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in

Crossing Boundaries (ed.), *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections From Around the World*, Vol. 2, Liège, Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2024 (= *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia*, 13.2), **p. 227–248**.

DOI 10.25518/978-2-87562-432-1.11

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 docket, 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. Reuvers (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 *manuscripts* 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. Anastasiou, 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. Reuvsens. 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. Reuvsens 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. Reuvsens 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. Abdel-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 docketts 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 docketts	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 docketts, 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).

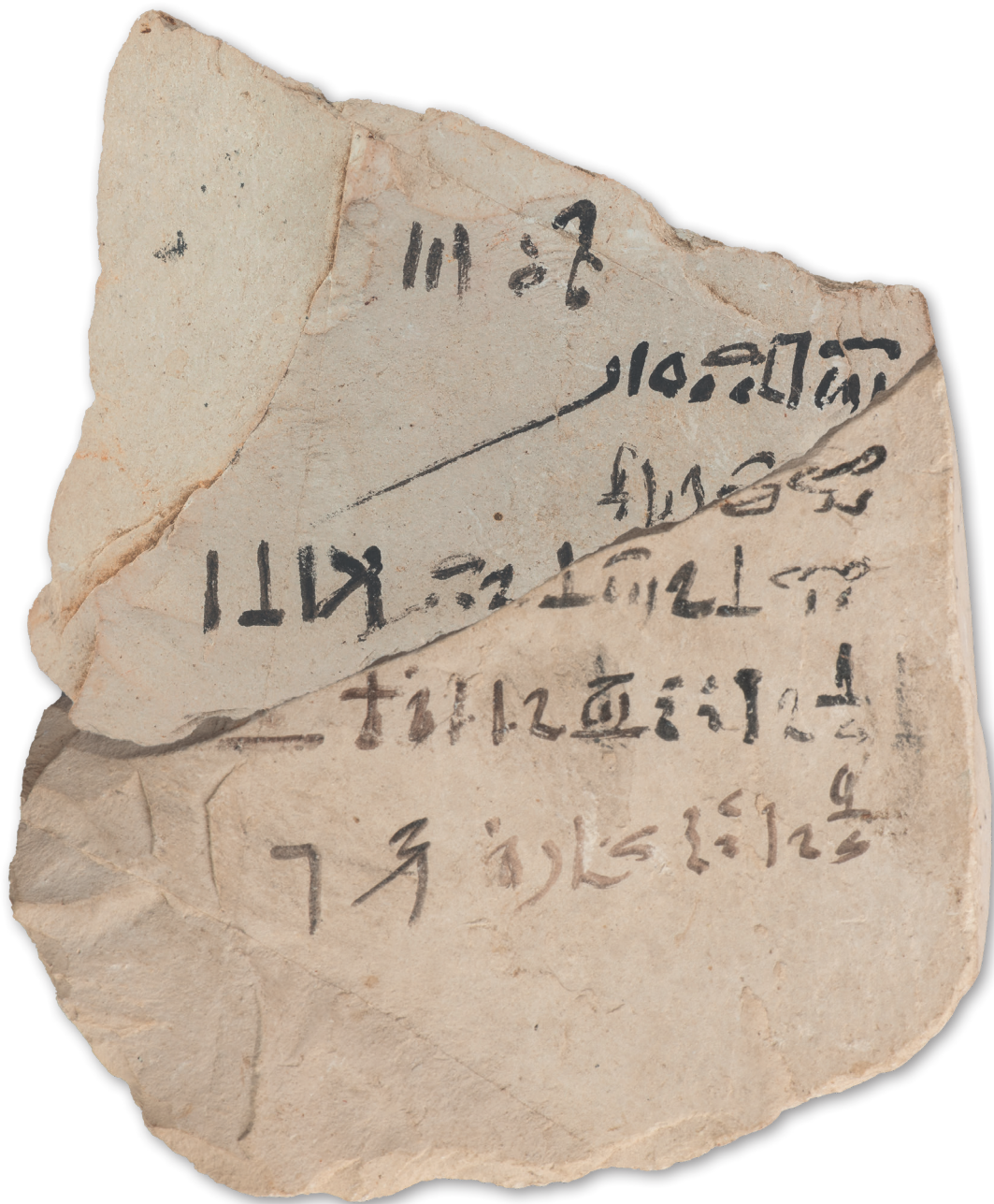


Fig. 1. O. Chicago OIM E18880 + RMO F 2015/9.319
(Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden). Edited by R.J. Looman

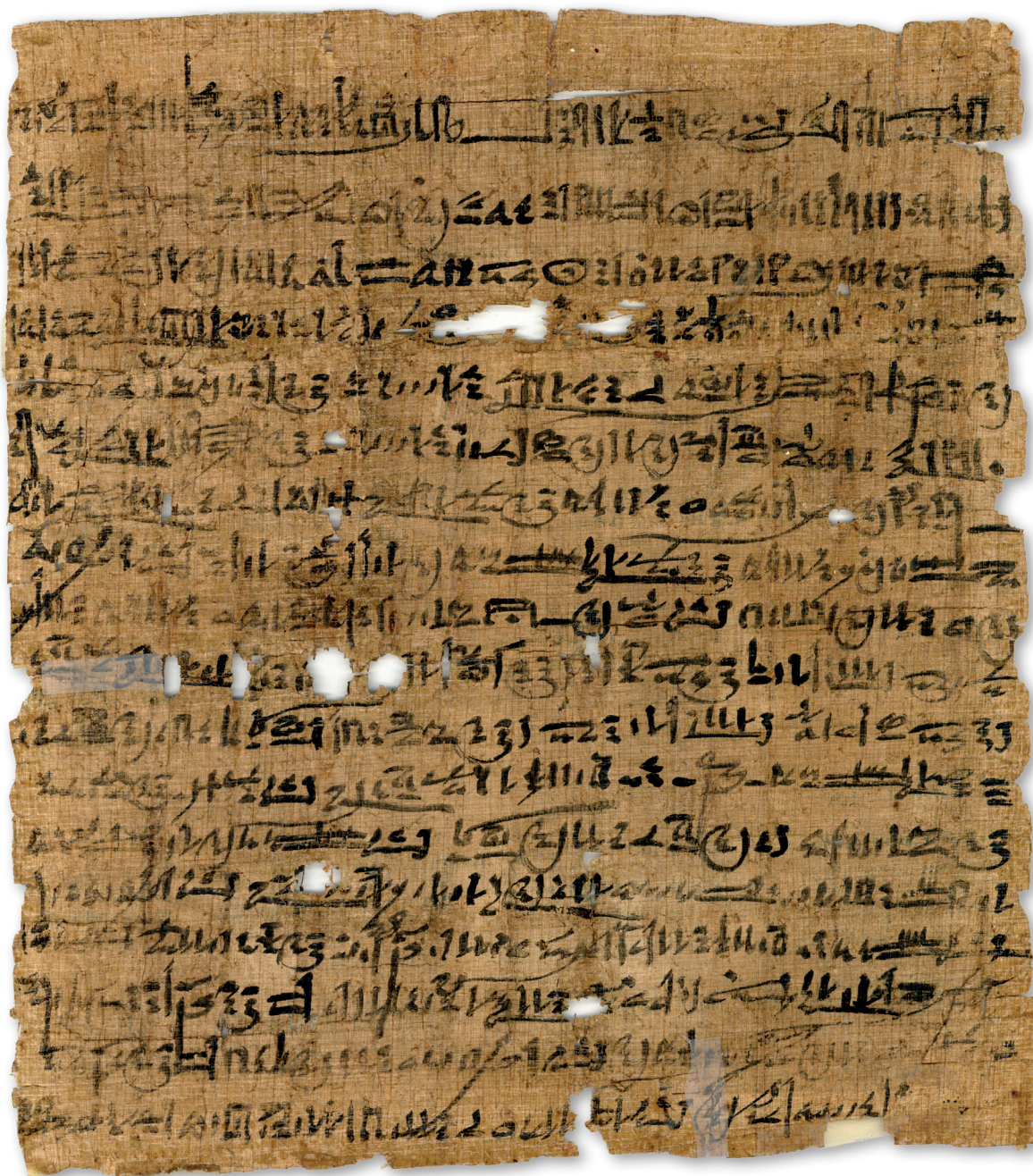


Fig. 2. P. AMS 38b r
(Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

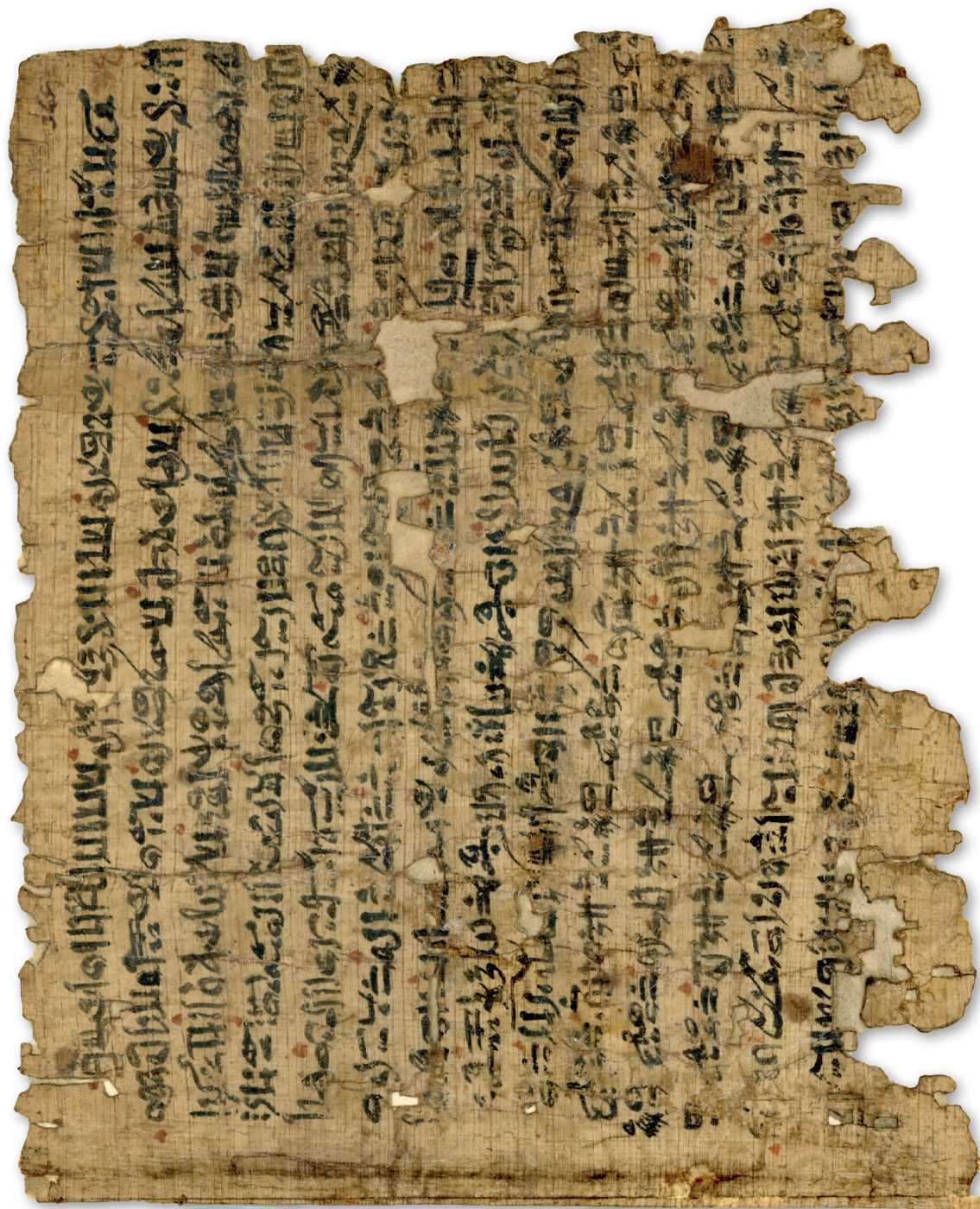


Fig. 3. P. AMS 23a vel 1^r
(Courtesy Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

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^o (= P. Leiden I 350 v^o) is inscribed with a ship's log and belongs to the group of documentary texts, while AMS 54 r^o (= P. Leiden I 350 r^o) bears hymns, just like AMS 27 v^o (= P. Leiden I 344 v^o), 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 papyri³⁸ 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 collection⁴⁵.

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 (ДБ-1117, ДБ-1118 and ДБ-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, Malkata	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 docket, 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, v^o = P. Leiden I 350, v^o), 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 v^o (= P. Leiden I 348 v^o) should be read as copies of actual letters rather than as a miscellany featuring model letters. One of the reasons AMS 26a v^o had been assumed to be a miscellany are its repeated epistolary formula and titularies of Ramesses II.⁴⁸ AMS 26b v^o (= P. Leiden I 349 v^o) 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 v^o 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^o, and AMS 26b r^o = P. Leiden I 346, 348 r^o, and 349 r^o). 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^o and v^o), 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^o (= P. Leiden I 344 v^o) contains hymns to the sun, while AMS 54 r^o (= P. Leiden I 350 r^o) bears a hymn to the god Amun. AMS 27 r^o (= P. Leiden I 344 r^o) 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 exercise⁵².

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 ^o , 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 docket	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 ^o (?), AMS 27a v ^o (?), 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 ^o (?), AMS 26b v ^o (?)	2
Magico-medical texts	AMS 28 + CI 11b	1
Magical texts	AMS 23a, AMS 23b, AMS 26a r ^o , 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
<i>Book of the Dead</i> texts	F 2015/9.353, F 2015/9.355	2
Hymns	AH 130, AMS 27 v ^o , AMS 54 r ^o	3
Literary texts	AMS 27 r ^o , 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 ostrakon 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 *Kʿ-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 ostrakon 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 ostrakon 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).

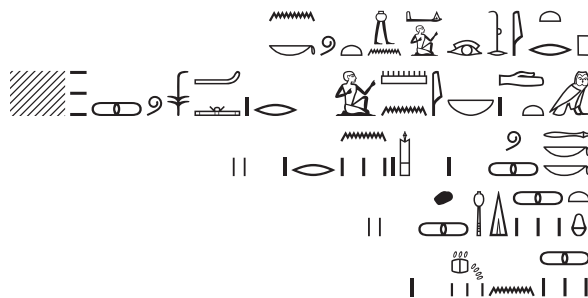
- (15) F 2015/9.322: an ostrakon bearing an account of the delivery of commodities, including wheat, barley, and bread.
- (16) F 2015/9.323: an ostrakon bearing an account of the delivery of commodities, including milk.
- (17) F 2015/9.324: an ostrakon bearing an account of the delivery of commodities, including copper.
- (18) F 2015/9.325: an ostrakon bearing the beginning of a journal text, perhaps a writing exercise.
- (19) F 2015/9.326: an ostrakon bearing an account of deliveries.
- (20) F 2015/9.327: an ostrakon 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 ostrakon 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 Thutmose 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 ostrakon was purchased from the antiquities dealer S. Molattam in Luxor in 1966. It measures 11 cm × 9.2 cm × 2.3 cm. The ostrakon is complete except for a portion of the upper left corner. The inscribed face is weathered and the text at the centre of the ostrakon 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 ostrakon 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 ini=tw n=k*
2. *m-dr.t Nb-imn rḥs [...]*
3. *‘kk 1 iwnr 2*
4. *t-ḥd 2*
5. *t-n-it 1*

Translation

1. See, I caused that was given to you
2. by Nebamun: *rḥs*-cakes: [...]
3. *‘kk*-bread: 1 loaf; *iwnr*-dish: 2;
4. white bread: 2 loaves;
5. bread of barley: 1 loaf

The phrase *di=i ini=tw n=k/n=t m-dr.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 *bi.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 *‘kk*-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

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This contribution has benefited greatly from the research and recollections of Rob J. Demarée, to whom I am very grateful.

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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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