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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using the most up-to-date digital technologies, this contribution presents for the first time all of the previously unpublished material.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 ostrakon (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 *Papyrus 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 Menmaatresetpenptah (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 KRI 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 KRI 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 ostrakon 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 ostrakon 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 kd*). Ch. Eyre (2013: 217) emphasises the remarkable nature of the ostrakon, 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 ostrakon 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 ostrakon 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/4hicerros.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/4hippee.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/4hicerros.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/4hicerros.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. Ostrakon 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 horizontal 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 ostrakon. 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).

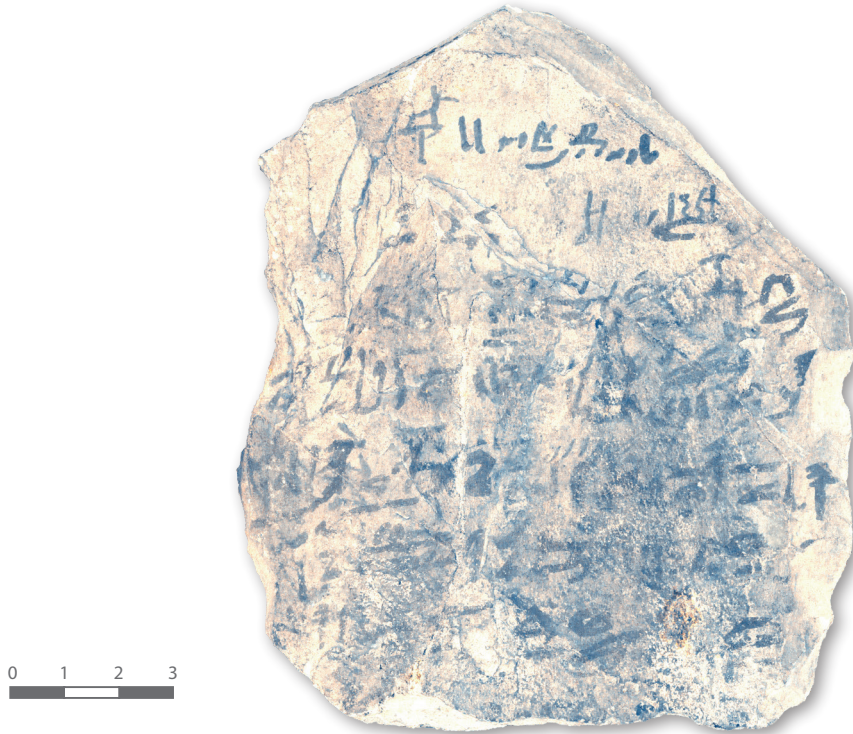


Fig. 1a. O. M13622 recto after processing with DStretch
(Photo by J. Sams)

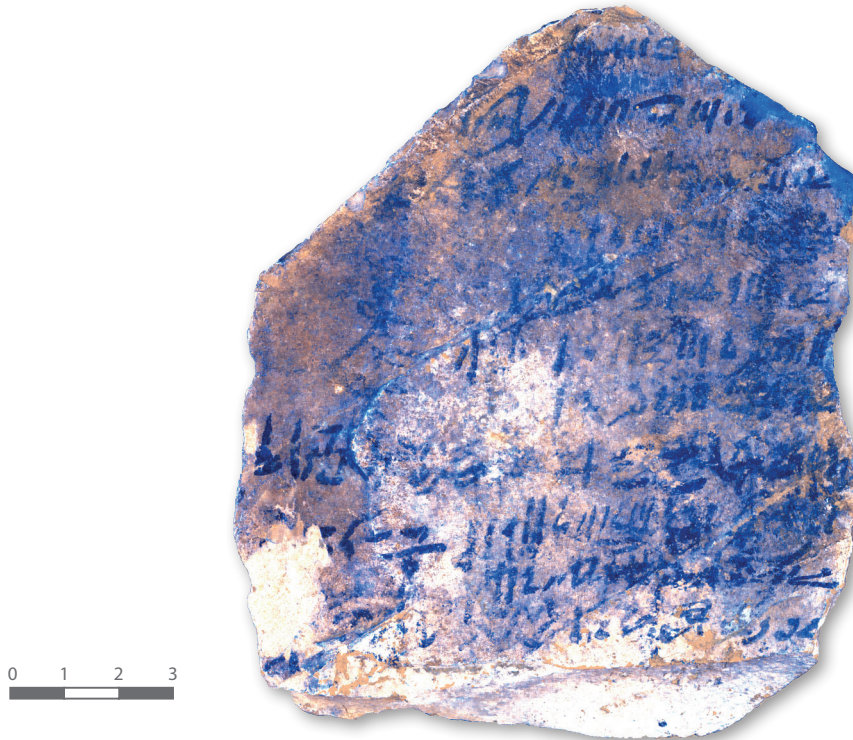

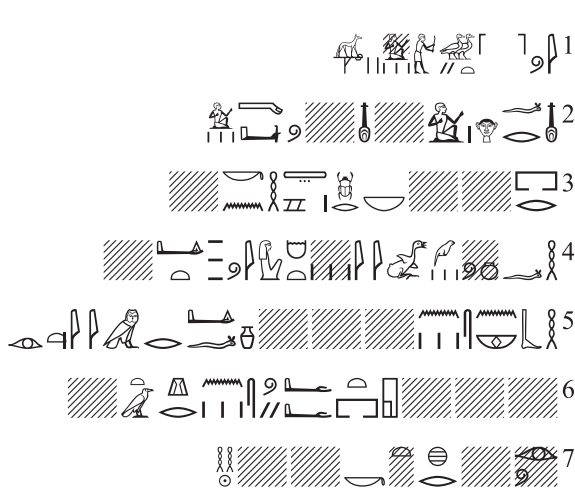


Fig. 1b. O. M13622 verso after processing with DStretch
(Photo by J. Sams)

- (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* [...] *rḥtyw* 2 *inpw/stš?*
2. *Nfr-ḥr* [...] *nfr* [...]
3. *pr* [...] *nb ḥpr tḥ kn* [...]
4. *ḥfnw tḥyw ḥmwt iw=w dit* [...]
5. *ḥb{n}=sn* [...] *dī=f rmyt*
6. [...] *ḥwt[ntr]* ‘*wy=sn ḥr tḥ*’ [...]
7. *ir* [...] *ḥrt=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.

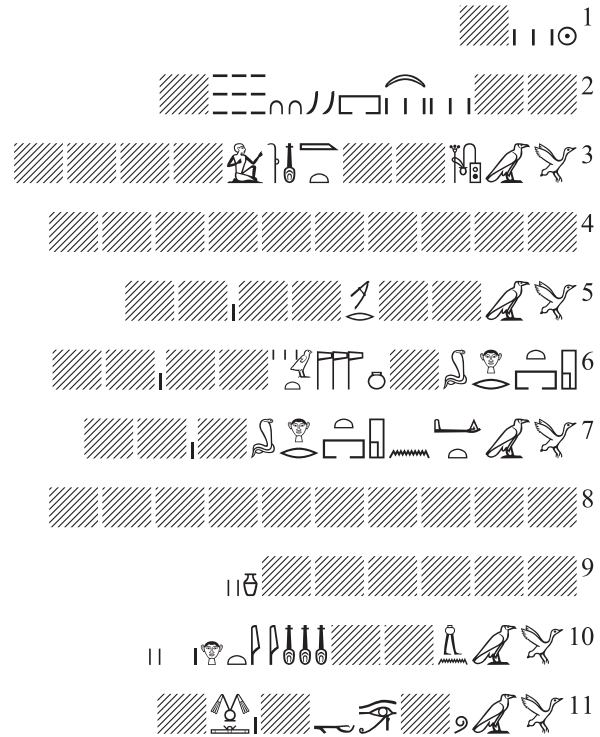
Text notes

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 *'bd* 3 *pṛt sw* 29 [...]
3. *pʒ sš* [...] *mʒ't Nfr-rnpt* [...]
4. [...]
5. *pʒ* [...] *mr* [...] 1 [...]
6. *ḥwt-ḥr* [*ḥ*] *nw[t] nṯrt* [...] 1 [...]
7. *pʒ dīn n ḥwt-ḥr* [...] 1 [...]
8. [...]
9. [...] 2
10. *pʒ in* [...] *nfryt ḥr* 2
11. *pʒ w[dʒt ...]* 1 *dmd* [...]

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

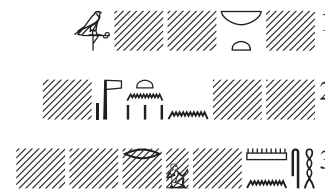
Verso A 2: The scanty traces at start of line would also permit reading a \cap before the 3, so regnal Year 13+. Alternatively, and perhaps more probably, these traces may just be $\textcircled{\ominus}$.

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* [...]=*i r* [...]



Translation

1. [...] Lady of [...]
2. [...] for you the god
3. my [...] is purified(?) at [...]

4.2. Ostrakon 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

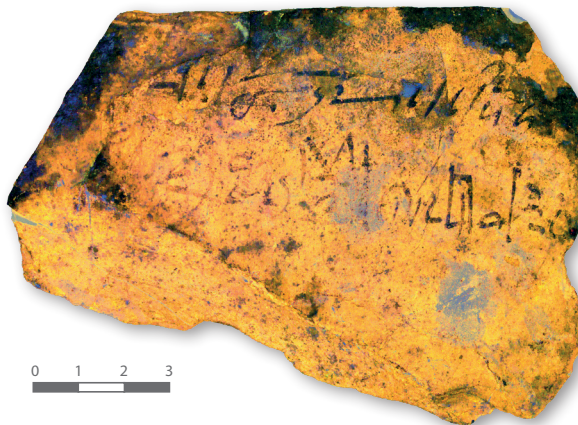


Fig. 2. O. M13627 after processing with DStretch (Photo by J. Sams)

4.2.1. Text



1. [...r] *tw=i w'.kw 3 n*
2. [...] *ir h'w dmd=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 *w'.kw* following Peet. Birch's comment about corn bushels is probably due to the similarity in hieratic between and .

4.3. Ostrakon M14185 (fig. 3)

A pottery ostrakon (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 ostrakon 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 .

Lower down on the ostrakon 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

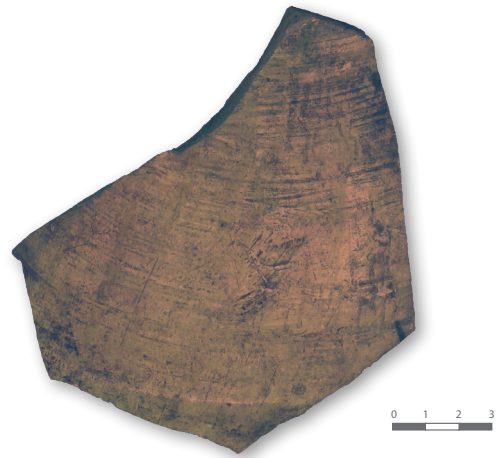


Fig. 3. Ostrakon M14185 after processing with DStretch (Photo by J. Sams)

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. Ostrakon (fig. 4a and 4b)

This ostrakon 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 ostrakon 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 ostrakon’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 packages⁶⁷ 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

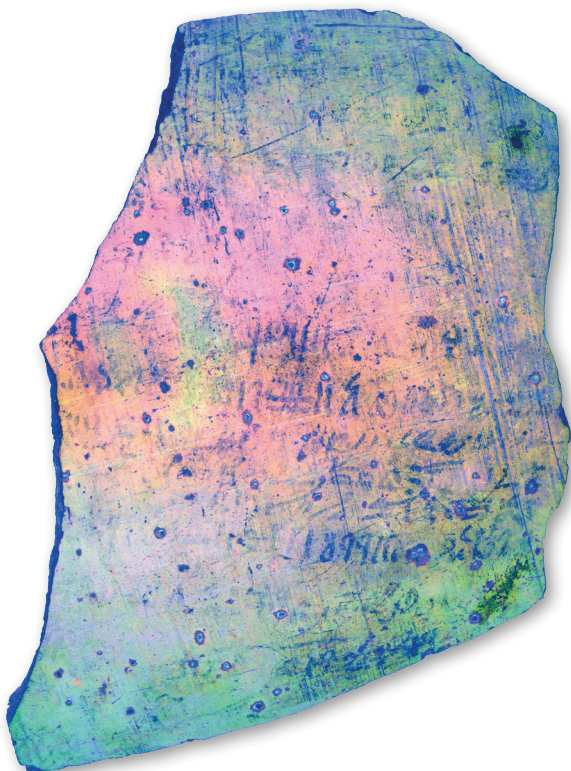


Fig. 4a. Ostrakon 42.18.48 recto after processing with DStretch
(Photo by J. Sams)

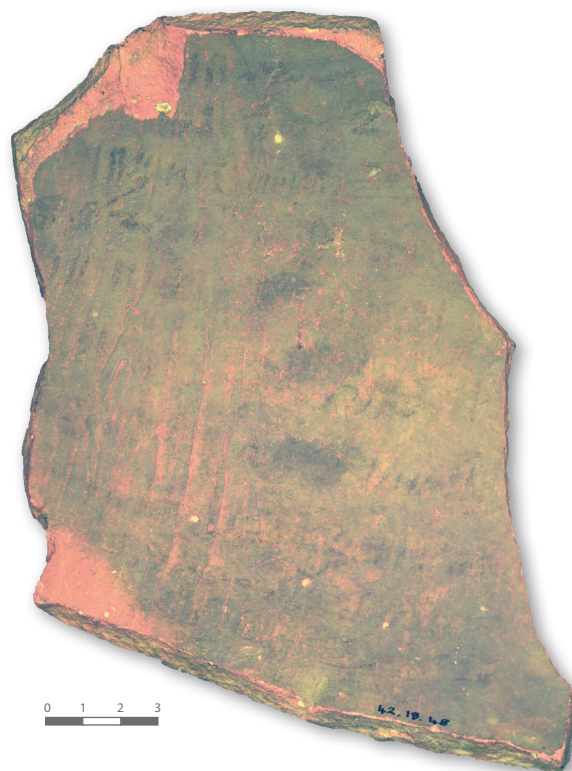


Fig. 4b. Ostrakon 42.18.48 verso after processing with RTIBuilder,
RTIViewer and GNU Image Manipulation Program
(Photo by J.R. Peterson)

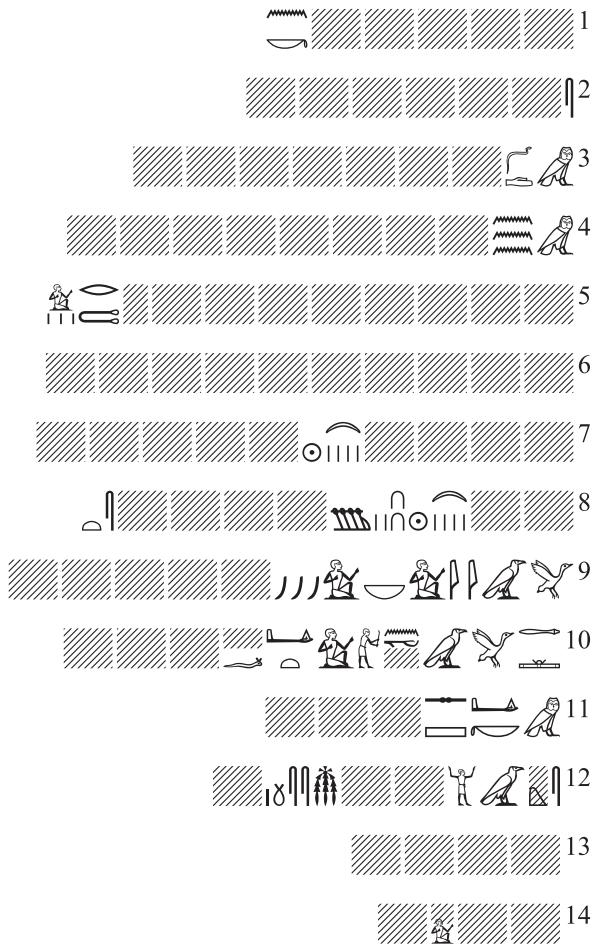
⁶⁷ Barbosa (2019); Visual Computing Laboratory (2019).

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 ostrakon'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 dd*[...]
4. *m mw* [...]
5. [...] *rmtw*
6. [...]
7. [...] *ibd 4 sw* [...]
8. [...] *ibd 4 sw 22 šsp*[...]=*s*
9. *p³y=i nb* ^ˆ.*w.s.* [...]
10. ^ˆ*p³nht di* [*n*]=*f*[...]
11. *m-di=k*???
12. *sq³* [...]*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 p³ pr* [...]
2. *p³* [...]
3. *r-dd pr^ˆ ˆ.w.s.* [...] *n³y=f*???
4. *s* [...] *hrw*
5. [...]
6. *iir* [...]
7. *in* [...]
8. [...] *rmt* [...]
9. [...]
10. *ir* [...] *m* [...]

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



k³mw [...] *m-di* [...]

Translation

Vintner [...] in the possession of [...]



Fig. 6. Wine amphora 1977.110.34
(Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool: World Museum)

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