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A footnote to an unpublished article written by Percy Newberry from around 1938 offers new information about the location of the tomb shaft in which the Ramesseum papyri were discovered, stating that it was cut in the floor of the tomb of Sehotepibre. The drafts of this article are part of the Newberry Papers at The Griffith Institute, Oxford.

In 1895–6, Flinders Petrie discovered a shaft-tomb while he and James Quibell were excavating the funerary temple of Ramses II, the ‘Ramesseum’ (Quibell 1898, 3–4, pl. i–iii; see Drower 1995, 218–21). In the north-west corner of the temple complex, there was a ‘long oblong shaft, skew to the wall of one of the chambers [of the later temple’s brick magazines] (no. 5, pl. 1) and running under it’ (Quibell 1898, 3; see Fig. 1). This is numbered as the fifth magazine, and because of this the tomb is sometimes misleadingly referred to as ‘Tomb no. 5’; it was also termed the ‘Tomb of ivory-boy’ (1898, iii), after a figure that was found there. ‘At the bottom of the shaft, 13 feet [3.9m] down, two small chambers opened’ (1898, 3), each of which probably had contained a single burial. ‘They were cleared and found to be empty. Lastly, the heap left in the middle of the shaft was removed and in it, in a space of about 2 feet [0.6m] square’, the excavators discovered a group of objects, apparently the remains of burial goods that had been removed from one of the burial chambers (Quibell 1898, 3). There was a wooden box of papyri, surrounded by a mass of other material, and it remains uncertain whether this plundered material came from a single burial (e.g. Quirke 2009, 374; Quirke 2015, 207).

Discussions about the nature of the find of the papyri are ongoing (e.g. Gnirs 2009; Lorand 2009, 10–44), but two factors hinder any analysis of the identity of the owner(s) of the tomb(s). One is the unknown present location of the box in which the papyri were found, which was published only in a brief description (see e.g. Parkinson 2009, 141–2). The subsequent movements of the box are unrecorded in the various publications, and in conversations over the years Bridget Leach and Richard Parkinson had supposed that some of the highly fragmentary papyri would have remained inside it while they awaited conservation, implying that the box might, for example, have been transferred into the care of the conservator Hugo Ibscher at some point (Leach 2006, 225 no. 2; Parkinson 2012). However, a contemporaneous review in *The Times* suggests other possibilities. It describes an exhibition in 1896 at University College London, ‘illustrating the labours during the last months in Egypt of Professor Flinders Petrie and Mr Quibell’, stating that:

‘A number of objects are also shown from a XIIth dynasty tomb, including a box which contained literary papyri in too dilapidated a condition to be brought to England, a wooden figure of a dancer holding bronze snakes in her hands, ivory castanets, a doll

¹ We are very grateful to Christian Leblanc for a brief discussion of this note; to Kim Ryholt for identifying and providing copies of the newspaper reviews we cite; and to Stephen Quirke for help with the exhibition catalogue. Responsibility for all the hypotheses and errors remains ours.

of painted wood, an ape, a lion and a female figure in blue glaze.²²

As Stephen Quirke has observed, *The Times* reporter was apparently drawing on the phrasing of an entry in the exhibition's catalogue, and so the review may not be entirely reliable in its implication that the papyri were still in Egypt (pers. Comm. 2012). The catalogue entry states:

'...below the window are sundry objects from a XIIth dyn. tomb. This had been robbed and re-used during the New Empire: but the robbers had not completely cleared out the shaft of the tomb and we found a box containing literary papyri (in very bad condition, and therefore not shown here), a wooden figure of a dancer holding bronze snakes in her hands, ivory castanets, a doll of painted wood, an ape, a lion, and a female figure in blue glaze. The bundle of writing reeds comes from the same grave.'²³

Despite the uncertain authority of these descriptions, it seems that the box was in London by summer 1896 and that the papyri had already been removed from it; *The Times*' claim that they were still in Egypt could well be a mistaken elaboration. The other finds listed with the box in these reviews were given to Jesse Haworth (1835–1920) who donated them to the Manchester Museum in 1896 (Parkinson 2009, 234).⁴

The other puzzling factor is the exact location of the tomb-shaft, which is not marked in the published plan. Its actual location remains uncertain, despite Monique Nelson's attempt to relocate the shaft in December 2004 (Nelson 2006). No trace of the tomb-shaft was uncovered in the area above the dotted lines in magazine no. 5 on Quibell's plan, although a tomb of an early Dynasty 18 royal nurse was discovered some 4m further south (Leblanc 2005, 33–4; Nelson 2006, esp. 115–16). The area is riddled with other shafts from the Second Intermediate Period, which occasionally run into each other (Leblanc 2005, 33–4; Nelson 2006, esp. 115–16). We present here a new clue as to the tomb's location, which has been identified by Melissa Downing while working as Project Archivist on the Newberry papers at The Griffith Institute, Oxford, an institution that has long been associated with the Ramesseum papyri, through its *genius loci* Sir Alan Gardiner (e.g. Parkinson 2009, 234–7). We present the text of Newberry's comment on the tomb without comment, beyond a few preliminary remarks outlining its possible implications.

The papers of Percy Newberry (1869–1949) were deposited at The Griffith Institute by his wife Essie Newberry (1878–1953) in 1951. During his lifetime, Newberry had a close interest in the Institute's work and notably helped orchestrate the deposit of Howard Carter's records of the excavation of Tutankhamun's tomb.⁵ Although previous attempts had been made to

2 *The Times*, London, 6 July 1896, p. 9.

3 *Catalogue of Antiquities from Thebes, exhibited at University College, Gower Street, London (close to Gower Street Station), July 6th to August 1st, 1896. Price, sixpence*, p.8. Transcription kindly provided by Stephen Quirke.

4 An American review of the London exhibition, in *The Salt Lake Herald*, also mentions the bundle of reeds 'found in a tomb, where robbers of a later day had left a box containing literary papyri of the same kind as those brought home by the Messrs. Hogarth and Grenfell from the Fayoum [the Oxrhynchus papyri], but in this instance in too bad a condition to bear removal' (23 August 1896, p. 13).

5 See correspondence with Phyllis Walker in the Percy Newberry Collection, Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, MSS 44/60–83).

arrange and catalogue Newberry's papers, a satisfactory listing was not achieved, but thanks to a 2014 cataloguing grant from The National Archives, a Project Archivist was appointed to re-catalogue the collection and publish a finding aid online.⁶

Besides a considerable amount of correspondence and other personal papers the collection consists of a mass of research material on a diverse range of topics including flora and fauna, objects, sites, Predynastic Egypt, geography and religion. The collection includes notebooks, thematically organised subject files, photographs, tracings and rubbings, as well as a large quantity of loose notes and tiny scraps of paper with a few jotted words. In a letter to Georg Steindorff in May 1946, Newberry wrote: 'I hope to survive long enough to produce one more book which will consist of Essays dealing with the Archaic Period and the history and archaeology of Egypt generally'.⁷ This work never came to fruition, unfortunately, however it is possible that Newbury collated some of the research material now held at the Griffith Institute in preparation for it. The collection includes several draft papers relating to the history and culture of ancient Egypt that appear to be nearly complete. One such draft is an unpublished paper on 'The Crane Dance in Ancient Egypt', a term used for the dance of the *mmu* (see e.g. Altenmüller 1975). The draft is in a file containing various research materials on cranes and the 'crane dance' including tracings of tomb paintings.⁸ There are multiple versions of the draft as well as the footnotes, which are not always with the accompanying text.

These drafts from around 1938 contain a striking footnote, which we give in its six versions, numbered according to the order in which they were filed. The earliest draft is thought to be number 2 which is written in pencil (Fig. 2), followed by versions 4 and 6 written in pen, and 1, 3 and 5 which are all typed (see Fig. 3). The notes reference the painted representation of the *mmu* dancers in the painted corridor of the tomb of Sehetepibre beneath the Ramesseum magazines:

1. 'This tomb (of Sehetepibre [sic]) dates from early in the Second Intermediate Period. It is not generally known that it was in this tomb that was found the box containing the Ramesseum copy of Sinuhe, the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus and several others. Quibell (Ramesseum, 4) refers to the find of papyri being made in 'another tomb' but I was present when the box was discovered and recollect that the shaft in which it was lying was cut in the floor of the inscribed corridor of Sehetepibre. A plan of the tomb is given by Quibell (Pl.1) in dotted outline between Chambers 5 and 7. There was only one tomb here but there were two or more mummy-pits in it.'
2. 'Tomb of Sehetepibre^c, dating from the first half of the Second Intermediate Period. It is not generally known that it was in this tomb that was found the box containing the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, the Ramesseum copy of Sinuhe etcetera. Quibell (op. cit. p.4) refers to it as "another tomb", but I was present at Thebes when the discovery was made & clearly recollect that the shaft in which the box was found

⁶ The project is planned to be completed at the end of 2016, to be available online at www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/archive/.

Here we cite the papers by their existing catalogue references which will be incorporated into a new numbering system.

⁷ Percy Newberry Collection, Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, MSS 42/42.

⁸ Percy Newberry Collection, Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, PEN/G.XI/FB.

was cut in the floor of the inscribed corridor of Sehetepibre^c, a plan of the tomb is given by Quibell (Pl. 1) in dotted outline between chambers Nos 5 & 7.’

3. ‘This tomb (of Sehetepibre) dates from the early Second Intermediate Period. It is not generally known that it was in this tomb that was found the box containing the Ramesseum copy of Sinuhe, the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus and several others. Quibell (Ramesseum, 4) refers to the find of papyri being made in “another tomb”, but the writer was present when the box was discovered and recollected that the shaft in which it was lying was cut in the floor of the inscribed corridor of Sehetepibre. A plan of the tomb is given by Quibell (Pl. 1) in dotted outline between Chambers 5 and 7. There was only one tomb here but there were two or more mummy-pits in it.’

4. ‘Tomb of Sehetepibre dating from early in 2nd. Interm. period It is not generally known that it was in this tomb that was found the box containing the Ram. copy of Sinuhe, the Ram. Dram. Pap & several other papyri. (Quibell (op cit. p.4) refers the find being made in “another tomb” but I was present when the box was found & clearly recollect that the shaft in which it was lying was cut in the floor of the inscribed corridor of Sehetepibre. A plan of tomb given by Quibell (Pl.1) in dotted outline between chambers 5 & 7. There was only one tomb here but there were two or more mummy pits in it.’

5. ‘Quibell, The Ramesseum, 1898, Pl. ix. from the tomb of Sehetepibre dating from the Second Intermediate period. It is not generally known that it was in this tomb that was found the box containing the Ramesseum copy of Sinuhe, the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, and several other papyri (Quibell (op.cit.p.4) says that the find was made in “another tomb” but I was present when the box was found and clearly recollect that the shaft in which the box was lying was cut [sic] out of the floor of the inscribed corridor of Sehetepibre. A plan of the tomb is given in dotted line between Chambers 5 and 7 [6 crossed out]). There was only one tomb here but there were two or more mummy pits in it.’

6. ‘[mww] Quibell, Ramesseum Pl. IX. Tomb of Sehetepibre, dating from early in the Second Intermediate Period. It is not generally known that it was in this tomb that was found the box containing the Ram. Dram. Pap., the Ramesseum copy of Sinuhe etc. Quibell (op.cit.p.4) refers to it as ‘another tomb’ but I was present when the discovery was made & clearly recollect that the shaft in which the box was found was cut in the floor of the inscribed corridor of Sehetepibre^c. A plan of the tomb is given by Quibell (Pl. 1) in dotted outline between Chambers nos 5 & 7.’

The note is fairly characteristic of Newberry’s style, as other drafts and papers also contain footnotes that are almost conversational in tone. Newberry stresses his direct experience, ‘clearly recollected’, so these accounts should be given some credence as possibly more detailed than Quibell’s summary account published in 1898, a few years after the season. This rather hastily published volume (see below for inconsistencies) described the tomb of Sehetepire and the tomb shaft with the papyri as two apparently entirely unconnected locations. According to Quibell, the tomb with the papyri was ‘the most important tomb of

the XIIth dynasty period' in the Ramesseum (1898, 3), and that of Sehotepibre is described as 'another tomb of the Middle Empire' which was located 'in the long colonnade to the N.W. (pl. I, 7)' (1898, 4), known as the Treasury.

'When the pillars were removed We deepened the hole and found ourselves in a brick passage running nearly at right angles to the colonnade. This passage had been covered by an arch, the spring of which could still be seen; it continued under the E. wall of the colonnade and was obviously much the older work. The passage ended to the west in a façade of rock in which opened a tunnel 50 feet long [15.24m]. The brick walls of the passage had been plastered, whitewashed, and painted with a series of scenes ... The passage between the decorated walls contained a group of XIXth dynasty pots ... embedded in the debris, which had no doubt been put there when the site was levelled for building. But the tunnel in the rock was almost clear ...'.

He then described the remains of later burials left by robbers on the floor of the tunnel, and continued:

'...twenty feet [6.09m] further on was a small niche 3 feet above the ground; it was empty. Here too the passage narrowed slightly as if for a door. Beyond was the chamber, and in it, on the right, an oblong mummy-pit; six feet lower this opened into two chambers, both entirely soiled' (1898, 4).

Quibell described this as distinct from the Ramesseum papyri tomb-shaft. The plates illustrating the paintings (1898, pls. vi–ix), which were based on 'colour copies' by Annie Pirie (later Quibell; 1862–1927), show the walls of a gently sloping corridor; the image of a false door at the lower end of the north side of the painted wall (pl. vii) is said to be 'close to the rock façade' (1898:4). The painted walls are thus part of the arched passage leading to the undecorated rock 'tunnel'.

The published plan shows a corridor tomb between chambers 5 and 7, as Newberry noted, which correlates with the measurements given in Quibell's text, although the scale given as '1: 400' on the published plan (1898, pl. i) is incorrect (it is approximately 1: 1000). A chamber is indicated at the end of a long corridor, lying under the magazine numbered 5, which is given as the location of the tomb-shaft of the papyri. There is a line running across the corridor between the pillars in the Treasury colonnade, that might be intended to mark the position of the 'façade of rock' mentioned by Quibell. A side chamber seems to be indicated under magazine 6, but it is unclear how this relates to the description. Newberry stated that the papyrus shaft was 'cut in the floor of the inscribed corridor', but it is not clear if he was referring specifically to the painted arched corridor as opposed to the 'tunnel', or simply to part of the corridor/tunnel as a whole (as opposed to the chamber at the end). It is also unclear how the uncaptioned photograph of a shaft in the partially excavated magazine 4 (1898, pl. ii no. 3) might relate to the various Middle Kingdom tombs mentioned in the text. This shaft, however, need not be Middle Kingdom: the photograph follows two images of the ivory boy from the papyrus shaft, currently in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (E13405), and precedes images of later material (1898, pl. ii).

In his note(s), Newberry dated the tomb of Sehotepibre to the early Second Intermediate Period, whereas Sehotepibre has generally been assumed to be Dynasty 12 from Quibell's

description and listing of it as ‘XIIth Dynasty’ (1898, iii). The juxtaposition of the relevant sentences in Newberry’s note(s) suggests that his dating was based on that of the papyri, which, as they were gradually conserved were recognised to be (at least in part) later than Dynasty 12.⁹ Quibell’s dating was presumably an estimate made on the basis of the tomb-owner’s name, which is mentioned in the publication variously as Sehetepabra (main text: 1989, 3), Se-hetep-ab-ra (contents page: 1898, iii), Se-hotep-ab-ra and Ra-se-hotep-ab (plate captions: pls. vi–ix). It is recorded beside the false door as ‘[...] the priest Sehotepibre ([...] *hm-ntr shṭpjbr*)’ (1898, pl. vii), and again in the caption to the offering scene as ‘Sehotepibre true of voice [son of(?)] Montuhotep (*shṭpjbr m3^c-hrw [s3(?)]-mntwḥtp nb-jm3ḥ*) (pl. viii). The name need not imply a date in early Dynasty 12, but Quibell’s dating of this tomb to Dynasty 12 has generally been followed without question (e.g. PM I.25, 679). The representation of the funeral procession on the walls of the corridor are similar to that in the tomb of Intefiqer’s relative, which is securely dated to early Dynasty 12 (Davies and Gardiner 1920, pls. xxi–xxii), and the placement of a corridor-tomb in an early Middle Kingdom cemetery in the Ramesseum area would relate to the placement of the projected funerary temple of Amenemhat I under the western cliffs (see e.g. Chudzick 2013). Might the painted corridor be a later addition to an earlier re-used tomb?

If Sehotepibre was buried in Dynasty 12, then he cannot be the owner of the Ramesseum box of papyri, which contains papyri from Dynasty 13 (Parkinson 2009, 146–60), and the relationship between this tomb deposit and the tomb of Sehotepibre cannot be as simple as Newberry’s note(s) implied. The two authoritative but different accounts of the location of the tomb-shaft with the papyri are incompatible. One states that the shaft with the box of papyri was under magazine 5, the other that it was a shaft cut into the corridor of the tomb of Sehotepibre; the date of the second location may be incompatible with that of the find of papyri. Given Newberry’s statement in the footnote published here that ‘there was only one tomb here but there were two or more mummy-pits in it’, a possible hypothesis to account for this divergence is that the tomb-shaft with the papyri was a later intrusion, cut into the corridor of the earlier tomb. This is perhaps more likely to be a later intrusion than one, say, cut into the innermost chamber. If the shaft with papyri was located at the far end of the corridor/tunnel, it might have been far enough West for Quibell to describe it as being under magazine 5. Such a multiple usage of this area would fit with the palimpsested nature of the Middle Kingdom cemetery area. This might explain why the 1898 publication treated the two tombs as separate entities, while Newberry remembered and emphasised in his unpublished article the interrelationship of the two. Text speaks to text, but, as Bridget has always shown, materiality is a factor which can clarify difficult questions, and the ground of the Ramesseum may one day reveal how these two divergent accounts can be resolved.

Acknowledgements

It is an honour to present a brief joint paper for Bridget Leach who has so superbly curated, conserved and published the Ramesseum papyri during her career at the British Museum (e.g. Leach 2006), and it is a pleasure to be able to offer a small contribution on a relevant

⁹P. Ramesseum A was first noted to be later than the four Dynasty 12 Berlin literary papyri by Gardiner (1907, 2), who later described the whole find as Dynasty 13 (1955, 2).

topic from Oxford. Melissa Downing has provided the description of the Newberry papers, and Richard Parkinson has provided the discussion of the papyri, as well as the following more personal remarks: ‘among the happiest memories of my time at the British Museum are those of carrying the fragile frames of the Ramesseum papyri over to the Photographic Studios, cleaning and dusting the shelves, numbering and renumbering the frames and papers, and stacking and storing them in the company of such a superlative colleague. All were activities that had a profound intellectual impact on me, increasing my awareness of the materiality of the manuscripts, and also creating a sense of how much academic research depends on the warm collegiality of co-workers who are not only professional specialists but also admirable human beings—Bridget is a papyrological paragon and nonpareille, and also simply a wonderful person. Of all the colleagues I have encountered she has shaped my own research the most profoundly, and is a continual inspiration and friend.’

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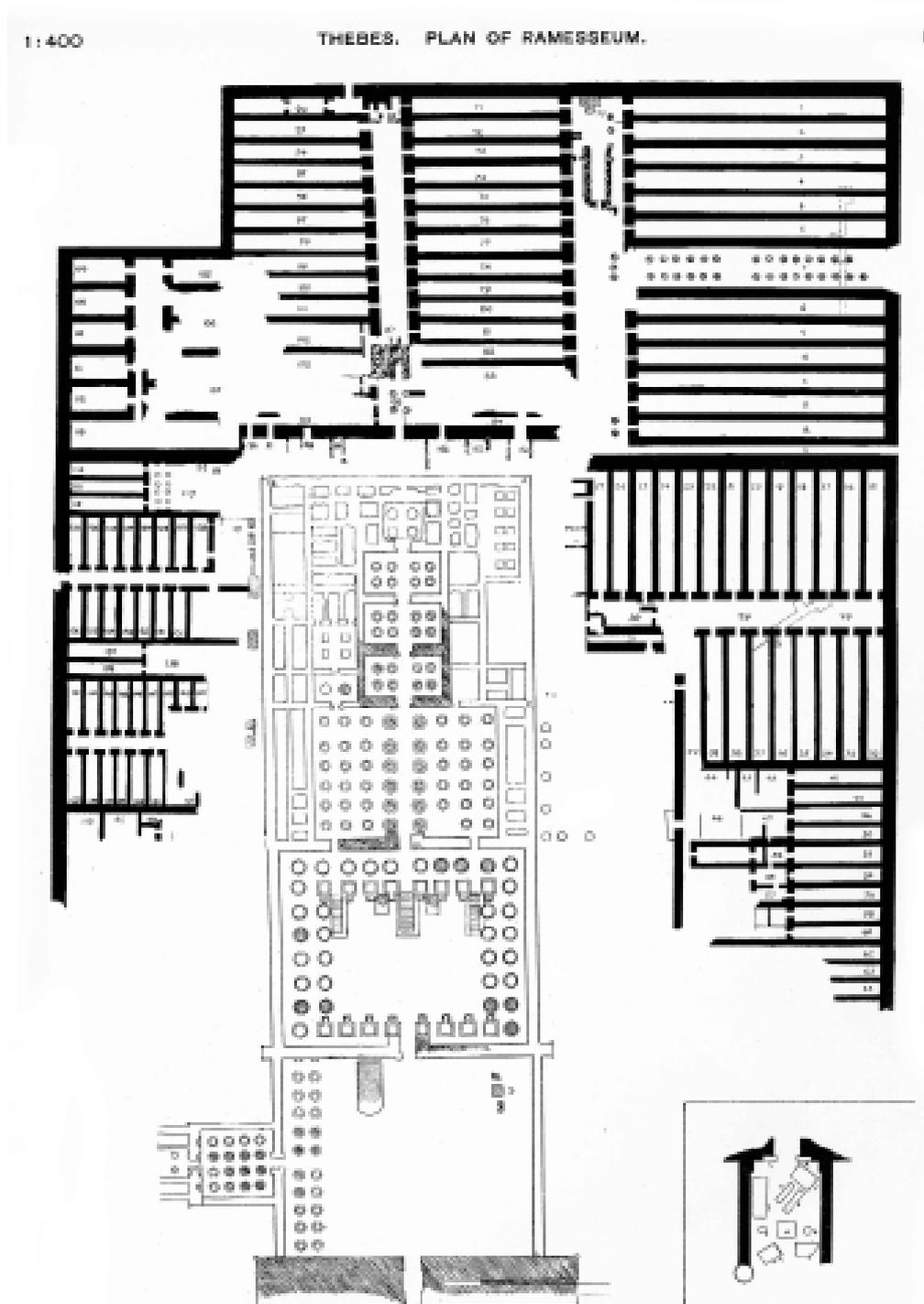


Fig. 1: Quibell's plan of the Ramesseum (1898, pl. i).

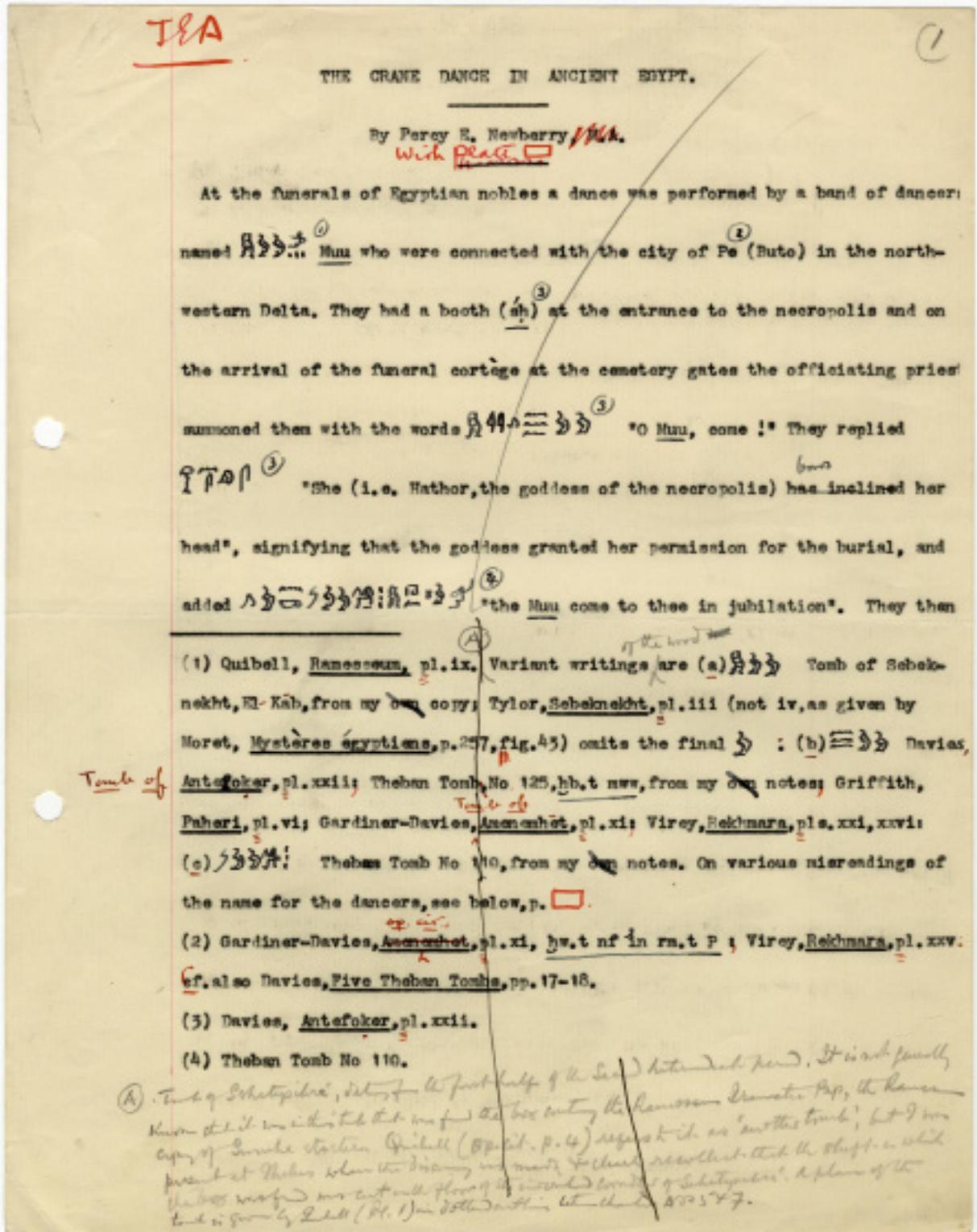


Fig. 2: Drafts of the note, nos. 1 and 2 © The Griffith Institute.

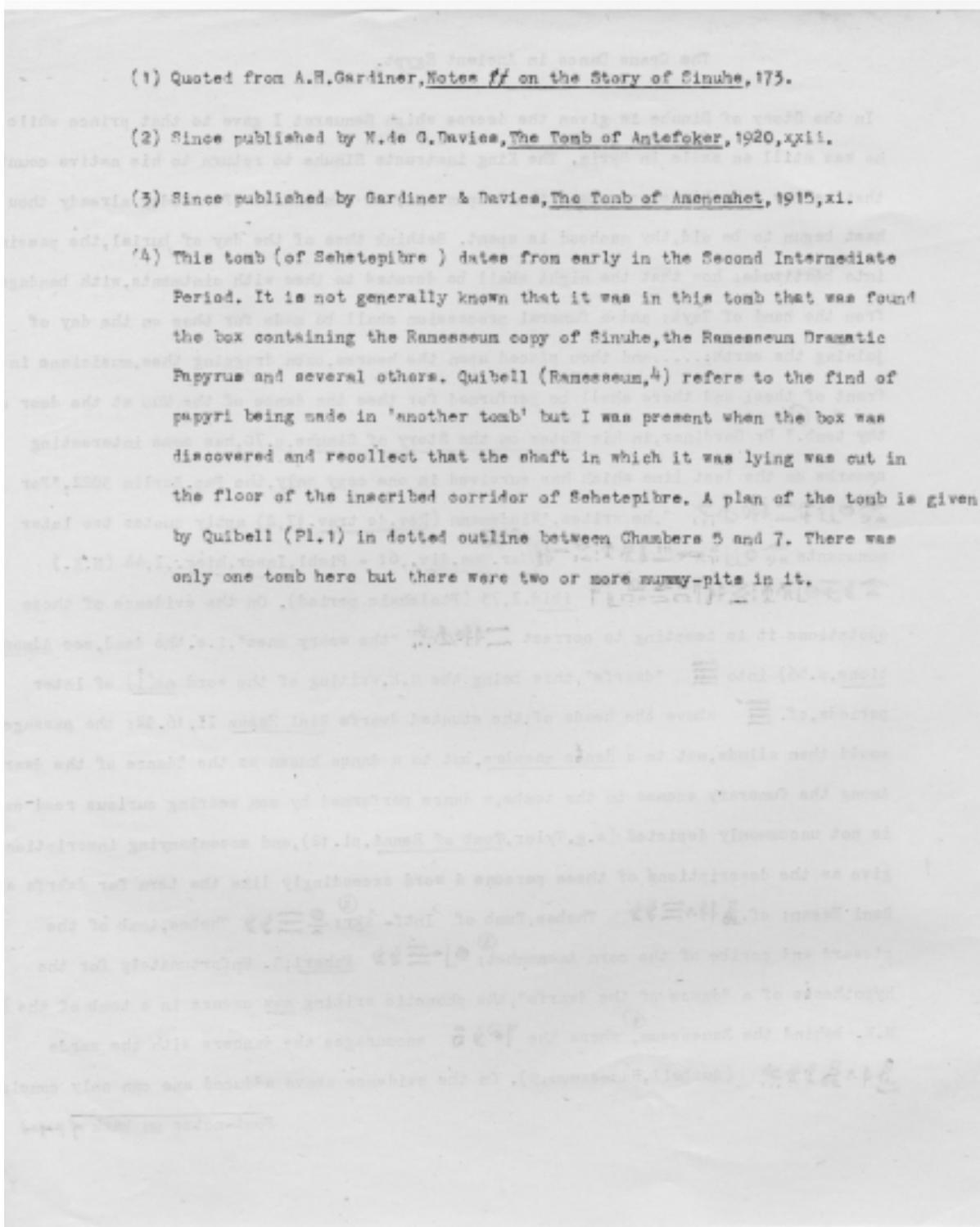


Fig. 3: Drafts of the note, nos. 1 and 2 © The Griffith Institute.