre. Au vu de telles similitudes de phraséologie et de la tournure stylistique très élaborée des deux documents, il est à mon sens très séduisant de les rapprocher. Ils pourraient concerner un même moment de la vie d'Hormin pendant lequel il s'est trouvé mis à l'écart de la communauté des ouvriers. L'hymne à Amon pallierait ainsi l'impossibilité d'Hormin à invoquer le dieu Ptah qui l'a châtié et constituerait, de ce fait, une tentative d'intercession auprès d'une autre divinité tutélaire de la rive gauche thébaine. Les temporalités de l'hymne et les lieux associés pourraient également correspondre aux périodes des trois phases (ségrégation-réintégration-célébration) évoquées dans la lettre du Louvre. L'approche anthropologique retenue trouverait ainsi dans cet hymne une corroboration que d'autres documents viendront peut-être compléter.

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New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in the Strasbourg Collections
An Overview*

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents an overview of the New Kingdom hieratic texts preserved in two institutions in Strasbourg: the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire (National University Library) and the Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg (Institute of Egyptology of the University of Strasbourg). These hieratic documents were acquired between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, many by W. Spiegelberg. The texts themselves date from the 18th to the 21th Dynasty. The collections include papyri and ostraca (literary and documentary texts), as well as jar dockets and wooden labels, many of which come from Thebes-West.

1. History of the collections

Hieratic texts from the New Kingdom are preserved in two institutions in Strasbourg: the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire (BNU)[1] and the Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg (IES).[2] The history of these collections forms part of the broader history of the Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität and of the Kaiserliche Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (the KULB, the future BNU), created after the annexation of Alsace by the Reich of Wilhelm I at the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. In 1872, the Egyptologist J. Dümichen (1833–1894)[3] was appointed professor of Egyptology at the university. He brought back estampages and photographs from his travels in Egypt, and purchased plaster reproductions. In addition, various small objects were donated to the Institute of Egyptology by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI)

* This overview is only possible thanks to Lola Mohimont's work collecting data on the hieratic documents in the BNU during her Master's internship there in July 2021 under the supervision of Gisela Bélot, the collection's curator. I wish to thank Gisela Bélot for providing access to the collection and for her very kind assistance during my consultation of the BNU archives. I would also like to thank Frédéric Colin, director of the Institute of Egyptology of Strasbourg and curator of its collection, for the information he provided to me. I am grateful to Jean-Yves Bart for revising the text with support from the Maison Interuniversitaire des Sciences de l'Homme d'Alsace (MISHA) and the Excellence Initiative of the University of Strasbourg. The research presented in this paper was carried out as part of the UMR 7044 ArcHiMèdE—University of Strasbourg research program, my home institution until August 2023. I am also grateful to the editorial team of the present volume for all the improvements to this contribution. I wish to thank especially Stéphane Polis, Renaud Pietri, Jessica Izak, and Daniel Waller.

1 Didier (2017).

2 Colin (2017a).

3 Colin (2017b); Spiegelberg (1904).

of Rome.[4] After his death in 1894, J. Dümichen was replaced by W. Spiegelberg (1870–1930),[5] who enriched the collection considerably with a large number of donations and purchases, many from his travels in Egypt.[6]

Under W. Spiegelberg, the collection of the Institute of Egyptology included various objects, as well as papyri, ostraca, and wooden labels, but it was soon decided that the bulk of the written material should be deposited in the KULB (the future BNU),[7] where an important collection of written documents was being assembled in order to compensate for the loss of valuable documents during the Franco-Prussian War.[8] The BNU collection now includes over 10,400 documents in a variety of languages and writings (Arabic, Aramaic, Coptic, Demotic, Greek, Hebrew, Hieratic, Hieroglyphic, Latin, Pahlavi).[9] The library also possesses a large collection of cuneiform tablets.[10] The IES is now largely home to non-textual artefacts, though it does house some written material.[11]

The hieratic materials preserved in Strasbourg have varied origins, but four primary modes of acquisition can be noted for the New Kingdom documents in particular:[12]

(1) Acquisitions of hieratic ostraca, papyri, and wooden labels by W. Spiegelberg during a trip to Egypt in the winter of 1895–1896, first registered in the IES and later mostly transferred to the KULB (BNU).

(2) Purchases made in Egypt during the winter of 1898–1899 thanks to funds obtained by W. Spiegelberg and the philologist R. Reitzenstein (1861–1931) to buy papyri for the KULB (BNU).[13]

(3) Acquisitions made in the context of the KULB (BNU)'s membership of the *Deutsches Papyruskartell* (DPK), a mechanism for centralizing the purchases of German institutions (1902–1914).[14]

(4) The donation by W.M.F. Petrie (1853–1952) of an important set of hieratic documents from the excavations in the area of the Ramesseum directed by J.E. Quibell (1867–1935) during the winter of 1895–1896. Part of this donation was given by W. Spiegelberg to the KULB (BNU);[15] the other part remains with the IES.[16]

4 Schweitzer & Traunecker (2003: 64); Spiegelberg (1909: Vorwort).

5 Colin (2017c); Vleeming (1982).

6 Spiegelberg (1909: Vorwort); Colin (2010; 2014). On the history of the collection of the Institute of Egyptology after W. Spiegelberg, see Bucher & Leclant (1956). See also Bouvier (2003: 1).

7 Schweitzer & Traunecker (2003: 64); Bucher & Leclant (1956: 101–102); Colin (2014: 26, table 1).

8 Bornemann (2010); Colin (2010).

9 Martin & Heilporn (2000: 78); Colin (2010: 24); Bornemann (2010: 19). Thanks to G. Bélot for the updated number of documents.

10 Bornemann (2010: 19). Part of the collection was purchased in 1912. Other tablets were donated to the BNU in 1970. See Charpin & Durand (1981: 7–8); https://cdli.ucla.edu/collections/strasbourg/bnus_intro_fr.html (accessed 04.07.2022). Thanks to Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel for the references.

11 Bucher & Leclant (1956: 101–102); Traunecker (1969); Colin (2017a).

12 The papyrus hierat. 76 (New Kingdom, below, no. 73), however, belongs to a small group of papyri that belonged to J. Dümichen ("*aus Dümichens Nachlass*"—register of the BNU).

13 Colin (2010; 2014: 38–39). W. Spiegelberg took part in the excavations led by the Marquis of Northampton. See Northampton et al. (1908).

14 Chang (2014: 212–214); Colin (2014: 23); Heilporn (2017).

15 Spiegelberg (1923: 25, fn. 4). On the problem of the donation's date to the IES, see Bouvier (2003: 15–18, 18–21).

16 Bouvier (1999: 1–2).

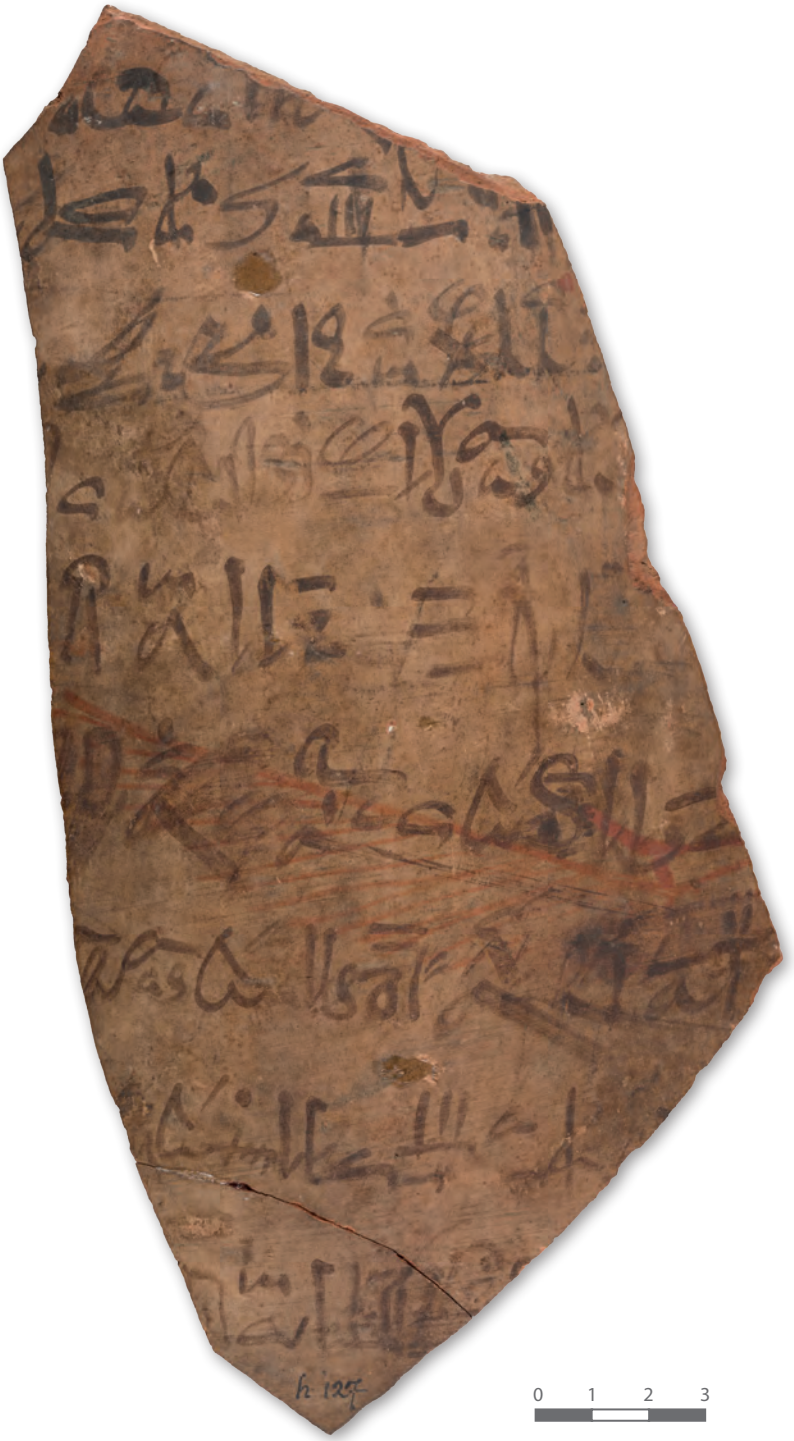

Fig. 1. O. H 127 recto.
Extract from the *Satirical Letter*
(© Photo and collection BNU, Strasbourg)

2. The New Kingdom hieratic materials

2.1. Numbers

2.1.1. *BNU*

The BNU's inventory includes 118 hieratic papyri (numbered hierat. 1 to 128),[17] 247 hieratic ostraca, including jar labels (numbered H. 1 to H. 251),[18] and 8 hieratic documents on wood (Ho. 1–Ho. 8).[19] Some of these documents are dated to the period between the 18th and the 21st Dynasties. The following table gives a list of documents attributed to this period in the BNU's register. It should be noted that not all of the ostraca and papyri fragments are dated. In addition, many of the ostraca are illegible.[20] The information below is therefore only indicative.

	Papyri and papyri fragments	Ostraca and jar labels	Documents on wood
18th Dynasty	1	10 (?)[21]	6
New Kingdom/Ramesside Period	3 (or 4)[22]	96	0
Third Intermediate Period	25/27 (?)[23] ("El-Hibeh")	29	0
Total	31	135	6
Not dated	42 (fragments)	108 (including erased ostraca)	1 (hieratic?)
Attributed to other periods	45 (or 44)	4	1
Total	118	247	8

Table 1. Indicative dates attributed to the BNU hieratic materials

2.1.2. *IES*

The IES's collection consists mainly of non-textual objects, though it also holds some written materials, including approximately 2,600 sherds inscribed in hieratic that come from the excavations directed by J.E. Quibell at the Ramesseum during the winter of 1895–1896 (see below, § 2.2.1). These were published by W. Spiegelberg and

17 Bornemann (2010: 19; 130 hieratic papyri). Six papyri first registered as hieratic were later identified as hieroglyphic. Several fragments of one of the papyri consisting of hymns to Sobek (hierat. 2 and 7) were registered separately and later reunited. On these texts, see Kucharek (2020: 1, with references to previous literature).

18 Martin & Heilporn (2000: 78); Bornemann (2010: 19). Three of these documents are not in hieratic (H. 219, H. 221, and H. 251) and a fourth (H. 107) is a figured ostracon. See the complete list of BNU ostraca in Koenig (1997: 17–21).

19 In addition, the BNU is home to an important collection of Demotic or bilingual wooden mummy labels: Spiegelberg (1901; 1912); Bornemann (2010: 19); Vleeming (2011: 743–744). Cf. The Mummy Label Database, https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/mummy-label-database-mld (accessed 12.01.2024).

20 See the remarks in Müller (2006: 271).

21 This includes ostraca dated to the 18th Dynasty or said (possibly) to come from Amarna.

22 According to J.Fr. Quack (2022), a fourth papyrus should be assigned to this period. See below, table 2, n. 56.

23 Uncertainty remains with respect to the identification of some papyri fragments. On current research into the "El-Hibeh" papyri, see below (§ 2.4).

G. Bouvier (see below, § 2.4). The collection also contains unpublished sherds bearing inscriptions that remain indeterminate;[24] these may share the same origin. The IES also holds some hieratic papyri fragments found during J.E. Quibell's excavations and published in facsimile and transcription by W. Spiegelberg in 1898.[25] Finally, the collection includes some figured ostraca, such as a Ramesside limestone ostracon in two parts with drawings.[26]

2.2. Provenances

2.2.1. *Hieratic material from the Ramesseum (Thebes-West)*

As noted above, a large group of hieratic ostraca and hieratic dockets from storage jars in Strasbourg comes from the excavations directed by J.E. Quibell and W.M.F. Petrie around the Ramesseum in the winter of 1895–1896. According to W. Spiegelberg, who published a selection of the findings (330 ostraca) in 1898, more than 3,000 ostraca[27] (as well as some papyrus fragments)[28] were discovered during these excavations, in two areas in particular: in the northeastern part of the temple (mainly jar labels) and in its southeastern part (literary texts).[29] The literary ostraca are now preserved in the Petrie Museum,[30] but the bulk of the jar labels and documentary ostraca were donated by W.M.F. Petrie to W. Spiegelberg.[31] Dozens were transferred to the BNU after being registered in the IES,[32] but over 2,500 sherds inscribed in hieratic remain in the IES.[33] The jar labels typically relate to the storage of wine (but also oil and honey) and can be compared with dockets from other sites.[34]

2.2.2. *Ramesside papyri, wooden labels, and ostraca from other sites in Thebes-West*

Not all the hieratic ostraca and sherds in the BNU come from J.E. Quibell and W.M.F. Petrie's Ramesseum excavations.[35] A large number of items acquired between 1896 and 1911 come from other sites in Thebes-West. Some of the ostraca in the collection are from Gournah,[36] or were found at Dra' Abu el-Naga by W. Spiegelberg in 1896.[37] W. Spiegelberg also brought back a very important set of Ramesside ostraca from his trip to Egypt during the winter of 1898–1899. In an epistolary report, W. Spiegelberg and R.A. Reitzenstein make particular note of the

24 Thanks to F. Colin, the IES collection curator, for this information.

25 Bouvier (2003: 16). Information confirmed by F. Colin.

26 Hartenstein (2016).

27 Spiegelberg (1898: Introduction); Koenig (1992: 52–53). On the excavation, see Bouvier (2003: 7–14).

28 Spiegelberg (1898: pl. XLII–XLVII; found in the brick chambers near the Ramesseum according to the erratum on the list of plates); see Bouvier (2003: 16).

29 Spiegelberg (1898: Introduction); Barbotin (2013: 73); Bouvier (2003: 7–14).

30 Barbotin (2013: 73).

31 On the distribution of some of the hieratic materials from the Ramesseum that were given by W.M.F. Petrie to the IES but which were not kept in Strasbourg, see Bouvier (2003: 14–18).

32 Spiegelberg (1923: 25, fn. 4); Koenig (1997: 1).

33 Bouvier (1999: 1).

34 See Hagen (2021: 9–10). Cf. Bouvier (2003: 31–32).

35 Koenig (1997: 1).

36 H. 100, for example, was purchased there (Koenig 1997: 8).

37 The ostraca H. 36 and H. 69 were found by W. Spiegelberg during excavations at Dra' Abu el-Naga in 1896 (see Koenig 1997: 17–18).

purchase of an important collection of Ramesside hieratic ostraca,[38] most of which were probably acquired in Luxor.[39] Another large group of ostraca was also acquired between 1910 and 1911. Fifty further ostraca are said to have been purchased by L. Borchardt (1863–1938) in Luxor in 1910,[40] and nine other ostraca to come from Thebes-West (1911).[41] With respect to Theban ostraca, some of the items in Strasbourg have been connected to Deir el-Medina.[42]

Information about the origin of the New Kingdom papyri in the BNU is scarce. A Theban origin can nevertheless be attributed to some documents. A modern docket on the glass storage frame of P. hierat. 20 (an inscription on reed[43] attributed to the 18th Dynasty in the register) indicates that it may come from Deir el-Bahari.[44] The amuletic P. hierat. 69 (fig. 2) was purchased in Luxor by W. Spiegelberg; an iconographic parallel with the magical papyrus Deir el-Medineh 1, vº 1 suggests that it may come from the Deir el-Medina area.[45]

As to the six wooden dockets from the 18th Dynasty preserved in the BNU, they were purchased by W. Spiegelberg in Egypt in 1895–1896.[46] Known parallels to these dockets suggest that a Theban origin is highly likely.[47]

2.2.3. *Hieratic jar labels from the Amarna period*

Four jar labels in the BNU are dated to the Amarna period and are said to possibly come from Amarna: H. 33 (with the cartouche of Akhenaton),[48] H. 176,[49] H. 186,[50] and H. 250.[51]

2.2.4. *The "El-Hibeh" papyri*

The most important group of papyri from the period of the New Kingdom and the 21st Dynasty in the BNU are the "El-Hibeh" papyri. This dossier consists of several documents from the epistolary communications of Horpenaset and Horemakhbit, two 21st Dynasty scribes and priests of the god "One-of-the-Camp".[52] According to W. Spiegelberg, these papyri come from El-Hibeh,

38 Colin (2010).

39 The alabaster ostracon H. 41 (a list of pigments, Koenig 1997: 5), for instance, was purchased in 1899 from the dealer A. Megid in Luxor (register of the BNU). H. 36 is said to come from "Grabungen von Dra Abul Nagga 1898" (Koenig 1997: 5, 17).

40 Koenig (1997: 19).

41 Koenig (1997: 20–21).

42 Koenig (1992: 1, 90 [H. 108, H. 110]); Fischer-Elfert (2000: 112 [H. 108]); Černý 2001 (1973: 83, no. 7 [H. 42], 177, no. 4 and 209, 4 [H. 110], 205, no. 11 [H. 108]); Mathieu (2000: 248); Müller (2000: 274–276); Polis (2022: 437–439, 453 [ostraca H. 188, fig. 3 below—identified as right-hand side of O. DeM 1084—and H. 190, both attributed to scribe Pay (i)'s hand]).

43 Other examples of inscriptions on reed: Černý (1941).

44 The papyrus is indicated as "Geschenk Spiegelberg" in the register.

45 Donnat (2016). For comments on this text, see also Quack (2022: 107, 124).

46 The dockets were first recorded in the inventory of the IES under the rubric "Erwerbungen 1895/6" before they were transferred to the BNU.

47 The publication of these documents is forthcoming. See below § 2.4.

48 Koenig (1992: 4).

49 Koenig (1992: 14, "aus Tell el Amarna?").

50 Koenig (1992: 15, 20).

51 Koenig (1997: 15, 20), inventory of the BNU: "1911, aus Tell el-Amarna".

52 See Lefèvre's contribution to the present volume.

but this provenance has been called into question.[53] The "El-Hibeh" collection consists of about 2,000 papyri and papyri fragments scattered between several institutions. The BNU holds some 220 fragments,[54] corresponding to 25 inventory numbers. When W. Spiegelberg purchased them from the dealer Abd el Megib on 15th December 1895, these fragments were stored in a lead box.[55] Before their transfer to the KULB (BNU), they were registered as part of the collection of the IES.

2.3. Distribution according to genre

It is difficult to assign many of the New Kingdom hieratic documents in the BNU to generic categories due to the fragmentary nature of much of the collection and the number of documents that remain to be studied and published. As such, the following outline is highly provisional.

2.3.1. *Hieratic papyri and wooden tags*

Most of the New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the BNU that have been examined reflect epistolary communications and documentary texts. A large part of this category consists of the "El-Hibeh" group. The BNU's register also assigns a text written on reed and dated to the 18th Dynasty to this category. In addition, some of the documents contain magico-religious compositions (fig. 2).

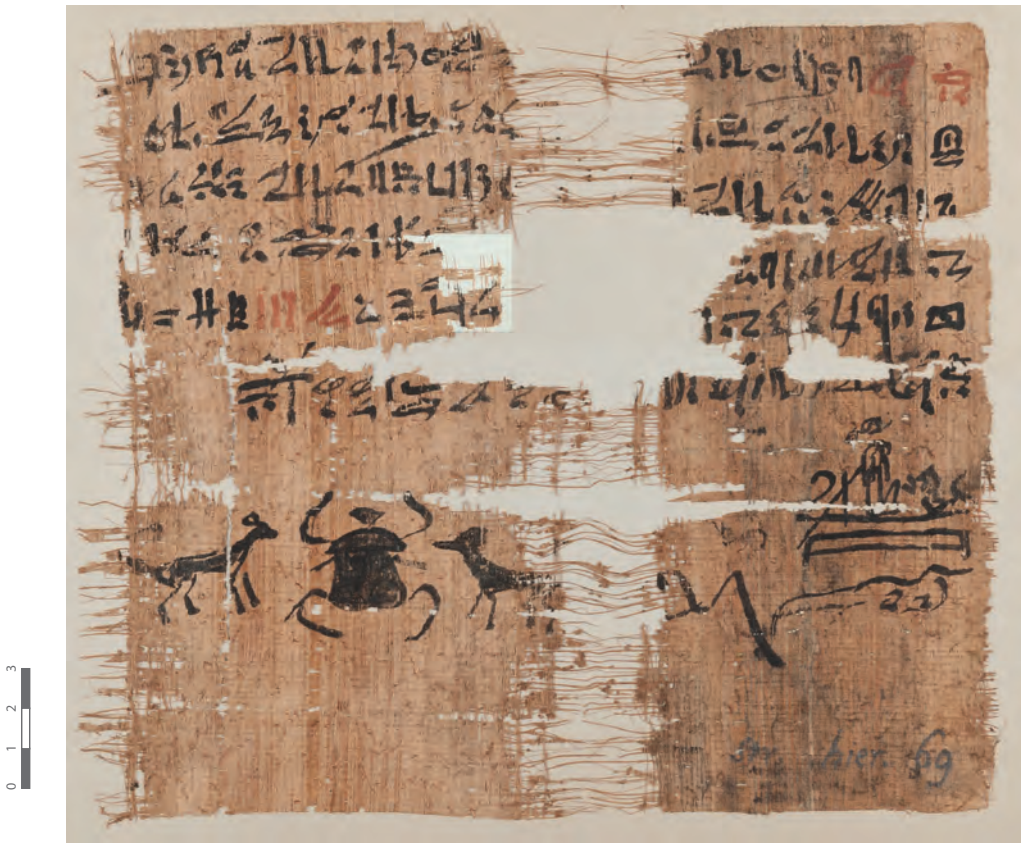

Fig. 2. Amuletic papyrus hierat. 69 (recto), purchased in Luxor by W. Spiegelberg
(© Photo and collection BNU, Strasbourg)

53 See Lefèvre (2012: 38).

54 Lefèvre (2012: 25) and D. Lefèvre's contribution to the present volume.

55 Spiegelberg (1917: 1); Lefèvre (2008: 111).

	Number	Date
Letters and documentary texts	Up to 30	18th and 21st Dynasties
Literary (magico-religious)[56]	4	New Kingdom / Ramesside

Table 2. Provisional distribution of contents across the New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the BNU, Strasbourg

The six hieratic wooden labels from the 18th Dynasty acquired by W. Spiegelberg in 1895–1896 belong to the well-known category of wooden tags attached to funerary goods.[57]

2.3.2. *Hieratic ostraca and jar dockets*

In two separate reviews of Y. Koenig's edition of 108 hieratic ostraca in the BNU, B. Mathieu (2000: 246) and M. Müller (2000: 271) both proposed various generic assignations for the texts in Y. Koenig's publication. Among the ostraca, B. Mathieu identified documentary texts (70), letters (around 10), magical texts (3 or 4), and literary or religious texts (around 15). M. Müller identified letters (9), administrative texts (42), jar labels (11), literary compositions, including magical and religious texts (17), notations (7 texts), other texts (11), and unclear texts (12).

The generic distribution of the materials in the BNU appears to change very little even if we take into consideration the undated ostraca, the ostraca dated to the New Kingdom preserved in the BNU (243), and the genre identifications proposed in the museum's register for the museum's unpublished texts. Six generic categories that apply to the collection are outlined below:

(1) Unidentified texts, some illegible—around 60 texts.

(2) Documentary texts: this category is the largest in the BNU hieratic collection; it embraces a wide range of texts, including administrative texts, accounts with workmen's marks (H. 10, H. 11, H. 13, H. 59), and a note about a donkey hire (H. 182)—around 95.

(3) Dockets: jar labels (wine, honey, oil, beer-*srm.t*, and meat?) form the second largest category of texts on hieratic ostraca in the BNU. These come mainly from Thebes-West and in particular from the Ramesseum Excavations directed by J.E. Quibell and W.M.F. Petrie—like the jar labels preserved in the IES—around 40.

(4) Letters: some ten letter fragments have been identified,[58] some featuring the names of scribes—around 10.

(5) Literary compositions (literature; religious and magical texts): around twenty texts have been identified as literary. These include excerpts from the *Kemyt*,[59] the *Satirical Letter* (fig. 1),[60] and the *Loyalistic Wisdom*,[61] as well as some hymnic compositions (fig. 3)[62] and magical texts, such as the

56 Only three texts are dated to the New Kingdom in the BNU's register, while several fragments are undated. A fourth text (hierat. 92) is attributed to the Ramesside Period by J.Fr. Quack (2022: 124).

57 Dodson & Janssen (1989); Bouvier (2009); Adrom (2021). See below, § 2.4 and n. 74.

58 See in particular the reviews of Y. Koenig's 1997 publication by B. Mathieu (2000) and M. Müller (2000). The BNU's register also identifies some fragments as letters.

59 Mathieu (2000: 250–253).

60 Koenig (1997: 11 [H. 127]).

61 Koenig (1997: 20); Koenig (1992: 55); Posener (1976: 9 [H. 163], 99–110 transcription).

62 Mathieu (2000: 250–253); Polis (2022: 436–439, 453 [H. 188 and H. 190, see above n. 42]).

parallels to P. Turin CGT 54051 (H. 111)[63] and P. Leyde I 343+345 (H. 115)[64]—around 25.

(6) Varia: various categories of texts (exercises [?],[65] an ushebti text,[66] a weight [?][67])—around 10.

2.4. Published documents

Some of the New Kingdom texts preserved in Strasbourg have been published. Many were first edited by W. Spiegelberg. In addition, the Griffith Institute possesses transcriptions of certain texts by A.H. Gardiner (1879–1963)[68] and J. Černý (1989–1970).[69]

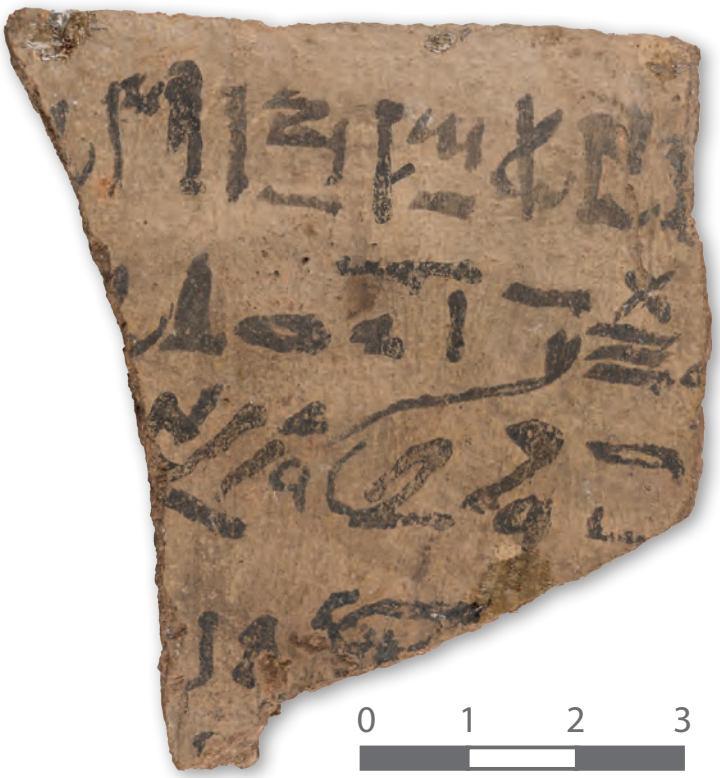

Fig. 3. O. H. 188 (Thebes West 1911). Extract from a hymn to Amon
(© Photo and collection BNU, Strasbourg)

63 Koenig (1997: 9).

64 Koenig (1997: 10).

65 Müller (2000: 273).

66 Koenig (1997: 4).

67 Müller (2000: 273, fn. 5).

68 See Donnat (2016: 6, fn. 22).

69 See the online corpus of transcribed hieratic documents in the Griffith Institute: http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hiceros.html and http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hicerpa.html (accessed 21.10.2024).

Hieratic papyri:[70]

- the "El-Hibeh" papyrus in Strasbourg have been partially published by W. Spiegelberg;[71] they are undergoing further study at present.[72]
- Of the four magico-religious papyri in the BNU attributed to the New Kingdom, only one has been published so far.[73]

Hieratic wooden labels:

- The funerary dockets from the 18th Dynasty remained unpublished, but an edition is forthcoming.[74]

Hieratic ostraca and jar labels:

- The Ramesseum materials in the BNU and IES have been published by W. Spiegelberg[75] and G. Bouvier,[76] though W. Spiegelberg only published facsimiles and transcriptions of selected documents. A second volume was planned,[77] but was never published. According to Y. Koenig (1997: 21), inscribed fragments of a jar dating to the Third Intermediate Period in the BNU are from the Ramesseum as well; they are also unpublished. It is worth noting that an analysis of the food and beverage residues on the sherds was performed in March 2018[78] as part of the ERC project "Transformations of Food in the Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age."[79]
- The ostracon H. 111, bearing the magical referring to the speech of Horus, was first published by W. Spiegelberg (1922), but only in translation with a commentary. A photograph and a facsimile were published by Y. Koenig (1997: 9, pl. 43, 115). This important document has several parallels and has been translated and subject to several commentaries; its transcription appears in various synoptic editions.[80]
- 108[81] ostraca were published with transcriptions, facsimiles, and photographs, but without

70 A modern docket on the glass frame of P. hierat. 20 (see above) indicates that it has been published, but it has not been possible to confirm this claim.

71 Spiegelberg (1917); see Lefèvre (2008: 111).

72 See Lefèvre (2012).

73 Donnat (2016 [hierat. 69]); Quack (2022: 107, 124). Hierat. 76 and hierat. 92 are discussed by J.Fr. Quack (2022: 124). Hierat. 76 and hierat. 80 were examined during the sessions of the papyrology workshop ARPEGES of the Institute of Egyptology, UMR 7044 (http://egypte.unistra.fr/atelier-de-recherche-en-papyrologie-arpeges/; accessed 24.01.2024) devoted to the study of certain hieratic magico-religious texts in the BNU.

74 I thank G. Bélot, curator of the hieratic collection in the BNU, for drawing our attention to the hieratic texts written on wood during a work session on hieratic texts at the BNU. The identification of these documents was first made by H. Smets. They will be published by S. Bickel and S. Donnat in *RdE* 74 (2024).

75 Spiegelberg (1898). According to Bouvier (2003: 19), 49 documents published by W. Spiegelberg (1898) are preserved in the BNU and 93 in the IES. Some of them were also published in Koenig (1997). See Bouvier (2003: 26 [no. 219], 27 [no. 224, 225, 228]). See also the Petrie Journal 1895 to 1896 (Griffith Institute, Petrie MSS 1.13: 15 and 20 = https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-1–13 (accessed 21.01.2024).

76 Bouvier (1999–2003). Review by Wimmer (2003); Neunert (2005).

77 See Spiegelberg (1898: Introduction); Maspero (1899: 243).

78 https://egypte.unistra.fr/la-collection-de-linstitut-degyptologie/travaux-sur-la-collection/accueil-de-chercheurs-et-de-visiteurs/que-contenaient-les-jarres-du-ramesseum-apport-combine-de-letude-des-inscriptions-hieratiques-et-de-larcheologie-biomoleculaire/ (accessed 24.01.2024).

79 https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/678901 (accessed 24.01.2024).

80 See Koenig (1982: 283–291); Roccati (2011: 126–129, 165); Stegbauer (2019: 275–276). See also Koenig (1992: 54); Mathieu (2000: 247–248). On the text, see Quack (2022: 149 with fn. 251, with references to previous literature).

81 Corresponding to 110 inventory numbers: H. 187, H. 189, H. 192 have been connected (Koenig 1997: 15).

translations, by Y. Koenig (1997; including some ostraca already published by W. Spiegelberg in 1898;[82] the ostracon H. 111 translated by W. Spiegelberg in 1922; and the two ostraca studied by G. Posener [H. 187[83] and H. 163][84]). This publication was reviewed by B. Mathieu (2000; who offered translations for some texts) and M. Müller (2000). Around 20 ostraca are transcribed in J. Černý's notebooks (now in the Griffith Institute), some of which were included in *KRI* 6 and 7.[85] Some of the ostraca published by Y. Koenig have also been collected in online databases,[86] or discussed in different papers.[87]

– About 2/5 of the ostraca preserved in BNU are still unpublished. Some of them are difficult to read or have been erased.

As several parts of the collection are still being studied by scholars, this overview is merely indicative and will need to be refined in the future as research and publications progress.

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82 See above n. 75.

83 Facsimile and transcription of G. Posener published in Cazelles (1973: 14–15, fig. 1); see Koenig (1997: 15).

84 See above n. 61.

85 Müller (2000: 274). See also the translations in *KRI* 6, 331 (H. 83); *KRI* 7, 126 (H. 41), 162 (H. 110), 198 (H. 112), 199–200 (H. 136), 203 (H. 26), 222 (H. 42).

86 The Deir el-Medina Database, https://dmd.wepwawet.nl; the Trismegistos database, https://www.trismegistos.org and the websites Science in Ancient Egypt, https://sae.saw-leipzig.de (H. 111 and H. 115) and Ramses Online, http://ramses.ulg.ac.be (H. 42) (all accessed 18.01.2024).

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Le papyrus Strasbourg 23i+44iii *

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a papyrus, held in Strasbourg, that derives from the so-called "el-Hibeh" archives (21st Dynasty). The text on the papyrus mentions an anonymous general, while a join with another small fragment makes it possible to identify the correspondents in question.

1. Introduction

Le papyrus 23i+44iii appartient au dossier des papyrus dits « d'el-Hibeh », une archive datant de la 21e dynastie et provenant d'une forteresse nommée *tꜣ-dhnt* en Moyenne-Égypte. Cet ensemble de textes a longtemps été appréhendé à partir de la seule collection des papyrus de Strasbourg que W. Spiegelberg avait acquise à Louqsor en 1896. À partir de ces quelques 200 fragments, il a en effet édité en 1917 seize textes qui lui paraissaient significatifs.

Depuis cette publication fondatrice[1], de nouveaux textes ont été repérés au fil du temps dans diverses collections. On dénombre aujourd'hui plus de 2 000 fragments qui pourraient faire partie de ce dossier, dispersés entre Égypte, Europe et États-Unis. Des publications isolées, de différentes natures, mettent à l'honneur un ou plusieurs de ces textes : étude d'un ou plusieurs papyrus[2]; anthologie de traductions[3]; catalogue d'exposition[4]; recueil de textes hiéroglyphiques[5]; simple photographie illustrative[6]. Des présentations plus générales ont également paru ces dernières années, portant sur l'ensemble du dossier ou sur des aspects particuliers de celui-ci[7], notamment le problème de l'identification du toponyme *tꜣ-dhnt*[8].

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1 Spiegelberg (1917). Deux papyrus de Berlin avaient été traduits antérieurement, mais sans être présentés comme pièces constitutives d'un dossier plus vaste. Voir Erman & Krebs (1899 : 93).

2 Posener (1982) ; Fischer-Elfert (1989) ; Ryholt (1993) ; Fischer-Elfert (1996) ; Lefèvre (2012) ; Lefèvre (2017).

3 Vernus (1987) ; Wente (1990) ; Müller (2006).

4 Cenival (1982) ; Vernus (1987) ; Barbotin (2005).

5 Jansen-Winkeln (2007).

6 Hintze (1972). Dans un autre registre, on peut citer également Černý (1962) ; Römer (1994 : 63 ; 565–566) ; Volokhine (2014 : 213–215).

7 Lefèvre (2008) ; Müller (2009).

8 El-Hibeh ne représente plus le candidat idéal, comme l'avait suggéré W. Spiegelberg en 1917. Aucun contexte archéologique clair n'étant documenté pour la mise au jour de ces papyrus, la discussion se fonde essentiellement sur l'analyse du contenu des textes. Cf. Müller (2008).

Cette archive inclut la correspondance de deux scribes liés au temple d'une forme locale d'Horus appelée « Horus-du-Camp » ou « Celui-du-Camp ». Dans leurs échanges épistolaires, ces deux scribes, Horpenaset et Horemakhbit, semblent étroitement en contact avec la famille des grands-prêtres d'Amon thébains. Les mentions de Masaharta, Menkhéperrê, Smendès II[9] et de plusieurs membres féminins de la même famille fournissent ainsi un ancrage chronologique solide à la documentation. Les lettres, assez brèves, abordent des sujets très divers mais évoquent souvent l'oracle d'Horus-du-Camp.

2. Description

Publié en transcription par W. Spiegelberg (1917), le papyrus 23i a ensuite été transcrit par J. Černý (*Notebooks* : 53.5) puis K. Jansen-Winkeln (2007 : 208–209). L'état fragmentaire du texte explique qu'il n'y ait pas eu de tentative de traduction jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Néanmoins, grâce à un raccord avec le petit fragment P. Strasbourg 44iii[10], il est désormais possible de connaître au moins l'expéditeur de la lettre et sans doute la hauteur approximative de celle-ci.

Dans son état actuel, le P. Strasbourg 23i+44iii contient 8 lignes au recto et 5 au verso, dont le début de l'adresse extérieure (fig. 1a–b). Il mesure 8,4 cm de haut et 8,1 cm de large. Il manque toute la moitié gauche du texte mais le bord droit est conservé. Le texte du recto a été rédigé sur les fibres horizontales avant que le scribe retourne verticalement la feuille pour écrire la fin du texte sur les fibres verticales. Quelques traces légères d'encre pourraient indiquer un palimpseste.

3. Translittération et traduction

(1) *jt-nṯr sš ḥwt-nṯr Ḥr-p(ꜣ)-n-ꜣst* […] (2) *šmsw Pꜣ-ʿn* …(?) *m ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb* […(3) *j]ꜣwt ʿꜣ.t nfr.t ḥs[w.t* …] (4) *pꜣ mr mšʿ pꜣy.j nb* … […] (5) *wr-nḫt r rsy* […] (6) *jw.j pḥ r pꜣ nty tw[.k jm*…] (7) *n.j jw jr.tw(?) nḥḥ-sʿnḫ pꜣ* […](8) *y.k snṯr jw gm* […] (v°1) *wp.wt n pꜣ mr mšʿ j.*[…] (v°2) *wnn tꜣy.j šʿt (ḥr) spr r.k jw.k* […] (v°3) *ḏbw pꜣy snṯr n* […] (v°4) *n.k r djt ʿm yꜣ* […]
jt-nṯr sš ḥwt-nṯr Ḥr-p(ꜣ)-n-ꜣst […]

(1) Le père divin et scribe du temple (de Penpaihay) Horpenaset(a) [au] (2) *shemsou* Paân…(?)(b) En vie prospérité, santé ! [Dans la faveur … Qu'il/elle t'accorde…] (3) une vieillesse longue et heureuse, des fav[eurs[11] …] (4) le général, mon maître…(c) […](5)ournakht(d) dans le sud […] (6) J'ai atteint l'endroit où tu te trouves(e) […] (7) à/pour moi, après que Nehehsânkh(f) a fait(g) […] (8) ton encens après que […] a trouvé […] (v°1) les missions du général […] (v°2) Dès que ma lettre te parviendra, tu […en] (v°3) échange de cet encens […] (v°4) pour te faire savoir…(h) […]
Le père divin et scribe du temple de [Penpaihay] Horpenaset […]

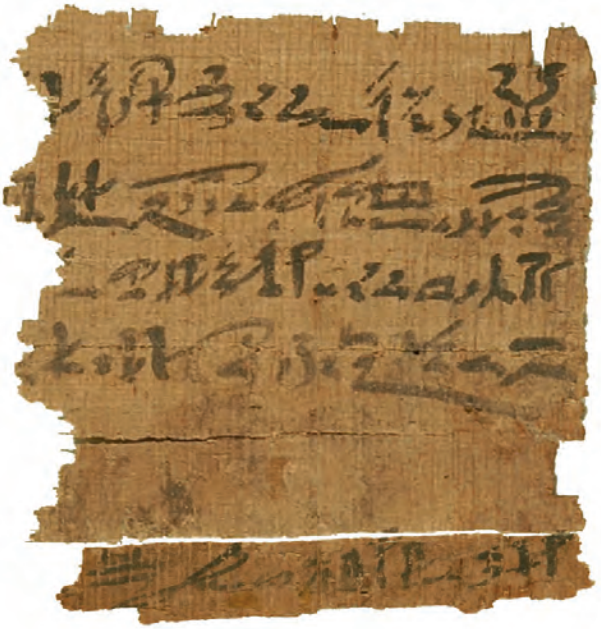
(a) Les titres et nom de l'expéditeur sont ceux que l'on lit systématiquement dans sa correspondance. La mention du destinataire, qui apparaît à la deuxième ligne, pourrait fournir un indice sur la longueur de la lacune et donc la largeur totale du papyrus. Cependant, il n'est pas impossible qu'un trait horizontal dont la longueur est indéterminable sépare la mention des deux correspondants.

(b) Bien que sportive, la lecture *šmsw* semble s'imposer. Voir des exemples approchant dans le P. Wilbour, A27,19 ; A96,9 ;

9 Smendès II apparaît dans un texte à un moment de sa carrière où il n'est encore que deuxième prêtre d'Amon.

10 Les deux fragments s'apparient directement comme le confirme au verso le raccord entre les deux parties du signe de l'adresse extérieure.

11 Je remercie Stéphane Polis pour la lecture des derniers signes de la troisième ligne du recto.



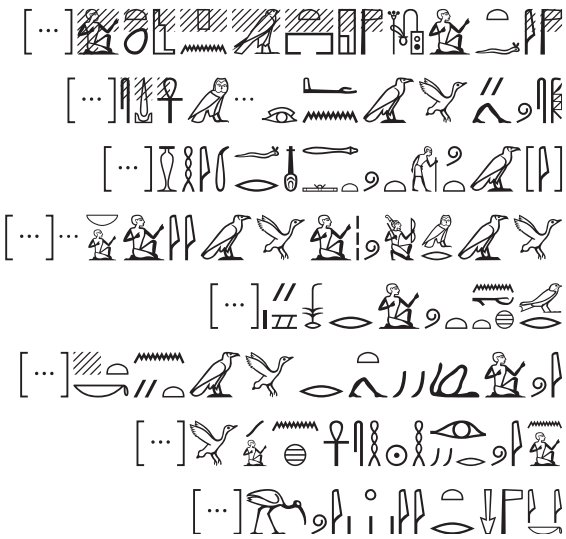


Fig. 1a. P. Strasbourg 23i+44iii, r° (© BNUS)

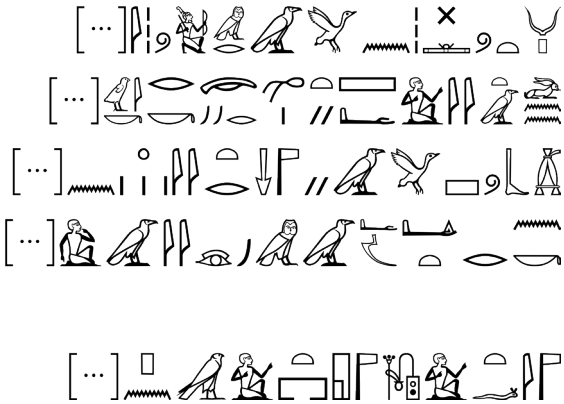


Fig. 1b. P. Strasbourg 23i+44iii, v° (© BNUS)

A96,32 ; A97,23[12] ; P. BM EA 10326, r° x+5 ; P. Phillips, 12[13] ; P. Prachov, VIII, 88 & 96[14]. Voir également le P. Reverseaux III, r° 10[15]. La lecture des signes suivant est problématique. Il s'agit sans doute de la fin du nom du destinataire. Les constructions connues sont peu nombreuses. Outre le simple *pꜣ-ʿn,* H. Ranke (*PN* I, 102, 23–28) recense les noms suivants : *pꜣ-ʿn-(ḥr-)fꜣyt*(?) ; *pꜣ-ʿn-m-jpt ; pꜣ-ʿn-mnj ; pꜣ-ʿn-ḫʿ ; pꜣ-ʿn-qn.* Les exemples sans article sont plus nombreux et divers mais il reste difficile de rapprocher un groupe tel que (*ʿn-ḫʿw :* P. Wilbour A66,8) de notre anthroponyme, même s'il s'en approche par certains détails. Pour la forme de l'œil fardé, voir par exemple St. Wimmer (1995 : 31) ; P. Reinhardt, V,22 & 27 ; VI,14[16] ; P. Louvre AF 6345 + Fragments Griffith, v° 5,30[17].

(c) Après des formules de bénédiction qui ont pu être très courtes en raison du statut relativement modeste du destinataire de la lettre, le corps du message du message commençait sans doute par l'affirmation que Horpenaset a pris connaissance des directives d'un général dont l'identité, évidente pour les correspondants, n'est pas précisée. Une autre hypothèse serait d'intégrer cette mention du général dans la formule de bénédiction. Voir l'exemple du P. BN 197 II, 4 (= *LRL*, 22, 12). D'autres formules de bénédiction dans les *LRL* font suivre la mention du général de l'expression *pꜣy.k nb* (P. BM EA 10417, 5–6 = *LRL*, 27, 9 ; P. Phillips, 9 = *LRL* 29, 1 etc.), *pꜣy.j nb* qualifiant plutôt une divinité. Les signes verticaux sont peut-être une graphie de *nfr.*

(d) W. Spiegelberg (1917 : 17) suppose que le groupe « ournakht » représente la fin d'un toponyme. J. Černý (*Notebooks* : 53.5) privilégie l'hypothèse d'un anthroponyme. Il pourrait alors s'agir de Horournakht, nom effectivement répertorié par H. Ranke (*PN* I, 246, 19). L'expression qui suit immédiatement pourrait indiquer que ce « […]ournakht » a été envoyé dans le sud (*r rsy*).

(e) La construction peut recouvrir tant un séquentiel qu'un futur 3 ou un présent circonstanciel. En général, les premières informations contenues dans une lettre précisent l'état de la situation et sont relatives à des faits passés, ce qui plaide pour un séquentiel. Néanmoins, Horpenaset pourrait également expliquer qu'il a manqué le destinataire au moment où il pensait le rejoindre. Ce scénario pourrait inclure un présent 1 circonstanciel. Les signes visibles après *nty* pourraient également correspondre à *pꜣ*[*y*].*k,* ce qui impliquerait que Horpenaset a rejoint une tierce personne, mais la position du *k* ne va pas en ce sens.

(f) Nehehsânkh ou Nehehsânkhef[18] : non répertorié par H. Ranke (1935). Il est difficile d'y voir autre chose qu'un anthroponyme. L'expression *jrj nḥḥ* « passer l'éternité » est bien attestée dans le Livre des Morts mais ne fait guère sens ici. On pourrait également voir dans *nḥḥ* l'huile de ce nom, mais l'absence de déterminatif va à l'encontre de cette hypothèse.

12 Gardiner (1941 : pl. 12 & 47).

13 Janssen (1991 : pl. 37 & 90).

14 Turaiev (1927 : pl. II).

15 Barbotin (2022 : 33).

16 Vleeming (1993 : pl. 4–5).

17 Gasse (1988 : pl. 95).

18 En intégrant le verbe *jrj* à l'anthroponyme, on peut également proposer sous toutes réserves une lecture *jr-nḥḥ-sʿnḫ=f* (communication de Matthias Müller que je remercie ici).

(g) Le déterminant défini qui suit le nom Nehehsânkh(ef) pourrait introduire un qualificatif spécifiant la fonction de l'individu.

(h) En fin de lettre, les formules utilisant le verbe *ʿm* indiquent que l'expéditeur écrit pour informer le destinataire de différents événements et de la conduite à tenir[19]. On attendrait *ʿm.k* ici, à moins que les derniers signes visibles (𓅱𓄿𓂋) représentent non la particule *yꜣ* mais le sujet de *ʿm,* dans ce cas (le début d')un anthroponyme.

4. Commentaire

La lettre semble rédigée à fins de clarifier les termes d'un échange impliquant de l'encens, un produit qui n'est pas évoqué dans le reste de l'archive. Malgré le raccord effectué, le texte demeure trop fragmentaire pour en tirer des conclusions claires. Il suit une construction générale classique : (1) identité des correspondants ; (2) formules de bénédiction ; (3) exposé des événements ; (4) conduite à tenir par le destinataire. La mention d'un général dont le nom n'est pas précisé rappelle un usage similaire dans les *Late Ramesside Letters* (*LRL*). Dans ce dernier corpus, le titre militaire renvoie à Piânkh. Malheureusement, aucun indice dans notre archive ne permet d'identifier assurément de qui il s'agit. Quand le titre qualifie un grand-prêtre d'Amon de la 21e dynastie, il est généralement intégré dans une séquence de titres, après le titre religieux, mais n'apparaît pas isolément. Il s'agit donc d'un haut militaire connu des deux correspondants mais qu'il est impossible d'identifier.

La présence de trois grands traits rouges sous les lignes 1, 3 et 8 du recto résiste à toute interprétation. La paire de billets oraculaires publiée par K. Ryholt (1993) fournit un autre exemple de textes soulignés mais le contexte est tout autre : il s'agit alors sans doute de marquer visuellement le billet choisi, ou au contraire rejeté, par la divinité lors d'une consultation oraculaire. Dans le cadre d'une lettre, on ne saisit pas bien l'intérêt de la pratique, d'autant plus que les passages soulignés concernent notamment la mention de l'expéditeur et des formules de bénédiction.

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19 Voir par exemple P. BN 197 VI, r° 8–v° 3 (= *LRL* 64, 10–13).

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Von lehrreichen Texten, Rosinen für die Liebe und einem Wein auf Reisen

Hieratika des Neuen Reiches im Staatlichen Museum Ägyptischer Kunst München

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ABSTRACT

This contribution provides an overview of the New Kingdom hieratic material housed in the Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst (SMÄK) in Munich, which consists at present of 20 ostraca, three papyri, two stelae, and four jar inscriptions. It begins by detailing the material's acquisition history, though institutional changes and processes of re-inventorying, as well as war losses, mean that this history is often incomplete. Nonetheless, old inventories and museum guides allow some gaps to be filled in. The second part of this contribution comprises an extensive catalogue of the relevant materials in the SMÄK. It provides detailed information about the individual items, including their material, dimensions, and state of preservation, as well as their inscriptions, their content, and their date. A selection of unpublished texts is also provided with photographs or facsimiles, as well as a transcription, transliteration, translation, and commentary.

Einleitung

Eine Sichtung der Objektbestände des Staatlichen Museums Ägyptischer Kunst (SMÄK) in München sowie Recherchen in Inventarbüchern und Archivunterlagen ergeben zum aktuellen Zeitpunkt 20 Ostraka, drei Papyri, zwei Stelen und vier Gefäßaufschriften, die den Auswahlvorgaben für den Sammelband entsprechen und an dieser Stelle erstmals in einem Katalog zusammengestellt werden.[1] Den ersten Teil bildet ein ausführlicher Überblick der Erwerbungsgeschichte der relevanten Objekte. Kriegsverluste, räumliche und institutionelle Veränderungen der Sammlungen sowie dadurch bedingte Neuinventarisierungen der Bestände erschweren eine lückenlose Darlegung der Erwerbungsvorgänge.[2] Die heute im SMÄK befindlichen Papyri und Ostraka bilden nur einen Teil der ursprünglichen Sammlung von Textträgern ab. Letztere kann mithilfe von alten Inventarbüchern und Museumsführern (u. a. aus dem 19. Jh.) umrissen und quantifiziert werden.

1 Es ist zu erwarten, dass bei der sukzessiven Aufarbeitung der Museumsbestände weitere hieratische Texte entdeckt werden, insbesondere Gefäßaufschriften.

2 Der hier präsentierte Forschungsstand gilt als vorläufig und wird laufend durch die Auswertung von Archivbeständen aktualisiert. Wo möglich wurden im folgenden Kapitel vor allem Primärquellen zitiert.

Aussagen zum Inhalt der heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Texte sind nur dann möglich, wenn diese vor den Verlusten publiziert bzw. eingehender in den erhaltenen Unterlagen besprochen wurden.[3] Die Inventarbücher führen jedoch nicht bei allen hieratischen Quellen einen entsprechenden Vermerk auf.[4]

1. Einführung und Sammlungsgeschichte[5] [M. F.-S.]

Die Entstehung der Ägyptischen Sammlung in München ist von den Ankaufsaktivitäten der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (KAdW; heute Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften) geprägt.[6] 1759 gegründet, erwarb die Akademie 1820 mit der Sammlung des Botanikers und Ägyptenreisenden F.W. Sieber eigene ägyptische Exponate (u. a. Särge, Mumien und kleinformatige Aegyptiaca), die zunächst in der naturwissenschaftlichen Sammlung des Akademiegebäudes in der Neuhauser Straße (im „ägyptischen Cabinet") ausgestellt waren, bevor sie an das Königliche Antiquarium der Residenz übergeben wurden.[7] Ziel war es, beschriftete Denkmäler, insbesondere Särge und Stelen, anzukaufen, um an den Bemühungen um die Hieroglyphen-Entzifferung teilzunehmen.[8] Dem Ankauf vorausgegangen war 1818 die Schenkung eines Sarges mit Mumie durch den Großkaufmann D. Dumreicher an König Maximilian I. Joseph, der das Ensemble der KAdW übergab.[9]

Die KAdW erwarb im Jahr 1826–1827 die Sammlung des Hauptmanns F. Michel bestehend aus 17 Stelen und einer Gruppenstatue,[10] von denen die Stelen ÄS 48 und Gl. WAF 28 hieratische Dipinti aufweisen. Die Stelen wurde im Gegensatz zu der Sammlung Sieber direkt an das Königliche Antiquarium der Residenz gegeben.[11] Der Vorläufer des Königlichen Antiquariums war die Sammlung von Herzog Albrecht V. aus der Mitte des 16. Jhs. 1807 wurde das Antiquarium auf Geheiß von Maximilian I. Joseph als Staatssammlung der KAdW unterstellt und galt fortan als ihr Attribut.[12] Die Ankäufe der Sammlungen Sieber und Michel gelten als Grundstock der Ägyptischen Sammlung. Die Stele Gl. WAF 28 wurde jedoch mit zwei weiteren Ankäufen des Hauptmann F. Michel kurze Zeit später an die Glyptothek überführt.[13]

Die Glyptothek, die 1830 eröffnet wurde, stellte die von König Ludwig I. durch Kunstagenten gekaufte Skulpturen und großformatige Steinobjekte aus. Zeitgleich zu den Ankäufen der KAdW holte Ludwig bereits als Kronprinz altägyptische Objekte nach München, u. a. die Sammlung des Kardinals A. Albani, um diese in einem „Aegyptischen Saal" der Glyptothek auszustellen.[14] Die Stele Gl. WAF 28 ist das einzige mit

3 So z. B. in den umfassenden Aufzeichnungen von J. Černý und A.H. Gardiner in ihren hieratischen „Notebooks".

4 Im „Special-Verzeichniss der Papyrus(-Fragmente)" des „Inventars der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums" werden z. B. die hieratischen Papyri ÄS 809, ÄS 818 und ÄS 819 nicht als solche gekennzeichnet.

5 Wir danken J. Dahms und A. Schlüter für hilfreiche Kommentare zur Sammlungsgeschichte.

6 Hierzu u. a. Grimm (2008; 2009) sowie ausführlich Müller (1984: 109–133).

7 Grimm (2009: 239–240); Müller (1984: 109, 113–121, 132). Zur Sammlung Sieber siehe Sieber (1820) und Waagen (1820).

8 Neben Grimm (2009) auch Grimm (2008) mit weiterführenden Angaben.

9 Grimm (2009: 238–239); Müller (1984: 112); von Hefner (1845: 3).

10 Von Christ & Lauth (1870: 2).

11 Müller (1984: 126).

12 Heym (2007: 78); Müller (1984: 110).

13 Grimm (2009: 240–241).

14 Furtwängler (1910: 1; detaillierte Beschreibung des ägyptischen Saals mit Objekten ab: 18); Müller (1984: 133–144); Grimm (2013: 7–14).

hieratischen Inschriften versehene Objekt, das in der Glyptothek aufbewahrt wurde.

Im Jahr 1844 wurden die Vereinigten Sammlungen König Ludwig I. im Galeriegebäude am Hofgarten eröffnet, die ebenfalls eigene ägyptische Exponate besaßen.[15] Die Vereinigten Sammlungen stellten u. a. den Goldschmuck der Königin Amanishaketo aus Meroe sowie die Sammlung des Reisegelehrten E. Dodwell aus, die bereits 1820 erworben wurde.[16] Einige wenige Stücke von E. Dodwell gelangten zur Vervollständigung des „Aegyptischen Saales" in die Glyptothek.[17]

Wie vom Konservator F.J. Lauth umfassend beschrieben gab es im Jahr 1865 drei ägyptische Sammlungen in München: das (alte) Königliche Antiquarium in der Residenz, die Glyptothek mit dem „Ägyptischen Saal" sowie die Vereinigten Sammlungen Ludwig I., wo im „Zweiten Saal", die ägyptischen Stücke ausgestellt wurden.[18] In seinem Verzeichnis von 1865 listet F.J. Lauth bereits das Ostrakon ÄS 396 als Bestandteil des Antiquariums auf und auch ÄS 397 muss zu dieser Zeit schon dort gewesen sein.

1869 werden die Bestände des Königlichen Antiquariums aus der Residenz und die Vereinigten Sammlungen Ludwig I. zum (neuen) Königlichen Antiquarium im Kunstausstellungsgebäude („Zieblandbau") gegenüber der Glyptothek zusammengeführt (heute Antikensammlungen)[19]. Die durch die Zusammenlegung deutlich gewachsene Ägyptische Sammlung wird jedoch bereits 1872 vom Zieblandbau in das Erdgeschoss der Neuen Pinakothek umgesiedelt.[20] Der nächstgrößere Zuwachs für die Ägyptische Sammlung des Antiquariums umfasste 1878–1882 die Papyrus- und Ostraka-Bestände von F. Mook,[21] die laut dem „Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des königlichen Antiquariums" in zwei Spezialverzeichnissen inventarisiert wurden: Das „Special-Verzeichniss der Papyrus(-Fragmente)" sowie das „Special-Verzeichniss der Ostraka". Während für den hieratischen Papyrus ÄS 809 die Herkunft aus dem Besitz von F. Mook gesichert ist, kann für die Papyri ÄS 818 und ÄS 819 die gleiche Provenienz lediglich angenommen werden.

Der Erwerb hieratisch beschrifteter Objekte war bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg (1914–1918) durch Ankäufe der KAdW und durch die Sammlungen Ludwig I. geprägt. Mit den Schenkungen von F.W.F. von Bissing, der ab 1905 mit Unterbrechungen bis 1922 Professor für Ägyptologie in München war, gelangten vermehrt Objekte in die Münchner Sammlungen, die aus einem gesicherten archäologischen Kontext stammen.[22] F.W.F. von Bissing führte zu Beginn des 20. Jh. nicht nur eigene Ausgrabungen in Ägypten durch, sondern finanzierte auch Unternehmungen anderer Forscher. Durch offizielle Fundteilungen und weitere Ankäufe entstand so eine umfassende Privatsammlung altägyptischer Antiken, die er durch Schenkungen und Verkäufe zum Teil an die Münchner Sammlungen gab. Bereits vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg übertrug F.W.F. von Bissing zum Teil Objekte an die Glyptothek.[23] Und auch das nach dem Krieg 1920 neueröffnete Museum Antiker Kleinkunst erhielt von F.W.F. von Bissing für den vorliegenden Beitrag relevante Schenkungen.

15 Ausführlich bei Müller (1984: 144–151).

16 Müller (1984: 150–151); Dodwell (1837).

17 Müller (1984: 141).

18 Lauth (1865).

19 Von Christ (1901: 4); Müller (1984: 132–133).

20 Von Christ (1901: 5).

21 Von Christ (1901: 5).

22 Einführend Grimm & Schoske (2010) mit weiteren Literatur- und Quellenangaben; Grimm (2013: 14–20).

23 Müller (1984: 104).

Das Museum Antiker Kleinkunst umfasst die ehemaligen Sammlungen des Königlichen Antiquariums, die mit dem Ende der Monarchie — wie auch weitere königliche Besitztümer — an den Freistaat Bayern übergingen. Während die griechisch-römische Abteilung im Erdgeschoss der Alten Pinakothek untergebracht wurde, hatte die ägyptische Sammlung wieder ihre Ausstellungsräume am Königsplatz, im Obergeschoss des nun Staatlichen Galeriegebäudes bzw. der „Neuen Staatsgalerie".[24] F.W.F. von Bissing vermachte dem Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 1919 und 1922 zahlreiche Nubica, darunter die Amphore ÄS 2629 mit hieratischer Inschrift aus Kuban, die laut handschriftlicher Notizen aus der Nekropole 110, Grab 276 kommen soll.[25]

Mit der Übernahme des Ägyptologischen Lehrstuhls durch W. Spiegelberg von 1923 bis 1930 erfolgten gezielt Ankäufe von beschrifteten Objekten sowohl für das Museum Antiker Kleinkunst als auch für das Ägyptologische Institut der Universität München, u. a. zahlreiche Hieratika:[26] So erwarb W. Spiegelberg während seiner Ägyptenreisen 1927 die beschrifteten Gefäße ÄS 1383 und ÄS 4132 sowie 1929 in Theben einige hieratischen Ostraka, die bis auf ÄS 8381 nur noch durch die Aufzeichnungen von J. Černý und A.H. Gardiner (Mün. Univ. Seminar 11a, Univ. Mün. 25a, Mün. Univ. Ägypt. Seminar o.N.) bekannt sind. Die Ostraka stammen vermutlich aus der Grabung von B. Bruyère, der auch 1929 in Deir el-Medine gearbeitet hatte. Zahlreiche Stücke wurden wohl im Nachgang dieser Grabung u. a. von W. Spiegelberg und G. Steindorff für die Münchner und Leipziger Sammlungen erworben. Das Erwerbungs-Journal von W. Spiegelberg verdeutlicht, dass seine Ankäufe 1927–1930 in Ägypten sowohl für die Ägyptischen Sammlungen des Museums Antiker Kleinkunst als auch für das Seminar für Ägyptologie erfolgten. Weitere Schenkungen aus seiner Privatsammlung erfolgten bereits zu Lebzeiten, doch erst nach seinem Tod wurde diese 1950 durch A. Scharff für die Ägyptische Sammlung erworben.[27]

Mit A. Scharff, der das ägyptologische Seminar von 1932 bis 1950 leitete, vollzog die Ägyptische Sammlung des Museums Antiker Kleinkunst einen wichtigen Schritt: Im Jahr 1933 gelang es A. Scharff die ägyptischen Objekte, zwar noch unter der Direktion der Antikensammlung, gemeinsam mit dem ägyptologischen Seminar der Universität in die Residenz als „Lehrsammlung" zu verlegen.[28] 1935 konnte schließlich die selbstständige „Ägyptologische Sammlung des Staates" in den Räumlichkeiten der Residenz gegründet werden.[29] Die Ägyptische Staatssammlung wurde durch magazinierte Objekte der Glyptothek (u. a. Schenkungen von F.W.F. von Bissing) erweitert. Im Mai 1936 wurden u. a. die Ostraka ÄS 1544, ÄS 1547, ÄS 1548, ÄS 1551, ÄS 1637 und ÄS 1638 (vielleicht auch ÄS 1743) aus der Sammlung Bissing erworben. 1938 kaufte H. Brunner, den A. Scharff 1939 noch zum Assistenten des Lehrstuhls erhob, die Ostraka ÄS 3400, ÄS 3401, ÄS 3402 und ÄS 3403 in Theben-West an. Sowohl die hieratischen Ostraka aus der Sammlung Bissing als auch die von H. Brunner erworbenen können inhaltlich Deir el-Medine zugewiesen werden. ÄS 3787 stammt hingegen aus der privaten Ostraka-Sammlung des Konservators K. Dyroff.

Mit dem Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges (1939–1945) erfuhr die Ägyptische

24 Weickert (1922: 215).

25 Handschriftliche Notizen zur Schenkung von Nubica durch F.W.F. von Bissing, Blatt Nr. 9, Archiv SMÄK.

26 Einführend Grimm (1995b).

27 Grimm (1995b: 47).

28 Bericht von A. Scharff vom 29.12.1946 an das Dekanat über das Ägyptologische Seminar von 1933–1945, Archiv SMÄK; Ministerialentschließung vom 30.05.1933, Nr. VIII 22632, Archiv SMÄK.

29 Bericht von H.W. Müller vom 22.12.1962 an das Bayerische Staatsministerium zum Fragebogen für Museen und wissenschaftliche Sammlungen, Punkt 4., Archiv SMÄK; Ministerialentschließung vom 21.03.1935, Nr. VII 14179, Archiv SMÄK.

Staatssammlung einige Verluste: 1943 mussten die Räumlichkeiten aufgrund verstärkter Bombenangriffe auf die Münchner Residenz geräumt werden.[30] Ein Großteil der Sammlung und die Bibliothek des Seminars wurden nach Schloss Hohenburg bei Lenggries evakuiert, wo Dank der Anmietung eines Übernachtungszimmers beides zugänglich und nutzbar blieb.[31] Trotz der Auslagerung gingen Teile der Sammlung verloren. Durch einen Bombenangriff in der Nacht vom 24. auf den 25. April 1944 wurde eine Kommode mit u. a. unveröffentlichten Ostraka aus dem Nachlass von K. Dyroff getroffen und zerstört.[32] Ein weiterer Schrank mit verglasten Papyri und Ostraka soll jedoch heil geblieben sein. Der Inhalt wird von A. Scharff und einer Assistentin in zwei Waschkörben geborgen und später nach Lenggries gebracht. Warum die Ostraka und Papyri nicht zeitgleich zum Rest der Sammlung evakuiert wurden, ist unklar. Auch die Brandkatastrophe vom 12. auf den 13. Juli 1944 soll zu Verlusten geführt haben.[33] Wahrscheinlich gingen die von W. Spiegelberg angekauften Ostraka, die heute nur noch durch die Aufzeichnungen von J. Černý und A.H. Gardiner bekannt sind, 1944 verloren. Auch der Papyrus ÄS 818 zählt heute leider zu den Kriegsverlusten, konnte jedoch noch von J. Černý in seinen Notebooks dokumentiert werden.[34]

Die räumliche und institutionelle Zusammenlegung von Sammlung und Seminar in der Residenz führt heute dazu, dass einige der hier besprochenen hieratischen Ostraka nicht mit Sicherheit der Staatssammlung oder einer „Universitätssammlung“ zugewiesen werden können. Den Aufzeichnungen von J. Černý und A.H. Gardiner folgend, hat es parallel eine „Universitätssammlung“ gegeben, die jedoch heute fast vollständig als Kriegsverlust gilt.

Bereits nach Kriegsende im Dezember 1945 wurde die Bibliothek nach München zurückgebracht. Die ausgelagerte Sammlung wurde ins „Munich Central Collecting Point“ gebracht und dort zunächst bewacht (damals Arcisstraße 12).[35] Noch unter A. Scharff konnten weitere Teile der Sammlung Bissing 1949 für die ausgelagerte Ägyptische Staatsammlung erworben werden.[36]

Bis 1958 lagerten die Bestände in den Kellerräumen sowie in einem Magazinraum im 1. Stock des „Hauses der Kulturinstitute“ (bis 1949 „Munich Central Collecting Point“). H.W. Müller, der die Leitung des Instituts 1958 bis 1974 übernahm, beschreibt die schlechten Lagerbedingungen, insbesondere für Särge und Mumien.[37] Er wie auch zuvor A. Scharff, kritisieren vor allem das Fehlen von Inventarlisten, u. a. bedingt durch die ständigen räumlichen Umzüge der ehemaligen

30 Bericht von A. Scharff vom 29.12.1946 an das Dekanat über das Ägyptologische Seminar von 1933–1945, Archiv SMÄK.

31 Bericht von A. Scharff vom 29.12.1946 an das Dekanat über das Ägyptologische Seminar von 1933–1945, Archiv SMÄK; Wenige Stücke wie die Ochsenmumie ÄS 60, einige Holzsärge und Mumien waren während des Krieges in den Gewölben der Residenz verblieben. Zur Auslagerung der Objekte aus der Glyptothek siehe Grimm (2013: 20–27).

32 Brief von A. Scharff vom 03.05.1944 an den Dekan, in dem er über die Zerstörungen im Seminar in der Nacht vom 24. auf den 25.04.1944 berichtet, BayHStA_1425. Wir danken M. Ullmann für den Hinweis auf das Dokument.

33 Bericht von A. Scharff vom 29.12.1946 an das Dekanat über das Ägyptologische Seminar von 1933–1945, Archiv SMÄK.

34 Černý (Notebook 35.52).

35 Brief von H. Stock vom 15.12.1955 an die Verwaltung der wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen zwecks Sicherung der Bestände, Vorgang Nr. 1010/55, Archiv SMÄK; Bericht von A. Scharff vom 29.12.1946 an das Dekanat über das Ägyptologische Seminar von 1933–1945, Archiv SMÄK.

36 Ministerialentschließung vom 06.09.1949, Nr. VI 56594, Archiv SMÄK.

37 Müller (1984: 101–102), Brief von H.W. Müller vom 15.07.1964 an den Generaldirektor der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen zwecks Raumverhältnisse der Ägyptischen Staatsammlung, Archiv SMÄK; Memorandum zur Lage der Ägyptischen Staatssammlung vom 10.05.1965, Archiv SMÄK.

Sammlungen.[38] H.W. Müller widmete sich der vollständigen Inventarisierung aller ägyptischer Objekte — ein Unterfangen, das 1961 abgeschlossen wurde. Er legte für jedes Objekt Karteikarten mit Foto an, verfasste Beschreibungen und verschiedene Veröffentlichungen.[39] Handgeschriebene Kartei- bzw. Inventarkarten sind bis heute eine wichtige Informationsquelle. Laut H.W. Müller seien die Kriegsverluste relativ gering.[40] Ihm ist es zu verdanken, dass von 1958–1965 die „Ägyptische Staatssammlung", die Denkmäler des „Ägyptischen Saals" der Glyptothek und weitere Bestände aus dem Besitz des Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds (WAF) wie der Goldschatz der Amanishakheto zusammengeführt wurden.[41] 1966 wurde im „Haus der Kulturinstitute" die erste ägyptische Nachkriegsausstellung gezeigt.[42] Ein Jahr später erfolgte die Änderung der Bezeichnung „Ägyptische Staatssammlung" in „Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst".[43] 1970 konnte das Museum schließlich in neuen Räumen der Residenz eröffnet werden, wo die Exponate bis 2013 ausgestellt wurden.[44]

Im Juni 2013 eröffnete schließlich in einem Neubau im Kunstareal das „Staatliche Museum Ägyptischer Kunst". Seit dem Umzug widmet sich das Museum verstärkt der wissenschaftlichen Aufarbeitung seiner Sammlung. Das „Inschriftenprojekt" wurde 2020 in Kooperation mit dem Institut für Ägyptologie der LMU München ins Leben gerufen. Das Projekt sieht langfristig die wissenschaftliche Aufarbeitung aller beschrifteten Objekte des Museums vor — die Hieratika sind Teil dieses Vorhabens.

2. Katalog[45] [M. G.-B.]

Der Katalog umfasst 29 hieratisch beschriftete Objekte des Neuen Reiches aus dem SMÄK gemäß den Vorgaben zu diesem Sammelband. Er ist unterteilt in die hieratischen Ostraka mit Inventarnummern des SMÄK („ÄS"-Nummern), die hieratischen Ostraka ohne ÄS-Nummer, die uns aufgrund Kriegsverlusten nur noch durch die Notebook-Blätter von J. Černý bzw. A.H. Gardiner bekannt sind,[46] die hieratischen Papyri, die Stelen mit sekundär aufgetragenen hieratischen Dipinti sowie die hieratisch verfassten Gefäßaufschriften.

Ein technischer Apparat liefert Informationen zu alternativen Bezeichnungen, zu Material, Maße (H = Höhe, B = Breite, D = Durchmesser),

38 Müller (1984: 102).

39 Bericht von H.W. Müller vom 22.12.1962 an das Bayerische Staatsministerium zum Fragebogen für Museen und wissenschaftliche Sammlungen, Punkt 2. sowie S. 12, Archiv SMÄK; Memorandum zur Lage der Ägyptischen Staatssammlung vom 10.05.1965, Archiv SMÄK.

40 Bericht von H.W. Müller vom 22.12.1962 an das Bayerische Staatsministerium zum Fragebogen für Museen und wissenschaftliche Sammlungen, Punkt 3., Archiv SMÄK.

41 Bericht von H.W. Müller vom 22.12.1962 an das Bayerische Staatsministerium zum Fragebogen für Museen und wissenschaftliche Sammlungen, Punkt 4., Archiv SMÄK; Memorandum zur Lage der Ägyptischen Staatssammlung vom 10.05.1965, Archiv SMÄK.

42 Brief von H.W. Müller vom 07.06.1966 an das Bayerische Staatsministerium zwecks Ausstellung 1966, Archiv SMÄK; Müller (1984: 101); Müller (1966).

43 Amtsblatt des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums vom 17.11.1967 zwecks Namensänderung, Nr. IV/2 — 7/92454, Archiv SMÄK; Brief von H.W. Müller vom 25.07.1967 an das Bayerische Staatsministerium zwecks Namensänderung, Archiv SMÄK.

44 Bayerischen Staatsministeriums vom 04.03.1968 zwecks Ausbau von Räumen der Residenz, Nr. IV/2 — 7/150564, Archiv SMÄK.

45 Mit einem herzlichen Dank an Koenraad Donker van Heel, Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert, Friedhelm Hoffmann, Frauke Pumpenmeier und Philipp Seyr für Anmerkungen und Ideen zu einzelnen Texten.

46 Diese befinden sich heute im Griffith Institute, Oxford. Wir danken Francisco Bosch-Puche für die Bereitstellung der entsprechenden Seiten.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung, Herkunft und Erwerb[47], zur wichtigsten Literatur (diese aufgeschlüsselt in Angaben zu [B] = Beschreibung, [F] = Faksimile, [K] = Kommentar, [M] = Metadaten, [Ph] = Photo/Abbildung, [T] = Transliteration, [U] = phonetische Umschrift, [Ü] = Übersetzung), zu Inhalt, Datierung und ggf. einem Kommentar. Eine kleine Auswahl unpublizierter Texte wird darüber hinaus ausführlicher behandelt, bei anderen wird die Publikation an anderer Stelle erfolgen.

2.1. Ostraka mit Inventarnummern des Staatlichen Museums Ägyptischer Kunst

ÄS 396

Andere Bezeichnung: Munich, Antiquarium;[48] Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums N 22.[49]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 15,5 × 14,8.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitige Beschriftung. Vorderseite: Elf Zeilen in einer literarischen Handschrift; kräftige schwarze und rote Tinte mit roten Verspunkten. Z. 1 und 11 sind nur noch in Resten erhalten, hier Spuren von Rubren. Zeilenanfänge und -enden fehlen, die Mitte von Z. 6 ist abgerieben. Rückseite: Acht Zeilen in einer etwas ungelenken, kursiveren Handschrift, die schwarze Tinte ist verblasst und stellenweise abgerieben. Die Zeilenanfänge sind vollständig, die -enden fehlen. Palimpsest, Spuren von roter und schwarzer Tinte von einer älteren Zeichnung. Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite oben.

Herkunft/Erwerb: „Wahrscheinlich aus Theben West".[50] Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Keine Angaben zum Erwerb; das Stück war bereits im 19. Jh. im Besitz der Ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums.

Bibliographie: von Beckerath (1983) [B, F (v°), K, T]; Bickel & Mathieu (1993: Taf. 1–3) [T]; Brunner (1944) [K (r°), T (r°), Ü (r°)]; von Christ (1901: 91); Dorn (2004: 39 mit Anm. 10 und 11, 40–46) [K (v°), T (v°), U (v°), Ü (v°)]; Dorn (2015) [K (v°), Ü (v°)]; Gardiner (MSS 31.87, Notebook 50.24[51]) [T]; Helck (1970) [K (r°), T (r°), Ü (r°)]; Lauth (1865: 26) [B]; Lauth (1872: Tafel) [K, F]; Müller & Löhr (1976: 213) [B, M, Ph].

Inhalt: Vorderseite: Lehre des Cheti, Sohn des Duauf: 3,9–4,4 nach Brunner (1944: 17) bzw. Ia–IIIa nach Helck (1970); Rückseite: Lehre des Amunnacht.

Datierung: Da die Lehre des Amunnacht vor allem als Unterrichtsstoff Verbreitung im näheren Umfeld des Autors fand[52] — das ist der Schreiber der Nekropole *Jmn-nḫt* (v)[53] aus Deir el-Medine —, ist eine Datierung in die 20. Dynastie, Zeit Ramses' III.–V. oder VI. sicher.

Bemerkung: Zur Lehre des Cheti, Sohn des Duauf siehe den Überblick bei Burkard & Thissen (2015: 183–191) mit weiterer Literatur und zur Lehre des Amunnacht Burkard & Thissen (2009: 123–127).

47 Die z. T. komplexe und komplizierte Provenienzrecherche wurde von M. Flossmann-Schütze durchgeführt, siehe dazu auch die Einführung und Sammlungsgeschichte.

48 Gardiner (MSS 31.87, Notebook 50.24).

49 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 18.

50 Müller & Löhr (1976: 213).

51 A.H. Gardiner fertigte die hieroglyphische Umschrift am 17.04.1911 an.

52 Dorn (2004: 48–49).

53 Die römischen Ziffern in Klammer hinter dem Personennamen nehmen das von B. Davies (1999) eingeführte System zur Unterscheidung der verschiedenen Namensträger in Deir el-Medine auf.

ÄS 397

Andere Bezeichnung: Munich, Antiquarium 307;[54] Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums N 22a.[55]

Material: Keramik.

Maße (H × B in cm): 16,2 × 13,8.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitig beschriftet mit zehn Zeilen in einer administrativen Handschrift in kräftiger schwarzer Tinte. Der Text ist vollständig erhalten.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Keine Angaben zum Erwerb; das Stück war bereits im 19. Jh. im Besitz der Ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums.

Bibliographie: Černý (Notebook 35.26) [T]; Černý (1973: 106, Anm. 3);[56] von Christ (1901: 91) [Ü]; DeM Database [M]; Gardiner (Notebook 50.23) [T]; Gutgesell (1983: 71 mit Anm. 3);[57] Helck (2002: 296);[58] Janssen (1975: 465 mit Anm. 56); K*RI* 7, 297 [T];[59] K*RITA* 7, 203 [Ü]; Lauth (1868: 7) [F, Ü]; Mandville (2014: 35 und siehe Index); Müller & Löhr (1976: 213) [M]; Spiegelberg (1896: 64–65) [T, Ü]; Wimmer (1995: Teil 1: 119–120 u. 142) [F, M, T].

Inhalt: Abrechnung über die Austeilung von Getreiderationen an die Arbeiterschaft von Deir el-Medine.

Datierung: 20. Dynastie, Ramses' III., Jahr 28, 1. Monat Achet, Tag 30.

ÄS 1544

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 17 × 9,2.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitig beschriftet. Zeichnungen und ein kurzer, zweizeiliger Text in roter Tinte in einer feinen und geübten Strichführung auf eine stark zerkratzte Oberfläche angebracht, die aufgrund von Abplatzungen teilweise stark beschädigt ist. Daneben Reste von Arbeiterzeichen in schwarzer Tinte in einem eher groben und unbeholfenen Duktus.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Aus der Sammlung Bissing, Mai 1936.[60]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert. „Bar jeden Bildwertes" wurde die „sehr schöne Leinenliste" bei E. Brunner-Traut nur in einer Anmerkung erwähnt (1956: 124, Anm. 6).

Inhalt: Wäscheliste für den Wäscher *Pn-Tꜣ-wr.t*.

Datierung: Aufgrund der Nennung des Wäschers *Pn-Tꜣ-wr.t* (XII) ist eine Datierung in die 20. Dynastie, Ramses III. sicher.[61]

Bemerkung: Von E. Brunner-Traut (1956: 124, Anm. 6) irrtümlich zu den Kriegsverlusten gezählt. Das Stück wird an anderer Stelle publiziert.

54 Das war wohl die ursprüngliche Inventarnummer, noch vor der Bezeichnung N 22a. Offenbar waren auch J. Černý die verschiedenen Bezeichnungen bekannt, wenn auch nicht ganz verständlich, denn in Notebook 35.26 korrigierte er die zweite Ziffer der Inventarnummer von einer „9"(?) in eine „0" zu „307", was zahlreiche Bearbeiter übernahmen, siehe auch die folgenden Fußnoten. Die aktuelle Bezeichnung „397" wurde später mit Bleistift (wieder?) hinzugefügt. Die Kollationierung des Textes führte J. Černý am 17.08.1929 durch.

55 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 18.

56 Als „O. Munich, Antiquarium 307" bezeichnet.

57 Mit der Bezeichnung „O. München 307".

58 „oMünch Ant 307".

59 „O. Munich, Antiquarium 307/22a".

60 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

61 Zur Beleglage dieses Wäschers siehe Gabler (2018: 690, Tabelle 15 a).

ÄS 1547

Andere Bezeichnung: Haag, Mus. Scheurleer;[62] Bissing-Nr. D 50.[63]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 10 × 12,5.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitige Beschriftung in schwarzer Tinte. Palimpsest. Vorderseite[64]: Drei Zeilen einer gut lesbaren Handschrift. Vermutlich fehlt nur das Ende von Z. 3. Unterhalb des Textes und diesen an wenigen Stellen verdeckend befindet sich eine später angebrachte Zeichnung mit Punkten in Doppelreihen. Rückseite: Wenige Reste von zwei Zeilen. Vorderseite oben = Rückseite oben.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Aus der Sammlung Bissing, 1936.[65]

Bibliographie: Brunner-Traut (1956: 123 Nr. 150, Taf. XLIII) [B (r°), Ph (r°)]; Černý (Notebook 114.56) [T (r°)]; DeM Database [M]; Janssen (2005: 22–23); Müller & Löhr (1976: 213) [M]. Die Rückseite ist unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Vorderseite: Notiz über den Transfer eines Esels in einem Regierungsjahr 38, 4. Monat Schemu. Über dem Text befindet sich, 90 Grad im Uhrzeigersinn gewendet, eine Punkteliste in Verbindung mit zwei(?) Arbeiterzeichen, wobei von einem nur noch ein Bogen erhalten ist. Bei dem anderen Zeichen in Form eines Bassins handelt es sich vermutlich um das des *Jmn-m-wjꜣ* (i).[66] Die Punkte geben eine Zählung wieder.[67] Rückseite: Vermutlich Fortführung der Notiz auf der Vorderseite mit Nennung eines Regierungsjahres 40 bzw. eines „Tag 23“.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie, Ramses II., Jahr 38, 4. Monat Schemu, Tag 22 und Jahr 40, […] Monat Achet(?), Tag 23(+x).

Bemerkung: Soweit man erkennen kann, stammen die beiden Texte auf Vorder- und Rückseite aus einer Hand. Die DeM Database bezeichnet die Seite mit dem Eselstext aus Jahr 38 als „reverse“. Da auf der anderen Seite ein Jahr 40 genannt ist, wurde hier die Bezeichnung der Seiten entsprechend vertauscht: Vorderseite = Jahr 38, Rückseite = Jahr 40.

Von E. Brunner-Traut (1956: 123) irrtümlich zu den Kriegsverlusten gezählt.[68]

62 Černý (Notebook 114.56).

63 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

64 Zur Benennung von Vorder- und Rückseite siehe Bemerkung.

65 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

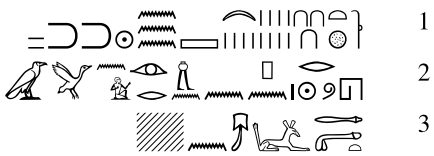
66 Dieses Arbeiterzeichen ist in Deir el-Medine von der 18. bis zur Mitte der 20. Dynastie belegt. D. Soliman (2016: 401 mit Anm. 16) konnte es für die 19. Dynastie nicht nur mit dem Arbeiter *Jmn-m-wjꜣ* (i) identifizieren, der u. a. in Jahr 40 Ramses' II. in O. BM EA 5634, v° 2, O. DeM 189, Kol. I, 4 und O. Kairo CG 25573, Kol. I, 11 genannt wird, sondern auch mit *Sṯḥ* (i), der ab der Regierungszeit Ramses III. belegt ist — u. a. in O. Ashmolean Museum HO 20, r° 5, O. Ashmolean Museum HO 36, r° 2, O. Brüssel E.301, r° 24. Die Metadaten zu den hier und im Folgenden genannten administrativen Stücken der 19. und 20. Dynastie aus dem Deir-el-Medine-Umfeld lassen sich bequem der DeM Database entnehmen. Bei *Sṯḥ* (i) handelt es sich eventuell um den Enkel von *Jmn-m-wjꜣ* (i). Aufgrund der Nennung eines Regierungsjahres 38 bzw. 40 kann aber nur der Großvater in Frage kommen. Zu den beiden Arbeitern siehe auch Davies (1999: Index).

67 E. Brunner-Traut (1956: 123) beschreibt die Zeichnung als eine Gartenanlage mit Doppelreihen von Bäumen und einem Teich; so auch Müller & Löhr (1976: 213). A. Dorn (2011: 137 mit Anm. 418) identifiziert die Form des Bassins aber aufgrund zahlreicher Parallelen als Arbeiterzeichen mit einer Zählung in Form von Punkten.

68 J. Černý (Notebook 114.56) schreibt „Kopiert nach dem Orig. 13./9.30“. Das Stück befand sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch in „Haag, Mus. Scheurleer“. Später wurde auf dem Blatt 114.56 nachgetragen, dass das Stück von E. Brunner-Traut publiziert wurde, der Verbleib mit „later Munich 1547“ angegeben sowie mit dem Vermerk „now lost — destroyed“. D. h. J. Černý hat nach 1956, also nach Erscheinen des Buches von E. Brunner-Traut, dieses Stück vermutlich anhand der Publikation überprüft und den Notebook-Eintrag aktualisiert.

Vorderseite

Abb. 1. ÄS 1547 r° (Foto M. Franke)



1 *rnp.t-sp 38 ꜣbd 4 šmw sw 22*
2 *hrw pn n jnj jrj.n=j pꜣ*
3 *ꜥꜣ.t n* […]

1 Regierungsjahr 38, 4. Monat Schemu, Tag 22.
2 Dieser Tag: Ich brachte den
3 Esel des […]

Zeile 2–3

Wörtlich: „Dieser Tag des Bringens, das ich gemacht habe den Esel des“ […] Vergl. diese Konstruktion z. B. auch in O. Berlin P 12654, r° 4 und v° 6.[69]

Zeile 3

Zur Schreibung des liegenden Erdferkels (Gardiner sign E21) in ꜥꜣ „Esel“, vergl. auch das ebenfalls aus der 19. Dynastie stammende O. DeM 63, 2. Die Angabe des Eselsbesitzers ist nicht (mehr) vorhanden.

Rückseite

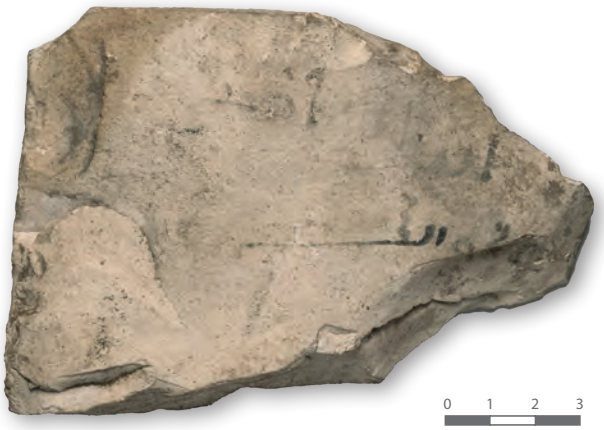
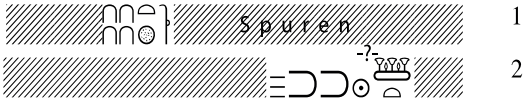


Abb. 2. ÄS 1547 v° (Foto M. Franke)



1 […] *rnp.t-sp 40*[*+x(?)* …]
2 […] *ꜣḫ.t(?) sw 23*[*+x(?)* …]

1 […] Regierungsjahr 40[+x(?) …]
2 […] Achet(?), Tag 23[+x(?) …]

Zeile 1

Die nicht mehr lesbaren Zeichenreste vor der Jahreszahl stehen etwas unterhalb der Grundlinie, so dass die Möglichkeit besteht, dass sie aus einer früheren Beschriftung stammen.

Zeile 2

Vor der Angabe des Tages möchte man einen Monat erwarten, so dass hier eigentlich nur Achet infrage kommt, auch wenn das Zeichen eher an *bnr* „Dattel“ erinnert. Danach sollte dann aber und/oder eine Mengenangabe stehen.

69 Siehe *Deir el Medine online.*

ÄS 1548

Andere Bezeichnung: Bissing-Nr. D 52.[70]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 8,8 × 11.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitig beschriftet bzw. mit Zeichnungen versehen. Vorderseite: Stark abgeriebene Zeichnung in Rot mit schwarzen Konturen, rechts und links abgebrochen. Zeichenreste eines älteren(?), hieratischen Textes rechts, oberhalb und in der Mitte. Rückseite: Reste von drei(?) Zeilen in schwarzer Tinte, wobei Z. 1 und 2 nicht mehr lesbar sind. Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite oben.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen erscheint ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext naheliegend. Aus der Sammlung Bissing, 1936.[71]

Bibliographie: Brunner-Traut (1956: 110 Nr. 118, Taf. XXXIX) [B (r°), Ph (r°)]. Die Rückseite ist unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Vorderseite: Darstellung eines stehenden, unbekleideten Mannes, der beide Arme nach vorne ausstreckt. In einer Hand hält er eine Leine o. ä., die zu einem Tier (Pferd oder Rind?) führt, von dem nur noch das Hinterteil erhalten ist. Die hieratischen Reste sind vorerst nicht lesbar. Rückseite: In der dritten Zeile lassen sich nur noch die Namen [Schreiber(?)] *Wn-nfr* und Schreiber *Jmn-nḫt* lesen.

Datierung: Ramessidisch, nach Brunner-Traut (1956: 110). Ist die Rekonstruktion des Titels korrekt, könnte es sich um den Schreiber *Wn-nfr* (v) aus der Mitte der Regierungszeit Ramses' III. handeln oder um *Wn-nfr* (viii), der von Jahr 17 Ramses' IX. bis Jahr 10 Ramses' XI. als *smd.t*-Schreiber der rechten Seite aktiv war. Beide Personen traten gemeinsam mit einem Schreiber *Jmn-nḫt* auf, nämlich mit *Jmn-nḫt* (v), der *Wn-nfr* (v) in das Amt des Nekropolenschreibers folgte, aber auch schon vorher — ab Jahr 16 Ramses' III. — und bis Jahr 6 oder 7 Ramses' VI. belegt ist.[72] *Jmn-nḫt* (xxxi) war wiederum Kollege von *Wn-nfr* (viii) am Ende der 20. Dynastie.[73]

Bemerkung: Von E. Brunner-Traut (1956: 110) irrtümlich zu den Kriegsverlusten gezählt.

Rückseite

Abb. 3. ÄS 1548 v° (Foto M. Franke)

70 Nach Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 64. Die Nummer ist auch am rechten oberen Rand des Stückes notiert, heute allerdings nur noch schwer zu erkennen.

71 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

72 Zur Person und Familie des *Jmn-nḫt* (v) siehe Davies (1999: 105–118).

73 Eine übersichtliche Chronologie der Schreiber von Deir el-Medine und ihrer Positionen findet man bei Davies (1999: 283–284).

3[74]

3

3 … *sš*(?)] *Wn-nfr* […] *sš Jmn-nḫt* […

3 … Schreiber(?)] *Wnn-nfr* […] Schreiber *Jmn-nḫt* […

ÄS 1551

Andere Bezeichnung: Bissing-Nr. D 65.[75]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 8,5 × 18,2.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Vorderseite: Nahezu vollständige Zeichnungen in roter, schwarzer und — nach Brunner-Traut (1956: 103) — „eine heute ins Gelbliche verblaßte grüne" Tinte, die recht verwischt bzw. verlaufen ist. Rückseite: Linke Hälfte: Reste von zwei Zeilen hieratischer Beschriftung in schwarzer Tinte. Durch Absplitterung des Steines ist der komplette obere Teil des Textes verloren. Rechte Hälfte: Reste von drei Zeilen hieratischer Beschriftung in roter Tinte mit großem Zeilenabstand und um 180 Grad gedreht. Wendung: Kann vorläufig nicht bestimmt werden.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Herkunft unbekannt. Aus der Sammlung Bissing, 1936.[76]

Bibliographie: Brunner-Traut (1956: 103 Nr. 104, Taf. XXXVI) [B (r°), Ph (r°)]; Müller & Löhr (1976: 215) [M]. Die Rückseite ist unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Vorderseite: Darstellung eines Mannes mit plissiertem Schurz auf einem Streitwagen, der von zwei(?) Pferden gezogen wird. Rechts oben eine weitere Zeichnung eines sitzenden Affen vor einer Schale mit Feigen, die auf einem kleinen Tisch steht. Um den Bauch des Affen ist eine Leine befestigt. Rückseite: Vermutlich literarisch, die wenigen Reste erlauben allerdings keine nähere Bestimmung.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie nach Brunner-Traut (1956: 103).

Bemerkung: Von E. Brunner-Traut (1956: 103) irrtümlich zu den Kriegsverlusten gezählt.

ÄS 1637

Andere Bezeichnung: Bissing-Nr. D 56.[77]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 9,6 × 9,7.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitige Beschriftung. Vorderseite: Vier Zeilen in schwarzer Tinte in einer etwas ungeübten Handschrift (Schreibübung?), eventuell noch Reste einer fünften Zeile. Der Text ist zu allen Seiten abgebrochen. Rückseite: Zeichnung in Schwarz und Rot sowie wenige, nicht mehr lesbare Schriftreste in schwarzer Tinte. Vorderseite oben = Rückseite links.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext ist möglich. Aus der Sammlung Bissing, 1936.[78]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Vorderseite: Titulatur Ramses' II. Rückseite: Profil eines männlichen Gesichtes.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie, nach Jahr 30 (erstes Sedfest) Ramses' II., siehe unten.

74 Alle Faksimiles in diesem Beitrag wurden von M. Goecke-Bauer anhand von Fotos angefertigt.

75 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

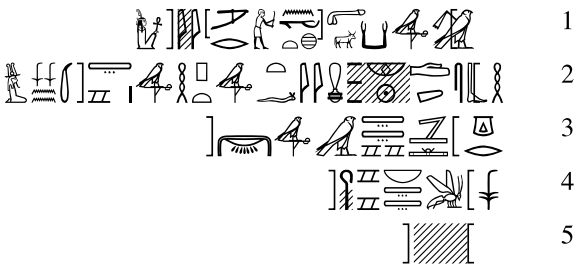
76 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

77 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

78 Laut Inventarkarte des Objektes.

Vorderseite

Abb. 4. ÄS 1637 r° (Foto M. Franke)



1 … *Ḥ*]*r K*ꜣ*-nḫt mr.y*-[*M*ꜣ*ʿ.t… nb-*
2 … *ḥ*]*b-sd.w-mj-jt=f-Ptḥ-t*ꜣ*-*[*ṯnn…*
3 … *g*]*rg-t*ꜣ*.wj Ḥr-nbw* […
4 … *nsw-*]*bjtj nb-t*ꜣ*.wj ḥq*ꜣ […
5 …].[…

1 … Ho]rus: Starker-Stier, geliebt-von-[Maat … Herr-der-
2 … He]b-Sed-Jubiläen-wie-sein-Vater-Ptah-Ta[tenen …
3 … Be]gründer-der-beiden-Länder; Gold-horus […
4 … König-von-Ober-und]-Unterägypten, Herr-der-beiden-Länder, Herrscher […
5 …].[…

Zeile 1

Es ist unklar, wie viel zu Beginn bzw. am Ende der Zeilen jeweils fehlt. Da die Titulatur mit dem Falken eingeleitet wird, kann am Anfang dieser und der folgenden Zeilen eigentlich nicht mehr allzu viel gestanden haben.

Über den Resten der Schwanzfedern des Falken zu Beginn der Zeile finden sich Spuren eines weiteren Zeichens, so dass hier die Lesung als Falke mit Geißel (Gardiner sign G6) anzunehmen ist. Am Ende dieser Zeile oder (weniger wahrscheinlich) zu Beginn der nächsten wird darüber hinaus noch *Nb.tj* „die Beiden Herrinnen“ zu ergänzen sein.

Zeile 3

Die Gruppe am Anfang der Zeile bereitete einiges Kopfzerbrechen, da sie nicht zu den hier zu erwartenden Determinativen für *grg* „gründen“ passen wollte. Doch mit Hilfe des D-Stretch-Verfahrens konnte die Schreibung sichtbar gemacht werden.[79]

Zeile 4

Vermutlich ist *ḥq*ꜣ *W*ꜣ*s.t* „Herrscher von Theben“ zu ergänzen, es fehlen dann noch Thron- und Eigenname.

79 Zur Schreibung vgl. auch Nr. 467 bei Möller (1927: 41) bzw. den entsprechenden Eintrag in AKU-PAL, Paläographie des Hieratischen und der Kursivhieroglyphen, https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes/647 (Zugriff am 15.04.2023).

Die Vorderseite enthält, trotz ihres fragmentarischen Zustands, noch einige Elemente der Titulatur Ramses' II. Dabei handelt es sich um den Horus- und den Herrinnen-Name, wie sie frühestens nach dem ersten Sedfest dieses Königs regelmäßig auftreten.[80] Der Goldhorus- und Thronname selbst sind nicht mehr erhalten, auch der Eigenname fehlt.

Aus dem hieratischen Deir-el-Medine-Material liegen uns einige weitere Ostraka mit Königstitulaturen vor, bei denen es sich wohl ebenfalls um Schreibübungen handelt. Als weitere Stücke mit Elementen der Titulatur Ramses' II. sind zu nennen: O. Berlin P 11235, Text b; O. Berlin P 11265, r° sowie O. UC 31930, v° aus Jahr 35[81].

Rückseite

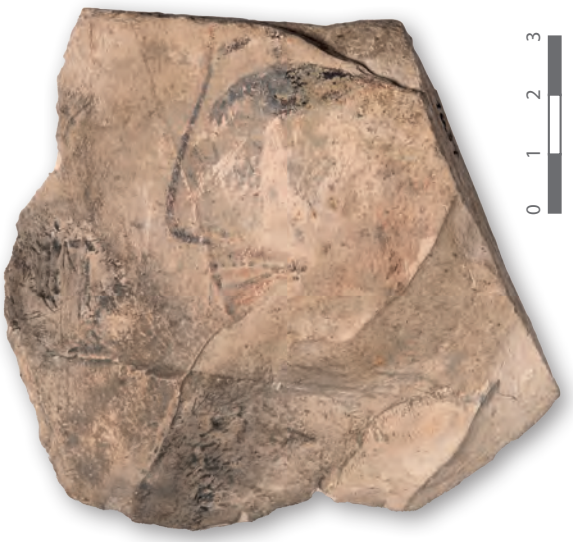


Abb. 5. ÄS 1637 v° (Foto M. Franke)

ÄS 1638

Andere Bezeichnung: Bissing-Nr. D 46.82[82]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 11,7 × 11,7.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitige Beschriftung. Vorderseite: In der rechten Hälfte vier Kolumnen in mittelhieratischer Schrift in schwarzer Tinte mit roten Trennlinien, die oben, unten und rechts abgebrochen sind. Am linken Rand Spuren einer weiteren Kolumne? Im linken Teil darüber hinaus Spuren einer Zeichnung in roter Farbe. In der Mitte starke Verkratzungen. Rückseite: Aufgrund großflächiger Abplatzungen des Steines nur sehr geringe Spuren von zwei Kolumnen in schwarzer Tinte mit einer roten Trennlinie. Wendung: Aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustands der Rückseite nicht bestimmbar.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Ankauf durch F.W.F.von Bissing vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Kairo im Altertumshandel, 1934 vom Ägyptischen Museum aus seiner Sammlung erworben, so Brunner (1944: 82 mit Anm. 133); Grimm (1995a: 165–166 mit Anm. 4).[83]

Bibliographie: Brunner (1944: 82–84) [B, F, K, T, Ü]; Grimm (1995a: 165–177, Taf. II) [Ph, U, Ü]; K*RI* 3, 652 [T (Kolophon)]; K*RITA* 3, 444 [Ü (Kolophon)]; K*RITANC* 3, 480 [K (Kolophon)]; Posener (1951: Taf. 20–21) [T]; Schoske & Wildung (2009: 35 Nr. 22) [Ph, Ü].

80 H2° bzw. N2° bei von Beckerath (1999: 152–153). Vergleiche auch z. B. Gauthier (1914: 44, Nr. XXXII) aus Jahr 35 Ramses' II. und Gauthier (1914: 45, Nr. XXXIII) aus Jahr 38 Ramses' II.

81 So K*RI* 7, 181. Die DeM Database setzt hier das Jahr 25 an und bemerkt, dass eine Zuweisung in das Deir-el-Medine-Umfeld unsicher ist, da das Stück auch aus Abydos stammen könnte. Von O. UC 31930, v° liegt leider nur die hieroglyphische Umschrift in K*RI* 7, 181 vor, denn es weist große Parallelen zum Münchner Stück auf: *Ḥr Kꜣ-nḫt mr.y-Mꜣʿ.t Nb.tj nb-ḥb-sd.w-mj-jt=f-Ptḥ-tꜣ-ṯnn Ḥr-nbw mk-Km.t-wʿf-ḫꜣs.wt* […].

82 Die Nummer befindet sich auf der Rückseite des Ostrakons.

83 Die Museumsdatenbank nennt 1936 als Ankaufsjahr aus der Sammlung Bissing, verzeichnet aber keine Bissing-Nr. Die Inventarkarte des Museums gibt dagegen an, dass das Stück 1938 von H. Brunner in Theben-West gekauft wurde.

Inhalt: Schulbuch Kemit, vom Typ „Ostraca litteraires d'un type particulier",[84] Kemit § 17 und Kolophon. Im Kolophon wird der Zeichner *Mꜣꜣ(.n=j)-nḫt=f* genannt. Dabei handelt es sich vermutlich eher um den gut belegten *sš-qd Mꜣꜣ(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (i) als um seinen Enkel *Mꜣꜣ(.n=j)-nḫt=f* (ii), zu diesen Personen siehe Davies (1999: 155–162, chart 11).

Datierung: 19. Dynastie, 1. Hälfte Ramses' II., aufgrund der Nennung des Zeichners.

Bemerkung: Zum Buch Kemit siehe den Überblick bei Burkard & Thissen (2015: 215–218) mit weiterer Literatur sowie Petersmarck (2012). Eine Neubearbeitung erfolgt derzeit von A. Motte.[85]

ÄS 1743

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B × Dicke in cm): 13,1 × 16,2 × 2,8.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beschriftung auf drei Seiten. Die Vorderseite ist größtenteils abgerieben. Nur am rechten Rand, der etwas abfallend ist, sind wenige Schriftreste erhalten, die zu fünf Zeilen gehören könnten. Auf der Rückseite lassen sich trotz großflächigem Schriftabrieb und Abplatzungen noch Reste von acht(?) Zeilen ausmachen. Über dem Text Spuren einer Zeichnung(?) oder vielleicht auch Rostspuren in Orange. Auf der Unterseite Reste von zwei Zeilen. Administrative, zügige Handschrift in schwarzer Tinte mit Spuren von roter Schrift. Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite unten; Rückseite unten = Unterseite oben.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aufgrund des Inhalts und der Nennung eines *Ršw-ptr=f* in vº 2 ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext gut möglich. Zum Erwerb liegen keine Angaben vor, das Stück stammt evtl. ebenfalls aus der Sammlung Bissing.[86]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Die Textreste deuten auf einen administrativen Kontext wie eine Abrechnung. Erhalten ist z. B. vº 2: *sbꜣ* „Tür"; vº 3: *dbn* 27 „27 Deben"; vº 6: *jrw n* „das macht".

Datierung: Die Nennung des *Ršw-ptr=f* in vº 2 weist in die erste Hälfte der 20. Dynastie.[87]

ÄS 3400

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 13,5 × 25,5.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitig beschriftet. Vorderseite: Fünf Zeilen in einer großzügigen literarischen Handschrift in schwarzer Tinte mit Rubren in Z. 3 und 5 und roten Verspunkten. Der Anfang von Z. 2 bis 4 fehlt sowie alle Zeilenenden; oben und unten vollständig. Palimpsest. Rückseite: Aufgrund großflächiger Abplatzungen nur wenige Spuren einer hieratischen Beschriftung in schwarzer Tinte. Wendung: Nicht mehr bestimmbar.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext naheliegend.

84 Grimm (1995a: 166).

85 Motte (2022). Im gleichen Jahr erschien auch ein Artikel von J. Posch (2022), der eine weitere Gruppe von Kemit-Ostraka aus dem IFAO publiziert hat.

86 Siehe oben zur Sammlungsgeschichte.

87 Der Arbeiter *Ršw-ptr=f* (i) aus Deir el-Medine ist im Zeitraum Jahr 15 Ramses' III. bis Jahr 3 Ramses' IV. (oder eines direkten Nachfolgers) belegt, Davies (1999: 248).

Ankauf von H. Brunner am 01.11.1938 in Theben-West.[88]

Bibliographie: Brunner-Traut (1940: 3–9 mit Taf. Ib) [B, F, K, Ph, Ü]; Černý (Notebook 49.80) [T]; Gardiner (Notebook 50.82) [T];[89] Müller & Löhr (1976: 212) [M]; Posener (1952: 109–117) [T, Ü]; Schoske & Wildung (2009: 36 Nr. 23) [Ph].

Inhalt: Vorderseite: Lehre des Djedefhor.

Datierung: Frühe 20. Dynastie, so Brunner-Traut (1940: 3).

Bemerkung: Zur Lehre des Djedefhor siehe den Überblick bei Burkard & Thissen (2015: 89–92) mit weiterer Literatur.

ÄS 3401

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 21×13,5.[90]

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitig beschriftet mit 13 Zeilen in einer literarischen Handschrift. Rundum unvollständig. Palimpsest.[91]

Herkunft/Erwerb: Vermutlich Deir el-Medine.[92] Ankauf von H. Brunner am 01.11.1938 in Theben-West.[93]

Bibliographie: Brunner (1940: 1–3 mit Taf. 1a) [B, K, Ph, T, Ü]; K*RI* 2, 379 [T]; K*RITA* 2, 209–210 [Ü]; K*RITANC* 2, 235–236 [K].

Inhalt: „Praise of the King in the First Jubilee, and Promise of Good Niles“ (K*RI* 2, 378). Dieses Stück steht, zusammen mit anderen literarischen Texten, im Zusammenhang mit dem ersten Sedfest Ramses II.[94]

Datierung: 19. Dynastie, Jahr 30 Ramses' II. (K*RI* 2, 379).

Bemerkung: Kriegsverlust.[95]

ÄS 3402

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 22,5×17,5.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Das Stück ist in vier Teile zerbrochen. Einseitige Beschriftung, fünf Kolumnen in mittelhieratischer Schrift in schwarzer Tinte mit Rubren sowie sechs roten Trennlinien. Die Schrift ist stellenweise stark verblasst bzw. abgerieben, Anfang und Ende der Kolumnen sind abgebrochen.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext naheliegend. Ankauf von H. Brunner am 01.11.1938 in Theben-West.[96]

88 Laut Museumsdatenbank. In der Publikation Brunner-Traut (1940: 3) heißt es: „Ich habe das Stück in Theben gekauft und verdanke die Erwerbung der Liebenswürdigkeit von Herrn Prof. Schäfer; […]“

89 Mit Korrekturen zu Brunner-Traut (1940: 3–9).

90 Nach Brunner (1940: 1 mit Anm. 4).

91 Nach Brunner (1940: 1).

92 H. Brunner (1940: 1) schreibt, dass das Stück „vermutlich aus der Grabung in Dêr el-Medîne“ stammt und zusammen mit ÄS 3400 erworben wurde.

93 Laut Museumsdatenbank.

94 Siehe K*RI* 2, 378–383; von Beckerath (1981: 451).

95 So von Beckerath (1981: 451). Laut Museumsdatenbank war das Stück bei der Revision 1961 nicht mehr vorhanden.

96 Laut Museumsdatenbank. H. Brunner (1944: 83 mit Anm. 136) selbst nennt nur 1938 als Erwerbsjahr.

Bibliographie: Grimm (1995a: 165–177, Taf. I) [Ph, U, Ü].

Inhalt: Schulbuch Kemit, vom Typ „Ostraca litteraires d'un type particulier", Kemit § 11, 12 und Anfang von § 13.

Datierung: Ramessidisch.

Bemerkung: Zum Buch Kemit siehe den Überblick bei Burkard & Thissen (2015: 215–218) mit weiterer Literatur sowie Petersmarck (2012). Eine Neubearbeitung erfolgt zur Zeit von A. Motte.[97]

ÄS 3403

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Keramik.

Maße (H × B in cm): 8,7 × 9,8.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitig beschriftet in einer kleinen Handschrift. Vorderseite: Neun Zeilen; Zeilenanfänge erhalten, die -enden sind zerstört. Die Schrift ist in der Mitte von Z. 3–5 abgerieben bzw. verblasst. Rückseite: Neun(?) Zeilen; Beginn Z. 2, 3, 7–9 erhalten, die Zeilenenden sind zerstört. Die Schrift ist an vielen Stellen verblasst bzw. abgerieben. Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite unten.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Ankauf von H. Brunner am 01.11.1938 in Theben-West.[98] Keine Angaben zur Herkunft. Da dieses Stück zusammen mit ÄS 3400, 3401 und 3402 erworben wurde, liegt auch hier vermutlich ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext vor, zumal der Brief an eine Frau namens *Tꜣ-ḫr.t* gerichtet ist (r° 2) und r° 6 einen *Pn-dwꜣ* nennt, bei dem es sich um einen gleichnamigen Arbeiter aus Deir el-Medine handeln könnte.

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Brief von unbekannt an eine Frau *Tꜣ-ḫr.t*.

Datierung: Sollten *Tꜣ-ḫr.t* und *Pn-dwꜣ* aus Deir el-Medine stammen, käme eine Datierung in die 19. oder 20. Dynastie in Frage. Die Paläographie weist allerdings eher in den früheren Zeitraum.

Bemerkung: Das Stück wird zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt publiziert.

ÄS 3787

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.[99]

Maße (H × B in cm): Unbekannt.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Unbekannt.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Keine Angaben zur Herkunft, aber nach Helck (1970: 154–155) gehört dieses Stück zum „südlichen" Überlieferungsstrang mit den Ostraka aus Deir el-Medine. Nach H. Brunner (1944: 17) gelangte es 1938 mit der Ostraka-Sammlung K. Dyroff in die ägyptische Sammlung.

Bibliographie: Brunner (1944) [K, T, Ü]; Helck (1970) [K, T, Ü].

Inhalt: Lehre des Cheti: 3,9–4,4 nach Brunner (1944) bzw. Ia–IIIa nach Helck (1970).

Datierung: Undatiert.

Bemerkung: Kriegsverlust, siehe Helck (1970: 7).

97 Motte (2022).

98 Laut Museumsdatenbank.

99 Nach Brunner (1944: 17).

ÄS 8381

Andere Bezeichnung: München, Ägyptol. Seminar Univ.;[100] O. DeM 27;[101] O. Munich ÄS [unnumbered 2];[102] O. Hierat. 1.

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 11,7 × 11,3.[103]

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitige Beschriftung mit vier Zeilen in einer administrativen Handschrift in schwarzer Tinte. Der Text ist komplett erhalten.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Ankauf in Theben durch W. Spiegelberg im März 1929.[104]

Das Stück stammt vermutlich aus der Grabung von B. Bruyère, der 1929 im Nordwesten der Umfassungsmauer Deir el-Medines im Bereich des Grabes TT 290 (*Jry-nfr*) bzw. der Kapelle 1213 am sog. „Trou Schiaparelli" weitergearbeitet hatte. Zahlreiche Stücke wurden im Nachgang dieser Grabung u. a. von W. Spiegelberg und G. Steindorff (für die Leipziger Sammlung) angekauft.[105]

Bibliographie: Černý (Notebook 114.58) [T]; Černý (1935: 6, Taf. 7, 7 A) [B, Ph, T]; K*RI* 1, 367 [T]; K*RITA* 1, 302 [Ü]; K*RITANC* 1, 257–259 [K].

Inhalt: Abrechnung über die Lieferung von Bier, Backwaren und Gemüse an einem 2. Monat Schemu Tag 15.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie, siehe Černý (1935: 6); 2. Monat Schemu, Tag 15 vermutlich Jahr 3 Sethos' I., so K*RI* 1, 367; Helck (2002: 40–41).

Bemerkung: Auf der Rückseite ist in roter Farbe die Bezeichnung „O. Hierat. 1." aufgetragen. Das Objekt wurde 2022 neu inventarisiert, da die ursprüngliche Inventarnummer in den Wirren des Zweiten Weltkrieges verloren gegangen war.

Dieses Stück wird von Kitchen (K*RITANC* 1, 257–259) und Dorn (2011: 31–34) zusammen mit einer Serie von kurzen Abrechnungen (O. DeM 1–28 und andere) aus den Jahren 2 bis 4 Sethos' I. diskutiert, die die Lieferungen von Lebensmitteln und anderen Gütern wie Holz, Dung und Gefäße an die Arbeiterschaft von Deir el-Medine dokumentieren. Die meisten Texte datieren auf Dekaden (Tag 10, 20, 30) und bilden so die regelmäßigen Lieferungen ab. Das Datum in ÄS 8381 sowie die gelieferten Waren weisen auf eine unregelmäßige Zuteilung hin wie anlässlich eines Festes. Und tatsächlich wird in Deir el-Medine am 2. Monat Schemu Tag 15 das Fest (mit Prozession) der Ahmose-Nefertari, der Mutter Amenophis' I. gefeiert.[106] Zu diesem Anlass erhielten die Arbeiter also Bier, Backwaren und Gemüse.

100 Černý (Notebook 114.58).

101 Černý (1935: 6, Taf. 7–7 A); „Appartient à l'Aegyptologisches Seminar de l'Université de Munich", so Černý (1935: 6). In einem Exemplar dieser Publikation aus dem Besitz J. von Beckeraths ist diese Angabe durchgestrichen und handschriftlich mit der Bemerkung versehen, dass das Stück Teil der Ägyptischen Sammlung („Ägypt. Slg.") sei. Die Bezeichnung als Objekt der „Universität München" kann auf die Ankäufe verweisen, die W. Spiegelberg explizit für die Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Seminars getätigt hat. Andererseits wurde die Ägyptische Sammlung 1933 mit dem Ägyptologischen Seminar in gemeinsame Räumlichkeiten der Residenz verlegt. Verwechslungen bei der Zugehörigkeit von Objekten können daher nicht ausgeschlossen werden.

102 DeM Database.

103 Die DeM Database gibt irrtümlich 11,5 × 17,5 an.

104 So Černý (Notebook 114.58). In der Publikation gibt J. Černý (1935: 6) Qurna als Ort des Ankaufs an.

105 Dorn (2011: 39). Dieser Ort erhielt seinen Namen, da hier E. Schiaparelli 1909 ein tiefes Loch gegraben hatte. Für die Leipziger Ostraka, die von G. Steindorff angekauft wurden, siehe auch den Beitrag von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert im ersten Band dieser Reihe, Fischer-Elfert (2024).

106 Siehe Jauhiainen (2009: 172–175). Für diesen Hinweis bedanke ich mich bei Kathrin Gabler.

ÄS 8382

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 9,1 × 7,7.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitig beschriftet mit sieben Zeilen, wobei Z. 1 nur noch einen Zeichenrest aufweist, der aber auch aus einer früheren Beschriftung stammen könnte. Der Beginn von Z. 2 ist beschädigt, ebenso die Enden der Z. 2–5. Die Schrift ist klar und sorgfältig mit kräftiger schwarzer Tinte geschrieben, die ab Z. 3 in der rechten Hälfte leicht abgerieben bzw. verschmiert ist.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Ein Zusammenhang mit den Deir-el-Bahari-Ostraka der 18. Dynastie ist sehr wahrscheinlich. Keine Angaben zum Erwerb.

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Brief über mehrtägige Verzögerungen unbekannter Art an zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Monaten.

Datierung: Aus inhaltlichen und paläographischen Gründen kommt die 18. Dynastie infrage.

Bemerkung: Das Objekt wurde wie ÄS 8381 2022 neu inventarisiert, da die ursprüngliche Inventarnummer in den Wirren des Zweiten Weltkrieges verloren gegangen war.

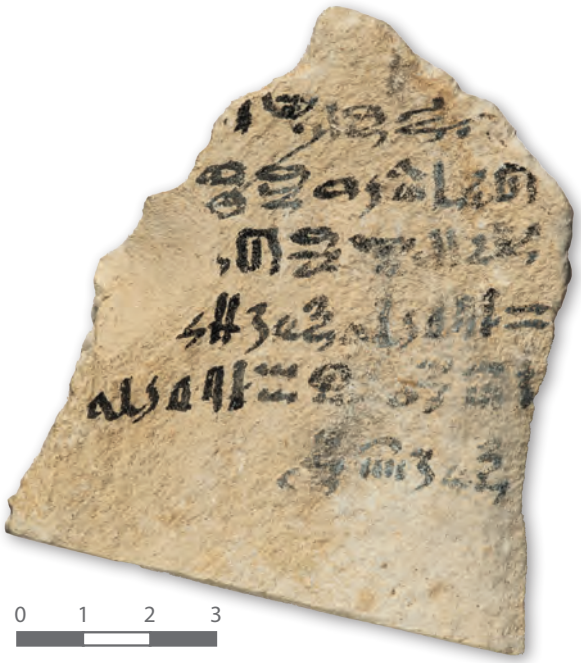


Abb. 6. ÄS 8382 (Foto M. Franke)

Vorderseite

1 -?-
2 …](?)-?- *ḏd r-ʿ=f nb* -?-[…
3 *hꜣb pw r rdj.t rḫ*
4 *pꜣy=j nb r-ntj h*[*rw.w*(?)]
5 *8 jsq m-ʿ=j m jmj*(?) […
6 *m ꜣbd 3 ꜣḫ.t hrw.w 6 jsq*
7 *m-ʿ=j m ꜣbd 4 ꜣḫ.t*

1 -?-
2 …](?)-?- sprechen neben ihn -?-[…
3 Dies ist ein Brief, um wissen zu lassen
4 meinen Herren: 8 T[age(?)]
5 Verzögerung durch mich im Inneren(?) […
6 am 3. Monat Achet. 6 Tage Verzögerung
7 durch mich im 4. Monat Achet.

Zeile 1

Beginnt der Text mit einem Datum? Das verblasste Zeichen deutet auf [ ]}.

Zeile 2

Da die Anfänge der folgenden Zeilen vollständig sind, kann zu Beginn von Z. 2 nicht viel fehlen. Ob die erste Gruppe zu einem (kurzen) Personennamen gehört? Möglich wäre z. B. *Ms* [ ], wobei der Schrägstrich (Z5) ungewöhnlich flach

geschrieben worden wäre. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, hier die briefeinleitende Formel *ḥnʿ ḏd* zu lesen, die auch direkt am Anfang eines Briefes oder einer Mitteilung stehen kann.[107] Allerdings ergeben beide Vorschläge mit dem nachfolgenden *r-ʿ=f* in der Bedeutung „neben ihn" (*Wb* 3, 394.10) keinen Sinn.

Das Zeichen am Ende der Zeile direkt an der Bruchkante sieht zwar wie ein zu breit geratener Determinativstrich aus, erklären ließe sich dieser hier aber nicht.

Zeile 3

r in am Ende der Zeile scheint aus einer zu rund geratenen Form in eine ovalere — Typ a bei Wimmer (1995: Teil 2, 32) — korrigiert worden zu sein.

Zeilen 3–4

Diese, vor allem in der Ramessidenzeit, häufig auftretende Briefphrase verbindet die einleitenden guten Wünschen mit dem Teil, der das Anliegen des Absenders behandelt und mit *ky swḏ³-jb* usw. oder wie hier nur mit *r-ntj* eingeführt werden kann.[108]

Zeile 4

Die Ergänzung zu *hrw.w* „Tage" in seiner ausgeschriebenen Form am Ende der Zeile scheint naheliegend, wenn man den Aufbau des Satzes mit Z. 6–7 vergleicht.

Zeilen 5, 6

Das in Z. 5 und 6 auftretende *jsq* gehört zu den weniger bekannten Wörtern. *Wb* 1, 133 gibt für *jsq* zwei Grundbedeutungen an: als intransitives Verb „zögern" oder auch „verweilen" („an einem Ort", dann mit der Präposition *m* gebildet). Als transitives Verb lässt es sich mit „etwas zurückhalten", „jemanden warten lassen" übersetzen. Auch hier kann die Präposition *m* angeschlossen werden. In *Urk*. IV, 1548.2 ist die Konstruktion *jsq r* belegt, die von W. Helck (1961: 144) als „verborgen sein vor" gedeutet wird. In O. Kairo CG 25670, r° 1–2 heißt es: *dj.t rḫ=k n³-n ḥnw jsq m-dj=j m p³ dmj* „Dich zu informieren über die Sachen, die von mir im Dorf zurückgelassen wurden".[109]

Die Bedeutung von *jsq* in unserem Text lässt sich am ehesten mit der in der kurzen Notiz O. Berlin P 11253 vergleichen: *³bd 2 šmw ʿrqj n³-n jsq.w n n³-n rmṯ pr-hn Ḥm jsq 16* „2. Schemu, letzter Tag. Die Verzögerungen der Männer des Sanktuars. *Ḥm*: Verzögerung: 16" (Tage?). *Deir el Medine online* interpretiert diesen Text als „Notiz über Arbeitsruhe". Nach Hayes (1942: 21, Anm. 1) zählt dieses Stück zu den „Work Records" der 18. Dynastie, die in Deir el-Bahari bzw. im Grab des Senenmut gefunden wurden und die Arbeiten an den Tempeln in diesem Areal dokumentieren.

In diesen Kontext gehört auch die Notiz O. NM 11679 vom letzten Tag im 1. Monat der Achet-Jahreszeit. Hier heißt es Z. 2–4 kurz und knapp: *n³-n jsq.w n n³-n rmṯ pr-hn Ḥm* „Those who are held back of the people belonging to the sanctuary: Humy", siehe Hagen (2015: 98–99, Taf. 5).[110] O. Berlin P 11253 und O. NM 11679 sind nahezu identisch im Wortlaut und unterscheiden sich nur im Datum: Das Berliner Stück datiert in den 2. Monat Schemu, letzter Tag, die Kopenhagener Kalksteinscherbe in den 1. Monat Achet, ebenfalls letzter Tag. Ob es sich bei *Ḥm* um einen bislang nicht belegten Personennamen handelt oder um einen ebenso wenig belegten Titel, muss auch F. Hagen (2015: 101) offenlassen. Auch die Institution von *pr-hn* lässt sich bislang nicht näher lokalisieren.

Weitere Belege für Verzögerungen in Bezug auf den Arbeitsprozess liefern die Deir-el-Bahari-Ostraka Senenmut 63 und 64, die in einen 4.

107 So z. B. O. Kairo CG 25667, 1 (18. Dynastie), HO. Kairo 459, 1 (18. Dynastie) oder auch O. Straßburg H. 68, 1 (ramessidisch).

108 Bakir (1970: 85).

109 *m-dj=j* ist dabei die neuägyptische Form des älteren *m-ʿ=j* aus dem hier vorliegenden Text.

110 Wir danken Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert für den Hinweis auf O. NM 11679 und die beiden Senenmut-Ostraka.

Monat Peret, Tag 5 datieren. Sie dokumentieren den Arbeitsfortschritt einzelner Arbeiter, Lieferungen von Arbeitsmaterial und Nahrungsmittel durch den Schreiber und darüber hinaus die Verzögerungen eines gewissen *Bšꜣw*, indem es in O. Senenmut 63, vº 5–6 heißt: *Bšꜣw jsq m-ʿ nꜣ-n wnḫw* „Beshau was delayed on account of the boards." bzw. O. Senenmut 64, vº 4–7: *Bšꜣw jsq m-ʿ rdj.t jnj.tw n=n wnḫw 2 ḥnʿ mʿꜣ.w 2 n šnd.t* „Beshau was delayed in causing to be brought to us 2 boards and 2 poles (?) of acacia wood", siehe Hayes (1942: 21, Taf. XIII).

F. Hagen (2015: 99) schlägt vor, das Verb *jsq* nicht nur einfach als „abwesend" zu verstehen, sondern eher in einer Bedeutung des absichtlich Aufgehalten- oder Zurückgehaltenwerdens aufzufassen.[111] Unterstützt wird dieser Vorschlag u. a. durch P. Louvre N 3169, der Brief eines Wesirs vom Ende der 20. Dynastie, in dem es Z. 5 heißt: *m-dj jsq rmṯ wʿ jm=w* „Do not hold back a single man from among them".

Der u. a. in P. Turin Cat. 1885, rº (*Plan des Grabes Ramses' IV.*) dargestellte Schacht mit der Bezeichnung *tꜣ wsḫ.t jsq* vor der Sargkammer in den Gräbern im Tal der Könige wird von E. Thomas (1978) als „The Hall of Hindering" im Gegensatz zu der vorher üblichen Übersetzung „Wartehalle" gedeutet. Ob dieses architektonische Element vor Grabräubern oder Springfluten schützen soll oder rein symbolischen Charakter hat, ist bislang nicht geklärt, aber auch hier ist wohl ein absichtliches Zurückhalten gemeint.

Zeile 5

Das Ende von Z. 5 ist bislang unklar. 𓅓 und 𓋹 sind gut zu erkennen, ob die dahinter stehenden Reste als unterer Teil von 𓅓 in der ausführlichen Form[112] oder als die beiden Schrägstriche (in 𓅓𓅓𓋹) zu lesen sind? H.-W. Fischer-Elfert schlägt eine mögliche Ergänzung zu *jmj-rn=f* „Namensliste" vor. Alternativ zu *jmj* kommt natürlich auch *wnm* „essen" bzw. „Essen, Nahrung" in Frage, ohne dass sich hier ein Sinn erschließen würde.

Der kurze Brief München ÄS 8382 ist an einen unbekannten Vorgesetzten gerichtet. Der ebenso unbekannte Absender informiert über (absichtlich herbeigeführte?) Verzögerungen von acht Tagen an einem 3. Achet und weiteren sechs Tagen an einem 4. Achet eines nicht genannten Regierungsjahres, die vermutlich im Zusammenhang mit einem Arbeitsprozess bzw. der dazugehörigen Verpflegung — also in einem administrativen Kontext — stehen. Inhaltlich steht es den Deir el-Bahari-Ostraka aus der 18. Dynastie nahe, vor allem den oben erwähnten O. Berlin P 11253, O. NM 11679, O. Senenmut 63 und O. Senenmut 64. Auch diese Texte dokumentieren Verzögerungen einzelner Personen über einen längeren Zeitraum bzw. in Hinblick auf erteilte Aufgaben. Es sieht so aus, als wurden diese Verzögerungen regelmäßig erfasst, entweder am Monatsende (Tag 30 in O. Berlin P 11253 und O. NM 11679) oder zumindest mit genauer Anzahl der Tage (16 Tage in O. Berlin P 11253 bzw. acht und sechs Tage in ÄS 8382). Aufgrund der inhaltlichen und paläographischen Übereinstimmungen ist der Münchner Brief ebenfalls in die 18. Dynastie und in das Areal um die Totentempel der Hatschepsut, Thutmosis III. und des Senenmut zu verorten.[113]

111 Im Gegensatz zu *wsf* „absent, untätig sein" in den Nekropolenjournalen der 19. und 20. Dynastie. Die Arbeiter erschienen aus den verschiedensten Gründen nicht am Arbeitsplatz: Sie waren entweder krank, wurden woanders eingesetzt, kümmerten sich um Familienangehörige oder um Vorbereitungen für Feste. Oder aber die Arbeiterschaft hatte kollektiv frei, da es sich um Wochenenden, einen Feiertag oder um anderweitige Gründe handelte, die zu einer Unterbrechung der Arbeit führten. Jac. J. Janssen (1980) behandelt diese Thematik ausführlich. Die Feste in Deir el-Medine werden von Jauhiainen (2009) diskutiert.

112 Möller (1927: 17).

113 Die Publikation der 18.-Dynastie-Ostraka aus Deir el-Bahari und dem Asasif durch M. Römer (2023) erschien leider erst kurz nach Abgabe dieses Beitrags.

2.2. Weitere Münchner Ostraka nach J. Černý

München, Univ., Ägyptol. Seminar 11a[114]

Andere Bezeichnung: O. DeM 14;[115] O. Munich ÄS [unnumbered 3].[116]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 15 × 14.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitige Beschriftung mit sieben Zeilen in schwarzer Tinte. Komplett.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Ankauf in Theben (Qurna?) durch W. Spiegelberg im März 1929; siehe Bemerkung und oben zu ÄS 8381.

Bibliographie: Černý (1935: 4, Taf. 4, 4 A) [Ph, T]; Černý (Notebook 114.57, 102.12) [T]; DeM Database [M]; Helck (2002: 40–41); K*RI* 1, 368 [T]; K*RITA* 1, 304 [Ü]; K*RITANC* 1, 257–259 [K].

Inhalt: Lieferung von Dung, Feuerholz und Holzarbeiten.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie, siehe Černý (1935: 4); 3. Monat Schemu, Tag 30; vermutlich Jahr 2 oder 4 Sethos' I., so K*RI* 1, 368 bzw. Jahr 4 Sethos' I., Helck (2002: 40–41).

Bemerkung: Auch dieses Stück gehört eventuell zu der Serie von kurzen Abrechnungen (O. DeM 1–28 und andere) aus den Jahren 2 bis 4 Sethos' I., siehe dazu die Bemerkung zu ÄS 8381.

Es ist nicht sicher, ob sich dieses Ostrakon überhaupt in München befand. Wenn ja, dann muss es ebenfalls dem Bombenangriff 1944 zum Opfer gefallen sein. In den Inventarbüchern des Museums taucht es nicht auf, eine Zuordnung nach München erschließt sich alleine aus J. Černýs Notebook-Blättern 114.57 und 102.12. In 114.57 heißt es „München. Univ., Ägyptol. Seminar" und weiter „acheté a Thèbes par prof. Spieg. mars 1929". 102.12 stellt der Benennung „univ. München" die Nummer „11a" voran. In der Publikation des Ostrakons als O. DeM 14, Černý (1935: 4), heißt es allerdings „*Appartient à l'Aegyptologisches Seminar de l'Université de Leipzig (acheté par le Prof. Steindorff à Gournah au commencement de 1929).*" Die Bildunterschrift zum Foto dieses Ostrakons auf Taf. 4 A lautet dennoch „[14] Munich, Universität." Die DeM Database weist das Stück nach München, gibt aber an, dass G. Steindorff den Ankauf in Qurna getätigt habe. Dieser kaufte zwar zur selben Zeit wie W. Spiegelberg Ostraka im thebanischen Raum an, das aber für die Sammlung der Universität Leipzig. K.A. Kitchen verortet O. DeM 14 in K*RI* 1, 368 nach München, korrigiert sich aber in K*RI* 7, 430 und gibt nun für O. DeM 14 Leipzig an. Dabei bezieht er sich auf die Rezension seiner Publikation durch J. von Beckerath (1981: 451, Anm. 1), der zum Aufbewahrungsort schreibt: „Dieses Ostrakon befindet sich nicht in München, sondern in Leipzig". Im Index K*RI* 8, 14 ist O. DeM 14 nun unter den Leipziger Stücken aufgenommen. Eine Anfrage im Ägyptischen Museum der Universität Leipzig brachte bis zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt allerdings noch keine weiteren Erkenntnisse, denn auch dort sind kriegsbedingt zahlreiche Objekte und schriftliche Zeugnisse darüber verloren.[117]

114 Bezeichnung des Stückes nach Černý (Notebook 102.12, 114.57). Die Benennung O. DeM 14 nach der Erstpublikation durch J. Černý (1935) ist allerdings die geläufigere. Die Bezeichnung dieses und der folgenden Ostraka als Objekte der „Universität München" kann auf die Ankäufe verweisen, die W. Spiegelberg explizit für die Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Seminars getätigt hat. Andererseits wurde die Ägyptische Sammlung 1933 mit dem Ägyptologischen Seminar in gemeinsame Räumlichkeiten der Residenz verlegt, so dass Verwechslungen bei der Zugehörigkeit bzw. Zuweisung von Objekten nicht ausgeschlossen werden können.

115 Černý (1935: 4, Taf. 4–4 A).

116 DeM Database.

117 Siehe auch Fischer-Elfert (2024).

Univ. München 25[118]

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.[119]

Maße (H × B in cm): 7,5 × 11.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitige Beschriftung mit drei Zeilen in schwarzer Tinte, die eine Lücke in Z. 1 und einem fehlenden Anfang in Z. 2 aufweist.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Keine Angaben zum Erwerb. Ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext ist aufgrund des Inhalts und der Nennung des Vorarbeiters sicher.

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert. Černý (Notebook 102.27) [T]; DeM Database [M].

Inhalt: Abrechnung über einen Transfer mit Nennung des Vorarbeiters *Nḫw-m-Mw.t*.

Datierung: Aus Deir el-Medine sind zwei Vorarbeiter namens *Nḫw-m-Mw.t* bekannt: *Nḫw-m-Mw.t* (i) und *Nḫw-m-Mw.t* (vi). Beide gehören zur Familie des *Sn-nḏm* (i), dem Inhaber des thebanischen Grabes TT 1.[120] *Nḫw-m-Mw.t* (i) war Vorarbeiter der rechten Seite der Arbeiterschaft von Deir el-Medine ab Jahr 11 Ramses' III. (O. Genf MAH 12550, v° 1) bis mindestens Jahr 15 (O. Florenz 2619, v° 8).[121] Sein Enkel *Nḫw-m-Mw.t* (vi) wurde in Jahr 2 Ramses' IV. zum Vorarbeiter ernannt (P. Turin Cat. 1891, r° 6) und hielt dieses Amt bis Jahr 17 Ramses' IX.[122] Der Text kann also grob in die Zeit zwischen Jahr 11 Ramses' III. und Jahr 17 Ramses' IX. angesetzt werden.

Bemerkung: In den Beständen des Münchner Museums ist dieses Ostrakon nicht vorhanden, seine Existenz und Lokalisierung nach München erschließt sich allein aus Černý (Notebook 102.27). Es muss wohl zu den Kriegsverlusten gerechnet werden.

Univ. München 25a[123]

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalkstein.[124]

Maße (H × B in cm): 10,5 × 11,5.[125]

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitige Beschriftung mit sieben Zeilen in schwarzer Tinte. Der Text ist nahezu vollständig erhalten, nur der Beginn von Z. 7 fehlt.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext erscheint aufgrund des Inhalts naheliegend. Ankauf in Theben (Qurna?) durch W. Spiegelberg im März 1929.[126]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert. Černý (Notebook 102.27 und 114.58) [T]; DeM Database [M].

Inhalt: Abrechnung über verschiedene Arten von Fischen und Fleisch.

Datierung: Keine Angabe.

Bemerkung: Auch dieses Ostrakon ist in den Beständen des Münchner Museums nicht vorhanden, seine Existenz und Aufbewahrung in München erschließt sich allein aus J. Černýs

118 Bezeichnung des Stückes nach Černý (Notebook 102.27).

119 Die Angaben zu Material, Maße, Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung basieren auf Černýs (Notebook 102.27).

120 Zur Familie des *Sn-nḏm* (i) siehe Bierbrier (1984: 199–213) und Davies (1999: 43–58).

121 Dazu im Detail und mit allen offenen Fragen zu seiner Person Davies (1999: 47).

122 Seine Person wurde von B. Davies (1999: 50) diskutiert.

123 Bezeichnung des Stückes nach Černý (Notebook 102.27). Černý (Notebook 114.58): „Ägyptol. Seminar Univ.".

124 Die Angaben zu Material, Maße und Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung basieren auf Černý (Notebook 102.27 und 114.58).

125 So Černý (Notebook 102.27). In Notebook 114.58 ist die Höhe mit 11,5 cm und die Breite mit 11 cm angegeben.

126 Černý (Notebook 114.58). Da dieses Stück im gleichen Zeitraum wie ÄS 8381 und München, Univ. Ägyptol. Seminar 11a von W. Spiegelberg gekauft wurde, könnte es ebenfalls aus der Grabung von B. Bruyère, 1929 am „Trou Schiaparelli" stammen.

Einträgen in seinen Notebooks. Es muss ebenso zu den Kriegsverlusten gerechnet werden.[127]

München, Univ., Ägyptol. Seminar [o.N.][128]

Andere Bezeichnung: O. Munich ÄS [unnumbered 1].[129]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 6 × 11 cm.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitig in schwarzer Tinte mit roten Verspunkten beschriftet. Vorderseite fünf Zeilen, wobei die Enden fehlen, Rückseite vier Zeilen; „unbeholfenes Hieratisch", so Černý (Notebook 114.57). Keine Angabe zur Wendung.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Ankauf in Theben (Qurna?) durch W. Spiegelberg im März 1929.[130]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert. Černý (Notebook 114.57) [T]; DeM Database [M].

Inhalt: Abrechnung hauptsächlich über Mineralien, die wohl als Pigmente verwendet wurden.

Datierung: Keine Angabe.

Bemerkung: Dieses Ostrakon findet sich ebenfalls nicht in den Beständen des Münchner Museums, seine Existenz und Aufbewahrung in München erschließt sich allein aus Černý (Notebook 114.57). Es muss wohl zu den Kriegsverlusten gerechnet werden.

2.3. Papyri

ÄS 809

Andere Bezeichnung: P. Mook;[131] P. Münch jur;[132] Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums — „Special-Verzeichniss der Papyrus(-Fragmente)" Nr. 10;[133] Museum antiker Kleinkunst Inv.-Nr.: 37;[134] Pap. Mook. Jurist. Pap.[135]

Material: Papyrus.

Maße (H × B in cm): 17,5 × 35 (Rahmenmaß: 22,5 × 45,5).

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Einseitige Beschriftung mit zwei Kolumnen in schwarzer und roter Tinte. Der Papyrus ist links, oben und unten nahezu komplett, rechts unvollständig. Kolumne 1: neun Zeilen, Kolumne 2: elf Zeilen. Die Schrift läuft parallel zu den Fasern. Der Text in einer ordentlichen Buchschrift ist aufgrund von Löchern und Brüchen sehr fragmentarisch.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Vermutl. Gebelein; aus der Sammlung Mook, die 1878 bis 1882 für das Königliche Antiquarium erworben wurde.[136]

127 1958 ergänzte J. Černý in Notebook 114.58 die Lesung des Beginns von Z. 6. Ob dies doch am Original oder mit Hilfe eines Fotos geschah, kann an dieser Stelle nicht festgestellt werden.

128 Die Angaben zu Material, Maße, Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung sowie Erwerb basieren auf Černý (Notebook 114.57).

129 DeM Database.

130 Černý (Notebook 114.57). Auch dieses Stück wurde von W. Spiegelberg im gleichen Zeitraum wie ÄS 8381, München, Univ. Ägyptol. Seminar 11a (= DeM 14) und Univ. München 25a gekauft und könnte damit ebenfalls aus der Grabung von B. Bruyère, 1929 am „Trou Schiaparelli" stammen.

131 Spiegelberg (1928a).

132 Scharff & Seidl (1939: 25).

133 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 33.

134 Laut Museumsdatenbank.

135 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 33.

136 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 30 und 33.

Bibliographie: Burkard & Fischer-Elfert (1994: 104 Nr. 154) [M]; Černý (Notebook 170.9–11)[137] [T]; von Christ (1901: 120); Gardiner (Notebook 31.10–11) [T]; Müller & Löhr (1976: 212) [M]; Scharff & Seidl (1939: 25–26); Schulman (1964: 96–97) [Ü Kol. 2, 5–9]; Spiegelberg (1928a: 105–115 mit Taf. I) [B, K, Ph, T, Ü]; Zivie (1979: 147–148).

Inhalt: Prozessprotokoll über nicht gezahlte Steuern des Soldaten *Mrj* an den Tempel der Hathor in Gebelein. Angezeigt wurde er vom Schatzmeister *Sbk-ḥtp* und von der „Qenbet der Hörenden" zu 100 Stockhieben verurteilt.

Datierung: 18. Dynastie, Thutmosis IV.

ÄS 818

Andere Bezeichnung: Pap. München 19;[138] Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums — „Special-Verzeichniss der Papyrus(-Fragmente)" Nr. 19.[139]

Material: Papyrus.

Maße (H × B in cm): 10,5 × 11,5.[140]

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Beidseitige Beschriftung in schwarzer Tinte. Vorderseite (H/V): sechs Zeilen, wobei die Enden fehlen; Rückseite: fünf Zeilen mit ebenfalls felenden Zeilenenden. Wendung: Vorderseite oben = Rückseite unten. Eine unbekannte Anzahl von Zeilen fehlen Vorderseite oben bzw. Rückseite unten.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist ein Deir-el-Medine-Kontext sicher. Möglicherweise ebenfalls Teil der Sammlung Mook.[141]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert. Černý (Notebook 35.52)[142] [T]; DeM Database [M].

Inhalt: Brief einer Frau an einen männlichen Adressaten über ein Bett und eine Reise nach Memphis (*Mn-nfr*). Die Rückseite nennt den vergöttlichten Amenophis und die Göttin Meresger.

Datierung: Ramessidisch.

Bemerkung: F.J. Lauth nimmt schon 1865 den im Königlichen Antiquarium ausgestellten Papyrus in seinem *Erklärendes Verzeichniss (Catalogue raisonné) der in München befindlichen Denkmäler des ägyptischen Alterthums* auf: „Das Verbum *hab*, „senden", sowie der Passus: *em chet er Mennefer*, „bei der Abreise nach Memphis", berechtigen, diesen Papyrus als *epistolographischen* oder *geographischen* zu bezeichnen." Er erkennt, dass „beide Seiten von derselben Hand geschrieben" worden sind. Interessant ist auch die einleitende Bemerkung, dass es sich hierbei um ein „Beispiel eines Palimpsesten" handelt (Lauth 1865: 30). Diese Angabe fehlt bei Černý (Notebook 35.52).

Kriegsverlust? 1959 nimmt J. Černý Korrekturen an der Umschrift vor (Notebook 35.52). Ob er dafür noch mal das Original konsultierte, lässt sich an dieser Stelle leider nicht feststellen. Zur Verwechslung mit ÄS 819, siehe die Bemerkung dort.

137 Publiziert in Allam (1973: Taf. 102–103).

138 Černý (Notebook 35.52); DeM Database.

139 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 34.

140 Die Angaben zu Maße, sowie Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung basieren auf Černý (Notebook 35.52).

141 Auf den Seiten 30 und 33 des Inventars der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums findet sich der Vermerk, dass 22 Papyrus-Fragmente aus der Sammlung von F. Mook angekauft und diese mit bereits vorhandenen Fragmenten in dem oben erwähnten „Special-Verzeichniss der Papyrus(-Fragmente)" aufgenommen wurden. Leider erwähnt dieses Verzeichnis mit insgesamt 38 Einträgen nur bei vier Papyri explizit die Herkunft aus der Sammlung Mook (nämlich für ÄS 808, ÄS 809, ÄS 826, ÄS 834), bei den 18 anderen findet sich keine entsprechende Kennzeichnung. Möglicherweise gehörten also auch ÄS 818 sowie ÄS 819 ehemals in die Sammlung Mook.

142 Mit dem Hinweis, dass die Abschrift am 17.8.1929 angefertigt wurde.

ÄS 819

Andere Bezeichnung: Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums — „Special-Verzeichniss der Papyrus(-Fragmente)“ Nr. 20;[143] ÄS 818 [sic!].[144]

Material: Papyrus.

Maße (H × B in cm): Der Hauptteil (auf einem Blatt angeordnet) misst im derzeitigen Zustand 24,1 × 38,9. Er ist aus zahlreichen einzelnen Fragmenten lückenhaft zusammengesetzt. Zwei weitere Blätter umfassen über 90 kleine Fragmente zwischen wenigen Millimetern und 4 × 4 Größe.[145]

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Stark zerstört durch die Lücken und Brüche. Auf der Vorderseite sind 14 waagerichte Linien in einem Abstand von ca. 1,5–1,9 cm in schwarzer Tinte (vor)gezeichnet. Auf der rechten Seite ist der Papyrus auf etwa 5 cm gräulich verfärbt. Hier und auch an anderen Stellen sind schwache Spuren einer früheren Beschriftung zu erkennen, die eventuell abgewaschen wurden. Sie standen vermutlich mit dem Text auf der Rückseite in Verbindung. Linien und Text laufen parallel zu den Fasern. Rückseite: Verschiedene hieratische Beschriftungen in unterschiedlichen Handschriften in schwarzer und roter Tinte, z. T. um 180 Grad gedreht.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Herkunft und Erwerb sind unbekannt. Möglicherweise aus der Sammlung Mook.[146]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert. Geiseler (2006: 87–99); Geiseler (2008: 51–61 mit Taf. VII–XIII).

Inhalt: Rückseite: Verschiedene Abrechnungen, die z. T. datiert sind.

Datierung: Neues Reich.

Bemerkung: S.-E. Geiseler restaurierte im Rahmen ihrer Diplomarbeit 2004 den stark fragmentarischen Papyrus ÄS 819. Bei der Bearbeitung unterlief ihr allerdings ein Irrtum, denn sie ging davon aus, dass es sich bei P. München ÄS 818 und P. München ÄS 819 um einen zusammengehörigen Text handelt: „Hinweis über den Inhalt der Handschrift liefern die Inventarbucheinträge des Museums. Sie bezeugen mehrere hieratische Texte auf den Fragmenten: eine Reisebeschreibung und zwei verschiedene Rechnungen“, so S.-E. Geiseler (2008: 54). Zwar war ihr die Transkription von P. München ÄS 818 durch Černý (Notebook 35.52) bekannt und damit auch die Größe des Fragments sowie die Tatsache, dass der Papyrus beidseitig beschrieben war, der P. München ÄS 819 auf der Vorderseite dagegennur noch Linien aufweist. Dennoch verschmolzen beide Papyri in ihrem Aufsatz zu einem Objekt, nämlich dem Papyrus „ÄS 818“. S.-E. Geiseler (2008: 54) erkannte gewissen Ungereimtheiten bei der Verwendung der Inventarnummern, erklärte diese aber mit einem Abschreibfehler, „der lange Zeit zur Annahme führte, dass das Objekt [gemeint ist nun der Brief P. München ÄS 818, Anm. d. Autorinnen] als Kriegsverlust zu deklarieren sei.“

2.4. Stelen

ÄS 48

Andere Bezeichnung: Michel 1.[147]

Material: Kalkstein.

Maße (H × B in cm): 67,5 × 46.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Vollständig erhaltene, oben abgerundete Stele, die nur

143 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 34.

144 So Geiseler (2006; 2008), siehe unter „Bemerkung“ zu diesem Stück.

145 S.-E. Geiseler (2008: 53) nennt 97 Fragmente.

146 Siehe die Ausführungen hierzu bei P. München ÄS 818.

147 Inventar der ägyptischen Sammlung des Königlichen Antiquariums, 3.

im oberen Teil leichte Abplatzungen aufweist. Drei Register mit Darstellungen, zum Teil mit Spuren von roter Bemalung, die von Inschriften begleitet werden. Hieratische Dipinti im oberen Register und zwei(?) Zeilen auf dem unteren Abschlusstreifen.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Sammlung Michel („aus Memphis. In Cairo acquiriert von Drovetti"), so Dyroff et al. (1904: 36). Das Stück stammt aus der Sammlung des Hauptmanns Michel, die von der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1826/1827 für das Königliche Antiquarium erworben wurde. F. Michel brachte die Stele zusammen mit 17 weiteren Denkmälern von seiner ersten Ägyptenreise 1819–1823 mit; siehe Grimm (2013: 11–12).

Bibliographie: Dyroff et al. (1904: 36–37, Taf. XVIII) [B, Ph]; Lauth (1865: 23, Nr. III, 1, 14) [B]; Müller (1972: 64, Taf. 33) [B, M, Ph]; Müller & Löhr (1976: 89) [B, M, Ph (Ausschnitt)]; Schoske (1995: 24–25, 27–28) [B, Ph (Ausschnitt)].

Inhalt: Stele des *sʿšꜣ* „Polizisten" *Ptḥ-my* und seiner Frau *Kꜣjꜣ*. Oberes Register: Der Grabherr opfert kniend vor Anubis, einmal nach rechts und einmal nach links gewandt. Mittleres Register: Der Grabherr und seine Frau opfern vor Osiris und Sokar. Unteres Register: Ein Totenpriester opfert vor dem Paar, das links vor einem Speisetisch sitzend abgebildet ist. Im rechten Teil sitzen zwei weitere Paare an einem Speisetisch.

Datierung: 19. Dynastie.

Bemerkung: Die sekundär aufgetragenen hieratischen Dipinti im oberen Register und auf dem unteren Abschluss sind nahezu vollständig verblasst und lassen derzeit keine neuen Lesungen zu, die über die von Dyroff et al. (1904: 37) erkannten Zeichenreste hinausgehen.[148]

Gl. WAF 28

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Kalzitalabaster.

Maße (H × B in cm): 102 × 82.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Hochrechteckige Stele mit vertieftem Bildfeld und Hohlkehlenabschluss oben. Darstellungen, Hieroglyphenbeischriften und Dekor sind im versenkten Relief ausgeführt. Partielle Erosionen der Oberfläche sowie kleinere Abplatzungen an den Kanten. Das Hauptfeld ist in drei Register eingeteilt. Die Bildfläche ist mit einer breiten Rahmung versehen, die rechts und links mit je einer Inschriftenkolumne versehen ist. Die Figuren sind grün ausgemalt, die Kolumnentrennungen mit roter Farbe markiert. In der Hohlkehle sowie auf dem schmalen Abschluss darunter befinden sich sekundär aufgetragene hieratische Dipinti. Die erhaltenen Reste zweier Zeilen des oberen bedecken eine Fläche von ca. 12 cm in der Breite und 5 cm in der Höhe, das untere, einzeilige, erstreckt sich über die gesamte Breite des Abschlusses von ca. 54 cm und misst ca. 2,5 cm in der Höhe.

Herkunft/Erwerb: „Von der Insel Elephantine", nach Dyroff et al. (1904: 21); „vermutlich aus den Steinbrüchen bei Amarna", Schoske (1995: 128). Auch dieses Stück stammt aus der Sammlung Michel (siehe die Angaben zu ÄS 48) und kam über den Ankauf der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zunächst an das Königliche Antiquarium, von wo es auf königliches Geheiß an die Glyptothek übergeben wurde.[149]

148 F.J. Lauth (1865: 23) beschreibt die Texte folgendermaßen: „Es folgten 4 Zeilen hieratischen, fast ganz zerstörten Textes; über die Darstellung des Giebelfeldes sind hieratische Legenden geschrieben, welche an die Osiris-Litanei (cap. 148 des Todtenbuches) erinnern." Dies lässt sich am Original allerdings nicht mehr nachvollziehen.

149 Inventar in der Königlichen Glyptothek aufgestellten Kunstwerke, welche zum Königlichen Hausgut gehören, München 1917.

Bibliographie: Bayer (2014: 302–306, Taf. 72, 73a)[150] [B, U, Ü, Ph (ohne Dipinti)]; Beinlich (1992: 37–77, Taf. 8); Dyroff et al. (1904: 20–24, Taf. XI) [B, Ph]; Kozloff & Bryan (1992: 295–296) [B, Ph, K (ohne Dipinti)]; Lauth (1865: 39–40, Nr. 19) [B (ohne Dipinti)]; Müller & Löhr (1976: 82–83) [B, M, Ph (ohne Dipinti)]; Schoske (1995: 28, 128, Vorsatz hinten) [B, Ph (Ausschnitt)]; Urk. IV, 1887–1889 Nr. 683 [T (ohne Dipinti)].

Inhalt: Stele des Vorstehers des Amunstempels (*jmj-rꜣ pr Jmn*) *Sbk-nḫt*, die sein Sohn, der Schreiber des Schatzhauses (*sš n pr-ḥḍ*) *Jwny* für ihn errichtet hat: *jsṯ sw ḥr srsj kꜣ.t m ḏw n šs wʿb* „und zwar, als er die Arbeiten am Berg des reinen Alabasters beaufsichtigte“.[151] In der Hohlkehle die Darstellung zweier liegender Schakale mit Udjat-Augen. Oberes Register: Amenophis III. und Teje weihen ein Opfer an Osiris, „Herr von Rosetau, Oberhaupt von Theben-West“, zwischen dem Königspaar und dem Gott ein reich beladener Opfertisch. Mittleres Register: Links eine vierspaltige Inschrift, die allerlei Pflanzopfer vor Osiris beinhaltet und für den König lange Regierungsjahre erbittet. Daneben *Sbk-nḫt*, seine Frau und zwei Söhne. Unteres Register: Links eine fünfspaltige Inschrift mit den besten Wünschen an Osiris-Chontamenti, damit dieser den Verstorbenen *Sbk-nḫt* geleitet und dem Stelenstifter, sein Sohn *Jwny*, ein glückliches Alter und eine gute Karriere erreichen lässt. Daneben die Darstellung des *Jnwy* und seiner drei Schwestern, die räuchern und Gaben bringen. Auf dem breiten Rahmen rechts und links die königlichen Titulaturen und Namen Amenophis’ III. und der Teje mit Opferformel und Widmungsinschrift durch den Sohn des *Sbk-nḫt*.

Datierung: 18. Dynastie, Amenophis III. Aufgrund stilistischer und prosopographischer Hinweise erscheint eine Datierung an das Ende der ersten bzw. den Beginn der zweiten Dekade seiner Regierungszeit wahrscheinlich, Bayer (2014: 305–306).

Bemerkung: Mit Hilfe von Infrarotaufnahmen durch den Fotografen R. Hessing, München, konnten weitere hieratische Zeichenreste der beiden Dipinti sichtbar gemacht werden, die über die von Dyroff et al. (1904: 23) umzeichneten hinausgehen. Eine sinnvolle Lesung ist bislang allerdings noch nicht gelungen und muss vorerst zurückgestellt werden.

2.5. Gefäßaufschriften

ÄS 1383

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Keramik.

Maße (H × D in cm): 48,5 × 18,3.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Konisches Gefäß aus Mergelton, dessen oberer Teil abgebrochen ist. Beschriftet mit zwei Zeilen quer zum Gefäßkörper in roter Tinte, der Zeilenanfang ist dabei jeweils nur leicht beschädigt.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Fundort unbekannt. 1927 durch W. Spiegelberg im Antikenhandel in Kairo bei M. Nahman erworben.[152]

Bibliographie: Grimm (1995b: 121) [M, Ph, Ü]; Kessler (1989: 291) [Ü]; Spiegelberg (1928b: 14–17 mit Taf. 2b) [B, F, K, Ph, T, Ü].

Inhalt: Der Schreiber der Maat(?) des Osiris-Tempels *Ḥrj* begrub einen toten Ibis in diesem Gefäß, den er in Jahr 9 eines unbekannten Herrschers im Kanal des *Mn-Pḥ.tj-Rʿ* (= Ramses I.) gefunden hatte.

150 Mit weiterer Literatur.

151 Damit sind sicherlich die Alabastersteinbrüche von Hatnub genannt, wo auch sein Bruder *Sbk-ms* die Arbeiten überwachte.

152 Grimm (1995b: 59).

Datierung: Jahr 9, 1. Monat Schemu, Tag 25. Nach Spiegelberg (1928b: 3) aus paläographischen Gründen Ende 19. Dynastie.[153]

ÄS 2629

Andere Bezeichnung: –

Material: Keramik.

Maße (H × D in cm): 67 × 29,3 (am Henkel).[154]

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Die Spitzhenkelamphore aus Mergelton mit zwei Henkeln ist nahezu vollständig erhalten, wenn auch in mehrere Fragmente zerbrochen. Auf der Schulter des Gefäßes oberhalb der Henkel befinden sich zwei Zeilen einer hieratischen Aufschrift in einem recht kleinen und kursiven Duktus (ca. 3 cm hoch und 13,5 cm breit). Die Zeilenenden sind verblasst und nicht mehr erhalten. Ober- und unterhalb dieser beiden Zeilen befindet sich jeweils eine weitere Zeile in einem größeren und großzügigeren Duktus, die bis auf wenige Zeichenreste vorerst nicht lesbar ist.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Kuban, Nekropole 110, Grab 276;[155] das Stück kam durch Fundteilung in die Sammlung Bissing, der seine Nubica 1919 und 1922 der Münchner Sammlung schenkte.[156]

Bibliographie: Unpubliziert.

Inhalt: Weinamphore mit Datierung, Angabe der Institution und des Weinanbaugebiets sowie Nennung des Oberwinzers.

Datierung: Jahr 25. Die Bezugnahme auf ein Weingut Ramses' II. liefert einen *terminus ante quem non*.

Bemerkung: Unterhalb des rechten Henkels wurden mit Bleistift die Angaben „Kuban" und die Ziffern „110/276" angebracht.

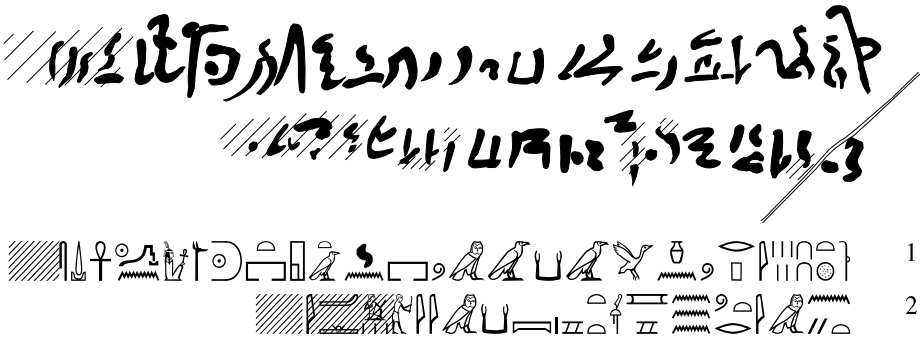
Abb. 7. ÄS 2629 (Foto R. Hessing)

153 D. Kessler (1989: 291) übernimmt diesen Datierungsvorschlag irrtümlich als Ende 20. Dynastie.

154 Laut Inventarkarte des Museums.

155 Nach der Liste der Bissing-Schenkungen nubischer Objekte.

156 So eine handschriftliche Notiz vom 30.05.1922 in der Liste der Bissing-Schenkungen nubischer Objekte. Eine weitere Amphore ÄS 2620 aus der Nekropole 110, Grab 308, weist ebenfalls Reste einer hieratischen Inschrift auf, konnte jedoch im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags nicht mehr bearbeitet werden.



1 *rnp.t-sp 25 jrp n pꜣ kꜣmw n tꜣ ḥw.t (Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp-n-Rʿ ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb* [
2 *ntj m jtrw jmntj.t ḥrj-kꜣmyw Ḥw*[*y*(?)

1 Regierungsjahr 25: Wein vom Weingut des Tempels (*Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp-n-Rʿ* L.H.G. [
2 der vom Westlichen Flussarm (stammt); Oberwinzer *Ḥw*[*y*(?)

Zeile 1

Der Haken über dem Genitiv-*n* vor *tꜣ ḥw.t* ist unklar. Sind hier Pluralstriche gemeint, die zum vorhergehenden *kꜣmw* „Weingarten/Weingut" gehören, auch wenn dieses Substantiv im Singular mit Artikel *pꜣ* steht? Oder handelt es sich um einen Füllstrich? Es gibt Beispiele für Schreibungen von *nꜣ kꜣmw.w n tꜣ ḥw.t* bei denen die Pluralstrichen über dem Genitiv-*n* stehen, siehe die Krugaufschriften IES 1436–1438 und 1440 bei Bouvier (2000b: Taf. 74–75).

Zur sehr kursiven Schreibung von *Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp-n-Rʿ* vergleiche auch Krugaufschrift IES 2373, Bouvier (2001: Taf. 97).

Am Ende der Zeile kann eine Ergänzung zu *m pr Jmn* angenommen werden. Hier ist das Ramesseum gemeint.[157]

Zeile 2

jtrw jmntj „Westlicher Fluss" bezeichnet den Kanobischen Nilarm im nordwestlichen Delta, siehe dazu die ausführliche Diskussion des Deltaflusssystems nach den ägyptischen Quellen bei Bietak (1975: 117–139).

Der Name des Oberwinzers ist sehr stark verblasst, die vorhandenen Spuren lassen aber die Lesung *Ḥwy* zu. Ein Oberwinzer dieses Namens ist in der Zeit Ramses' II. gut belegt, siehe die Belege bei Bouvier (2003: 50).

Wein bildete einen wichtigen Bestandteil im Opferkult für die Götter des Alten Ägypten und war bereits seit der Frühzeit bekannt. Die großen Tempel, königlichen Domänen und andere Einrichtungen betrieben entsprechend eigene Weingüter, die vor allem im Neuen Reich und dort besonders im Delta zahlreiche Weinplantagen besaßen. Die Weinamphoren des Neuen Reiches liefern wichtige Informationen zum Weinanbau, denn ihre hieratischen Aufschriften nennen in der Regel das Jahr der Herstellung, die verwaltende Domäne, das Anbaugebiet, die Qualität und den verantwortlichen Winzer. Auch die gesiegelten Gefäßverschlüsse bieten Angaben über Institution und Herkunft.[158]

157 Haring (1997: 25–29).

158 Anschauliche Beispiele bieten die 26 zum Teil komplett intakten Weinamphoren mit gesiegelten Lehmverschlüssen aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun, deren Aufschriften von J. Černý (1965) publiziert wurden. Fotografien der Gefäße von H. Burton können auf der Website des Griffith-Instituts unter http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/ (Zugriff am 09.06.2023) eingesehen werden.

Die wichtigsten und zahlenmäßig größten Gruppen bilden die Krugaufschriften aus dem Palastbereich Amenophis' III. von Malqata,[159] aus Amarna[160] und aus dem Ramesseum[161]. Aber auch in der Festungsanlage in Buhen wurden in einem Weinkeller zahlreiche Amphorenfragmente mit Aufschriften sowie gesiegelte Krugverschlüsse gefunden.[162] Aus der Arbeitersiedlung Deir el-Medine sind bislang 204 Fragmente von Weinkrugaufschriften publiziert.[163] Eine Zusammenstellung und Auswertung des älteren publizierten Materials wurde von W. Helck (1963: 717–736) vorgenommen, K*RI* 2, 673–696 fasst das ramessidische unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten zusammen.

Die Region *jtrw jmntj*, die auf dem Münchner Stück genannt wird, ist erstmals als Weinanbaugebiet auf den Amphoren aus dem Totentempelbezirk Amenophis' III. belegt.[164] Auch aus Tell el-Amarna stammen zahlreiche Belege für diesen Ort am Kanobischen Nilarm,[165] der in der 18. Dynastie offensichtlich zu den bevorzugten Lagen gehört.

Von den etwa 150 in Buhen gefundenen gesiegelten Krugverschlüssen und hieratischen Krugaufschriften geben zwei Siegel und zwei hieratische Aufschriften „*jrp n jtrw jmntj*" an.[166] Zumindest ein Stück kann in die Ramessidenzeit datiert werden.[167]

Anhand des reichen Materials an Amphorenaufschriften, das vor allem im Ramesseum und in Deir el-Medine gefunden wurde,[168] lässt sich für die Ramessidenzeit ganz grob folgendes Bild entwerfen: Die Weingärten, die zum Besitz des Ramesseums gehören, sind wesentlich zahlreicher als die der Totentempel aus der 18. Dynastie und erstrecken sich über ein größeres Gebiet, das neben dem westlichen Delta vor allem nun das östliche — um die neue Hauptstadt Piramesse herum — umfasst.[169] Weitere Weingärten wurden um Heliopolis, Medum und Hermopolis angelegt. Das vorher so häufig belegte Gebiet am „Westlichen Fluss" wird deutlich weniger genannt; K.A. Kitchen (1992: 117) zählt nur noch drei Belege,

159 Hayes (1951: 35–56, 82–112); Leahy (1978).

160 Petrie (1894: 32–34); Peet & Woolley (1923: 165–167, Taf. LXIII–LXIV); Frankfort & Pendlebury (1933: 112, Taf. LVIII); Pendlebury (1951: 163–169, Taf. LXXXV–XCIX); Leahy (1985: 65–109).

161 Spiegelberg (1898; 1923: 25–36); Bouvier (1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2001; 2003).

162 Smith (1976).

163 Koenig (1980: 53–93, Taf. 32–63). In den Magazinen des IFAO liegt allerdings noch ein großer Teil unpublizierten Materials, so Tallet (2003: 257). Zu diesem erscheint ein Beitrag von L. Bavay und P. Tallet in der selben Reihe (Anm. d. Red.). Trotz der großen Anzahl an Funden, war Wein nicht Bestandteil der regelmäßigen Grundversorgung der Arbeiter von Deir el-Medine, sondern wurde nur gelegentlich und dann auch nur im Rahmen wichtiger Feste an die Bewohner des Dorfes geliefert, Tallet (2003: 268). Nach B. Haring (1997: 357) gibt es keinerlei Aufzeichnungen über Lieferungen von Wein aus einem der thebanischen Totentempel an die Arbeiterschaft. Bier dagegen spielte eine wesentlich größere Rolle im täglichen Leben, was auch ein Blick in die Abrechnungen, Lieferungen, Notizen und Journale, die in der DeM Database aufgenommen sind, beweist: Das Schlagwort „beer" führt zu 220 Treffern, wohingegen „wine" nur auf 19 Ostraka und Papyri genannt ist.

164 Haring (1997: 350); Helck (1963: 717–728); Hayes (1951: 88–89).

165 Vor allem Pendlebury (1951: 165).

166 Smith (1976: 183–185, Tabelle III).

167 Kat. Nr. 1360 aus einem Jahr 10, Smith (1976: 187, Tabelle IV, Anm. 2).

168 Weitere Belege stammen aus dem Tal der Königinnen, aus TT 217, TT 359 sowie dem Tempel Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu, siehe Haring (1997: 352 mit Anm. 1).

169 Kitchen (1992: 119, Taf. 1, 120).

die zum Ramesseum gehören.[170] Er vermutet, dass in dieser Region nach wie vor die Weingärten des Ramesseums lagen, sie aber nun unter verschiedenen Namen geführt werden.[171] Eine weitere Aufschrift *jrp n jtrw jmntj* stammt aus Jahr 37 Ramses' II. und wurde im Tal der Könige gefunden, vgl. Samie (2010: 44–45, Abb. 14, Taf. XIV).[172]

Eine Weinkrugaufschrift aus Deir el-Medine gibt *jtrw jmntj* als Weingarten des Totentempels Ramses' III. an.[173] Eine weitere mit dieser Angabe stammt aus Jahr 7 dieses Herrschers.[174]

An dieser Stelle soll kurz auf die verschiedenen Schreibungen von *jtrw jmntj* eingegangen werden. Denn neben der ausführlichen Form, wie sie im Münchner Stück vorliegt, und seiner Varianten, gibt es auch noch verschiedene Kurzformen, auf die schon J. Černý (1965: 1) hingewiesen hat. Bei einigen Krugaufschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun (Nr. 5, 11, 21 und evtl. 18) wird der westliche Fluss knapp geschrieben. Eine weitere Form ist (Nr. 7). Unter den von Y. Koenig (1980) publizierten Aufschriften für *jrp*-Wein, die in Deir el-Medine gefunden wurden, befinden sich zehn mit der ausführlichen Bezeichnung .[175] Die bewirtschaftenden Institutionen sind *pr Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ*, *pr Ḥnsw*, *pr Jmn-ḥtp*, *pr Nb-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ* und *tꜣ ḥw.t Nb-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ*. 12 weitere Aufschriften nennen *jtrw jmntj* in der kürzeren Form .[176] Als Domänen werden *pr Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ*, *tꜣ ḥw.t Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ*, *tꜣ ḥw.t n.t ḥḥ.w rnp.wt nsw-bjtj Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ mry-Jmn* und *pr Rʿ-ms-sw* genannt. Das Ramesseum befindet sich nicht darunter, so dass die Münchner Weinamphore schon allein aus diesem Grunde eine Besonderheit darstellt.

Handschriftliche Notizen zu den Schenkungen nubischer Funde aus der Sammlung Bissing an das Münchner Museum bestätigen die Herkunft aus Kuban durch die Angabe „110/276". Damit ist die Amphore eindeutig zu identifizieren mit der „Large amphora with hieratic inscription, Type S.", die C.M. Firth im Rahmen des *Archaeological Survey of Nubia* im Felsgrab 276 nördlich der Nekropole 110 (östlich des damaligen Dorfes Kuban) fand.[177]

Kuban war eine der Festungsanlagen im nördlichen Nubien, etwa 110 km südlich von Assuan auf der Ostseite des Nils gelegen und damit gegenüber der Festung von Ikkur, mit der sie vermutlich eine

170 Allerdings ohne genaue Nennung der Stücke. Drei weitere Krugaufschriften (Nrn. 6295, 6339 und 6396) aus Deir el-Medine stammen vom Totentempel Haremhabs, davon nennt eine *jtrw jmntj*, siehe Haring (1997: 351); Koenig (1980: Taf. 33, 41–41a, 49–49a).

171 Nach P. Tallet (2003: 263–264) verschwindet die Bezeichnung *jtrw jmntj* unter der Herrschaft Sethos' I. vollständig und taucht erst gegen Ende der Regierungszeit Ramses' II. wieder auf. Das soll aber nicht bedeuten, dass in der gesamten Region kein Wein mehr angebaut wird, sondern dass eine Umbezeichnung stattgefunden hat: Der westliche Fluss wird zum „Wasser des Ptah"; der Hauptarm des Nils, ehemals *jtrw ʿꜣ*, also der Zweig von Damiette, zum „Wasser des Amun" und der östliche Zweig, der Pelusische Nilarm, zum „Wasser des Re"; eine Benennung also nach den drei Hauptgottheiten. Durch diese Terminologie „idéologique" (Tallet 2003: 265), wird der östliche Nilarm, der geographisch aufgrund seiner Versandung sicher nicht mehr die gleiche Bedeutung hat wie die beiden anderen Arme, an dem aber die neue Hauptstadt Piramesse entsteht, in die Topographie des Nildeltas wieder eingebunden.

172 O. Kairo JE 72488, 2.

173 Aufschrift Nr. 6472, Koenig (1980: Taf. 60); siehe auch Haring (1997: 347, 354).

174 O. Wien H 11, siehe K*RI* 5, 448, 11–14.

175 Nr. 6290, 6292, 6294, 6304, 6353, 6355, 6405, 6438, 6478, 6482.

176 Nr. 6299, 6339, 6345, 6357, 6387, 6395, 6443, 6459, 6461, 6472, 6479, 6496.

177 Firth (1927: 91). Wir danken F. Pumpenmeier, die die Angaben auf der Weinamphore mit dem Grabungsbericht übereinbringen konnte. Drei weitere Gefäße sowie Kleinfunde wie Perlen und Skarabäen konnten aus diesem Grab 276 geborgen werden, darunter auch der kleine Skarabäus München ÄS 2544 aus Hartgestein.

Einheit bildete.[178] Die Anlage wurde im Mittleren Reich unter Sesostris I. gegründet. Sie fungierte als Kontroll- und Stützpunkt für die Expeditionen zu den Goldminen im Wadi Allaqi und war darüber hinaus ein wichtiger Handelsplatz und religiöses Zentrum der Region.[179]

Die in das Jahr 3 Ramses' II. datierte sog. „Qubanstele" beschreibt unter anderem das Anlegen eines Brunnens am Weg zu den Goldminen im Wadi Allaqi.[180] Zahlreiche weitere Belege stammen aus der Ramessidenzeit, die beweisen, dass die Ägypter, vor allem in der Zeit Ramses' II., hier noch eine starke Präsenz zeigten, die danach allerdings stetig abnahm. Die letzten Belege können der Regierungszeit Ramses' IX. zugeordnet werden.[181]

Die Münchner Weinamphore liefert uns zu ihrer eigenen Geschichte also folgende Informationen:

1. Die verwaltende Einheit ist das Ramesseum, wie *tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp-n-Rʿ ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb (m pr Jmn)* belegt.
2. Die Datierung Jahr 25 weist in die Regierungszeit Ramses' II. oder evtl. auch Ramses' III., aber siehe Punkt 3.
3. Sollte der Name des Oberwinzers *Ḥwy* gelesen werden können, wäre er unter Ramses II. gut bekannt.[182]
4. Der Wein selbst stammt aus dem Anbaugebiet von *jtrw jmntj* im westlichen Delta, das zu dieser Zeit nicht (mehr) unter diesem Namen oder zumindest sehr viel seltener als Herkunftsort eines Ramesseumweins belegt ist.
5. Auch wenn die zweite Aufschrift auf dem Gefäß zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt nicht gelesen werden kann, deutet sie doch darauf hin, dass diese Weinamphore wiederbefüllt und neu etikettiert wurde,[183] ob mit *jrp*-Wein, einer anderen Flüssigkeit oder einem trockenen Nahrungsmittel,[184] muss vorerst offengelassen werden. Zurzeit wird geprüft, ob sich etwaige Reste in dem Gefäß für eine Inhaltsanalyse eignen.
6. Wie schon die Vergleichsstücke aus Buhen zeigen, scheute man die lange Reise nicht, um Wein aus dem Delta in das nördliche Unternubien zu transportieren.

178 Zusammenfassende Informationen zur Festung Kuban mit einer kurzen Aufstellung der wichtigsten Funde aus der Ramessidenzeit bei Hein (1991: 12–15). Kuban als Tempelstadt behandelt J. Vieth (2018: bes. 234–240).

179 Vieth (2018: 218).

180 Die Stele befindet sich heute in Grenoble, Inv.-Nr. MG 1937, MG 1969, MG 3565. Eine Transliteration des Textes ist in K*RI* 2, 353–360 wiedergegeben.

181 Hein (1991: 15).

182 Nr. 258: Spiegelberg (1898: XXX, XXXA); Nr. 296, 302: Spiegelberg (1898: XXXV); IES 281–300: Bouvier (1999: Taf. 71–76). Siehe auch Spiegelberg (1923: 33), der für *Ḥwy* 21 Belege zählt. *Ḥwy* hat das Amt des Oberwinzers an seinen Sohn *Nḏm* weitergegeben, wie Aufschrift Nr. 6482 aus einem Jahr 2 belegt; Koenig (1980: Taf. 61). Auch bei diesem Stück stammt der Wein aus der Gegend von *jtrw jmntj*.

183 Wiederverwendete Weinamphoren sind gelegentlich belegt, so z. B. die Nr. 6 und 25 aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun, siehe Tallet (1995: 473–474). Aus Malqata belegen zahlreiche Stücke, dass die leere Amphore zurückgeschickt, wieder befüllt, verschlossen und neu etikettiert wurde, wenn auch nicht zwingend vom gleichen Weingut, von dem sie einst stammten, so Hayes (1951: 39–40). Zweimal verwendet wurde ein Gefäß aus Deir el-Medine, dessen Aufschriften Nr. 6150 (Koenig 1979: 28, Taf. 17) und 6330 (Koenig 1980: 61, Taf. 39, 39a) von Bavay et al. (2000: 85 mit Taf. 7 a–f) als zusammengehörig identifiziert werden konnten. Zuerst wurde in einem Jahr 28 unter Nennung des Weingartens, der Region, des Oberwinzers und eines Verantwortlichen jrp nfr abgefüllt und später — in einer anderen Handschrift notiert — *srmt nḏm* „süßes *srmt*-Bier" durch einen Torwächter.

184 Im Grab des *Jpwy* (TT 217) wurden Fragmente von Weinkrügen gefunden, die u. a. das Ramesseum nennen. Einige von ihnen waren mit Getreide gefüllt, siehe Haring (1997: 358); eine Wiederverwendung für trockene Nahrungsmittel ist also nicht auszuschließen.

ÄS 4132

Andere Bezeichnung: Alte Inv.-Nr.: 44.[185]

Material: Keramik.

Maße (H × D in cm): 7,1 × 7,2.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Der kleine Napf mit Standfuß ist fast vollständig erhalten, nur an der Lippe und am Fuß befinden sich geringe Abplatzungen. Die einzeilige neuhieratische Aufschrift ist in schwarzer Tinte geschrieben.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Fundort unbekannt. Am 10.02.1927 Ankauf durch W. Spiegelberg im Antikenhandel in Luxor bei M. Mahmud für die Ägyptische Sammlung des Museums Antiker Kleinkunst in München.[186]

Bibliographie: Grimm (1995b: 111–112) [M, Ph, Ü].

Inhalt: Die Aufschrift *šnʿ.w jꜣbt.t* „*šnʿ.w*-Pflanze des Ostens" gibt Auskunft über den Inhalt des Gefäßes.

Datierung: Neues Reich, nach Grimm (1995b: 111).[187]

Dieses kleine Gefäß diente augenscheinlich zur Aufbewahrung einer medizinischen Substanz auf Pflanzenbasis. Worum genau es sich bei *šnʿ.w* handelt, ist bislang nicht geklärt.[188] Die Schreibung von *šnʿ.w* in den drei medizinischen Rezepten

, P. Ebers, r° Kol. 73, 18–19 (= Eb 566),

, P. Hearst, Kol. 9, 6–7 (= H 127) und

, P. Berlin P 3038, r° Kol. 7, 11–12 (= Bln 87)[189]

unterscheidet sich von der auf dem Münchner Gefäß, so dass eine Identifizierung mit der Ingredienz des Münchner Gefäßes nicht sicher ist. Die von uns vorgeschlagene Lesung des Determinativs als kann auf Samen oder eine kleine Frucht hinweisen, siehe auch Germer (2008: 10), sie ist aber nicht sicher. Der Schreiber des Medizinischen Papyrus Berlin 3038 schrieb r° Kol. 7, 5 diese Gruppe ausführlich , der von P. Ebers (r° Kol. 4, 18) bzw. noch häufiger in Ligatur (r° Kol. 5, 13), auch in P. Hearst herrscht die Schreibung in Ligatur, z. B. in r° Kol. 2, 6 vor. Der Anstrich erfolgt bei beiden Beispielen von rechts, wohingegen der Anstrich beim Münchner Stück links beginnt.

Alternativ ist auch eine Lesung der Ligatur als in Betracht zu ziehen, wie etwa Vergleiche mit als Determinativ eines Öles oder Fettes in P. Ebers, r° Kol. 5, 14 (hier *mrḥ.t*) oder in P. Hearst, Kol. 2, 1 (in *ʿḏ*), die entsprechend in Krügen aufbewahrt wurden, zeigen.

W. Westendorf (1999: 508) überlegt, ob der Name *šnʿ.w* von *šnʿ* „abwehren" abgeleitet werden kann und ein Dornengestrüpp oder eine Distel bezeichnet. V. Loret (1930–1935: 27) setzt die *šnʿ.w*-Pflanze der drei medizinischen Papyri (*Wb* 4, 506.13) mit *šnʿ*, der oberägyptischen Wappenpflanze gleich (*Wb* 4, 506.12).[190]

185 Laut Museumsdatenbank.

186 Grimm (1995b: 111).

187 H.-W. Fischer-Elfert setzt dieses Gefäß allerdings eher saitenzeitlich an (persönliche Mitteilung). Es wird in dieser Publikation also unter Vorbehalt aufgenommen.

188 Siehe auch *Wb* 4, 506.13 "offizinell verwendete Pflanze" und GrMed VI 497–8 „eine unbekannte Pflanze". Wir bedanken uns bei Jonathan Christian Russell, Leiden, für eine Einführung in die Thematik.

189 P. Berlin P 3038 datiert in die 19. Dynastie, P. Hearst und P. Ebers früher, an das Ende der 17. bis frühe 18. Dynastie. Die umfassende Bearbeitung dieser drei medizinischen Papyri sowie alle Informationen zu den Metadaten werden vom Projekt Science in Ancient Egypt online zur Verfügung gestellt, siehe https://sae.saw-leipzig.de/de (Zugriff am 25.06.2022).

190 An dieser Stelle kann nicht auf die Diskussion eingegangen werden, ob es sich bei *šnʿ.w* dann letztendlich um eine frühe Form von *šmʿ.w* handeln könnte, wie z. B. P. Koemoth (1999: 73–85) vorschlägt.

Abb. 8. ÄS 4132 (Foto M. Franke)

šnʿ.w kommt in Kombination mit anderen Zutaten nach Eb 566 und H 127 in Rezepten für Verbände oder Einreibungen gegen Schwellungen an Körperstellen zum Einsatz und wirkt in einem Salbmittel gegen Entzündungen, wie Bln 87 belegt.

Von der Substanz in unserem Gefäß heißt es, sie kommt aus dem Osten. Medizinische Papyri geben für manche Pflanzen den Standort an, an dem sie wachsen. Bekannt sind z. B. die Zusätze „Wüste", „Feld", „unterägyptisch", „des Nordens" oder auch das Herkunftsland wie „Byblos", „Kreta" oder „Palästina".[191] So stammt das „Schlangenholz" *ḫt-n-ḥfꜣ.w* in P. Brooklyn 47.218.48 + 85, Kol. 3, 6 (= § 43c) aus *ḫꜣs.t jꜣbt.t*, der „östlichen Wüste", also der arabischen Wüste zwischen Nil und Rotem Meer.[192] Ob die allgemeinere Bezeichnung *jꜣbt.t* auf dem Münchner Stück ähnlich geographisch verortet werden kann, muss offen bleiben.

Auch bei diesem Napf wird zurzeit geprüft, ob Inhaltsreste für eine Analyse vorhanden sind.

ÄS 4313

Andere Bezeichnung: Bissing-Nr. T 2455.[193]

Material: Keramik.

Maße (H × D in cm): 16,4 × 14,7.

Erhaltungszustand und Beschriftung: Kleinformatiges Gefäß,[194] nahezu vollständig erhalten, nur an der Lippe ist ein Stück herausgebrochen. Bemalt mit parallellaufenden horizontalen Streifen in rot und schwarz an Bauch, Schulter und Hals des Gefäßes. Zusätzlich ist ein Tropfendekor am unteren Streifen auf der Schulter angebracht. Dazu jeweils drei senkrechte Streifen-Gruppen, die den Gefäßkörper in drei Segmente teilen. Diese sind darüber hinaus mit jeweils sechs Punkten verziert. Die freien Flächen wurden mit insg. acht Zeilen in einer neuhieratischen Schrift mit schwarzer Tinte beschriftet.

Herkunft/Erwerb: Keine Angaben zur Herkunft, aus der Sammlung Bissing.

Bibliographie: Buchberger (1991: 49–87 mit Taf. 2–6) [B, K, M, Ph, T, U, Ü]; Wildung (1980: 37); Arnold (1978: 169 Nr. 265) [M].

Inhalt: Brief des *Ḥtp* an *Jpw-rs.tj* mit einleitendem Briefformular und guten Wünschen. Im Hauptteil des Briefes beschwichtigt der Absender die Adressatin, dass es keine andere Frau neben ihr gebe und schickt ihr zur Bekräftigung seiner Zuneigung Rosinen, Mehl und Zwiebeln.

Datierung: Mittlere bis späte 18. Dynastie, Buchberger (1991: 50).

Bemerkung: H. Buchberger (1991: 75) vermutet aufgrund der genannten Götter Min und Amun-Re, dass das Paar aus Achmim stammt und sich *Jpw-rs.tj* bei Abfassung des Briefes in Theben aufhielt.

191 Germer (2008: 10).

192 Sauneron (1989: 63 mit Anm. 1). S. Sauneron (1989: XI) datiert den Papyrus mit Fragezeichen in die 30. Dynastie.

193 Laut Inventarkarte.

194 Nach Buchberger (1991: 50) der Klasse FB 1 ordinary.

3. Zusammenfassung

Die gründliche Sichtung und Bearbeitung des hier vorgestellten hieratischen Materials aus dem Neuen Reich führte zu zahlreichen neuen Erkenntnissen. Von den 20 Ostraka, drei Papyri, zwei Stelen und vier Gefäßaufschriften waren elf bislang komplett oder teils unpubliziert. Sechs Objekte sind als Kriegsverlust zu beklagen, andere, die nach E. Brunner-Traut (1956: *passim*) verloren geglaubt waren, liegen erfreulicherweise im Museum vor.

Bei der Aufarbeitung stellte sich heraus, dass der Anteil der Texte aus der Arbeitersiedlung Deir el-Medine bzw. ihrem Umfeld hoch ist: 19 der insgesamt 29 Objekte geben Auskunft über die Versorgung der Mannschaft, die für den Bau der Gräber im Tal der Könige und Königinnen in der Ramessidenzeit verantwortlich waren. Sie bilden in Form von Lehren und Schultexten (Kemit) das literarische Leben und die Schreiberausbildung ab bzw. gewähren uns einen kleinen Einblick in den Alltag der Bewohner*innen durch ihre Briefe. Ein Großteil dieser Texte gelangte durch F.W.F.von Bissing, W. Spiegelberg und H. Brunner in das heutige Staatliche Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, wie in der Einleitung ausführlich beschrieben ist.

Für die internationale Deir-el-Medina-Forschung wäre es sicher gewinnbringend, die hier besprochenen Stücke zusammen mit den anderen Objekten aus der Arbeitersiedlung (wie Bildostraka, Stelen, Uschebtis,…) aus dem SMÄK in einem größeren Rahmen zu bearbeiten.

Inhaltsanalysen der beschrifteten Gefäße sind in Vorbereitung und sollen weitere Aussagen zur tatsächlichen Füllung und Kontextualisierung ermöglichen.

Im Rahmen des eingangs erwähnten Inschriftenprojekts wurden zahlreiche der hier diskutierten Objekte neu dokumentiert und fotografiert. Die Anwendung von Multispektralfotografie durch den Fotografen R. Hessing, verbesserte die Lesbarkeit von Zeichen oder ganzen Textpassagen deutlich und ließ bei dem einen oder anderen Stück sogar völlig verblasste Wörter wieder sichtbar werden. So konnte beispielsweise die Bearbeitung der Dipinti auf den Stelen ÄS 48 und Gl. WAF 28 neu aufgenommen werden.

Die hier gewonnenen Erkenntnisse sollen künftig auch dem Museumspublikum präsentiert werden, hierfür bieten sich der Medienguide sowie die fest installierten Medienstationen an. Mittelfristig ist vorgesehen, sämtliche, über das Neue Reich hinausgehende hieratisch beschriftete Objekte in einem eigenen Katalog zu erfassen.

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New Kingdom Hieratic Sources in the Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

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ABSTRACT

This paper revisits four New Kingdom hieratic documents held in the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. These are P. Budapest 51.1960, a papyrus bearing magical spells; P. Budapest 51.1961, another papyrus with magical healing texts; O. Budapest 95.2-E, a limestone fragment inscribed with an excerpt from the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*; and O. Budapest 51.2195, a wine jar label.

1. New Kingdom hieratic texts in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

The collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest holds a total of four New Kingdom hieratic documents, all of them Ramesside.[1] These consist of two papyri and two ostraca: P. Budapest 51.1960, a papyrus containing magical spells (§ 2); P. Budapest 51.1961, a papyrus bearing magical healing texts (§ 3); O. Budapest 95.2-E, a limestone fragment inscribed with part of a literary text (§ 4); and O. Budapest 51.2195, a wine jar label (§ 5). They do not represent a homogeneous corpus. In terms of genre, the two papyri are the most closely related, though P. Budapest 51.1961 is probably older than P. Budapest 51.1960. One of the ostraca bears a literary text, an excerpt from the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*, while the other is administrative in nature. All of these texts have already been published—except for the texts on the verso of P. Budapest 51.1960 (§ 2) and the verso of P. Budapest 51.1961 (§ 3).

As is often the case with objects in the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, we do not know much about the provenance of these artefacts. Indeed, not even the acquisition dates of the papyri are noted in the museum's records. We do know, however, when the ostraca were acquired. O. Budapest 95.2-E entered the museum

1 Other Hungarian collections holding ancient Egyptian artefacts do not possess hieratic documents from the period under investigation. The authors are thankful to József Dénes Kovács, curator of the Bequest of Frigyes Déri at Déri Musem, Debrecen, for allowing K. Jasper to consult the New Kingdom pieces of their Egyptian artefacts on 27.04.2023. As Bianka Horváth, archeologist of the Iseum Savariense, Savaria Museum, Szombathely, confirmed in personal communication with the authors (27.04.2023), no related objects are held in the Gothar Collection either, where the majority of the Iseum's ancient Egyptian artefacts are stored. Moreover, apart from the coffin of Hori (inv. no. A.1), no inscribed ancient Egyptian material is kept in the Calvinist Collections of Pápa, based on the email of Szilvia Halászné Kapcsándi, deputy collection director of the Calvinist Collections of Pápa, to the authors (26.04.2023). Finally, the hieratic papyrus held in the National Széchenyi Library, Budapest is dated to the 7th–6th century BCE. The latter papyrus is listed in Trismegistos (TM 57043) at https://www.trismegistos.org/collection/647#colldetail-table (accessed 10.05.2023).

in 1995 from the private collection of E. Gaál (1941–2005), former head of the Department of Egyptology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, while O. Budapest 51.2195 was acquired by the Hungarian National Museum much earlier, in 1916, as part of a bequest from Baron F. Révay (1835–1914). It is likely that the two papyri and O. Budapest 51.2195 were transferred from the Hungarian National Museum to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934, when the Hungarian state founded its Egyptian Collection,[2] but no surviving document proves this point. The lack of any sure evidence in this respect is due to the fact that most of the National Museum's early archives and its inventory books were lost during the Second World War and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.[3]

Over the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Hungarian National Museum acquired various ancient Egyptian artefacts. From the second half of the 19th century, a smaller number of objects, considered as objects of applied arts, also entered the Museum of Applied Arts, while some further objects were stored in the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum, which later became the Hungarian Ethnographic Museum.[4] The Hellenistic and Roman mummies and coffins from the Hungarian merchant F. Back's (1862–1958) excavations at Gamhud were exhibited, for instance, in the Industrial Exhibition Hall, organized by the Ethnographic Department.[5] Given the nature of the hieratic material, it is highly probable that they were first acquired by the Hungarian National Museum before making their way into the Museum of Fine Arts. The first two digits (51) of the inventory numbers assigned to the papyri and the wine jar label indicate that these three pieces were registered by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1951, when many artefacts in the—at that time, joint—collection of ancient Egyptian, Hellenistic, and Roman objects were first catalogued in the Museum of Fine Arts, decades after they had been acquired.

2. Papyrus Budapest 51.1960, a papyrus with magical spells

The exact provenance of P. Budapest 51.1960 is unknown (fig. 1). As mentioned above (§ 1), it probably entered the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934, though it was only catalogued in 1951. In 1974, L. Kákosy (1932–2003)—at this time, already head of Department of Egyptology at the Eötvös Loránd University—prepared a preliminary report on the text on the recto, which suggests that the papyrus was originally assigned two inventory numbers in 1951—51.1960 and 51.2168. L. Kákosy's (1974: 29) report refers to the papyrus by the latter number.[6] This mistake must have been discovered in subsequent decades and was corrected in the 1980s during a process of inventory reconciliation.[7] The papyrus was published in 1990 using the number 51.1960, by which it continues to be referenced.[8]

The papyrus consists of six fragments that vary in size.[9] A paleographic analysis of the text on the recto suggests that it should be dated to the Ramesside period (also the height of the fragments

2 Kóthay & Liptay (2013: 4) and Kóthay (2021: 306). As provided by Act VIII of 1934 "On the National Museum of Hungary," the Egyptian artefacts collected by the National Museum, the Ethnographic Museum, and the Museum of Applied Arts were transferred to the newly established Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts.

3 Personal communication, K. Lovas, head of the Central Database of the Hungarian National Museum (05.04.2023).

4 Kóthay & Liptay (2013: 4); Mekis (2013: 11–13; 15); and Kóthay (2021: 303–304, 307–308).

5 Kóthay (2021: 307–308).

6 See, however, L. Kákosy's comment from 1990 (140, n. 2): "*Die dort angegebene Inv. No. muß berichtigt werden.*"

7 Personal communication, K. Kóthay, head of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (16.04.2023).

8 Kákosy (1990: 140).

9 A: 19.8 × 20.1 cm; B1: 19.9 × 7.8 cm; B2: 19.9 × 5.2 cm; C: 19.9 × 18.2 cm; D1: 19.9 × 5.5 cm; D2: 20.3 × 5.9 cm (Kákosy 1990: 140; cf. also fig. 1 below).

corresponds roughly to the height of a standard Ramesside half-size roll).[10] L. Kákosy (1974: 31; 1990: 141–142) first proposed an 11th or 10th century BCE date but later settled on a range somewhere between 1250 and 1000 BCE.[11] The papyrus is well known for the magical spells on the recto,[12] which demonstrate close textual parallels with the Harris Magical Papyrus.[13] The few lines on the verso, however, which appear to have been written by a different hand,[14] have not been published or studied. L. Kákosy intended to devote a separate article to these lines but unfortunately did not manage to do so.[15]

A short summary of the text on the recto was first presented to the Egyptological community by L. Kákosy at the 29th International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1973.[16] This was followed a year later by the short report mentioned above,[17] and then by a full publication in 1990.[18] Although L. Kákosy emphasized the conjectural nature of his reconstruction of the text,[19] his arrangement of the fragments[20] has received general acceptance. The position of the partially preserved and unpublished lines on the verso seem to have no bearing on the arrangement of the individual fragments, but further research would be needed to fully exclude this possibility.[21] More recent editions of the text all follow L. Kákosy's reading, including K. Stegbauer's (2010a) transcription and translation in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* from 2010, and the transcription, translation, and commentary of the text presented by K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022a) on the *Science in Ancient Egypt* website. Nonetheless, L. Kákosy's six fragments were significantly rearranged in the early 1990s,[22] and the papyrus consists of only three fragments at present (see also fig. 1 below).[23] The museum is currently working on the papyrus, and the

10 Kákosy (1990: 140, n. 2).

11 The website of the museum and one of its recent publications (Dembitz 2019: 22) suggest an unlikely earlier date (14th to 13th century BCE). See https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magic-spells/ (accessed 14.04.2023). The papyrus will be subject to restoration work and further research in the future.

12 The text on the papyrus is also listed in Trismegistos (TM 755074) at www.trismegistos.org/text/755074 (accessed 14.04.2023).

13 Kákosy (1974: 29; 1990: 140).

14 Kákosy (1990: 141). L. Kákosy described the remains of a text consisting of four lines, as well as another, separate line of text. K. Kóthay inspected the papyrus and confirmed L. Kákosy's description for us (personal communication with J.K. Paksi, 17.04.2023).

15 Kákosy (1990: 141).

16 Kákosy (1974: 32, n. 2).

17 Kákosy (1974).

18 Kákosy (1990).

19 Kákosy was already relatively certain about the arrangement of the fragments in the 1970s: "*Trotz des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes konnte die Reihenfolge der Fragmente festgestellt werden*" (Kákosy 1974: 29). He was more circumspect, however, in his publication of the papyrus in 1990: "*Da von den angeführten Argumenten nur einige einen entscheidenden Wert zur Bestimmung der Reihenfolge haben, haben wir darauf verzichtet, die Kolumnen mit römischen Ziffern zu bezeichnen und damit den Eindruck der Sicherheit zu erwecken. Mit den Majuskeln [A; B1; B2; C; D1; and D2] soll der hypothetische Charakter der Rekonstruktion angedeutet werden*" (Kákosy 1990: 140–141).

20 Kákosy (1990: pl. 6–7).

21 K. Kóthay, personal communication with J.K. Paksi (17.04.2023).

22 The papyrus is currently not on display in the Museum of Fine Arts. See the website of the museum (https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magic-spells/; accessed 14.04.2023) and several recently published images of the object (e.g., Győry 2014: 145; Dembitz 2019: 22). It is the nature of the glue used on the papyrus that suggests that this particular reconstruction took place in the early 1990s (K. Kóthay, personal communication with J.K. Paksi, 17.04.2023).

23 Despite the fact that the papyrus' inventory number (51.1960.1–5) suggests differently (K. Kóthay, personal communication, 17.04.2023). The three fragments have the following dimensions: 20 × 11 cm; 33.5 × 20 cm; 20 × 18 cm.

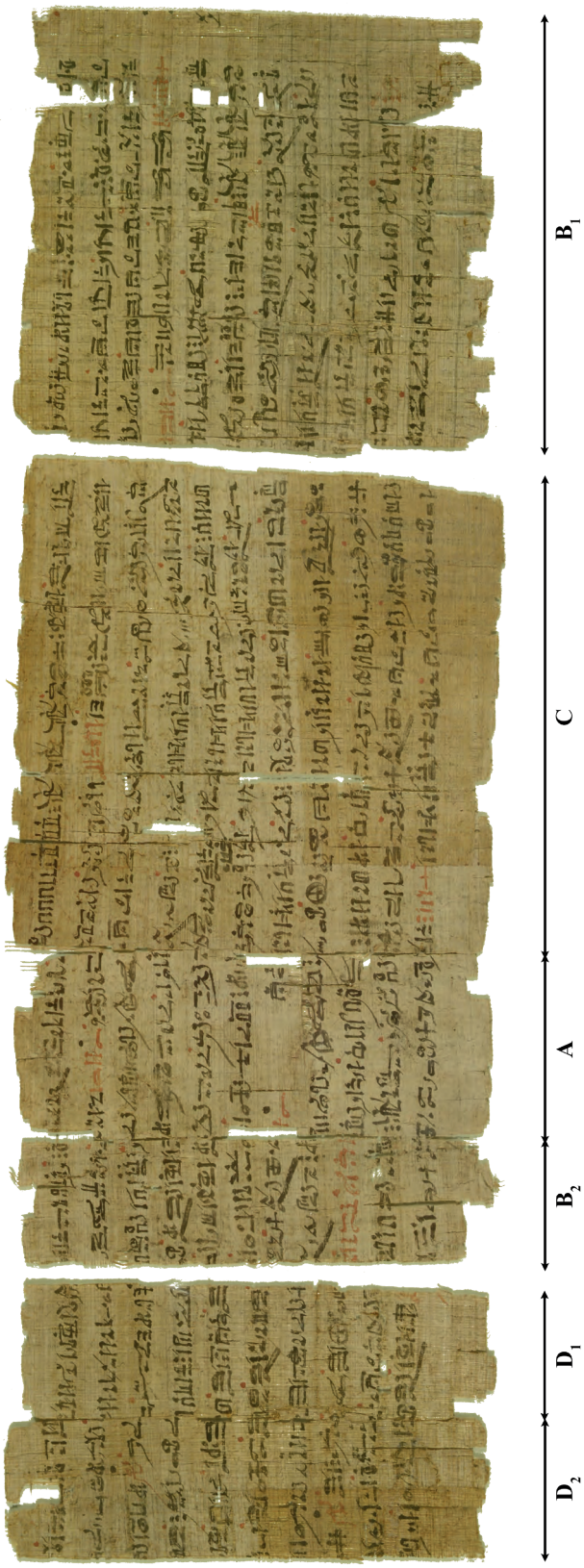

Fig. 1. P. Budapest 51.1960, recto, in its present form in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; the arrangement of the fragments suggested by L. Kákosy (1990: pl. 6–7) is marked below the fragments (© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; illustration by J.K. Paksi)

fragments will soon be reconstructed to conform with L. Kákosy's reading of the text.

Although the text on the recto of P. Budapest 51.1960 is highly fragmentary and obscure at points, it has nonetheless featured in several studies.[24] It will no doubt continue to be of particular interest to scholars studying magical texts. It is also of relevance to research on the myth of the Ugaritic god Kothar, who is mentioned on fragments B1 and C (in B1 8 and C 4).[25] In addition, the hand responsible for the text on the recto exhibits some idiosyncratic characteristics, making the papyrus of interest to scholars of hieratic paleography and to those seeking to identify individual scribes. Our scribe, for instance, regularly places a black dot above his cobra, sign I10 (e.g., in A 10; B1 9; C 2; and C 5).[26]

3. Papyrus Budapest 51.1961, a papyrus with magical healing texts

P. Budapest 51.1961 is a dark brown papyrus featuring four columns of magical spells on its recto (see fig. 2 below). It is currently on display in the museum gallery (on the basement floor) dedicated to daily life in ancient Egypt. The text was first published by L. Kákosy in 1971.[27] Since then, photographs of the papyrus and references to its contents have appeared regularly in works on ancient Egyptian magical and healing practices.[28] A transliteration and German translation by K. Stegbauer (2010b) of the spells are also to be found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. More recently, K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022b) published a German translation and commentary on the spells in *Science in Ancient Egypt*.

The papyrus is damaged and the beginning and end of the text on the recto are missing. The text itself was prepared very carefully and written in a beautiful hand, but various lacunae (both small and large) as well as imprecise gluing make it difficult to read accurately in some places. Faded traces of a different longhand are visible on the verso of the papyrus.[29] The papyrus consists of two fragments: the length of the longer fragment is 67.5 cm, and that of the smaller is 6.5 cm; their average height is 18.5 cm, which corresponds roughly to a standard Ramesside half-size roll.[30] The fragments are inscribed with four columns of text. The second and third columns are wholly

24 See, for instance, Darnell (2002: 115); Darnell & Manassa (2013: 91, n. 170); Scalf (2014: 77, n. 46); Theis (2014: 268); Dielemann (2015: 37, n. 31); Guth (2018: 154); Gundacker (2019: 96–97).

25 See Kákosy (1974: 29–30; 1990: 141, 144–145, 146–147, 151, n. t, 152 with n. h, j, and l, 155–157).

26 Already noted by Kákosy (1990: 141).

27 Following a preliminary report in 1963, L. Kákosy published P. Budapest 51.1961 eight years later. His edition included a transcription, German translation, commentary, and images of the papyrus. He subsequently republished this article in 1981 with minor additions indicated on page 254.

28 Excerpts from the papyrus are included, for example, in Borghouts (1978: 29–30 [text 41]; 33 [text 44]); Kákosy & Roccati (1985: 57–58, 116); Kákosy (1989: 139–141); Eschweiler (1994: 23, 206–208); Nagy (2006: 30–31); Theis (2014: 149, 155, 170, 177, 400, 401, 521, 685). The papyrus also features in the most recent publications of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, where it appears with both photographs and a description: Dembitz (2019: 86–91); Liptay (2021: 114–117). For further references to P. Budapest 51.1961, see Borghouts (1970: 52 [no. 46]; 53 [no. 47]; 54 [no. 50]); Ritner (1990: 26); Koemoth (1993: 59–60); Takács (2008: 110; 2012: 86 [1026]); Nyord (2020: 102, n. 78); Attalla (2022: 115); Zellmann-Rohrer & Love (2022: 311, n. 853).

29 Kákosy (1971: 159, n. 1; 1981: 239, n. 1).

30 These measurements correspond to the measurements on the website of the Museum of Fine Arts (https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magical-healing-texts/; accessed 19.04.2023), and to the measurements in Kákosy (1969: 108; 1989: 139) and Dembitz (2019: 87). Kákosy (1971: 159; 1981: 239) and Stegbauer & Dils (2022b) give the length of the larger piece as 67.7 cm, that of the smaller piece as 6.5 cm, and the average height of the papyrus as 18.5 cm. Because the papyrus is currently on display, it is difficult to reconcile these different sets of measurements.

preserved. Only one third of the text survives of the first column. The fourth column begins on the longer papyrus fragment and continues on the smaller one after a lacuna; the second part of this column is missing.[31] A. Roccati (1979: 554–555) has demonstrated that some of the pieces missing from our papyrus are held by the Museo Egizio in Turin (P. Turin CGT 54058).[32] Indeed, more than ten smaller and larger pieces of the papyrus are to be found in the Museo Egizio.[33] These allow us to almost completely reconstruct the fourth column of our papyrus and to outline four further columns of texts.[34] Taking into account the 25–26 cm width of the columns on the Budapest fragments, and an average spacing of 2 cm between columns, the papyrus may originally have been 2.20 m long.[35]

The Budapest and Turin pieces of the papyrus were presented together at an exhibition on magic in pharaonic Egypt in Milan in 1985, but it would be more than 15 years before a hieroglyphic

31 Kákosy (1971: 177, pl. [two folding plates without number]; 1981: 258, pl. 25/4).

32 The Turin fragments are now held under one inventory number (P. Turin CGT 54058). Previously, the inventory numbers of the fragments that complete the fourth column of the Budapest papyrus were: P. Turin Cat. 2106/348 for the fragment that completes the lacuna between the larger and the smaller Budapest fragments (18 × 10 cm); P. Turin Cat. 2107/416 for the fragment representing the end of the fourth column (7 cm in height); cf. Roccati (1979: 554–555). With respect to the Turin fragments belonging to pages 5–8 of the Budapest papyrus, no technical information (inventory numbers, dimensions, etc.) has been published so far.

33 Roccati (1979: 554–555).

34 Kákosy & Roccati (1985: 116).

35 Stegbauer & Dils (2022b), based on the measurements indicated in Kákosy (1971: 159; 1981: 239) and Roccati (1979: 555).

Fig. 2. P. Budapest 51.1961, recto
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

transcription and Italian translation of the reconstructed fourth column were published by A. Roccati in 2001.[36] The remaining Turin fragments are still to be published.

Nine spells can be differentiated in the first four published columns of the papyrus. They are directed against different types of headache, whether caused by injury, resulting from migraine, or associated with other forms of disease; these woes are also all associated with various malevolent beings. The spells also detail various ritual actions to be undertaken as part of the therapy, elements of which recur across several spells, such as the recitation of the spells over knots made from the fibers of a certain *mꜣtt-nt-swt* plant, which were then to be placed on the patient's head, neck, or leg.[37] Given the uniform topic of the texts and the fact that no individual patient is named in them, K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022b) convincingly argued that the papyrus represents an anthology of magical texts, directed against headaches, that may originally have formed part of a temple library or a healer's archive.

Some of the spells on the Budapest papyrus have parallels elsewhere. Spell 8 (P. Budapest 51.1961 & P. Turin CGT 54058, r° 4,5–7) corresponds to P. Leiden I 348, r° 3,8–4,2.[38] A. Roccati (1979: 555) has also noted that some of the unpublished Turin fragments also correspond to P. Leiden I 348. These smaller parallels appear

36 Kákosy & Roccati (1985: 57–58, 116); Roccati (2001).

37 Kákosy (1971: 160–162; 1981: 240–242); Roccati (2001); Stegbauer (2010b); Stegbauer & Dils (2022b). For a summary of the texts' contents, see most recently Dembitz (2019: 90–91) and Liptay (2021: 116–117). The term designating the plant employed in the ritual was commented on by Koemoth (1993: 59–60) and Takács (2008: 120–121).

38 Kákosy (1971: 166, n. hhh; 1981: 246, n. hhh); Roccati (1979: 555; 2001: 419). For P. Leiden I 348, see Borghouts (1970).

alongside texts with no known parallels in the following sequence (following the spell numbers on P. Leiden I 348): spell 8—unknown formula—spell 12—spell 7—unknown formula—spell 18—spell 17.[39] Further to this, the content of the Budapest papyrus also corresponds at certain points to P. Chester Beatty V.[40]

In his 1971 publication of P. Budapest 51.1961, L. Kákosy dated the text to the late 18th or early 19th Dynasties on paleographic grounds.[41] In his 1981 addendum to that publication, he preferred dating the text to the late 19th or early 20th Dynasties.[42] In the proceedings of the First International Congress of Egyptology, A. Roccati (1979: 555) proposed dating the manuscript to the reign of Ramesses II, mentioning that L. Kákosy had also considered this option in light of a comparison with P. Chester Beatty IX.[43] K. Stegbauer and P. Dils (2022b) present an overview of proposals for dating the manuscript and, based on the orthography of the text and the presence of Late Egyptian grammatical elements, suggest a date in the early Ramesside period.

With respect to the provenance of the Budapest papyrus, the catalogue of the 1985 exhibition in Milan notes that "it was purchased by that [unnamed] museum at the end of the 1800s."[44] This accords with a personal communication from E. Varga (1931–2020), former head of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, to A. Roccati; according to E. Varga, the acquisition of the papyrus took place in Cairo at the end of the 1800s.[45] Unfortunately, the Milan catalogue does not provide any sources for these claims, nor is the museum where the papyrus was previously kept named in the catalogue.

Like several other ancient Egyptian artefacts, the papyrus might have been kept in the National Museum and then transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934. According to the archives of the Department of Numismatics and Antiquities of the National Museum, the only information on papyri kept in the museum is a document (inv. no. 472/1914) revealing that on 16th June 1914, E. Mahler (1857–1945), curator of the mentioned department and professor of the Chair of the History of Ancient Oriental Peoples at the University of Budapest, was charged with "assembling two pieces of papyri in accordance with their texts, and to report on their content for their future entering in the catalogue" either by himself or by a foreign expert under E. Mahler's supervision.[46] Unfortunately, there is no further information that would help in identifying the papyri mentioned in this document, therefore, it cannot be told whether they were identical with

39 For their position on P. Leiden I 348, see Borghouts (1970).

40 Roccati (2001: 419, n. 4).

41 Kákosy (1971: 159–160; 1981: 239–240). A similar date is indicated in the most recent publications of the Museum of Fine Arts, as well as on its website, where the papyrus is dated to the 14th to 13th century BCE; cf. Dembitz (2019: 87); Liptay (2021: 115); https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/papyrus-with-magical-healing-texts/ (accessed 19.04.2023). The object will be subject to further research in the future.

42 Kákosy (1981: 254).

43 Cf. Kákosy (1971: 160, n. 3; 1981: 240, n. 3).

44 The full sentence is as follows: "*Siccome i frammenti di papiro a Torino giunsero in questa città nel 1824, si è certi che il ritrovamento della porzione a Budapest avvenne intorno al 1820, anche se essa fu acquistata da quel museo solo alla fine dell'800*" (Kákosy & Roccati 1985: 116).

45 Roccati (1979: 555).

46 The full sentence is as follows: "*Hivatkozva megbeszélésünkre szerencsém van Nagyságodnak a M.N. Muzeum érem- és régiségtárában őrzött két darab egyiptomi papiruszt azzal a kéréssel átküldeni, méltóztassék azokat akár személyesen, akár valamely külföldi szakértő útján de minden esetre saját felügyelete mellett a szövegnek megfelelően összeállíttatni és a katalogusba leendő felvétel céljára tartalmukat velünk közölni.*" A digitalized image of document no. 472/1914 was shared with the authors by K. Lovas on 05.04.2023.

the two pieces of P. Budapest 51.1961. They are certainly different from the hieratic and cursive hieroglyphic *Book of the Dead* papyrus fragments that E. Mahler published in 1902 in *Magyar Könyvszemle* [Hungarian Book Review].

At present, all that is known about the papyrus while it was kept in the National Museum is that it was copied by A.H. Gardiner (1879–1963) sometime before 1933.[47] A further copy of the text was also made by J. Černý (1898–1970), who referred to it as "Budapest Magical Pap."[48]

4. Ostracon Budapest 95.2-E, An ostracon with an excerpt from the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*

O. Budapest 95.2-E is a relatively large limestone fragment with an excerpt from a literary text, the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*, inscribed on the recto (see fig. 3 and fig. 4 below).[49] The verso is blank.[50] The piece was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1995[51] and forms part of the permanent exhibition (it is currently on display in the basement, in the section dedicated to daily life in ancient Egypt).[52] The ostracon was purchased by E. Gaál in Cairo in 1967; according to its previous owner, it came from Deir el-Medina.[53] This would agree with the paleographic analysis of the hand behind the text, as it has been described as characteristically Ramesside.[54]

The text on the recto consists of seven fragmentarily preserved lines from the second half of the *Teaching of a Man to His Son*.[55] These correspond to § 8.3–§ 9.9 of H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's (1999) synoptic text edition. Other copies of the teaching suggest that only one third of the text that was originally inscribed on the ostracon has been preserved.[56] The lost two thirds of the inscription have broken off from the left side of the ostracon's recto. The fragment was first published in Hungarian by E. Gaál in 1982,[57] and then in German in 1984.[58]

Although the ostracon was already part of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1999, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (1999: XXV) still referred to it as belonging to E. Gaál's private collection. There are also a few minor discrepancies between H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's transcription

47 Cf. Dawson's (1933: 137) note in an article on Egyptian medical texts, where he refers to A.H. Gardiner's transcription of the Budapest papyrus and mentions the *mꜣtt-nt-swt* plant, a recurring element of its magical spells. For A.H. Gardiner's transcription, see Notebook 33.24–35. The surviving archives of the Hungarian National Museum make no specific reference to the papyrus' time there (K. Lovas, personal communication, 05.04.2023).

48 Černý, Notebook 115.17–23.

49 Gaál (1982; 1984). An image of the ostracon was recently published by É. Liptay (2021: 129, fig. 146). Note, however, that the size of the ostracon indicated below the image (13.8 × 11.3 cm) as well as on the website of the museum (https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/ostracon-with-hieratic-inscription/; accessed 19.04.2023) differs from E. Gaál's (1982: 140; 1984: 14) measurements (13.3 × 10.6 cm). The discrepancy can be explained by the fact that, while the museum recorded the absolute size of the object, E. Gaál measured its width at the height of line 4 and its height along the vertical center of the fragment. For a photograph of the find with a scale, see Gaál (1982: fig. 1).

50 Gaál (1982: 140; 1984: 14).

51 Gaboda (1997: 17, n. 1).

52 The object can also be viewed online at https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/ostracon-with-hieratic-inscription/ (accessed 19.04.2023).

53 Gaál (1982: 140; 1984: 14).

54 Gaál (1982: 140–141; 1984: 14).

55 On the dating of the composition, see Stauder (2013: 508).

56 Gaál (1982: 141; 1984: 14).

57 Gaál (1982).

58 Gaál (1984).

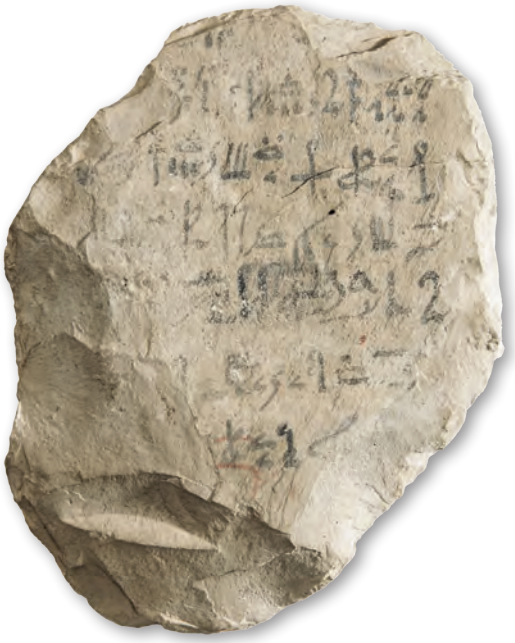

Fig. 3a. O. Budapest 95.2-E
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

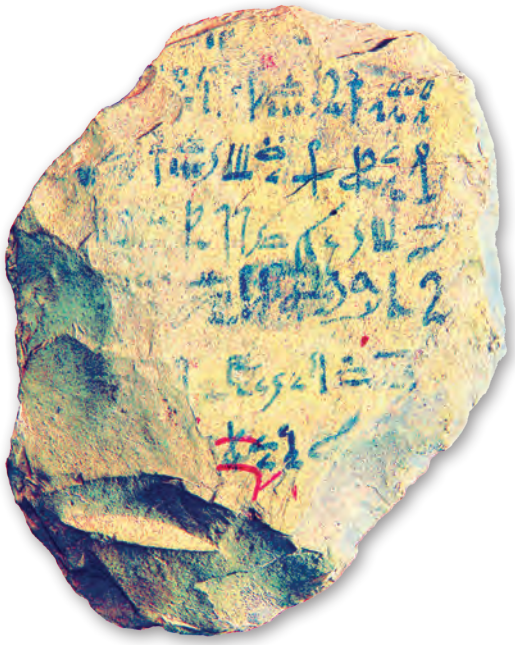

Fig. 3b. DStretch enhancement with LDS colorspace
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

Fig. 4. Hieroglyphic transcription of the text on O. Budapest 95.2-E
(Transcription by J.K. Paksi)

of the text—labelled in his work as O. Gaál—and E. Gaál's interpretation:

(1) In the first line of the text of the ostracon—corresponding to § 8.3 of *A Man to His Son*—E. Gaál (1982: 142, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 17, pl. 5) saw traces of a papyrus roll above the plural strokes of the word *bꜣw* "might" (), but sign Y1 is missing from H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's (1999: § 8.3) transcription.

(2) The phrase *jdbw ḥꜣw-nbw* "the shores of everything beyond" includes a small mistake in line 2 of O. Budapest 95.2-E (§ 8.5 of *A Man to His Son*): *jdbw ḥꜣw* () appears here instead of *jdbw ḥꜣw-nbw* (). E. Gaál (1982: 142, 149; 1984: 17–18) offered a tentative explanation for the mistake and transcribed the passage with the word *sic* above the line. H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's (1999: § 8.5) transcription does not include this precision.

(3) The red verse point at the end of segment § 8.5 of *A Man to His Son* is also present in line 2 of the text on the ostracon (cf. fig. 3b and fig. 4), as it is in the other parallels,[59] though it is missing from H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's (1999: § 8.5) transcription of the text.

(4) The preposition *ḥr* at the end of line 2 of the ostracon—corresponding to § 8.6 of *A Man to His Son*—is written with a phonemographic interpretant (),[60] a sign that was not included in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's (1999: § 8.6) hieroglyphic transcription of the text. The same spelling also appears in line 4 of the ostracon (§ 9.2 of *A Man to His Son*),[61] but the word was similarly transcribed without its phonetic complement (as) in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's (1999: § 9.2) text edition.

(5) The phonetic complement after the sign ⲝ of the third-person singular dependent pronoun is omitted in line 3 of the ostracon (§ 8.8 of *A Man to His Son*). E. Gaál (1982: 150; 1984: 20) mentions this in his commentary on the text but does not mark the omission with the expected *sic* above the line in his hieroglyphic transcription.[62] H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's (1999: § 8.8) transcription, on the other hand, does use *sic* to highlight the omission.

Scholars who only consult the hieroglyphic transcription of the text will likely miss two further specificities of the ostracon related to the materiality of its script and hence only visible on the ostracon itself. Line 5 of the fragment (§ 9.4 of *A Man to His Son*), for instance, contains evidence of self-editing on the part of the scribe. In the phrase *m kjj sp* "once more, at another time," the signs constituting the word *kjj* "other" seem to have been secondarily rearranged. The scribe first wrote , deleted the signs, and inserted instead.[63] In addition, the final word preserved in line 7, *mdwt* "speech, words" (§ 9.9 of *A Man to His Son*), was painted over using red ink (cf. fig. 3b). E. Gaál considered the marking, as well as the red dot below (which he interpreted as a verse point belonging to the text missing from

59 Cf. Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9, 149; 1984: 18–19, pl. 5).

60 Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 19, pl. 5).

61 Gaál (1982: 144, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 21, pl. 5).

62 Cf. Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9; 1984: 19, pl. 5).

63 The authors thank Stéphane Polis for his help with deciphering the traces left on the object by the erased signs. This interpretation differs from E. Gaál's (1982: 151, fig. 8; 1984: 24, pl. 4), who suggested that the preposition *m* was originally followed only by the two reed leaves of the subsequent word, *kjj* "other." He argued that the scribe must have forgotten to add the *k* sign but noticed and then corrected his mistake.

line 8),[64] to be original to the find.[65] However, according to the description of the object on the website of the museum, the red traces at the bottom of the ostracon are secondary, perhaps even modern.[66] Further research is needed to clarify the matter. Nevertheless, the position of at least some of the other verse points on the ostracon, which are barely visible to the naked eye (cf. fig. 3a), *do* correspond to the verse points in other copies of the text.[67] This suggests that the red dot in line 8 is likely an original paratextual marking as well. The brushstrokes to its left, however obscure, may also be ancient. The color of the strokes and the dots seem to match.

5. Ostracon Budapest 51.2195, wine jar label with hieratic inscription

O. Budapest 51.2195 is a marl amphora fragment. It is a 5.2 cm high and 7 cm wide object. A hieratic inscription written on its shoulder describes the contents of the jar (see fig. 5 and fig. 6 below). A hieratic inscription written on its shoulder describes the contents of the jar (see fig. 5 and fig. 6 below). The first word of the text, which is arranged across two lines, indicates that the jar was used for storing wine. The label was published by P. Gaboda (1963–2023), curator of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, in 1997, who presented a photo and drawing of the object together with a hieroglyphic transcription,[68] transliteration, translation, and commentary.[69] The first word of the text, which is arranged across two lines, indicates that the jar was used for storing wine. The piece is on display on the basement floor of the Museum of Fine Arts in the gallery dedicated to daily life in ancient Egypt.

The label can be dated on paleographic grounds to the Ramesside period.[70] The text itself suggests that the ostracon may come from the Ramesseum or from Deir el-Medina. In addition to identifying the product, the label also referred to the regnal year, the vineyard, the chief gardener, and the production region, though unfortunately only the number 3 remains of the regnal year, while the names of the vineyard and the chief gardener are also lost.[71] However, the mention of the "Water of Ptah" in line 2 does not only refer to the growing region but also allows us to put forward a find-spot for the ostracon. As P. Gaboda (1997: 21–23) notes, references to the "Water of Ptah" are also found on wine dockets from the

64 "*Von der folgenden weggebrochenen Zeile ist ebenfalls noch ein roter Punkt erhalten*" (Gaál 1984: 24). Cf. also Gaál (1984: pl. 3–5). Similarly Gaál (1982: 147, fig. 9, 151, and fig. 6–7).

65 "Das Wort *mdt* ist mit roter Farbe durchgestrichen" (Gaál 1984: 24). Similarly in Gaál (1982: 151).

66 The note added by the late É. Liptay, former head of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, reads as follows: "traces of modern red pencil" (https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/ostracon-with-hieratic-inscription/; accessed 19.04.2023).

67 On the verse point in line 2 of O. Budapest 95.2-E, corresponding to § 8.5 of *A Man to His Son*, see the third item in the list above as well as Gaál (1982: 143, 147, fig. 9, 149; 1984: 18–19, pl. 5) and Fischer-Elfert (1999: § 8.5). For parallels to the verse point preserved after the word *tꜣ* "land" in line 6 of the text, see Fischer-Elfert (1999: § 9.6). The partially preserved red dot directly above the red brushstrokes at the end of line 7 was interpreted as a verse point by both Gaál (1982: 146, 147, fig. 9, 151, fig. 6–7; 1984: 23–24, pl. 3–5) and Fischer-Elfert (1999: § 9.9). This verse point, however, has no parallels in the other versions (Fischer-Elfert 1999: § 9.9).

68 With the help of DStretch (cf. fig. 5b and fig. 6), P. Gaboda's (1997: 18) reading of the last word in the first line of the text (𓉐𓉔𓅱 for *ḥw.t* "domain") can now be confirmed.

69 Gaboda (1997). An image of the object was included in the chapter on ancient Egyptian administration in Dembitz (2019: 143). The object can also be accessed online on the museum's website at https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/wine-jar-label-with-hieratic-inscription/ (accessed 19.04.2023.

70 Gaboda (1997: 18).

71 Cf. Gaboda (1997: 17–18, fig. 1–2).

Fig. 5a. Wine jar label with hieratic inscription, O. Budapest 51.2195
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

Fig. 5b. DStretch enhancement with LDS colorspace
(© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

Fig. 6. Hieroglyphic transcription of the text on O. Budapest 51.2195
(Transcription by K. Jasper)

Ramesseum. This provenance is reinforced by the fact that the formulation on the Budapest label is very similar to K.A. Kitchen's *Formula X* based on the Ramesseum corpus.[72] Moreover, the appearance of the "Water of Ptah," namely, the Rosetta branch of the Nile, in the text further confirms the Ramesside dating of the object: this lower branch of the Delta is not mentioned on wine dockets from before this period.[73] On the other hand, because wine from this region is also mentioned on jar labels from Deir el-Medina, the settlement should also be taken into consideration as a potential find-spot.[74]

The provenance and modern history of the wine jar label are relatively well-documented. An inventory number written on its verso (25/916 257) identifies it as belonging to its previous owner, the Hungarian National Museum. From there, it was transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1934, where it was entered into the inventory in 1951 under number 2195. Its previous inventory number identifies the piece as part of the collection of Baron F. Révay,[75] who was a baron of historical Upper Hungary (currently Slovakia) and a member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament. He spent a considerable amount of time in Egypt in the early 1870s as a diplomat for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In his journal, the great orientalist and scholar of Islam I. Goldziher (1850–1921) mentions F. Révay's assistance in organizing the Cairo program for his first *grand tour* in the Middle East. F. Révay regularly donated artefacts, many of which originated from Egypt, to the National Museum after

72 Gaboda (1997: 23).

73 Gaboda (1997: 21).

74 Gaboda (1997: 23–24), citing López (1932, N 57340) = K*RI* 7, 51, 11; Nagel (1938: pl. 18, no. 30) = K*RI* 7, 51, 10; and Koenig (1980: ostraca no. 6333 and 6337) = K*RI* 7, 51, 9 and 12. For the citations, see Gaboda (1997: 23, n. 28).

75 Gaboda (1997: 18, n. 4).

1876, suggesting that this was when he returned to Europe. He later bequeathed several other objects to the museum. The latter objects were assigned the number 25 when they were inventoried in 1916.[76] No further information about the wine jar label is to be found in the accession books of the National Museum.[77]

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76 Cf. P. Gaboda's notes in Wessetzky (1996: 7, n. 2) and the articles by J. Sebő on the life and travels of F. Révay (written for the Hungarian National Library blog) at https://nemzetikonyvtar.blog.hu/2021/04/27/revay_ferenc_es_az_utazasairol_tanuskodo_fenykepalbumok, *passim* (accessed 19.04.2023).

77 K. Lovas, personal communication (17.04.2023).

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New Kingdom Hieratic Material in the Museo Egizio in Turin

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[***]Museo Egizio Torino

ABSTRACT

The Museo Egizio in Turin holds one of the world's most significant papyrus collections, comprising nearly 900 whole or reassembled manuscripts and over 25,000 papyrus fragments. Together, these papyri represent over 3,000 years of written material in seven scripts and eight languages. Most of the papyri in the collection were acquired by the King of Sardinia Carlo Felice of Savoy in 1824 from B. Drovetti (1776–1852). B. Drovetti was the French consul in Egypt at the time, and his agents procured most of the antiquities in his collection from Western Thebes. The rest of the papyri in the collection come from the early twentieth century excavations conducted by the Turin Museum in Gebelein, Asyut, and Western Thebes under the direction of E. Schiaparelli (1856–1928) and G. Farina (1889–1947). The Ramesside pharaohs (c. 1300–1050 BCE) constructed their mortuary temples in Western Thebes, and many of the Turin papyri refer to these temples, as well as dealing with matters related to the construction of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. Most of the hieratic papyri in the Museo Egizio date back to the Ramesside period; it is highly likely that they stem from the settlement of Deir el-Medina, which housed the families of the workmen who built the royal tombs. The papyri probably belonged to members of the administration of the royal necropolis.

1. History of the collection of New Kingdom hieratic texts [S. D.]

1.1. Origins

During his time in Egypt, the French consul B. Drovetti (1776–1852) acquired a substantial collection of antiquities that was subsequently purchased in 1824 by the King of Sardinia Carlo Felice of Savoy.[1] This collection included many hieratic papyri dating from the Ramesside to the Roman period.[2] Although no information about the archaeological context or the discovery of

1 B. Drovetti acquired most of the objects in his collection between 1816 and 1820; see the overviews in Donatelli (2019) and Roccati (2019).

2 The oldest papyri in the Museo Egizio do not belong to the Drovetti Collection but were discovered by E. Schiaparelli in 1914 at Gebelein (Demichelis 2003: 246) and by G. Farina in 1935 at the same site (Posener-Kriéger 2004). The Old Kingdom letter reassembled by G. Farina (P. Turin CGT 54002) was most likely bought in Egypt by Schiaparelli; see Roccati (1968: 15). The Middle Kingdom Magical Papyrus CGT 55003, also reassembled by G. Farina, cf. Roccati (1970), is also unlikely to have formed part of the Drovetti collection; likewise, the Middle Kingdom model letter CGT 54004; see Roccati (1975: 245). The

these papyri is known,[3] it is well established that B. Drovetti's agents[4] worked mainly in the Theban area, both in the temple of Karnak and the Westbank.[5] It is also possible to deduce some information about the circumstances of the acquisition of the papyri from the consul's correspondence.[6] A letter written by F. Gau (1790–1853) to B. Drovetti in 1818 from Qurna mentions the purchase of a papyrus "*grand et bien conservé*" for which he paid 40 piastres.[7] Another letter written by the French mineralogist F. Cailliaud (1787–1869) in 1820 mentions three papyri "*avec caractères hiératiques et grecs*" that were found by A. Lebolo (1781–1830).[8] These papyri were kept by Lebolo in a case inside a tomb that he used as a storeroom for his findings in Qurna.[9]

Items in the Drovetti collection (= *Drovettiana*) were first sent to Livorno as early as 1818.[10] This first consignment of antiquities was followed by others, the last of which took place in 1823. The *Catalogue de la Collection d'antiquités de Monsieur le Chevalier Drovetti* lists 170 papyri with brief descriptions.[11] In addition to these papyri, two crates of papyrus fragments arrived in the Gulf of La Spezia on 27th February 1820.[12] It is possible that these papyri, which arrived in "fragments," were in a better state of preservation when the manuscripts were shipped from Alexandria. In any case, it is likely that the adverse weather conditions on that 61-day journey contributed to the severe deterioration of the manuscripts.[13] They were subsequently put in long-term storage in a damp port-warehouse,[14] which most likely caused further damage to them. Worried about the state of his collection, B. Drovetti wrote to his friend P. Balthalon in 1821: "*Parmi les affaires qui m'inquiètent et me tourmentent, celle de la collection d'antiquités qui dépérissent à Livourne est sans contredit la première.*"[15] Negotiations with the Savoy agents for the purchase of the collection were not concluded until 1823. At the end of that year, the antiquities were again sent by sea to Genoa

papyri in the Turin collection are the main focus of this contribution. Documents in this collection are quoted without P. Turin, only with number after the inventory type. Manuscripts belonging to other collections are cited with full inventory numbers.

3 The exact circumstances of their discovery and acquisition go unmentioned in the catalogue of the collection compiled for the sale of the objects; see Donatelli (2019: 49) and Roccati (2019: 12).

4 Among those who worked on behalf of B. Drovetti in his search for antiquities were the French sculptor J.J. Rifaud, cf. Cincotti (2013; 2017), the Italian adventurer A. Lebolo, the French mineralogist F. Cailliaud, and the architect of German descent F. Gau; see Donatelli (2019).

5 Donatelli (2019: 34–35).

6 Curto & Donatelli (1985).

7 Letter no. 89, Curto & Donatelli (1985: 115–116).

8 Letter no. 119, Curto & Donatelli (1985: 149–150). It is possible that F. Cailliaud's reference to "hieratic" texts here is incorrect, and that the texts he was discussing were in fact Demotic.

9 This tomb is perhaps to be identified with the tomb of Thutmoses (TT 32), where A. Lebolo's name is engraved on the ceiling. Many objects found by A. Lebolo in this tomb found their way into the Drovetti collection; see Marochetti (2019: 18–19).

10 Donatelli (2019: 36).

11 See Donatelli (2019: 82–83). The catalogue was compiled before J.-F. Champollion's decipherment of hieroglyphics in 1822; its descriptions are thus based on the limited contemporary knowledge of hieratic and cursive-hieroglyphic scripts.

12 Donatelli (2019: 37).

13 A description of this journey can be found in a letter in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris written by B. Drovetti's nephew, also named Bernardino, who accompanied the consignment; see Donatelli (2019: 37).

14 The warehouse belonged to the Morpurgo company. The objects remained in storage there until 1823, when negotiations for the purchase of the collection were concluded; see Donatelli (2019: 36).

15 Guichard (2005: 402).

and from there by carriages to the Accademia delle Scienze in Turin. The transfer of the collection to its final location was completed in March of 1824.[16] In June 1824, the French Philologist J.-F. Champollion (1790–1832) travelled to Turin to consult the *Drovettiana* and improve his system for deciphering hieroglyphs. His time there yielded an early description of the papyri,[17] the poor state of which J.-F. Champollion noted in a letter to his brother: "*Il paraît que leur* [*des papyrus*) *séjour à Livourne, encaissés pendant trois ou quatre ans, leur a été très funeste. Un tiers, au moins, est réduit en tabac d'Espagne, et quelques parcelles seules ont résisté et permettent de voir leur contenu.*"[18] According to J.-F. Champollion, the better preserved manuscripts, both cursive-hieroglyphic and hieratic, were mostly copies of the *Book of the Dead*.[19] As for the "historical" papyri written in hieratic, these were very poorly preserved, and fragments often had to be joined together.[20] J.-F. Champollion, however, succeeded in reconstructing a papyrus bearing the plan of a royal burial (Cat. 1885), understanding that the hieratic inscriptions described the dimensions of the rooms of the tomb, which he correctly identified as belonging to Ramesses IV (KV 2). Even more sensational discoveries awaited J.-F. Champollion on his entrance into what he called "the columbarium of history", the storeroom in which several thousand papyrus fragments were piled up on a table.[21] Amongst these fragments, he was able to identify a number of administrative documents which he argued belonged to a single archive.[22] Among his most extraordinary discoveries were 47 fragments of the so-called *Royal Canon* (Cat. 1874 verso), an ordered list of kings.[23] Alongside these fragments, J.-F. Champollion was surprised to find others of a less "noble" character, including satirical and erotic texts (Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001).[24] In 1826, the German Egyptologist G. Seyffarth (1796–1885) arrived in Turin, where he contributed significantly to the recovery of the manuscripts in the collection, which he proposed reconstructing on the basis of the papyrus fibre structure. He continued working on such manuscripts as the *Royal Canon* (Cat. 1874)—identifying and arranging nearly 200 more fragments and undertaking an initial restoration of the papyrus by mounting the fragments onto papier végétal—as well as the so-called *Goldmine Papyrus* (Cat. 1869++), the *Tomb-Plan of Ramesses IV* (Cat. 1885) and the Satirical-Erotic Papyrus (Cat. 2031). G. Seyffarth's work was included in an 1842 publication by K.R. Lepsius (1810–1884) dedicated to some of the major Egyptian documents in Turin.[25] In the following years, various monographs on the most extensive papyri appeared. The *Royal Canon* was published by J.G. Wilkinson (1851).[26] The *Goldmine Papyrus* was edited by F. Chabas (1862), whose publication was supplemented a few

16 Donatelli (2019: 67).

17 At the same time, A. Peyron (1825) was working on the Greek and Coptic papyri in the Drovetti collection; see Roccati (2019: 13) and Donatelli (2019: 82).

18 Hartleben (1909: 55). In the letters written to his brother, edited by H. Hartleben, J.-F. Champollion refers to the papyri he was working on and the progress he made in understanding their texts.

19 Hartleben (1909: 46): "*Extraits plus ou moins étendus du grand rituel funéraire.*"

20 Called "incurables" by J.-F. Champollion, these were probably Ramesside administrative texts.

21 According to J.-F. Champollion (1824: 5), the pile of fragments was ten feet long by half a foot high.

22 The site of Deir el-Medina had not yet been investigated at the time.

23 H. Winlock (1947: 4) reports, that the papyrus was purchased intact by B. Drovetti and shattered by him during the transport, but this account is not reliable; cf. Farina (1938: 7) and Ryholt (2004: 235).

24 The so-called *Turin Satirical-Erotic Papyrus*; see Omlin (1975).

25 Lepsius (1842).

26 J.G. Wilkinson also provided the first description of the Taxation text on the recto.

years later by J. Lieblein (1886), who also published one of the Necropolis Journals (Cat. 1898). The *Harem Conspiracy* (Cat. 1875) was published by T. Deveria (1897), while the *Tomb-Plan of Ramesses IV* was first published in 1868 by K.R. Lepsius.[27] Between 1869 and 1876, W. Pleyte and F. Rossi published facsimiles of a substantial number of the collection's hieratic papyri.[28] Their two-volume publication presented drawings of the larger fragments, though many of the connections between manuscripts escaped them. Their facsimiles, however, offered an overview of the wide variety of genres in the Turin *papiroteca* for the first time. These included administrative, magical, literary, and religious texts—most of which were still unpublished at the time. The "Pleyte-Rossi" (abbreviated PR) thus provided a strong catalyst to further studies on the Turin hieratic manuscripts. By making these materials accessible to the international scientific community,[29] their work facilitated initial analyses of the *Magical Papyrus of Thot* (Cat. 1995+1996 = CGT 54050) and the *Magical Papyrus of Isis* (Cat. 1993 = CGT 54051),[30] the *Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880),[31] the *Love Songs Papyrus* (Cat. 1966),[32] and the *Elephantine Scandal Papyrus* (Cat. 1887).[33]

A catalogue of the antiquities preserved in the Royal Egyptian Museum of Turin, compiled by A. Fabretti (1816–1894), F. Rossi (1827–1912) and R. Lanzone (1834–1907), was published in 1882, with a section by F. Rossi on the papyri. F. Rossi listed the manuscripts based on their script and textual genre, including both the best-preserved manuscripts and a large number of fragments, though the list gives only a rough idea of the size of the collection.[34] Despite several errors in the classification of textual genres, the numbering of the papyri in this catalogue is essentially[35] still in use today for the manuscripts from the Drovetti collection.[36] In 1894, E. Schiaparelli, a former student of G. Maspero (1846–1916), was appointed director of the Museo Egizio, giving further impetus to the study of the hieratic papyri in Turin. E. Schiaparelli resumed work on the fragments in the *Drovettiana*. He found them in a very poor state of preservation: glued together, eaten by insects or worms, and stored haphazardly inside drawers with the generic label "*Fragmenta papyrorum funeralium*".[37] E. Schiaparelli counted about ten thousand fragments altogether.[38] Stimulated by "the same hopes as J.-F. Champollion and G. Seyffarth,"[39] he nevertheless managed to identify and reconstruct from this "shapeless" ensemble

27 K.R. Lepsius' edition of 1868 was then improved upon by F. Chabas (1873).

28 Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876).

29 Editions of administrative papyri were published by such scholars as G. Maspero and A. Erman (1854–1937), while F. Chabas (1817–1882) and E. Lefébure (1838–1908) dealt with the magical papyri. For a more complete review of the publications originating from W. Pleyte & F. Rossi, see Roccati (2011: 10), with additions in Roccati (2022: 37).

30 F. Chabas (1875) published the verso of the *Magical Papyrus of Thot*, corresponding to plates 120–122 of Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876). E. Lefébure (1883) edited the *Legend of Isis and the name of Ra* (Cat. 1993).

31 Spiegelberg (1895).

32 Müller (1899).

33 Spiegelberg (1891).

34 F. Rossi's list also includes Demotic, Greek, and Coptic papyri.

35 Roccati (1979: 553–554).

36 Problems with the numbering stem mainly from the use of the same number for several fragments. Several erroneous attributions were subsequently "historicized" with publication of the manuscripts. See for clarification chapter 2.3.

37 "*I tarli che non eran rimasti inoperosi avevano compiuto lo strazio*"; see Botti (1921: 143).

38 Schiaparelli (1901: 18).

39 Botti (1921: 143).

numerous manuscripts, including administrative texts concerning the Theban necropolis,[40] plans of royal tombs (Cat. 2038, Cat. 2039, Cat. 2040 and perhaps Cat. 2110), twenty magical-ritual papyri,[41] a *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days* (Cat. 2104), some royal hymns, and a hymn in Libyan language (= Qeheq language) written in hieratic (Cat. 2106/380 = CGT 54030). These papyri, which were additional to those already published by W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, were presented by E. Schiaparelli in a preliminary way at the 12th Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1899.[42]

1.2. The expansion of the collection in the 20th century

In the beginning of the early 1900s, E. Schiaparelli was engaged in several excavation campaigns in Egypt, aimed at enhancing the museum's collections. And while this meant that he had to give up his research on the hieratic papyri, it is from his initial missions to the Valley of the Queens (1903) and to Deir el-Medina (1905–1906 and 1908–1909) that the few additions to the museum's collection of hieratic papyri originate. For instance, a letter dated to the 18th Dynasty (Provv. 3581) probably comes from the Valley of the Queens.[43] A caption on the tape used to seal the glass mount notes: "*Frammento trovato nel pozzo*" and "*Bab-el-Harim-Tebe.*" However, E. Schiaparelli's inventory of finds from the excavation campaigns includes no reference to hieratic papyri from the Valley of the Queens.[44] His inventory does mention fragments of hieratic, hieroglyphic and Demotic papyri found during later campaigns at Deir el-Medina, including the bilingual Demotic-Greek archive of Totoes, found inside two jars in 1905.[45] Following the bilingual archive in the inventory, E. Schiaparelli records the discovery, in an unspecified area, of a conspicuous number of papyrus fragments written in cursive-hieroglyphs and hieratic and dating to the New Kingdom. Although no archaeological details survive, the contents of the manuscripts suggest that they stem from the workshop of the painter Pay and his family.[46] This set of thousands of fragments also included an unfinished cursive-hieroglyphic *Book of the Dead*,[47] a specimen of a votive cubit on papyrus, written in cursive-hieroglyphs and bearing

40 Schiaparelli (1901: 18).

41 The reconstruction of the portion of CGT 54065 featuring the *The Monologue of Atum* is attributed to E. Schiaparelli by Roccati (1989: 125).

42 Schiaparelli (1901: 17–18); Botti (1921).

43 Gabler & Soliman (2018).

44 There is no mention of the papyrus in the publication dedicated to the work of the Italian Archaeological Mission in the Valley of the Queens (Schiaparelli 1924). While the manuscript inventory only mentions fragments of Coptic papyri from the monastery (Suppl. 5956). The provenance written directly on the ribbon that sealed the glass of the papyrus was therefore known to the curators of the Museum, who kept a record of it in the stages of placing the object under glass and in the subsequent display in the room dedicated to the excavations in the Valley of the Queens, where the papyrus was on display until the first decade of 2000.

45 Suppl. 6068–6125, https://www.trismegistos.org/archive/248 (accessed 15.01.2024). The numbers Suppl. 6122 and 6123 are attributed to the jars that contained them. The archive has been dated to the 2nd century BC, including Greek and Demotic documents, the first published by G. Vitelli (1929), the latter published by G. Botti (1967). A new edition of all manuscripts published by Uggetti (2018) is accessibile online: https://theses.hal.science/tel-02283192/document (accessed 20.10.2024).

46 The Pay-family is working at Deir el-Medina from the reign of Horemheb, see Davies (1999: 149). Although it is difficult in general to distinguish between the progenitor Pay, son of Ipuy, and the eponymous grandson Pay, who served until the Year 47 of Ramesses II, several elements attribute the papyrus to the work of the former, thus dating back to the reign of Seti I or, to the beginning of that of Ramesses II.

47 Demichelis (2016: 27).

the cartouche of Amenhotep III,[48] and a copy of the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* written in hieratic on behalf of the painter Pay.[49] In his next campaign at the end of 1908, E. Schiaparelli also found a high-quality papyrus bearing the *Ritual of Amenhotep I* (Suppl. 10125/1 = Fig. 1),[50] dating to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. The scroll was stolen from the excavation, and E. Schiaparelli was only able to recover its lower half; the upper half arrived in the Cairo Museum (CG 58030) about ten years later.[51] Also recorded under the same inventory number is a papyrus bearing hymns to Amun, already believed at the time to form part of the *Ritual of Amenhotep I*.[52] Palaeographic analysis of the two papyri shows that they were produced in the same workshop.[53] These few acquisitions aside, "new" additions to the collection during the 1900s were largely the result of identifying and reassembling fragments from the *Drovettiana*. These "new" acquisitions were the outcome of a massive, decades-long collective endeavour by researchers of different nationalities—a process that is still ongoing (see § 2). While E. Schiaparelli was engaged in his excavation campaigns in Egypt, he entrusted the study of the hieratic fragments in the collection to his student G. Botti (1889–1968), who continued his work on the magical and literary papyri. Botti's work ranged widely, from literary[54] to religious[55] and administrative[56] texts, including work on fragments from civil status registers and the first reconstruction of the *Ship's Log Papyrus*.[57] Following the death of E. Schiaparelli in 1928, however, G. Botti was obliged to leave the Museo Egizio due to differences with the new director of the museum, G. Farina.[58] Many years later, G. Botti—who in the meantime had specialised in the study of Demotic—was allowed to return to the Turin Museum and complete the publication of the Demotic texts from the Totoes archive.[59] G. Farina himself continued to work actively on the hieratic fragments in the papyrus collection. In a letter from 1929, he wrote to the Ministry of National Education in Rome to ask for

48 Suppl. 6126/3, publication in preparation by S. Demichelis. The papyrus recalls the known one from the Roman archive of Tebtynis published by G. Rosati (1990; 2017).

49 Suppl. 6126/1 (= CGT 54041). This is the first known exemplar of the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* written on papyrus on behalf of a private individual. Noteworthy are the red guidelines drawn to guide the writing of the text, see Contardi (2017).

50 For the text see Bacchi (1942); Tacke (2013); Contardi (2017).

51 According to E. Bacchi (1942: 13–14), the papyrus was not found by E. Schiaparelli but purchased by him from looters. The scroll was cut vertically by these individuals into seven parts, each consisting of seven columns, and then cut in half horizontally, the lower part being sold to E. Schiaparelli and the upper part to the Cairo Museum; see also Roccati (2016). A similar fate may have befallen the *Book of the Dead* of Ramose, found in the same excavation campaign (and bearing the inventory number subsequent to that of the *Ritual*). Fragments of this papyrus, not mentioned among the findings from G. Möller's 1911 or 1913 excavations, subsequently entered the Papyrussammlung in Berlin (Lüscher 2007: 17).

52 Bacchi (1942: 15).

53 Although the hieratic ductus of the hymnic text is less accurate. F. Contardi is editing the text.

54 Cat. 1940+1941, Botti (1955). A new fragment of this papyrus was identified by A. Roccati (1984a: 17, pl. 3); see Fischer-Elfert (1999). Further fragments were identified among the CP-fragments.

55 Botti (1923a).

56 G. Botti (1921) deals in particular with numerous fragments of administrative papyri that concern the daily activities of the necropolis workers and the civil status register (the so-called *Stato Civile*, Cat. 1963); see also Botti (1923b).

57 Cat. 2008+2007; the reconstruction is attributed to G. Botti by T.E. Peet (1930: 481).

58 Roccati & Deotto (2019: 491).

59 Found by E. Schiaparelli in 1905 at Deir el-Medina; see Roccati & Deotto (2019: 493).

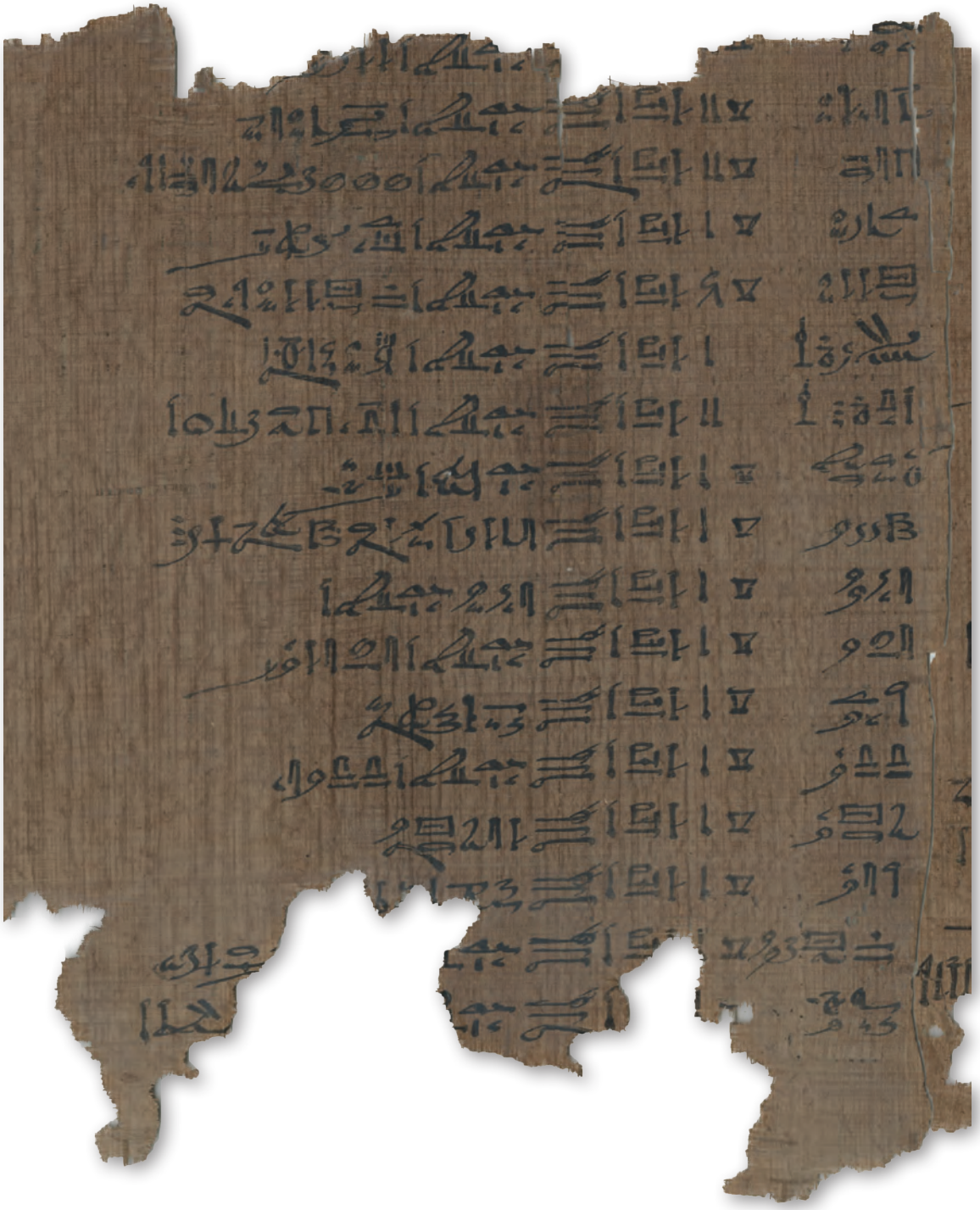


Fig. 1. Detail of the *Ritual for Amenhotep I*, Suppl.10125/1
(© Scan Museo Egizio)

funding for the restoration of the papyri.[60] In his letter, G. Farina mentioned that he had found several boxes of "trash" (as he called the fragments) in a large, forgotten cupboard, and that these formed part of the same corpus of texts on which E. Schiaparelli had worked. Some papyri from the E. Schiaparelli excavations are also mentioned in the letter; G. Farina described most of them as tiny fragments, collected in the same excavation boxes that they had been placed in at the time of their discovery.[61] Following a successful grant of funds from the Ministry of National Education, restoration work on these pieces was carried out by E. Caudana (1896–1974), formerly of the National Library of Turin, who worked for many years alongside G. Farina on the reconstruction of these papyri, including a manuscript of the *Hymn to the Nile*.[62] The restoration of the *Royal Canon*, first planned by E. Schiaparelli, was also realized in the 1930s thanks to G. Farina. This restoration was entrusted to H. Ibscher (1874–1943), the foremost restoration expert of the time; he was assisted by E. Caudana in the summer of 1930.[63] Over the years, the museum's curators were assisted in the extensive work of identifying and reassembling the papyrus fragments by various contemporary experts on hieratic. A.H. Gardiner (1879–1963) worked in Turin from 1905 onwards, copying hieratic manuscripts, and making preparatory slips for the Berlin *Wörterbuch* project. He also revisited some fundamental documents in the Turin collection, including the *Goldmine Papyrus* (Cat. 1879 etc.)[64] and the *Tomb-Plan of Ramesses IV* (Cat. 1885). In 1917, A.H. Gardiner was able to complete an edition of the *Tomb-Plan* by means of measurements and data collected in the Valley of the Kings by H. Carter.[65] A.H. Gardiner's work was also fundamental to the identification and reassembly of fragments of literary texts,[66] even making possible the material reunification of fragments that had been dispersed across other collections. Working in the Geneva Museum in January 1937, J. Capart (1877–1947) recognised a number of "badly mounted hieratic fragments" similar to those published by A.H. Gardiner in the *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. A.H. Gardiner then arranged with W. Deonna (1880–1959), the keeper of the Geneva Museum, to have them sent to his London house to be restored by H. Ibscher.[67] A.H. Gardiner subsequently discovered that some of the fragments belonged to Cat. 1882 (= Miscellanea A)[68] and to the legal deposition Cat. 2021.[69] Thanks to W. Deonna's enlightened collaboration,[70] an exchange was organised:[71] A.H. Gardiner offered

60 Archivio di Stato di Torino, Museo Egizio, I versamento, mazzo 48, 10.

61 Probably Suppl. 6126 and Suppl. 10125.

62 Van der Plas (1988).

63 Farina (1938).

64 Gardiner (1914); later published by G. Goyon (1949).

65 The text of the papyrus, including the verso, had been studied by A.H. Gardiner eleven years before its publication (which was completed with H. Carter's assistance); see Carter & Gardiner (1917).

66 e.g. Cat. 1882, *Miscellanea A*, already published as a facsimile by F. Rossi (1869–1876: pl. 17–19), improved with a fragment presented on plates 73–75, Gardiner (1937); as well as CGT 54011, a copy of P. Anastasi I, see Gardiner (1911), later published by Farina (1932).

67 Gardiner (1955: 30; 1956).

68 Gardiner (1937).

69 Černý & Peet (1927); Allam & Černý (1973: 320–327, pl. 113–119, 131); K*RI* 6, 738–742.

70 Gardiner (1948: XXIV).

71 The Geneva and the Turin fragments share a common origin, being a gift from B. Drovetti in 1825.

a magical papyrus of his own (MAH 15274)[72] in exchange for the Geneva fragments, which were then reunited with the larger portions of the papyrus already in Turin.[73] Some years later, A. Roccati discovered the papyrus sheets that completed the Geneva magical papyrus in the Turin Museum,[74] as well as a further copy of the magical text.[75] The dispersal of fragments between collections is a phenomenon whose extent is more and more appreciable with the ongoing publication of texts, even if it has not always been possible to reconstruct the process by which these fragments were dispersed.[76]

Some of the most important administrative documents in the collection were also published by A.H. Gardiner in an anthology that included the *Turin Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880),[77] the *Taxation Papyrus* (Cat. 1895+2006),[78] and the *Turin Indictment Papyrus* (Cat. 1887), as well as the beginning of Cat. 1882, verso.[79] A.H. Gardiner also provided a new edition of the *Royal Canon*.[80] During his work in Turin, A.H. Gardiner was supported by a number of collaborators and students. In 1928, T.E. Peet[81] (1882–1934) and G. Botti published the first volume of a planned two-volume edition of the *Journal of the Necropolis*[82], though the second volume never came to fruition. Additionally, T.E. Peet published the *Ship's Log* (Cat. 2008+2007),[83] the fragments of which had already been reassembled by G. Botti, who also incorporated the fragments presented in the facsimile by W. Pleyte and F. Rossi.[84] A.H. Gardiner and G. Farina's work on the Turin copy P. Turin CGT 54011 of P. Anastasi I (BM EA 10247 = *Satirical Letter of Hori*) was completed by R. Caminos (1916–1992),[85] who also identified new fragments

72 Massart (1957).

73 Fragments D 405–408 and 409 were given to the Turin Museum in exchange for the magical papyrus owned by A.H. Gardiner; see Deonna (1938). The arrival of the fragments in Turin is documented in a letter sent by G. Farina to the Ministry of National Education in December 1937, where he states that A.H. Gardiner had arranged for the precious gift as a symbol of his gratitude for the "study facilities he had received in Turin"; see Archivio di Stato di Torino, Fondo Museo Egizio, I versamento, A52, 13. Such an exchange would not be possible today: fragments recognised as part of the same scroll but preserved in other collections are only reunited virtually.

74 CGT 54063, Roccati (1982).

75 CGT 54064, Roccati (1982).

76 For example the case of the above mentioned *Ritual of Amenhotep I*, the upper half of which is in Cairo. Furthermore, various funerary papyri can be connected with fragments preserved in the Papyrussammlung in Berlin, the Ethnographic Museum in Neuchâtel, and the Vatican Museum. The connection between the Budapest magical papyrus and the Turin papyrus CGT 54058, Kàkosy (1971), however, is less obvious; see Roccati (2001). More recently, R. Pietri discovered hieratic literary fragments at the Musée du Louvre that directly connect with some unpublished CP-fragments.

77 Facsimile by Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: pl. 35–48).

78 Corresponding to Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: pl. 65, 96–97, 100–101, 155–157). The text was provided with a translation and commentary by A.H. Gardiner (1941).

79 Gardiner (1948).

80 Gardiner (1959).

81 Peet (1925). Peet also worked on other hieratic texts, such as Cat. 1907/1908.

82 Botti & Peet (1928); *Necropolis Journal of Year 17* of Ramesses IX: Cat. 1884+2067/118+2071/137+2105+2082/173+2082/175+2083/179+2083/181+2083/183+2073/145+ 1945/002.

83 Peet (1930); Janssen (1961).

84 Pleyte & Rossi (1869: pl. 68, 69).

85 R. Caminos (1958: 3), who credits A.H. Gardiner with the identification and repositioning of the fragments. G. Farina (1932) also worked on papyrus CGT 54011; he had previously recognized and published a large number of pieces as well. More fragments were identified by R. Pietri among the CP-fragments.

belonging to the papyrus. In the 1920s, J. Černý[86] (1898–1970) began working on the hieratic texts in the Museo Egizio, which he frequented regularly until 1967. He focused his activity on the non-literary texts from Deir el-Medina, collecting material for his later publications, including his opus *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, which was published posthumously in 1973. In 1939, he published a transcription of a series of letters dated to the end of the Ramesside period and the beginning of the 21st Dynasty.[87] J. Černý's work contributed significantly to scholarly understanding of the museum's collection of non-literary hieratic texts from the New Kingdom;[88] many of his transcriptions were even published posthumously, though without being revised by the author.[89] In the years between 1969 and 1974, A. Roccati made several major discoveries working on the papyri in the collection[90]. In his own words: "*convinto che le mansioni di chi ha il privilegio di lavorare nel Museo Egizio comprendono le più minute curiosità, passai a occuparmi degli innumeri frammenti di papiro da cui Botti, Černý e Farina avevan tratto documenti di rara importanza. Non senza stupore mi accorsi però che il vero inventario rimaneva ancora da fare, a causa degli accostamenti e dell'identificazione di nuovi svariati testi che potei rapidamente istituire.*"[91]

A. Roccati's discoveries and reconstructions led to a different view of the Turin collection, revealing its hitherto unexpected size and scope. His reconstructions also established the need for a new inventory system, one that could fill the gaps left by the numbering system in use. As a result, a new numerical sequence was adopted for the papyri (Catalogo Generale di Torino = CGT), in accordance with the publication plan of the Soprintendenza del Museo Egizio for the edition of individual monuments or groups of materials.[92] Among the new identifications made by A. Roccati were the prologue to the *Maxims of Ptahhotep* (CGT 54014),[93] the *Tale of Sinuhe* (CGT 54015 = fig. 2),[94] the *Teaching of a Man for His Son* (CGT 54016),[95] the text of which was preceded by a new copy of the *Hymn to the Nile*, the *Satire of the Trades* (CGT 54019),[96] the *Teaching of Hordjedef* (CGT 54017),[97] and various

86 J. Černý used to spend his summer holidays in Turin in order to study the collection of hieratic texts; see Janssen & Janssen (2014).

87 Černý (1939): Cat. 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1979, 2069.

88 See Černý & Peet (1927: 30–39) for P. Turin Cat. 2021; see also Černý (1936; 1937).

89 J. Černý's notebooks were deposited in the Griffith Institute in Oxford and have served as the basis for many publications, including the transcriptions published in *KRI* 6. In this regard, see Janssen & Janssen (2014). The notebooks are included in TPOP thanks to a collaboration between the Griffith Institute and the Museo Egizio.

90 Roccati (1979: 553).

91 Roccati (1975: 243).

92 The numbered series starting with CGT 54000 was assigned to the hieratic papyri, while the CGT 55000s were assigned to the figured papyri (the first in which series is the aforementioned *Erotic-Satirical Papyrus*), and the CGT 56000s assigned to the funerary papyri; see Curto (1976); Roccati (2022: 38).

93 Vernus (1996); further fragments were added by A. Roccati (2014).

94 Roccati (2022: 39).

95 Fischer-Elfert (1999). The *Teaching* is preceded by the *Hymn to the Nile*, numerous fragments of which remain to be restored. The verso bears a copy of the *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days*; see Roccati (2022: 39).

96 Identified by A. Roccati (2022: 40).

97 Roccati (2022: 40).

Fig. 2. Fragment with the *Story of Sinuhe*, CGT 54015
(© Scan Museo Egizio)

mythological tales (CGT 54031),[98] including the *Legend of Anat*.[99] New fragments belonging to known texts such as the *Hymn to the Nile*,[100] the *Satire of the Trades* (CGT 54020),[101] the *Satirical Letter* (CGT 54011),[102] and the poem about the wars of Thutmoses III in Syria (Cat. 1940+1941+CPs = CGT 54009; photo cover)[103] were also identified by A. Roccati. He further reassembled the fragments of some ritual papyri, including a copy of the *Ritual of the Opening the Mouth* (Cat. 1938 = CGT 54044),[104] and a Ramesside copy of the *Book of Apophis* (CGT 54065).[105] The verso of the latter scroll preserves a divination manual, also containing instructions for lecanomantic practices (CGT 54065).[106] A. Roccati also ascribed a number of other fragments to the divinatory genre, finding evidence for the interpretation of omens drawn from meteorological events and earthquakes,[107] as well as a fragment of an oneiromantic text similar to papyrus Chester Beatty IV. A. Roccati also undertook the complex work of identifying and reconstructing magical texts,[108] an endeavour J.F. Borghouts (1939–2018) also contributed to,[109] by identifying the first page of the *Book of Thot* (Cat. 1995+1996).[110] This papyrus, together with the papyrus bearing the *Legend of Isis and the Name of Ra* (Cat. 1993), was published in 2011 in synopsis with the parallels.[111] Among the papyri in the collection, several fragments can be traced back to three different manuscripts bearing copies of the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* (e.g. Cat. 1982), which was identified by J.F. Borghouts. One of these texts is illustrated by a vignette (CGT 54078),[112] which was perhaps used as a model for the decoration of a royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings.[113] In 1992, J. López (1933–2002), already charged with editing the New Kingdom hieratic ostraca in the collection (see § 3), collaborated with A. Roccati on the identification of some papyrus fragments,[114] as well as providing a new edition of the *Love Songs Papyrus* (Cat. 1966).[115] Work on the administrative texts from Deir el-Medina was also continued by several researchers. Taking up the earlier studies

98 These tales appear on the verso of a *Hymn to Amon*; see Roccati (2003; 2022: 40).

99 Roccati (2022: 40).

100 The new fragments identified by A. Roccati were added to those identified by J. López in 1983: Cat. 1968+1890+1878+SN (= CGT 54018). See van der Plas (1988) and Roccati (2022: 40).

101 Roccati (2022: 40).

102 Roccati (2022: 41).

103 Botti (1955).

104 See Contardi (2017).

105 The papyrus was reassembled on the basis of a later parallel preserved on Papyrus Bremner-Rhind; see Roccati (1977).

106 Roccati (1977; 1994); Demichelis (2002b).

107 Roccati (1984b); Roccati (2022).

108 Roccati (1969; 1975; 1977).

109 Borghouts (1987), Roccati (2011: 11).

110 Roccati (2011).

111 Roccati (2011).

112 It has also been improved by the discovery of some new fragments.

113 Roccati (2009: 48).

114 Including some new fragments of the *Hymn to the Nile*: Cat. 1968+1878+1890 (= CGT 54018). See Roccati (2022: 40).

115 López (1992).

of T.E. Peet,[116] J.J. Janssen provided a new critical edition of the account on Cat. 1907+1908, supplemented by further fragments,[117] and of the *Ship's Log* on Cat. 2008+2016.[118] In more recent years, P.J. Frandsen has provided in 1990 an updated edition of the *Turin Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880), while R.J. Demarée has worked on various administrative texts,[119] including the *Stato Civile* (Cat. 1963), of which he identified new fragments.[120] In 1992, J.A. Harrell and M. Brown published the *Goldmine Papyrus* in a new reconstruction with a different placement of the fragments. This reconstruction was improved by R.J. Demarée's discovery of two other fragments[121] that connected with the final part of the scroll.[122] Some of the texts on the verso were also the focus of specific papers by J.J. Janssen (1994) and W. Hovestreydt (1997).

The identification and reconstruction of these manuscripts—part of an extraordinary international collaboration during the 20th century—represents a significant outcome. The enormous amount of work done over the course of the last century, mostly without the use of current technologies, has provided a solid foundation for further achievements in the new millennium.

2. The new millenium: the mature study of the Turin Collection [S. T.]

2.1. Published vs. unpublished material

Recent work on the Turin collection aims to enhance the results of decades of research on the hieratic papyrus material. As we have seen, the B. Drovetti lot consists of several thousand papyrus fragments. Of these, some 500 larger ensembles have been identified and assigned inventory numbers. Some of these inventory numbers represent more or less complete manuscripts. There are, however, thousands of tiny fragments in the collection which belong either to these ensembles or are part of other, yet unidentified texts. The importance of these manuscripts and fragments, which most likely derive from Deir el-Medina, has been pointed out by scholars—such as J. Černý, J.J. Janssen, A. Roccati, and R.J. Demarée—who have laid the foundation for the study of these hieratic materials.

An overview of previous research on the inventoried papyri in Turin, as well as a systematic bibliography of Deir el-Medina studies, can be found in Leiden University's Deir el-Medina Database.[123] This database is the most extensive reference tool for the texts stemming from the administration of the royal necropolis of Ramesside Egypt—an institution that can be compared to a state-run construction company. Although 145 Turin papyri with catalogue numbers are recorded in the

116 Peet (1925).

117 Jansen (1966); Ventura (1983); Helck (2002).

118 Peet (1930); Janssen (1961).

119 Such as Cat. 2044, 1961+2007, 2074; see Demarée (1993; 1997).

120 Published with D. Valbelle in 2011; see § 2.

121 Incipit of the verso, Demarée (1997). The papyrus was restored in 2015 on the basis of J.A. Harrell and M. Brown's hypothesis; this restoration included the fragments identified by R.J. Demarée as well as further additions, though not all of the known fragments could be relocated; see Demichelis (2016: 4–5, pl. 2).

122 Demarée (1997).

123 https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/ (accessed 15.01.2024).

database, many of them are listed as unpublished and the information on them provided in the database is based only on J. Černý's notebooks.[124] These manuscripts were copied in K.A. Kitchen's multi-volume collection *Ramesside Inscriptions*[125] or published on the basis either of facsimiles given in the catalogue by W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, old black-and-white photographs, or brief examinations of the originals. Until recently, scholars had little opportunity to study the originals in Turin extensively, while information about the thousands of undocumented fragments was available only to a few scholars. This has only changed within the last 20 years.

In 2011, R.J. Demareé and D. Valbelle published an administrative manuscript containing lists of households and their members called the *Stato Civile* (Cat. 1963).[126] This document reflects not only the complexity of the legal and taxation systems in Ramesside Thebes, but also the complexity of working with the Turin papyri. Rediscovered by G. Botti in 1923 before drawing the attention of J. Černý in the 1930s, the manuscript consists of hundreds of fragments. Building on G. Botti and J. Černý's notes, R.J. Demarée and D. Valbelle proceeded to find additional fragments of the papyrus among the museum's undocumented materials. Over a period of nearly 20 years, they managed to reassemble this manuscript before publishing it in their ground-breaking monograph. The same year, A. Roccati (2011) published some of the larger magical manuscripts in the Turin collection (along with their parallels), including the so-called *Magical Papyrus of Thot* (Cat. 1995+1996 = CGT 54050) and the *Magical Papyrus of Isis* (Cat. 1993 = CGT 54051). The latter is well-known for also bearing a copy of the so-called *Legend of Isis and the name of Ra* (recto 2.11–5.5).[127]

Individual papyrus manuscripts and fragments have also been published over the last 20 years in the form of articles. Since many years S. Demichelis has been actively involved in the study of the fragmentary New Kingdom material and was able to reconstruct many documents. In 2002, she published the *Ritual Festival Calendar* on the recto of P. Turin CGT 54021, a document she reconstructed out of many fragments from the Drovetti collection.[128] S. Demichelis (2004) published papyrus Cat. 2038 (= CGT 55002), which preserves traces of the ground plans for a number of royal tombs on both the recto and the verso. Papyrus Cat. 2038 may represent the initial plan of Ramesses IV's tomb, the final version of which appears on papyrus Cat. 1885. Further evidence of the initial plan of the tomb is provided by Cat. 2039 (= CGT 55003).[129] Earlier, S. Demichelis (2000) published Cat. 1858,[130] a small papyrus inscribed with a protective spell related to spell 100 from the *Book of the Dead*. This papyrus was made for the scribe Butehamun, the son of scribe Thutmose. The Turin letters between Butehamun and Thutmose (Cat. 1971, Cat. 1972, Cat, 1973) have also been published by G. Cavillier (2016). These editions, as well as editions of other Turin letters published by J. Černý

124 https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/cerny-collection; included in TPOP (accessed 15.01.2024).

125 *KRI* (1975–1990).

126 Demarée & Valbelle (2011).

127 A new edition of Cat. 1993 formed the subject of an MA thesis by L. Loprieno (Pisa 2022, unpublished). The results of her research are included in TPOP under the Doc ID 185 (https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/185; accessed 15.01.2024).

128 P. Turin CGT 54021 = Cat. 1917+1963/102+2054/053+2049+1913+1926+2042/002+2100/310+2042/003+2042/001; see Demichelis (2002a). The verso contains a journal account which with several unpublished texts.

129 Demichelis (2007: 45–60).

130 Demichelis (2000: 267–273).

(1939) and E. Wente (1967), can be found online in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.[131] Further to this, the scribal hand of Thutmose, the author of the *Turin Taxation Papyrus* (Cat. 1895+2006), has been subject to analysis by R.J. Demarée, who also published a late Ramesside *Ships's Log* (Cat. 2053/051+2061/076+2098/281+2100/305+2100/307).[132] Other writings amongst the Turin papyri produced by Thutmose were subsequently published by R.J. Demarée in 2022 (Cat. 2061/082+2106/387; Cat. 2090/217+2090/218+2090/221+2096/259; CP 22/009; Cat. 2107/40).[133] Similar administrative notes were published in 2014 by M. Müller (Cat. 1894)[134] and M. Müller and K. Gabler in 2020 (Cat. 2034).[135] Papyrus Cat. 2034 is of special interest: the notes on the papyrus appear next to drawings on the recto and verso depicting the footboard of a bed decorated with the figures of the protective deity Bes and several lions (recto) and a piece of furniture (probably a chair, verso). In 2021, B.J.J. Haring published a Ramesside letter to Pharaoh's workmen (Cat. 2022).[136]

In 2017, the Museo Egizio launched the online journal *Rivista del Museo Egizio*. The journal aims to disseminate a variety of research on all aspects of the museum's collection. Publications of various Turin hieratic manuscripts appear in nearly each of its volumes. In 2018, for instance, an 18th Dynasty letter from the Valley of the Queens (Provv. 3581) was published in the journal by K. Gabler and D. Soliman.[137] A text on papyrus Cat. 1878, referring to the nomination of the Vizier Useramun, was published in 2019 by M. Frère; the composition is a Ramesside historical fiction, most likely written during the first half of the 20th Dynasty.[138] In 2021, J. Jurjens published papyrus CGT 54019; it bears an excerpt from *The Teaching of Khety*, also known as *The Satire of the Trades*.[139] The first complete edition of the administrative hieratic papyrus Cat. 1883+2095 was published in 2022 by M. Landrino.[140] In the same year, G. Lenzo published papyrus Cat. 1877, which lists the forms of Osiris and the names of royal ancestors.[141]

Preparing the Turin New Kingdom hieratic materials for publication is often an extremely time-consuming process due to the complexity of their contents and the fragmentary condition of the papyri. With the onset of the digital age, however, it has become possible to speed up this process. Philology and papyrology are particular beneficiaries of digital tools and databases as a means of documenting and processing papyri and ancient texts and elucidating their context. While the papyrological study of written material from the Hellenistic and Arab periods already represents something of a "digital vanguard,"[142] Egyptian philology (and particularly the study of hieratic texts) has been extremely slow to catch up.

131 https://aaew.bbaw.de/de; in "Strukturen und Transformationen des Wortschatzes der ägyptischen Sprache, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften", section "Briefe> Briefe des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit> Verwaltung/Alltag> Briefe des Deir el-Medina Corpus" (accessed 15.04.2023).

132 Demarée (2018).

133 Demarée (2022).

134 Müller (2014).

135 Gabler & Müller (2020).

136 Haring (2021).

137 Gabler & Soliman (2018).

138 Frère (2019).

139 Jurjens (2021).

140 Landrino (2022b).

141 Lenzo (2022). For additional, recently discovered CP-fragments by R. Pietri, see TPOP Doc ID 133.

142 Cf. Reggiani (2017: 2–10); Berti & Naether (2016); https://papyri.info/ (accessed 15.04.2023).

This began to change for the Turin material in 2017 with the development of the *Turin Papyrus Online Platform* (TPOP). Available online since 2019,[143] TPOP facilitates work on the Turin papyri—from the recording of fragments to their annotation with metadata and their publication online. Over 400 documents are currently accessible to registered TPOP users; these consist mostly of Ramesside hieratic papyri from Deir el-Medina. The platform also features over 12,000 NK hieratic fragments, complete with photographs and metadata. These were encoded from 2019 to 2023 as part of the project *Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt*.

2.2. On-going publications and projects

Partnering on the four-year *Crossing Boundaries* project were the Universities of Basel and Liège and the Museo Egizio.[144] The project proposed a context-based and interdisciplinary approach to the written material produced by the highly literate ancient Egyptian community of Deir el-Medina. Its goal was to enhance scholarly understanding of the complex scribal practices behind the texts produced by this community, and it aimed to do so by studying a particular category of documents from Deir el-Medina kept in the Museo Egizio: the so-called "heterogeneous" papyri. The partners on this project encoded and connected thousands of undocumented papyrus fragments, "puzzling together" new manuscripts bearing magical, literary, religious, and administrative texts. The results of the project connected research (St. Polis, K. Gabler,[145] M. Müller), PhD (E. Hertel, St. Unter) and Post-Doc (R. Pietri,[146] N. Sojic) will be published not only within TPOP but also in form of articles and monographs.

Related to the *Crossing Boundaries* project are two PhD and one post-doctoral project financed by the Museo Egizio. M. Landrino's PhD project, titled "The 'Archive' of Ramesses IX: Administrative Documents Housed in the Museo Egizio" represents the edition of some 30 papyri related to the administration of Deir el-Medina. Dating to the reign of Ramesses IX, these papyri had previously received some attention from scholars, notably J. Černý, but a complete edition of the majority of these administrative texts remained a considerable desideratum.[147] The aim of A. Fanciulli's PhD project, titled "Picturing the King from Deir el-Medina: A Twentieth Dynasty Perspective" is to investigate the ways in which pictorial and written images of the king were constructed by the Deir el-Medina community during the 20th Dynasty (1190–1076 BC). As part of this study, he will produce a new complete edition of Cat. 1892+1886+1893+1934 including CP fragments. Finally, M. Di Teodoro's post-doctoral project, titled "The Transmission of Literary Knowledge on Papyrus during the Ramesside Period: The Turin Collection in Focus," explores the uses of literary texts and the forms of literary knowledge that were transmitted on papyrus in the late New Kingdom. It pays special attention to the manuscripts from Deir el-Medina, as that community's written products permit insights into the selection and transmission of texts within a narrowly defined geographical and temporal context. A case-study will examine the *Turin Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days* (e.g. CGT 54016, verso

143 See Töpfer (2018); https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it/ (accessed 15.01.2024).

144 See the report by Polis et al. (2020). For detailed information on the *Crossing Boundaries* project see the website: http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/x-bound/ (accessed 20.06.2023).

145 K. Gabler (Mainz) is studying the letters (and journals) found amongst the Ramesside papyri in the Museo Egizio.

146 The Post-Doc project by R. Pietri (Paris) represents a new scholarly edition and analysis of the Turin copies of the *Satirical Letter of Hori* and other literary texts, parallels for which are known in other collections, such as the British Museum.

147 For an overview with inventory numbers, see Landrino (2022a).

and CGT 54023),[148] also called hemerologies, which assign good or ill omens to each day of the year. All three of these studies will be published within 2024 and 2025 in the *Studi del Museo Egizio* series.

Despite being one of the most famous papyri from Egypt, the so-called *Turin Papyrus Map* or *Goldmine Papyrus* (Cat. 1879++) has never been properly published. This is about to change thanks to A. Dorn (Uppsala) and St. Polis (Liège), who are preparing to publish both the map on the recto and all of the texts on the verso. The *Turin King List* also known as *Royal Canon* (Cat. 1874) has attracted the attention of Egyptologists since it entered the Museo Egizio in 1824 as part of the Drovetti collection. Over many years, K. Ryholt has studied the papyrus and proposed a new arrangement of the fragments alongside a new interpretation of the text. The restoration was done in 2022 by M. Krutzsch (Berlin) following K. Ryholt's scientific project. The publication of the *King List* on the verso and the *Tax register* on the recto by K. Ryholt, F. Hagen and R.J. Demarée is ongoing and planed for the near future.

2.3. Overview of inventory numbers and genres

The Museo Egizio uses several types of mutually exclusive inventory numbers for papyri (see graphic 1) and ostraca:

- Cat. for "Catalogo", i.e. the numbers assigned to the museum's objects published in the catalogue by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R. Lanzone (1882), notably including the Drovetti collection. "Cat." numbers also include objects collected before and after the purchase of the Drovetti collection.[149]
- CP for "Cartelline Papiri", i.e. the numbers assigned to 201 cardboard folders containing thousands of undocumented (now documented) papyrus fragments from the Drovetti collection and E. Schiaparelli's excavations;
- Suppl. for "Supplemento", i.e. the numbers assigned to objects acquired after the publication of the catalogue by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R. Lanzone (1882), largely from E. Schiaparelli's purchases and excavations (1901–1920), but also including objects acquired after his tenure as director of the Museo Egizio (1894–1928);
- Provv. for "Provvisorio" (temporary), i.e. the numbers assigned to objects whose original inventory number is not known;
- CGT for "Catalogo Generale Torino", i.e. a numbering system assigned since 1965 to objects when they were published, but which has been employed more recently for the inventorying of papyri (including unpublished papyri).[150]

A number of difficulties arise with respect to the papyri which possess Cat.-inventory numbers. In the first volume of the catalogue by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. Lanzone (1882: 391), inventory numbers were assigned to papyri with cursive-hieroglyphic and hieratic script (Cat. 1769–2160). Some of these numbers (Cat. 2042–2114) reflect several hieratic fragments belonging to different manuscripts. These in turn were assigned sub-numbers (n. 1–504), and old labels bearing the sub-numbers attached to the fragments are crucial when it comes to distinguishing these different (fragmentary) manuscripts. Cat. 2094, for example, consists of 11 fragments (objects) with the sub-numbers 236–246. These belong to at least four documents, while sub-numbers 240 and 241 remain unidentified:

148 Cf. Demichelis (2008).

149 See Curto (1976).

150 Cf. n. 92.

Document A (recto: journal and account / verso: delivery)

Cat. 2094/236 + Cat. 2094/237 + Cat. 2094/238 + Cat. 2094/239

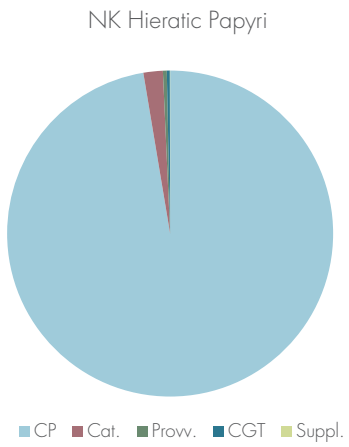
Document B (recto: protocol / verso: list)

Cat. 2094/242 + Cat. 2094/243 + Cat. 2094/245 + Cat. 2094/246 + Cat. 2095/247 + Cat. 2095/248 + Cat. 2095/250 + Cat. 2095/256 + Cat. 2068/126 + Cat. 2065/101–105

Document C (recto / verso: necropolis journal)

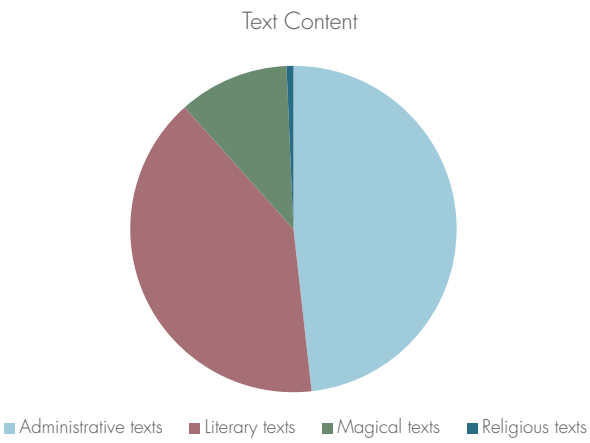
Cat. 2094/244 + Cat. 1898 + Cat. 1926 + Cat. 1937

Such sub-numbers have not always been taken into consideration in publications and online tools (e.g. Leiden DeM Database, Trismegistos). This often complicates the identification of documents referred to by their main number (e.g. Cat. 2094). Further to this, A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. Lanzone (1882) were not consistent in their allocation of sub-numbers. In the Cat. 1769–2041 and Cat. 2115–2117 ranges, for instance, we quite often find several fragments assembled under one inventory number. It is possible, however, to distinguish these fragments based on the description and measurements given in the catalogue, and they have been numbered consecutively in TPOP as 001, etc.



Type	NK Hieratic Papyri
CP	11,398
Cat.	225
Provv.	45
CGT	35
Suppl.	3
Total	**11,706**

Graphic 1. Overview of NK hieratic papyri in the Museo Egizio according to their inventory numbers (status from December 2023)



Content	Numbers
Administrative texts	1,495
Literary texts	1,245
Magical texts	339
Religious texts	21
Total	**3,100**

Graphic 2. Overview of the main genres of hieratic texts in the Turin collection (status from December 2023)

Fig. 3. Letter, Cat. 1977 (© Scan Museo Egizio)

The New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the Turin collection embrace texts of various genres (see Graphic 2). These include:[151]

- Administrative texts:
  Accounts,[152] Census lists,[153] Fiscal documents,[154] Inventories,[155] Lists of materials and names, Necropolis journals,[156] Payment lists and Receipts[157]
- Biographical texts:
  Autobiographies, Letters[158]
- Legal texts:
  Adoption documents,[159] Court records,[160] Disputes,[161] Deposits,[162] Divisions,[163] Juridical texts[164]
- Literary texts:
  Discourses,[165] Instructions/Teachings,[166] Love songs and poems,[167] Mythological texts,[168] Narratives,[169] Prophecies,[170] Satirical texts,[171] Wisdom texts[172]
- Religious texts:
  Amuletic texts,[173] Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky days,[174] Daily Temple Ritual,[175]

151 Bibliographical references and further information can be found online in TPOP: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Login.aspx (accessed 15.04.2023). Furthmore, see Töpfer (2024).

152 e.g. Fish Account: Cat. 2056/056+2056/057+2075+2096/263; TPOP Doc ID 72.

153 e.g. *Stato Civile*: Cat. 1963; TPOP Doc ID 601.

154 e.g. *Turin Taxation Papyrus*: Cat. 2006+1895+2107/407+CP 009/021; TPOP Doc ID 37.

155 e.g. Inventories in Journals: Cat. 2002; TPOP Doc ID 41.

156 e.g. *Necropolis Journal of Year 17* of Ramesses IX: Cat. 1884+2067/118+2071/137+2105+2082/173+2082/175+ 2083/179+2083/181+2083/183+2073/145+ 1945/002; TPOP Doc ID 5.

157 Payment lists and receipts can be found on numerous *Necropolis Journal* papyri.

158 e.g. Cat. 1978, 1973, 1972, 1974, 2077, 2026 and Cat. 1977 (fig. 3).

159 e.g. Cat. 2021 recto; TPOP Doc ID 511.

160 e.g. *Turin Indictment Papyrus*: Cat. 1887; TPOP Doc ID 430.

161 e.g. *Turin Strike Papyrus*: Cat. 1880; TPOP Doc ID 131.

162 e.g. Cat. 2015; TPOP Doc ID 465.

163 e.g. Cat. 1894; TPOP Doc ID 479.

164 e.g. *Turin Conspiracy Papyrus*: Cat. 1875; TPOP Doc ID 391.

165 e.g. *The Discourse between Head and Body*; wooden writing board Cat. 6238.

166 e.g. CGT 54014; TPOP Doc ID 509.

167 e.g. *Love Songs*: Cat. 1966 recto; TPOP Doc ID 250.

168 e.g. *Book of the Heavenly Cow*: Cat. 1982; TPOP Doc ID 137.

169 e.g. *Sinuhe*: CGT 54015; TPOP Obj ID 284 (pl. 2). The main fragment is parallel to P. Berlin p. 3033, l. 138–162.

170 e.g. CGT 54024; TPOP Doc ID 15.

171 e.g. *Erotic-Satirical Papyrus*: Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001; TPOP Doc ID 202.

172 e.g. *Instructions of Khety*: CGT 54019; TPOP Doc ID 543.

173 e.g. CP 154/129; TPOP Obj ID 432290.

174 e.g. Cat. 2104 = CGT 54022; TPOP Doc ID 92.

175 e.g. *Ritual for Amenhotep I*: Suppl. 10125/1; TPOP Doc ID 296 (pl. 3).

Litany,[176] Offering text,[177] Hymns,[178] Ritual texts[179]

- Scientific texts:
  Geographical texts,[180] Magical texts[181]
- Royal texts:
  Royal decrees,[182] Royal letters,[183] Royal historical texts, and Royal names[184]

3. New Kingdom hieratic ostraca [A. F.]

The most substantial source of information about the hieratic ostraca in the collection of the Museo Egizio is the introduction to the first of J. López's four-volume catalogue of this corpus.[185] In this work,[186] J. López presents around 560 New Kingdom hieratic ostraca with general descriptions, facsimiles and, in almost all cases, preliminary hieroglyphic transcriptions. These heterogenous ostraca vary by material and text type. Around 45 % of them consist of inscriptions on limestone flakes, and 55 % of inscriptions on sherds of pottery jars and vessels. The number of administrative texts—necropolis journals, inventories, accounts, and lists of materials and names—is larger than other categories of text. Nonetheless, a significant number of literary compositions—hymns, teachings, narratives, satirical texts, etc.—are also present on these ostraca, as well as epistolary and legal documents, and more rarely, scientific and mathematical and medical texts.

J. López was not the first scholar to study the Turin ostraca. They have been studied sporadically since the end of the 19th century. Ostraca in the Drovetti collection, for instance, were included in the museum's first catalogues, edited by P.C. Orcurti (1822–1871) and by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R. Lanzone. W. Pleyte and F. Rossi published the first facsimiles and annotated translations of Cat. 2163 and Cat. 2168,[187] while G. Maspero (1880: 116–118) published transcriptions of two autographs signed by the scribe of the necropolis Amennakhte, son of Ipuy: Cat. 2161 and Cat. 2162+2164. A.H. Gardiner also transcribed some ostraca in hieroglyphs in 1905 for the *Zettelarchi*v of the *Wörterbuch*.[188] Numerous ostraca were later studied by J. Černý during his stays in Turin in 1923, 1925, 1926, 1927, and then in 1957 and 1963. The preliminary transcriptions he produced, collected in his notebooks, are extremely valuable sources, since the state of preservation of some of the objects has worsened over the years. J. Černý's transcriptions have been used extensively by S. Allam (1973) and in K.A. Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*. G. Posener (1951: 171–189) also studied some of the Turin originals in the mid-20th century. Subsequently, many of the Deir el-Medina ostraca in the Turin

176 e.g. Cat. 1877; TPOP Doc ID 133.
177 e.g. Cat. 1876 = CGT 54045; TPOP Doc ID 120.
178 e.g. Cat. 1892+1886+1893 + CP 119/001 + CP 128/054; TPOP Doc ID 28.
179 e.g. *Opening of the Mouth Ritual*: CGT 54042; TPOP Doc ID 39.
180 e.g. *Goldmine Papyrus*: Cat. 1879+1969+1899+2083/174+2083/182 recto; TPOP Doc ID 9.
181 e.g. Cat. 1994; TPOP Doc ID 368.
182 e.g. Cat. 1896; TPOP Doc ID 259.
183 e.g. *Letter to King Ramesses VI*: Cat. 1879+1969+1899+2083/174+2083/182 verso; TPOP Doc ID 9.
184 e.g. *Turin King List / Royal Canon*: Cat. 1874 verso; TPOP Doc ID 97.
185 López (1978: 7–9).
186 López (1978; 1980; 1982; 1984). In the bibliography, each fascicle has an entry of its own.
187 Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: 209–211, CXLVIII–CL).
188 Orcurti (1852: 176); Fabretti et al. (1882: 287–288).

collection were translated by A.G. McDowell (1999), who produced an anthology of texts from the village for a general readership. In a volume on Ramesside Period chronology, W. Helck (2002) also translated and outlined the contents of several New Kingdom hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina in the collection.

In the present, two online tools support research on the collection, the Leiden Deir el-Medina Database[189] and the University of Liège's Ramses Online portal.[190] The Leiden database holds information on 284 Turin New Kingdom hieratic ostraca, while Ramses Online records almost every ostracon transcribed in the J. López's catalogue with their hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration, grammatical analysis, and translation. Some of the ostraca in the collection, particularly the literary ones, are also included in the corpus of the online *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.[191]

As for the Museo Egizio's system of inventory numbers, the ostraca are divided into three groups.

Nine ostraca belong to the "Catalogo" group, from Cat. 2161 to Cat. 2170 (CGT 57001 to 57009 in J. López's catalogue). All nine clearly originate from the Theban area, most likely from the village of Deir el-Medina, and date to the Ramesside period. A. Dorn and S. Polis (2022: 424–450) have recently argued, that Cat. 2162+2164 represents an original composition by Amennakhte, son of Ipuy. In their analysis of the text, they show that this hymn may be situated among Amennakhte's expressions of religious piety, as the scribe appears to adapt the content of the hymn to the social environment of Deir el-Medina, linking the god Ptah to the village water carriers. This interpretation grounds the ostracon within Amennakhte's geographical, chronological, and social context, and brings home the value of contextualizing similar artefacts from the collection.

The second and largest group of ostraca in the collection belong to the category of "Supplemento" numbers. Some 90 % of these ostraca come from the village of Deir el-Medina. They were found on site by E. Schiaparelli during his 1905 and 1909 campaigns.[192] Unfortunately, although E. Schiaparelli's reports provide some general information about the archaeological context of these artefacts, they do not include specific details about their find-spots or the state of preservation of the ostraca before they arrived in Turin. In fact, the format of these reports, which simply lists the ostraca, leaves open the question whether these lists were compiled in Egypt or when the boxes of ostraca arrived in Turin.

Most of the remaining 10 % of ostraca with "Suppl." numbers stem from the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission in the Valley of the Queens in the years 1903–1905. In addition to these ostraca, and those found during Schiaparelli's archaeological excavations in Deir el-Medina, a few other New Kingdom hieratic ostraca are listed in E. Schiaparelli's handwritten inventory. The ostraca numbered from Suppl. 1443 to Suppl. 1446 + SN (CGT 57010 to 57013 in J. López's catalogue) are among more than 1400 objects bought on the antiquities market in Egypt by E. Schiaparelli in 1900–1901. Suppl. 4646 (CGT 57015) is said to have been found in Qau el-Kebir but, as noted by J. López (1978: 21), it might actually originate from Deir el-Medina, where E. Schiaparelli was working at the time. This type of mistake would support the idea that Schiaparelli compiled his list of ostraca in Turin rather than Egypt.

189 https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/ (accessed 10.01.2024).

190 http://ramses.ulg.ac.be/ (accessed 10.01.2024).

191 https://aaew.bbaw.de/de (accessed 10.05.2023).

192 According to E. Schiaparelli's notes, no ostraca were found in 1906, as work that year focused mainly on the Tomb of Kha and Merit in Deir el-Medina (TT 8). For a general overview of E. Schiaparelli's work in Deir el-Medina, excluding ostraca and papyri, see also Del Vesco & Poole (2018: 97–130).

The third group of ostraca belong to the "Provvisorio" category; detailed information about their provenance and their arrival in Turin is limited. The ostraca numbered from Provv. 1367 to Provv. 1379 (CGT 57525 to 57538) and from Provv. 1381 to Provv. 1387 (CGT 57548 to 57554) are very likely to have come to Turin with E. Schiaparelli after his archaeological campaigns in Deir el-Medina, just like Provv. 1380 (CGT 57545) and Provv. 9859 (CGT 57535), which were found on site in 1909. Provv. 1389 (CGT 57556) and Provv. 1390 (CGT 57557) may stem from the excavations led by G. Farina in 1935. No archival information exists for the other documents registered as "Provv.", nor do their texts offer any clues as to their provenance. The majority of them bear several lines of administrative text, but copies of the *Kemyt* (fig. 4, Provv. 1387) are also attested.

Taken together, all of these ostraca represent a unique textual repertoire—from lists of names and products to necropolis journals and evidence of legal disputes—that sheds valuable light on the life and organization of the community of workers at Deir el-Medina. At the same time, they also offer insights into New Kingdom literary production, particularly during the Ramesside and Late Ramesside Period. Numerous well-known literary compositions were copied on these ostraca, such as the *Satire of Trades*,[193] the *Hymn to the Nile*,[194] *Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days*,[195] as well as famous stories like that of *Khonsuemheb and the Ghost*,[196] together with pseudo-prophetic texts like the *Prophecy of Neferti*,[197] oracular documents,[198] and so on. The only New Kingdom medical sources known to date in the Turin collection are also notably preserved on ostraca.[199] Finally, several ostraca bear texts that await identification. It was only recently, for instance, that Suppl. 9610 (CGT 57440) was shown to bear a cryptographic composition.[200]

193 Suppl. 6378 (= CGT 57082); Suppl. 6409 (= CGT 57095); Suppl. 6778 (= CGT 57244); Suppl. 6684 (= CGT 57298); Suppl. 6622 (= CGT 57316); Suppl. 9571 (= CGT 57358); Suppl. 9647 (= CGT 57403); Suppl. 9580 (= CGT 57430).

194 Suppl. 6356 (= CGT 57064); Suppl. 6360 (= CGT 57067); Suppl. 6685 (= CGT 57172); Suppl. 6805 (= CGT 57277); Suppl. 9607 (= CGT 57437).

195 Suppl. 6415 (= CGT 57304).

196 Suppl. 6619 (= CGT 57314 = fig. 5); Suppl. 6806 (= CGT 57315); Suppl. 6620 + 6838 (= CGT 57317); Suppl. 6851 (= CGT 57318).

197 Suppl. 9596 (= CGT 57435).

198 Suppl. 6759 (= CGT 57227).

199 Suppl. 6645 (= CGT 57163) bears two medical prescriptions. Suppl. 6433 (= CGT 57104) is a list of body parts. Thanks to the *Crossing Boundaries* Project, other medical texts have been found on papyri among the CP-fragments. These will be published in the next few years.

200 Polis & Seyr (2023: 117–181).

Fig. 4. Ostracon with parts of the *Kemyt*, Provv. 1387 (© Photo Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/ Museo Egizio)

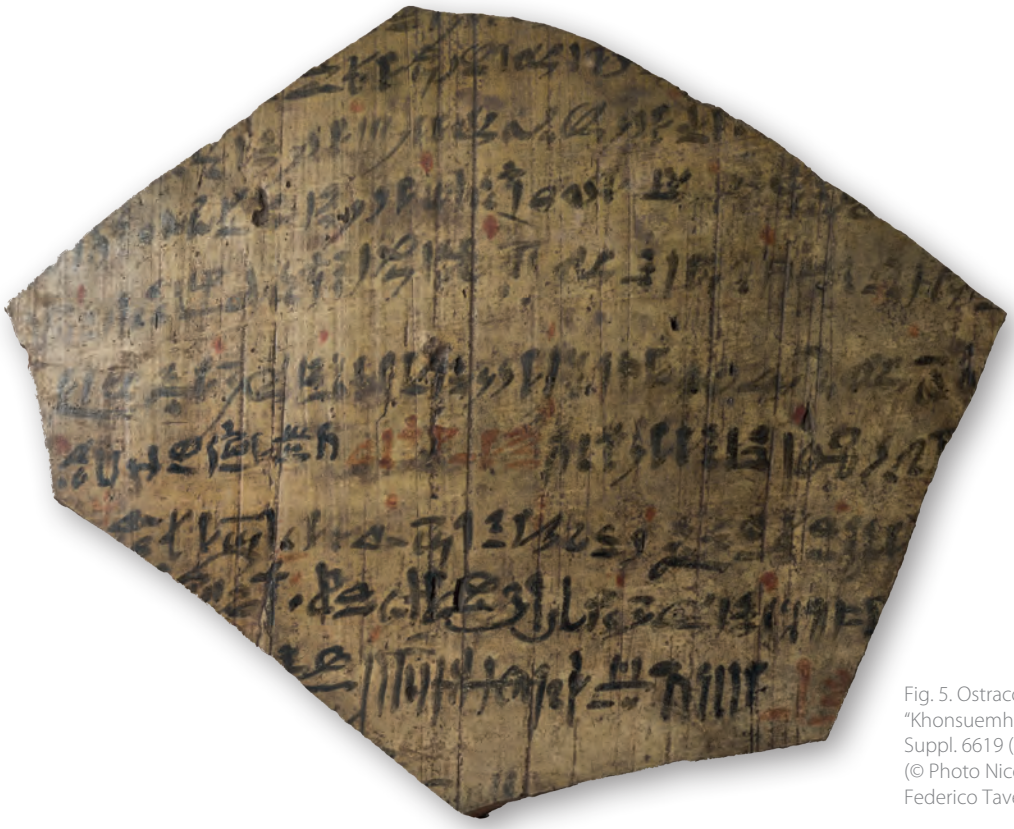


Fig. 5. Ostracon with parts of "Khonsuemheb and the Ghost", Suppl. 6619 (= CGT 57314) (© Photo Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio)

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New Kingdom Hieratic Papyri in the Collection of the Vatican Museums

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ABSTRACT

The Vatican collection of New Kingdom hieratic documents is not particularly large, though its few holdings possess great philological and museological interest and represent a valuable witness to New Kingdom hieratic production. The materials in the collection consist of a few fragmentary administrative papyri and a magical papyrus of which only the recto has been published. It is not possible to reconstruct the acquisition history of these hieratic papyri, though they do appear in the catalogue of the museum prepared by Orazio Marucchi in 1891. Currently, all the New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the museum are being prepared for detailed publication as part of the *Progetto Orazio Marucchi*. The goal of this project is to improve accessibility to the entire collection of Egyptian papyri preserved in the Vatican Museums; to furnish new digital reconstructions of all these manuscripts; and to prepare a new catalogue that will complete the work begun by Annie Gasse in the nineties.

"*… lo studio delle antichità orientali e sopra tutto delle egizie e delle assire, facendoci conoscere da vicino i due popoli più celebri con i quali furono a contatto gli ebrei, illustra sempre più il gran quadro storico della Bibbia e serve mirabilmente a confermare l'antichità e l'autenticità di quel sacro volume.*"

Marucchi (1893: 15).

1. History of the collection[1] [A. A.]

The collection of Egyptian papyri in the Vatican Museums, formerly held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), came into being in the last years of the pontificate of Pius VII (1800–1823) and the first years of the pontificate of Leo XII (1823–1829). The Prefect of the Library at that time, Angelo Mai,[2] provided a brief outline of the papyri's acquisition in his introduction to

1 We would like to thank Claudia Montuschi (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) for her valuable assistance.

2 A. Mai held the position of Prefect of the Library from 1819 until 1833, when he was appointed Secretary of Propaganda Fide. During his time as Prefect, he worked to modernise the Vatican's typography.

Jean-François Champollion's (1825: VI) catalogue of the papyri.[3] Unfortunately, this introduction does not permit a detailed reconstruction of the acquisition history of the materials.[4]

The first group of Egyptian papyri to enter the collection were part of a gift from Angelo da Pofi, a missionary of the Order of Friars Minor who had just returned from a twelve-year long mission in Luxor, Upper Egypt. The items were given to the Butler of the Apostolic Palace, Cardinal Antonio Maria Frosini, and then delivered on 9th March 1818 to the first Custodian of the BAV, Monsignor Francesco Antonio Baldi.[5] The gifted items consisted of "*un papiro grande non svolto" in a tin scroll; "una scatola bislunga contenente altri due papiri più piccoli non svolti*"; 43 other papyrus fragments; and a number of miscellaneous items.[6] F.A. Baldi was commissioned to unroll the papyri in May and July 1819,[7] and the manuscripts were subsequently placed between two panels of glass in wooden frames before they were put on display in the entrance hall of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

A few years later, this original collection of items was further enriched by some papyrus scrolls donated by the famous Paduan traveller Giovanni Battista Belzoni. These were given to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Ercole Consalvi,[8] who arranged for their delivery to the BAV.[9] G.B. Belzoni had never met E. Consalvi, but he had spent time as a youth in Rome in an abandoned attempt at the priesthood, and it was G.B. Belzoni's respect for the church and E. Consalvi's position that led to his donation. This is evident from a letter written by G.B. Belzoni to the Cardinal on 26th April 1818, which marked the beginning of an intense correspondence: "*Eminentissimo, il rispetto che ho sempre mai nutrito per la Santa Corte di Roma, come pure per le persone culte ed amatori delle Scienze; Incoragito dalla fama delle bontà di Sua Eminenza, mi presi l'ardire di presentare l'inchiusa dichiarazione delle varie scoperte da me fatte in queste contrade…*".[10] G.B. Belzoni had an interest in forging closer relations with the major European powers in order to finance his forthcoming travels.[11] In a subsequent letter dated to early 1819, G.B. Belzoni informed the Cardinal that he planned to send

3 See also Tulli (1941: XXIX–XXXIII); Lefevre (1941: 43–435).

4 Cardinali (2020: 133–172).

5 Arch. Bibl. 12, ff. 250r–258v.

6 Arch. Bibl. 12, 253r and 250r. For a more extensive discussion of the accession of these papyri into the Vatican collections, see Schiano (2020: 53–533).

7 Arch. Bibl. 12, ff. 254r–257v.

8 Cardinal E. Consalvi, as Secretary of State, was also appointed pro-librarian, meaning that he was the most eminent figure in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. A. Mai enjoyed a privileged relationship with the Cardinal, which facilitated A. Mai's work in the Library. See Cardinali (2020: 145–146).

9 G.B. Belzoni mentions a box containing seven papyri, three of which were unrolled and intact; two braids of an ancient wig found among some mummies; and some papyrus fragments written in Greek. By contrast, the catalogues prepared by A. Mai (1825) and Orazio Marucchi (1902) mention twelve papyri from G.B. Belzoni. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the extent of the gift on the basis of the surviving documents. It is not clear either when the items reached E. Consalvi, though a letter from Cardinal E. Consalvi dated 1st January 1820 mentions a box (of papyri) received by the Papal Legate of Ferrara; see Mercati (1943–1944: 311). The provenance of the items appears to be Luxor, a determination based on a number of internal characteristics. On their possible origins in Elephantine, see Schiano (2020: 549–550, fn. 35).

10 Mercati (1943–1944: 294).

11 Schiano (2020: 533).

a gift of "*alcuni papiri manoscritti egizi*"[12] to E. Consalvi as a sign of respect and esteem.[13] Unable at the time to travel to Rome in person, G.B. Belzoni delivered the papyri at the end of 1819 to Enrico Falconi, the Papal Consul in Venice, who handed them over to Cardinal Tommaso Arezzo, the Papal Legate of Ferrara, who in turn delivered them to E. Consalvi on 4th January 1820.[14] A. Mai later had the G.B. Belzoni scrolls unrolled and put on display next to the earlier A. da Pofi manuscripts; some of these G.B. Belzoni manuscripts, described as "*assai grandi e di pitture adorni*",[15] were probably *Books of the Dead*.

Under the brief pontificate of Leo XII, A. Mai was again able to enlarge the collection, this time with some purchases that were described as "minor".[16] In 1823–1824, he acquired some papyri from the Roman priest Giuseppe Leonardi,[17] Chaplain of Cardinal Frosini, and a "*bell'intiero papiro geratico, benché non grande*"[18] from a shop in Trieste belonging to Carlo d'Ottavio Fontana, a collector and dealer in Egyptian antiquities.[19] The description of this papyrus is too short for any identification of the papyrus or its genre to be made, but the fact that no vignettes are mentioned in the description suggests that the acquisition was a non-funerary text.

In May 1824, the English painter, archaeologist, and traveller Edward Dodwell offered the BAV two hieratic papyri, together with a larger papyrus written in hieroglyphs.[20] The items were purchased for 350 scudi thanks to the generosity of Benedetto Colonna Barberini di Sciarra, Prefect of the Apostolic Palaces, and at the urging of A. Mai. It is not possible to identify the two hieratic papyri, but A. Mai carefully described the hieroglyphic papyrus, which can be identified as P. Vatican 38569, the *Book of the Dead* of Aseturet.[21] A. Mai's later attempts to acquire further papyri were hampered by a lack of funds and the refractory policy towards Egyptian antiquities of the Camerlengo at the time, the Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca.[22]

Seeking a more thorough understanding of the Egyptian papyri under his care, A. Mai invited the famous decipherer of hieroglyphic writing J.-F. Champollion to Rome; he had already been in Turin to examine the antiquities belonging to the "Drovettiana" and he was asked to draw up a complete inventory of the entire Vatican collection in 1825. His initial description of the collection was as follows: "*Il lavoro è meraviglioso per il tempo in cui fu scritto, cioè nei primi albori degli studi egittologici … Purtuttavia quella descrizione non può considerarsi come sufficiente e neppur come esatta dopo i grandi progressi dell'egittologia da quel tempo fino a noi.*"[23] J.-F. Champollion's catalogue was later translated from French into

12 Mercati (1943–1944: 298).

13 G.B. Belzoni wrote as much to E. Consalvi on 20th November 1819: "*Circa ai Papiris suplico che siano accettati come piciol tributo del grande rispetto che ho sempre mai nutrito per V.E.*" See Mercati (1943–1944: 304).

14 For further discussion, see Schiano (2020: 533).

15 Champollion (1825: V).

16 In July 1822, A. Mai had sought to purchase an edition of the *Description de l'Égypte* for the BAV, recognising the value of such a publication. The price quoted, however, was not acceptable to the Vatican City State administration at the time (Arch. Bibl. 106, f. 146rv.).

17 Arch. Bibl. 65, f. 173r (receipt dated 23 October 1823).

18 Champollion (1825: V–VI).

19 Arch. Bibl. 106, ff. 226r–236r: 235r.

20 Arch. Bibl. 13, ff. 171r–173r (May–June 1824).

21 Mai (1825: 16, no. 1); Marucchi (1891: 116–119); Gasse (1993: 67–69, pl. XLVI, no. 56); Schiano (2020: 535).

22 Lefevre (1941: 429–454); Amenta (2010: 17–33).

23 Marucchi (1893: 5).

Italian by A. Mai, who published it with an introductory note in 1825.[24]

Two different editions of J.-F. Champollion's catalogue exist in the BAV. The first one (Vat. Lat. 9639),[25] featuring A. Mai's handwritten notes, contains quotations from Greek authors on the customs of the Egyptians as well as a handwritten sheet of paper by J.-F. Champollion that bears a complete list of the Egyptian months in Egyptian and in French, together with numerals in hieroglyphic and hieratic writing.[26] The second edition (Ferr. 1004, *olim* Vat. Lat. 10429), which belonged to the Vatican *Scriptor Orientalis* Michelangelo Lanci (a fierce opponent of both J.-F. Champollion and A. Mai),[27] and before him to the Vatican *Scriptor Graecus* Girolamo Amati, was acquired by the BAV through a testamentary disposition by Marquis Gaetano Ferrajoli.[28] This second version is particularly interesting, as it contains numerous annotations by M. Lanci and G. Amati,[29] which consist of critical comments directed against A. Mai and J.-F. Champollion:[30] "*Bella primizia della costosissima nuova tipografia Vaticana; libello pieno di astio e di veleno contro i letterari più benemeriti della biblioteca Vaticana e di Roma; libello pieno zeppo di spropositi bestiali in italiano, in latino e specialmente in greco; il che dimostra all'ultima evidenza la bravura del direttore, principe assoluto*."[31] G. Ferrajoli also added numerous annotations to the text and transcribed all of A. Mai's annotations from the first manuscript (Vat. Lat. 9639) in red ink. G. Ferrajoli also directed the following comment, in his own hand, against M. Lanci's earlier "slander": "*Ad onta di queste ciance del Lanci, il sistema dello Champollion è seguito da tutti i dotti e del suo niuno rammentasi!*".[32]

In 1838, most of the Egyptian papyri in the BAV were transferred to the newly established Museo Gregoriano Egizio, which was officially inaugurated in February 1839. Years later, Father Abbot Giuseppe Cozza Luzi, Deputy Librarian of the BAV, and Stefano Ciccolini, its first Custodian, delivered to the Vatican Museums some further Egyptian papyri that had had not been transferred in 1838 and which had remained in cabinets for

24 Mai (1825). The catalogue was subsequently translated into German by Ludwig Bachmann (1827).

25 "*Ma il Catalogo edito dal Mai neppur comprende tutti i papiri che oggi si custodiscono nel Vaticano: perché alcuni forse furono trascurati come di minore importanza, ed altri certamente vennero dopo*"; see Marucchi (1893: 7).

26 These notes may be related to the lectures about hieroglyphics that J.-F. Champollion gave to the Count of Funchal in Rome; see Schiano (2020: 538 and 541, fig. 9). So writes O. Marucchi (1902: 258): "*Questo foglio che dovette essere iscritto dallo Champollion per soddisfare la curiosità del Mai, onde venne da lui religiosamente conservato insieme al libro, benché contenga nulla di nuovo per gli studi egittologici, è pure un documento di curiosità letteraria; giacché ci conserva probabilmente una lezione di egittologia improvvisa e scritta dal fondatore di questa scienza innanzi al famoso Prefetto della Biblioteca Vaticana*."

27 Vian (2017: 475–486).

28 This copy was damaged during the flooding of the river Tiber in 1873. It was purchased by G. Ferrajoli in 1874.

29 Amati (1828).

30 The interpretation of hieroglyphics sparked a heated dispute between J.-F. Champollion and M. Lanci, who was concerned that J.-F. Champollion's results might disprove the events described in the Bible. A. Mai sided with J.-F. Champollion. On this controversy, see among others: Schiano (2020: 542); D'Ottone Rambach (2020: 244–253). Bracco (1942: 177–185; 1943) discusses all of J.-F. Champollion's detractors and supporters in Italy; one of them was Riccardi di Oneglia, who J.-F. Champollion referred to as "Jupiter asinarius!"; these last two bibliographical references are the publication of the first forty pages of Giobatta Bracco's dissertation, discussed in 1911 at the R. Università di Napoli, the manuscript of which has never been published in full, see Bracco (1911).

31 So wrote M. Lanci on the title page: *Ferr*. 1004, p. 1r.

32 Marucchi (1893: 7).

some forty years.[33] Among these was the so-called *Great Book of the Dead* (P. Vatican 48832), published for the first time in 1888 on the occasion of the priestly Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII by O. Marucchi, the General Director of the Museo Gregoriano Egizio at the time.[34] O. Marucchi had also worked on a complete catalogue of the Vatican papyri, and this was also presented to the pope on his jubilee.[35] A volume by Annie Gasse (1993) on the entirety of the hieroglyphic and hieratic papyri in the Vatican collection appeared about one hundred years later, as the first volume in the series *Aegyptiaca Gregoriana*.[36] A subsequent volume in the series, also edited by A. Gasse (2001), was dedicated to the *Great Book of the Dead*.[37]

The museum's next acquisition of hieratic materials took place in 1951, when the hieratic papyrus of Tadimenu (Inv. 37481), along with the entire archaeological collection of Carlo Grassi, was donated to the Vatican Museums by his widow Nedda Grassi.[38] Then, in 1974, on the occasion of the re-opening of the new Museo Gregoriano Egizio,[39] the museum's director Monsignor Gianfranco Nolli gave notice of the so-called "Papiro del restauro (Inv. 25039)". The papyrus' name derives from the fact that it was found, during the restoration process, rolled up inside a hollow bitumen-covered wooden statuette depicting Osiris (Inv. 19651).[40]

The most recent addition to the papyrus collection dates back to 1982, when the collection of the Museo Biblico (consisting of the Egyptian and Near Eastern antiquities held by the Pontificio Istituto Biblico in Rome), which had been built up since 1907 by the Rector Leopold Fonk, was deposited in the Vatican Museums.[41] The

33 Gasse (1993). A fund of *Papyri Vaticanae* remain in the BAV; these consist of Latin, Greek and Coptic papyri; two papyri in Demotic (Pap. Vat. Dem. 1 and Pap. Borg. Dem. 1); and one Aramaic papyrus. In addition, the Pap. Borg. Dem. 1 would appear to be a fragment of the demotic P. Vatican 38597. A (part of a contract) preserved in the Vatican Museums. This papyrus is currently being studied by Elena L. Hertel as part of the *Progetto Orazio Marucchi*. For a recent brief presentation of the demotic papyri in the Vatican Museums, see Archidona Ramirez & Hertel (2019).

34 Marucchi (1888). O. Marucchi exhibited the papyrus in 1924 in 80 frames in the last room of the Museo Gregoriano Egizio.

35 The catalogue consists of two parts: the first part, describing 17 well-preserved papyri, was presented at the Congress of Oriental Studies in Stockholm in September 1889; see Marucchi (1889). The second part, describing 85 fragmentary papyri in a worse state of preservation (listed under 138 catalogue numbers), is dated two year later; see Marucchi (1891). The first catalogue prepared by Enrico Fabiani in collaboration with O. Marucchi and dated to 1880–1882 also listed the museum's collection of papyri, all of which were exhibited in the new Museo Gregoriano Egizio. Marucchi's catalogue (1902: 255–303) states that they were all on display in Room VIII, "Sala dei papiri," where he counted 28 wall frames, plus another 6 in the two previous rooms.

36 Some Gasse (1993) fragmentary papyri are missing from the catalogue; these have recently been identified and inventoried: Inv. 38585, *Book of the Dead*; Inv. 38595, administrative papyrus, written in abnormal hieratic, recently published by J.J. Archidona Ramírez (2018: 29–46); Inv. 48829, *Book of the Dead*; Inv. D7287.6.1–6, *Book of the Dead*; Inv. D7288.8.1–8, *Book of the Dead*; Inv. D7289.5.1–5, *Book of the Dead*; Inv. 57837, administrative, hieratic fragments; Inv. 57838, figured fragment; Inv. 57839, fragment; Inv. 57840, fragment. The papyrus bearing the *Book of the Dead* Inv. 48823 was also missing from A. Gasse's (1993) catalogue; though its inventory number appears as no. 23 in the catalogue, this is actually a typing error for Inv. 48832 (*Great Book of the Dead*). The unpublished *Books of the Dead* are very fragmentary but are being collated as part of the *Progetto Orazio Marucchi*, see Chap. 2.

37 On this document, see also Gasse (2001); Gasse (2002).

38 Bosticco (1953: 209–221). On this donation, see Amenta (2009: 84–85).

39 On the new Museo Gregoriano Egizio, designed by G. Nolli, see Amenta (2009: 87–89).

40 F. Dati reported the discovery on 21st October 1965 during the restoration process; see Nolli (1979: 120). The papyrus, which contains several spells from the *Book of the Dead*, was later published by Faiza Haykal (1983).

41 The collection of Ancient Near Eastern materials was recently published by Amenta et al. (2022); a volume dedicated to the Biblico's collection of Egyptian antiquities is currently in progress. See also Gilbert (2009); Vattuone (2017: 15–28); Briffa (2022: 31–36).

collection included a number of fragments from a single *Book of the Dead* that belonged to the late Tasheritenmin, daughter of Nesykhonsu.[42]

The Vatican papyrus collection has formed a part of the *Progetto Orazio Marucchi* since 2012. As mentioned at the beginning, the information regarding the original nucleus of the collection of Egyptian papyri in the museum is too sketchy to allow us to state with certainty when and how the Vatican New Kingdom hieratic manuscripts were acquired.

2. The *Progetto Orazio Marucchi* [A. A.]

The Vatican papyrus collection consists of 90 manuscripts in 50 frames; for the most part, these are held in storage.[43] The collection consists of a variety of texts that cover the span of ancient Egyptian history—from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period—and which range from hieroglyphic to Demotic. The state of preservation of the manuscripts varies considerably. Some are perfectly preserved, while many others are in a highly fragmentary state. In some cases, the papyri reflect modern assemblages—a veritable *éclatement* of fragments scattered in haphazard fashion across multiple frames.[44] (fig. 1, 2 and 3) These interventions were undoubtedly carried out when the manuscripts entered the BAV and then the new Museo Gregoriano Egizio. As a result of these undertakings, however, it is very difficult to offer a reliable overview of the papyri in the collection. The division of material across several frames also requires scholars to make complicated collations before they can even begin to work on most manuscripts, while collages made in the past are largely irreversible, making it impossible to correct for earlier errors.

The *Progetto Orazio Marucchi* stems from the need to improve accessibility to the entire collection of Egyptian papyri preserved in the Vatican Museums. It will also provide new digital reconstructions of all the manuscripts. Finally, a new catalogue will complete the work begun by A. Gasse in the nineties.[45] Launched in 2012 under the direction of Alessia Amenta (Curator of the Reparto Antichità Egizie e del Vicino Oriente) and Florence Albert, the project represents a collaboration between the Paper Restoration Laboratory in the Vatican Museums, the Diagnostic Laboratory for Conservation of the Vatican Museums, and several scholars with different areas of expertise.[46]

As part of the project, the entire collection, of which the hieratic pieces are the standouts, is being re-numbered.[47] The most fragmentary papyri, which consist of dozens and dozens of manuscripts scattered mainly across three frames, are also in the process of being identified. The project will use software processing to collate each of these individual manuscripts into a single "virtual frame". As a result, the new catalogue will reflect not just the state of the papyri as they currently stand in their 50 frames but will also include these virtual reconstructions. The history of the conservation of the manuscripts, from their acquisition by the BAV to the present day, will also be a significant component of the new catalogue. With the

42 The fragments are possibly related to papyrus Gasse no. 33, Inv. 38601.2.1–2 (under study). The inventory numbers of the fragments are D7287, D7288, and D7289.

43 Only two papyri are exhibited in Room II of the Museo Gregoriano Egizio; they are the so-called *Papiro del restauro* (Inv. 25039, Gasse no. 10), and the *Book of the Dead* (Inv. 38569, Gasse no. 56).

44 Thus Marucchi (1902: 269): "Avvertiamo che taluni frammenti furono malamente separati gli uni dagli altri, come si noterà nei singoli luoghi, ma non si è creduto prudente di ricongiungerli; perché attesa la estrema fragilità dei papiri medesimi essi potevano essere ulteriormente danneggiati."

45 Gasse (1993).

46 Sara Demichelis, Elena L. Hertel, Juan J. Archidona Ramirez†, and Daniel M. Méndez-Rodríguez.

47 On the *Progetto Orazio Marucchi*, see Albert (2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2020, 2022b); see also Méndez-Rodríguez (2018), Archidona Ramirez (2018), Archidona Ramirez & Hertel (2019, 2021).

collaboration of the Paper Restoration Laboratory, a report on the state of preservation of the papyri has been drawn up, in order to better present also the history of the conservation approach to papyri over time (see Chapter 2.1).

The project itself is named after O. Marucchi, the Direttore Speciale del Museo Egizio e Archeologo dei Musei Vaticani from 1895 until his death in 1931. O. Marucchi also published the first catalogue of papyri in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio.[48] He was trained as a Christian archaeologist and was undoubtedly the foremost student of Giovanni Battista de Rossi, the father of modern Christian archaeology. His collaboration with the Vatican Museums dates back to 1879, when E. Fabiani, the previous director of the Museo Gregoriano Egizio,[49] appointed him to help compile a catalogue of the entirety of the museum's collection. The nature of this assignment inevitably led to an Egyptological concentration,[50] while the death of E. Fabiani in 1883 left him to complete and publish their work alone.[51] In 1885, Pope Leo XIII appointed O. Marucchi as "Scrittore per la lingua latina per la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e archeologo dei Musei Pontifici" and invited him to participate in the Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm in 1889, "*dove l'autore (Marucchi) ebbe l'onore di essere inviato a presentare alcune pubblicazioni di egittologia da lui fatte per conto della Biblioteca Vaticana*"[52] (which publications included the first part of the catalogue of papyri in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio).[53] O. Marucchi was devoted to the study, publication, and preservation of the collection, and his general catalogue remains a valuable reference to this day.

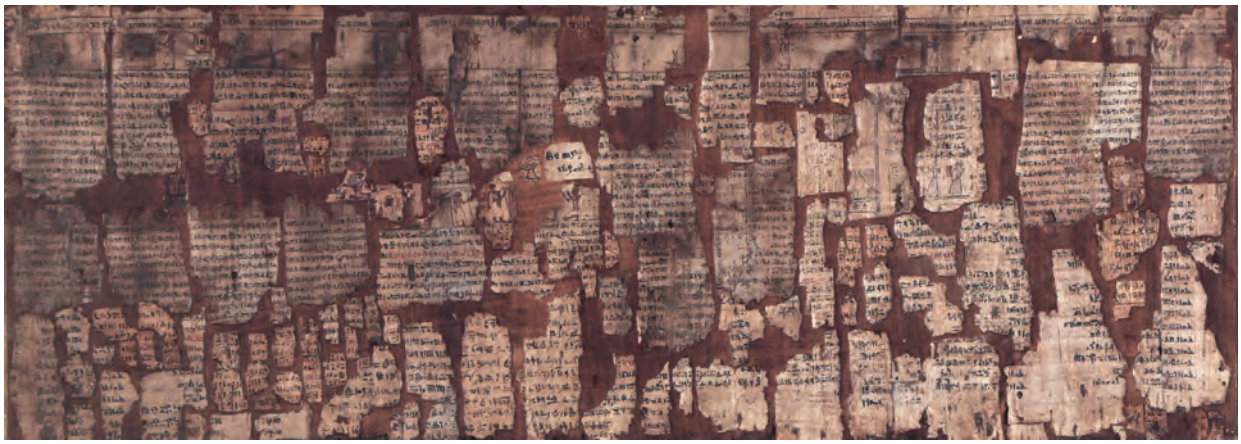


Fig. 1. Frame containing fragments of papyrus glued together aesthetically (© Governatorato dello S.C.V. - Direzione dei Musei)

48 Marucchi (1893); see also O. Marucchi (1891), who describes 17 manuscripts in detail.

49 E. Fabiani (1815–1883), a clergyman, a scholar in archaeology and oriental languages, as well as in Etruscan language, belonged to the cultured community of the Rome of his time. He was in charge of the catalogue of the Vatican Egyptian antiquities, in which he had always been very interested because of the connections with the biblical world.

50 There are numerous archive documents, in which O. Marucchi asked for Egyptological books to train himself in the subject.

51 The collaboration with E. Fabiani stopped at the first four of the ten rooms of the museum at the time and covered the years 1880, 1881 and 1882. For the complete catalogue, see Marucchi (1899: 5): "*Ma essendo che il nostro museo non era mai stato soggetto di illustrazione speciale, questo catalogo dovea esser destinato eziandio all'uso degli studiosi che visitano con attenzione tutto il museo vaticano, i quali non troverebbero nelle ordinarie descrizioni di esso cenni sufficienti sulle antichità egiziane; e perciò dovea redigersi non già sotto di forma strettamente scientifica e per i soli egittologi, ma in modo facile e piano e con le opportune spiegazioni.*"

52 Marucchi (1899: 5).

53 Marucchi (1889).

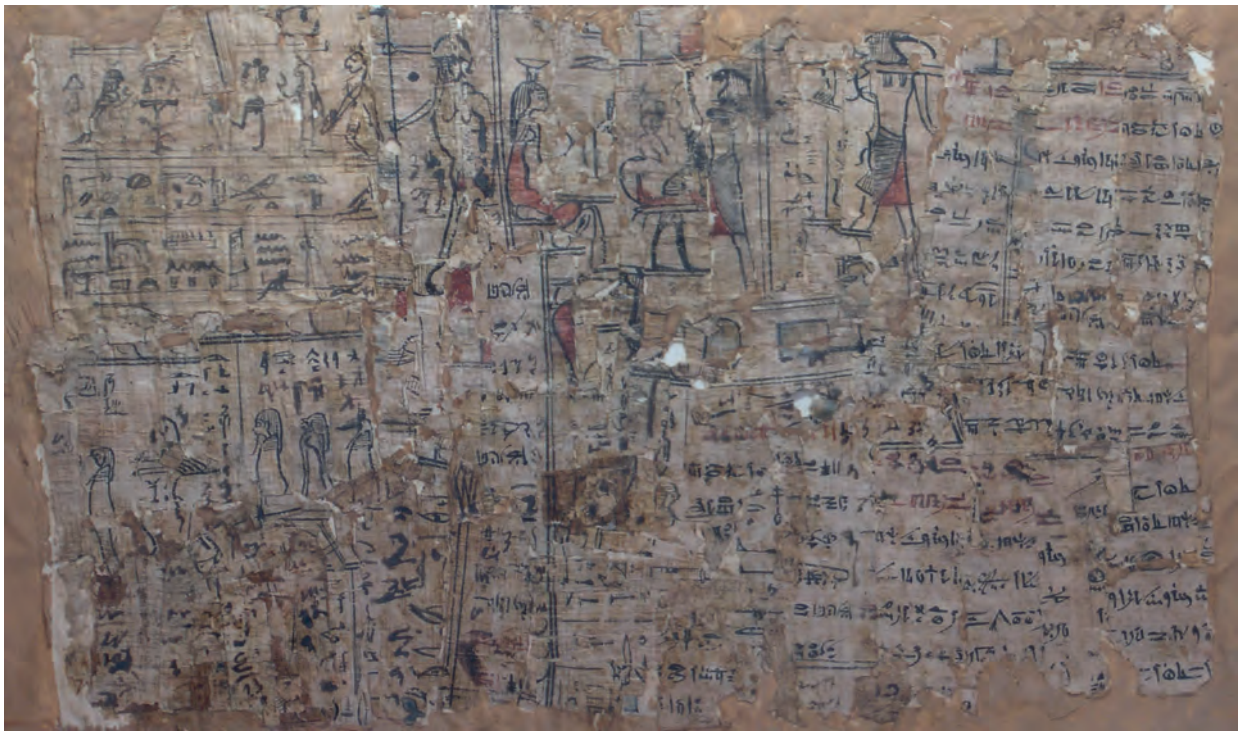


Fig. 2. Frame containing fragments of papyrus glued together "*de façon anarchique*" (© Governatorato dello S.C.V. – Direzione dei Musei)

2.1. The conservation papyri project in the Vatican Collection [C. FdP.]

In tandem with the *Progetto Orazio Marucchi*, a project to preserve the papyri held by the Vatican has commenced in collaboration with the Paper Restoration Laboratory and the Diagnostic Laboratory for Conservation in the Vatican Museums, as well as other experts in the field. The main objectives of this project are to preserve these materials according to the most up-to-date practices, and to reconstruct their previous conservation history. The Egyptian papyri in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio were previously kept by the BAV, whose professional conservation standards were very high for that time.

2.1.1. *History*

The early conservation performed on the Egyptian papyri in the Vatican collection is poorly documented. In his introduction to Champollion's 1825 catalogue, A. Mai briefly discusses the precarious condition of the manuscripts, a result not only of their age but also damage caused during their discovery, transportation, and careless handling (which risked reducing some of them almost to dust).[54] In his discussion, A. Mai notes that the A. da Pofi manuscripts, for example, were rolled up inside metal tubes in order to better protect them during transit. They were then unrolled in order to allow for their study and proper preservation. In this regard, the experience of the BAV own laboratory with Latin manuscripts was

54 Champollion (1825: V).

Fig. 3. P. Vatican 38602. The numerous fragments have been glued back together often in a questionable manner
(© Governatorato dello S.C.V. - Direzione dei Musei)

invaluable.[55] Further to this, A. Mai also discusses how all of the Egyptian papyri were stored "*in speciosi quadri con cartoni e sete e cornici dorate e cristalli, entro cui questi avanzi nilotici si rinchiusero, difendendoli così dall'aria, e dal tatto nocevole degli osservatori; ed esponendoli al publico con decorosa appariscenza nella sala d'ingresso alla biblioteca*".[56]

Longer rolls were probably cut up and glued onto cardboard sheets of varying thickness, though A. Mai makes no specific mention of this procedure.[57] Smaller papyrus fragments were glued onto various supports, sometimes in a completely arbitrary manner that paid no heed to the consistency of the reconstruction. A good example of this is one of the "minor" hieratic administrative fragments. This was mounted on a piece of orange cardboard together with a number of disparate fragments of funerary papyri from different manuscripts.[58] The administrative hieratic papyrus Inv. 38591 was glued onto an animal bladder support, and its first two pages were made "level" with the other pages by gluing some unwritten papyrus fragments to their bottom edges.[59] The remaining small administrative fragments in the collection were also glued onto an animal bladder support, again without any apparent *modus operandi*, leaving behind a number of inconsistent overlaps and joins.[60] Further to this, alterations in the glue used to mount the papyri has caused the structure and the colour of the papyrus to deteriorate; the fragments have darkened and are covered by a glossy patina. Finally, because the original conservators favoured the more legible side of the papyri, paper supports were sometimes glued to the *recto* (usually the primary-use side of the papyri) rather than the *verso*.

2.1.2. *Recent conservation operations*

Most of the Egyptian papyri in the collection were mounted by their original nineteenth-century conservators inside wooden frames and fixed between two sheets of glass; in the case of larger manuscripts, these were divided into several pieces and mounted side by side. Altogether, the collection amounted to sixty very heavy frames, ranging in size from 466 cm × 29.5 cm to 25.5 cm × 14.5 cm. This method of conservation made it possible to keep the papyri flat and, in the case of opisthographic documents, to view both sides of the manuscript. Over time, however, various degradations occurred. In some cases, the papyrus itself became stuck to the glass, while various microorganisms and salt efflorescences can also be observed on some of the papyri. In addition, the larger frames have become deformed, meaning that insects and incoherent dust pollution have been able to penetrate into the newly created spaces between the glass.

In 2001, the then curator of the Reparto Antichità Egizie e del Vicino Oriente, Lorenzo Nigro, commissioned the restorer Cristina de' Medici to modify the mounts used for the papyrus collection and to carry out prompt interventions

55 At the time the BAV was at the forefront of the restoration of paper material. For this reason, Father Antonio Piaggio, who was at that time the curator of the miniatures in the BAV and well known for ingenious discoveries, was called upon in 1752 to collaborate on unrolling the charred Herculaneum papyri; so, he developed a special "machine" for opening Herculaneum rolls, which remained the only effective tool for this purpose until the first half of the 20th century, cf. Capasso (1991: 94–98, and fig. XXXVII–XXXVIII). For a more extensive presentation of this technique, see Gallo (1951: 86–89).

56 Champollion (1825: V).

57 The Vatican's *Great Book of the Dead* (P. Vatican 48832) was in fact cut into 31 pieces that were then glued onto linen cloth; cf. Gasse (2001: 7).

58 P. Vatican 48830; see Gasse (1993: 21, no. 6). On the work of identifying and reassembling fragmentary papyri from different frames, see the section above by A. Amenta.

59 Gasse (1993: 20–21).

60 P. Vatican 57837.

wherever necessary. In the case of the small and medium-sized papyri, it was decided to replace their mounts with a "lighter" solution that allowed for them to be placed flat inside special drawers in the storeroom. In the case of the large papyri, on the other hand, it was decided to continue using frames and to hang these in the storeroom.

All of C. de' Medici's interventions were preceded by disinfestation using the anoxic method, while the opening of the frames made it possible to better investigate the state of conservation of the materials themselves, highlighting problems that were common to the parts of the collection acquired in the early 1800s. Whether whole or fragmentary, the papyri had for the most part been glued onto different types of supports—including cloth, silk, paper, cardboard, tracing paper, and animal bladders—all of which were unsuitable for the proper preservation of the finds. As such, the surfaces of some of the papyri exhibited delamination and fractures, while the degradation of the glues of animal origin used to mount the fragments had sometimes led to colour changes in the papyri and the pigments used to inscribe them. In addition, past conservators had even cut various papyrus fragments up in order to remove damaged sections of the papyrus or to facilitate the mounting process; unrelated fragments had also often been glued arbitrarily to the same support, while the fragments of some individual papyri were dispersed across different mounts. Further to this, the linings used to reinforce or to flatten some of the fragments had produced deformations in some cases. Other fragments exhibited holes caused by woodworms, especially those fragments mounted on paper that contained lignin.

C. de' Medici's work on the papyri involved a delicate brush cleaning. This was accompanied where possible by light micro-vacuuming (through a frame with an additional protective net) in order to remove surface dirt. A further delicate operation involved the removal, with Laponite compresses, of the adhesive tape used to assemble various fragments, as well as the replacement of this tape with strips of thin Japanese paper glued with Tylose MH 300 P. The small liftings of the fibres were consolidated using the same glue (Tylose MH 300 P). After cleaning, the papyri were reassembled inside double *passepartouts* made from durable acid-proof cardboard. Strips of medium-thickness Japanese tissue paper (No. 508) were used to hold the fragments together; Tylose MH 300 P glue was used on the *verso* of the papyri and inside the *passepartout* itself. The windows of the *passepartouts* were designed not to cover the outer edges of the papyrus; in the case of papyri mounted on their *verso*, these windows make it possible to observe the cloth/cardboard. Finally, two Mylar sheets were fixed to the outside of the *passepartouts* with Nechen (polyethylene) bio-adhesive tape. The *passepartouts* were closed using Tivek conservation tape.

Only in cases where the papyrus fragments did not have a lining and were particularly fragile, they were simply placed within the double *passepartout* and between two sheets of Mylar. In the case of the papyri stored in large-format frames, it was decided to replace the double glazing with Lexan (polycarbonate), which is more resistant than Plexiglas, after disinfestation. Finally, in the case of papyri that were not reinforced by canvas, these were removed from their frames and subjected to mechanical cleaning and light consolidation; afterwards, they were placed inside double *passepartouts* made of durable acid-proof cardboard.

3. The hieratic materials and the hieratic documents from the New Kingdom in the Vatican Collection [F. A.]

Funerary papyri predominate within the Vatican papyrus collection. Of the roughly 90 documents

identified in the collection,[61] most are *Books of the Dead* or other funerary texts;[62] they date from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period. Hieratic texts comprise more than 60 of the identified documents; these date from the Third Intermediate to the Roman Period. (Only in exceptional cases are funerary manuscripts in hieratic dated before the 21st Dynasty.)[63] Hieratic was also widely used in priestly *usus scribendi*.[64] As far as the New Kingdom is concerned, the funerary manuscripts in the Vatican collection are written exclusively in cursive hieroglyphic. Several other hieratic documents from the same period are also preserved.[65]

The Vatican funerary papyri consist of a great variety of texts. Some of these texts highlight specific forms and uses of hieratic which may help us to understand certain aspects of this form of writing. The layout, atypical textual organisation, and palaeography of papyri P. Vatican 48813[66] (fig. 4) and P. Vatican 38581[67] (fig. 5) for instance, provide us with valuable information about the early phase of the late tradition of the *Book of the Dead* known as the "Saite recension."[68] Likewise, P. Vatican 38566 exhibits two distinct forms of hieratic and provides valuable insight into the organisation and work of the scribes within the workshops where they copied texts.[69] The different uses and forms of hieratic cursive in funerary texts are an interesting area of research: beyond palaeographic analyses of the cursive itself, such texts can provide context for the production of papyrus.

The Vatican collection is not characterised by a large quantity of New Kingdom hieratic documents, but rather by the quality and/or the philological and museological interest of its few holdings, which represent a valuable witness to New Kingdom hieratic production. These consist of a few fragmentary administrative papyri and a magical papyrus of which only the *recto* has been published. It is not possible to reconstruct the acquisition history of these hieratic papyri, but they appear in the first catalogue of the museum compiled by O. Marucchi in 1891.[70] The New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the museum will all be subject to detailed publication as part of the *Progetto Orazio Marucchi*. As such, we present only an overview of their main aspects here; this brief excursus will hopefully encourage further interest in the collection.

61 "*Benché il* Libro dei Morti *sia notissimo agli egittologi per le molte pubblicazioni, che se ne son fatte, pur tuttavia è sempre di grande importanza studiarne i diversi esemplari appartenenti a tempi diversi: perché nel lungo periodo del regno egiziano si fecero varie redazioni di quel libro religioso, l'ultima della quale è dei tempi saitici… di più in una stessa redazione si trovano varianti ragguardevoli tanto negli intieri capitoli e nei titoli rispettivi e nei quadri figurati, quanto nelle frasi, nelle parole e nell'applicazione di alcune regole grammaticali. Può dunque facilmente comprendersi quanto giovi agli studi sulla religione e sulla lingua degli antichi egiziani il confronto accurato di molti testi di quel documento, e come perciò non debba trascurarsene dall'egittologo neppure un frammento benché insignificante, perché da un frammento solo può talvolta ritirarsi un qualche insegnamento*"; see Marucchi (1902: 265).

62 The Vatican collection includes roughly fifty *Books of the Dead*, some of them large, as well as specimens of the *Book of Amduat*, the *Book of Breathings*, and the *Book of Caverns*.

63 Albert (2022a).

64 On the use of hieratic writing from the Third Intermediate Period onwards, see Albert (2022a); Albert (forthcoming).

65 Albert (2020); Albert (forthcoming a).

66 Albert (2019).

67 Albert (2022b).

68 Albert (2024).

69 Albert & Lenzo (2022).

70 Marucchi (1891).

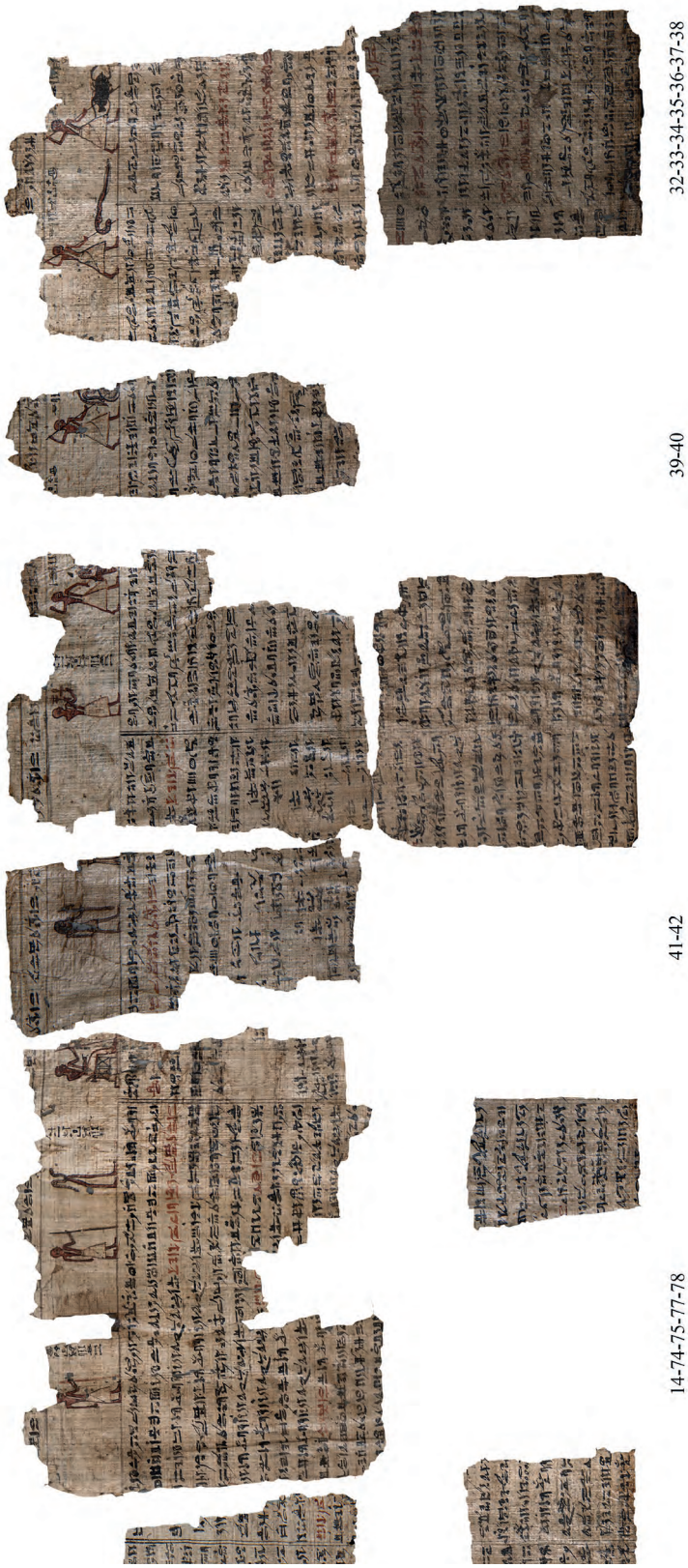


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the P. Vatican 48813: sequence 33–34–35–36–39–40–41–42–14–74–75–77–78 (© Governatorato dello S.C.V. – Direzione dei Musei)

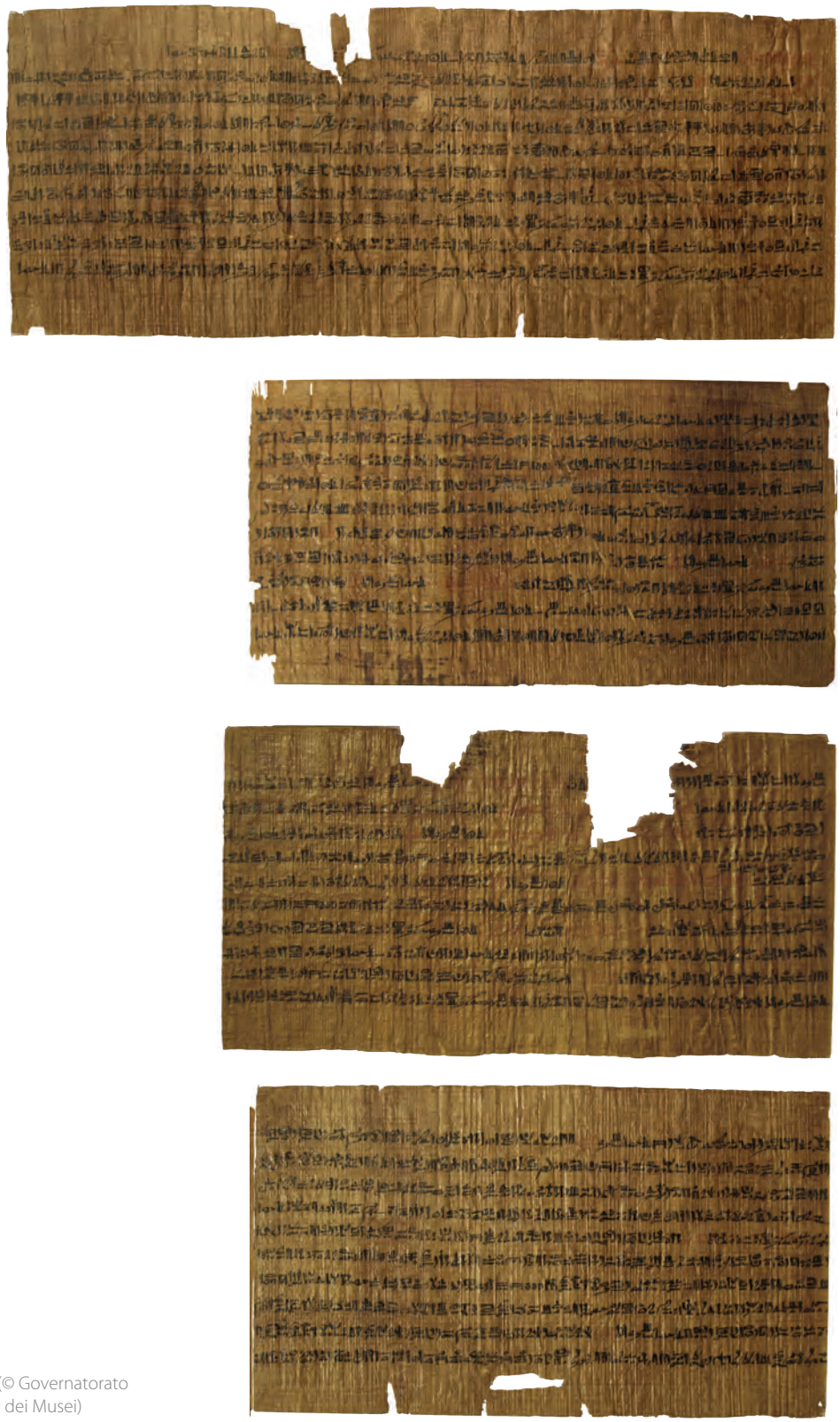
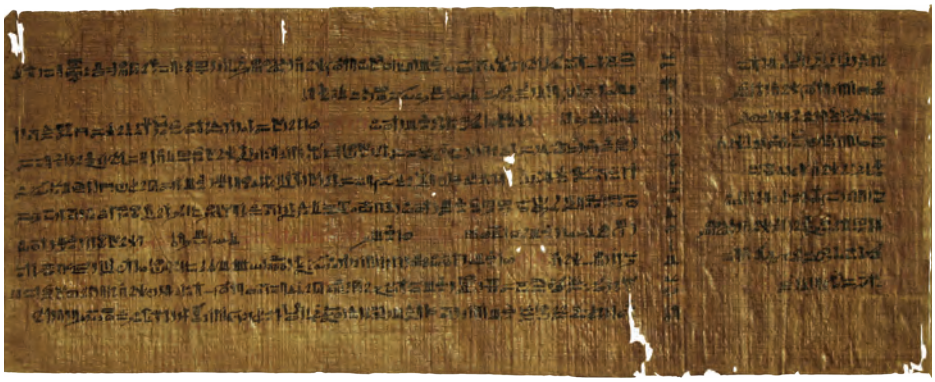
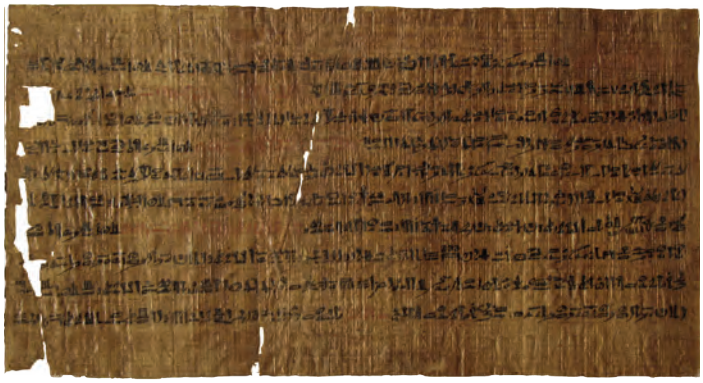
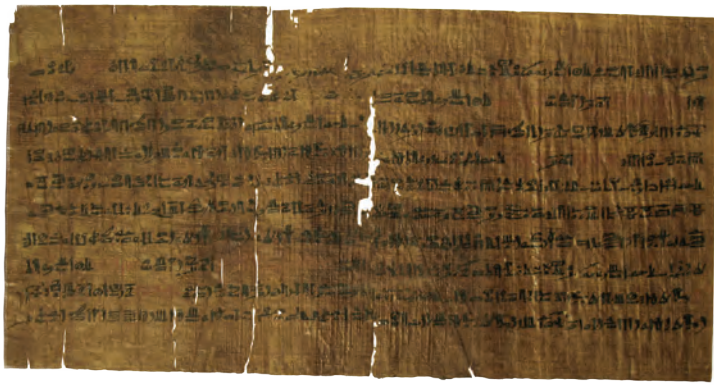


Fig. 5. P. Vatican 38581 (© Governatorato dello S.C.V. – Direzione dei Musei)







3.1. The Magical Papyrus from the Vatican: Papyrus Vatican 38573 (fig. 6)

P. Vatican 38573 has long been known to Egyptologists. It was first mentioned by J.-F. Champollion (1825: 26) in his catalogue of the Egyptian papyri in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; it was subsequently mentioned in more recent catalogues of the collection,[71] as well as being referred to in various studies. The first (and most complete) edition of the text was prepared by Émile P. Suys in 1934,[72] though É.P. Suys only edited the recto and a small section of the verso. More recently, Katharina Stegbauer (2015: Spruch 51, 277–290) offered a new translation and textual analysis of the recto. The brief discussion in É.P. Suys (1934: 86) aside, the verso remains unpublished.

3.1.1. *Description*

The papyrus is fragmentary and written on both sides. Its seven fragments are placed next to each other in a single frame. The recto, which is better preserved than the verso, consists of 4 columns of text (24–25 cm wide); each column consists of 10–11 lines of hieratic text. The right-hand side of the papyrus is the least well preserved; the texts on the first two fragments in particular are rather faded and the papyrus bears some white traces that hinder its reading. The other five fragments are perfectly legible. Despite its deterioration, the document survives to its full height (19–20 cm) and retains the upper and lower margins that frame the lines of text. That said, it is not possible to establish the original length of the papyrus: its surviving section corresponds more or less to the central part of the scroll and it is not possible to determine either the beginning or the end of the text.

The verso consists of the remains of five columns of text that are also 24–25 cm wide. The columns consist of 11 (columns 1, 2, 4, 5) and 12 lines (column 3) lines of hieratic text. The first two fragments of the verso are the least well preserved; they are also marked by whitish traces which hinder the reading of some passages. The other fragments are slightly easier to read, but the ink is so faded in many places that the transcription of the text is very difficult. The hieratic on the verso seems to have been copied very quickly—the signs appear thinner and less angular, while the spaces between the signs is less regular than on the recto—but this impression may simply be the result of the poor state of preservation. Alternatively, the apparent difference in quality between the recto and the verso may be explained by the nature of the copied texts: though they all reflect a magical register, they were used for different purposes.[73] Like a miscellany, the papyrus consists of several magical texts, one after the other, while the texts may have been copied at different times, most likely by different persons.

In his publication, Adolf Erman (1893: 120) assumes that a section of the papyrus is missing between columns 2 and 3 on the recto.[74] There is indeed a break in the papyrus here, but the verso bears a column of text at the same point, meaning that no fragments and/or columns of text are lost here.

3.1.2. *Dating and provenance*

It is not possible to establish a definite date or provenance for the papyrus, though the palaeography suggests a 19th Dynasty date.[75] There is no

71 Marucchi (1891: 91–96, pl. 2–3; 1902: 267–268, 283–286, no. 19a); Gasse (1993: 20, pl. VII–VIII, no. 5).

72 Erman (1893); Suys (1934).

73 On the link between the sacredness of a text and its written register, see Dorn & Polis (2017).

74 https://sae.saw-leipzig.de/de/dokumente/papyrus-vatikan-inv-38573 (accessed 19.01.2024).

75 https://sae.saw-leipzig.de/de/dokumente/papyrus-vatikan-inv-38573 (accessed 19.01.2024).

detailed information about the provenance of the papyrus or the circumstances of its acquisition. As discussed in Chapter 1, the first papyri to enter the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana arrived, while a second lot was acquired in 1820. Our papyrus could have arrived at either of these times, as J.-F. Champollion mentions it in his catalogue in 1825. It is possible that the papyrus comes from Luxor; its thematic parallels with other magical texts from Deir el-Medina might suggest a more specific provenance.[76]

3.1.3. *Contents*

Recto

The recto of P. Vatican 38573 contains a *historiola*. In the story, Horus is supposed to rescue his uncle Seth, who has been poisoned by an animal, while Isis tries to dissuade him from helping (col. 1, l. 1–col. 2, l. 2). The narrative is followed by several magical formulae against poison, introduced by *nn ʿḥʿ=ṯ m*, according to the following form: "You will not stay in [a part of the body], because [god] is against you, the divinity of [a part of the body]…".[77]

Verso

The verso is more difficult to read due to the damaged surface of the papyrus, the erasure of ink in places, the presence of long, pale rubrics, and the lack of known parallels. Only a short section of the verso has been published in transliteration by É.P. Suys (1934: 86) in *Orientalia* (= col. 4, l. 5–11). All of the texts on the verso exhibit the same structure: they consist of a succession of magic formulae, written in black ink, that are introduced by the expression *ky r(ꜣ)*, "another spell" and followed by a long rubric introduced by the expression *ḏd=tw r(ꜣ) pn ḥr*, "this spell is to be recited over…", specifying where the text should be recited in order to be effective. This kind of prescription comes close to those found on the verso of P. Turin CGT 54050.[78]

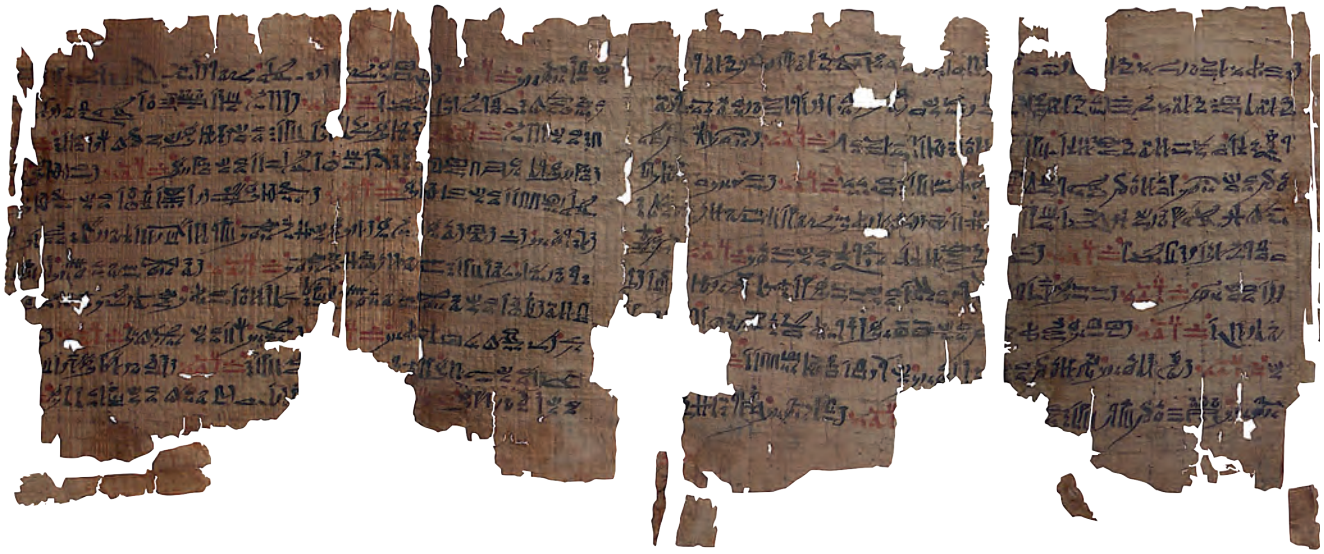
É.P. Suys's partial translation of the texts allowed A. Roccati (1994) to locate similarities with other texts, including the divinatory formulae on P. Chester Beatty VIII, vº 11–14 and P. Turin CGT 54064 (unpublished). Although no other similarities have been discovered yet, other formulae on the verso underline its divinatory nature, namely those introduced by *ky r(ꜣ) šmw n Rꜣ* (col. 1; l. 6; col. 2, l. 9–10), *ky r(ꜣ) šmw* … (col. 2, l. 1; col. 2, l. 5), and *pꜣy šmw* […] (col. 2, l. 3), which would seem to characterise this text.

The verso of P. Vatican 38573 is interesting as attests to texts and formulae that are more widely knowns from much later Demotic magical literature. Because other hieratic sources of the same type are much more fragmentary, an exhaustive translation of the texts on the Vatican papyrus is more than justified. Finally, the thematic similarity of the papyrus to many other magical manuscripts should encourage a palaeographical analysis; this might allow for the establishment of a more precise provenance and for the possible identification of the scribes who worked on such magical miscellanies.

76 Compare, for example, P. Genève MAH 15274: Stegbauer (2015: Spruch 52, 291–301); P. Leiden 343+345; P. Chester Beatty VII, vº 2.5–5.11: Massart (1957); P. Chester Beatty VIII, vols. 11–14: Gardiner (1935: pl. 47–49).

77 Compare P. Genève MAH 15274, P. Leiden 343+345, and P. Chester Beatty VII, vols. 2.5–5.11: Stegbauer (2015: Spruch 52, 291–301); Massart (1957). On these formulae, see Stegbauer (2015: 62–63).

78 Roccati (2011: 15, 30–36, 171–173).



5 cm

Recto

5 cm

Verso

Fig. 6. P. Vatican 38573 (© Governatorato dello S.C.V. – Direzione dei Musei)

3.2. Administrative Papyri [S. D.]

In addition to funerary papyri, the collection of the Museo Gregoriano Egizio includes examples of other types of New Kingdom hieratic texts, including a small number of fragmentary administrative documents from the end of the 20th Dynasty.[79]

3.2.1. *Papyrus Vatican 38591 (fig. 7)*

The largest and best-preserved administrative papyrus in the Vatican collection was first mentioned by J.-F. Champollion (1825: 26) in his catalogue.[80] Along with the other Egyptian papyri, this document was hung in the first room of the BAV (Frame XII, letter C). J.-F. Champollion described it in some detail: "*Manoscritto geratico. Parte inferiore di un papiro contenente il fondo di sei colonne di un testo che è parte di un registro di computisteria, tenuto in Tebe da uno scrivano Tutmosis, sotto il regno di Ramses V della XVIII dinastia. Le altre parti di questo curioso manoscritto esistono nella raccolta di Drovetti, che oggi costituisce il magnifico museo reale egizio di Torino. Osservasi in questo frammento la lista di una grande quantità di riscossioni parziali, con le somme diverse che ne risultano, espresse in cifre geratiche di tinta rossa. I nomi delle varie persone ricordate in questi conti sono scritti con tinta nera.*"[81] Although J.-F. Champollion's reference to the 18th Dynasty is incorrect, his description is accurate. That said, the upper part of the manuscript is yet to be found in the Turin collection, though the papyri in the *Drovettiana* exhibit clear similarities with the Vatican manuscript; it is possible that further fragments of the document preserved in the Vatican may be found in the Museo Egizio in Turin. The manuscript was listed in O. Marucchi's catalogue in 1891 as a "*Fragmentum papyri litteris hieraticis exaratum quinque columnis constans. Continet partem textus computationis…*"[82] It was dated paleographically to the 19th Dynasty. It has been described more recently in the catalogue of the Vatican papyri published in 1993 by A. Gasse (1993: 20–21),[83] where it appears as no. 6.

As pointed out by J.-F. Champollion (1825: 26), this fragmentary papyrus represents the lower half of an accounting text.[84] The manuscript is damaged, both in the area of its upper half and at its beginning, while it is possible that the last page actually corresponds to the end of the document. The papyrus also displays a number of regularly spaced vertical fractures.[85] At some unspecified time after its musealisation, the document underwent conservation treatment and was glued onto a paper support.[86] During this process, the first two pages were incorrectly mounted, and what was the first page became the second one. The pages were repositioned correctly in 2022,[87] on the basis of the fibres and a long red mark that served to separate the text on page two from the text on the next

79 Gasse (1993: 7).

80 Champollion (1825).

81 Vat. Lat. 9639; see also Mai (1825: 25).

82 Marucchi (1891: 97, no. 84) discusses only five columns and not six.

83 "Fragments d'un papyrus administratif" (Inv. 38591).

84 Taking into consideration the sum of the three preserved fragments (but excluding the gap to be inserted between the first and the second fragments), the height of the papyrus is 15 cm at its highest surviving point, and its total width is 51.5 cm.

85 At some point, the scroll must have been crushed. As usual, the width of the fractures decreases. The outermost is 7.3 cm; we would expect the second to have been 7 cm; the third, the fourth, and the fifth are 6.5 cm; the sixth and the seventh are 6.2 cm; and the eighth is 6 cm.

86 Glue was probably used because the papyrus had curled.

87 The restoration work was carried out by the late C. de' Medici. We also owe the current arrangement of most of the manuscripts collected in the Vatican Papyrus Library to her.

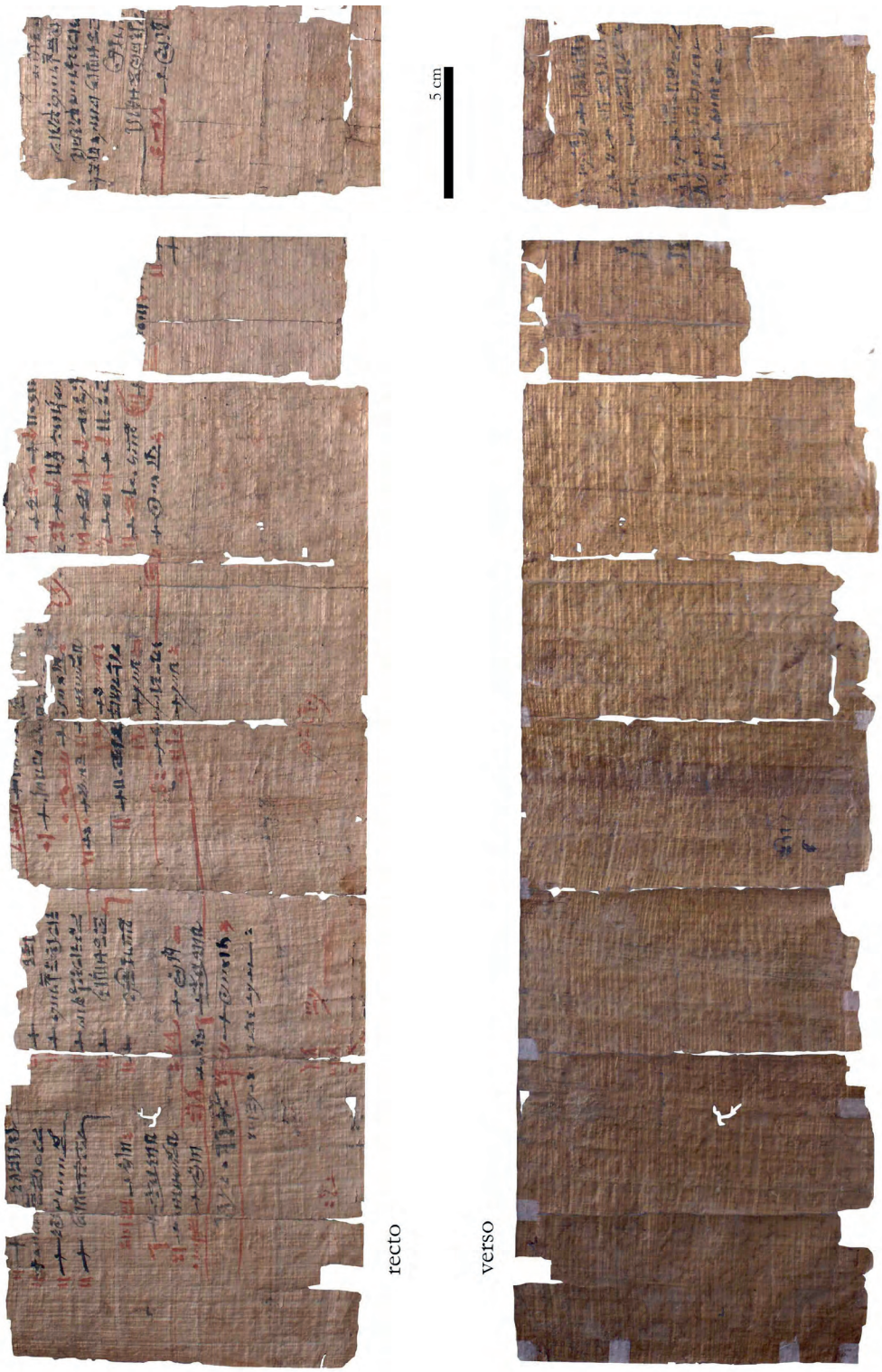


Fig. 7. P. Vaticano 38591 (© Governatorato dello S.C.V. - Direzione dei Musei)

page. The size of the gap between what has now become the first page and the second page can be estimated by comparing its size with that of the other pages, while taking into consideration that the *kollesis*[88] between the two parts corresponds to at least 1.5 cm. Some additions to the papyrus are evident at the lower part of the first two pages; these were made by juxtaposing unwritten fragments and were perhaps inserted in order to equalise the height of the pages.[89]

Although there are no certain data regarding the provenance of the papyrus, the typology of the text and the content of the manuscript point directly to Thebes and more specifically to Deir el-Medina. The surviving text on the recto is six pages long and lists the names of workmen, divided into both sides of the gang, and corresponding amounts of cereals (in *khar* and sub-multiples). The text is annotated in red in order to highlight the numerical quantities and grand totals for both sides of the gang (*dmḏ*). A large margin appears below the text, where sporadic numeric annotations also appear in red: these appear to be calculations made during the drafting of the text rather than a secondary reuse of the papyrus.

With respect to the dating of the papyrus, although no dates are preserved within the text itself, prosopographic analysis allows the text to be dated to the end of the 20th Dynasty, and more specifically to the period between the reign of Ramesses IX and Ramesses XI. In fact, some of the people mentioned in the text appear in other documents that are coeval with the last rulers of the 20th Dynasty. As noted by A. Gasse (1993: 8), the palaeography of the text confirms this proposed dating: the text was written quickly, in a rather small hand, and employs frequent ligatures. Some of the recipients of cereal deliveries listed in the text are also attested in other documents from the late Ramesside Period: two door-keepers (of the necropolis),[90] *ỉryw-ꜥ n pꜣ-Ḫr*, Khonsumosi[91] and Thutmosi,[92] together with the physician (*swnw*) Minkhau.

Khonsumosi, son of Panehesi,[93] was a doorkeeper on the right side who was certainly active from Year 17 of Ramesses IX until Year 12 of Ramesses XI.[94] The identification of the doorkeeper Thutmosi, whose patronymic is never specified in the Vatican papyrus, is less certain. Two doorkeepers with the same name are known from the late Ramesside Period and both are coeval with Khonsumosi. The first, the son of a Re[…], is attested in P. Turin Cat. 2004, where deliveries of clothes to the community of workmen are reported in Year 16 of Ramesses IX.[95] However, the same document also attests to a [Thut]mosi, son of Kadjore, who was the doorkeeper for the gang on the left side in Year 8 of Ramesses XI.[96] Unfortunately, the Turin papyrus does not preserve the title of the latter Thutmosi. However, in the following line, the overall number of persons benefiting from the deliveries of clothing is specified: 31 men and the doorkeeper, whose name is not specified. Given that it was common practice

88 A *kollesis* of 1.5 cm corresponding to the end of the fourth page is preserved.

89 This adjustment cannot be dated with certainty, but it is likely to have been carried out during the first conservation treatment when the papyrus was glued on a paper support.

90 Goecke-Bauer (2003: 140–142); Gabler (2018: 474–475).

91 Col. x+1, 4 and x+5, 4.

92 Col. x+6, 4.

93 P. Turin Cat. 2018, *passim*; K*RI* 6, 853–861.

94 Černý (1973: 167168); Goecke-Bauer (2003: 150).

95 P. Turin Cat. 2004+2007+2057/68+2106, r° 3, 6; K*RI* 6, 652; Černý (1973: 168); Davies (1999: 201). The text is barely legible and, as with the previous line, appears to have been deliberately erased by the scribe.

96 Černý (1973: 168); Davies (1999: 201).

in accounting documents to report the deliveries made to doorkeepers in the final section of the list of the beneficiaries, usually just before the grand totals, we would expect Thutmosi,[97] son of Kadjore, to be the doorkeeper referred to in the text.[98] As such, the Turin papyrus would represent our first record of Thutmosi, son of Kadjore,[99] in the role of doorkeeper as early as Year 16 of Ramesses IX. The subsequent mention, in Year 17,[100] of the doorkeeper Thut[mosi] does not necessarily refer therefore to the son of Re[…], whose service may have ended in Year 16 of Ramesses IX. At present, the available data do not permit a certain identification of the doorkeeper Thutmosi mentioned in the Vatican papyrus. In the end, it must be pointed out that the texts in which both Khonsumosi and Thutmosi (son of Kadjore) appear all date to the reign of Ramesses XI,[101] and that the service of both doorkeepers appears to have ended in Year 12 of this ruler's reign.[102]

In addition to the two doorkeepers, the list on the Vatican papyrus includes the physician, *swnw*, Minkhau,[103] also active at the end of the 20th Dynasty during the reign of Ramesses XI[104] and known to be the owner of a house in Medinet Habu.[105] His salary is indicated in P. Turin Cat. 2018 (corresponding to 1 ½ *khar*),[106] where he is mentioned after the doorkeeper Thutmosi of the left side; by contrast, the Vatican papyrus lists him after Khonsumosi, the doorkeeper of the right side. This may indicate that the physician was integrated within the community as a whole and not just into one part of it.[107] In the Vatican papyrus, he is paid 2 *khar*, the same amount as the two doorkeepers.[108]

Pages x+5 and x+6 of the papyrus enumerate deliveries made for the scribe of the auxiliary personnel of the Necropolis, *sš smd.t bnr*,[109] as well as the grand total of deliveries made to both gangs. The name of the scribe is not indicated, though it is well known that both gangs had their own scribe: Sobeksoneb, Amennakht, and Uennefer on the right side, and Hori and Iufenamun on the left side.[110] The scribe of the *smd.t* was given 9 *khar*, a considerable amount (assigned equally to both sides) that was to be divided among the auxiliary personnel (as in P. Turin Cat. 2018).[111] Complicating the picture, however, is mention of a further scribe after the *smd.t* of the left side: this is Shedsukhonsu, to whom 1 ¾ *khar* was allocated.

97 The doorkeepers remuneration can be found at the end of the text along with the remuneration for such other workmen as the physician, young recruits, as well as offerings to the gods; see Gabler (2018: 399).

98 Contra B. Davies (1999: 201), who does not consider Thutmosi to have been in service.

99 M. Goecke-Bauer (2003: 151) only discusses Thutmosi, son of Kadjore, for P. Turin Cat. 2004, and does not mention the son of […].

100 Botti & Peet (1928: pl. 37, 19).

101 Goecke-Bauer (2003: 150–151, and fn. 652).

102 This date is based on P. Turin Cat. 2018 and P. Turin Cat. 2006+1895+1961: Gardiner (1948, 35-44 *passim*).

103 Col. x+1, 5; x+ 5, 5.

104 P. Turin Cat. 2018, D, 9; K*RI* 6, 862.

105 P. BM EA 10068, v° 4,12; Janssen (1997: 27); Gabler (2018: 713).

106 K*RI* 6, 862.

107 Gabler (2018: 399).

108 Gabler (2018: 399).

109 Gabler (2018: 412–413).

110 Davies (1999: 123–142); Gabler (2018: 714–717).

111 r° A1, 7–9; A2, 1-2; *passim*; see also Davies (1999: 140).

The name of this scribe does not appear among the local administrative personnel;[112] he perhaps belonged to the group of "other scribes" which B. Davies (1999: 284)[113] argues did not officially belong to the "Tomb" (*pꜣ-Ḫr*) or to the auxiliary personnel (*smd.t*), and who were more probably employed in a funerary temple on the Westbank.[114] It should be noted that a scribe of the same name, employed at the temple of Amun, is mentioned in one of the *Tomb Robberies Papyri*,[115] dated to Year 17 of Ramesses IX, which would be consistent with the Vatican papyrus.

Among the other people listed in the accounts—without titles—an individual named Paherentahatnakht should be mentioned. It is possible that he should be identified with the scribe and *wab*-priest of the same name, and father of the scribe Penparai,[116] whose name appears in some Theban mountain graffiti. The Vatican papyrus also mentions a Penparai on its last surviving page, but he is referred to as the son of Nebnefer. This second Penparai is included in the list without a title and would have been a simple workman assigned to the left side; in Year 8 of Ramesses XI, he was integrated into the right side,[117] later becoming the foreman in Year 20 of Ramesses XI.[118]

A single page of text consisting of six lines appears on the *verso* of the manuscript; it was written that the top of the *recto* corresponds to the *verso*. The *incipit* on the *verso* is located at its right edge and coincides with the first fracture of the scroll. The rest of the *verso* is blank, except for four black marks whose meaning is uncertain. The text mentions deliveries of grain rations for the first and the second months of the Akhet season, but it does not specify which year.

3.2.2. *Papyrus Vatican 48830, fragment (fig. 8)*

According to A. Gasse (1993: 21), the fragment Inv. 48830 derives from the papyrus described above (Inv. 38591). An autoptic examination, however, excludes this possibility, though the fragment almost certainly derives from a context similar to P. Vatican 38591. The fragment is currently glued to a sheet of orange cardboard together with several other fragments belonging to various funerary papyri from a much later period. The fragment is 3.2 cm high and 3.3 cm wide and preserves the initial part of three lines of text: the first line contains a reference to a delivery (*ḏiw*), while some dates are annotated in the next two lines: the Year 20 is clearly legible, and it may have been followed by other numerals; as such, it is appropriate to interpret the date as lying somewhere between Year 20 and Year 30.[119]

An examination of the fragment's verso is not feasible at present because the fragment is still attached to its paper support; it is likely that it was blank, however, as other hieratic opisthographic fragments in the collection were glued onto transparent paper.

112 Davies (1999: 283–284).

113 Paankhau, Amenhotep, Djai, and Anuy are mentioned at the end of the Ramesside Period.

114 The possibility that Shedsukhonsu was a painter must be excluded, though the term *sš* is sometimes used as an abbreviation for *sš ḳdw*.

115 P. BM EA 10053, r° 4.3; K*RI* 6, 510.

116 Graffiti 904 and 1009; see Spiegelberg (1921). J. Černý (1973: 207, and fn. 2) mentions Penparai as the father of the scribe; Davies (1999: 104).

117 P. Turin Cat. 2018, r° A2, 7; A3, 6a; K*RI* 6, 851–853.

118 Davies (1999: 233–234).

119 The numeral 20, repeated twice, is followed by a gap where another number may have lain.

Fig. 8. Fragment of the P. Vatican 48830 glued together with other fragments of funerary papyri (© Governatorato dello S.C.V. – Direzione dei Musei)

3.2.3. *Hieratic fragments (Inv. 57837)*

Some thirty hieratic fragments, so far undocumented in the reference bibliography, should also be mentioned here. These are very small in size and can be traced to different manuscripts.[120] Although there is no certain information regarding their origin, their contents allow us to ascribe them to the Theban area, and more specifically to Deir el-Medina.

Restoration work carried out in 2007 by the Paper Restoration Laboratory in the Vatican Museums allowed the identification of some of these fragments: among them is a fragment belonging to the first page of the *Vatican Great Magical Papyrus* (fig. 9), while another can be attributed to a *Book of the Dead* from the Late Period. The remaining fragments clearly reflect different administrative texts, all of which can be assigned to Deir el-Medina on an onomastic basis. Two rejoined fragments note deliveries of commissions that occurred in Year 4, Akhet 1; known persons are mentioned among the beneficiaries of these deliveries, including the workman Aapatjau,[121] as well as a certain Neferhotep, who in the absence of titles and a patronymic, is not readily identifiable (fig. 10).[122] Four more fragments, probably belonging to the same manuscript, document deliveries of timber—a genre of text well attested in Deir el-Medina.

This small set of papyrus fragments is a good example of the dispersal of papyri from the Theban area in the 19th century—a result of determined collectors at the time. Future work may perhaps allow these fragments to be (virtually) reconnected with further intact manuscripts held in other museums.[123]

Fig. 9. New fragment of the magical P. Vatican 38573
(© Governatorato dello S.C.V. – Direzione dei Musei)

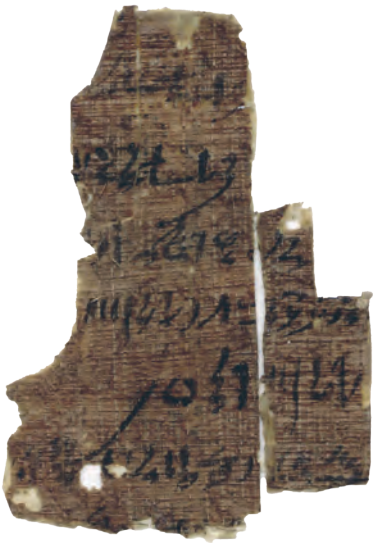


Fig. 10. Fragment of the P. Vatican 57837, r°
(© Governatorato dello S.C.V. - Direzione dei Musei)

120 Inventoried with a single number.

121 Davies (1999: 203–204): from Year 1 of Ramesses IV to Ramesses IX.

122 A very common name among the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina; as such, the individual in question cannot be identified without further references. See Davies (1999).

123 An identification of fragments from P. Turin Cat. 1865+2032 in the Vatican collection would confirm a connection between the two sets of early acquisitions made by the museum.

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New Kingdom Hieratic Texts in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden

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ABSTRACT

The collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden includes 67 objects from the New Kingdom inscribed in hieratic. Just over half of these texts were collected during the 19th century, while the remainder was added to the collection in the late 20th and early 21st century. The majority of the texts are written on papyrus, with other texts written on ostraca, jar dockets, magical bricks, scribal palettes, an ushabti and a wooden tenon. Almost all objects are associated with a provenance in Thebes or Saqqara. The collection shows a wide variety of text types, including administrative texts, letters, miscellany texts, magico-medical texts, *Book of the Dead* texts, hymns, literary texts and writing exercises. Most of the texts have been published to some degree. This contribution gives an overview of the 32 texts that have not yet been comprehensively published.

1. Introduction

In 1818, King William I of the Netherlands decreed the foundation of a museum that since 1867 has carried the name of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO; National Museum of Antiquities). The museum was meant to compete with the collections of other European powers and it houses the largest collection of ancient Egyptian materials in the Netherlands. It includes a substantial number of objects that date to the New Kingdom, 67 of which are inscribed with hieratic texts. The foundations for the collection were laid under the museum's first director, C. Reuvens (1793–1835), who placed particular emphasis on the acquisition of Egyptian papyri inscribed with various scripts.[1] The collection of hieratic documents was expanded significantly towards the end of the 20th century, and then again in the year 2015, with the addition of just over two dozen New Kingdom hieratic texts from private Dutch collections. All of the objects discussed in this contribution derive from undocumented excavations in Egypt and were acquired on the antiquities market. The majority of the texts have been published to varying extents, thanks largely to the philological interest of Egyptologists working at the RMO and Leiden University.

A note on inventory numbers

Various numbering systems have been used for the objects in the RMO and its Egyptian collection, which has sometimes led to confusion

1 Raven (2020: 137).

in academic publications. The museum today refers to its objects primarily by their inventory number. Some inventory numbers include an element denoting the name of the collector from whom the museum purchased the object. The inventory numbers for objects from the collection of G. d'Anastasi, for example, begin with the letter A. The letters following the A for Anastasi indicate the object type, e.g. the letters AMS represent *manuscrits* from the d'Anastasi collection.[2] Inventory numbers with the prefix CI are used for objects purchased from Cimba.

The current system of inventory numbers, introduced in 1891, marks objects from the Egyptian collection with the letter F; this is followed by the year and month the object was registered in the museum. In addition to these inventory numbers, several objects from the collection have entered the secondary literature under different catalogue numbers—most frequently the numbers used in C. Leemans' *Description raisonnée*.[3] The numbers of texts in this catalogue are prefixed by the letter I—sometimes erroneously printed as the letter J—and belong to the subdivision "I, implements and manuscripts";[4] they have been used more widely than the objects' corresponding inventory numbers. Because it is easier to retrieve objects in the collection database by their inventory numbers, scholars are advised to always refer to the item's catalogue number and its inventory number or to avoid the catalogue numbers all together.

A concordance of the inventory and catalogue numbers of the documents discussed in this contribution is given below. The table 1 also lists the number of parts, so-called sheets, or *vellen* in Dutch, into which individual papyrus documents are divided. In the 19th century, papyrus documents were cut into such sheets so that they could be conserved, studied, and displayed more conveniently. They are still kept separately between glass plates and numbered individually. Papyrus AMS 23a = P. Leiden I 346, for example, consists of three modern sheets, numbered AMS 23a vel 1, AMS 23a vel 2, and AMS 23a vel 3.

Inventory number	Leemans' catalogue number	Number of modern sheets
AMS 23a	P. Leiden I 346	3 sheets
AMS 23b	P. Leiden I 347	7 sheets
AMS 24a-2	P. Leiden I 365	1 sheet
AMS 24b-1	P. Leiden I 366	1 sheet
AMS 24c-1	P. Leiden I 367	1 sheet
AMS 25a	P. Leiden I 351	1 sheet
AMS 25b	P. Leiden I 352	1 sheet
AMS 25c	P. Leiden I 368	1 sheet
AMS 26a	P. Leiden I 348	7 sheets
AMS 26b	P. Leiden I 349	1 sheet
AMS 27	P. Leiden I 344	8 sheets
AMS 28	P. Leiden I 343	3 sheets
AMS 30a-2	P. Leiden I 360	1 sheet
AMS 30b	P. Leiden I 361	1 sheet
AMS 30c	P. Leiden I 362	1 sheet
AMS 38a	P. Leiden I 369	1 sheet
AMS 38b	P. Leiden I 370	1 sheet
AMS 54	P. Leiden I 350	2 sheets
AMS 59e	P. Leiden I 353	1 sheet
AMS 59f	P. Leiden I 354	1 sheet
AMS 59g	P. Leiden I 355	6 sheets
AMS 59h-1	P. Leiden I 363	1 sheet
AMS 59i-1	P. Leiden I 364	1 sheet
AMS 64	P. Leiden I 371	1 sheet
AMS HZ	P. Leiden I 372	1 sheet
CI 11b	P. Leiden I 345	5 sheets
AAL 164	O. Leiden I 430	—

Table 1. Concordance of inventory numbers and Leemans' catalogue numbers

2 Raven (1992: 8, n. 11).

3 Leemans (1840).

4 Raven (1992: 10–11).

2. History of the collection

A total of 31 objects, constituting most of the New Kingdom hieratic texts in the RMO, were purchased as part of the first lot sold from the collection of G. d'Anastasi (1765–1860).[5] The background of d'Anastasi's collection has been discussed in detail on several occasions,[6] and will thus only be summarised briefly here. I. Anastasíou, today better known as G. d'Anastasi, J. d'Anastasy, or G. Anastasy, was the consul-general for Sweden-Norway between 1828 and 1860. As a diplomat, he entertained good relations with the Ottoman rulers of Egypt, who granted him permission to collect and export Egyptian antiquities.[7] Very little is known about G. d'Anastasi's private life,[8] but there are currently no indications that he was personally involved in the excavation of antiquities. Instead, he purchased antiquities and traded them with other collectors European agents employed by G. d'Anastasi occasionally searched for ancient Egyptian objects with local Egyptians or purchased objects directly from them.[9] Among G. d'Anastasi's European agents were a man named G. Piccinini (fl. 1819–1829),[10] and perhaps F. Barthou (fl. 1805–1832) in Thebes and Abydos,[11] as well as G. (1792–1858) and A. Nizzoli (1806–1845?) in Saqqara.[12] The contemporary Western vogue for cultivating collections of ancient Egyptian antiquities presented G. d'Anastasi with a lucrative opportunity, as he always intended to sell the objects in his collection eventually. In 1827, G. d'Anastasi offered a significant part of his collection for sale through the antiquities dealer C. Tossizza in Livorno, then a centre for the trade in so-called oriental antiquities. An acquisitions agent for the Leiden museum called J.E. Humbert (1771–1839) signalled the sale to the museum's director, C. Reuvens. There were several potential buyers, including the king of Sweden, the king of Bayern, and J.-F. Champollion (1790–1832), who wanted to secure the objects for the Louvre. After several bids, King William I of the Netherlands's bid of 230,000 francs was accepted and the collection was acquired for the museum. When the objects reached Leiden in 1828, C. Reuvens noted that the collection excelled in mummified human remains and papyri.[13] At the time, the study of hieratic manuscripts was in its infancy, and C. Reuvens saw an opportunity to contribute to this field of Egyptology with the acquisition.

Another important collection of Egyptian antiquities acquired for the Leiden museum was that of the Cimba family. Records of the purchase in the RMO do not disclose details of the acquisition, but it can be surmised from a catalogue that the Cimba collection contained 335 objects. In the museum's old inventory, the collection is said to include ten folded papyri and one unfolded papyrus,[14] one of which is the New Kingdom hieratic papyrus CI 11b (= P. Leiden I 345). Cimba—his first name may have been Michele—was the personal physician of H. Salt (1780–1827), the British consul-general in Egypt. Stationed in Cairo,

5 Omitted from this list is AH 218, a wooden lyre dated to the early 18th Dynasty with inscribed with a song text that has been interpreted as a secondary inscription from ca. the third century BCE; see Manniche & Osing (2006).

6 Schneider (1985: 19–20; 1991: 393–397); Raven & Taconis (2005: 26); Raven (2018).

7 Raven (2018: 72).

8 For recently uncovered details about the person of G. d'Anastasi, see Chrysikopoulos (2015).

9 Schneider (1985: 19–20).

10 Dawson (1949: 159).

11 Raven (2018: 72–73).

12 Schneider (1991: 400).

13 Halbertsma (2003: 99–107); Raven (2018: 72–73, 76).

14 Weiss & Morfini (2018: 91).

Cimba enjoyed the same kind of privileges that Pasha Mehmet Ali (1769–1849) had extended to H. Salt and G. d'Anastasi, and he enriched himself by accumulating ancient Egyptian objects. When he died of the plague in 1824, his wife, M. Cimba, left Egypt for her native Italy. She shipped her husband's collection with her and decided to sell it in Livorno. In 1826, she offered the collection to J.E. Humbert, the antiquities broker of the Leiden museum. J.E. Humbert managed to secure the collection for the Leiden museum on 8th May 1827 despite other interested parties, including J.-F. Champollion and an "English traveller."[15]

Hieratic papyri CI 11b (= P. Leiden I 345; from the Cimba collection) and AMS 28 (= P. Leiden I 343; from the G. d'Anastasi collection), were subsequently found by F. Chabas (1817–1882) to form a single manuscript.[16] M. Cimba and G. d'Anastasi clearly acquired papyri from the same sources, and it seems that, before these fragments entered into their separate collections, the papyrus was cut up by the individuals who had found it. Something similar may have happened with papyrus AMS 26a (= P. Leiden I 348). On 25th October 1929, the antiquities dealer, collector, and Egyptologist G. Loukianoff (1885–1945) wrote a letter to W.D. van Wijngaarden (1893–1980), then curator of the Egyptian collection of the RMO, claiming to possess a fragment from the same papyrus in Leiden. He had recently acquired it from "a family who had kept it for decades."[17] G. Loukianoff offered this presumed second piece of the papyrus for sale to the RMO, which declined to purchase it due to the high asking price. Assuming that the two fragments did indeed belong to the same papyrus roll, the finders of the original papyrus must have divided this roll into two or more parts that went to different private collections. G. Loukianoff's fragment was eventually purchased for the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection in 1930, but it disappeared before it could be published.[18]

In later years, the Egyptian collection of the RMO was expanded primarily through piecemeal acquisitions made on the antiquities market, as well as donations from private individuals. A group of six ceramic fragments with New Kingdom hieratic labels (F 95/7.6–F 95/7.11), for instance, was gifted to the museum in July 1895 by A. Wiedemann (1856–1936). A. Wiedemann was a German Egyptologist at the University of Bonn, who collected antiquities in Egypt during his travels in the last two decades of the 19th century. He is known to have purchased objects from antiquities dealers in Alexandria and Cairo, both for the collection of the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn and for his private collection. Throughout his life, A. Wiedemann donated various objects from his collection to museums with Egyptian collections, often gifting antiquities of which he owned similar examples. According to F. Förster (2020: 29–31, 34), this furthered the development of A. Wiedemann's academic network.[19] Indeed, A. Wiedemann had first gifted objects to the RMO in 1900 and had previously studied Egyptology in Leipzig together with the curator of the RMO's Egyptian collection, P. Boeser (1858–1935).[20]

In the late 20th and early 21st century, a number of hieratic documents were donated to the RMO. O. F 1980/3.7 and O. F 1980/3.8 were gifted in March 1980 by A.A. el-Fatatri (fl. 1960–2004),

15 Halbertsma (2003: 98–99); Weiss & Morfini (2018: 86–91).

16 Beck (2018: 11).

17 Letter RMO archive 25–10–1929.

18 Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 173, 182); Schiødt (2024, 90). It has not been possible to identify the photographs of the lost papyrus that G. Loukianoff sent to the RMO in the archives of the museum.

19 Capart (1937: 232–233).

20 Van Kersen (2021: 37).

a Cairo-born geologist, collector, and merchant who lived in Leiden at the time.[21] A.A. el-Fatatri was active as an art dealer between 1960 and 1990. He travelled extensively in the Middle East and collected and traded in manuscripts, particularly Arabic, Persian, and Turkish texts.[22] Egyptian antiquities were not his field of expertise, which may have motivated his gift to the Leiden museum. Between 1991 and 2002, the Egyptologist R.J. Demarée donated five objects to the museum from his private collection; these were acquired by him during his visits to Luxor. The first of these, the ceramic fragment F 1991/11.21, was a gift to R.J. Demarée from the Dutch collector, illustrator, and photographer A.A. Tadema (1913–1989),[23] who published several books on ancient Egypt with his wife, the author and journalist J. (Bob) Tadema-Sporry (1912–1987). During a journey in Egypt in 1962–1963, an inhabitant of Luxor gave the fragment to A.A. Tadema. The four other texts from R.J. Demarée, consisting of three ostraca and a papyrus, were purchased by R.J. Demarée in 1961, 1966, and the early 1970s from licensed Luxor-based antiquities dealers, including S. Molattam (fl. 1917–1977)[24] and Z.M. Todros (1901–1978).[25]

Finally, the number of New Kingdom hieratic documents in the RMO increased significantly again in 2015, thanks to a generous donation from a private Dutch collector. Almost all of the ostraca and papyri that formed this donation were acquired in the 1960s from the licensed Luxor-based antiquities dealers S. Molattam and H. Abd el-Galil (fl. 1958–1980),[26] though a fragment from a *Book of the Dead*, P. Leiden F 2015/9.355, had been acquired in 1963 through H. Norden (1898–1943), an antiquities dealer in The Hague.[27]

Collection d'Anastasi	AAL 10b, AAL 164, AD 52-a, AD 52-b, AH 130, AH 134, AMS 23a, AMS 23b, AMS 24a-2, AMS 24b-1, AMS 24c-1, AMS 25a, AMS 25b, AMS 25c, AMS 26a, AMS 26b, AMS 27, AMS 28, AMS 30a-2, AMS 30b, AMS 30c, AMS 38a, AMS 38b, AMS 54, AMS 59e, AMS 59f, AMS 59g, AMS 59h-1, AMS 59i-1, AMS 64, AMS HZ	31 objects
Collection Cimba	CI 11b	1 object
Collection Wiedemann	F 95/7.6, F 95/7.7, F 95/7.8, F 95/7.9, F 95/7.10, F 95/7.11	6 objects
Collection El-Fatatri	F 1980/3.7, F 1980/3.8	2 objects
Collection Demarée	F 1991/11.21, F 1996/1.1, F 2000/1.1, F 2000/1.2, F 2002/10.1	5 objects
Private Dutch collection	F 2015/9.55, F 2015/9.316, F 2015/9.317, F 2015/9.318, F 2015/9.319, F 2015/9.320, F 2015/9.321, F 2015/9.322, F 2015/9.323, F 2015/9.324, F 2015/9.325, F 2015/9.326, F 2015/9.327, F 2015/9.333, F 2015/9.335, F 2015/9.343, F 2015/9.344, F 2015/9.345, F 2015/9.346, F 2015/9.351, F 2015/9.353, F 2015/9.354, F 2015/9.355.	23 objects

Table 2. Overview of acquired collections

21 Little is published about the life of this man, whose name has also been recorded as Abdul Fatatri.

22 Schmidt (2004).

23 Van Proosdij (1942).

24 Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 39, 111, 113, 135, 191, 250, 261, 284).

25 Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 60, 111, 248–250, 274).

26 Hagen & Ryholt (2016: 39, 111–112, 234, 240, 284).

27 I have not been able to find further information about this dealer. H. Norden's father, I. Norden, owned five shops in The Hague in the 1950s–1960s, while the younger Norden ran an antiquities dealership in Wijnhaven, The Hague, before moving to Antwerp, where he ran his operation from the 1960s through to the 1980s.

3. The New Kingdom hieratic material

3.1. Number of objects

The majority of New Kingdom hieratic documents in the RMO are written on papyrus. The inventory currently contains 32 papyrus documents. In addition, there are 23 papyrus fragments registered under inventory number F 2015/9.354, some of which appear to date to the Ramesside period. The second largest group of New Kingdom hieratic documents in the museum consist of ostraca, of which there are 20 in total. The museum also holds eight hieratic jar dockets from ceramic vessels, as well as two magical bricks made of unbaked clay, two wooden scribal palettes, one ceramic ushabti, and a wooden tenon—all bearing hieratic inscriptions.

Papyri	AMS 23a, AMS 23b, AMS 24a-2, AMS 24b-1, AMS 24c-1, AMS 25a, AMS 25b, AMS 25c, AMS 26a, AMS 26b, AMS 27, AMS 28 + CI 11b, AMS 30a-2, AMS 30b, AMS 30c, AMS 38a, AMS 38b, AMS 54, AMS 59e, AMS 59f, AMS 59g, AMS 59h-1, AMS 59i-1, AMS 64, AMS HZ, F 1996/1.1, F 2015/9.344, F 2015/9.345, F 2015/9.346, F 2015/9.351, F 2015/9.353, F 2015/9.354, F 2015/9.355	33
Ostraca	AAL 164, F 1980/3.7, F 1980/3.8, F 2000/1.1, F 2000/1.2, F 2002/10.1, F 2015/9.316, F 2015/9.317, F 2015/9.318, F 2015/9.319, F 2015/9.320, F 2015/9.321, F 2015/9.322, F 2015/9.323, F 2015/9.324, F 2015/9.325, F 2015/9.326, F 2015/9.327, F 2015/9.333, F 2015/9.335, F 2015/9.343	21
Jar dockets	F 95/7.6, F 95/7.7, F 95/7.8, F 95/7.9, F 95/7.10, F 95/7.11, AAL 10b, F 1991/11.21	8
Magical bricks	AD 52-a, AD 52-b	2
Scribal palettes	AH 130, AH 134	2
Ushabti	F 2015/9.55	1
Wooden tenon	F 2003/6.1	1

Table 3. Classification of New Kingdom objects inscribed in hieratic

3.2. Provenance

With the exception of eight items a general provenance is known for all of the objects bearing New Kingdom hieratic texts in the RMO (see table 4 below). Most of the texts come from the Theban area, and a Theban provenance has also been suggested for two unprovenanced texts (O. Leiden F 1980/3.8 and ushabti F 2015/9.55). For six texts, it is not possible to further specify the Theban provenance. Five jar dockets, and perhaps a sixth, come from the vicinity of the Ramesseum. F 1991/11.21, which is possibly a jar docket as well, was found at Malqata.[28] Finally, 27 papyri and ostraca can be traced to the community of royal necropolis workmen. Ostraca F 2015/9.316–319, also known as O. Demarée H 5–8, belong to a group of delivery accounts written in Year 3 of Seti I.[29] One of the ostraca in this group, F 2015/9.319, is the lower half of O. OIM E18880 (fig. 1).[30]

28 Raven & Schneider (1992: 159).

29 Dorn (2011: 31–34).

30 Muhs & Scalf (2024: 341).

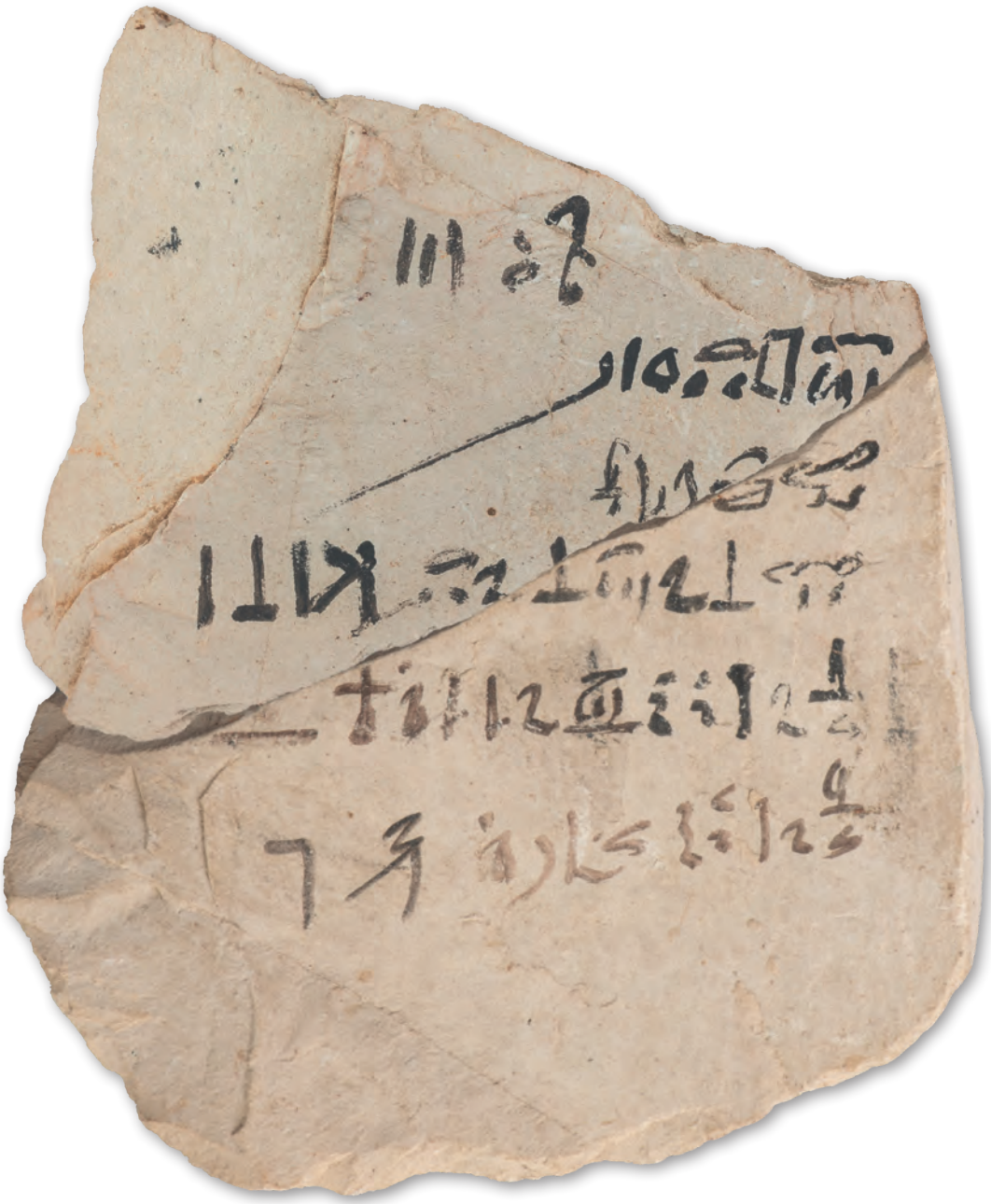


Fig. 1. O. Chicago OIM E18880 + RMO F 2015/9.319
(Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden). Edited by R.J. Looman

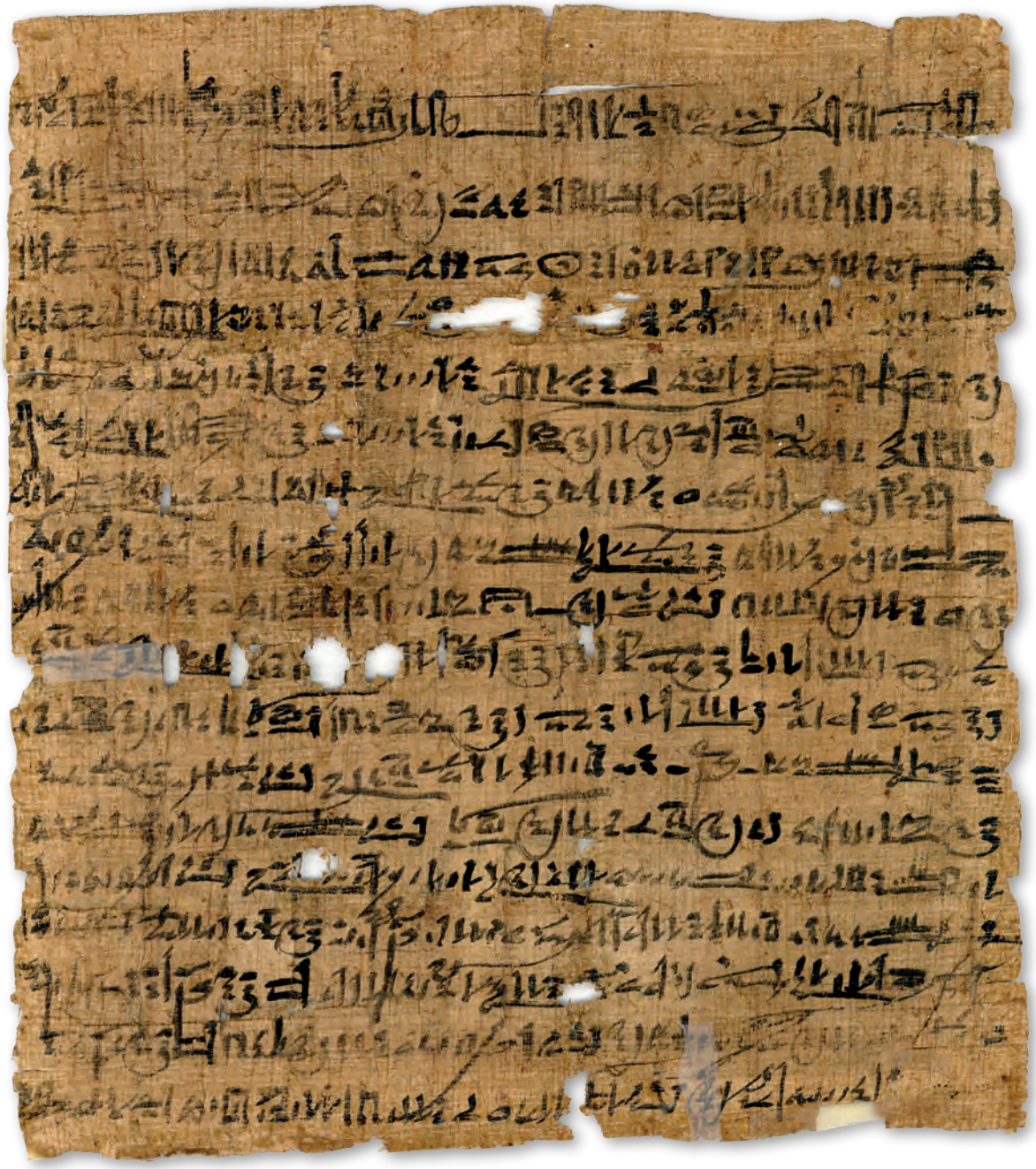


Fig. 2. P. AMS 38b r°
(Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

Fig. 3. P. AMS 23a vel 1 r°
(Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

Several of the delivery accounts from the reign of Seti I have a recorded provenance. They were found in the so-called Kôm 2 area in the village of Deir el-Medina. Some of these ostraca are limestone flakes, as are F 2015/9.316–319, and therefore it is plausible that F 2015/9.316–319 were found in the same area of Deir el-Medina. O. F 2000/1.1 joins with O. KV 10045, which was excavated in 2009 near the tomb of Thutmose III in the Valley of the Kings.[31] The letters AMS 38a (= P. Leiden I 369) and AMS 38b (= P. Leiden I 370) (fig. 2) belong to the dossier of *Late Ramesside Letters* (LRL 1 and 5) written at the end of the 20th Dynasty and the beginning of the 21st Dynasty by a Theban family of scribes.[32] It is possible that the letters formed part of the family's scribal archive and that they were stored in a tomb adjacent to the settlement of Deir el-Medina.[33]

Nineteen papyri in the RMO with a Memphite provenance come from the collections of G. d'Anastasi and M. Cimba. C. Leemans (1840: 112–113) noted already in the 19th century that some of these papyri belong together. He thought that AMS 27 (= P. Leiden I 344), AMS 28 (= P. Leiden I 343), and CI 11b (= P. Leiden I 345), which are inscribed with magical texts, a hymn, and a literary text, may have come from the same find-spot. He also mentions that AMS 23a (= P. Leiden I 346) (fig. 3) and AMS 23b (= P. Leiden I 347) had been rolled up together.

The material condition of the Memphite papyri supports the idea that they were rolled up together. As R. Enmarch (2005: 2–3) points out, these three papyri display similar damage patterns. Following C. Leemans, the Memphite papyri were considered for a time to form a group of literary and magical papyri and a separate group of documentary papyri. However, researchers now agree that the two groups probably form a single assemblage deposited at an unknown location in the Memphite necropolis of Saqqara, where they were discovered in the 1820s. At the time, the Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate in Egypt, G. Nizzoli, was exploring Saqqara with his wife. In search of antiquities, some of their finds wound up in the possession of G. d'Anastasi;[34] the Saqqara papyri in question may have been among them.

Where exactly the Memphite papyri were found is unclear, but several locations have been proposed. Discussing the group of documentary papyri, J.J. Janssen (1961: 6) highlighted the fact that the texts relate to the entourage of prince Khaemwaset. He suggested that they may have belonged to his archives and that they were hidden together in the Memphite region. In the same vein, M. Raven (2012: 82–83) hypothesised that the documentary, literary, and magical papyri from Saqqara were stored in an office of Khaemwaset in the necropolis, perhaps close to the Serapeum. Following C. Leemans, R. Enmarch (2005: 2–3) drew attention to the fact that some of the Saqqara papyri were damaged by ritual bitumen, which he took to indicate that they were once stored together in a tomb. R. Enmarch then suggested that two papyri connect the group of magical and literary texts with the group of documentary texts: AMS 54 v° (= P. Leiden I 350 v°) is inscribed with a ship's log and belongs to the group of documentary texts, while AMS 54 r° (= P. Leiden I 350 r°) bears hymns, just like AMS 27 v° (= P. Leiden I 344 v°), which evidently belongs to the group of magical and literary texts. In other words, the

31 Hawass (2011: 65, 70); Demarée (2013–2014).

32 Černý (1939: xv–xvii); Demarée (2008: 51–52).

33 Hagen (2018: 151–152).

34 Rindi Nuzzolo (2016: 288). Compare Schneider (1991: 400).

papyri may constitute a single private library that was deposited in a Saqqara tomb. The similarity of this hypothetical assemblage, both in terms of its genres and the number of papyri in the assemblage, to other private libraries from tombs—such as the Ramesseum library and the library of Qenhirkhopshef's family at Deir el-Medina—lends credence to this hypothesis.[35] Indeed, F. Hagen (2018: 128; 2019: 270–275) discusses the papyrus group as a potential private library from the tomb of an official associated with the Memphite temple of Ptah and the royal family.

In another publication, F. Hagen (2019: 274) compares the hypothetical Saqqara assemblage to the Qenhirkhopshef family library, though he notes that the hypothetical Saqqara group contains fewer literary compositions than the Qenhirkhopshef library and that it was probably an incomplete library. This observation merits further investigation in order to determine whether the Saqqara papyri in Leiden are related to papyri in other collections. Interestingly, the six papyri that form another Ramesside private library belonging to an individual known as Inena consist predominantly of literary works.[36] The provenance of the Inena papyri is unknown, but it has been suggested that they too may have been found in a Saqqara tomb; as such, they might hypothetically form the "missing" part of the Saqqara library.[37] Indeed, three of the Inena papyri[38] were also part of G. d'Anastasi's collection,[39] while the general condition and palaeography of the Inena papyri and the Saqqara papyri are similar.[40] Chronologically, the Inena papyri and the Leiden Saqqara papyri are also closely related. The documentary texts in the latter group date to the reign of Ramesses II. The letter AMS 30c (= P. Leiden I 362), for instance, is dated to the first half of his reign,[41] while the ship's log is dated towards the end of his reign in Year 52.[42] The documents in Inena's library are dated to the time of Ramesses II's immediate successor Merenptah and to the time of Seti II.[43] Taking into consideration the fact that the Qenhirkhopshef family library was in use for some 80 to 120 years,[44] the hypothetical Saqqara library might plausibly span the time between the early reign of Ramesses II and the reign of Seti II. Of course, it is also possible that the two papyrus groups simply derive from more or less contemporary tombs that neighboured one another at Saqqara. It remains to be determined by future research whether there is hard evidence for a connection between the library of Inena, the Saqqara papyri in Leiden, and other 19th Dynasty papyri from G. d'Anastasi's collection[45].

35 Enmarch (2005: 5).

36 Hagen (2019: 276).

37 Enmarch (2005: 5); Ragazzoli (2012: 232).

38 Now in the British Museum: P. BM EA 10249 (= P. Anastasi IV), P. BM EA 10245 (= P. Anastasi VI) and P. BM EA 10222 (= P. Anastasi VII).

39 Raven (2012: 82).

40 Leemans (1853–1862: *passim*); Enmarch (2005: 5).

41 Janssen (1960: 32).

42 Janssen (1960: 4).

43 Ragazzoli (2012: 225–226).

44 Pestman (1982: 163).

45 Three letters in the State Hermitage Museum (ДВ-1117, ДВ-1118 and ДВ-1119) most likely belong to the same group of papyri, see Nikolaev & Bolshakov (2024: 194–195).

Saqqara	AMS 23a, AMS 23b, AMS 24a-2, AMS 24b-1, AMS 24c-1, AMS 25a, AMS 25b, AMS 25c, AMS 26a, AMS 26b, AMS 27, AMS 28 + CI 11b, AMS 30a-2, AMS 30b, AMS 30c, AMS 54, AMS 59h-1, AMS 59i-1, AMS 64	19 objects
Thebes, unspecified	AAL 164, F 1996/1.1, F 2015/9.343, F 2015/9.344, F 2015/9.353, F 2015/9.355	6 objects
Thebes, Deir el-Medina, and the royal necropolis	AMS 38a, AMS 38b, AMS 59e, AMS 59f, AMS 59g, F 2000/1.1, F 2000/1.2, F 2002/10.1, F 2003/6.1, F 2015/9.316, F 2015/9.317, F 2015/9.318, F 2015/9.319, F 2015/9.320, F 2015/9.321, F 2015/9.322, F 2015/9.323, F 2015/9.324, F 2015/9.325, F 2015/9.326, F 2015/9.327, F 2015/9.333, F 2015/9.334, F 2015/9.335, F 2015/9.345, F 2015/9.346, F 2015/9.351	27 objects
Thebes, Ramesseum	F 95/7.6 (?), F 95/7.7, F 95/7.8, F 95/7.9, F 95/7.10, F 95/7.11	6 objects
Thebes, Malqata	F 1991/11.21	1 object
Unknown	AAL 10b, AD 52-a, AD 52-b, AH 130, AH 134, AMS HZ, F 1980/3.7, F 1980/3.8, F 2015/9.55	9 objects

Table 4. Provenance of the New Kingdom hieratic material

3.3. Distribution according to genre

The majority (46 texts) of the New Kingdom hieratic texts in the RMO are of a documentary nature. Among these are several administrative texts from the royal necropolis in Thebes, nine short hieratic jar dockets, a list of offerings (F 1980/3.7),[46] a ship's log compiled for Khaemwaset, the prince and high priest of Ptah (AMS 54, vº = P. Leiden I 350, vº), and a list of construction workers (AAL 164 = O. Leiden I 430). The collection also contains at least 17 letters, including the famous letter to the deceased Ankhiry from her husband (AMS 64 = P. Leiden I 371). Nine of these letters come from the Saqqara private library and were sent from various officials in Piramesse to recipients in Memphis.[47] Six of the letters from the Saqqara group were sealed when they entered the museum; these clay seal impressions are kept separately and are registered under inventory numbers AMS 24a-1 (fig. 4), AMS 24b-2, AMS 24c-2, AMS 30a-1, AMS 59h-2, and AMS 59i-2.

In addition to the abovementioned letters, F. Hagen (2018: 127) has convincingly argued that the epistles dealing with officials in Memphis on AMS 26a vº (= P. Leiden I 348 vº) should be read as copies of actual letters rather than as a miscellany featuring model letters. One of the reasons AMS 26a vº had been assumed to be a miscellany are its repeated epistolary formula and titularies of Ramesses II.[48] AMS 26b vº (= P. Leiden I 349 vº) likewise bears the titularies of Ramesses II, as well as a letter, and it has also been considered to be a miscellany with a model letter.[49] This letter is perhaps also a copy of an actual missive, however,[50] and it is therefore doubtful whether AMS 26b vº should be classified as a miscellany.

46 Bouvier (2001).

47 Hagen (2018: 127).

48 Gardiner (1937: xxi).

49 E.g. De Buck & Stricker (1940: 55); Bakir (1970: 5).

50 The text is treated as a historical document in *KRI* 3, 250, 7–8.

Fig. 4. Seal impression AMS 24a-1
(Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

Fig. 5. Inscribed scribal palette AH 134
(Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

Papyrus AMS 28 + CI 11b (= P. Leiden I 343 + 345) is the only New Kingdom magico-medical text in the collection. Its text contains incantations against and remedies for ailments caused by the disease-demons Samanu and Akhu. Among the twelve magical texts are three texts with incantations against the dangers of the epagomenal days, phobias, and scorpions (AMS 23a, AMS 26a r°, and AMS 26b r° = P. Leiden I 346, 348 r°, and 349 r°). Magical texts in the collection are further represented by four protective amulets (AMS 23b = P. Leiden I 347; AMS 59e–AMS 59g = P. Leiden I 353–355), two unidentified texts (F 2015/9.344 r° and v°), two magical bricks with a spell for protection in the burial chamber (AD 52-a and -b), a short inscription on an ushabti (F 2015/9.55), and a wooden tenon used in the construction of a coffin with a spell derived from the Nut spells in the Pyramid Texts (F 2003/6.1).[51] Fragmentary papyri F 2015/9.353 and F 2015/9.355, dated to the Ramesside Period, are inscribed in hieratic with spells from the *Book of the Dead*.

AMS 27 v° (= P. Leiden I 344 v°) contains hymns to the sun, while AMS 54 r° (= P. Leiden I 350 r°) bears a hymn to the god Amun. AMS 27 r° (= P. Leiden I 344 r°) is inscribed with the literary composition known as the *Dialogue of Ipuwer*. P. Leiden F 2015/9.335 bears a literary text and is perhaps a student's writing exercise. The doodles and sign groups scribbled on scribal palette AH 134 are perhaps also best categorised as a writing exercise (fig. 5). Likewise, scribal palette AH 130 contains doodles, drawings and a hieratic hymn to Amun-Re that was probably written as a writing exercise[52].

Finally, there are also inscriptions in the collection that are more difficult to categorise. F 2015/9.333, a limestone flake inscribed with black ink, is of considerable size (13 × 20.5 × 4 cm) and is most probably a rock graffito. Its text mentions a burial in the west and it should perhaps be classified as a documentary text. The 23 smaller papyrus fragments registered as F 2015/9.334 are momentarily unclassified and await further study.

Administrative texts	AAL 164, AMS 25a, AMS 25b, AMS 54 v°, F 1980/3.7, F 1980/3.8, F 2000/1.1, F 2000/1.2, F 2002/10.1, F 2015/9.316, F 2015/9.317, F 2015/9.318, F 2015/9.319, F 2015/9.320, F 2015/9.321, F 2015/9.322, F 2015/9.323, F 2015/9.324, F 2015/9.325, F 2015/9.326, F 2015/9.327	21
Jar dockets	AAL 10b, F 95/7.6, F 95/7.7, F 95/7.8, F 95/7.9, F 95/7.10, F 95/7.11, F 1991/11.21, F 2015/9.343	9
Letters	AMS 24a-2, AMS 24b-1, AMS 24c-1, AMS 25c, AMS 26a v° (?), AMS 27a v° (?), AMS 30a-2, AMS 30b, AMS 30c, AMS 38a, AMS 38b, AMS 59h-1, AMS 59i-1, AMS 64, AMS HZ, F 1996/1.1, F 2015/9.345, F 2015/9.346, F 2015/9.351	19
Miscellanies	AMS 26a v°(?), AMS 26b v°(?)	2
Magico-medical texts	AMS 28 + CI 11b	1
Magical texts	AMS 23a, AMS 23b, AMS 26a r°, AMS 26b, AD 52-a, AD 52-b, AMS 59e, AMS 59f, AMS 59g, F 2003/6.1, F 2015/9.55, F 2015/9.344	12
Book of the Dead texts	F 2015/9.353, F 2015/9.355	2
Hymns	AH 130, AMS 27 v°, AMS 54 r°	3
Literary texts	AMS 27 r°, F 2015/9.335	2
Writing exercises	AH 130, AH 134	2
Graffito	F 2015/9.333	1
Undetermined	F 2015/9.334	1

Table 5. Classification of genres attested in the New Kingdom hieratic material

51 Demarée (2014–2015: 31).

52 Soliman & Nehring (forthcoming).

3.4. Published vs. unpublished material

The New Kingdom hieratic papyri acquired by the museum in the 19th century were included in the first RMO catalogue published by C. Leemans,[53] and then in a second catalogue published by C. Leemans together with F. Chabas.[54] The latter includes facsimiles of the manuscripts, produced when the papyri were in a better condition than they are now. These drawings were made by the talented draftsman T. Hooiberg (1809–1897),[55] but because T. Hooiberg did not read hieratic, the facsimiles are not always reliable.[56] In the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century, nearly all of the New Kingdom hieratic texts then in the collection were published to some degree. Together with the museum's more recently acquired hieratic texts (which remain unpublished), they are available in the museum's online collection database, almost always with photographs, bibliography, and a brief description in Dutch.[57] In what follows, I highlight 32 objects that have not yet been comprehensively published:

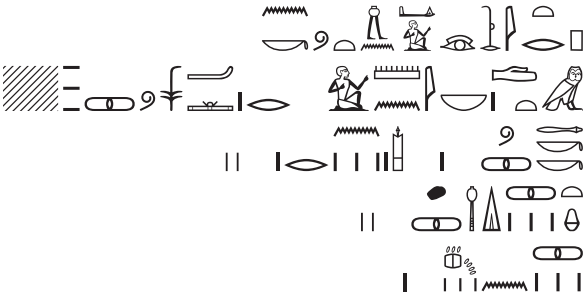
(1) AAL 164 (= O. Leiden I 430): an 18th Dynasty ostracon bearing an account of a construction project, listing groups of workmen working at the site. The text forms part of a study on documentary texts from the 18th Dynasty that is currently in preparation by M. Roemer.
(2) AH 134: a wooden scribal palette, generally dated to the New Kingdom, that bears pen trials, doodles, several hieratic sign groups, and short inscriptions like names.
(3) AMS HZ (= P. Leiden I 372): five small papyrus fragments inscribed on the recto in Ramesside hieratic, perhaps belonging to a letter.
(4) AMS 59e—59g (= P. Leiden I 353—355): the first two texts are Ramesside papyrus amulets, originally attached to each other by means of a string. AMS 59g is the inventory number for six glass plates containing a total of 250 papyrus snippets, probably belonging to at least one other textual amulet. The three objects form part of a study currently in preparation by S. Donnat.
(5) F 95/7.6: a fragment of a wine jar with an effaced hieratic docket.
(6) F 95/7.7: a fragment of a wine jar with an effaced hieratic docket.
(7) F 95/7.8: a fragment of a wine jar with a hieratic docket that mentions "the harbour". The docket conforms to group XV of G. Bouvier (2003).
(8) F 95/7.9: a fragment of a wine jar with a hieratic docket that mentions the toponym *Kꜣ-n-km.t*. The docket conforms to group I of G. Bouvier (2003).
(9) F 95/7.10: a fragment of a wine jar with a hieratic docket that mentions the Chief of Vintners Tjay. The docket conforms to group VIII of G. Bouvier (2003).
(10) F 95/7.11: a fragment of a wine jar with a hieratic docket dated to Year 8 of Ramesses II.
(11) F 1980/3.8: a fragment of a limestone ostracon inscribed with an account in very abbreviated phrasing.
(12) F 2015/9.55: a ceramic ushabti bearing a column of hieratic text. The text is difficult to read and the name of the owner is illegible.
(13) F 2015/9.320: see the case study below.
(14) F 2015/9.321: an ostracon bearing two texts written by the necropolis scribe Amennakht (v). The obverse records a delivery of food in Year 29 of the reign of Ramesses III. The reverse is inscribed with a journal text.

53 Leemans (1840: 111–117).
54 Leemans (1853–1862).
55 Schneider (2015).
56 Janssen (1961: 2).
57 https://www.rmo.nl/en/collection/search-collection (accessed 16.01.2024).

(15) F 2015/9.322: an ostracon bearing an account of the delivery of commodities, including wheat, barley, and bread.
(16) F 2015/9.323: an ostracon bearing an account of the delivery of commodities, including milk.
(17) F 2015/9.324: an ostracon bearing an account of the delivery of commodities, including copper.
(18) F 2015/9.325: an ostracon bearing the beginning of a journal text, perhaps a writing exercise.
(19) F 2015/9.326: an ostracon bearing an account of deliveries.
(20) F 2015/9.327: an ostracon bearing an account of deliveries, perhaps a writing exercise.
(21) F 2015/9.333: an inscription, perhaps a rock graffito, that mentions a burial in the west.
(22) F 2015/9.335: an ostracon bearing a writing exercise, probably a *Kemyt* text.
(23) F 2015/9.343: a fragment of the docket of an amphora on which the word "house" is preserved.
(24) F 2015/9.344: a papyrus fragment inscribed on the recto with a magical text that mentions Apophis and the children of Bedeshet and on the verso with a magical text that mentions king Thutmosis III.
(25) F 2015/9.345: a papyrus fragment inscribed with a letter that mentions an item of clothing.
(26) F 2015/9.346: a papyrus fragment inscribed with a letter, perhaps a Late Ramesside Letter.
(27) F 2015/9.351: various papyrus fragments, mostly from a Late Ramesside Letter.
(28) F 2015/9.353: various papyrus fragments, mostly from a Late Ramesside Letter.
(29) F 2015/9.354: a group of papyrus snippets of different dates and belonging to various texts, including fragments inscribed in Ramesside hieratic.
(30) F 2015/9.355: a papyrus fragment bearing a text from a *Book of the Dead* in Ramesside hieratic.

4. Case study: Ostracon F 2015/9.320

This limestone ostracon was purchased from the antiquities dealer S. Molattam in Luxor in 1966. It measures 11 cm × 9.2 cm × 2.3 cm. The ostracon is complete except for a portion of the upper left corner. The inscribed face is weathered and the text at the centre of the ostracon is faded. The text itself consists of five lines written in black ink. The handwriting appears to be that of an experienced 19th Dynasty scribe (fig. 6). The text is nevertheless difficult to date accurately and its author is unidentified. The inscription is a short note recording the transfer of loaves of bread from one unnamed party to another. The goods were brought to the recipient by a man called Nebamun, perhaps the workman Nebamun (i), (ii), or (iii = v).[58] Alternatively, Nebamun may have been a member of the *smd.t* personnel who bore the same name.[59] The circumstances of the transfer are not detailed in the text, but the author's phrasing is informal. It is possible that the ostracon accompanied the actual delivery of the products listed in the text.



58 Davies (1999); Gabler (2018: 746, fig. 3).
59 Gabler (2018: 613, 666).

Fig. 6. O. F 2015/9.320.
(Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

Transliteration

1. *ptr di=i inỉ=tw n=k*
2. *m-ḏr.t Nb-imn rḥs* […]
3. *ʿkk 1 iwnr 2*
4. *t-ḥḏ 2*
5. *t-n-ỉt 1*

Translation

1. See, I caused that was given to you
2. by Nebamun: *rḥs*-cakes: […]
3. *ʿkk*-bread: 1 loaf; *iwnr*-dish: 2;
4. white bread: 2 loaves;
5. bread of barley: 1 loaf

The phrase *dỉ=i inỉ=tw n=k/n=t m-ḏr.t* NN occurs also on two other ostraca from Deir el-Medina, O. DeM 957 and O. Berlin P 11258. The latter is better preserved and dated to the 20th Dynasty.[60] This account records the delivery of various types of bread and other food, sent with Tja-aa. He must be one of three men by that name who, as a member the *smd.t* personnel, was responsible for deliveries of wood and water to the village.[61] This parallel lends credence to the idea that the Nebamun in F 2015/9.320 belonged to the *smd.t* personnel as well. During the Ramesside period, the villagers of Deir el-Medina received regular deliveries from institutions in West Thebes of bread, mostly of the variety *psn* and *bỉ.t*.[62] Hence, the bread and cakes mentioned in this account were probably baked in the private ovens of the houses of the village. The *rḥs*-cakes are assumed to be small and perhaps sweet and are often mentioned to be delivered in an *iwnr*-container.[63] This was probably a plate or dish used to measure and keep cakes, including the *ʿkk*-bread mentioned in this account. Hardly anything is known about this kind of bread.[64] White bread was conical and probably of considerable size.[65]

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60 Janssen (1998: 34–35); https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/fragment.php?id=253 (accessed 16.01.2024).

61 Gabler (2018: 479–480).

62 Janssen (1998: 18).

63 Janssen (1998: 33–34).

64 Janssen (1998: 21–22).

65 Janssen (1998: 25).

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Three Objects with Hieratic Inscriptions in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid)

Wooden Coffin with Stick Shabti 2524 and Ostracon 16243

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we present three artefacts of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional of Madrid. Two of them are a stick shabti and its coffin (Theban necropolis, 17th–18th Dynasties), both inscribed with hieratic texts. The third artefact is a limestone ostracon (Deir el-Medina, 20th Dynasty) recording an inspection of the tomb of the guardian Amenemope (Ramesses II), which was handed over to the workman Menna in Year 4 of Ramesses IV. For each of these artefacts, we provide a detailed account of their provenance and a description, as well as a hieroglyphic transcription, a transliteration and an annotated translation.

1. The Museo Arqueológico Nacional and its collections [IORdA & EPM]

The Museo Arqueológico Nacional (hereinafter referred to as the MAN) was created in 1867 by Royal Decree of Queen Isabel II, in response to the movement that had already begun in other European countries to create institutions that would encompass the history of each nation. In the case of Spain, the multiplicity of cultures and civilizations that have passed through it made such institutions even more necessary.

Today, the museum can look back on more than 150 years of history.[1] The collections were first housed in what was known as the Casino de la Reina[2] (1867–1893) during the construction of the museum, which was inaugurated on July 5, 1895. During these almost two centuries, the museum has increased its collections in many ways: to those already existing, others have been

1 Marcos (1993: 31–99).

2 The Casino de la Reina was an old leisure residence of Isabel de Braganza, wife of Fernando VII, which became the property of the State after the disentailment of the Royal Heritage in 1865.

added through purchases by the State, donations, distribution of finds of excavations, the giving of antiquities in lieu of taxes, reorganization of funds and deposits.

Among the cultural artefacts housed in the MAN are two objects with hieratic inscriptions: a small coffin containing a shabti (Inv. No. 2524) and an ostracon (Inv. No. 16243). Both pieces have been part of the museum's collection since the late 19th century,[3] when the State acquired the collections of Rosario Laiglesia, widow of Tomás de Asensi, and of Eduard Toda i Güell.

2. Stick Shabti 2524 with its coffin

Both pieces were acquired by the State in 1876, by a Royal Order from the widow of T. de Asensi, R. Laiglesia. They are currently exhibited in room 35, showcase 8, as part of a display about death and the funerary world, in the area dedicated to "The Realm of the Dead." We will first present the history of the collection from which these objects come (§ 2.1), then describe them in more detail (§ 2.2) and provide a hieroglyphic transcription, a transliteration and an annotated translation of the hieratic texts (§ 2.3).

2.1. The collection of Rosario Laiglesia de Asensi, widow of Tomás de Asensi [IORdA & EPM]

Born and raised in Algiers, T. de Asensi (Algiers, 1811–Madrid, 1875) was launched on a diplomatic career by his father, who had previously been appointed to head of the Spanish consulate in the Algerian capital.

T. de Asensi became, on his own merits, Vice Consul in Genoa and in Nice (both in 1836). Later, in 1839, he received the Knight's Cross from Isabel la Católica. His appointments as consul were to the Danish city of Helsingör in 1841 (a position he never held due to his delicate health and financial situation), to the French city of Sète in 1843 (a position he held for two years), and finally to Mexico in 1845 (another position he had to decline for economic and family reasons). It was in Sète that he married R. Laiglesia.

His career continued, now within the Ministry of State, where he held several positions until 1855, when he was appointed Director of Commerce. He received several mentions and honors, including the Supernumerary Cross of Carlos III.

C. Paz claims that Asensi's collection must have been formed around the 1950s: his constant travels afforded him the opportunity to purchase objects, which he had the financial means to acquire thanks to his social position.[4] The objects collected by T. de Asensi throughout his life and travels included not only Egyptian antiquities, but also artefacts from different regions of Africa and Asia. In the records kept at the museum, each piece is described, and its material, dimensions and origin are indicated. These records also include many ink drawings made by T. de Asensi himself, which provide even more information.

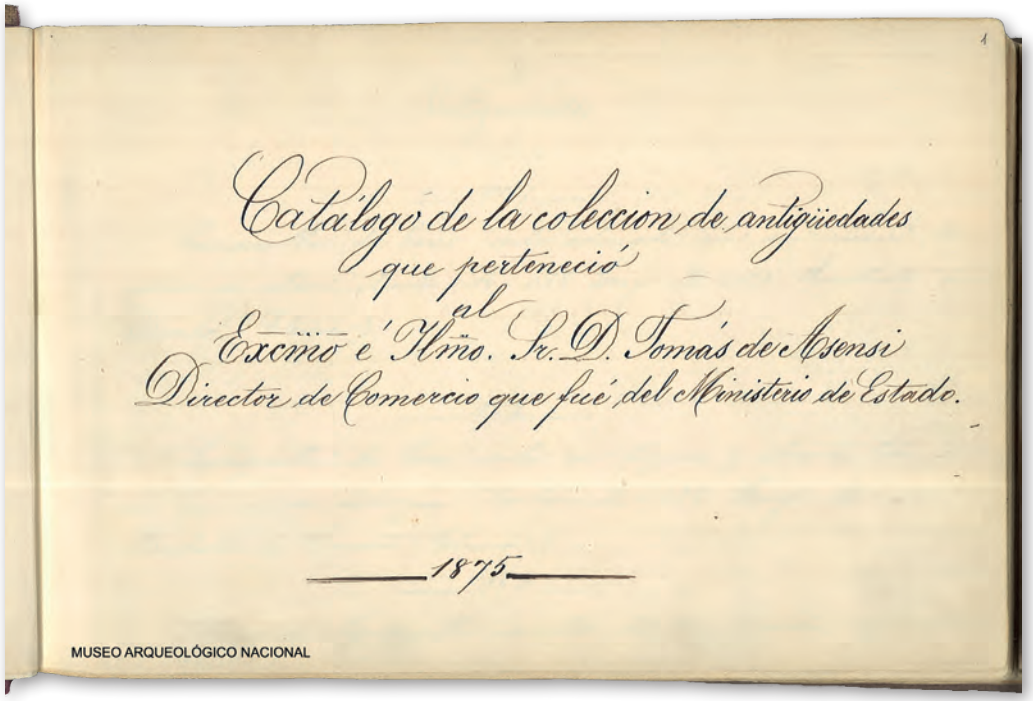
After T. de Asensi's death in 1875, his wife offered to sell his collection to the state. With the prospect of a purchase, a commission composed of several scholars, including D. Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, was appointed to study the widow's proposal and determine the importance of such an acquisition for the enrichment of the museum. The purchase was concluded on August 8, 1876, by Royal Order.[5] The date of entry was November 10, 1876 (MAN archives, file 1876/6). The price paid was 40,042 pesetas.[6]

3 Rada y Delgado (1883: 96–147); Álvarez (1925: 31–39).

4 Paz (1995: 7).

5 Martín (1993: 68–69); Paz (1995: 5).

6 Allowing for inflation, 40,042 pesetas in the 19th century would be worth about 166,48 euros today. If these 40,042 pesetas were from 2002, when the currency changed to the euro, their total value would be about 240 euros.


Catálogo de la coleccion de antigüedades
que perteneció
al
Excmo é Ilmo. Sr. D. Tomás de Asensi
Director de Comercio que fué del Ministerio de Estado.

1875

MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL

Fig. 1. 1876/6-E Archivo MAN

Given the large number of objects in the newly acquired collection, more than 1,300, several departments in the Museum benefited from their purchase.[7] The Department of Egyptian and Near Eastern Antiquities received all of three hundred objects.[8] Their diversity is extraordinary: they include amulets, sculptures of bronze, wood and stone, pottery, human and animal mummies, alabaster vessels and shabtis. The objects from the Far East and North Africa were housed in the Museo Nacional de Etnología (now Museo Nacional de Antropología).

2.2. Description of shabti coffin and shabti 2524 [IORdA, EPM, FP]

Among the Egyptian pieces belonging to this collection, we have picked out, as a fitting selection for this volume, a stick-shabti and its coffin, which is missing its lid (fig. 2), both made of wood.

Inventory number: 2524

Material: wood

Technique: carved, inscriptions painted

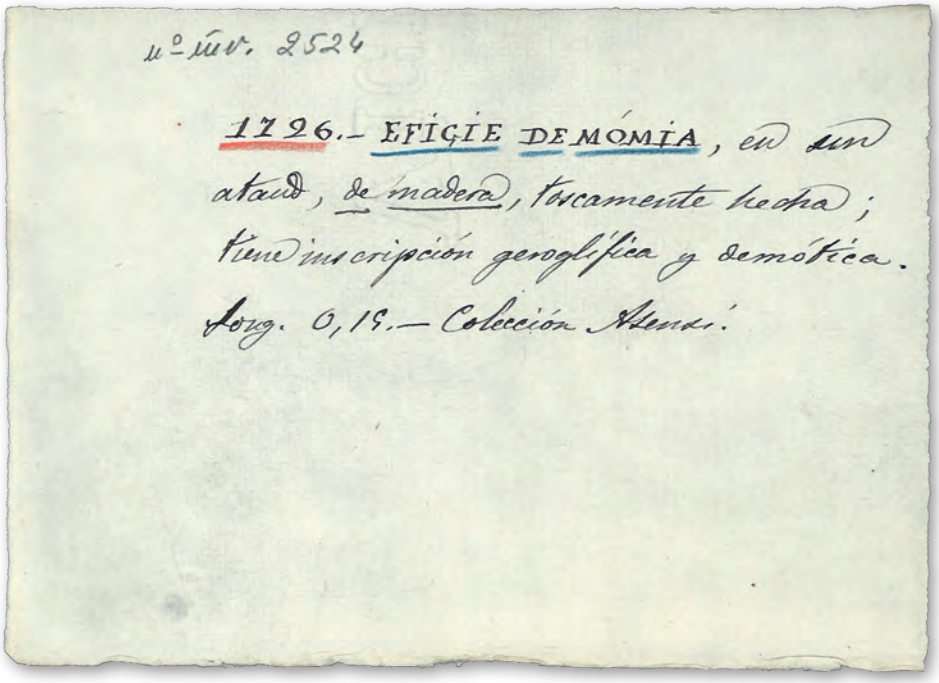
Dimensions: shabti (11.5 × 2.1 × 2.7 cm); coffin (14.5 × 4 × 3 cm)

Description: shabti of Iahmes with its coffin, carved in wood and belonging to the collection of T. de Asensi, acquired in 1876 (fig. 3)

7 The collection brought together objects from many different cultures and origins: Egyptian pieces, Etruscan and Corinthian vessels, lanterns, epigraphs, ivory carvings, seals, and even objects from America.

8 Rada y Delgado (1883); Pérez Díe (1993: 162); González et al. (1993: 362–367); Pons (1997; 2001: 295–296).

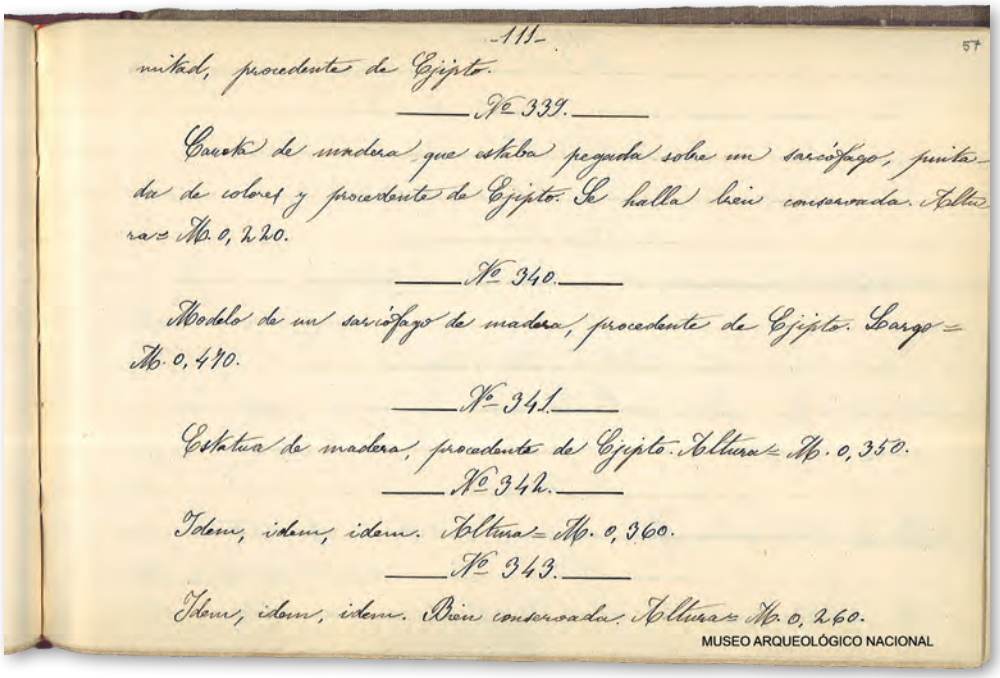
Fig. 2. Wooden coffin and shabti (Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Inv. 2524. Photo: Alberto Rivas Rodríguez)



nº inv. 2524

1726.– EFIGIE DE MÓMIA, en un ataud, de madera, toscamente hecha; tiene inscripción geroglífica y demótica. Long. 0,15.– Colección Asensi.

Fig. 3. FA02524. Archivo MAN (Smooth paper catalog file. Handwritten text in black ink on the front, mentioning the inscription written in hieroglyphs and *Demotic* [*sic*])



-111-

57

mitad, procedente de Ejipto.

—— Nº 339. ——

Caneta de madera que estaba pegada sobre un sarcófago, pintada de colores y procedente de Ejipto. Se halla bien conservada. Altura = M. 0,220.

—— Nº 340. ——

Modelo de un sarcófago de madera, procedente de Ejipto. Largo = M. 0,470.

—— Nº 341. ——

Estatua de madera, procedente de Ejipto. Altura = M. 0,350.

—— Nº 342. ——

Idem, idem, idem. Altura = M. 0,360.

—— Nº 343. ——

Idem, idem, idem. Bien conservada. Altura = M. 0,260.

MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL

Fig. 4. 1876/6-E Archivo MAN

Figurines of this type, made in the 17th and early 18th Dynasties, are known in French as "*bouts de bois*", "pieces of wood," because they are very poorly carved and have hardly any anthropomorphic features except for the head and feet. They were usually placed in small coffins, also made of wood. Some authors identify them with the mummified deceased.

The texts they usually bear are often short formulas, limited to a simple invocation, but some carry longer texts, such as the formula of offerings and other inscriptions. They usually come from the Theban region, from family tombs excavated by Percy E. Newberry, Howard Carter and illegal excavators.

Date: 17–18th Dynasties

Provenance: unknown, but most likely from the Theban necropolis

Inscriptions: on the shabti and on the sides of the box

File 1876/6-E of the MAN Archive (fig. 4) includes the "Catálogo de la colección de antigüedades que perteneció al Excmo. e Ilmo. Sr. D. Tomás de Asensi Director de Comercio que fue del Ministerio de Estado 1875." On it is a list of all the objects that entered the museum, indicating the provenance, as in the present case: "Nº 340 Modelo de un sarcófago de madera, procedente de Egipto. Largo M.0,470."

In addition, file 1876/6-G of the MAN archive also contains, under the same title, a breakdown of the objects acquired, which for this piece specifically indicates that it is: "340- Objeto tosquísimo representando una momia dentro de un ataúd, tiene algunos caracteres geroglíficos y demóticos escritos en tinta Negra."

2.3. The hieratic text on the coffin and stick shabti of Ahmose [FP]

The statuette depicts a mummy wearing a wig. The face is triangular with a broad chin (as opposed to a pointed one), type C of Paul Whelan's head-style typology.[9] The wig juts backward and its rear lappet descends to the shoulders. The body is squared and carved in facets, and tapers slightly towards the feet. Its front profile is slightly bellied and a small protuberance along the back indicates the buttocks. The feet are rendered by a block-like ledge. An inscription is painted in black ink all around the body in columns running down the torso and legs. The first column is written down the front of the figurine in cursive hieroglyphs, the remaining ones in hieratic. The modern number 350 is written on the left side of the head.

The rectangular coffin is carved out of a single piece of what looks like the same wood as the shabti. It bears a column of inscription on either side. It fits the shabti perfectly, which confirms that it must originally have belonged to it. On the back of the coffin are written two numbers: 350, again, prefixed by *N°*, and the current inventory number, 2524.

2.3.1. *Hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration and translation*

Despite some lacunae in the partly faded-away inscription, all the clauses in this standard shabti spell are recognizable. Like the spells on many stick-shabtis, it belongs to type IIA in Hans D. Schneider's classification.[10] The coffin box is inscribed with a repetition of the "Tasks" clause[11] already present in the spell on the shabti.

9 Whelan (2007: 39).

10 Schneider (1977: 83–85).

11 Discussed by Schneider (1977: 150–152).

Fig. 5. Details of the wooden coffin (left) and stick shabti (right) of Ahmose with hieroglyphic transcription by F. Poole

On the shabti:

jmꜣḫy ḫr Wsjr Jʿḥ-ms
sḥḏ Jʿḥ-ms: "j šbty jpt (*sic*)*, (jr) jp(.tw) Jʿḥ-ms r jrt kꜣt nb(t) jrt jm m ḫrt-nṯr m z r ḫrt=f* […] *sḥ.wt* […] *r ḫnt šʿy n* […], *mk wj* […]"

The revered one before Osiris, Ahmose.
The illuminated one, Ahmose: "Oh this shabti, (should) Ahmose be counted to do all the work that is done there in the necropolis, as a man at his task […] the fields […] to transport by boat the sand of […], 'Here I am! ' […]."

On the coffin case:

[…] *sḥwt r srd jdbw r ḫnt šʿy n jmntt n jꜣbtt, « jry*[*=j! »*…]
"[…] the fields, to irrigate the banks, to transport by boat the sand of the West and of the East, 'I shall do it!' […]."

2.3.2. *Comment*

Wooden shabti-figures such as these are known as "stick shabtis" for their essential, minimalistic manufacturing style. They have come to light, ever since the early 19th century, in funerary contexts of the 17th to early 18th Dynasty (ca. 1580–1480 BCE) in Western Thebes, and most notably in the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga.[12]

Interestingly, rather than being part of the burial assemblage—as is most often the case with shabtis—they are typically found in pits, niches and caches outside the tomb, and interpreted as testimonies of a post-mortem cult by kith and kin.[13]

3. O. Madrid 16243

This ostracon (fig. 6) belonged to the collection of E. Toda i Güell, which was acquired by the Museum by Royal Order in 1887 (§ 3.1). Since then, it has been part of the museum's collection and is now displayed in room 33, showcase 7, which corresponds to the "Languages and Writings" section. We present the history of the acquisition of this artefact (§ 3.2), and then discuss its hieratic text in more detail (§ 3.3).

3.1. The collection of Eduard Toda i Güell [IORdA & EPM]

If we had to describe E. Toda i Güell (Reus, 1855–1941), we would say that he was a diplomat, historian, archaeologist, writer. And, at a time when Egyptological studies had not yet taken root in Spain, he led the way to Egyptology in this country.[14]

His early studies led him toward art, and in 1869 he graduated from the Escuelas Pías with a bachelor's degree. Early on, he became friends with important figures such as Antonio Gaudí and José Ribera y Sans. On the other hand, his interest in distant cultures, such as Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese and even Filipino, and his mastery of several languages, including Chinese, allowed him to join the diplomatic corps in 1873, after completing his studies in civil and canon law. He served as consul in Macao, Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghai and took advantage of these stays to travel extensively in the Far East.

His intense collecting activity seems to have begun during his stay in China, and was basically focused on numismatics. Today, this collection is the most important of East Asian coins in Spain.[15]

12 For a detailed overview, see Whelan (2007, with further literature). For recent finds, see Galán (2017: 179–201, *passim*).
13 Whelan (2007: esp. 20–22 and 45–47).
14 Riudor (2008); Massó (2010: 43).
15 Ginés (2014: 353–366); Seco (2005).

Fig. 6. O. Madrid 16243

After a short stay in his homeland, he was sent to Cairo as Consul General of Spain, a position he held from 1884 to 1886. During this time, he became friends with such important figures of the time as Gaston Maspero, then director of the Antiquities Service, Charles E. Wilbour[16] and Urbian Bouriant, assistant curator of the Bulaq Museum,[17] and he also began his Egyptological career and large-scale collecting. With such figures, he will travel all over the country, from the Delta to the 1st Cataract, aboard the *Bulaq*, exploring among others the ruins of Heliopolis, Giza, Saqqara, El Lisht, Beni Hassan, Assiut or Dendera.

The tomb of Sennedjem (TT1), an intact tomb in the village of Deir el-Medina,[18] was discovered months before E. Toda i Güell and his group arrived in Luxor. The works he carried out in this tomb[19] are described in *Son Notem en Tebas: inventario y textos de un sepulcro egipcio de la XX*

16 In E. Toda i Güell's words (1887: 13): "*egiptólogo americano que con notable sagacidad y paciencia prosigue, aumenta y corrige los trabajos del sabio alemán LEPSIUS, cuyos libros y apuntes más importantes adquirió á su fallecimiento*."

17 The former Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

18 This is how E. Toda i Güell (1887: 14–15) describes that particular moment: "*A las cinco de la tarde del día 1.º de Febrero, en el momento de volver de una excursión á las vecinas ruinas de Karnac, se nos presentó un beduino (…) Venía á participarnos el descubrimiento que pocas horas antes había hecho en la necrópolis tebana, de un sepulcro intacto y cerrado aún por la misma puerta de madera que en el dintel de la cámara pusieron los antiguos egipcios, al dejar en su recinto el último cadáver.*" Porter & Moss (1994: 1–5); Daressy (1920: 147–160); Saura i Sanjaume (2006).

19 Pons (2001: 297); Molinero (2017: 306).

dinastía, within the series *Estudios Egiptológicos*, published in 1887.[20]

Previously, the works carried out by Auguste Mariette and G. Maspero were extremely fruitful in terms of archaeological finds. However, the regulations imposed by G. Maspero, which discouraged excavations and especially the sale of antiquities without authorization,[21] led to looting and clandestine sales due to the lack of protection at the sites. The result, in the long run, was the need to lift the norm and create "*una medida autorizando á todos los residentes en el país, sean indígenas ó extranjeros, para excavar en las antiguas ciudades y necrópolis*", following a regulated request to the Antiquities Service, which granted the permit, and subsequently shared all the finds between Egypt and the archaeological mission.[22]

Among the pieces recovered by E. Toda i Güell from the tomb of Sennedjem (TT1),[23] most of which are now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, one can highlight a shabti box belonging to Khabekhenet, son of Sennedjem,[24] which is displayed in the MAN.[25]

In addition, the photographs that illustrate the texts provide a revealing glimpse into Egypt at the end of the 19th century and allow us to contemplate the state of many temples, tombs, and museums, as in the case of the Bulaq Museum, of which he will make an inventory.

His works include, besides the monograph on the tomb of Sennedjem, other studies related to Egypt, such as *Sesostris* (1886), *La Muerte en el antiguo Egipto* (1887), *A través del Egipto* (1889) o *L'Antic Egipte*.[26] In addition, he also prepared a catalogue on the Egyptian objects housed in the Biblioteca-Museo Víctor Balaguer (1887) as well as a monograph on the mummies of the Bulaq Museum (1889).

The name of E. Toda i Güell is inextricably linked with that of the MAN.[27] His collection, gathered during his stay as Consul in Egypt, became part of the funds of the above mentioned institution at a very early stage, in 1887, when the State acquired it. This collection includes more than 1,300 pieces, diverse in origin, material and type, many of which are permanently exhibited in the museum (e.g., bronze statuettes of deities, alabaster vessels, scarabs, funerary masks, etc.). Among these artefacts is the Ostracon Madrid 16243 (old description in fig. 7).

The rest of his collection would become part of the holdings of the Biblioteca-Museo Víctor Balaguer, in Vilanova i la Geltrú (Barcelona), the first Egyptian collection in Catalonia.[28]

20 Toda (1889: 273–283). The importance that E. Toda i Güell attached to the protection of Egyptian heritage at such an early stage is reflected in these words: "*Se impuso la necesidad de guardar las riquezas que quedaban, preservando en lo posible las grandes ruinas y recogiendo los pequeños monumentos en un Museo; y así lo comprendió el Khedive ABBAS bajá, al ordenar en 1858 al mismo MARIETTE que fundara el establecimiento de Bulaq y organizara un servicio para el descubrimiento y conservación de las antigüedades de Egipto. El comercio de objetos arqueológicos quedó desde entonces severamente prohibido en el país*" (1887: 9).

21 In the first half of the 20th century, the Cairo Museum had a shop where cultural artefacts could be purchased.

22 Toda (1887: 11).

23 "Servant in the Place of the Truth" was one of the artisans in charge of the works and decoration in the royal tombs, under the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II; Seco (2009: 31–33).

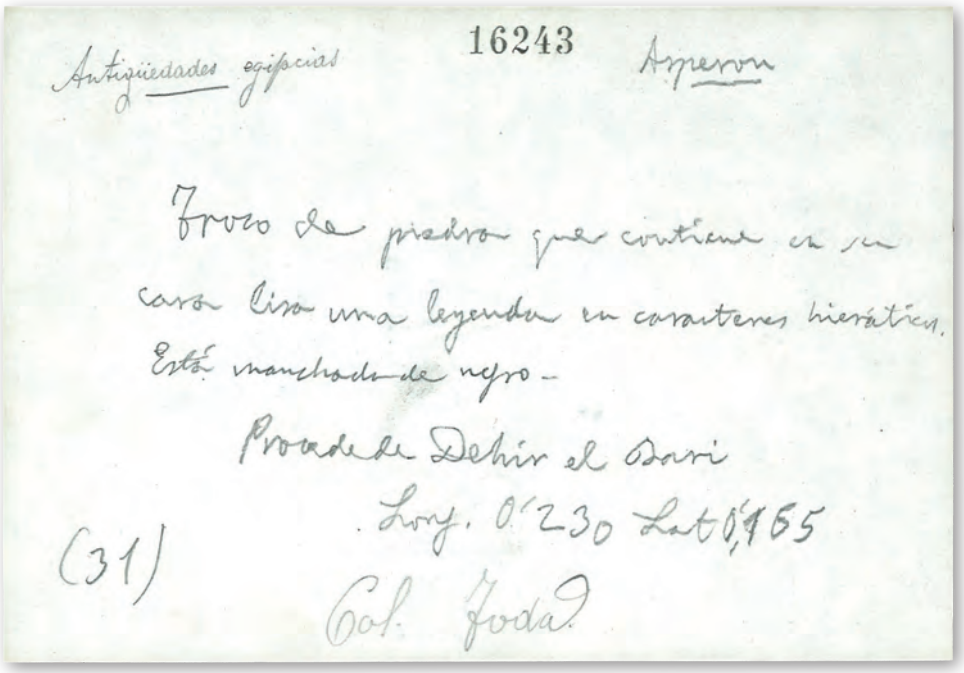
24 Pons (2015: 132–133).

25 Room 35, Inv. No. 1522.

26 Montero (1991).

27 Pérez Díe (1993: 163); Cabrera et al. (1993: 371–374); Molinero (2017: 308–309); Albarrán & de Frutos (2021: 20–21).

28 Pons (2018: 1078).


16243

Antigüedades egipcias

Asperon

Trozo de piedra que contiene en su cara lisa una leyenda en caracteres hieráticos. Está manchada de negro.

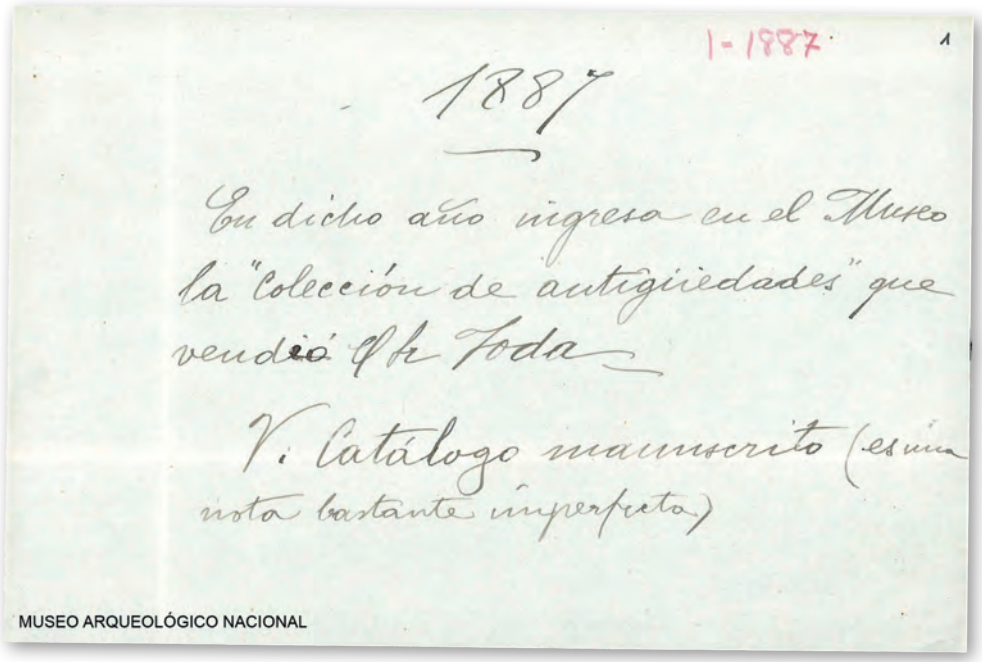
Procede de Dehir el Bari

Long. 0'230 Lat 0,165

(31)

Col. Toda

Fig. 7. FA16243 Archivo MAN (1r) (Catalogue file made of smooth paper; handwritten graphite text on its front)


1-1887

1

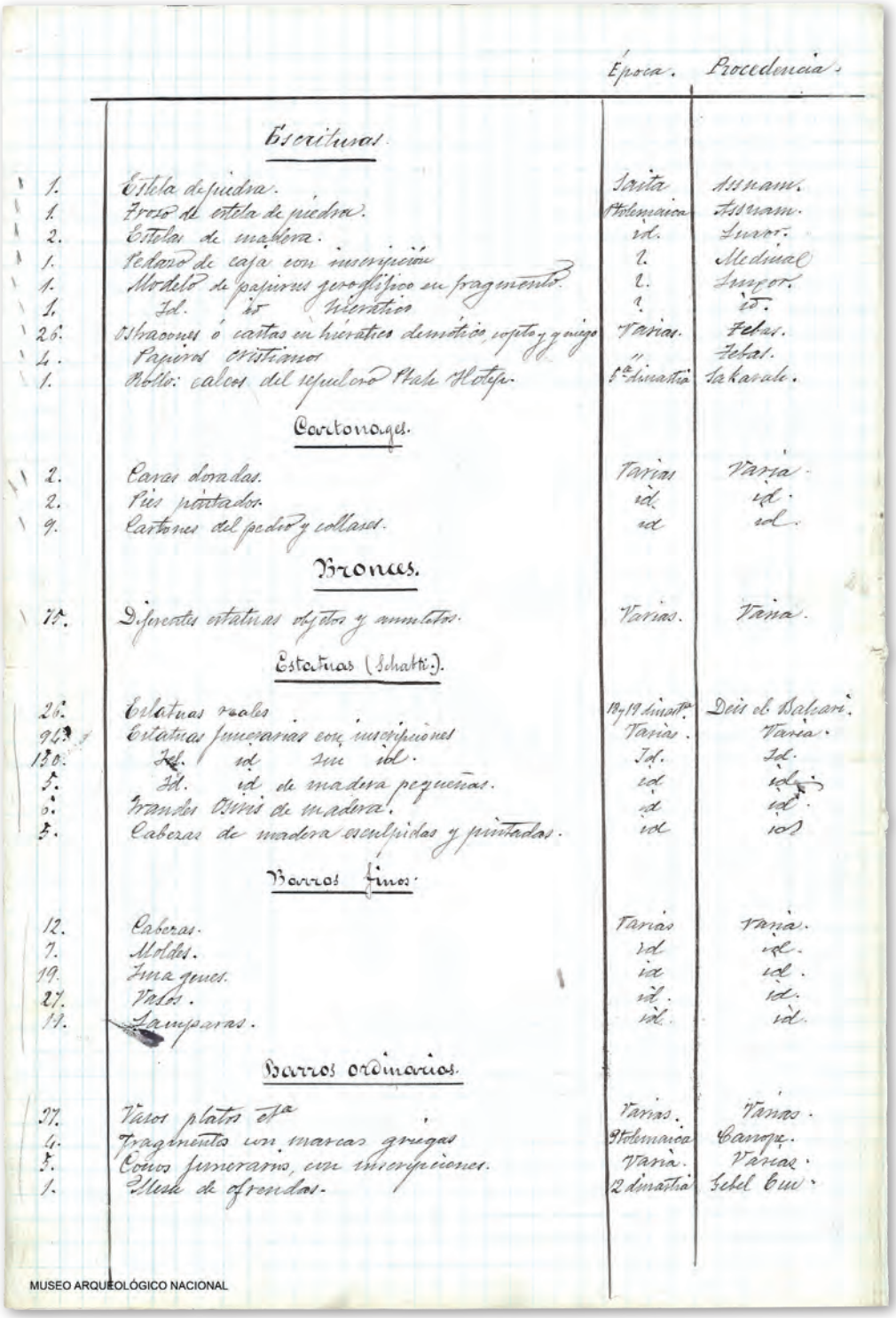
1887

En dicho año ingresa en el Museo la "Colección de antigüedades" que vendió Sr Toda

V. Catálogo manuscrito (es una nota bastante imperfecta)

MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL

Fig. 8. 1887/1 Archivo MAN (1r)



		Época.	Procedencia.
	Escrituras.		
1.	Estela de piedra.	Saita	Assuam.
1.	Trozo de estela de piedra.	Ptolemaica	Assuam.
2.	Estelas de madera.	id.	Luxor.
1.	Pedazo de caja con inscripción	?	Medinal
1.	Modelo de papirus jeroglífico en fragmento.	?	Luxor.
1.	Id. id hieráticos	?	id.
26.	Ostracones ó cartas en hieráticos demótico, copto y griego	Varias.	Tebas.
4.	Papiros cristianos	"	Tebas.
1.	Rollo: calcos del sepulcro Ptah Hotep.	5ª dinastía	Sakarah.
	Cartonages.		
2.	Caras doradas.	Varias	Varia.
2.	Pies pintados.	id.	id.
9.	Cartones del pecho y collares.	id	id.
	Bronces.		
75.	Diferentes estatuas objetos y amuletos.	Varias.	Varia.
	Estatuas (Schabti).		
26.	Estatuas reales	18 y 19 dinastª	Deis el Bahari.
94.	Estatuas funerarias con inscripciones	Varias.	Varia.
130.	Id. id sin id.	Id.	Id.
5.	Id. id de madera pequeñas.	id	id.
6.	Grandes Osiris de madera.	id	id.
5.	Cabezas de madera esculpidas y pintadas.	id	id.
	Barros finos.		
12.	Cabezas.	Varias	Varia.
7.	Moldes.	id	id.
19.	Imagenes.	id	id.
27.	Vasos.	id.	id.
19.	Lamparas.	id.	id.
	Barros ordinarios.		
37.	Vasos platos etª	Varias.	Varias.
4.	Fragmentos con marcas griegas	Ptolemaica	Canope.
5.	Conos funerarios, con inscripciones.	Varia.	Varias.
1.	Mesa de ofrendas.	12 dinastía	Gebel Ciu.

MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL

Fig. 9. 1887/1 Archivo MAN (6v)

3.2. O. Madrid 16243 among other ostraca in the collection [IORdA & EPM]

File 1887/1 of the MAN Archive (fig. 8–9) is entitled: "*Adquisición por compra a Don Eduardo de Toda, Cónsul de España en el Cairo, de una colección de antigüedades egipcias y del extremo Oriente. Se adjunta relación duplicada de los objetos que la componen.*" The first pages contain the words of the Queen Regent: "*S. M. La Reina Regente del Reino en nombre de su Augusto hijo el rey D. Alfonso XIII (qDg) se ha dignado expedir el Real Decreto siguiente = Real Decreto = A propuesta del Ministro de Fomento, de acuerdo con el Consejo de Ministros, en nombre de mi Augusto hijo el Rey Don Alfonso XIII y como Reina Regente del Reino, vengo en decretar se adquiera con destino al Museo Arqueológico Nacional la colección de antigüedades egipcias y del extremo oriente que el Cónsul de España en El Cairo Don Eduardo de Toda ha ofrecido a mi Gobierno en la cantidad de veinte y siete mil quinientas pesetas; disponiendo que de esta suma se satisfagan desde luego al interesado diez mil con cargo al capítulo 10 artículo 2º del presupuesto vigente del Ministerio de Fomento.*" The rest of the payments were to be made through the Ministry of Finance.[29]

The list that follows,[30] under the heading "*Inscriptions*," states "*26 ostracones o cartas en hierático demótico, copto y griego*," without further description. It indicates in the following columns that their chronology is "*varias*" and their provenance is "*Thebes*". But there is no indication of how E. Toda i Güell acquired them, although we can imagine that they must have been purchased, donated, distributed from excavations, or even found by chance. Albarrán & de Frutos (2021) mention that the materials in which these ostraca were made were ceramic in most cases, although two were made of stone. Regarding the type of language and writing, one ostracon has a hieratic inscription, while "*cinco en demótico, cinco en griego y nueve en copto*".[31]

3.3. O. Madrid 16243 [RD & SP]

This limestone ostracon measures 23 × 16.9 × 2.9 cm. The lower part of the ostracon is badly damaged by soot (fig. 6), but an infrared image (fig. 10) now allows us to read the five lines of text written in black ink, which are complete although the beginnings of lines 4–5 are slightly erased (fig. 11).[32] The text records the inspection of the tomb of the guardian Amenemope (Ramesses II), which was handed over by the three captains and the two *ꜣṯw*-officers to the workman Menna, most probably in year 4 of Ramesses IV.[33] The purpose of this text is to provide a list of all the goods found in the said tomb when this operation took place. As such, this text is similar to

29 Albarrán & de Frutos (2021: 22).

30 Albarrán & de Frutos (2021: 23, 29).

31 Albarrán & de Frutos (2021: 29).

32 Previous transcriptions and translations (K*RI* 7, 335,14–336,15; McDowell 1999: 71–73 = nº 43; Helck 2002: 393) are based on J. Černý's *Notebook* 35.33. Hence, they only concern l. 1–3 (and two words of l. 4).

33 Jaroslav Černý (*Notebook* 35.33) initially characterized the handwriting as a "[g]ood business hand about Ramesses III or IV," with a spelling of *sꜣw* "guardian" that support this interpretation (Černý 1973: 149). Černý (1973: 154) later stated that the tomb of the guardian Amenemope—who lived during the early 19th Dynasty (beginning of the reign of Ramesses II), namely Amenemope (viii) son of Tusa (i) (Davies 1999: 159–160; el-Enany 2010: 39–40)—had been inspected as early as the 20th Dynasty, referring to O. Madrid 16.243 discussed here (see further McDowell 1999: 71). Kenneth A. Kitchen (K*RI* 7, 335) and Wolfgang Helck (2002: 393) concur with this opinion and date the ostracon more specifically to Year 4 of Ramesses IV, which is likely given the fact that a workman named Menna is well attested in the Deir el-Medina sources of the second half of the reign of Ramesses III.

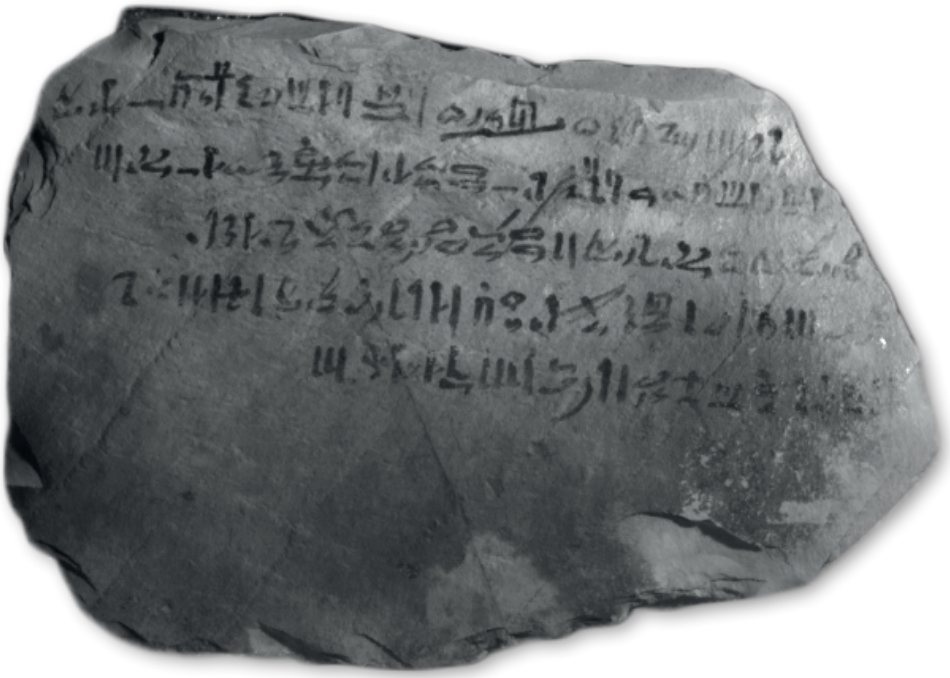


Fig. 10. Infrared picture of O. Madrid 16243 (sent by Andres Diego Espinel to Rob J. Demarée in 2011)

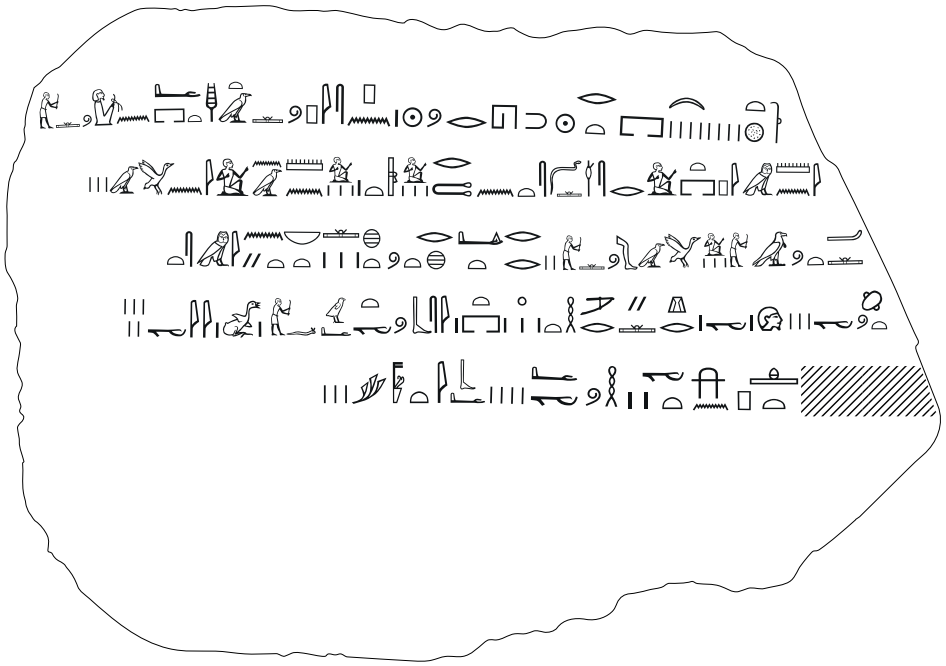


Fig. 11. Hieroglyphic transcription of O. Madrid 16243 by R.J. Demarée & St. Polis

other inventories of private tomb items,[34] such as O. DeM 828 + O. Vienna H. 1 (Grandet 2003: 76 & 212; Zonhoven 1979), which are so far only known from texts written under Ramesses III–IV and connected to the scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte (v) (see Dorn & Polis 2022a; 2022b).

3.3.1. *Transliteration and translation*

l. 1 *ḥsb.t 4 ꜣbd 4 pr.t sw 10, hrw pn sjp tꜣ mꜥḥꜥ.t n sꜣw* l. 2 *Jmn-m-jp.t r swḏ=s n rmṯ-js.t Mnnꜣ jn pꜣ 3* l. 3 *ḥwtj.w pꜣ ꜣṯw 2*

r rdj.t rḫ.tw ḫ.t nb.t nty jm=s: l. 4 *wt 3, tp 1, ḫry-mrḥ.t 1, jsb.t-wꜥf 1, tꜣy 5,* l. 5 [?], *ḥtp n ḫt 1, ḥꜥw 4, bꜥj.t 3*

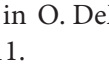
Year 4, 4th month of Peret, day 10. This day, inspecting the tomb of the guardian Amenemope in order to hand it over to the workman Menna, by the three captains and the two *ꜣṯw*-officers.

List of all the goods that are in it: 3 coffins, 1 wooden chest, 1 varnish container, 1 folding-stool, 5 boxes, [?1 shabti-box?], 1 basket of wood, 4 staves, 3 palm-rods.

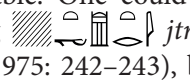
3.3.2. *Comments*

l. 4 The spelling could refer to *tp(.t)* "stake," see Janssen (1975: 376–377) and the similar spelling of this word in P. BM EA 10052, vº 14, 24 (= K*RI* 6, 799,12). However, in this funerary context, it is more likely to refer to some kind of wooden chest (see Goelet 1996: 119, with further references).

Regarding the different interpretations of the compound *ḫry-mrḥ(.t),* see Janssen (1975: 244–245).

On the *jsb.t* as a stool, see Janssen (1975: 191–194). This stool seems to be characterized here as a *jsb.t-wꜥf*, lit. "bent-stool," a compound which is so far unknown to us in the Deir el-Medina sources, but it must refer specifically to the type of folding-stool for which one find a specific classifier in O. DeM 10390, rº 4–5 (with Grandet 2017: 148–149 & 2018: 225–226). For a similar use of *wꜥf* (*Wb* 1, 285,2–14) referring to bent wooden material, see P. Anastasi IV, 17,4 (= *LEM* 54,1, with Caminos 1954: 201). Reading  for "soldier's chair" is not completely ruled out, but it would be more difficult from a paleographic point of view. It would then be contrasted with the *jsb.t s.t(-ḥm.t)* "woman's stool," found for instance in O. DeM 553, rº 9 and O. DeM 1086, vº 11.

For the *tꜣy*-box, see *Wb* 5, 349,5–8 and the comments in Janssen (1975: 204–205).

l. 5 At the beginning of l. 5, 4 quadrats remain largely unreadable. One could tentatively suggest reading  *jtr(.t)* "shabti box" (Janssen 1975: 242–243), but the last sign eludes proper understanding.

On the *ḥtp*-basket and the alternation between the wood ( ) and basket classifiers ( ), see Janssen (1975: 160–161). Here, *n ḫt* could refer either to the material or to the content.

On the *ḥꜥw*-staff, see Janssen (1975: 384–384) and Hassan (1976: 8 & 46).

For *bꜥj(.t)* "palm-rod," see *Wb* 1, 446,9–10 and Caminos (1954: 249).

34 See also the case of the connected tombs of the workmen *Ḫꜥ-m-Nwn* and *Jmn-m-Jp.t*, a topic discussed in O. BM EA 5624, O. Florence 2621 and P. Berlin P 10496.

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New Kingdom Hieratic Sources in the Archaeological Collection of the University of Zurich

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents an overview of the history of the Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich. It also presents three unpublished hieratic ostraca from the collection.

1. History of the collection [M. B.]

The Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich was founded on 7th January 1857, when the Director of Education, as well as the Education Council of the Canton of Zurich, accepted the gift of an archaeological museum from the Society of Academic Lecturers on behalf of the Universität Zürich (UZH).[1] This legal act, which took place shortly after the founding of the Swiss federal state in 1848, represented the temporary suspension of a tug-of-war that had played out for a number of years within the liberal milieu of the small state of Zurich.

The process of founding the museum had begun seven years earlier, when H. Meyer-Ochsner, a classical philologist and numismatist (and thus a typical exemplar of Zurich's *Bildungsbürgertum*),[2] petitioned the *Regierungsrat* and Director of Education, A. Escher,[3] to establish an archaeological museum. As the leader of the liberals in Zurich, A. Escher was not averse to the idea, though he saw no possibility of state funding. H. Meyer-Ochsner was not deterred, however, and with the help of a number of other individuals, including such professors and lecturers from the UZH as H. Köchly,[4] the new professor of Classical

1 On the origins of the Archaeological Collection at the University of Zurich, see Waser (1935: 7–11). J. Koller's ongoing SNSF-funded dissertation project "Die Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich von 1850 bis 1950 zwischen Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit" aims to refine and clarify the picture drawn by O. Waser.

2 von Roten (2008).

3 Bürgi (2020).

4 Dill (2008).

Philology, he set about establishing a private fund for the purchase of objects, with the intention of eventually donating the collection to the university. As a result, from 1852 onwards, the revenues from the "*Rathausvorträge*," a series of public lectures held in Zurich's Town Hall by lecturers of the University, were directed towards this fund. In the spirit of the times, but also due to a lack of funds for original works of antiquity, the focus of this fund was on acquiring plaster casts after famous ancient sculptures. The initial idea was to purchase these casts as an educational tool for students of the university, especially philologists and historians (archaeology was only established at the university in 1869), as well as artists and the general public.

As early as 1854, sufficient funds had been raised to order 30 plaster casts from London and Paris. The selection of the models for these casts was made by a three-member committee consisting of H. Köchly, T. Mommsen, then Professor of Roman Law,[5] and the lecturer D. Fehr. After the founding of the Eidgenössische Polytechnische Schule (today, the ETH Zurich) in 1855, its lecturers also participated in the "*Rathausvorträge*" and as members of the procurement committee for the Archaeological Collection. These included J. Burckhardt, Professor of Archaeology from 1855 to 1858,[6] and G. Semper, the famous architect and the head of the "*Bauschule*".[7]

In 1869, a chair of Archaeology was established at the UZH and filled by O. Benndorf (who left Zurich again in the aftermath of the "*Tonhallekrawall*"[8] in 1871). In accordance with his ideas, a basic stock of original ancient works, mainly Greek and Etruscan vases, was acquired in 1870–1871.[9] The collection thus took the first step towards becoming a comprehensive museum of antiquities. Then, in 1897 and 1914, the antiquities in the collection of the Antiquarische Gesellschaft in Zürich were transferred to the Archäologische Sammlung—first the Mesopotamian and Egyptian collections in 1897, and then the Greek, Italian, and Roman collections in 1914; the Swiss parts of the collection's objects had formed the basis of the collections of the Swiss National Museum from 1898.[10] With these acquisitions, the Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich became definitely Switzerland's first museum for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean and the Near East (including Egypt). From then on, the expansion of the collection was driven primarily by private donations, including the five limestone ostraca with hieratic texts discussed below.

Two of these ostraca come from the estate of the married couple L. (1863–1938) and E. "Mimi" Borchardt-Cohen (1877–1948).[11] The first of these (inv. no. 1892, bearing part of the *Story of Sinuhe*) is said to have come from the Valley of the Kings; the second (inv. no. 1895, bearing part of the *Teaching of a Man*) is said to have been found in the northern half of Western Thebes.[12] These ostraca were a gift from the Borchardt-Cohen'sche Stiftung, a foundation that grew

5 Schmid (2008).

6 Ganz (2012).

7 Fröhlich (2011).

8 de Weck (2011).

9 Waser (1935: 16–18). Currently, 27 objects in the Vase Collection of the ETH Zurich can be viewed in the Archaeological Collection's digital database. See https://archaeologische-sammlung-uzh.zetcom.net/de/collection/?om=1&q=-Vasensammlung%20ETH (accessed 12.01.2024).

10 Waser (1935: 28–29).

11 For details of the Borchardt-Cohens, see von Pilgrim (2013).

12 Borchardt (1931); Schlögl (1978: 72, no. 221–222); Koch (1990: 1–6 oBdt = inv. no. 1892); Fischer-Elfert (1999: X); Bommas (2006). On the find-spots, see especially Bommas (2006: 7, 13–15).

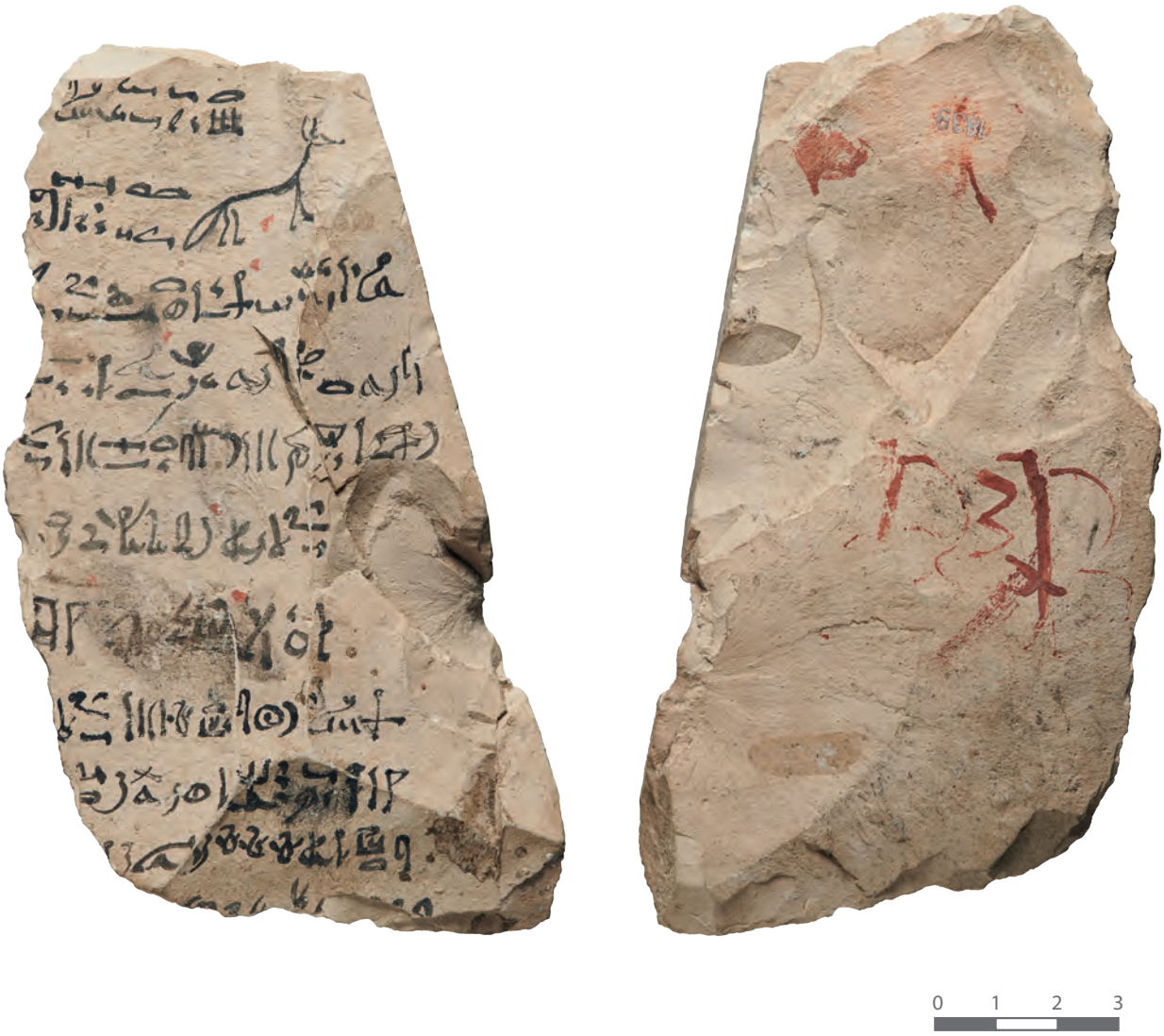


Fig. 1. O. Zurich ÄS 1892 Ostracon bearing part of the *Story of Sinuhe*
(© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 1892. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

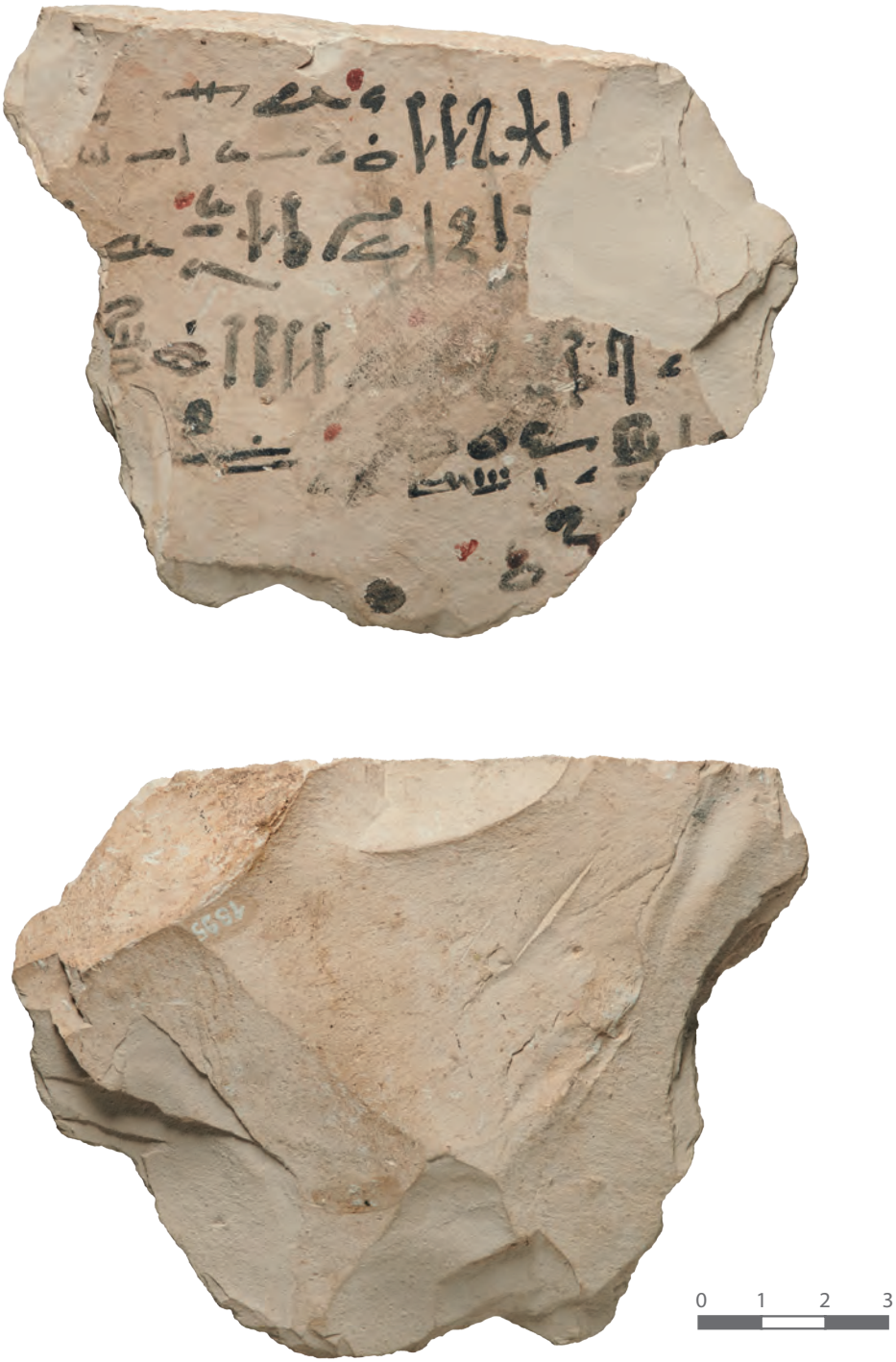


Fig. 2. O. Zurich ÄS 1895 Ostracon bearing part of the *Teaching of a Man*.
(© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 1895. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

out of the establishment in 1931 of the Stiftung für Bauforschung in Ägypten by the Borchardt-Cohens in Schaffhausen (Switzerland). The Stiftung für Bauforschung in Ägypten was set up following Ludwig's retirement from the position of director of the Kaiserlich Deutsches Institut für Ägyptische Altertumskunde (the predecessor to today's Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo). Its purpose was to further architectural research in Egypt, and the Stiftung eventually grew into the private Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. The institute enabled L. Borchardt, together with his assistant H. Ricke (1901–1976),[13] to continue working in Egypt until his death in 1938, even in the face of the difficulties that Jewish citizens of the German Reich faced following the rise to power of the National Socialists. It is no coincidence, however, that L. Borchardt suffered a fatal heart attack on the journey from Zurich to Paris in a desperate attempt to protect his institute from the Nazis.

After the subsequent death of Borchardt's widow "Mimi" in 1948, the same H. Ricke presented the two ostraca in 1950 to A. von Salis (1881–1958), the director of the Archaeological Collection from 1940 to 1951. H. Ricke did so on behalf of the Borchardt-Cohen'sche Stiftung (now the Ludwig Borchardt-Stiftung, sponsor of the Schweizerisches Institut für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, which grew out of Borchardt's private institute in 1949).[14] A letter of thanks for the donation of the two limestone ostraca is held in the archives of the Archaeological Collection.[15]

The three other ostraca discussed below (inv. nos. 5822, 5823, and 5889) derive from the collection of P.Á. Kaplony (1933–2011), assistant professor of Egyptology at the UZH from 1970 to 2000.[16] P.Á. Kaplony bequeathed his private study collection to the Archaeological Collection at the UZH after his death. His collection consisted of a corpus of cylinder seals that derived from older collections, as well as acquisitions from the art market and auctions, and accidental finds. Only the history of ostracon inv. no. 5822 can be traced in any detail on the basis of the surviving documentation; P.Á. Kaplony appears to have come into possession of the piece in 2006, apparently as part of an exchange with a Swiss art dealer.

2. Case studies

The two literary ostraca in the collection have previously been published and incorporated into the respective synoptic editions of the *Story of Sinuhe* and the *Teaching of a Man*. As such, their texts are not included below, though we do make two new colour images of these ostraca available here (fig. 1 and 2). As for the three remaining unpublished ostraca, editions of these documentary pieces are presented here for the first time.

2.1. Checks & balances: Ostracon Zurich ÄS 5822 [M. M. & M. R.][17]

Limestone, 8.9 cm × 6.3 cm × 1.2–1.6 cm (fig. 3–5)

A limestone ostracon in the form of a flintstone bulb, though there are no visible traces of flint on the outside. Some debris incrustations on the lower right part of the front hamper the reading there. The scribe flipped the object horizontally to inscribe the back.

13 Cf. the brief biography of H. Ricke at https://swissinst.ch/html/geschichte.html (accessed 12.01.2024).

14 For the history of the institute, see https://swissinst.ch/html/geschichte.html (accessed 12.01.2024).

15 Copy of a letter from A. von Salis to B. Peyer, the "Kurator der Borchardt-Cohen'schen Stiftung" in Schaffhausen, 28.06.1950 (archives of the Archaeological Collection of the University of Zurich).

16 Schneider (2011).

17 Our reading and interpretation of the ostracon have benefitted from comments by Rob J. Demarée (Leiden) and Fredrik Hagen (Copenhagen); we wish to extend our gratitude to both of them.

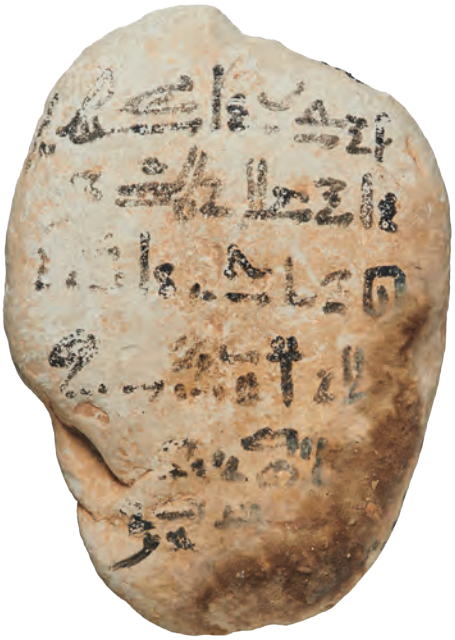


Fig. 3. O. Zurich ÄS 5822 Ostracon bearing a letter from Amunqen to Harmose, front side (© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 5822. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

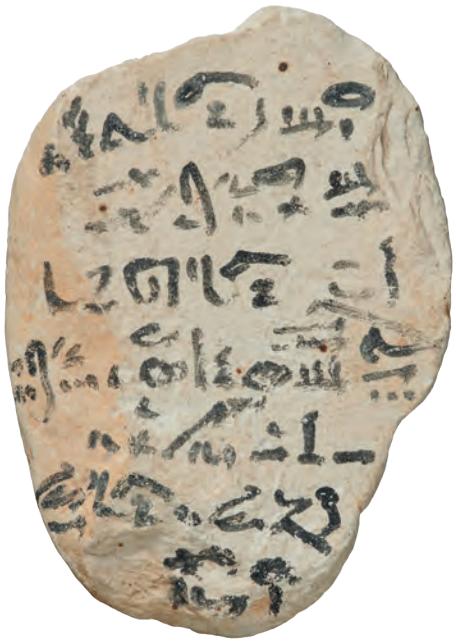
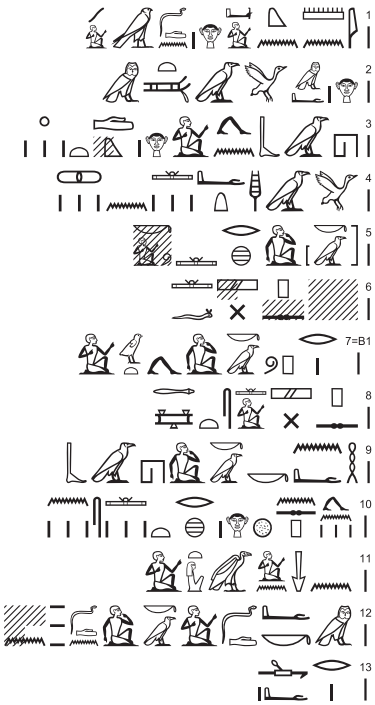


Fig. 4. O. Zurich ÄS 5822 Ostracon bearing a letter from Amunqen to Harmose, back side (© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 5822. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

Fig. 5. O. Zurich ÄS 5822 Ostracon bearing a letter from Amunqen to Harmose, side (© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 5822. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

The text on the ostracon consists of a letter from an individual named Amunqen to another individual named Harmose. The letter appears to concern the production of bread, as well as the need to get a set of accounts in order before a meeting with an individual named Senenmut. It is likely that this third individual was the steward of Queen Hatshepsut.[18] As such, the date of the ostracon would fall sometime within her reign. Like Senenmut, the letter's two correspondents are also attested in other texts (see the references in Römer 2023: II 155 & 214), though only the present text and the ostracon O. Berlin P 10614 witness to the two of them together. The Berlin ostracon bears a letter by Amunqen to Harmose regarding eight stone masons,[19] while the background to the Zurich ostracon may concern the construction of a royal building or a temple building enterprise and the need to get the accounts for this enterprise straight.



(1) *ʾImn-qn ḥr ḏd n Ḥr-msw*

(2) *ḥr-m pꜣ tm* (3) *hꜣb n=ỉ ḥr dqw* (4) <*n*> (a) *pꜣ ʿḥʿ n t*

(5) [*kꜣ*](= *ỉ*) *rḫ.kwỉ* (b) (6) […] *psš=f* (c) (7)=B1 *r-pw kꜣ ỉw.t=ỉ* (8) *psš=ỉ st ʿꜣ* (9) *ḥnʿ=k kꜣ hꜣb*(10)*=n n-sp ḥr rḫ.t=sn* (d) (11) *n Sn-n-mw.t*

(12) *mk ḏd=ỉ kꜣ ḏd.n* (e) *n* (f) (13) *rꜣ wʿ*

1 Amunqen speaks to Harmose:

2 What is the meaning (of you)(g) not [3] writing to me about the flour [4] <for> the amount of bread? [5] [Then] I am able [6] … its share(h) 7=B1 or I will come(i), [8] and divide it here [9] with you, and then we can send [10] at once because of the account thereof(j) [11] to Senenmut.

12 Behold, I say (this) in order that we speak with [13] one mouth.

Comments

(a) The right margin is indented slightly at line 4 due to an imperfection on the writing surface. There does not appear to be enough space for the expected *n* at the beginning of the line (especially when taking into consideration the size of the same sign elsewhere).

(b) Our reading of the remaining traces of the last square is highly provisional; the *w* in particular does not accord with the form we would expect to find here.

(c) It is not clear whether a further line followed beneath line 6. If so, it would have been short.

(d) At first glance, the pronoun at the end of the line appears to be *st*. However, the *t* sign in the last sign group is slightly wider than the other *t*s in the text (even if not as wide as the *n*s) and lacks the upper hook. That said, the writer may have been compelled to

18 According to the records of the collection, P.Á. Kaplony also thought to identify the Senenmut mentioned in the letter with Hatshepsut's steward.

19 See *HPKMB* 3, pl. XXX; for an English translation, see Wente (1990: 93 no. 119); for a German edition, see Müller (2006: 325 no. 2.7).

shorten the *n* slightly as he approached the edge of the ostracon.

(e) It is noteworthy that the plural strokes of the 1st person plural pronoun are tilted at 90° here rather than appearing horizontally below the *n* or just after. The lack of space towards the end of the line is the most likely explanation for this.

(f) A trace at the end of the line here extends to the front side of the ostracon. From its line positioning, it cannot be taken to form part of line 5 or 6, but must instead belong to line 12. Although one might expect an *m* here, the surviving traces appear to suggest an *n*.

(g) For the interrogative pattern, see Vernus (2006: 168–170).

(h) One would expect a particle such as *tw=i* or *mk* at the beginning of the line. A negation seems unlikely, as this would read *bn tw=i* or *nn iw=i*. In light of the construction in line 7, we assume that the particle *kꜣ* appears here; see Gardiner (1957: 369 § 450.5.d). For the use of a stative after that particle, see *Cairo Bowl* 6–7: *ir nfr-n m-ꜥ=k kꜣ pr=k ḫbꜣ* "If you own nothing, your house is destroyed." (Gardiner & Sethe 1928: pl. VI); see also Brose (2014: § 325 ex. 98 & 99).[20]

(i) Note the subjunctive form after *kꜣ* in line 7. It is possible that nothing is missing from the beginning of line 8. Note also that the scribe did not use the remainder of the line, even though there appears to have been sufficient space for *ḥnꜥ=k* there.

(j) Although the appearance of a female determinative within a name is unexpected, such that a family relation might seem more likely, M. Römer has collected various spellings of the name that embrace the B1-determinative in his corpus.

2.2. A delivery list: Ostracon Zurich ÄS 5823 [M. M.][21]

Limestone, 9.1 cm × 10.3 cm × 1.2–2.6 cm (fig. 6)

A limestone flake with a smooth, flat front and a rather uneven back. The scribe seems to have begun working with the ostracon turned at 180° before washing that initial effort off, turning the piece, and starting anew, probably in order to obtain an even right margin.

The ostracon bears a short list of items (bread, fish, wine, and date-beer) in a hand that clearly dates to the 18th Dynasty, though a lack of personal names or any other context mean that it is not possible to provide a more specific date. The quantity of items listed on the ostracon suggest that it was a receipt for the delivery of provisions for two work gangs: M. Römer (PC) has pointed out that the 500 loaves of bread mentioned in the text divide neatly into 10 loaves for 50 workmen,[22] thus reflecting two groups made up of the common number of 25 men.[23] As such, the text might be compared with the materials from Deir el-Bahari, though wine is not attested in the Deir el-Bahari texts as a commodity for distribution (but only for ritual use). The enumeration of fish on our ostracon, however, argues against a ritual context, as does the general reference to bread where one would expect a description of specific

20 We thank Sami Uljas (Uppsala) for this reference.

21 My reading and interpretation of the ostracon have benefitted from comments by Rob J. Demarée (Leiden), Fredrik Hagen (Copenhagen), and Malte Römer (Berlin), to whom I extend my thanks.

22 In this respect, M. Römer has indicated various ostraca from his corpus to me, including O. Senenmut 91.1 & 2 (ed. Hayes 1947: pl. XVIII, 50 & 200 bread loaves), O. Egyptian Expedition 23001/64.1 (1440 loaves), and O. Metropolitan Magazine Asasif limestone nº 50.x+4 (1000 loaves); see Römer (2023).

23 Megally (1974).

Fig. 6. O. Zurich ÄS 5823 Ostracon bearing a delivery list
(© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 5822. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

bread types for a ritual offering. As such, it seems likely that the ostracon reflects a delivery of food for two gangs of workmen and a delivery of beverages for their superiors.

1 *t 500*
2 *rm.w 500*
3 *ỉrp ḫn.t 1*
4 *srm.t snw 5*

1 500 units/loaves
2 Fish 500 units/pieces
3 1 *ḫn.t*-jar[a)] of wine
4 6 *sn*-jars[b)] of date-beer

Comments

(a) The container referred to in this line poses a problem. The body of the word looks like *ḫn.t* "animal skin", though this word usually takes the sign F27 as a classifier/determinative. Further to this, while there is classical evidence for wine in skins (for instance, wineskins feature in Odysseus' plan to outsmart the cyclops Polyphemus in *Odyssey* 9; note also the "new wine in old wineskins" in Matt 9: 14–17, Luke 5: 33–39, Mark 2: 21–22), such items are not (yet) attested in connection with wine in Ancient Egypt.[24] The ostracon O. Cairo CG 25707, 7 attests to a container *ḫnm.t*, which, despite the different spelling, might be connected with our item. However, the Cairo ostracon does not provide much context: the container it refers to only appears in a partially preserved list of items. Because the classifier/determinative of the word on the Zurich ostracon is clearly a jar, I have

24 Wine skins are absent from the discussions in Murray (2000) and Veldmejer (2008). The present writer, however, has suggested connecting an entry from another list, *gs n ḫn.t n nbr* "half a hide for a wine-skin(?)" (O. DeM 10083, 6, though read *mbr* in the editio princeps) with the Hebrew word נֶבֶר "wine skin"; see Müller (2007: 317, erroneously sub 10082).

chosen for the time being simply to render the term as *ḫn.t*-jar.

(b) This type of jar is also attested in T. BM EA 29558 (Dautais, Gabolde & Birin 2022: 167 note i); for the product *srm.t*, see the discussion of the available data in the same publication (Dautais, Gabolde & Birin 2022: 177–179). M. Römer points out that, in the Deir el-Bahari ostraca, *srm.t* usually appears in *snw*- or *mnt-/mny*-jars.

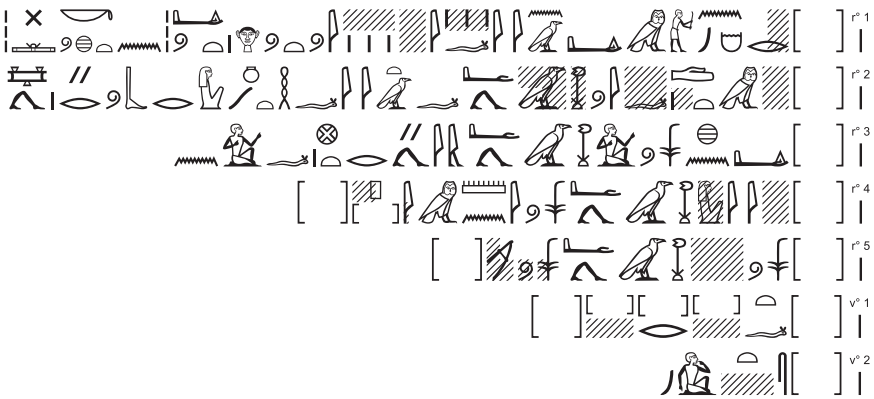
2.3. A fragment from a law suit: Ostracon Zurich ÄS 5889 [R. D. & M. M.]

Limestone, 10.8 × 14.5 × 0.5–0.9 cm (fig. 7–8)

The ostracon represents the left-hand side of a once larger piece. It currently consists of two pieces glued together. The piece was turned vertically overhead to be inscribed on the smoother side.

The individuals mentioned in the text on the ostracon suggest that it most likely dates to the end of the 19th Dynasty. The text appears to concern various acts of misconduct, seemingly initiated by the unlawful seizure of something, but the ostracon's poor state of preservation prevents a full understanding of the events in question. It appears that things were taken from some people and given to others (line 1). In light of other evidence, one might guess that someone occupied or robbed a tomb and threw its female owner out (line 2). The dispute seems to have taken place between Khonsu (v), later the chief workman, and Iyerniutef (ii, possibly) (line 3). In line 4, the workman Amenemope (iii) appears to become involved, while his son, if the reconstruction Meryre (v) is correct here, perhaps enters the scene in line 5. The surviving traces of the remainder of the text provide no further insight into the issues at hand. It might be possible that the Zurich ostracon once formed part of a larger one with O. AG 19, nowadays in the IFAO.[25] However, the shape both ostraca preserve would not point to any direct joint.

r° 1 […] *r nḥm m-di nꜣy=f-… iw-tw ḥr di.t=w n-ktḫw*
r° 2 […] … *m-ḏr.t=f iw ḫꜣʿ=f tꜣy=f-ḥnw.t r-b(n)r*
r° 3 […] *di ḥnsw ḫꜣʿ iy-r-nwt=f n*
r° 4 […] …*y ḫꜣʿ sw ḫꜣʿ m* […]
r° 5 […] *sw … ḫꜣʿ …*
v° 1 […] *tf …*
v° 2 […]…



25 To be edited by P. Grandet in a forthcoming volume of the *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médineh*; for the time being, see the text given after J. Černý's copy in *KRI* 7, 253.12–15. I would like to thank the IFAO and especially Mazen Essam for providing me with an image to compare the text with the ostracon discussed here.

Fig. 7. O. Zurich ÄS 5889 Ostracon bearing a juridical text, front side
(© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 5889. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

Fig. 8. O. Zurich ÄS 5889 Ostracon bearing a juridical text, back side
(© Archaeological Collection, UZH, inv. 5889. Photograph: Frank Tomio)

[…] to seize his …[(a)] and they were given to others […]
[…] …with him[(b)] while he threw his mistress out[(c)] […]
[…] Khonsu made Iyernutef throw [out] for […]
[…] …y.[(d)] Amenemope has thrown him [out]
[…] he/him …. [Ra]mery threw him out…
[…] his/he/him[…]…

Comments

(a) This should be reconstructed as *nꜣy=f-iḫwt*, though the usual spelling of this word would be *ꜣḫwt*, which does not seem to accord with the surviving traces of the text here.

(b) The reading *m-ḏr.t* (plus pronoun) is not especially clear here, though it does seem possible.

(c) The phrase *ḥꜣʿ r-bnr* "to throw out, to leave, to set free"[26] was also used to mean divorce (Eyre 1980: 151–153; 1987: 15n), usually with respect to the action of a man; women are said "to leave" *šm* (Toivari-Viitala 2001: 90–95; 2013: 8–9); see also Demarée, Gabler & Polis (2022: 58, n. 25). However, it would seem that women were not usually referred to as *ḥnw.t* in the context of marriage/divorce. As such, we tentatively suggest that the phrase *ḥꜣʿ=f tꜣy=f-ḥnw.t r-bnr* refers to the illicit occupation of a tomb and to the forceful eviction of the deceased woman originally buried there.

d) […]*y* must be a personal name; its classifier looks more like the female B1 than the male A1. It would be possible to restore the names *Ḥwy* or *Ty*/*Twy* here. However, if the name was that of a male person, *Pꜣy*, *Ipwy* or *Ḥꜣy* would be possible restorations.

As can be seen, the items in the Archäologische Sammlung der UZH reflect a fairly heterogeneous set of literary and documentary texts from the 18th and 19th Dynasties. That all the objects are limestone is a matter of chance.

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26 The same expression is also attested with the meaning "to release"; see McDowell (1990: 237).

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Les documents hiératiques du Nouvel Empire conservés à la Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève

Un groupe exceptionnel de jarres inscrites en calcite-albâtre

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ABSTRACT

The collection of the Gandur Foundation for Art in Geneva includes several fine alabaster vases. Of these items, the vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 bears a hieratic inscription that is unusually long for this type of object. Of unknown provenance, it has been exhibited on several occasions. Its inscription has only been partially edited and translated in the past, and the present article presents a complete edition of the texts on this object.

1. La collection [X. D.]

La collection d'archéologie égyptienne déposée auprès de la Fondation Gandur pour l'Art a été patiemment constituée au cours de plusieurs décennies. Réunies pour l'essentiel à Genève, Suisse, plus de 650 œuvres couvrent toutes les phases chronologiques de l'Égypte ancienne, du prédynastique à la domination romaine. Le Nouvel Empire, dans une foison de matériaux, de formes, et de thèmes, représente près du quart de l'ensemble. L'écrit ne constitue pas un thème majeur de la collection, bien que de nombreux objets portent des inscriptions, principalement hiéroglyphiques. Cependant, quatre pièces aux caractéristiques similaires sont d'un intérêt particulier ici : il s'agit de vases en calcite-albâtre de facture remarquable sur lesquels se trouvent des inscriptions de longueur variable à l'encre noire.

Chacune de ces jarres est ornée d'une décoration aux couleurs vives, appliquée selon la technique de l'encaustique. Il s'agit surtout de motifs floraux, qui peuvent se limiter à de simples boutons et fleur de lotus pendus autour du col (FGA-ARCH-EG-0007), ou prendre un aspect plus complexe et rehausser des détails. Outre ces décorations apposées après façonnage, trois de ces jarres sont équipées d'anses sculptées à même la matière ; projections arrondies dans deux cas, elles prennent la forme de têtes de bouquetins de Nubie particulièrement élégantes sur l'un des vases (FGA-ARCH-EG-0323). Le caractère prestigieux de ces objets est renforcé par la présence de la nomenclature partielle du roi Ramsès II incisée sur le col de deux d'entre eux : il y est « gratifié de vie, éternellement » (FGA-ARCH-EG-0376) et « aimé de Rê-Horakhty, le grand dieu seigneur du ciel, souverain d'Héliopolis » (FGA-ARCH-EG-0007).

Quant aux textes hiératiques, l'encre avec laquelle ils ont été inscrits a mal survécu sur la surface polie de la calcite-albâtre, rendant leur déchiffrement particulièrement ardu ; certaines traces laissent de plus envisager des effacements et réutilisations. Ces inscriptions sont principalement courtes et semblent traiter des quantités et du type de matière contenue dans les vases ; la plus longue d'entre elles (FGA-ARCH-EG-0127) est traitée en détail ci-dessous.

2. Le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127[1] [D. L.]

2.1. Introduction

Parmi les récipients en albâtre égyptien de la collection de la Fondation Gandur pour l'art à Genève, le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 se distingue par l'inscription hiératique qu'il porte, inhabituellement longue pour ce type d'objet. De provenance inconnue, il fut acquis auprès de la galerie Antonovich le 5 novembre 1993. Auparavant, il était apparu dans un catalogue de vente de la maison Sotheby's à Londres en 1989[2]. Il fut exposé et décrit à plusieurs reprises et le contenu de ses inscriptions régulièrement évoqué et partiellement traduit[3]. Néanmoins, ni cette pièce ni les textes qu'elle porte n'ont fait l'objet, à proprement parler, d'une véritable publication, ce qu'expliquent sans doute de réelles difficultés de lecture, notamment à la fin du texte[4].

2.2. Description

Haut de 36,5 centimètres et d'une largeur maximum d'environ 25,5 centimètres[5], ce vase est caractérisé par une panse arrondie, surmontée d'un col cylindrique haut et large (fig. 1). Il est doté de deux anses opposées et arrondies, en forme de « U » inversé[6]. La lèvre ourlée est peinte en bleu avec des traces de dorure, tandis que le reste du décor, polychrome, évoque des motifs végétaux et floraux plus ou moins stylisés. Deux guirlandes végétales se superposent : la première, immédiatement au-dessous de la lèvre, se déploie horizontalement sur un côté[7], maintenue par une cordelette végétale dont les extrémités se terminent au revers par deux fleurs triangulaires rouges qui, pendant le long du col, occupent le milieu de l'espace en formant un « V » inversé ; la deuxième, sur la panse, se présente comme un collier arrondi entourant une fleur de lotus épanouie encadrée de deux boutons floraux. La cordelette maintenant le collier se termine au revers par les mêmes fleurs triangulaires rouges, cette fois-ci plus proches des anses, donc plus éloignées l'une de l'autre.

La photo de l'objet publiée en 1989 montre un manque de quelques centimètres au niveau de la lèvre et quelques vides dans la partie inférieure de la guirlande ornant la panse. L'ensemble de ces lacunes a été comblé en y ajoutant les éléments du décor tels qu'on pouvait les reconstituer. Ces réparations et ajouts, qui ont eu lieu avant l'acquisition de l'objet en 1993 par l'actuel propriétaire, sont aujourd'hui quasiment invisibles.

1 Je tiens à remercier M. Gandur de m'avoir autorisé à publier ce vase ainsi que Xavier Droux qui m'a toujours permis de travailler sur cet objet dans les meilleures conditions. Mes remerciements vont aussi aux responsables de la Base Ramsès à Liège qui m'ont fourni de précieuses références aux textes du Nouvel Empire, à Margaret Serpico pour les références fournies ainsi qu'à Elsa Rickal pour ses précieux commentaires.

2 Sotheby's (1989 : 24–25).

3 Chappaz & Chamay (2001 : 69) ; Bianchi (2011 : 140–141) ; van den Bercken (2012–2013 : 27–28).

4 Il faut noter néanmoins la tentative de traduction plus importante du texte dans Sotheby's (1989 : 24).

5 La lèvre est épaisse de 2 cm, le col haut de 15,5 cm et la panse de 19,5 cm. Il s'agit de mesures moyennes approximatives, l'objet dans son état actuel n'offrant pas une apparence régulière. La circonférence à la base du col avoisine 60 cm pour seulement 45 cm à la base du vase.

6 Des traces noirâtres circulaires témoignant de l'usage d'un outil de percement sont encore visibles à l'intérieur des anses.

7 Elle occupe en réalité plus de la moitié de la circonférence du vase.

Fig. 1. FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 (© Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève. Photographie par Th. Ollivier)

Les vases en albâtre égyptien, notamment ceux de grande dimension, illustrent la qualité de l'artisanat de luxe et sont destinés à l'élite sociale de l'Égypte. Certains, particulièrement raffinés, sont même sans doute réservés à l'entourage royal, voire au seul roi. On pense immanquablement aux riches objets ouvragés faisant partie du trésor de la tombe de Toutânkhamon dont la finesse en fait des œuvres exceptionnelles[8].

D'une conception plus simple, notre vase est moins un objet d'apparat qu'un objet fonctionnel dont le matériau marque à lui seul le statut éminent de celui qui l'utilise ou pour lequel il est utilisé. B. van den Bercken (2012–2013 : 24) a dressé une typologie de ce genre d'objets. La plupart sont pourvus d'un col cylindrique plus ou moins haut et de deux anses, simples (type C–F) ou en forme de tête d'ibex (type G)[9]. Le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 appartient au type F de B. van den Bercken. Mais il existe d'autres formats de vases en albâtre, apparemment utilisés dans le même contexte, si l'on en croit les inscriptions qu'ils portent parfois. Ainsi le vase Caire JE 46712 (fig. 2e) présente une panse arrondie se resserrant vers le haut, avec un col étroit et une lèvre s'élargissant horizontalement.

Le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 relève ainsi d'un type bien connu pour le Nouvel Empire, produit essentiellement du milieu de la XVIIIe dynastie à la XIXe dynastie[10]. De belles dimensions, l'objet se rapproche par le format et la fonction d'objets tels que celui vendu à Paris en 2019[11] ou celui provenant d'une collection privée, exposé en Belgique en 2002[12]. On peut également citer à titre d'exemple un vase du British Museum (1897.0401.990) mis au jour sur le site d'Enkomi à Chypre, qui présente le même type de décor[13].

Au-delà de ces exemples isolés, le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 fait écho par le format, la matière et la présence d'inscriptions, à certains des treize vases en albâtre provenant de la cachette dite de Mérenptah, découverte par H. Carter dans la Vallée des Rois au mois de février 1920, au sud de l'entrée de la tombe du successeur de Ramsès II[14]. Cet ensemble n'a jamais été publié intégralement, la dispersion des pièces faisant sans doute obstacle à un tel projet. Après leur découverte, sept de ces vases furent transportés au musée du Caire, les six autres étant attribués à Lord G.H. Carnarvon avant de connaître des destins variés[15] :

(1) Le vase BM EA 55012 (fig. 2a) a été offert avec BM EA 55013 par Lord G.H. Carnarvon dès 1920 au British Museum. Haut de 29,9 centimètres, il se présente comme un vase à panse arrondie se resserrant vers un col évasé[16]. Sans anse, il est anépigraphe.

8 Manniche (2019).

9 Voir par exemple le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0323.

10 Aston (1994 : 152). Les premiers exemplaires en pierre dateraient de Thoutmosis III, mais ont un format quelque peu différent, la panse étant beaucoup plus arrondie et ample que le col. Un vase similaire au nôtre a été retrouvé à Tanis, voir Montet (1951 : pl. 129).

11 Bergé (2019 : 41 [86]).

12 Warmenbol (2002 : 157 [138]).

13 Site du British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1897–0401–990 ; dernière visite le 15.01.2024). Pour d'autres exemples, cf. B. van den Bercken (2012–2013 : 28) qui renvoie notamment à un vase trouvé à Héliopolis. Cf. Messiha (1966 : 192, pl. 16), Iskander & Shaheen (1964 : pl. 1).

14 Reeves (1990 : 97) ; Reeves & Taylor (1992 : 136).

15 Reeves (1990 : 101, n. 66).

16 Strudwick (2001 : 17 & 28).

(2) Haut de 34,5 centimètres, le vase BM EA 55013 (fig. 2b) montre un col cylindrique et des anses à tête d'ibex[17]. Il est anépigraphe.

(3) Le vase New York MMA 23.5 (fig. 3) fut offert par la veuve Carnarvon au Metropolitan Museum of Art en 1923. Haut de 38 centimètres, il a un col cylindrique large et haut. Ses deux anses représentent des têtes d'ibex. Il porte les deux cartouches gravés de Mérenptah et, selon W.C. Hayes (1959 : 354–355), une inscription hiératique à l'encre noire, invisible sur les photos actuelles, précisait la contenance du récipient, à savoir 22 *hin*.

(4) Un vase, ayant appartenu à la collection Charles Pankow (fig. 2c) vendue en 2004, est très proche typologiquement du vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127. Sa hauteur est de 35,6 centimètres. En outre, le col est gravé des deux cartouches de Mérenptah et la panse peinte d'une inscription hiératique qui indique que l'objet contenait de la graisse (*ꜥḏ*)[18].

(5) En 1988 fut retrouvé un certain nombre d'objets dans le château de Highclere, propriété de la famille Carnarvon. Parmi eux, un vase en albâtre (fig. 2d) à col cylindrique large gravé aux cartouches de Ramsès II[19]. Sa hauteur est inconnue.

(6) Le dernier vase pourrait n'être que le fragment de panse d'un vase en albâtre visible sur des photos parues dans la presse en 1988 à l'occasion de la découverte de Highclere[20].

Parmi les sept vases conservés au musée du Caire, très discrets dans la littérature égyptologique, on peut tout au plus signaler l'objet JE 46712 (fig. 2e - hauteur 26,6 cm) qui fait l'objet d'une notice dans le catalogue de l'exposition *Ramesses the Great* en 1987[21]. Typologiquement proche de BM EA 55012, il est gravé des cartouches de Ramsès II et pourvu de deux lignes d'une inscription hiératique qui, à ma connaissance, n'a jamais été publiée.

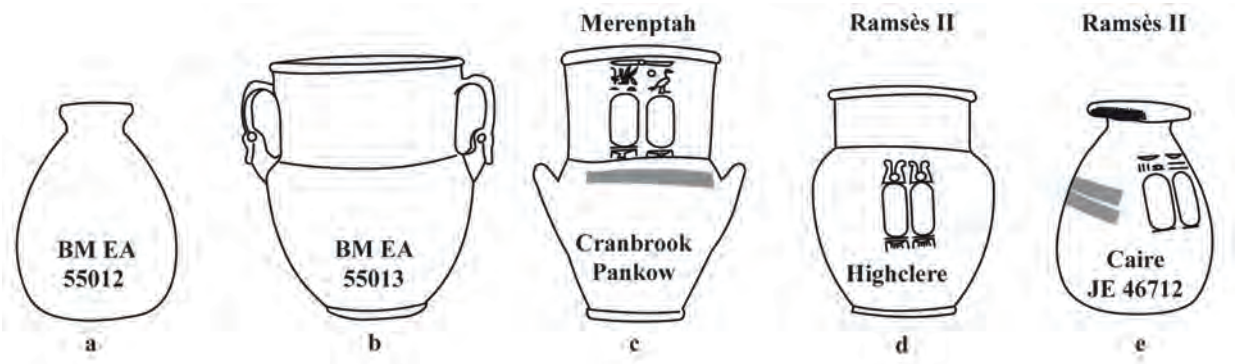


Fig. 2a–e. Cinq vases de la cachette de Mérenptah. Dessin par D. Lefèvre. (Les dessins, à valeur illustrative, ont été réalisés sur Adobe Illustrator à partir des photos publiées des objets. Les parties grisées indiquent, quand il y en a, l'emplacement des inscriptions hiératiques)

17 Reeves & Taylor (1992 : 137).

18 Sotheby's & Parke-Bernet (1972 : 144 [348]) ; Sotheby's (1979 : [266]) ; Sotheby's (2004 : 52–53 [51]).

19 Reeves (1988 : 51) ; Reeves (1989 : 30).

20 Prat (1988 : 90–91).

21 Freed (1987 : 200). D'après les indications dispersées dans la littérature, il semble que les sept vases du Caire portent les numéros JE 46706 à 46712. Voir van den Bercken (2012–2013 : 26, n. 10) pour les numéros Caire JE 46706, JE 46707 et JE 46708, et Aston (1994 : 152 & 154) pour les numéros Caire JE 46706, 46707 et 46711. Les vases Caire JE 46709 et JE 46710 font l'objet d'une courte notice et bénéficient d'une photo couleur dans Hawass (2021 : 78–79).

Les premières analyses du contenu[22] de trois des vases[23] de la cachette de Mérenptah par A. Lucas indiquent que l'un contenait de la résine et les deux autres de la poix. Dans un deuxième temps, il apparut clairement que l'un des échantillons (le seul alors conservé) était très similaire à ce qui avait été trouvé dans des vases de la tombe de Toutânkhamon[24], à savoir, selon des analyses publiées en 1937, une substance composée essentiellement de résine mais comprenant environ 10 % d'une matière graisseuse[25]. À ce jour, aucune analyse n'a été pratiquée d'éventuels résidus à l'intérieur du vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127.

Ces vases en albâtre dont la hauteur s'échelonne de 25 à 40 centimètres comportent ainsi, quand ils ne sont pas anépigraphes, l'un ou plusieurs des éléments suivants : (1) deux cartouches gravés aux noms de Ramsès II ou de Mérenptah ; (2) une inscription hiératique à l'encre noire indiquant la capacité du contenant ; (3) une inscription hiératique à l'encre noire précisant le contenu du vase. De même format que l'ancien vase de la collection Charles Pankow, le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 partage ainsi avec celui-ci une inscription précisant le contenu de l'objet, à savoir une matière grasse (*ʿḏ*). Enfin, comme le vase MMA 23.5, quelques signes hiératiques sur le col indiquent la contenance de l'objet.

Fig. 3. New York MMA 23.5

22 A. Lucas & J.H. Harris (1962 : 315) qualifie la substance trouvée de « black material ».

23 Il est difficile de préciser lesquels.

24 Lucas & Harris (1962 : 315) : « it has a similar fragrant smell and contains a considerable proportion of fatty matter. » Les inscriptions hiératiques sur certains vases en albâtre de la tombe de Toutânkhamon confirment qu'ils servaient de contenants à différentes matières grasses. Voir Černý (1965 : 7).

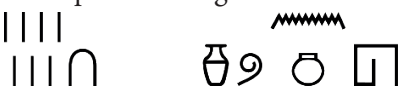
25 Griffiths (1937 : 707).

2.3. Les inscriptions (fig. 4–6)

Dépourvu de cartouches royaux, le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 montre deux inscriptions hiératiques, la première sur le col et la seconde sur la panse.

2.3.1. *L'inscription du col*

Située 7 centimètres sous la lèvre du vase, l'inscription du col précise la capacité du contenant. Ce genre d'information est régulièrement signalé sur ce type d'objet[26]. Ici, l'unité de mesure a été notée entre les deux fleurs tandis que le nombre a été déporté sur la gauche :



hnw 17

« 17 *hin* »

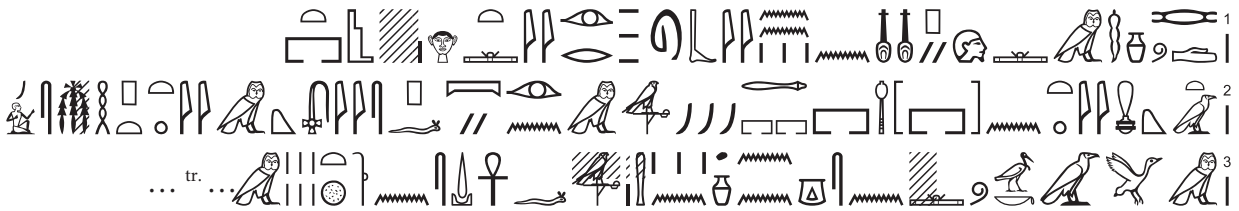
La valeur du *hin* étant de 0,48 litres[27], 17 *hin* équivaut à 8,16 litres. Le laboratoire du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève a calculé que l'objet pouvait contenir 7,65 litres, la mesure ayant été faite un centimètre sous le rebord[28].

2.3.2. *L'inscription de la panse*

D'une longueur comprise entre 23 et 24, 5 centimètres sur une hauteur d'environ 6,5 centimètres, l'inscription de la panse occupe sur trois lignes une grande surface du côté non décoré de l'objet. L'écriture, bien que fort pâle à certains endroits, est ample et bien lisible dans les premières lignes, plus serrée et avec des signes moins distincts à la troisième ligne. À cela s'ajoutent les tiges des deux fleurs qui viennent couper verticalement le texte, l'encre des signes ayant disparu à ces endroits :

(1) *ʿḏ nḏm tpy nfr nfr n nnyb ỉryt ḥr [tꜣ?] st*
(2) *tꜣ qmyt n [pr]-ḥḏ (n) pr-ʿꜣ ʿnḫ-wḏꜣ-snb m ỉr.n ḥry psy qmyt Ptḥ-ms*
(3) *m pꜣ bꜣkw n sgnn n ḥm=f ʿnḫ-wḏꜣ-snb n rnpt-sp 6 m … tr. …*

« (1) Matière grasse douce[a] de toute première qualité de styrax[b] produite dans l'atelier (2) de la gomme[c] du [Tré]sor[29] de Pharaon, vie-prospérité-santé, en tant que ce qu'a confectionné le chef des cuiseurs de gomme[d] Ptahmès, (3) à savoir le matériau de l'onguent[e] de Sa Majesté[f], vie-prospérité-santé, de l'an 6[g] dans (?)[h]… tr. … »



26 Comme le signale C. Leemans, il y avait un texte hiératique visible sur deux vases de Leyde, dont l'un au moins précisait une capacité de 12 *hin*. Voir van den Bercken (2012–2013 : 27). Le vase New York MMA 23.5 porterait une inscription précisant « 22 *hin* » ; voir Hayes (1959 : 354–355), mais les photographies du site internet du Metropolitan Museum of Art ne permettent pas de le vérifier.

27 Janssen (1975 : 108).

28 Bianchi (2011 : 141) ; Chappaz & Chamay (2001 : 69).

29 La lecture [*pr*]-*ḥḏ* m'a été proposée par Stéphane Polis que je remercie.

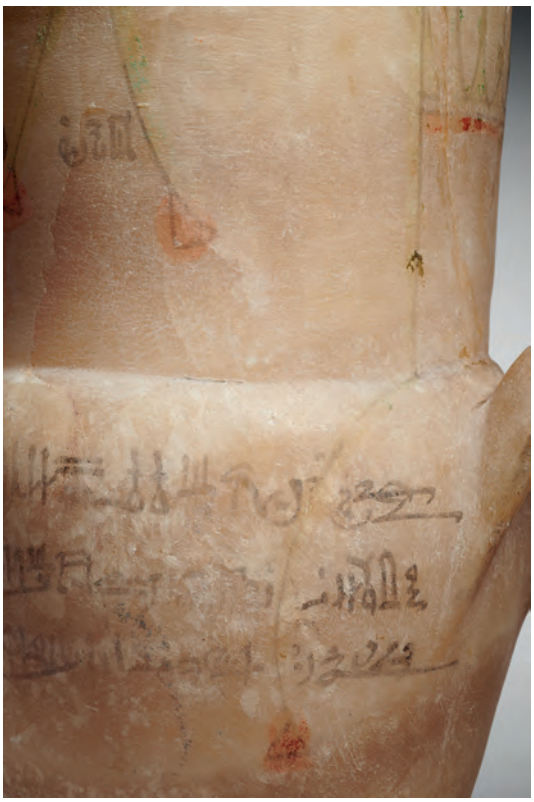


Fig. 4. FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 (© Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève. Photographie par Th. Ollivier)

Fig. 5. FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 (© Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève. Photographie par Th. Ollivier)

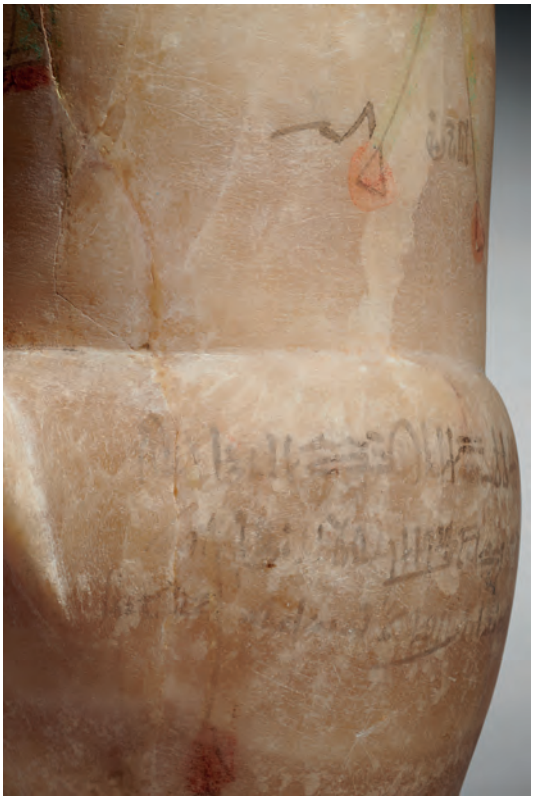


Fig. 6. FGA-ARCH-EG-0127 (© Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève. Photographie par Th. Ollivier)

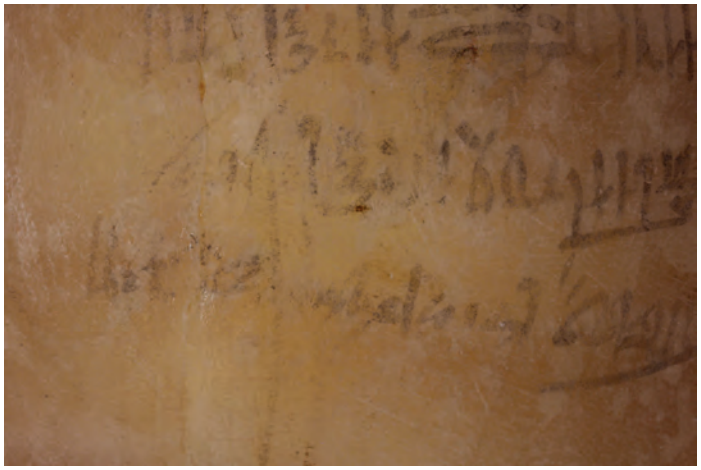


Fig. 7. FGA-ARCH-EG-0127, détail de la fin de l'inscription (© Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève. Photographie par X. Droux)

(a) L'expression *ʿḏ nḏm*[30], bien que plus rare que *ʿḏ wꜣḏ*[31], apparaît sur certaines étiquettes de jarre[32] ou, par exemple, dans des listes de livraisons de Deir el-Médina[33]. Les textes médicaux précisent parfois quel animal doit fournir la graisse entrant dans la liste des ingrédients des recettes pharmacologiques[34]. Cette information est moins fréquente sur les étiquettes de jarre[35], ce qui pourrait indiquer par défaut que l'origine de la graisse est sans importance ou que la matière grasse résulte du mélange de divers produits[36]. Dans notre cas, le produit graisseux aurait été élaboré à partir d'une essence végétale rarement attestée avant l'époque gréco-romaine.

(b) *nnyb* (*Wb* 2, 276,9–14) : le terme est fréquent dans les temples gréco-romains, notamment dans le laboratoire d'Edfou, le temple de Wanina-Athribis, ou encore à Dendara[37]. Il a depuis longtemps été identifié au styrax[38], un terme grec apparu d'abord chez Hérodote et désignant une gomme-résine aux qualités thérapeutiques et cosmétiques, utilisée également pour des fumigations. En réalité, le terme grec styrax recouvre deux substances différentes. La première, dite « styrax solide » est extraite de l'aliboufier (*Styrax officinalis L.*), un petit arbre du bassin oriental de Méditerranée dont on ne peut récupérer la résine, qui durcit naturellement au contact de l'air, que dans certaines zones de peuplement spécifiques. La seconde, communément appelée « styrax liquide » est une oléo-résine extraite d'un arbre beaucoup plus grand, le *Liquidambar orientalis*[39], pouvant atteindre 35 mètres. Moins largement implanté que l'aliboufier, il est aujourd'hui confiné à certaines zones du sud-ouest anatolien, mais il était encore signalé dans la basse vallée de l'Oronte au XIXe siècle. Son usage thérapeutique comme cicatrisant est bien attesté mais il peut également servir de fixateur pour des parfums.

Des analyses chimiques ont montré que le *Liquidambar orientalis* aurait été importé en Égypte dès la XIIe ou la XIIIe dynastie[40]. Trouvé dans la tombe de Toutânkhamon, un objet en bois long de 18 cm aurait été réalisé à partir de la même essence végétale[41]. L'identification du *nnyb* avec le *Liquidambar orientalis*, ou avec

30 Pour *nḏm* dénotant l'odeur, le parfum, voir Shimy (1997 : 131, 167 [n. 110]).

31 Les deux expressions apparaissent l'une à la suite de l'autre sur l'O. Caire CG 25678 (II, 16–17).

32 Voir par exemple Pendlebury (1951 : pl. 95 [267]) ; Koenig (1979 : pl. 16 [6140] ; Hayes (1951 : 91).

33 Ainsi, pour ne citer que quelques exemples : O. DeM 293, 8, O. DeM 788, O. DeM 790. Voir dans un autre contexte P. Sallier IV (vo 3,6), commenté par R. Caminos (1954 : 346). Dans le cadre médical, l'expression *ʿḏ nḏm* apparaît par exemple dans le P. Chester Beatty VI (5,11) pour lequel voir Gardiner (1935 : pl. 30).

34 Le P. Louvre E 32847, pour lequel voir Bardinet (2018), est exemplaire en la matière puisqu'il distingue graisse de taureau (ro x+3,4, 4,15, 5,8, etc.), d'âne (ro x+9,5), d'ibex (vo 5,8), de bélier (ro x+5,4) et d'hippopotame (ro x+4,18–19). L'animal est encore précisé (*ʿḏ sr*) dans une liste de produits du P. Anastasi IV (15,10). Voir aussi Caminos (1954 : 212 [15,10]). Mise au jour à Malqatta, l'étiquette de jarre New York MMA 17.10.426 indique que le récipient contenait de la graisse douce de bœuf.

35 Cependant voir Pendlebury (1951 : pl. 94 [258]).

36 Voir encore Janssen (1975 : 336).

37 Chermette (2003) ; Chermette & Goyon (1996).

38 Loret (1894 : 148–152). Pour les explications qui suivent, je me réfère très largement à Amigues (2007).

39 Nicholson & Shaw (2000 : 341).

40 Goyon et al. (1999).

41 Lucas & Harris (1962 : 430–431, 437–438) ; Lucas (1942 : 144).

l'aliboufier, est difficile à assurer pour ces hautes époques[42]. Le terme *nnyb* apparaît d'abord dans une préparation du P. Ebers ([illegible])[43], peut-être ensuite sous une forme abrégée ([illegible])[44] dans une liste de bois constituant le tribut du Retenou selon les *Annales* de Thoutmosis III[45]. Les trois dernières références du Nouvel Empire se concentrent dans le P. Harris I, qui orthographie systématiquement le mot ainsi : [illegible] (P. Harris I, 15b,14, 59a,3, 71a,12)[46]. Le produit graisseux contenu dans le vase FGA-ARCH-EG-1027 pourrait ainsi être composé, totalement ou partiellement, de styrax. Le cas échéant, il est impossible de faire le départ entre les deux variétés, solide ou liquide.

À partir de la seule graphie, il est difficile de déterminer exactement s'il est question de la gomme-résine ou de l'arbre dont cette dernière est extraite. La seconde option fait peut-être plus sens, notamment du fait de la présence du *n* génitival : un produit gras d'excellente qualité (et rare) tiré d'un arbre lointain. Néanmoins, on attendrait pour l'essence végétale le déterminatif de l'arbre (Möller 266) ou du bois (Möller 269). Je n'ai pas tenté de faire correspondre un signe hiéroglyphique au déterminatif [illegible], dont le caractère vague s'explique peut-être par l'absence de tradition graphique établie pour le terme.

(c) Si les textes égyptiens évoquent différents types d'atelier, une « place de la gomme » ne semble pas attestée.

(d) B. Koura (2003 : 77) signale l'existence d'un cuiseur de gomme (*ps qmy*) travaillant pour le dieu Amon[47], mais le titre **ḥry psy qmy* est inconnu. Du reste, les titres de responsabilité de type [*ḥry ps(y)* + nom de produit] sont rarissimes. Œuvrant pour le domaine d'Amon au Nouvel Empire, le propriétaire d'une stèle provenant de la Cachette de Karnak est [illegible] *ḥry ps šʿy n pr-ỉmn*[48]. Ce dernier titre est également porté par un certain Bakay, au service du domaine de Tiy : [illegible][49]. B. Koura (2003 : 76) signale également un *ḥry ps sgnn* au Nouvel Empire. Les titres de type [*ps* + nom de produit] sont en revanche

42 Selon S. Albersmeier (2007 : 326 [8.5]), un récipient à cosmétique en bois en forme d'oryx ligoté, datant de la XVIIIe dynastie, aurait également contenu des traces de styrax. Je remercie Jean-Luc Fissolo pour cette référence. Voir également Serpico (2011 : 855 ; 863–864) pour les difficultés d'identification du *nnyb* au Nouvel Empire et la présence probable de styrax dans des vases provenant de dépôts de fondation dès le règne d'Hatshepsout.

43 Voir maintenant Popko et al. (2021 : 231).

44 *Wb* 2, 201.11.

45 *Urk.* IV, 672,4.

46 Voir Grandet (1994 : 83 [n. 306]) ; Nicholson & Shaw (2000 : 437) avec les références antérieures. On peut se demander si le [illegible] *ỉnỉw-ꜣbw*, mentionné dans un texte médical du P. Chester Beatty VI (5,11), renvoie à la même essence végétale. De manière étonnante, mais le contexte est différent, l'arbre y est cité immédiatement après la mention de *ʿḏ nḏm* comme sur notre vase. Voir Gardiner (1935 : pl. 30).

47 Ouchebti gravé au bénéfice de [illegible]. Voir Schlögl (1978 : 61–62 [193]) ; Schlögl & Brodbeck (1990 : 96–97 [38]). La base https://www.segweb.ch/index-shabtis/Base (dernière visite le 13.01.2024) sehedj répertorie un autre ouchebti au nom de Houy qui a pour titre *ps qmỉw* (*non vidi*).

48 Stèle cachette K86 = CK 73 = JE 36718. L'objet, appartenant à un certain Nebbouneb, a été publié par R. Assem (2008 : 11–13). Voir aussi Eichler (2000 : 289 [322]).

49 Stèle BM EA 289 : Hall (1925 : pl. 20) ; Taylor (2001 : 160).

fréquents pour diverses productions nécessitant une cuisson[50].

(e) Le *ductus* du signe est inhabituel, le trait supérieur descendant bas à l'arrière du signe. Cela pourrait peut-être s'expliquer par des variantes orthographiques qui montrent un aleph entre et dans nombre d'exemples de l'époque ramesside : O. Caire CG 25613 (r° 3), P. BM EA 10681 (11,7 = *Horus et Seth*), P. BM EA 10053 (r° 3,9, 3,14), P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (1,1 = *RAD*, 64,2). Dans le P. BM EA 10068 (r° 4,26), les deux signes sont quasiment ligaturés, offrant une apparence similaire à celle de notre texte. Si le produit *sgnn* est utilisé pour oindre (hommes et animaux), il sert également à l'éclairage, voire comme cosmétique. Comme d'autres produits gras, il est difficile de savoir s'il s'agit d'une matière spécifique ou d'un ensemble de produits ayant différents usages[51].

(f) La partie supérieure des trois signes verticaux est perdue mais les signes suivants renforcent cette hypothèse de lecture[52].

(g) La lecture parait assurée et fournit une date qui malheureusement n'est pas associée à un règne particulier.

(h) La lecture paraît claire. Malgré quelques traces d'encre très pâles de signes pour certains fort lacunaires, il n'a pas été possible d'offrir une lecture de la fin du texte.

2.4. Conclusion

Constitué d'une gomme-résine probablement extraite d'un arbre exotique, confectionné par un spécialiste des préparations à base de gomme, l'onguent contenu dans ce vase semble avoir été d'une qualité remarquable. Le chef des cuiseurs de gomme Ptahmès était donc expert ès substances grasses provenant de l'étranger. En effet, les Égyptiens allaient chercher la gomme dans diverses contrées, les textes et l'iconographie pharaoniques nommant régulièrement le pays de Pount comme lieu de provenance.

Daté de l'an 6 d'un roi malheureusement non nommé, l'objet est clairement d'époque ramesside. Il s'apparente aux nombreux vases en albâtre produits durant les règnes de Ramsès II et Mérenptah[53]. S'il date effectivement de la XIXe dynastie, il fournirait ainsi une des plus anciennes attestations du terme *nnyb*. Les rares exemples du Nouvel Empire s'intéressent davantage au bois de cet arbre qu'à la substance précieuse qu'on en retire, même s'il est possible que la distinction entre bois et résine ne soit pas pertinente ici.

Fonctionnellement et typologiquement, ce vase est à rapprocher de ceux connus par la cachette de Mérenptah et d'autres, ayant sans doute quelque rapport avec des opérations rituelles au moment des funérailles. Le cas échéant, on pourrait se demander si l'objet et ce qu'il contenait n'ont pas quelque rapport avec l'enterrement de Séthi II dont le décès est annoncé à la communauté de Deir el-Médina en l'an 6, premier mois

50 Voir Gardiner (1947 : vol. 1, 64*–66* [141, 142, 148]). Un titre particulièrement fréquent est *ps sgnn*. Voir Pendlebury (1951 : pl. 94 [258]) ; également dans les P. BM EA 10053 (r° III,7, III,8, III,9, III,14) ; P. BM EA 10068 (IV,26, V,8, VI,18) ; P. BM 10052 (r° II,32) ; P. Mayer A (v° XI,18), ainsi que d'autres références signalées par B. Koura (2003 : 76).

51 Janssen (1975 : 336).

52 L'expression « Sa Majesté » peut apparaître également sur des étiquettes de jarres, comme le recipient MMA 17.10.2 (ligne 2), provenant du palais de Malqatta, qui contenait .

53 À ceux signalés *supra*, on peut notamment ajouter des vases en albâtre actuellement conservés au Musée Petrie à Londres, dont certains proviennent des fouilles du savant anglais à Gourob. Voir par exemple UCL 16344 (gravé des cartouches de Ramsès II), UCL 55619 (portant les cartouches gravés de Mérenptah), UCL 22985 (dont une inscription préciserait la capacité de 11 *hin*).

de *peret*, jour 19[54]. Un graffito situé au-dessus de l'entrée de la tombe de Taousert (KV 14) révèle que les funérailles de Séthi II ont eu lieu en l'an I, troisième mois de *peret*, jour 11 du règne de son successeur Siptah[55].

Annexe : Inventaire des inscriptions [X. D.]

1. FGA-ARCH-EG-0007

Genre du document : **Inscription sur vase**
Mode d'acquisition : achat à la galerie François Antonovich, Paris, 1993
Provenance : provenance archéologique inconnue ; vente Sotheby's, Londres, 11.12.1989, lot 52
Support, matière, technique : vase à panse globulaire et col haut, calcite-albâtre, décor polychrome à l'encaustique, dorure, encre noire
Dimensions : 22,5 × 23,1 cm
Aspect matériel : inscription hiéroglyphique incisée sur le col ; texte hiératique peint sur la panse (3 lignes)
État de conservation : quelques éclats, fissure
Présentation rapide du contenu : indication sur la matière contenue dans le vase (?)
Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —
Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : inscription hiéroglyphique : *wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp.n-rʿ rʿ-ms-sw mry-ỉmn*
Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —
Remarques : les inscriptions hiératiques sont en grande partie effacées et illisibles
Datation : Nouvel Empire, XIXe dynastie, règne de Ramsès II
Bibliographie : Chappaz & Chamay (2001 : 68, cat. nº 54) ; Künzi & Cauvin (2008 : 130–131, cat. nº 174) ; Bianchi (2011 : 136–137, cat. nº 45)

2. FGA-ARCH-EG-0127

Genre du document : **Inscription sur vase**
Mode d'acquisition : achat à la galerie François Antonovich, Paris, 1993
Provenance : provenance archéologique inconnue ; vente Sotheby's, Londres, 11.12.1989, lot 52
Support, matière, technique : vase à anses arrondies et col haut et large, calcite-albâtre, décor polychrome à l'encaustique, dorure, encre noire
Dimensions : 36,5 × 25,5 cm
Aspect matériel : sur le col (courte inscription) ; sur l'une des faces de la panse (3 lignes)
État de conservation : restauré, vides comblés, retouches chromatiques, éclats
Présentation rapide du contenu : voir ci-dessus
Date(s) mentionnée(s) : an 6
Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : *pṯḥ-ms*
Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —
Remarques : —
Datation : Nouvel Empire, XIXe dynastie
Bibliographie : Chappaz & Chamay (2001 : 69, cat. nº 55) ; Bianchi (2011 : 140–141, cat. nº 47) ; Van der Becken (2013 : 27–28, 33)

3. FGA-ARCH-EG-0323

Genre du document : **Inscription sur vase**
Mode d'acquisition : achat lors de la vente Christie's, New York, 09.12.2008, lot nº 15
Provenance : provenance archéologique inconnue ; collection particulière, Europe, avant 1950
Support, matière, technique : vase à anses en forme de têtes de bouquetins, col haut et large, calcite-albâtre, décor polychrome à l'encaustique, encre noire
Dimensions : 40,5 × 26,1 cm
Aspect matériel : sur l'une des faces de la panse (1 ligne) ; sur l'intérieur du col (courte inscription)
État de conservation : éclats, trois cornes de bouquetins manquent

54 O. Caire CG 25515, vº II, 21–28. L'ostracon a été trouvé dans la Vallée des Rois.
55 Altenmüller (1992 : 148).

Présentation rapide du contenu : indication sur la matière contenue dans le vase
Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —
Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : —
Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : *ghsty* (?)
Remarques : La ligne peinte sur le col est en grande partie effacée
Datation : Nouvel Empire, XIXe dynastie
Bibliographie : Bianchi (2011 : 138–139, cat. nº 46) ; Chappaz (2014 : 169, cat. nº 158) ; Bianchi (2015 : 58, cat. nº 46)

4. FGA-ARCH-EG-0376

Genre du document : **Inscription sur vase**
Mode d'acquisition : achat Royal Athena Galleries, New York, 14 juin 2014
Provenance : provenance archéologique inconnue ; Collection N. Z., Genève ; Collection Patricia Kluge, Charlottesville, VA, États-Unis ; Royal Athena Galleries, New York, 1990
Support, matière, technique : vase à anses arrondies et col haut, calcite-albâtre, décor polychrome à l'encaustique, encre noire
Dimensions : 15,5 × 19 cm
Aspect matériel : inscription hiéroglyphique incisée sur l'une des faces de la panse et du col, inscription hiératique peinte sur la face opposée de la panse (1 ligne) ; en dessous de l'une des anses (courte inscription)
État de conservation : restauré, fragment manquant, retouches chromatiques, éclats
Présentation rapide du contenu : indication sur la matière contenue dans le vase (?) et le volume
Date(s) mentionnée(s) : —
Personnage(s) mentionné(s) : Inscription hiéroglyphique : *wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp.n-rʿ rʿ-ms-sw mry-imn*
Lieu(x) mentionné(s) : —
Remarques : la ligne peinte sur la panse est en grande partie effacée et illisible
Datation : Nouvel Empire, XIXe dynastie, règne de Ramsès II
Bibliographie : Chappaz (2014 : 169, cat. nº 159) ; Bianchi (2015 : 57, cat. nº 32) ; Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (2016 : 222, cat. 117)

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New Kingdom Hieratic Material in World Museum, Liverpool

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ABSTRACT

The papyri donated by Joseph Mayer in 1867 to World Museum (National Museums Liverpool) are some of the most significant of late New Kingdom documents in existence. Papyrus Mayer A and B are the second largest corpus of tomb robbery papyri in a museum collection (only the British Museum has a larger holding) and both were published fully by Eric Peet in 1920. World Museum's other New Kingdom hieratic material comprises seven ostraca and two jar labels. In a research collaboration with the University of Liverpool, using the most up-to-date digital technologies, this contribution presents for the first time all of the previously unpublished material. The inscriptions are mostly poorly preserved. However, after a complete re-examination by means of high-resolution photography, decorrelation stretching (DStretch) and Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), considerably more text becomes visible.

1. History of World Museum's collection of New Kingdom hieratic texts

The collection of more than 16,000 ancient Egyptian and Nubian artefacts housed in World Museum is among the most important in Britain. World Museum was founded in 1851 and given national status in 1986 because of the quality and importance of its multi-disciplinary collections.[1] It is the oldest of the seven museums and galleries that form National Museums Liverpool (NML), England's only national museums group based entirely outside London.

World Museum was inaugurated by an Act of Parliament as the Derby Museum of the Borough of Liverpool shortly after the bequest of E. Smith Stanley, 13th Earl of Derby (1775–1851), who left his collection of some 20,000 birds and mammals to the town. The council arranged for the collection to be transferred from the Earl's seat at Knowsley Hall, to a hastily constructed building on Slater Street adjoining the new public library. The museum was formally opened in 1853, in the middle of a century that witnessed a growth in municipal museums springing up across Britain.[2] The first Egyptian artefacts entered the collection in 1861, the same year the museum opened to visitors at a new, more spacious location, on William

1 It was Margaret Thatcher's government that created a new national museums group under the Merseyside Museums and Galleries Order 1986.

2 Hill (2005).

Brown Street, and renamed Liverpool Free Public Museum. The Egyptian collection was a gift paid for by local businessman, W. Crosfield (1839–1909), a soap manufacturer who purchased about 200 items from Rev.Dr. H. Philip (1813–1882), who had worked in Egypt as a medical missionary with the Scottish Society for the Conversion of Israel. H. Philip had his own museum in Gayfield Square, Edinburgh, but in 1861 he was selling up to move to Jaffa. The collection was small, and the backbone of the museum was still the 13th Earl of Derby's founding collection of natural history. In February 1867 the museum's direction began to shift when the major Victorian antiquary J. Mayer (1803–1886) announced that his celebrated collection of roughly 15,000 antiquities and decorative arts would go to the museum.[3] J. Mayer had first offered to make over his collection to the town council in 1856, but the discussions came to nothing and were put aside for more than a decade. J. Mayer was donating the entire contents of his own museum which opened on Colquitt Street in 1852, then called the Egyptian Museum, finally trading as the Museum of National and Foreign Antiquities, a name-change reflecting J. Mayer's wider collecting over 15 years. It was the new Egyptian galleries of the British Museum that had inspired the Liverpool jeweller and silversmith to establish his own public museum.[4] J. Mayer's mission was to inspire the townsmen of Liverpool and place a study collection within reach of scholars, to "serve as a ground-work for those who are desirous of seeing the high state of civilisation which the Egyptians had attained near four thousand ago."[5]

J. Mayer's collection transformed the Liverpool Free Public Museum from being principally a museum of natural history into a multi-disciplinary museum, with a renowned Egyptian collection that A. Edwards (1831–1892) later described as the most important north of London: "Next to the contents of the Egyptian galleries in the British Museum, the most important collection of Egyptian antiquities in England is that of the late Mr. J. Mayer, presented by him in 1867 to the Liverpool Museum."[6] The museum was extended to accommodate J. Mayer's collection, and was renamed the Liverpool Free Public Museums, incorporating the Lord Derby Museum of Natural History and the Mayer Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. The enormous task of cataloguing the Mayer collection fell to assistant curator Ch.T. Gatty (1851–1828) who began a paper slip catalogue in 1873. The collection was confined to three rooms, and Ch.T. Gatty complained it could not be displayed in a manner which its great value and historical interest required. In 1877 an extension provided space for a gallery solely for Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities. Ch.T. Gatty's accompanying catalogue (1877) included illustrations by the noted engraver of the time, L. Jewitt (1816–1886), and acknowledged the input of Egyptologists S. Birch (1813–1885) and C. Goodwin (1817–1878).[7] Since 1873 S. Birch, keeper of oriental antiquities at the British Museum, had been supporting Ch.T. Gatty with his cataloguing of the collection. Early in 1877 S. Birch was employed to spend a week in the museum, advising on a redisplay and to write an assessment of the collection for the museum's committee. Birch recommended selling items he considered to be unnecessary duplicates or inferior specimens, and one year later 636 items were sold at Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London.

The Mayer collection is notable for its strength in objects of high artistic quality. On its own,

3 Gibson & Wright (1988); Bierbrier (2012: 364).

4 Shore (1988).

5 Mayer (1852: 2).

6 Edwards (1888: 129).

7 Bierbrier (2012: 59–60, 217).

however, it could not claim to be representative, since all but a handful of pieces had no recorded find spot, and includes only two objects from the Predynastic Period. S. Birch's recommendation for rationalisation allowed the museum to systematically enhance J. Mayer's founding collection with objects collected directly from the field. Between 1873 and 1883 the Rev. G. Chester (1830–1892) was the source of 310 acquisitions collected from numerous locations between Aswan and Alexandria, including 44 Coptic, Greek and Arabic papyri from Hawara.[8] G. Chester was a regular visitor to the museum as he frequently made crossings by steamships between Liverpool and Alexandria. From 1883, the museum supported British-led archaeology in Egypt and Sudan, receiving a selection of the artefacts exported under the terms of the excavation permit.[9] Until 1971, the collection was systematically expanded through the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society), the Egyptian Research Account and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt; the total today from these sources is close to 2,500 items.[10]

The advent of Egyptology as a discipline at the University of Liverpool at the beginning of the 20th century improved how the museum acquired and displayed its collections. J. Garstang (1876–1956) had been honorary reader in Egyptian archaeology since 1902 and through his fund raising the Institute of Archaeology was established in 1904.[11] J. Garstang had been trained in the field by W.M.F. Petrie (1853–1942) but very soon moved on to run his own excavations that were sponsored by a committee of patrons.[12] In 1904, after the close of excavations at Beni Hasan, members of the Beni Hasan Excavation Committee donated a selection of finds to the museum. By this method the collections grew each year through J. Garstang's excavations at Hierakonpolis (1904–1905), Hissayeh (1905), Esna (1905–1906), Kostamneh (1906), Abydos (1906–1909) and Meroe (1909–1914). In 1901 the museum was extended with a new building that doubled the exhibition space. The rapidly extending Egyptian collection had outgrown the basement gallery created by Ch.T. Gatty 30 years earlier and was moved upstairs and arranged in roughly chronological order within the main hall. P.E. Newberry (1868–1949) became Liverpool's first Professor of Egyptology in 1907 and began an active role on the museum's advisory committee.[13] Working between January 1909 and September 1910, P.E. Newberry and his student assistant M. ("Meta") Williams (1859–1952) created a card catalogue for roughly 5000 items. P.E. Newberry then designed a plan for a new display based on a typological basis in the main hall, with surplus groups of objects moved to a basement gallery, tightly packed within wall cases. The collection was enhanced with loans from the Institute of Archaeology, and replicas of sculptures in London and Cairo were purchased from the casts department of the Victoria & Albert Museum. World War One interrupted publication of a handbook for the gallery, a task that was completed in 1923 by P.E. Newberry's successor to the chair of Egyptology, T.E. Peet (1882–1934).[14] The handbook quickly became the most popular of the museum's publications, requiring three further editions to be printed. T.E. Peet joined the museum's advisory committee and began enhancing the catalogue cards, in particular providing transliterations of

8 Bierbrier (2012: 119–120).
9 Stevens (2019).
10 Bienkowski & Southworth (1986).
11 Bierbrier (2012: 208).
12 Snape (2011: 5–6); Bierbrier (2012: 428–430).
13 Bierbrier (2012: 402–403).
14 Bierbrier (2012: 420–421).

hieratic texts. Perhaps his most lasting legacy is a comprehensive publication of the tomb robbery papyri, Papyri Mayer A and B, with the hieratic presented in hieroglyphic transcription accompanied by translation and commentary.[15]

When war was declared on 3rd September 1939, the museum shut for two weeks and preparation for air-raids got under way. Selected items were removed from display cases and transferred to safer storage in the basements of the building, or evacuated to country houses in Cheshire and Wales. A shortlist of priority items was packed up and carried to the vault of Martin's Bank on Water Street, to which much of the country's gold reserve was secretly transferred from the London vaults of the Bank of England. In the museum galleries, sandbags were stacked round sculptures and display cases containing larger exhibits, such as coffins and stelae. These measures were a wise precaution as on the night of 3rd May 1941 a 225 kg bomb fell on Liverpool Central Library and the fire advanced into the adjoining museum.[16] The Egyptian galleries were almost entirely gutted, with some 3,000 objects either destroyed or beyond repair. The museum was closed for over fourteen years, and it would not be until 1976 that an Egyptian gallery reappeared.

From temporary accommodation outside the city, the keeper of archaeology, E. Tankard (1901–1969), began work to rebuild the collections lost in the May Blitz. In a letter to W. Emery (1903–1971) of University College London, she describes how bleak the situation was: "If ever you have any excavation material for distribution, I hope you will remember us. All the stacks of pottery from Hierakonpolis, Esneh, Beni Hasan, etc. were lost in the blitz, and we have now very little Egyptian material, having lost half our exhibited collections and all the large specimens."[17] Many museums and archaeologists felt sympathy for Liverpool's situation and made donations from their collections. Fortunately for Liverpool, the national mood for regional museums in the 1950s was for rationalisation of collections through regionalisation, and many museums were keen to part with their foreign collections, including Egyptology. Under the War Damage Act of 1943, the museum was given a sum of money to build up the collections, and in 1956 a deal was struck with Norwich Castle Museum to purchase the bulk of their ethnography and foreign archaeology collections.[18] This was one of the most important post-war acquisitions, as it included donations from the Egypt Exploration Society (EES), via the Egyptian Society of East Anglia,[19] and 1500 items from W.M.F. Petrie's independent excavations between 1897–1892, given to his friend and co-worker F. Spurrell.[20] Between 1960–1964, the museum supported UNESCO's International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, and received a share of the objects excavated by the EES at Buhen and Qasr Ibrim. The last objects to come to the museum under this system, where foreign excavators were given a division of finds, was from the work of the EES at Saqqara in 1971. It is down to the energy of E. Tankard, in continuing accession of new material, that the collection grew by over 6,700 items in the 30 years after the disaster of 1941. Remarkably, in some areas collection types almost doubled: 328 shabtis survived and 522 were

15 Peet (1920).

16 Allan (1941).

17 National Museums Liverpool (World Museum) Antiquities department 39.4042: Letter from E. Tankard to W. Emery dated 16 November 1953.

18 Kalloniatis (2019: 7–9).

19 Kalloniatis (2019: 6–7).

20 Cooke (2015a: 1–3).

added;[21] and 48 mummified animals survived and 45 were added.[22]

The 1970s saw tremendous growth in the collections. Like many UK museums, Liverpool benefited from the dispersal of Egyptian antiquities from the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, formed by Sir H. Wellcome (1853–1936), founder of the pharmaceuticals company. The museum received 90 of the 300 crates dispersed to museums in the 1960s–1970s.[23] In 1977, the museum acquired the collection of Sir F. Danson (1855–1926), a Liverpool average adjuster and collector of antiquities.[24] It was to be the last acquisition of its kind, being the collection of a member of the excavation committees that financed J. Garstang's excavations. F. Danson received excavated material from the divisions of finds between 1906–1909 and was an astute collector of stone vessels.[25] The collection entered the digital age in 1996 when the Council of Europe approved a programme to publish multimedia contents in CD-ROM format of ten Egyptian collections held at European museums.[26] The fourth CD-ROM of the series Egyptian Treasures in Europe presented 1,500 objects from World Museum's collection.[27] In 2016 the museum launched an online catalogue of the collection available on the museum's website, adding new entries each month; there are currently 10,251 records available for viewing.[28] A new gallery opened to the public in April 2017, creating the largest ever display of the Egyptian collection, exhibiting many items that have been in storage since the disaster of the Second World War.

2. Overview of World Museum's New Kingdom hieratic material

2.1. Number of papyri, ostraca, and pottery fragments

World Museum's hieratic material comprises two papyri, seven ostraca (five limestone sherds and two pottery fragments), one fragment of an inscribed wine jar, and one intact inscribed wine jar.

2.2. Provenances

Both papyri are from the collection of Rev. H. Stobart (1824–1895) purchased by J. Mayer in 1857.[29] All except one of the ostraca are from J. Sams's collection, which J. Mayer purchased in 1850.[30] It was a comprehensive collection of 2433 items formed by the bookseller and antiquities dealer J. Sams (1784–1860), and it became the core of J. Mayer's Egyptian collection.[31] A manuscript catalogue of the collection J. Mayer purchased from J. Sams has an entry which may be the source of four of the limestone ostraca: "Stones with inscriptions in the Demotic character, written, & not engraved. 4."[32] We cannot be certain when

21 Cooke (2016).
22 Cooke (2015b).
23 Larson (2009: 275).
24 Bierbrier (2012: 142).
25 Bourriau (1979: 151; 1980: 137, 139–143).
26 van der Plas (1999–2001).
27 Davies (2001).
28 https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections (accessed 25.10.2024).
29 Shore (1988: 52).
30 Sams (1835); Shore (1988: 52, 54).
31 Bierbrier (2012: 485).
32 National Museums Liverpool (World Museum), Antiquities department, M12077: Catalogue of antiquities from ancient Egypt.

J. Sams collected the ostraca as he made multiple purchases in Egypt and in salerooms in the 1830s. In 1832–1833 he travelled to Egypt and Palestine and brought back many antiquities, the bulk of which was purchased by the British Museum with a parliamentary grant in 1834. J. Sams began building a second collection, augmented what remained by purchasing stock at the Sotheby's 1833 sale of J. Barker (1771–1849),[33] buying over one hundred lots at the Sotheby's 1835 sale of the H. Salt estate (1780–1827),[34] and over 30 important pieces from C. Bogaert (1791–1875) of Bruges.[35] In 1839, J. Sams exhibited his collection in Darlington and London, publishing an illustrated catalogue to further promote it to would-be buyers.[36]

The other ostracon (42.18.48: § 4.4) came to World Museum from the Liverpool Royal Institution, an establishment founded in 1814 for the promotion of literature, science and the arts.[37] A. Melly (1802–1851), who was treasurer of the Institution from 1838 until 1850, donated a small collection of Egyptian antiquities in 1827.[38] A. Melly was a cotton merchant of Swiss origin who settled in Liverpool and his cotton business was largely involved in imports from Egypt. The popularity of the Institution began to fade away with the establishment of the University of Liverpool in 1881. The Institution deposited most of the Egyptian collection at the museum in 1894. The long-term loan ended in 1942 and ownership of the collection was transferred to the museum.

The wine jar fragment (1973.2.512: § 4.5), was donated to the museum in 1971 by the Trustees of the Wellcome Collection. Numbered lot 225 with 44 other items, "many from Thebes", in a Sotheby's sale of 13th November 1928,[39] it was purchased for the collection of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum by H. Stow, one of Sir H. Wellcome's longest serving collecting agents.[40] The sale included around 700 miscellaneous antiquities sold as 113 lots across 2 days from the estate of C. Tabor (1849–1928), a fish, poultry and game salesman at Leadenhall market, London. The Egyptian objects were lots 210–236 of the sale and the precise provenance of the jar label is not known. Lot 225 included ten other fragments of jars with hieratic annotations, one described as being annotated in black ink "The year 39 (wine) of the house of Amenhotep (III)".[41]

The intact wine amphora (1977.110.34: § 4.6),[42] labelled in hieratic on the shoulder (max. height 57.3 cm × max. width 23 cm) can be traced to a cemetery near Hagar Esna, about 4 km to the northwest of Esna, excavated in two seasons between 1905 and 1906 by an archaeological team led by J. Garstang of the University of

33 Bierbrier (2012: 40–41).

34 Bierbrier (2012: 484–485).

35 van de Walle (1976); de Meulenaere (1993). The source of C. Bogaert's collection is assumed to be J.-B. De Lescluze (1780–1858), a Belgian ship-owner whose collection was acquired for the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in the late 1820s.

36 Sams (1839).

37 Omerod (1953).

38 Omerod (1953: 25, fn. 3).

39 Sotheby and Co. (1928: 19): "225 A 'Table of Offerings': a specimen of Mummy Cloth; various Ushabti Figures; a wooden Mask; and other Antiquities, many from Thebes, in large glazed case."

40 Larson (2009: 81–82, 105).

41 Wellcome Historical Medical Museum accession number A66534. Wellcome Collection WA/HMM/TR/Inv/A.5/4, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/vkz36vq9/items?canvas=626 (accessed 23.01.2024).

42 Compare with Wodzińska (2010: 70) dating to the Ramesside Period, 19th Dynasty; Aston (1996: 66, fig. 203c) dating no later than the 19th Dynasty.

Liverpool.[43] J. Garstang worked on behalf of the Edfu Excavations Committee, a private enterprise body that funded a series of excavations in Upper Egypt and received a share of each season's finds that J. Garstang was permitted to export by the Egyptian Antiquities Service. The amphora was part of around 100 items in the division of finds given to F. Danson, who joined the committee in 1906.[44] The amphora is marked with the findspot number 253E, one of several Ramesside burials made against the walls of a mudbrick structure.[45] Unfortunately, little can be summarised here about the burial as J. Garstang did not produce a detailed report. The numbered paper slips used to record finds are sketchy, frequently omitting objects that can be seen in excavation photographs or ones marked with findspot numbers, such as 1977.110.34. The F. Danson collection came to the museum by bequest in 1977.

2.3. Distribution according to textual genre

- 2 × *Tomb robbery* and related thefts (P. Mayer A and B)
- 2 × census list (M13624 vso and M13625)
- 1 × receipt for furniture items (M13626)
- 1 × Middle Egyptian literary (M13624 rto): copy of *The Prophecy of Neferti* §Ia–Ij
- 4 × previously unpublished ostraca (§ 4.1–4.4)
- 2 × previously unpublished wine jar labels (§ 4.5–4.6)

3. Previously published material

3.1. Papyri

3.1.1. *M11162 Papyrus Mayer A*

This and the following manuscript, Papyrus Mayer B (§ 3.1.2), likely come from a chance discovery, perhaps at Medinet Habu, of a single archive that included all the other tomb robbery papyri, the contents of which was then sold in portions: J. Mayer acquired both the A and B papyri when he purchased the Stobart Collection in 1857, with the archive itself likely having been discovered and the papyri acquired by H. Stobart in 1856. In a letter to his mother dated 29th January 1856 H. Stobart describes a purchase of papyri: "I have made purchase at Thebes of antiquities beyond thirty pounds, but they were almost entirely papyri, which I know will find a sure market at a profit. In one of them I got a 'prize' being written in the Greek character w(hich) is always the most valuable. Mr. Harris, a well known Egyptian antiquarian, whom I met & knew last year confirmed my own opinion that I had picked up what w(as) probably of much value & interest."[46] Ch.W. Goodwin (1873; 1874) offered some notes on Papyus Mayer A's content, being the first scholar to have recognized its importance.[47] Shortly thereafter Ch.T. Gatty (1877: 37–38) summarized Ch.W. Goodwin's observations in his catalogue of the Mayer collection. W. Spiegelberg (1891) provided the first full translation, but the papyrus was first published fully only by T.E. Peet (1920). In T.E. Peet's (1930: vol. 1 *passim*; vol. 2, pl. XXIV) later treatment of the tomb robbery papyri he further contextualized Papyrus Mayer A's place within this corpus and revised some of his earlier readings of its hieratic.

43 Garstang (1907: 141–148); Downes (1974).

44 Downes (1974: IX); Bourriau (1980: 142).

45 Downes (1974: 13–15).

46 Stobart, Henry and National Library of Australia and Australian Joint Copying Project and State Library of New South Wales. Papers of Reverend H. Stobart (as filmed by the AJCP) [microform]: [M467], 1846–1896 (bulk 1852–1856) [19--], http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-881640165/view (accessed 11.01.2024).

47 Shore (1988: 54).

A short description of this papyrus appears in P.E. Newberry and T.E. Peet's (1932: 22) guide to the Egyptian collections held in Liverpool's public museums. A. Shore (1988: 52–55) discusses the provenance of this manuscript along with Papyrus Mayer B (§ 3.1.2), the early scholarly attention that they received, and their mounting onto linen by "the notorious forger of texts, C. Simonides". A transcription is included in K.A. Kitchen's corpus of Ramesside inscriptions.[48] Notes made by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner are held in the Griffith Institute.[49]

Papyrus Mayer A is a legal document containing a portion of the evidence from the trial of the tomb robbers at Thebes. It consists of a single sheet measuring 143 cm × 42.5 cm, cut vertically into two portions, of length 79.5 cm and 63.5 cm respectively, and inscribed on both faces. In addition to the cutting of the papyrus into two pieces, some trimming has been done along the edge, for on the verso there is a line of hieratic running across the top which has been so mutilated that the upper halves of its opening signs have been cut away. The two separate sheets of which the document now consists have been covered back and front with a semitransparent paper ("*papier végétal*") that gives an appearance of brown varnish. At some point in the 1960s an attempt was made to remove the paper covering from one of the sheets. This process was not successful and this sheet is now torn and extremely fragile; the other sheet has also sustained one mark where paper was removed.

The date recorded within the text corresponds to Years 19 and 20 of Ramesses XI Menmaatre-setpenptah (ruled about 1103/1099–1070/1069 BC). The papyrus consists of a series of short reports into the examination of the accused, in two separate series of thefts, one from certain gilded portable shrines, the other from various tombs in the royal necropolis. Earlier stages of the investigation into the robberies in the necropolis, held before the same judges, are given in a papyrus in the British Museum (Papyrus BM EA 10052) written in the same hand and style.

3.1.2. *M11186 Papyrus Mayer B*

As with Papyrus Mayer A, Ch.W. Goodwin (1873) first recognized this manuscript's importance and published some notes on its content, upon which Ch.T. Gatty (1879: 38) again drew for his description of it.[50] T.E. Peet (1920) subsequently published the papyrus; his later treatment of the tomb robbery papyri mentions this document only briefly, and he observed that he could not find a historical connection with any of the other groups of papyri in this corpus (1930: 176). P.E. Newberry and T.E. Peet (1932: 22, pl. 7) briefly described the manuscript and published a photograph of it in their guide to the Egyptian collections held in Liverpool's public museums. A transcription is included in K.A. Kitchen's corpus of Ramesside inscriptions.[51] A. Davies (2001) included it as an "Egyptian treasure in Europe" in the CD-ROM series edited by van der Plas (1999–2001).

Papyrus Mayer B is a fragment of a confession to thefts in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9), and a graffito dated to regnal Year 9 of Ramesses IX on the ceiling of the burial chamber J may refer to the inspection of the tomb after it was reported robbed. The papyrus was unrolled and mounted on fabric (25.6 cm × 40.4 cm) by C. Simonides

48 K*RI* 6, 803–828.

49 Černý MSS 1.22–3. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hicerpa.html (accessed 11.01.2024). Gardiner MSS 48.1–8. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4higarpa.html (accessed 11.01.2024).

50 Shore (1988: 54).

51 K*RI* 6, 515–516.

(1820–1867) for J. Mayer in 1860 or 1861.[52] It consists of 14 horizontal lines but is unfortunately no more than a fragment. The beginning and end are both incomplete, and it doubtless formed part of a long document of which no other portion has survived. Four (or five) persons are mentioned by name in it: the foreigners Pais and Nesamun, and the coppersmiths Pentehetnakht and Hori. The script is a typical hieratic of the 20th Dynasty, with a tendency towards cursiveness, though not nearly as cursive as that shown in Papyrus Mayer A.

3.2. Ostraca

3.2.1. *M13624*

The recto of this ostracon was published by W. Spiegelberg (1894: 26–27); later a transcription made by A.H. Gardiner was published by V. Golenischeff (1913: 7, pl. suppl. c); and a transcription (omitting the date and practice work) was published by W. Helck (1992: 5–9). Transcriptions made by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner are held in the Griffith Institute.[53] The verso of this ostracon was published by R.J. Demarée and D. Valbelle (2011: 92–4) and has subsequently been discussed by Ch. Eyre (2013: 217, fig. 5.1) and F. Hagen (2016: 207–212, fig. 1).

It is a flake of limestone (max. height 19.9 cm × max. width 22 cm), with nine lines of a hieratic inscription in ink on the recto, and nine lines of a hieratic inscription in ink on the verso. On the recto is a copy of the start of the *Prophecy of Neferti* (corresponding to P. Hermitage 1116b, lines 1–6). There is also a date in red ("Month 1 of Shomu, day 8") and underneath practice work on the *wn*-hare sign. The verso bears part of a house census list of a draftsman (*sš ḳd*). Ch. Eyre (2013: 217) emphasises the remarkable nature of the ostracon, being one of only two individual household lists to survive from Deir el-Medina as separate texts on ostraca. A transcription on World Museum's catalogue card was made by T.E. Peet in 1922.

3.2.2. *M13625*

This ostracon was published by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner (1957: 18, pl. LXIII, LXIIIA).

It is a flake of limestone (max. height 17.5 cm × max. width 12 cm) with sundry accounts and notes about work done in the workman's community village of Deir el-Medina. It is inscribed on both sides in the same hand, with many figures ticked off by red dots and one line ruled out in red. Transcriptions made by T.E. Peet, J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner are held in the Griffith Institute.[54] A transcription on World Museum's catalogue card was made by T.E. Peet in 1922.

3.2.3. *M13626*

This ostracon was published by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner (1957: 18: pl. 62, 62a); S. Allam and J. Černý (1973: I, 201–202) provided a translation. Transcriptions made by J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner are held in the Griffith Institute.[55]

52 Shore (1988: 53–54).

53 Černý MSS 1.35.30; MSS 1.237. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, (http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hiceros.html; accessed 11.01.2024). Gardiner MSS 18.103–5; 37.64; 50.38; 31.84. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4higaros.html (accessed 11.01.2024).

54 Peet 1.134–6. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hipee.html (accessed 11.01.2024). Černý MSS 1.35.29. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, (http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hiceros.html; accessed 11.01.2024). Gardiner MSS 18.97–101; 48.15; 50.37. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4higaros.html (accessed 11.01.2024).

55 Černý MSS 1.35.28. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4hiceros.html (accessed 11.01.2024). Gardiner MSS 50.36; 52.15–16; MSS 31.84A. Checklist of transcribed hieratic documents in the archive of the Griffith Institute, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4higaros.html (accessed 11.01.2024).

It is a flake of limestone (max. height 14.1 cm × max. width 9 cm) inscribed in ink on both sides with a continuous text. It records the cost of work done on various pieces of furniture: a form of a receipt from a workshop, listing objects produced and their values. Many of these objects are actually funerary in nature: 2 outer anthropoid coffins, 1 inner anthropoid coffin (with a difficult comment apparently dealing with repairs made) and 1 shabti box ("2 deben"). There are, intermixed, a number of other not necessarily funerary items. The verso continues the listing, with blue pigment and another coffin (this time not specified as to whether it was an inner or outer, and so probably intended as a one-piece set rather than a two-piece set). There is then the total (112 deben of copper) with a comment that this is without the pigment or the coffin (seemingly therefore the two items mentioned on the verso). Black ink inscription on recto (9 lines) and on verso (7 lines). A transcription on World Museum's catalogue card was made by T.E. Peet in 1922.

4. Previously unpublished material

The previously unpublished material comprises four ostraca, one wine jar fragment, and one intact wine amphora. While the wine jar fragment's inscription is relatively clear, the inscriptions on the ostraca and on the complete wine jar are mostly poorly preserved. We have provided photographs rather than tracings of the stroke patterns, since it is so often unclear how to interpret the remains of the ink as discrete strokes and signs. For this reason, the translations offered below should be treated as speculative.

4.1. Ostracon M13622 (fig. 1a and 1b)

A flake of greyish limestone (max. height 14.0 cm × max. width 11.8 cm), inscribed on recto and verso in broadly Ramesside-era hieratic. There is a partial transcription on the museum's catalogue card made by T.E. Peet in 1922, with the additional comment "little visible on recto + nothing legible on verso". However, by using high-resolution photography (carried out by J.R. Peterson) and the decorrelation stretch image enhancement technique (using the DStretch plugin to the ImageJ software package),[56] considerably more text becomes visible. Its content makes a Theban origin, specifically Deir el-Medina, very probable.

T.E. Peet's recto (actually the more uneven side) contains seven horizontal lines of hieratic in black ink, and is palimpsest with traces of earlier(?) text visible between lines 4 and 5. The first one and a half lines of main text on the recto are written with a thinner brush stroke than the rest, and hence are perhaps unrelated to the remainder. Lines 3–7 seem to constitute a hymn to a masculine divinity, and seem to be missing only small amounts (if anything) at the start of each line.

The verso contains at least two, possibly three, texts inscribed in horizonal lines at right angles to each other:

(a) Turning the recto over along its vertical axis presents a black ink hieratic text in eleven horizontal lines which terminate some distance before the left-hand edge of the ostracon. This appears to be a dated list of goods, possibly connected to celebrating a festival of Hathor.

(b) On the left-hand edge of Verso text A, oriented at 180 degrees to it, are 3 short lines of another black ink hieratic text, written in a larger hand after the first text was completed. Where the Verso A and B texts meet, there is some uncertainty over which text the visible traces belong to, and it is likely that Verso B line 3 to some degree overwrites parts of Verso A lines 8, 9 and 10. The Verso B text appears to be an address to a goddess from one of her priests, asking for favour.

56 Rasband (1997–2018); Harman (2019).

0 1 2 3

Fig. 1a. O. M13622 recto after processing with DStretch
(Photo by J. Sams)

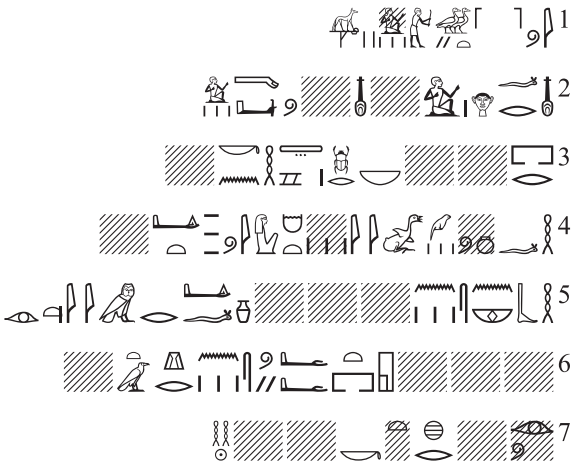
0 1 2 3

Fig. 1b. O. M13622 verso after processing with DStretch
(Photo by J. Sams)

(c) There seem to be very slight traces of a third text (at 90 degrees to both the other two) running in a single line up the left side of the verso (along the space to the left of Verso A lines 3–7). Other than a , traces are too slight to attempt a reading.

4.1.1. *Recto text*

1. *iw* […] *rḫtyw 2 inpw/stš?*
2. *Nfr-ḥr* […] *nfr* […]
3. *pr* […] *nb ḫpr tꜣ ḥkn* […]
4. *ḥfnw ṯꜣyw ḥmwt iw=w dit* […]
5. *ḥb{n}=sn* […] *di=f rmyt*
6. [..] *ḥwt[nṯr] ʿwy=sn ḫr tꜣ* […]
7. *ir* […] *ḫrt=k* […] *nḥḥ*



Translation

1. […] two washermen: Inpu/Seth…
2. Nefer-her […] good […]
3. all […]comes forth(?), the land exists rejoicing(?) […]
4. hundreds of thousands, male and female, giving […]
5. their festival […] he causes weeping
6. […] temple, their arms carrying the […]
7. do […] your desire […] forever.

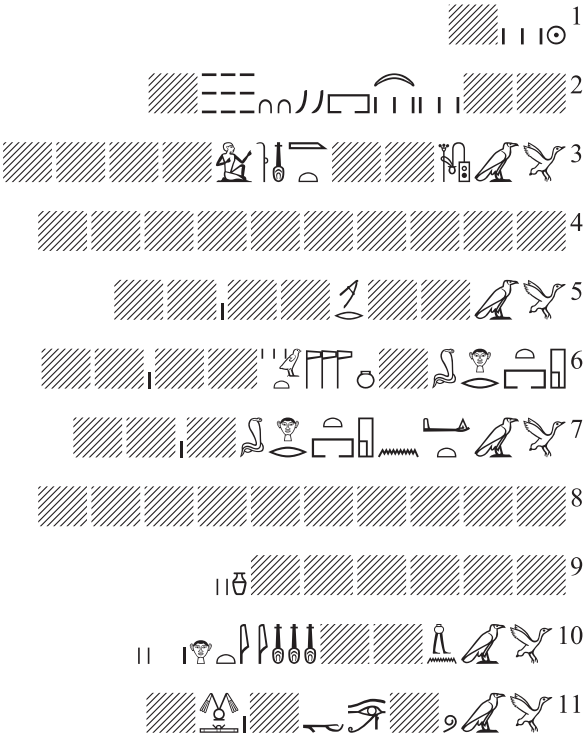
Text notes

Recto 1: T.E. Peet read at start. The mammal on the divine standard at the end of the line could either be Anubis or a non-recumbent Seth, functioning either as the first element of a theophoric name or perhaps as an identity mark.

Recto 2: *nfr-ḥr* is partially overwritten with a large written with a thicker brush. The remaining text of recto 2 and subsequent lines are also written with the same thicker line and larger sign size.

Recto 4: Peet read instead of *iw=w*.

4.1.2. *Verso text A*



1. […] *hrww / sw 3*
2. [*rnpt-sp x+*]*3 ꜣbd 3 prt sw 29* […]
3. *pꜣ sš* […] *mꜣʿt Nfr-rnpt* […]
4. […]
5. *pꜣ* […] *mr* […] *1* […]
6. *ḥwt-ḥr* [*ḥ*]*nw*[*t*] *nṯrt* […] *1* […]
7. *pꜣ dỉt n ḥwt-ḥr* […] *1* […]
8. […]
9. […] *2*
10. *pꜣ ỉn* […] *nfryt ḥr 2*
11. *pꜣ w*[*ḏꜣt* …] *1 dmḏ* […]

Translation

1. […] days / day 3 […]
2. [Regnal year] 3, month 3 of Peret, day 29.
3. The scribe […] Truth Neferrenpet […]
4. […]
5. The […] love […] 1.
6. Hathor [mis]tre[ss] of the goddesses […] 1 […]
7. Giving to Hathor: […] 1 […]
8. […]
9. […] 2
10. Bringing […] beautiful of face: 2
11. the a[mulet …] 1. Total […]

Text notes

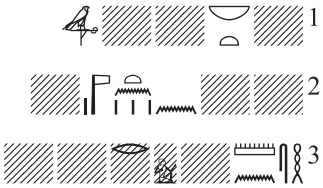
Verso A 2: The scanty traces at start of line would also permit reading a ∩ before the 3, so regnal Year 13+. Alternatively, and perhaps more probably, these traces may just be .

Verso A 5, 6, 7: Possibly nothing is lost after the apparent numerals 1.

Verso A 8: The text seems to have been overwritten by the second verso text.

4.1.3. *Verso text B*

1. […] *nbt* […]
2. […] *n=tn nṯr*
3. *ḥsmn* […]*=ỉ r* […]



Translation

1. […] Lady of […]
2. […] for you the god
3. my […] is purified(?) at […]

4.2. Ostracon M13627 (fig. 2)

A limestone ostracon (max. height 9.1 cm × max. width 12.8 cm) with three lines of Ramesside hieratic text in black ink on one side only. There is a transcription on the museum's catalogue card made by T.E. Peet in 1922. In 1873 S. Birch, of the British Museum, examined it and said it "appears to refer to an account of corn of bushels of the same in all 5".[57]

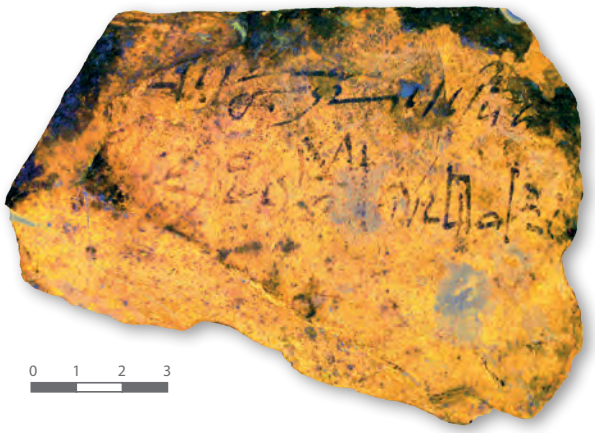


Fig. 2. O. M13627 after processing with DStretch (Photo by J. Sams)

57 MS 7 November 1873.

4.2.1. *Text*

1. […*r*] *tw=i wʿ.kw 3 n*
2. […] *ir hꜣw dmḏ=w r=i mntk*

Translation

1. […] I am alone (for) 3
2. [days(?)]. Up to today, their total is against me. You

Text note

Line 1: Reading *wʿ.kw* following Peet. Birch's comment about corn bushels is probably due to the similarity in hieratic between and .

4.3. Ostracon M14185 (fig. 3)

A pottery ostracon (max. height 13.5 cm × max. width 12.5 cm), a fragment from the shoulder of a necked vessel, with traces of large signs in black ink that are now very indistinct (there may also be palimpsest traces). P.E. Newberry, writing on the museum's catalogue card, described the writing as being hieratic, fair and indistinct, but did not record a transcription. Decorrelation stretch processing (see § 4.1) revealed that the visible signs do not appear to be connected hieratic text, but rather belong to the workmen's marks ("funny signs") corpus known from Deir el-Medina.[58] The range of marks visible on the ostracon suggests a date in the 20th Dynasty.

At the top of the sherd comes ,[59] and then to its right comes a large squarish sigh, perhaps or ,[60] though this seems to overlap with another sign, perhaps .[61]

Lower down on the ostracon a large occurs.[62] Above this and to its left is a small sign, making what appears to be a composite sign, . There is no obvious parallel for this sign, but in at least one other case a smaller is associated with a larger workman's mark: belonging to Sennedjem.[63] also appears as a component within at least 4 other workmen's marks comprising more than one symbol.[64]

To the left of appear to be traces of ,[65] with another rectangular sign underneath it.

In the bottom left of the ostraca is a sign made up of either two or three triangles.[66]

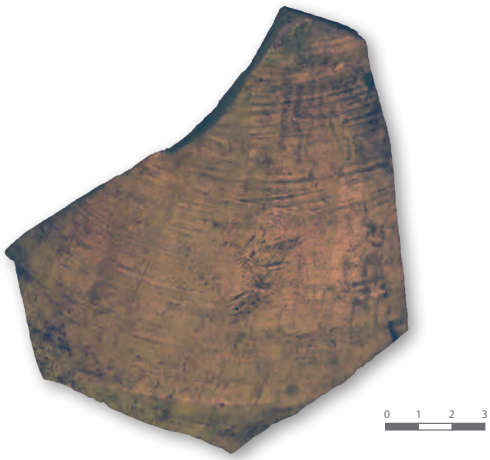


Fig. 3. Ostracon M14185 after processing with DStretch (Photo by J. Sams)

58 See e.g., Soliman (2016); Haring (2018).
59 Soliman (2016: 520); less probably a reversed lotus flower.
60 Haring (2018: 186).
61 Haring (2018: 202, 208, 216).
62 Haring (2018: 180, 200, 201, fig. 5.7).
63 Haring (2018: 215).
64 Haring (2018: 289).
65 Haring (2018: 170, 172).
66 Haring (2018: 160, fn. 9, 163).

4.4. 42.18.48. Ostracon (fig. 4a and 4b)

This ostracon is a pottery sherd (max. height 20.0 cm × max. width 15.0 cm) with traces of hieratic text in black ink on both sides (the "recto" refers to the outer surface of the vessel from which the ostracon was derived). The catalogue card does not record a transcription. Decorrelation stretch processing (see § 4.1) did not reveal much additional detail. The transcriptions below should be treated as highly tentative.

Due to the ostracon's pronounced curvature and the specularity of its smooth interior, the remaining ink traces on its verso become clearly visible only when lit from specific angles, with different angles revealing different parts of the remaining text. Additionally, the verso's vertically grooved surface casts shadows that easily obscure the presence or absence of the ink traces. These factors complicated the process of achieving clear photographs of the remnants of its text. Ultimately, the verso was photographed for Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) by J.R. Peterson in the Imaging Suite of the Department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology at the University of Liverpool. The RTIBuilder and RTIViewer software packages[67] were then used to produce two image files, one for the verso's upper half and one for its lower half, digitally relit from exactly the angles that best reveal the remaining ink traces while minimizing the shadows. These two images were then combined together using the GNU Image Manipulation Program,[68] and the

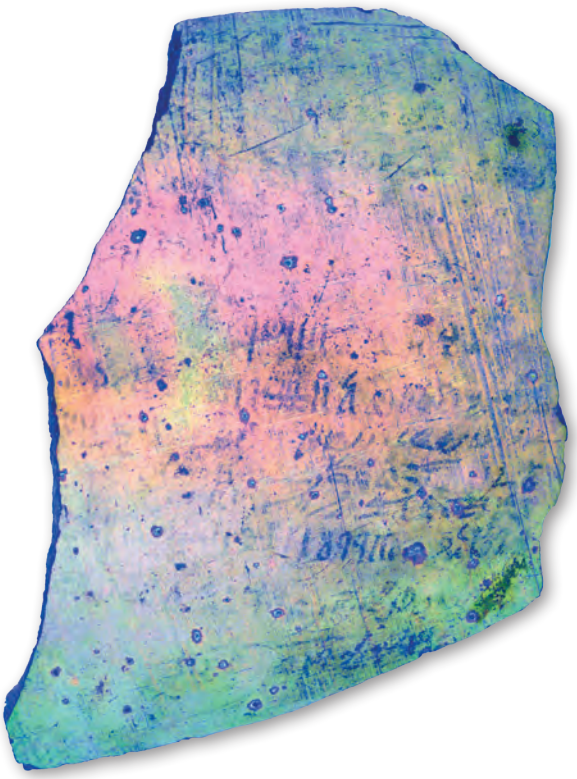


Fig. 4a. Ostracon 42.18.48 recto after processing with DStretch (Photo by J. Sams)

Fig. 4b. Ostracon 42.18.48 verso after processing with RTIBuilder, RTIViewer and GNU Image Manipulation Program (Photo by J.R. Peterson)

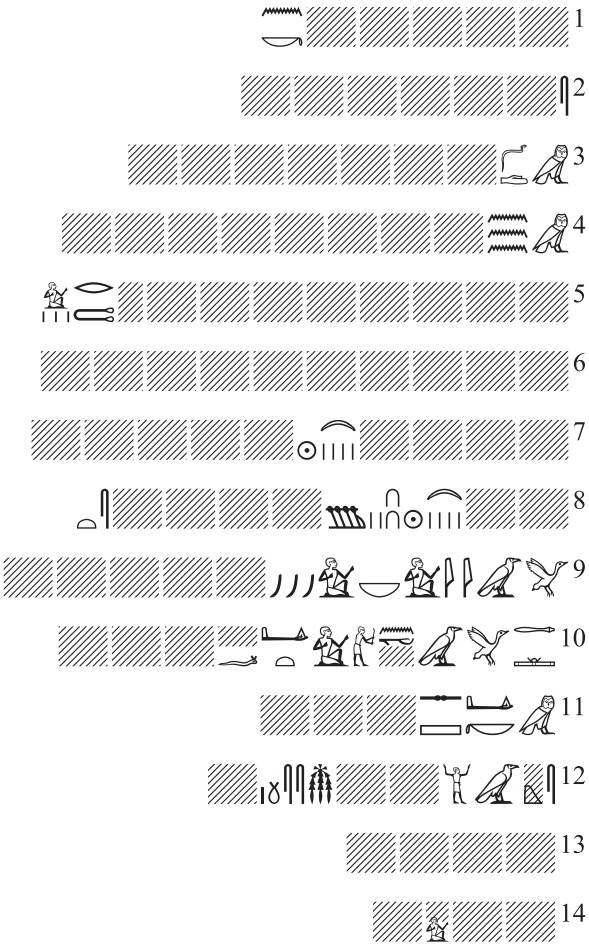
67 Barbosa (2019); Visual Computing Laboratory (2019).

68 The GIMP Development Team (2017).

red channel of the resulting single image isolated in order to clearly visually separate the black ink traces from the red clay that shows through the ostracon's slip.

The nature of the recto and verso text(s) are hard to discern from the odd signs that appear legible; our impression is that the hands are different. For the verso, the mention of giving, and of a *mss*-garment (this word is clear), suggest some kind of economic exchange. In the verso, the mention of pharaoh, and a cartouche towards the end, would suggest some kind of official/administrative record.

4.4.1. *Recto text*



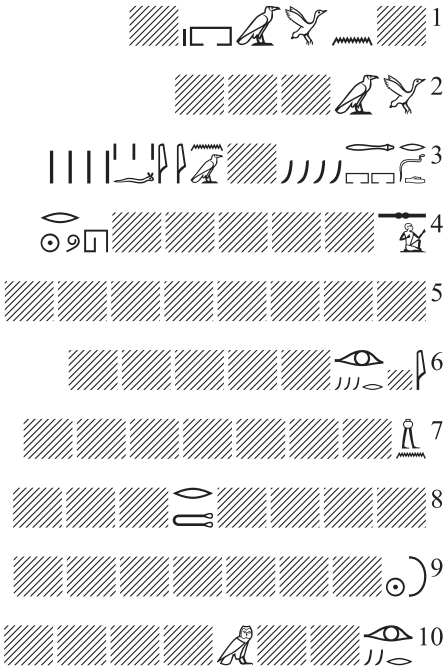
1. […] *n=k*
2. *s*[…]
3. *m ḏd*[…]
4. *m mw* […]
5. […]*rmtw*
6. […]
7. […] *ỉbd 4 sw* […]
8. […] *ỉbd 4 sw 22 šsp*[…]*=s*
9. *pꜣy=ỉ nb ʿ.w.s.* […]
10. *ʿꜣ(?)pꜣnḫt dỉ* [*n*]*=f* […]
11. *m-dỉ=k???* […]
12. *sqꜣ* […]*mss* [*n*…]
13. […]
14. […]

Translation

1. […] to you(?)
2. ? […]
3. as sa[id(?)…]
4. in the water […]
5. […] people
6. […]
7. month 4, day […]
8. […] month 4, day 22, receiving[…] its […]
9. my lord l.p.h. […]
10. …aapanakht gives [to] him […]
11. in your possession??? […]
12. […] elevate […] a *mss*-garment […]
13. […]
14. […]

4.4.2. *Verso text*

1. […] *n pꜣ pr* […]
2. *pꜣ* […]
3. *r-ḏd prʿꜣ ʿ.w.s.* […] *nꜣy=f???*
4. *s* […] *hrw*
5. […]
6. *ỉỉr* […]
7. *ỉn* […]
8. […] *rmt* […]
9. […]
10. *ỉr* […] *m* […]



Translation

1. […] of the house […]
2. the […]
3. that pharaoh l.p.h. […] his???
4. men […] day
5. […]
6. do […]
7. bring […]
8. […] men […]
9. […]
10. make […] as […]

Text notes

Verso 9: Opening signs appear to be the start of a cartouche.

4.5. Wine jar fragment 1973.2.512 (fig. 5)

This wine jar fragment (max. height 9.5 cm × max. width 12 cm) with hieratic annotation, which possibly comes from one of W.M.F. Petrie's excavations at Amarna, was collected at an unknown date by C. Tabor. It was subsequently purchased in 1928 by H. Wellcome, then donated to World Museum by the Trustees of the Wellcome Collection in 1971. No transcription on the record card.[69]

If found at Amarna, then the date on the fragment must refer to Amenhotep III.

4.5.1. *Text*

rnpt-sp 36 ỉrp nfr n […]

Translation

Regnal Year 36. Good(-quality) wine of […]

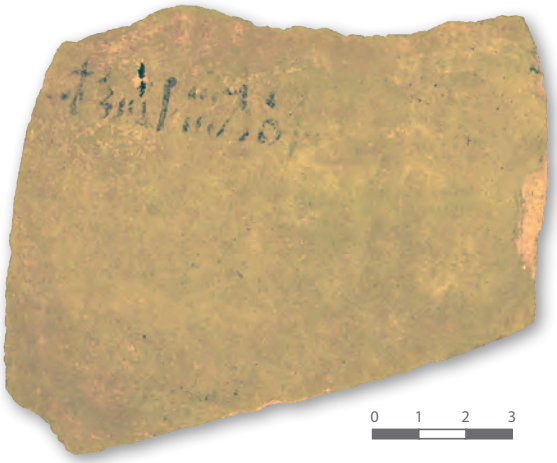


Fig. 5. Wine jar fragment 1973.2.512 after processing with DStretch (Photo by J. Sams)

69 For the genre, cf. Wahlberg (2012).

4.6. Intact wine amphora 1977.110.34 (fig. 6)

Intact wine amphora from J. Garstang's Esna excavations 1905, with short hieratic annotation in black. No transcription on the record card, which dates it to the 20th Dynasty and records that it came from "Tomb no. 253 E06".

4.6.1. *Text*

kꜣmw […] *m-dỉ* […]

Translation

Vintner […] in the possession of […]

Fig. 6. Wine amphora 1977.110.34
(Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool: World Museum)

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