

**Excavating Paper Squeezes:  
Identifying the value of nineteenth and early twentieth  
century squeezes of ancient Egyptian monuments, through  
the collections of seven UK archives.**

by

**Charlotte Booth**

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School of History and Cultures  
Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology

University of Birmingham

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**‘Paper impressions or ‘squeezes’, of sculptures, which are invaluable for study, but which are too readily thrown aside and lost,’ Petrie’s Introductory Lecture.<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Janssen 1992: 99.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

Paper squeezes were produced extensively in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries across Egypt and the wider Middle East and can be found in archives and museum collections throughout the world. They are, in their simplest form, a one-to-one impression of carved inscriptions, made of thick paper. They vary in size from a few centimetres to metres long.

### **Travellers to Egypt**

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries visitor numbers to Egypt were increasing. Regardless of whether the visitors were tourists, travellers, pilgrims and archaeologists – all may have produced squeezes.

Visitors to Egypt can loosely be divided into two groups – archaeologists or travellers (which includes tourists, artists, businessmen and pilgrims) although at the time both groups came from the same upper-middle or upper classes of society.<sup>1</sup> Travelling was an expensive venture, and the act of travelling on a historical holiday was considered to be a ‘populist form of respectability.’<sup>2</sup>

As early as the 1830s, the influx of tourists to Egypt was viewed as an irritant for many other travellers as,

‘The overland passage to India [had] flooded the country with Englishmen, no fewer than eight hundred persons having crossed the desert to Suez within the last nine

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<sup>1</sup> Mandler 1999: 126.

<sup>2</sup> Mandler 1999: 129.

months.’<sup>3</sup>

The difference between archaeologists and travellers is not clear, as many visitors to Egypt were there for the monuments and antiquities<sup>4</sup> – whether to purchase or excavate. Most visitors were involved to some extent in ‘exploration, anthropology, survey, collection, excavation, plunder, theorizing and prophecy.’<sup>5</sup>

All visitors to Egypt used the same form of transport,<sup>6</sup> a dahebeya to sail the Nile, with excursions to individual sites being taken by donkey, and camping under canvas when staying away from the boat. The only difference was in the sites visited and the reason for travelling. For example, Christian pilgrims visited Egypt in order to follow the holy family’s journey and therefore visited different sites from the average antiquities traveller.

Pilgrims were considered by some to be superior to other tourists and travellers which was why the diary of one pilgrim, Father Dolák (1870) was criticised at the time as being simply a report on “touring”, or a pleasure trip. He is enjoying himself, and he behaves like an amused tourist, ‘with all the burden this term carries.’<sup>7</sup>

Paul and Janet Starkey make it clear in their *Introduction to Egypt Through the Eyes of Travellers* that there is a distinct difference in visitor type when they list nineteenth-century visitors to Egypt as a ‘stream of artists and poets, merchants and explorers, antiquarians, nobles and eventually tourists.’<sup>8</sup>

The Starkeys present tourists as a distinct group of visitors and indicate travelling to Egypt as

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<sup>3</sup> Phillip Rhinelander, 1839 quoted in Oliver 2009: 99.

<sup>4</sup> Mairs & Muratov 2015: 12.

<sup>5</sup> Mairs & Muratov 2015: 12.

<sup>6</sup> Navrátilová 2009: 20.

<sup>7</sup> Navrátilová 2009: 20.

<sup>8</sup> Starkey & Starkey 2002: vii.

a poet or artist was different from travelling as a tourist. This distinction is one developed in the nineteenth century and Dean A. Walker comments in 1891 that,

‘the ordinary tourist is to be pitied. He sees the principal places when tired from a hard day’s ride. He has not the language, and for information must depend on the ‘*Baedeker*’ which is now on many points out of date, and on his dragoman, who thinks he is not earning his pound a day if his stories fall below the maximum size.’<sup>9</sup>

According to Buzard,<sup>10</sup> being a tourist in Egypt was about predictability and repetitiveness whereas ‘travellers’ wished to find the total opposite, the ‘real’ Egypt, acting spontaneously and travelling off the beaten track in an exotic and unpredictable way. This desire for a ‘real’ experience renders most tourists as being anti-tourist as they despise being classified as being part of the predictable tourist group.

The abandonment of Western luxuries was what separated the traveller from the tourist and Belzoni comments that Henry William Beechey (c.1789–1862), who accompanied him to Abu Simbel,

‘after having weaned himself from those indulgences to which he was accustomed, ... would make a good traveller.’<sup>11</sup>

In 1833, the English officer C. Rochfort Scott travelled to Egypt and offered advice on how to be less of a tourist:

‘With respect to the travelling dress, the Turkish, or rather Nizam, which is a variation of it, is that which is generally recommended; but I must confess, that after some

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<sup>9</sup> Mairs & Muratov 2015: 15.

<sup>10</sup> Buzard 1993: 4.

<sup>11</sup> Usick 2002: 16.

personal experience in the matter, I would strongly advise travellers to save themselves the expense of buying, and the bore of wearing, this cumbersome attire.<sup>12</sup>

However archaeologist and collector Giovanni D'Athanasia (1836) recommended the opposite:

'it will be of advantage to the traveller to appear in a European dress; for as the Turks are in the habit of committing acts of violence on the Arabs, the latter whenever they see any one approaching in Oriental costume take to flight as they would from death. On the other hand, whenever they see the European dress, men, women, children and even the aged are instantly on the alert; some offer you antiquities for sale, others bring you bread, milk, butter &c.'<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the history of archaeology in Egypt, visitors have been characterised as good or bad depending on education and status, rather than behaviour. 'Bad' people are those who are unscientific and lack certain knowledge, and tourists definitely fell within this group, whereas the 'good' people are those who are scientific, systematic record keepers<sup>14</sup> (i.e. archaeologists and Egyptologists). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, education was not enough to separate the amateurs (tourists) from the professionals (archaeologists). W.M.F. Petrie (1853–1942) and Howard Carter (1874–1939) were both considered amateurs as they lacked a university education and a classical background,<sup>15</sup> but were still thought of as 'good' professional archaeologists. Montagu Ballard (1850 – 1936), on the other hand, who conducted excavations at Giza in 1901-2 was characterised as a bad archaeologist as he 'left a horrific path of destruction as he ripped his way through the large cemetery, revealing its

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<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Oliver 2009: 101.

<sup>13</sup> Mairs & Muratov 2015: 130.

<sup>14</sup> Gange 2015: 83.

<sup>15</sup> Gange 2015: 96.

previously unsuspected riches to tomb robbers.’<sup>16</sup> Such excavation or site clearance techniques were not, however, unusual for the time but Ballard was considered to be an amateur archaeologist and therefore his methods were criticized.

Even ‘good’ archaeologists, such as Amelia Edwards (1831–1892) and James Henry Breasted (1865–1935) damaged monuments. Edwards carved her name onto the walls of Abu Simbel and Breasted was sacked from his first Nubian excavation for carving his name onto the temple wall.<sup>17</sup> Yet their training and status rendered their actions acceptable, and almost beyond reproach, whereas tourists doing the same were heavily criticised by these professional archaeologists.

Petrie commented on the behaviour of those he termed ‘gentlemen’ and ‘businessmen’, who enthusiastically ‘squandered’ [thousands] ‘in doing harm’ where experts could make vast improvements ‘with a hundred pounds intelligently spent.’<sup>18</sup>

Just as there was a fine line between travellers and tourists, there was also little differentiation between tourists and archaeologists.

### **Squeezes for Research**

Many tourists, archaeologists, travellers and pilgrims produced or purchased squeezes whilst travelling in Egypt. Some scholars also used paper impressions to aid with publication (e.g. Nina and Norman de Garis Davies),<sup>19</sup> allowing them the resources to study tomb, temple and stelae inscriptions away from the field.

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<sup>16</sup> Thompson 2016: 229.

<sup>17</sup> Thompson 2016: 262.

<sup>18</sup> Petrie 1904: 3.

<sup>19</sup> See catalogue and the introduction in chapter 3.



Petrie produced squeezes of Latin, Greek and Coptic inscriptions which he passed to Margaret Murray to produce facsimiles that were then used in his publications.<sup>20</sup> He thanks her in the *Introduction* of *Koptos* 'for copying from the paper squeezes most of the inscriptions here published.'<sup>21</sup>

Other researchers and visitors produced squeezes in order to make copies of the inscriptions, using plaster, which could then be sold to museums (e.g. Robert Hay)<sup>22</sup> or to create reconstructions of the monuments (e.g. Giovanni Belzoni).<sup>23</sup> Tourists, on the other hand, produced such impressions as forms of holiday souvenirs, alongside sketches and watercolours. The latter is potentially considered more important than the former.

Squeeze production was considered an effective and simple means of producing accurate records of carved inscriptions. The legacy of this activity is that surviving squeezes are valuable primary resources of inscriptions and should be treated in the same manner as any other archival resource.

Unfortunately, on painted surfaces, the water required to produce paper impressions caused paint to lift and traces of colour can be found on the verso of some squeezes.<sup>24</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, it became prohibited to produce wet-paper squeezes from ancient Egyptian monuments without special permission,<sup>25</sup> and scholars and tourists on the whole turned to alternative, less destructive means of recording the monuments. However, squeezes were still made in the field following this 1904 legislation,

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<sup>20</sup> Drower 2007: 112.

<sup>21</sup> Petrie & Hogarth 1896: 2.

<sup>22</sup> See chapter 6.

<sup>23</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>24</sup> See squeezes G003, G007, (plate 22) G041 (plate 26) in the catalogue.

<sup>25</sup> Petrie 1904: 61-62.

such as Blackman and Fairman at Sesebi in 1936–1937,<sup>26</sup> on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society.

### **Squeezes in Archives**

As squeeze taking became the occupation solely of scholars with special permission, thousands of squeezes previously produced by tourists and general researchers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found their way through donations into archives and museums, where in many cases they have remained unstudied for decades. Such neglect is due to myriad factors, including financial restrictions and mass donations.

Whilst museums are happy to receive donations, often these ‘attic donations’ include items the museum does not want<sup>27</sup> as they reflect the interests and collecting habits of individuals and not the museum itself.<sup>28</sup> This was a problem even during nineteenth-century excavations when Petrie commented that, ‘one of the most difficult questions always is to know what may be safely thrown away.’<sup>29</sup> Petrie collected a great number of items that other archaeologists threw away, such as pottery sherds, which proved to be invaluable as a dating tool. Owing to such diverse collection techniques (both from excavations or donations) museum collections are often a combination of groups of individuals’ collections<sup>30</sup> which do not represent the museum’s goals. Collectors often hope that through bequeathing their collections to family members or museums they achieve some form of immortality, although this ‘is only possible if the material is deemed by curators as being of “museum quality” and so arises the

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<sup>26</sup> See catalogue and chapter 8.

<sup>27</sup> Pearce 1990: 71.

<sup>28</sup> Swain 2007: 93.

<sup>29</sup> Petrie 1892: 164.

<sup>30</sup> Pearce 1992: 36.

importance of the coincidence of the public and private systems.’<sup>31</sup>

Museum policy enables them to refuse certain items if they fall outside the expertise of the museum, as long as advice is provided as to a more suitable institution.<sup>32</sup> However, such policies are relatively new to the museum sector and Thompson comments that,

‘it is clearly improper to expand an acquisitions policy unless the institution is able to provide high standards of curatorial care ... many instances of neglect have resulted from uncontrollable collecting and many museum stores contain unclassified residues that are the legacy of passive collecting.’<sup>33</sup>

If it were not for such a passive collecting policy, squeezes may have been refused by museum collections and ultimately lost. Squeezes, whilst being considered an archaic form of recording that has been criticised for damage to painted inscriptions, are an invaluable, mostly untapped primary source.

Their value lies in their one-to-one scale impressions of inscriptions which since the squeeze was produced have often been damaged, removed, vandalised or simply lost. For example, twelve squeezes in the *Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano* made by Victor Loret, depict the sarcophagus of Ay, before it was smashed up by treasure hunters in 1896,<sup>34</sup> and therefore provides an undamaged impression of the sarcophagus decoration.

Regardless of such potential value, some curators separate themselves from the collecting habits of the nineteenth century ‘as a means of validating their own methods.’<sup>35</sup> This is

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<sup>31</sup> Pearce 1997: 48.

<sup>32</sup> Pearce 1990: 74.

<sup>33</sup> Thompson et al. 1984: 74.

<sup>34</sup> Piacentini 2008: 133.

<sup>35</sup> Swain 2007: 94.

reflected in the approach to squeezes in the field of Egyptology, where the potential damage caused to ancient painted surfaces means they are often hidden away, despite being primary sources of long-lost and damaged inscriptions. This potential damage caused during production seems to override their value as archaeological records.

However, many squeezes made by archaeologists were never intended for permanent storage as 'squeezes can be fragile, which limits their accessibility and jeopardises the historical data they hold.'<sup>36</sup> They were a recording method that served a purpose and was not then expected to exceed their intended life expectancy. The preservation in museums is more accidental than intentional.

Some early researchers, clearly saw their potential value. For example Major Charles Kerr MacDonald, donated his squeezes to the British Museum and sent them to Samuel Birch with a letter stating:

'I have taken two copies of the one and three of the other – And I shall feel obliged for your keeping one copy of each for me as I feel a great interesting [sic] in this discovery and hope that together with other inscriptions it may throw some light upon the ancient history of this most interesting nation of the world.'<sup>37</sup>

He saw these squeezes held potential value in the future and wanted the British Museum to care for them until their value could be realised.

Ideally, 'stored squeezes should be regularly inspected for deterioration or other damage'<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ernst Herzfeld papers, N-84 (1923–24), November 22, 1923: 18.

[http://www.asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq\\_making.asp#two](http://www.asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq_making.asp#two) (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>37</sup> Baines & Parkinson 1997: 26.

<sup>38</sup> Woodhead 1959: 80.

although unfortunately this is not often carried out. Should further deterioration happen, an extremely valuable resource would be lost forever and, along with it, the only extant records of some now-lost or damaged inscriptions.

As many curators are unaware of the potential information and conservation value of these items and know they are unlikely to ever be displayed, squeezes are perhaps at the bottom of a conservation work list. Many archives and museums do not have their own dedicated conservation teams and contract such work out as necessary. Generally only items which are displayed, consulted regularly or are under threat are conserved.<sup>39</sup>

Now, in the modern digital era, there is an alternative and potentially cheaper form of conservation. If an archival item is in critical condition, but unlikely to be consulted, the item could be digitalised rather than undergoing full conservation.<sup>40</sup> The premise that ‘no item shall be preserved twice’ is applicable to digital imaging,<sup>41</sup> and potentially means once digitalised, no further work will be carried out. Which items are digitalised and conserved in this way are at the behest of individual curators or archivists<sup>42</sup> who are also responsible for traditional conservation.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, if a squeeze is in such critical condition, it may be considered less appealing for conservation<sup>44</sup> as its value, which resides in the visible impression, becomes more difficult, if not impossible, to identify.

In regard to paper squeezes, ‘to stand still is to perish’<sup>45</sup> and any conservation is preferable to none. In the collections studied for this thesis, only the squeezes at Bristol City Museum have

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<sup>39</sup> Pearce 1990: 104.

<sup>40</sup> Knell 2010: 443.

<sup>41</sup> Conway 2010: 372.

<sup>42</sup> Conway 2010: 373.

<sup>43</sup> Conway 2010: 268.

<sup>44</sup> Thompson 1979: 39.

<sup>45</sup> Thompson 1979: 171.

had any conservation work carried out.

## **Methodology**

The current research is two-fold in nature. The first is a history of squeeze-making in the discipline of Egyptology and the second aspect comprises a catalogue of 339 paper squeezes taken from seven collections from small institutions in the United Kingdom.

Institutions like the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and British Museum, London, which hold thousands of squeezes in their collections, whilst still being largely understudied, are perhaps obvious starting points for researchers and likely recipients for funding, publication and future research – and therefore are not included in the study. Smaller institutions which are not readily associated with Egyptology will potentially remain unknown and understudied. It is these collections which form the focus of the catalogue.

As many of the squeezes in the catalogue are not catalogued in their home institutions, choosing the collections was to a certain extent arbitrary. It necessitated contacting a number of small institutions and enquiring whether their inventory included squeezes.

Due to the nature of these documents, and the fact that many were donated upon the death of the collector, such a method for research is not unusual. Attic-collections often comprise mixed lots, which in addition to different museums' collecting policy results in items ending up in unusual and unexpected places. Donations to local museums may come from a variety of people<sup>46</sup> regardless of the types of collections traditionally held within the museum. Sometimes since donations were made the aim of the museum may have changed, meaning some items no longer fit its vision. For example, a small local museum in north London, the

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<sup>46</sup> Swain 2007: 113.

Grange Museum, has a collection of Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities.<sup>47</sup> As the museum is one which focuses on local history these items are therefore unlikely to go on display, even though they were collected by local residents. Such collection and storage policies mean researchers may find objects of interest, as in the case of this thesis' squeezes, in places they would not expect.

Initially, as a large and well-known institution for the study of ancient Egypt, the squeezes at the Egypt Exploration Society, London, were not considered for inclusion in the catalogue, as along with the British Museum and Griffith Institute, it is a first stop for most Egyptology research. However, upon viewing the squeezes in the archive, it was clear they were inadequately catalogued, mostly unpublished and, in some cases, badly stored and therefore deserved to be included.

Some museums in which one may expect to find squeezes did not have them and other museums have them on their acquisition lists, but no longer have them in the collections. According to the 1863 catalogue of The National Museum, Edinburgh, for example, squeezes form part of the collection:

'Paper casts from sculptures on the walls inside the Tombs at Thebes, showing two figures seated under the front of an Egyptian temple, figures presenting offerings, hunting scenes, figures in procession, tilling, warrior in chariot, &c. – on the walls over the cases.'<sup>48</sup>

These 'paper casts' cannot be located in the museum and the catalogue does not state their

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<sup>47</sup> Booth 2005: 31.

<sup>48</sup> Personal correspondence from Margaret Maitland, Curator of the Ancient Mediterranean. 9 September 2013.

origin. The curator of the Ancient Mediterranean believes they are likely to be part of the Alexander Henry Rhind (1833–1863) collection, but no further information is available at present.

Such loss of museum donations is not unusual, even though ‘there is a responsibility on museum staff to know exactly what it is they are caring for and where it is at any one time.’<sup>49</sup> Keeping track of items can be difficult if they are inadequately catalogued and this problem led to, *The Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, written by Muller, Feith and Ruin in 2003.<sup>50</sup> Further problems can occur when a collection is moved or the curator changes. The latter may be a major influence on any collection.

One curator may view certain items differently from another and before laws were introduced regarding artefact disposal, curators were in a position to dispose of ‘unimportant’ items as they saw fit. The issue of artefact disposal is one that has been debated publically since 2014, following the sale of the statue of Sekhemka by Northampton Museum.<sup>51</sup> This was a high-profile case, although such disposal has been debated within museums for decades. Two symposia – Museums Association Collections for the Future, London (2005) and the National Directors’ Conference, London (2003) – debated the issue of museum curators curating objects that are rarely consulted and never displayed. Each curator obviously argued for the value of their particular artefact type and archival documents as worthy of saving.<sup>52</sup> Considering the dormant value of squeezes to researchers, it would be interesting to discover how many squeezes have been the victim of artefact disposal policies and if it happened

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<sup>49</sup> Swain 2007: 107.

<sup>50</sup> Roe 2005: 34.

<sup>51</sup> Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest: The Statue of Sekhemka, Case 14 (2014-15).

<sup>52</sup> Swain 2007: 112.



today, would the public outcry match that which was against the sale of the statue of Sekhemka. See chapter 7 for a fuller discussion on this topic.

When approaching different institutions about accessing their squeeze collections, there was often no way of knowing the number of squeezes held by them. Most were inadequately catalogued, often as a group rather than individually. For example, all the squeezes at the Egypt Exploration Society were catalogued under a single entry, comprising a series of documents such as:

‘Squeeze – Sesebi. Blackman/Fairman 1936–1937. 40 squeezes of temple scenes and inscriptions ...’

The catalogue entry for the University of Aberdeen collection was even vaguer:

‘Bundle of images, some outlined in ink, of Egyptian Inscriptions, stele, etc.’<sup>53</sup>

However, even such basic information is better than none and means the material can be searched for.<sup>54</sup> This is not the case with other collections, such as the Petrie Museum, London, and the Marischal Museum, Aberdeen, which have no records at all regarding their squeezes. Therefore, there was no way to estimate how many squeezes would eventually be included in the catalogue when the process of collection was started.

Ideally, archival material should be accessible to the public, with suitable information readily available, but such a lack of information is not unusual. Unfortunately, as many archives hold thousands of items, a comprehensive catalogue for each is a huge task, beyond the budget of many institutions and therefore, like conservation mentioned above, is only carried out for

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<sup>53</sup> Ref: MS 3470/27/77.

<sup>54</sup> Roe 2005: 55.

items considered most important – those that will be displayed, regularly consulted or are most at risk. However, the Museum Association emphasised in 2004 that museums had an obligation, albeit one that was not legally binding, to ‘preserve material for the future’, but additionally, they ‘must take steps to ensure that more of their collection is used.’<sup>55</sup>

An additional problem with cataloguing is a lack of specialist staff in many institutions. With reduced funding for many archives and museums, and curatorial staff being experts in particular areas some artefacts, like squeezes, can be neglected.

In 2007, it was estimated that Egyptological material was present in more than 200 museums in the UK, but there were only ten or twelve Egyptologists working in these museums.<sup>56</sup> This is not due to lack of qualified people, but a lack of funding. Therefore, any catalogue entries produced may be done from acquisition notes and packaging of the material without the time or resources to check the information is correct. Even in 2017 not all the acquisition notes and century-old catalogue cards are totally digitalised and in Bristol City Museum, there is some information on the hand-written and hand-typed catalogue cards that does not appear in the online catalogue. Although in recent years, more online catalogues are appearing on museum websites,<sup>57</sup> they do not always include items in storage.

There has also been a changing trend in museum publications where catalogues of museum or archival collections are no longer published, other than in a rudimentary form for tourists, showing what is on display, or specialist exhibition catalogues. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries catalogues were often published by type or department and included

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<sup>55</sup> Wilkinson 2005: 11 quoted in Caesar 2007: 13.

<sup>56</sup> Swain 2007: 174.

<sup>57</sup> Swain 2007: 175.

items which were in stores.<sup>58</sup> Such volumes were useful as they encouraged curators to research the collections, as well as enabling independent researchers to search the collections off-site. In fact such catalogues, regardless of date, remain invaluable resources for modern researchers.

Such monographs regarding the collections, both in store and on display, provided an opportunity for the curator to share their knowledge, as often museum staff rely too heavily on the knowledge of a long-term member of staff and should they retire or die the information is lost.<sup>59</sup> For example, the Chester Beatty archive holds a collection of Coptic papyri known as the Manichean Codices, which were being conserved by Rolf Ibscher in the 1950s. However, the conservation work 'came to a complete standstill ... due to the death of the librarian Mr. Wilkinson and that of Mr. Merton, both of whom alone knew what still needed to be mastered.'<sup>60</sup>

Squeezes do not generally appear in museum catalogues (digital or hard-copy) of Egyptian items and there are no collective volumes listing Egyptological archival material. Conversely, in the field of classics, an early database that demonstrates the importance of squeezes is the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL), founded in 1853, and now incorporates eighty volumes outlining Latin inscriptions, comprising as many as 20,000 squeezes.

'They originate from Rome, Italy and the various provinces of the Roman Empire – thus essentially from the Mediterranean area, Western Europe and the countries along the River Danube.'<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Swain 2007: 170.

<sup>59</sup> Swain 2007: 171.

<sup>60</sup> Robinson 2015: 186.

<sup>61</sup> Schmidt 2003:3.

Whilst the CIL is a comprehensive collection and a starting point for Roman epigraphy studies Schmidt acknowledges that it is,

‘A unique treasure-trove, whose real value we have not come to appreciate until today’s age of virtual libraries and archives.’<sup>62</sup>

A prime example of another good digital catalogue is the EAGLE (Europeana Network of Ancient Greek and Latin Epigraphy) portal<sup>63</sup> which aims to provide an online catalogue of Greek and Latin inscriptions from twenty-five European Union countries. In November 2015, the database included 150,000 items<sup>64</sup> with the aim of eventually recording 1.5 million in total. For each inscription, the plan is to include all known data regarding provenance and date, current location and a translation of the text. The EAGLE portal is also connected to a mobile phone application with reverse look-up, enabling people to take photographs of an inscription which can then be matched in real time to the entry in the database.

Such a project is an immense undertaking and requires a dedicated team of researchers to complete, something that is out of reach of the majority of museums and archives, especially on such a large scale.

Whilst the database created as part of the catalogue, which is the focus of this thesis, cannot attempt to match the standard of EAGLE, it follows a similar ethos, with the objective of providing a foundation of information for each squeeze and the original inscription.

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<sup>62</sup> Schmidt 2003: 3.

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.eagle-network.eu/> (accessed 24 March 2016).

<sup>64</sup> Liuzzo P. *The New EAGLE Portal*, a paper presented on 14 November 2015, British Epigraphy Society Autumn Colloquium, London.

## The Data

The finalised group of collections included in the catalogue are;

- Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL (sixteen squeezes)
- Egypt Exploration Society, London (ninety squeezes)
- Leeds Museum and Gallery (twenty-two squeezes)
- Bristol City Museum (fourteen squeezes)
- The Collection, Lincoln (sixty-three squeezes)
- University of Aberdeen Special Collections (sixty-one squeezes)
- Marischal Museum, Aberdeen (sixty-four squeezes)

In total, the catalogue<sup>65</sup> comprises 339 squeezes, and for each there is an entry with basic details (size, material, colour traces) and an image of the original inscription has been located where possible, enabling a direct contrast between the squeeze and the image as it exists today.

Whilst seven collections are not representative of all archival institutes in the United Kingdom, they provide a sample of the quality of available material, as well as the phenomena of ‘duplicates’ across the collections with the same images, and in some cases the same paper, indicating there was a squeeze-making industry. Such a sample catalogue provides a foundation upon which further work can be carried out either on these collections or as a template for work on other collections.

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<sup>65</sup> See CD ROM at rear of the thesis.

## Matching the Squeezes

One of the most time consuming, but ultimately rewarding aspects of researching the catalogue entries was matching the squeezes with the original inscription. No specific methodology was used, as this was dependent on the squeeze, the information available about where it was taken and availability of publications, images or access to the site.

For example, the Alice Lieder squeezes from The Collection, Lincoln, were labelled with a location, which provided a starting point. These labels were limited to a particular temple (e.g. Karnak), or a specific king (e.g. Ramses II) meaning locating the original within these temples was often a difficult task. In many cases the squeezes had no labels or incorrect information and therefore using artistic conventions, tomb discovery dates, royal names or locations suggested a starting point. Quite often scenes are repeated throughout a temple and locating the correct inscription could be based on small pieces of damage on the squeeze corresponding with damage on the inscription. This was made more difficult by deterioration of the scene since the squeeze was taken or conversely the reconstruction of a temple. For example, the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri was particularly challenging for locating scenes, as when the squeezes were taken the temple was not the reconstructed monument that is in evidence today and the blocks may currently be in an inaccessible part of the temple, removed or destroyed.

Another challenge was the height of some of the original inscriptions, rendering them difficult to examine. This was due to higher sand levels in the mid-nineteenth century, when the squeezes were taken. In some cases the squeezes were taken at head height in the nineteenth century, but since the sites have been excavated, these scenes are now located high on the wall.

For the squeezes of stelae (i.e. the Special Collections at the University of Aberdeen) the starting point was examining publications of funerary stelae which matched a small number of them. Some were identified as coming from the collection of the antiquarian Giovanni Anastasi, which led to further research into the sale catalogues for the d'Anastasi auction in 1857.

The level of research required to acquire the basic catalogue information provided at the end of this thesis is out of reach of most archives and museums because it was time consuming and necessitated travelling to museums all over Europe as well as temples in Egypt – some of which are difficult to visit in the current political situation (i.e. Middle Egypt, Nubia).

### **History of Squeeze-making**

The other aspect of the research is to provide a comprehensive history and study of squeezes, how to make them, why they were made and attitudes to the process and results. This has included some experimental archaeology in order to learn the process of squeeze-making and the practicalities of producing them. This started with producing squeezes using written guides on the process whilst in Egypt, in order to get some perspective on drying times and ease of manufacture. This was followed by a more structured practical epigraphy workshop held at Oxford University in June 2016.

Along with the catalogue, such historical research could be a foundation in the study of archival squeezes as primary resources, guiding more scholars to use them in their research. The scope for future research is extensive and could include producing a database of all the squeezes in the United Kingdom, Europe and perhaps the world, enabling lost and missing inscriptions to be published, reproduced through 3D printing or reconstructed on-site.

## Research Question

Since the 2011 revolution in Egypt there has been an increase in looting, illegal excavation and vandalism of ancient Egyptian monuments. This had followed decades of damage caused by increased tourism, environmental damage and vandalism. This changed the approach to Egyptological research with an increased focus on preservation and conservation. The key to preservation and conservation is through post-excavation research which includes archival excavation.

Squeezes are an important part of this archival approach to preservation, as they can be used to produce one-to-one casts of tomb inscriptions, many of which have changed since the squeezes were taken. In 2014, the first facsimile tomb was produced by the Spanish digital technology and conservation company Factum Arte in order to prevent further damage to the original tomb of Tutankhamun. It would be possible, using squeezes, to produce facsimiles of tombs and inscriptions which no longer exist in reality. This would not only be a boost for tourism and the Egyptian economy, but also for researchers and our knowledge of ancient Egyptian history and the history of Egyptology.

This is essentially where the research question lies for this thesis. Considering the limited research into anything other than individual squeezes, it would be premature and indeed inappropriate to examine small details of squeezes as archival material – for example specific production methods, materials or colour transference.

To fully explore where squeezes stand in the history and indeed the future of Egyptology as a discipline it is also essential to discuss the value squeezes held at the time of manufacture, and how this has evolved over the last 150 years and therefore what value they hold today.



This value can determine what their use can be in regard to Egyptology and the history of research. This will therefore provide a springboard from which further research projects could originate by highlighting what can be learned from squeezes and therefore where their inherent values lie.

It is the aim of this research to provide the foundation study on squeezes, offering a historical background, an investigation into their value, not only as epigraphical records, but conservational and social values, improving their status as primary resources in addition to outlining the potential squeezes have for future studies. The scope of future studies and research potential is broad and to date is not fully identified, but could include epigraphic research of individual monuments, social history, and perhaps more pertinent at this point in history, in reconstructive conservation in a non-invasive manner.

## Chapter 2

### Squeeze Definitions

#### Paper Squeezes

A squeeze is an impression of a carved relief using a malleable material, the most common of which is paper. Dependent on the material used squeezes can either be classified as wet or dry. The former utilises wet materials (e.g. moistened paper, plaster, gypsum, latex, beeswax) and the latter uses dry materials (e.g. tin-foil, dry paper).

A paper squeeze is commonly described as an 'impression' of a carved relief produced by pressing wet, mouldable paper into the inscription and as it dries an indentation of the original remains.<sup>1</sup> These can then be easily transported and studied away from the field and 'should the occasion arise, squeezes of various fragments can be joined together. Often a reading is impossible until the squeeze itself is at hand.'<sup>2</sup>

Paper squeezes have been known by a number of other names, including paper casts,<sup>3</sup> paper impressions,<sup>4</sup> cliché moulds<sup>5</sup> or rubbings.<sup>6</sup> The latter term can also be applied to the technique of using graphite or lead to rub over a raised surface creating a negative image of the original.<sup>7</sup> In German they are *abklatsch*, in Spanish and Italian they are *calco* and in French they are known as *estampage*.<sup>8</sup> All these terms describe the same thing, with no difference in use

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<sup>1</sup> Woodhead 1959: Traunecker 1987: Petrie 1904: and Dorman 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt 2003:4.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie 1931: 75-77., and 1863 Catalogue of The National Museum, Edinburgh, provided by Margaret Maitland, Curator of the Ancient Mediterranean. Personal correspondence 9 September 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Anonymous 1863-4.

<sup>5</sup> Sitch 2001: 7.

<sup>6</sup> Moss 1976: 108.

<sup>7</sup> Moss 1941.

<sup>8</sup> Schmidt 2003: 5.

other than the scholar's personal preference.

As squeezes can be made from a variety of materials the classification takes the material as a prefix – e.g. tin squeeze or gypsum squeeze. When the term is used without a prefix, a paper squeeze is referred to.

The Smithsonian Institution Squeeze Project classifies squeezes as being 'formed by pressing soft, wet, mouldable paper, pulp, latex or plaster into a low relief inscription.'<sup>9</sup> If the squeezes are done correctly, 'the result is a highly accurate reverse relief of the inscription and a negative right-reading impression of the inscription.'<sup>10</sup>

Although it is the most effective and robust method, the biggest criticism of wet squeezing is irreversible damage to painted surfaces by removing pigment which adheres to the verso of the impression. W.M.F. Petrie commented that the tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Meidum had been damaged by this process:

'Elsewhere, Marriette or one of his helpers had removed more of the colour by wet-squeezing.'<sup>11</sup>

Petrie does not specify here precisely what material had been used by Marriette to produce the squeezes. He further adds in his *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* that 'on all coloured work, and many kinds of tender stones, wet squeezing is a crime, as it destroys the original.'<sup>12</sup>

### **Latex Squeezes**

Latex was also used for wet squeezing, which was more damaging to the painted surfaces of

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<sup>9</sup> [http://asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq\\_making.asp](http://asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq_making.asp) (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>10</sup> Iacchei & Hamill 2014: 1.

<sup>11</sup> Drower 1985: 174-5.

<sup>12</sup> 1904: 61.

carved inscriptions than wet paper, but required less skill and equipment than paper squeeze-making.<sup>13</sup> Latex squeezes were made from a natural rubber emulsion mixed with titanium oxide. This was painted over the required surface and a cloth placed on the wet latex to strengthen it.

‘After a variable length of drying depending on the temperature, the percentage of moisture in the air and the type of substrate, the liquid latex is transformed into a film of rubber reinforced with fiberglass.’<sup>14</sup>

This reinforced squeeze takes an impression not only of the carved inscriptions, but also any scratches on the wall to a degree not possible with paper squeezes. However, after some time in storage, latex squeezes become brittle and therefore have a more limited lifespan than a paper squeeze.

Whilst this method does not damage the stone itself, the inscription must be in good condition and preferably on a dense stone with low porosity. However, latex squeezes cause more damage to paintwork than wet paper squeezes and never really became popular in Egyptology. Petrie comments that guttapercha (natural latex) squeezes are best if many casts are to be made from the mould,<sup>15</sup> indicating latex was used under certain circumstances.

### **Dry Squeezing**

Despite the damage and subsequent condemnation by some scholars, wet paper squeezes continued to be the most popular form of squeeze taking in the Egyptian field in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries due to the simplicity of required materials and the

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<sup>13</sup> Woodhead 1959: 80.

<sup>14</sup> Traunecker 1987: 267.

<sup>15</sup> Petrie 1904: 66.

ease of transportation. As a response to the damage caused by wet squeezing, Petrie introduced a new method of dry squeezing where,

‘A sheet of thin paper is held over the stone, and it is pressed over each edge of the cutting so as to leave a bend in the surface. Then, laid on a drawing-board, with an oblique lighting, the bends are all drawn on with a pencil, checking by comparison with the stone.’<sup>16</sup>

Petrie used this method himself at Meidum in 1890–2 to squeeze some of the tomb images where he emphasised the use of his fingers to ensure an edge, or a piece of India rubber rather than a tool.<sup>17</sup> This method is more time consuming than wet squeezing, due to the additional process of pencilling in the image. Extra care is also needed before the pencil marks



Figure 1: Tin Squeeze made by Victor Loret. (Courtesy of Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano.)

are in place not to flatten the impressions which are fragile due to their shallowness. Petrie advised not rolling the squeezes before pencilling and to pencil in from the bottom right hand corner<sup>18</sup> (presuming the epigraphist was right handed). It is possible that some of the de

Garis Davies squeezes from the Egypt Exploration Society (see catalogue) were produced using this method. They are all pencilled in, and the indentations from the original inscriptions

<sup>16</sup> Petrie 1904: 62.

<sup>17</sup> Drower 1985: 174-5; Petrie 1904: 63.

<sup>18</sup> Petrie 1904: 63.

are extremely shallow.<sup>19</sup> In some instances they are almost unidentifiable as squeezes.

Other materials used for dry squeezing included tin, and five Ernst Hertzfeld squeezes at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian, are made of this material<sup>20</sup> as are twelve examples produced by Victor Loret at the Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia,<sup>21</sup> Università degli Studi di Milano (see fig. 1).

The process for making a tin squeeze involved gently beating the foil onto the object using a soft toothbrush. It was then removed by rolling it onto a piece of beeswax, India rubber or cotton wool in order to prevent the impression being flattened out. If no fixative is placed on the back, the tin impression then needs to be soaked in water and sealing wax dripped on it to form a sturdy backing.<sup>22</sup> Petrie, as a pioneer of dry-squeezing, explains that,

‘Tin-foil is most useful for rapid impressions especially from a fragile or delicate object. The thinnest should be used, such as is wrapped round chocolate. To preserve the form of tin-foil it may be squeezed into place with a back of beeswax, and so form a facing to a wax mould for casting a plaster positive. Or it may be pressed alone (forcing it on with soft indiarubber or cotton wool) and then floated back up, on water, while blazing sealing wax is dropped into it to form a backing. This mode is very handy for coin impressions, which will travel safely in this form and look well.’<sup>23</sup>

This method is best used for small portable items which would not be damaged by being submerged in water, for quick impressions or for particularly fragile inscriptions rather than

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<sup>19</sup> E025 – E040.

<sup>20</sup> David Hogg, personal correspondence January 20 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Patrizia Piacentini personal correspondence June 8 2015.

<sup>22</sup> Petrie 1904: 67.

<sup>23</sup> Petrie 1904: 67.

large wall inscriptions.<sup>24</sup> Once the foil has been removed from the object it can be cast in plaster.

Jacques Jean Clère (1906–1989) used this method for his squeezes now held at the Griffith Institute, Oxford.<sup>25</sup> There are fifteen folders of these squeezes – all impressions of small portable objects that were found in antiquities shops and showrooms. As wet paper squeeze-making on monuments was no longer permitted after 1904, and the Clère squeezes were produced from the mid-1940s to the late 1980s,<sup>26</sup> they were likely to be taken of objects held in private collections.<sup>27</sup> The light silver foil squeezes are mounted on a white chewing-gum-like substance which formed a stable surface. Petrie believed that ‘in all cases thin gold-foil would be far better than tin-foil; and such an impression might even be preferred to the original object by some Oriental officials.’<sup>28</sup>

He does not specify why gold-foil is preferable but gold-foil is very fine and likely makes more clear, detailed impressions than coarser tin-foil especially for smaller pieces.

The tin (aluminium) foil squeeze is still utilised in the archaeological field today and in March 2015 the Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall Project, University of Memphis, used this method to reach an awkwardly placed inscription on the lintel of the second pylon, which had been covered by a later wall. The aluminium foil was inserted into the crack and pushed into the inscription using a stick with a soft sponge on the end. Once the squeeze had been made, it was photographed in raking light and Adobe Illustrator was used to produce an epigraphic

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<sup>24</sup> Petrie 1904: 67.

<sup>25</sup> Clère MSS.

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/archive/holdings/isad/clerejj.html> (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>27</sup> These have not been studied in any detail and are catalogued as a collection with no identification made of the original inscription.

<sup>28</sup> Petrie 1904: 67.

drawing. Due to the fragility of the foil, the squeezes are unlikely to be cast in plaster and will instead be discarded<sup>29</sup> once a record has been made. In this case, the production of the squeeze was superior to the original inscription, as it was impossible to access it with a camera or with the naked eye.<sup>30</sup>

This thesis focuses primarily on wet paper squeezing, although there are some examples in the catalogue which may have been produced using the dry paper squeezing technique. Generally, the term squeeze or impression will be used to mean wet paper squeezes, unless it is specified that dry paper squeezing is intended. When other materials are referenced, the material will be placed as a prefix (e.g. latex impression, aluminium squeeze).

These definitions highlight the fragility of the materials used (paper, tin, latex) and a century after production their very existence is threatened by neglect and decay. Now is the time to take notice of this deteriorating source of information before they disappear losing the information they hold within them.

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<sup>29</sup> Erika Feleg, from the *Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall Project*, personal correspondence March 2 2015.

<sup>30</sup> Schmidt 2003: 4.



## Chapter 3

### Literature Review

#### Overview

Scholarship on squeezes as a subject in their own right is minimal, as they tend to be treated in academic works as a tool to aid the study of other topics, rather than being the focus of their own research. This includes the process of making squeezes either in contemporary records or modern reports. Such texts become conspicuous by their absence. This lack of scholarship on squeezes is reflected in the short bibliography at the end of this thesis and highlights the importance of this



Figure 2: Cast made from a squeeze from the Mastaba of Akhetetep. (de Garis Davies 1901: Frontispiece.)

research in the history of Egyptology, as well as the study and conservation of ancient Egyptian monuments.

The question of why squeezes do not feature in many papers, even on discussions of technique or reference to taking squeezes in travel guides and archaeological reports, is one that is not easy to address. Either those making squeezes believed the process too mundane to report or any records have been long forgotten in archival diaries.

Squeezes were either taken or purchased by travellers as holiday souvenirs or produced by Egyptologists. For the latter group these were then used to illustrate their publications, generally as a means of producing line-drawings, facsimiles or casts. For example, the frontispiece of de Garis Davies' book on the mastaba of Akhetetep comprises a photograph

of a cast produced from a squeeze (see fig. 2).<sup>1</sup>

Casts produced from squeezes are a one-to-one scale image with the same damage, cracks, and stone texture as the original and therefore could be studied extensively without causing damage to the original. In order to produce casts from a paper squeeze, the squeeze needed to be heated and brushed with beeswax to prevent the plaster sticking to it. Between each casting, oil was brushed on top of the beeswax to prevent it transferring to the cast. It is recorded that 'several casts can be taken from one paper, if it is carefully handled in peeling it from the plaster each time.'<sup>2</sup>

However, not all professional squeeze taking was for archaeological publication. In the late 1880s, Petrie was funded by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) and Francis Galton (Charles Darwin's half-cousin) in the late 1880s to travel to Egypt to collect ancient images of non-Egyptians for the BAAS eugenics research. Challis discusses this project in *The Archaeology of Race: The Eugenic Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie*.<sup>3</sup> Petrie was provided with a list of races to collect, which were mostly from the nineteenth dynasty battles of Sety I and Ramses II, as a representative sample of the racial types of the time. The images were collected in the form of forty photographs and 200 squeezes 'where there is no paint to be injured.'<sup>4</sup> These were then made into casts. Petrie comments on the choice of using squeezes over photographs.

'It was obvious that it would be impossible to place a camera twenty feet up opposite a wall; so I concluded to take squeezes of all the heads, and then in England to cast,

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<sup>1</sup> de Garis Davies 1901b: Frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie 1904: 66.

<sup>3</sup> Challis 2013: 85-106.

<sup>4</sup> A letter from Petrie to Galton, UCL Galton Archives: 1 November 1886 quoted in Challis 2013: 96.

and photograph the casts.

‘Thus paper casts were taken; the plaster casts from the paper were all photographed, and copies issued to order. The casts, after being exhibited at South Kensington, were accepted by the British Museum. They were put on a high wall above the staircase, in bad light, painted dark to ensure their invisibility. They have since under Dr Hall’s direction, been brought down into accessible use.’<sup>5</sup>

Petrie photographed the casts, some of which he coloured before they and the squeezes were displayed in Manchester, in 1887, at the BAAS meeting, then at South Kensington Museum under the Palestinian Exploration Fund, before being sent to the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> The casts are currently still there, but the squeezes themselves are missing. It would be intriguing to identify whether the colours used in Petrie’s casts were true to the original or were guided by his pre-conceived ideas of race, and this would be a valid piece of future research on this set of casts. This could potentially be a challenging piece of research as most of the impressions taken by Petrie were labelled with little more than the ‘foreign race’ depicted so identifying the original inscription may be difficult.

In modern research in Egyptology, as squeezes are no longer used in the field, the process of squeeze-making is not, as a general rule, discussed. Egyptologists can be dismissive of the value of squeezes, claiming squeeze taking ‘would not be acceptable nowadays,’<sup>7</sup> which whilst true does not detract from the value of these records. This is one of the marked differences between Egyptologists and Mediterranean archaeologists, who have a very different

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<sup>5</sup> Petrie 1931: 75-77.

<sup>6</sup> Challis 2013: 46-9.

<sup>7</sup> Malek 2007: 24.

approach to squeezes. There is more information on Mediterranean squeeze taking than in Egyptology, as they are able to see beyond the potential damage, to their practical implementation and value as a research tool. Additionally 'squeezes are still made both in the field (in the Mediterranean) and in museums,'<sup>8</sup> as well as being taken of Greek and Latin inscriptions in Egyptian temples.<sup>9</sup>

The literature on classical epigraphy includes Caminos (1976), who provides a summary of recording techniques in the field of Egyptology, starting with Karl Lepsius in the 1840s and continuing until Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson's book in 1975 on Meresankh III's mastaba.<sup>10</sup> He then discusses the value of squeeze taking for Greek and Latin graffiti in ancient Egyptian temples and monuments, such as the Colossi of Memnon and Philae,<sup>11</sup> indicating that those studying Graeco-Roman Egypt were still employing squeezes in their research as late as the 1970s whereas Egyptologists had been restricted in this technique since 1904.<sup>12</sup>

### **Squeeze Production**

It is possible that the reason contemporary records of squeeze taking do not exist in any quantity is because the process was a means to an end. Squeezes were essentially created as a mould in order to make a cast of the original inscription, which could then be studied closely away from the field without causing damage to the original monument. Their temporary function and therefore limited lifespan is closely correlated with their negative reputation, which renders squeezes to be considered by some as unimportant and therefore worthless.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Benet Salway, personal correspondence 22 April 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Caminos 1976: 15.

<sup>10</sup> Caminos 1976: 3-25.

<sup>11</sup> Caminos 1976: 16.

<sup>12</sup> Petrie 1904: 61-2.

<sup>13</sup> Thompson 1979: 37.

Many of these squeezes have served their preliminary purpose and have not yet been re-categorised to serve a secondary purpose.

Even in chapters or articles on epigraphy, only small sections are dedicated to squeeze-making. Petrie in his *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* describes how,

‘a tough rag paper without much size should be used: but good newspaper will do. The tougher the paper when wet the better. The stone must be thoroughly cleaned and soaked ... The sheet is then put in a basin of water, rolled about to soak and then gathered into a ball and rolled between the hands to break the grain and then laid on the stone ... gently beaten with a spoke-brush<sup>14</sup> until it is pushed into the hollows<sup>15</sup> ... finally a severe beating is given, as violent as can be done without tearing the paper ... when quite dry and hard the cast may be carefully peeled off.’<sup>16</sup>

Dorman’s paper in Wilkinson’s *Egyptology Today* also includes a short paragraph dedicated to squeeze-making. Dorman explains the process of squeeze-making as essentially adding wet pulped paper to the wall which, when dry, was peeled away producing a reversed image in one-to-one scale. He does not mention any of the positive aspects of this type of record, focusing entirely on the damage.

‘Unfortunately, this method exposed the object to moisture and the squeeze frequently removed paint layers and flakes of stone as well.’<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> A spoke-brush is a brush where the bristles are grouped and then evenly spaced – like a toothbrush - rather than a single-group of bristles like a paintbrush.

<sup>15</sup> The *From Stone to Screen* website of the University of British Columbia have produced some videos of squeeze-making and demonstrates how hard the brush needs to be beaten. <http://fromstonetoscreen.com/squeeze-collection/> (accessed 31 March 2016).

<sup>16</sup> Petrie 1904: 60.

<sup>17</sup> Dorman 2008: 86.

Hankey, in her biography of Arthur Weigall, discusses the taking of squeezes in the eighteenth-dynasty tombs between Deir el Bahri and the Ramesseum on the west bank at Luxor. She explains that,

‘Some had taken wet squeezes – that is, they had pressed wetted paper onto the paintings so as to take coloured prints – draining the colour from the originals and leaving streaks and smears behind.’<sup>18</sup>

However, it seems unlikely that Hankey has studied squeezes in any depth, as the colour does not transfer evenly and would be an ineffectual means of getting a coloured print of a painted inscription. Colour transference is discussed further in chapter 8.

Even in such volumes as France’s *Rape of Egypt*, which focuses on the European destruction of Egypt’s heritage, squeezes are only mentioned in passing.

‘Lepsius had spent four years touring the Egyptian collections in England, France, Holland, and Italy learning the art of making squeezes and tracings of inscriptions.’<sup>19</sup>

The most comprehensive guide to squeeze taking was written by Woodhead (1959)<sup>20</sup> and provides guidance on the type of paper and brush needed and the exact technique. Woodhead was also an advocate of liquid latex to make squeezes, although as this really needs to be carried out on a flat surface, the author stipulates latex is better for museum work than ‘casual squeeze-taking in the field.’<sup>21</sup>

Another article describing the practicalities of making squeezes specifically in the field of

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<sup>18</sup> Hankey 2007: 76.

<sup>19</sup> France 1991: 120.

<sup>20</sup> Woodhead 1959: 79-83.

<sup>21</sup> 1959:81.

Egyptology was presented by Traunecker (1987).<sup>22</sup> He describes the process of creating paper and liquid latex squeezes with an outline of the pros and cons of each system.

Latex squeezes produce very good impressions of the wall image but become brittle if not stored correctly. Paper squeezes on the other hand are easier to store and cheaper to produce. They take some skill to create, as wet paper is fragile, but produce adequate facsimiles of the inscription. Woodhead actively encourages the taking of squeezes, as,

‘a small personal squeeze collection is within reach of any classical scholar interested in the subject: it is a possibility, furthermore, which seems to have been overlooked by schools, where the importance of inscriptions in the teaching of ancient history is perhaps less appreciated than it might be: here squeezes would provide the most useful illustrative material.’<sup>23</sup>

Woodhead is here referring to taking squeezes of Greek inscriptions and as squeeze taking in Egypt had been prohibited for more than half a century before the book was written, it could not be applied contemporaneously.

Dorman, on the other hand, believes as a research tool there is,

‘limited application: the squeeze produces a copy at a one-to-one scale, it cannot be handily reproduced for dissemination to scholars at large, and it cannot easily be edited to delete extraneous features of the wall surface.’<sup>24</sup>

Earlier in the article he states that whilst one-to-one scale drawings are accurate and

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<sup>22</sup> Traunecker 1987: 267-9.

<sup>23</sup> 1959: 83.

<sup>24</sup> Dorman 2008: 86.

therefore valuable, they are cumbersome.<sup>25</sup> Whereas a drawing can be easily reduced, the same cannot be done with a squeeze.

Peck, in his 2012 paper,<sup>26</sup> investigates the contrary view of the importance of one-to-one scale casts in teaching and, more salient, the preservation of,

‘images and inscriptions once known and now lost. This is especially true of artefacts cast and recorded in situ that have since become damaged or have disappeared completely as the result of vandalism, natural weathering due to exposure, or modern atmospheric pollution.’<sup>27</sup>

Although Peck is referring to casts, this sentiment can just as easily apply to the means of producing casts, namely their moulds and squeezes.

He adds valuable discussion on nineteenth-century museums collecting casts as an alternative to real objects (should they be unavailable). Some such cast collections, like that of the Victoria and Albert Museum, are still extant today. Peck emphasises that the main value of casts (and the same could be said of squeezes) is ‘the preservation of information that has been lost, damaged or otherwise altered.’<sup>28</sup>

An important question that arises from this article is the difference in attitude to casts than to squeezes. Casts, when made directly from the objects, were potentially more damaging to the monuments than squeeze taking and Amelia Edwards (1831-1892) comments on the residue left by the cast-making of Robert Hay at Abu Simbel. She decided to remove the

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<sup>25</sup> Dorman 2008: 85.

<sup>26</sup> Peck 2012: 71-5.

<sup>27</sup> Peck 2012: 71.

<sup>28</sup> Peck 2012: 74.



remnants of the plaster left behind and disguise any 'ghastly splotches, which for so many years have marred this beautiful face as with the unsightliness of leprosy,'<sup>29</sup> by staining them with coffee.<sup>30</sup>

Hay's casts are discussed briefly in *Egypt Revealed: Artists-Travellers in an Antique Land*. The author states:

'Though it is possible to make plaster casts without damaging the monuments in Hay's time the methods used were fairly casual.'<sup>31</sup>

Although cast making caused as much, if not more damage to monuments as squeezes, it is considered acceptable to visit a cast gallery and indeed Hay's cast of the colossi of Abu Simbel was displayed in the British Museum for a number of years. However, no squeeze gallery or even a squeeze exhibition currently exists. Again, a striking contrast between squeezes and casts are the numerous written works referring to casts and cast galleries. Pearce in her 1999 book *On Collecting* dedicates a section to collections of casts which started in the eighteenth century. This was seen as an alternative to collecting original marbles (such as Lord Elgin, Ince Blundel, Townley and Arundel).<sup>32</sup>

The subject of casts is also included in Kurtz's<sup>33</sup> discussion on the acceptance of classical art in Europe from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. From the earliest times, casts of classical statues were used by artists to study form and there is evidence that Rubens (1577–1640) purchased casts alongside paintings and classical antiquities.<sup>34</sup> In earlier centuries, the

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<sup>29</sup> Edwards 1887: 309.

<sup>30</sup> Edwards 1887: 309.

<sup>31</sup> James 1997: 147.

<sup>32</sup> Pearce 1995: 363.

<sup>33</sup> Kurtz 2004: 36-7.

<sup>34</sup> Kurtz 2004: 35.

production and transportation of casts was prohibitive in cost, and was limited to cardinals and nobility.<sup>35</sup> By the nineteenth century, they were more widely available and were sold as tourist souvenirs to those on the Grand Tour. It became common for tourists to bring back casts to decorate their gardens as a means of demonstrating their wealth.<sup>36</sup>

Whilst they were always identified as being copies, casts held the same value as genuine marble statues and were eventually considered to be historical material in their own right. In 1864, casts were considered so important there was an international convention for promoting universal 'Reproductions of Works of Art.'<sup>37</sup> In fact, the presence of casts of Greek statues at the University of Oxford influenced the teaching curriculum and there was a request in 1852 for lectures on art 'especially that of Greece.'<sup>38</sup> It was to be another century before there was a professorship in the History of Art at Oxford.

### **Identification of Individual Blocks**

In contrast to the numerous works on casts and cast galleries, the most common way squeezes appear in scholarship is as a tool for reconstructing damaged inscriptions or scenes or for re-evaluating old translations. One of the earliest papers of this kind was C.L.R.'s 1914<sup>39</sup> article on the thirtieth dynasty sarcophagus of Ureshnofer. The hieroglyphs inscribed on the sarcophagus were studied using squeezes of the original which were,

'Un-rolled on the walls of one of the working rooms of the Egyptian Department, with the confusing mottled gray of the diorite eliminated, the several scenes and texts

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<sup>35</sup> Kurtz 2000: 123.

<sup>36</sup> Kurtz 2000: 132.

<sup>37</sup> Kurtz 2000: 203.

<sup>38</sup> Kurtz 2000: 195.

<sup>39</sup> C.L.R. 1914: 112-120.

could be more readily examined and an opinion reached as to their artistic value and their identity.’<sup>40</sup>

The author makes it clear that it was easier to identify the hieroglyphs on the squeezes than on the stone itself, highlighting one of the strengths of using squeezes in research.

In 1979 Assmann<sup>41</sup> was able to reconstruct two blocks in the British Museum using squeezes from the Griffith Institute, Oxford, made by Spiegelberg in 1899. The tomb is now lost and the only records of the inscriptions can be found in these squeezes.

Camino (1976)<sup>42</sup> comments that once squeezes were made in the field and returned to the museums and archives, they were used alongside photographs and drawings to produce publications. Transcripts were generally checked against drawings and photographs rather than the monument itself<sup>43</sup> and squeezes could be particularly useful, as often they were the closest thing to the original monument that scholars had access to.

Baines and Parkinson<sup>44</sup> record using squeezes to reproduce Sinai Inscription 13 dated to the reign of Djedkara (fifth dynasty) from a rock inscription at Maghara, Sinai, which has been lost. The earlier publications of the inscriptions (1917 and 1952) were based on a series of squeezes taken by Major Charles Kerr MacDonald in 1959–60 and are currently in the British Museum. The importance of preserving such inscriptions is emphasised.

‘A document like this inscription raises issues of the preservation of evidence and of genre. This is the only Old Kingdom inscription of its date from the Sinai that has a

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<sup>40</sup> C.L.R. 1914: 115.

<sup>41</sup> Assman 1979: 54-77.

<sup>42</sup> Camino 1976: 3-25.

<sup>43</sup> Camino 1976: 6.

<sup>44</sup> Baines & Parkinson 1997: 9-26.

relatively informative record, rather than an apotropaic image, including both royal and non-royal elements.<sup>45</sup>

The article, whilst primarily focusing on the inscription itself does highlight the importance of squeezes as historical records. The original inscription was in the 'Cave at Magarah', the location of which is now uncertain.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the only record of this inscription can be found in these squeezes.

Bierbrier studied a squeeze of a stela,<sup>47</sup> also in the British Museum, labelled as an 'unknown object of the Vizier Rahotep'. This squeeze was made by James Burton (1788–1862) or his assistant Charles Humphreys. Much of his squeeze collection is unpublished and has not been catalogued. It remains wrapped in original newspapers from 1829–1855. The squeezes were taken of monuments in the Duke of Northumberland's Alnwick Castle Collection now in Durham.

The stela was eventually located in Durham University Oriental Museum, in a basement store. This stela of Rahotep had originally been published in 1880, but labelled incorrectly and without an image, so was 'effectively' lost until Bierbrier matched it with the squeeze. Additionally, the squeeze provided a new variant on the name of the owner, enriching the lexicon of Egyptian hieroglyphs.<sup>48</sup>

The squeezes of Alice Lieder have been the focus of a number of articles as she and her husband, Reverend Johann Lieder, were rather prolific squeeze takers (see chapter 8). Malek in 1976 discussed the Amherst 213 stela, which belonged to the High Priest of Memphis

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<sup>45</sup> Baines & Parkinson 1997: 21.

<sup>46</sup> Baines & Parkinson 1997: 11.

<sup>47</sup> Bierbrier 1994: 407-411.

<sup>48</sup> Bierbrier 1994: 10.

Ptahemhet Ty, which was probably discovered in Saqqara. It originally formed part of the Lieder collection of objects that was sold to W.A. Tyssen Amherst (Later Lord Amherst) in 1861. In 1921, this stela was sold at Sotheby's, before it had been published. The current location is not known and the only evidence remaining of the inscription are two squeezes made by Alice Lieder, currently held in the Griffith Institute.

In 1986 Malek<sup>49</sup> published a number of Lieder squeezes taken in Memphis at the temple of Ptah, of various statues that are now either scattered around the world in different museums or their current location is unknown. Some of the objects under discussion in this article were later published by Brugsch (1855)<sup>50</sup> who had 'improved' his original drawings for publication, but in the process rendered them inaccurate.

It is possible that, as reading hieroglyphs was in its infancy at the time, accurate copying was a difficult task, especially from damaged inscriptions and may even have been secondary to aesthetics. Conversely, in the discipline of classics, accuracy was tantamount. In 1546, Donato Giannotti wrote to Piero Vettori wanting to reassure him of the accuracy of the copies of his Latin texts:

'They were given to me by a person who transcribed them carefully, and I have done my best to copy them exactly as they were, and I don't think I have made any mistakes.'<sup>51</sup>

As Latin was easily read in the sixteenth century, then perhaps there was more urgency in recording accurately and some epigraphists were using the inscriptions to check spelling

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<sup>49</sup> Malek 1986: 101-12.

<sup>50</sup> Brugsch 1855.

<sup>51</sup> Stenhouse 2005: 46.

rather than the monument upon which the inscription appears.<sup>52</sup>

Aesthetics in Egyptology was sometimes prized above accuracy and Bednarski comments in his study of Frédéric Cailliaud (1787–1869) that a feature of ‘early nineteenth-century manuscripts, is unashamed, or even intentional, inaccuracy.’<sup>53</sup> This means the Lieder squeezes discussed by Malek are the most accurate rendering of these statues available until the originals can be re-located.

A later study of Lieder’s squeezes was carried out by Hamernik<sup>54</sup> which primarily discussed the reproduction of the texts from two sarcophagi, belonging to Tjaiharpata and Eshu-Tefnut. Brugsch, 1862, published the first part of *Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens*, where he claimed the drawings were his own record of texts. However, the dates indicate he would have been unable to have made the copies from the monuments himself and in a letter he mentions he used squeezes made by the Lieders for his drawings. In total Brugsch used more than fourteen metres of squeezes (exterior of the coffin 7.97 metres and interior 6.12 metres). In the Griffith Institute, only three of these squeezes from the sarcophagus of Eshu-Tefut remain.<sup>55</sup>

## **Study of Tombs**

The movement of portable objects like statues and stelae can sometimes be difficult to trace meaning squeezes can be incredibly important in modern research. The same can be said for structural inscriptions on temple and tomb walls, which can also go missing or can be vandalised or removed. In the evaluation of tombs in Tell el Amarna, the Valley of the Kings

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<sup>52</sup> Borghini & Manuzio in Stenhouse 2005: 47 & 49.

<sup>53</sup> Bednarski 2014: 91.

<sup>54</sup> Hamernik 2000: 168-72.

<sup>55</sup> (17.1) 51 x 17cm, (17.2) 31 x 17 cm, (17.3) 29 x 17 cm.

or Sheikh Abd el Qurna, squeezes are discussed in two different ways. They are either presented in their capacity for causing damage to the painted inscription or for the more positive use of recording missing or damaged scenes or checking earlier drawings for accuracy.

The American Research Centre, Egypt (ARCE) reports on the tomb of Sety I (KV17) record all the damage in the tomb. They describe the damage caused by squeeze taking, with the intention of recording it whilst highlighting the extent of restoration work needed. Two reports were written in 1999, one by Baldan, entitled *Polimethodological Research on Samples taken from Wall Painting Found in the Tomb of Seti I* and the other by Vazio, entitled *Study of the State of Preservation of the Decoration of the Tomb of Sety I*. The latter provides an interesting overview of the layering of squeezes over the decades, starting with wax squeezes of Giovanni Belzoni, followed by gypsum examples by Robert Hay and then numerous anonymous paper squeezes. The paper squeezes caused the least damage, whereas wax squeezes left a brown residue and gypsum squeezes removed the plaster, with the result that the walls 'are stripped going back to bedrock'.<sup>56</sup> Whilst the tomb of Sety I is an extreme case, as 600 or more squeezes were made of a single image, it shows how the accumulation of squeeze taking took its toll on the tomb walls. Following these reports came the 2003 Jones article<sup>57</sup> which made the information from these reports readily available to a wider audience. The ARCE reports also record that the tomb decoration has deteriorated even in the places where squeezes had not been taken.

'In the small areas where squeezes have not been made, there are still many losses

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<sup>56</sup> Jones 2003: 259.

<sup>57</sup> Jones 2003: 252–61.

and abrasions of the pictorial layer.’<sup>58</sup>

This makes it clear that whilst excessive squeeze taking is detrimental to tomb decoration, it is not the *only* cause of damage.

For example Jones discusses cracks in the natural rock that open onto the Valley, meaning over the centuries rainwater had seeped into the tomb, causing damage to the decorated surfaces.<sup>59</sup> Further damage was caused by a flash flood in 1818, after Belzoni had cleared the tomb and filled Room D (The Well) with debris to facilitate the removal of the sarcophagus. This created a watercourse, enabling water to flow straight through the tomb into the lower chambers which for centuries had remained safe.<sup>60</sup>

Belzoni was assisted by Beechey in the tomb of Sety I and wrote to Thomas Young referring to their work in the tomb:

‘Belzoni has made moulds of every individual object in the tomb; accurate drawings of the whole have been executed on a small scale ...The journey produced a vast and important portfolio of over 1500 drawings and plans recording the monuments and ancient sites, many of which are now damaged or lost.’<sup>61</sup>

At the start of the letter, the squeezes (moulds) are mentioned, but are not included in the summary later provided of records taken. Squeezes of this tomb have proven to be valuable and Mosjov<sup>62</sup> uses the tomb of Sety I to discuss the Books of the Underworld and how the squeezes helped the research. Mosjov’s article starts with a general report on the tomb

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<sup>58</sup> Vazio 1999: 181.

<sup>59</sup> Jones 2003:254.

<sup>60</sup> Jones 2003: 253.

<sup>61</sup> Usick 2002: 20.

<sup>62</sup> 2001: 489-506.



condition since discovery in 1817. She discusses Belzoni's wax-squeezes taken of the most interesting scenes and records how they removed almost all the colour on painted scenes. However, she fails to mention that Belzoni was in fact aware of the potential danger to the scenes and states in his *Narratives* that:

‘The greatest difficulty was to take an impression of the figure without injuring the colours of it.’<sup>63</sup>

Considering that Champollion, Lepsius<sup>64</sup> and others removed pieces of wall carving rather than simply copying or squeezing them, this seems the lesser of two evils.

Belzoni made casts from his squeezes in order to recreate the tomb in London and then Paris. This exhibition was to be held in William Bullock's Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, London. It cost £16,000 to construct,<sup>65</sup> and opened in May 1821. The exhibition comprised a fifty-foot cut-away of the tomb of Sety I which was constructed using the drawings and watercolours of Belzoni and Ricci.<sup>66</sup>

As the dimensions of the tomb were too large to recreate the whole sepulchre, Belzoni decided to reproduce a scale model of the tomb, which in itself was fifty feet long. Additionally, he made a model of the portico at Philae based on squeezes he had taken there.<sup>67</sup>

The most important aspect of the exhibition was the life-size reproduction of two of the main rooms of KV17 which were recreated using his wax squeezes. The rooms were selected; ‘one

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<sup>63</sup> Belzoni 2001: 229.

<sup>64</sup> Shortly after Lepsius' expedition to Thebes in 1842-5 scenes from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) were removed from the wall and placed in the Berlin Museum. See catalogue P007, L002, B001, M007, B009.

<sup>65</sup> Hume 2011: 211.

<sup>66</sup> Hume 2011: 211.

<sup>67</sup> Mayes 1959, 258-9.

for its great beauty, and the other for the instructive character of its emblematical representations.’<sup>68</sup>

One of the rooms, the Room of Beauties (Room E/e figure 10) was twenty feet by fourteen feet (6.10 x 4.27 metres). Plaster of Paris casts were made from his squeezes and were painted to match the originals using Belzoni’s and Ricci’s drawings as a guide. It is thought that Belzoni and his wife Sarah did the majority of the painting and cast work themselves.<sup>69</sup> The exhibition opened on May 1 1821 and *The Times* commented that:

‘Every eye, we think, must be gratified by this singular combination and skilful arrangement of objects so new and in themselves so striking ... The mechanical ingenuity and indefatigable diligence by which Mr. Belzoni has been enabled thus to transport to the arena of European controversy the otherwise immovable excavations of Egypt reflect no less credit upon him as an artist than his sagacity and success in discovering the subject matter of this extraordinary exhibition has distinguished him above all European travellers in modern times.’<sup>70</sup>

On the first day of the exhibition, 1,900 people entered, in particular to see ‘Belzoni’s Tomb’. Unfortunately by the winter of 1822, ticket sales for the exhibition had dropped. Then a storm caused a leak in the roof of the Egyptian Hall, which damaged some of the Plaster of Paris reliefs. The exhibition was due to close in April 1822 anyway, so the irreparable damage did not have too much impact on the exhibition itself.

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<sup>68</sup> Catalogue quoted in Mayes 1959: 261.

<sup>69</sup> Mayes 1959: 259.

<sup>70</sup> Mayes 1959: 260.

Once the exhibition closed, the contents were sold by Sotheby's on 8 June 1822.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, the records of the Sotheby's sale were destroyed by bombing during the Second World War,<sup>72</sup> meaning the only example of the catalogue is an annotated copy in the British Library. The catalogue tells us Lot 1 comprised:

'A facsimile executed in Plaster of Paris of the two principal apartments in the tomb of Psammis including the four pillars. It covers a space of about 200 feet in length, 7–8 feet long in which there are 62 figures in bas relief, about 4 feet 6 high, 181 ditto, 2 feet high, also various pieces in plaster of Paris.'

The annotated catalogue states this lot was purchased for £490 which has a modern equivalent of £20,540.<sup>73</sup> The name of the buyer was not recorded but these casts later ended up in the collection of John Ruskin, who became a consultant for Robert Hay on the best means of dealing with plaster casts.<sup>74</sup> It is possible he was the purchaser at the 1822 auction.

Belzoni's exhibition only drew further attention to the tomb of Sety I and subsequently more damage by visitors. The beauty of the tomb drew a lot of interest from squeezers and artists who entered the tomb. Henry Salt described the tomb in 1818.

'A brilliant discovery has been made of a new king's tomb, exquisitely painted, and with the colours as fresh as on the day it was completed; it throws everything else ...

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<sup>71</sup> The catalogue was published as 'A catalogue of the collection of antiquities, the fruits of the researches of Mr. John Belzoni, in Egypt, Nubia, &c.: with...the tomb of Psammis ... the porticoes of the temple in the island of Philae ... statues executed in granite, found in the temples of Carnac ... various mummies, in high preservation ... which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Robins, (of Warwick House, Regent Street,) at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, on Saturday, 8th June, 1822.'

<sup>72</sup> Harry Dalmeny, Sotheby's UK Director personal communication 4 April 2016.

<sup>73</sup> Conversion via <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid> (accessed 11 May 2016).

<sup>74</sup> Tilley 1984: 73.

as far as colour goes completely into the background.’<sup>75</sup>

## Scenes Represented

Other scholarly research focuses more on the images depicted on squeezes.

Newberry (1928) briefly discusses a squeeze from the L’Hôte papers which he consulted in order to read a cartouche of Smenkhkare in the tomb of Meryre II at Tell el Amarna. This squeeze enabled him to identify inaccuracies in the drawings and interpretations of other scholars.<sup>76</sup>

The tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) in Abd el Qurna is a greatly squeezed tomb, with fifty-six included in the catalogue in chapter 10 and Appendix 1.

The 1989 article by Malek and Miles,<sup>77</sup> draws on the 143 Khaemhat squeezes housed in the Griffith Institute. The authors look in particular at the mourning scene,<sup>78</sup> which depicts a number of young women carrying babies in slings which they believe may represent foreign nurses.

Two small collections, one of sixty-four squeezes and another of fifty-eight, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is discussed in Dunham’s 1936 article.<sup>79</sup> They were donated to the museum in 1878 and 1886 by an unknown donor. Thirty of the squeezes from the tomb of Khaemhat (KV57) are listed,<sup>80</sup> described, and references to Loret (1884),<sup>81</sup> and Porter and Moss<sup>82</sup> are

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<sup>75</sup> Hume 2011: 151.

<sup>76</sup> Newberry 1928: 5.

<sup>77</sup> 1989: 227-9.

<sup>78</sup> Catalogue B011 (plate 9).

<sup>79</sup> Dunham 1936: 173-177.

<sup>80</sup> N.B., Dunham’s ‘E’ is P0011, P002, L010, ‘T’ is P012, ‘G’ is M005, ‘BB’ is P015, M006, L003.

<sup>81</sup> Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire (Paris). Arch I.

<sup>82</sup> Porter & Moss 1960.

made. He also states that,

‘the possibility that some of the monuments thus recorded may have been lost or damaged in the interval has made it a scientific obligation to examine the material with a view to determining whether it includes anything at present unknown or inadequately recorded.’<sup>83</sup>

Galán and Menéndez<sup>84</sup> in their 2011 article did exactly this. The article concerns the eighteenth-dynasty tomb of Hery (TT12) in Dra Abu el Nag’a. It was visited first by Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) and Ippolito Rosellini (1800–1843) in 1829, who made notes of the most interesting (to them) inscriptions and scenes in the tomb, which Galán and Menéndez used to reconstruct the now damaged texts. These had to be used in conjunction with other records made by Spiegelberg (1870–1930) on his visit between December 1895 and January 1896.<sup>85</sup> Richard Lepsius (1810–1884) recorded inscriptions in the tomb in 1844 which showed signs of attempts to remove them from the wall. From the records of these three visitors, it has been possible to reconstruct the family of Hery and to date the tomb to the time of Queen Ahhotep (seventeenth dynasty).

When Wilhelm Spiegelberg visited the tomb in 1895/1896 he made a set of thirty-eight squeezes of the south-west wall of the corridor. These were sent to Jean Capart in 1910 and in 1926 Spiegelberg requested that Capart send them to Francis Griffith, hence they are now in the Griffith Institute.<sup>86</sup> As there was no paint on the original inscriptions the squeezes caused little damage to the wall, other than lifting some red paint from Demotic graffiti. The

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<sup>83</sup> Dunham 1936: 173.

<sup>84</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 143-66.

<sup>85</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 147.

<sup>86</sup> Galán 2015: 158.

authors, however, highlight some of the damage *intentionally* inflicted to the walls bearing the funerary banquet scene.

‘The reliefs were the target of robbers between Champollion’s (1829) and Lepsius’s (1844) visits. The Spiegelberg squeezes show the areas that were marked out in preparation for the theft, but which were not removed by 1896.’<sup>87</sup>

Due to substantial damage to the scenes since 1896, ‘Spiegelberg’s squeezes are therefore essential for analysing the composition of the three sub-scenes or sections of which the banquet scene is composed.’<sup>88</sup>

Sethe visited the tomb of Hery in 1905 and his squeezes show the tomb was in the same condition as when Spiegelberg was there. However, between his visit and that of Norman de Garis Davies in 1926, the tomb was robbed extensively resulting in many missing pieces. Further vandalism was caused following a robbery and Ahmed Fakhry explains that,

‘When tomb no. 51 was attacked by cutting five pieces from it in 1941, one of the two guards of the zone was honest and he feared lest in his absence the thieves should return and cut more pieces ... therefore in order to keep them away he disfigured all the faces in the tomb.’<sup>89</sup>

He hacked out the noses on some of the surviving images, albeit with good intentions. Gardiner comments that such robbery and vandalism was not that unusual:

‘It would be easy to point to a dozen tombs that have thus been excavated, and, after a few inscriptions had been copied, abandoned to their fate without a thought. It is

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<sup>87</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 157.

<sup>88</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 159.

<sup>89</sup> Fakhry 1946: 33.

just such tombs as these that have suffered to the greatest extent. When attention has once been called to a tomb, the native will begin cutting out fragments as soon as the excavators' back is turned (...) the most dangerous period for a tomb is that immediately following upon its first discovery.<sup>90</sup>

This was reiterated further by Petrie, who recalled in the introduction to *Koptos* that each day he and Quibell would try to identify the 'spy' on site who was trying to find out what had been discovered of any importance so he could return after dark to illegally excavate. These spies were normally from the village and therefore the guards would not prevent them entering.<sup>91</sup>

The squeezes from the tomb of Hery produced by Spiegelberg provide the only images of the stolen scenes and Galán and Menéndez used them in an attempt to identify these missing pieces. Using this method, they were able to re-locate two stolen blocks – one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the other in the Petrie Museum, London, (UC14549).<sup>92</sup> The Metropolitan Museum block had been donated by Mrs Morton Nichols and was likely purchased in Luxor in 1904.<sup>93</sup>

This article 'not only publishes Hery's banquet scene, but also highlights the relevance of archival research when studying an ancient monument.'<sup>94</sup>

Galán and Menéndez's paper is followed by another, concerning the tomb of Djehuty (TT11) which was also visited by Spiegelberg in the 1890s and, as in the tomb of Hery, there are aspects of the biography stela that are missing today, but are represented by the squeezes.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Quoted in Galán 2015: 168.

<sup>91</sup> Petrie & Hogarth 1896: 1-2.

<sup>92</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: n84.

<sup>93</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 165.

<sup>94</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 166.

<sup>95</sup> Galán 2015: 165.

Galán and Menéndez were not the first scholars to use squeezes to locate missing scenes as Moss (1941) used John Williams' rubbings to identify stelae and monuments that had been sold on the open market. Whilst the majority of his rubbings were of items in the British Museum, 'there remained a few unidentified objects, which must now be in some museum or private collection'<sup>96</sup> indicating that any one-to-one facsimile is valuable when the original inscription or image has since disappeared.

### **Whole Squeeze Collections**

Studies of entire collections of squeezes are rare. A singular example of works based on an entire collection is that of Malek on the squeezes of Alice Lieders.

In 1974 Malek<sup>97</sup> wrote about the Senedjemib Inti squeezes taken by the Lieders currently in the Griffith Institute. This tomb is in the north-west corner of the Great Pyramid complex at Giza and comprises two tombs – one for Senedjemib Inti (G-2370) and another for Senedjemib Mehi (G-2378). Both tombs were originally excavated in 1842–3 by Richard Lepsius.<sup>98</sup> The Lieders cleared the sand which Lepsius had placed over the chapels of Inti and Mehi, in order to take their squeezes, although they did not clear the wall to floor level. They never published their work.<sup>99</sup>

In the late nineteenth century the villagers of Kafr-el Haram carried out illegal excavations at the site and removed a number of blocks. One block was removed from the offering room of Senedjemib Mehi and was sold to the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, in 1898.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Moss 1941: 10.

<sup>97</sup> Malek 1974: 21-23.

<sup>98</sup> Brovarski 2001: inside jacket cover.

<sup>99</sup> Brovarski 2001: 5.

<sup>100</sup> Brovarski 2001: 8.



Since the excavations of Lepsius in 1842–83, the decoration within the tomb of Senedjemib Inti (G-2370) has deteriorated further and the southern end of the west wall in room III has since collapsed.<sup>101</sup> Post-1850 saw robbers removing the ceiling blocks and stealing as many as three registers of decoration from ‘above’.<sup>102</sup>

The Lieder squeezes are particularly poor in quality, made from a coarse brown paper, with the hieroglyphs outlined in pencil. Malek highlights the errors in these outlines, which he suggests were due to the Lieders’ lack of proficiency in reading hieroglyphs.<sup>103</sup> Additionally, the condition of the squeezes is generally poor, with tears and holes in the paper, making some details difficult to make out.

In 1991, Magee and Malek<sup>104</sup> worked on further Lieder squeezes held as a group in The Collection, Lincoln (previously the Grantham Collection), looking at the highlights of the collection in order to bring it to public attention. Sadly, it lacks any detailed information on the individual squeezes, which is addressed in the catalogue at the end of this thesis and associated discussion.

In regard to the collection of squeezes held at Leeds Museum and Gallery, Sitch<sup>105</sup> wrote a short article about those from the tombs of Paser (TT106) and Khaemhat (TT57). The material was discovered in the museum store in 1998, although it is believed they were donated by George Morley (1802–1867) in 1863–4. The only mention of ‘soft paper impressions’ can be found in the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society’s forty-fourth report.

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<sup>101</sup> Brovarski 2001: 5.

<sup>102</sup> Brovarski 2001: 9.

<sup>103</sup> Also addressed in Brovarski 2011: 59.

<sup>104</sup> Magee & Malek 1991: 195-7.

<sup>105</sup> Sitch 2001: 7-10.

The Sitch article provides a brief biography of George Morley and suggests he bought the squeezes rather than produced them himself, based on information from Morley's grandson who currently lives in Jersey. The article is more about awareness than an active study of the material and since 2001 no further work has been done.

A much larger collection of squeezes, by Sir J. Gardiner Wilkinson, held by the British Museum, numbers 5,500 and Moss and Burney in 1976<sup>106</sup> published a summary of their work on this collection. They were able to identify most of the squeezes and arrange them in topographical order to be used by future scholars. The sites are listed with the number of squeezes taken at each site, with 240 for the tomb of Sety I (KV17) and even more, 441, taken at the tomb of Senemioh (TT127). No analysis is made on any of the squeezes and the study really forms a foundation for future work. This collection has not been included in the catalogue as it is too extensive and warrants a much larger platform than available here.

A much smaller collection is that of the Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano. This is published as the entire archival collection of Victor Loret, rather than solely concentrating on his squeezes. Two publications by Piacentini make reference to the tin, plaster and paper squeezes, with a brief discussion on the inscriptions that were squeezed. The plaster and tin squeezes were primarily of wildlife, including fish and ichneumon (mongooses) which Loret used as a means of identifying species.<sup>107</sup>

Twelve of his paper squeezes were taken of the sarcophagus of Ay before it was smashed by a treasure hunter in 1896. The squeezes are accompanied by drawings of the sarcophagus, with the squeeze locations marked. When the sarcophagus was reconstructed in 1990 by the

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<sup>106</sup> Moss 1976: 108-9.

<sup>107</sup> Piacentini 2008: 57.

Supreme Council of Antiquities, these squeezes and illustrations may have aided the process.<sup>108</sup>

## **Museum and Collection Studies**

This thesis is essentially a study of squeezes as artefacts in their own right. As they are all housed in museums and archives, it is also a study of museums and their collecting, disposal and conservation policies. A great deal has been written over the decades on museum studies and the nature of collecting,<sup>109</sup> the complex theories surrounding value<sup>110</sup> and the enormous responsibility held by museum staff as guardians of heritage.<sup>111</sup>

Modern museums are the result of a long history of artefact collecting and display. The earliest university art museum was Oxford (Ashmolean)<sup>112</sup> which opened in 1683 with a pedagogical purpose.

In the late eighteenth century, the British Museum was formed, with access by written request only.<sup>113</sup> There were so many requests that the tours became brisk, silent affairs, where visitors were requested to keep conversation to a minimum. This naturally disgruntled some patrons:

‘In about thirty minutes we finished our silent journey through the princely mansion, which could well have taken thirty days. I went out much about as wise as I went in ...

I had laid more stress on the British Museum than on anything else which one should

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<sup>108</sup> Piacentini 2008: 133.

<sup>109</sup> Pearce 1990:, Swain 2007:, Pearce 1997:, Pearce 1995:, Basin 1967:, Hooper-Greenhill 1992.

<sup>110</sup> These arguments are discussed in chapter 7.

<sup>111</sup> Merriman 1991: 1 quoted in Carman 2002: 5.

<sup>112</sup> Some scholars believe the earliest museum dates to 530 BCE and was curated by Princess Ennigaldi-Nanna, the daughter of the last king of the Neo Babylonian Empire. However, the discussion here is regarding collection practices and no evidence from the Ennigaldi-Nanna Museum is available on this.

<sup>113</sup> Basin 1967: 144-7.

see in London. It was the only sight which disgusted me ... '114

Hooper-Greenhill discusses how museums have developed, and explores the transition from cabinets of curiosities in private houses to national museums, using the Louvre, Paris, as a case study. Its foundation was a reaction to the revolution and enabled the wealth and antiquities of the rich to be available to the masses.<sup>115</sup> Originally, aesthetics were the most important element of displays, with artefacts arranged according to themes, material or size, regardless of provenance or artist. They were 'left un-numbered and unlabelled in order to give enlightened amateurs the privilege of deciding on authorship.'<sup>116</sup>

Basin, in his 1967 publication, discusses at length the history of museums with numerous case studies.<sup>117</sup> Moving on from these aesthetic displays, by the nineteenth-century museum structure developed into the discipline of History of Art, with artefacts classified and displayed to tell a story.<sup>118</sup> Pearce (1995) in her *On Collecting* discusses the development of museums and how they have changed over the centuries. At the Royal Viennese Collection in Belvedere in 1776, the collection was laid out so 'a walk through the galleries was a walk through art history.'<sup>119</sup> Everything was laid out in categorised art schools and time periods.<sup>120</sup> Such an approach to art history was a common one, with items presented in chronological order to demonstrate low and high points of artistic talent,<sup>121</sup> as well as demonstrating how the present was a product of the past. Such an approach was introduced by Johann Joachim Wincklemann in 1764, in his seminal work *The History of Ancient Art*. Greek art was seen to

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<sup>114</sup> A visitor from Birmingham quoted in France 1991: 64.

<sup>115</sup> Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 174.

<sup>116</sup> Basin 1967: 151.

<sup>117</sup> Basin 1967.

<sup>118</sup> Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 182 & 186.

<sup>119</sup> Pearce 1995: 127.

<sup>120</sup> Pearce 1995: 127.

<sup>121</sup> Pearce 1995: 124.

be of a particularly high calibre, whereas Egyptian art,

‘though well cultivated has been checked and arrested in its growth by a worm, or other casualties; for it remained unchanged, precisely the same, yet without attaining its perfection until the period when Greek kings held sway over them.’<sup>122</sup>

Modern museums are a very different to these nineteenth-century typological displays and have education as the key feature. The concept of a modern museum in general is treated as a business and has a target audience,<sup>123</sup> which for many museums is children. For this reason, items like paper squeezes are not exciting enough for them and instead they are regaled with interactive displays, reconstruction videos and dressing up areas.

One of the most relevant aspects of Hooper-Greenhill’s 1992 text, in regard to squeezes, is how over the centuries a single artefact can be interpreted in different ways. Using an image of the Madonna as a case study, she highlights that in the sixteenth century the Madonna may have been considered a spiritual and religious item valued for the gold and lapis inclusions. In a nineteenth-century cabinet of curiosities it would be valued according to who owned it or who painted it, with age being key to value. In the modern world, value is attributed according to who owned it, who painted it and also what it may have represented and who may have witnessed it. She argues that an object does not have a single identity, one that is constant, and the importance, identity and value is dependent on the audience.<sup>124</sup>

This idea is also the focus of Mukařovský’s 1936 work on *Aesthetic Function, Norm and Value as Social Facts*. Although he is discussing art in general he states, ‘in the History of Art we see

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<sup>122</sup> Winckelmann 1873: 191-2.

<sup>123</sup> Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 211.

<sup>124</sup> Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 195-6.

all too often that the value of a particular work changes over time from positive to negative, or it might slip from a high exceptional value to average and vice versa.’<sup>125</sup> These changes are attributed to different influences including economics, fashion and ‘dynamics of social interrelations.’<sup>126</sup> This is particularly applicable to the squeezes included in this study, as their value has changed since manufacture and will continue to change as research is carried out and more information is discovered about each one. Such changes in value and the catalysts behind these changes will be discussed at length in chapter 7.

Pearce, in her 1995 publication, also discusses this topic of changing value and perceived importance of artefacts over time. She emphasises that the original meaning attached to an object is subjective and therefore can change, rendering an object as more or less ‘important.’<sup>127</sup>

This leads to the archaeological theory concerning the transient value of artefacts and in particular Clifford’s Art Culture System, where items are assessed according to certain criteria to ascertain whether they are art, non-art, authentic or inauthentic. How each artefact is classified affects the value placed on it. An artefact with some age is ‘endowed with a sense of depth by their historically minded collectors.’<sup>128</sup> Such a basic classification eliminates tourist souvenirs from being considered valuable artefacts. However, should these souvenirs come from non-western societies, they could be classified as scientifically cultural artefacts or even aesthetic works of art and therefore have a value attached to them.<sup>129</sup> Additionally, if artefacts have been produced by vanishing cultures or skills, their value is increased further

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<sup>125</sup> Mukařovský 2015: 296.

<sup>126</sup> Mukařovský 2015: 298.

<sup>127</sup> Pearce 1995: 141.

<sup>128</sup> Clifford 1988: 222.

<sup>129</sup> Clifford 1988: 222.

due to their potential rarity. Perhaps this is where the technique of producing squeezes is where these artefacts fit in. Conversely, value of art can be arbitrary – dependant on fashion, pricing processes within the art market,<sup>130</sup> or even the artefacts' utility.<sup>131</sup>

Darvill, in his model of valuing archaeological resources, has no less than nine sub-categories in his 'Use Value' category.<sup>132</sup> The more useful an object is, the more valuable it is considered and in general tourist souvenirs are thought to have no use. However, just because something has no use, it does not mean there is no value, although assessing that value can be problematic.<sup>133</sup> Mason maintains that such non-useful items can also hold a cultural value in the sense they can be craft-related. Unfortunately, the value of craft-related skills is often lost among broader aesthetic or historical values and can be overlooked.<sup>134</sup> The key with squeezes is identifying whether they have a use, and if not what their inherent value may be.

The transient nature of museum interest and cultural or historic value is further emphasised in Thompson's work, regarding *Rubbish Theory*, where he categorises artefacts as belonging to one of three categories – transient (decreasing value), durable (increasing value) or rubbish (zero value).<sup>135</sup> In order to understand value, and in particular the transient nature of value, 'we must study rubbish,'<sup>136</sup> Objects can move between these categories according to fashion, ethics, museum policies, research or adaption. Museums generally hold the items which are considered 'durables'<sup>137</sup> which after a time can then enter the 'rubbish' category or vice versa. Pearce (1992) also discusses Thompson's theory in her paper on value of objects as collections

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<sup>130</sup> Clifford 1988: 223.

<sup>131</sup> Pearce 1992: 58.

<sup>132</sup> Quoted in Carver 1996: 46.

<sup>133</sup> Mourato & Mazzanti 2002: 54.

<sup>134</sup> Mason 2002: 12.

<sup>135</sup> Thompson 1979: 7 & 9.

<sup>136</sup> Thompson 1979a:12.

<sup>137</sup> Pearce 1992: 34.

as well as museum pieces. Collections are a means of organising a chaotic world and provides a certain element of immortality to the collector, either through passing the collection on to a family member or to a museum.<sup>138</sup> Pearce emphasises the importance of souvenirs and the changing ideas of souvenirs in museums. An item with a humble origin is not necessarily valueless,<sup>139</sup> as any souvenir is a connection between the past and the present and can be a valuable reminder of historical events, famous people and an indicator of the nature of collecting as a pastime.<sup>140</sup>

In Pearce's *Archaeological Curatorship* she discusses the very nature of collecting and the associated legislation. Generally, the Code of Conduct for Museum Curators prohibits uncontrolled acquisition of artefacts, as 'many instances of neglect have resulted from uncontrollable collecting, and many museum stores contain unclassified residues that are the legacy of passive collecting.'<sup>141</sup>

Most museums and archives have a reserve collection, comprised of items which for varying reasons are not, and may never be, displayed. Pearce discusses some of the causes of reserve collections. These could be the result of passive collecting, or the result of unwanted, uninteresting and valueless objects donated to a museum along with something extremely desirable and relevant for the museum's collection. It would be unethical to accept the donation and then discard the 'uninteresting' items. Therefore, many museums have an expanding reserve collection.

Pearce continues with a discussion regarding the expectations and responsibilities of the

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<sup>138</sup> Pearce 1992: 55.

<sup>139</sup> Pearce 1992: 24.

<sup>140</sup> Pearce 1992: 72.

<sup>141</sup> Pearce 1990: 74.



museum towards the reserve collections, which includes appropriate storage, conservation where possible, documentation of each item and accessibility to the general public. Such responsibilities are carefully monitored as museums are often publically funded and therefore need to be accountable to the public for their actions.<sup>142</sup>

Due to a lack of resources (financial and personnel)<sup>143</sup> upholding all of these responsibilities is not always possible and often it is the catalogue and conservation that suffer. Whilst many curators cannot always pay due attention to the material in the stores, by protecting them these items have research potential which in turn could attract further revenue for the institution.<sup>144</sup>

Caesar addresses accessing reserve collections using the Science Museum, London, as a case study. She highlights that 90% of the Science Museum collection is in permanent storage. These stores were opened to the public in 2004 and 2005.<sup>145</sup> Before the store tour, visitors hoped to see ‘unusual objects and interesting stories’, and ‘something very interesting and rarely seen.’<sup>146</sup>

Caesar emphasises that providing access to the stores is not sufficient without some form of interpretation. The Science Museum’s themed store tours were run by curators whose expertise fell within the chosen theme. The visitors believed the interpretation provided by the curators helped with their understanding of the collections and ‘many agreed that the experience had exceeded their expectations’.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Carman 2002: 149.

<sup>143</sup> Pearce 1990: 116.

<sup>144</sup> Pearce 1990: 125.

<sup>145</sup> Caesar 2007: 4.

<sup>146</sup> Caesar 2007: 8.

<sup>147</sup> Caesar 2007: 8.

Many museums open their stores to the public, including the British Museum and the Museum of London. Even in Egypt Hawass commented that Egyptian museums 'can no longer simply be warehouses for storage with outdated displays'<sup>148</sup> although the stores of the Egyptian museums are not open to the public.

Research in museums and archives is becoming a valuable activity and Swain introduced the idea of museum archaeology in 2007. The author postulates that a museum collection has many levels of research which extend beyond the historical value of the item itself. For example, many of the Grand Tour antiquity souvenirs have lost their provenance and it can be difficult to ascertain whether they are genuine or illicit antiquities.<sup>149</sup> In cases like this, different aspects of the artefact can be examined, such as information about the donors and their interests with regard to collecting. This is extremely relevant for the study of squeezes as their value lies in the information available about them or their manufacture, rather than simply their physical form. Many museum and archive collections were the result of collecting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reflect social expectations, trends and interests of the time which maybe, and often are, different to those of a modern museum.<sup>150</sup>

The act of donating to a museum can provide information about the individual collector and thereby can attribute value to the object. Some collectors bequeath items to museums in an attempt to achieve a certain form of immortality,<sup>151</sup> and the same could perhaps be said of families donating items following the death of the collector. However, the majority of items accepted by museums are a reflection of the curators' interests, the aims of the individual

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<sup>148</sup> Hawass 2005:8.

<sup>149</sup> Swain 2007: 95.

<sup>150</sup> Swain 2007: 93.

<sup>151</sup> Pearce 1997: 48.

museum or its collection policy.

As individual collecting habits can be unexpected, once donated to museums they can help form unusual and therefore unexpected inventories of artefacts. For researchers, this can prove problematic, as to discover all examples of a particular object type requires extensive background research to identify the objects held by particular institutions. This is made more difficult by a lack of comprehensive catalogues for many collections and the end of museums publishing object catalogues in book-form, other than those in connection with specific exhibitions.

Large institutions like the British Museum, which have more resources than most, in one year (1996) published sixty-eight monographs, 184 referenced papers and catalogues and 518 lectures about their collection.<sup>152</sup> However, most museums have very limited resources and may not even have a clear understanding of the scope of their collections.

Some curators specialise in particular artefact types and may know little outside their speciality. For example, the Special Collections curator from the University of Aberdeen was unable to comment on the number of squeezes held in the collection as they were simply catalogued as a 'Bundle of images, some outlined in ink, of Egyptian Inscriptions, stele, etc,'<sup>153</sup> and they had not been studied previously. This is not intended as a criticism, as most collections are bigger than one individual can hope to study or research in any depth.

## **Heritage Crime**

A subject that has been a feature of Egyptology since the nineteenth century is heritage crime,

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<sup>152</sup> Swain 2007: 174.

<sup>153</sup> Ref: MS 3470/27/77.

which can manifest itself in the form of theft, as witnessed in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, destruction or graffiti, as in the tomb of Hery.

Edwards, in her *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (1887), laments the deterioration of the monuments,<sup>154</sup> but as tourism increased, damage to the monuments also increased, until as late as 1922, when laws were put in place to prevent antiquities being removed from Egypt.<sup>155</sup>

Gange, in his 2015 article *The Ruins of Preservation: Conserving Ancient Egypt 1880–1914*, discusses the conflict of interest at this time between conserving and protecting the monuments and keeping donors compliant with a supply of antiquities. In addition, there was little incentive for the Egyptian villagers to pass any finds onto the government as they were not recompensed for their honesty. Any reward took weeks, months or years to be presented and was often in the realm of three to five Egyptian pounds. Villagers could expect to receive considerably more from the antiquities dealers.<sup>156</sup>

Since the 2011 revolution in Egypt, heritage crime has increased dramatically and now also includes land-grabbing, illegal excavations and looting of museums, sites and storerooms. The majority of scholarship recording post-2011 heritage crime is anecdotal in nature, such as Redmount's article on the site of El Hibeh and the results of mass looting and illegal excavation.<sup>157</sup> Hanna, in her attempt to bring the crimes committed to the attention of the world, launched a Facebook and Twitter campaign, where she reported daily atrocities. She also wrote in the *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*,<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Edwards 1887: 353.

<sup>155</sup> Gange 2015: 87.

<sup>156</sup> Habachi 2001: 30-1.

<sup>157</sup> Redmount 2013.

<sup>158</sup> Hanna 2013.

summarising the forms of crimes being carried out.<sup>159</sup> Ikram adds to the discussion with an article about land-grabbing and looting as a means of appeasing international collectors, many from the Gulf States who wish to furnish new museums.<sup>160</sup>

News reports are another useful resource for anecdotal evidence on the extent of crime being carried out in Egypt, although this is limited only to the crimes of international interest such as the looting of the El Bersha tomb of Djehutyhotep,<sup>161</sup> the destruction of the Mallawi Museum, the theft from Luxor Temple<sup>162</sup> and the death of two guards who were protecting the site of Deir el Bersha from looters in February 2016.<sup>163</sup>

Published volumes written on the subject of heritage crime are also anecdotal in nature as the issue is an international one and affects all monuments and archaeological or historical sites. Chabiera (2011) edited *Stop Heritage Crime*, which looked at different approaches to tackling thefts, damage and destruction, primarily in Poland, but with additional international articles. In particular, Kolinski's article on illicit trade and heritage crime in Iraq can be applied to the Egyptian post-2011 situation as such political instability is comparable to a conflict situation. In this article the author discusses the causes of such crimes which includes the collapse of central authority, local opportunities as a result of lack of military or police, poverty and a distancing from the culture that produced the heritage.<sup>164</sup>

There are various projects in place aimed at trying to prevent stolen items being sold on the art market. These are generally in the form of online databases and includes Saving

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<sup>159</sup> Hanna 2013: 373-4.

<sup>160</sup> Ikram 2013: 33.

<sup>161</sup> <http://www.archaeology.org/news/3313-150526-egypt-djehutyhotep-tomb> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>162</sup> <http://luxortimesmagazine.blogspot.co.uk/2014/04/exclusive-photos-of-stolen-antiquities.html> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>163</sup> <http://art-crime.blogspot.co.uk/2016/02/one-killed-one-injured-at.html> (accessed 29 March 2016).

<sup>164</sup> Kolinski 2011: 55.

Antiquities for Everyone (SAFE), which concentrates on public awareness,<sup>165</sup> and the International Foundation for Art Research which has launched an art database listing stolen items.<sup>166</sup> Raising awareness of the situation of art crime and looting is considered so important that FutureLearn, an online learning hub ran a course in February 2016 on *Antiquities Trafficking and Art Crime* prepared by the University of Glasgow.<sup>167</sup> This attracted 11,000 students from all over the world.<sup>168</sup>

In light of the increased awareness of heritage crime, as well as the increase in heritage crime itself, squeezes could be a fundamental tool in locating missing tomb scenes or stelae but also could be vital for reconstruction of such missing items.

This potential was highlighted by Galán and Menéndez in their work recovering stolen blocks from the tomb of Hery,<sup>169</sup> and is further emphasised by the research presented in the catalogue (chapter 9) where missing inscriptions could be restored.<sup>170</sup>

Although studying squeezes cannot prevent heritage crime or help recover items, they can potentially ensure items stolen, lost or damaged do not remain lost, but can potentially be studied once more.

## Conclusions

Whilst squeezes have been included in a number of articles and studies over the last 150 years, they have been approached solely as a tool in wider research by a few scholars.

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<sup>165</sup> Chabiera 2011: 147.

<sup>166</sup> Chabiera 2011: 146.

<sup>167</sup> <https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/art-crime/1/todo/2567> (accessed 29 March 2016).

<sup>168</sup> Donna Yates, University of Glasgow personal correspondence 30 March 2016.

<sup>169</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 143-66.

<sup>170</sup> For example G033, B009, or L008.

They have not been approached as a subject in their own right, that of a valid archaeological and potentially commercial recording technique of the nineteenth century. Additionally, very little has been completed on entire collections and what relevance these can potentially hold in regard to social studies, history of collecting and history of travelling.

There is also very little to connect the study of squeezes with conservation or restoration of missing inscriptions – arguably one of the more valuable elements of research attributable to paper squeezes. This piece of research endeavours to fill this gap and provide a foundation for further research into the field of squeezes and nineteenth century recording techniques as well as demonstrate the innate value these items hold.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Current Squeeze Projects**

Paper squeezes are greatly understudied in the Egyptological discipline and this is a trend reflected worldwide. Whilst a small number of conservation projects have been carried out in the United States of America and Europe over the last few years on paper squeezes, they are primarily from Near Eastern rather than Egyptian collections.

The projects vary in scope; some dealing with entire collections and others with squeezes of specific monuments or sites of interest to the home institution.

#### **Smithsonian Institution Squeeze Imaging Project, USA**

The Smithsonian Institution Squeeze Imaging Project<sup>1</sup> has been working with the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, which house 383 squeezes from part of the Ernst Herzfeld papers dating from 1911–1934. They were taken at various sites in the Near East and are comprised of a combination of high grade thick paper and low-grade cigarette paper. Herzfeld records: ‘I did them all with cigarette paper, folded three times. The result is good.’<sup>2</sup>

The website highlights that ‘squeezes can be fragile, which limits their accessibility and jeopardizes the historical data they hold’ but they have been fundamental for study of a number of archaeological sites as ‘the squeezes he created for temporary reference have helped scholars access information from monuments that for many reasons may no longer

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<sup>1</sup> <http://asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/default.asp> (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Ernst Herzfeld papers, N-84 (1923–24), November 22, 1923: 18.

[http://www.asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq\\_making.asp#two](http://www.asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq_making.asp#two) (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).



be available.’<sup>3</sup>

In 2010, the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives received a grant from the Smithsonian Institution's Collections Care and Preservation Fund to preserve these squeezes.

They used an imaging technique called Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) to digitise the squeezes in a way that enabled the user to manipulate the image to enhance the inscription recorded on it.

‘Scholars will be able to find intellectual and physical information that was previously not known to exist or had thought to have been lost. This will allow researchers to learn more from the digital images than they could from the physical object.’<sup>4</sup>

Squeezes are considered by the Smithsonian Institution Squeeze Imaging Project as an important research tool because they,

‘have come to play an increasingly important role in scholarship. They make it possible to learn about ancient cultures even when original inscriptions have deteriorated to the point of illegibility, archaeological sites are inaccessible, or research funds do not support onsite visitation. Plaster casts and squeezes of ancient monuments created for museum collections have facilitated proper translation of past languages, which in turn has provided a window into past cultures.’<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/> (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/> (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>5</sup> [http://asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq\\_making.asp#three](http://asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq_making.asp#three) (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

Each squeeze has been scanned and is currently online<sup>6</sup> with a description of what the inscription is and the location, should it be known.

The digitization of the squeezes is a preliminary step in conserving the squeezes and ensuring they are maintained for future generations. However, little other research has been done on individual artefacts in this collection. The online database contains a zoomable digital image and many entries record a title and dimensions specific to each squeeze. Other general information includes the date of the collection (1879-1948) and general cataloguing information. For example 'Arabic No. 55: [no neg]. Seven squeezes or pencil rubbings of inscribed border.'

Therefore there is clearly more work to be done on this collection which could start with a description of the scene depicted – as even when using the zoom function on the digital imagery not all the inscriptions are clear – as well as an indication of the location and status of the original item.

### **Cornell University Library Conservation Project, USA**

In 2013 Cornell University Library selected ninety of its 200 squeezes from the Near East for conservation under the supervision of the Cornell University Library Conservation Project. Those chosen contained an important inscription from the Monumentum Ancyranum in Ankara, written in Greek and Latin.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> [http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?view=grid&date.slider=&fq=-object\\_type%3A%22Maps%22&q=Ernst+Herzfeld+papers+Squeezes+series+6&dsort=](http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?view=grid&date.slider=&fq=-object_type%3A%22Maps%22&q=Ernst+Herzfeld+papers+Squeezes+series+6&dsort=) (2014) (accessed 9 March 2015).

<sup>7</sup> <http://blogs.cornell.edu/culconservation/2013/12/13/epigraphic-squeezes-part-i/> (2013) (accessed 9 March 2015).

These squeezes were taken in 1907 by Cornell professor J.R.S. Sterrett (1851–1914), who from 1901 went on expeditions to Turkey and the Near East. Some of his squeezes are unique and in 1904–5 he travelled to Ankara, to the Roman temple of Augustus, and took the first squeeze of the text relating to the deified emperor. This has since been digitised at the library as part of the Grants Program for Digital Collections in Arts and Sciences.<sup>8</sup> The conservation objectives were to ‘clean and stabilize the squeezes before digitisation’ and to ‘provide a permanent storage solution.’<sup>9</sup>

The paper, which was identified as durable, was examined and discovered to be flax-based, which enabled it to survive the squeeze-beating process and the passing of more than a century in stores.<sup>10</sup> The squeezes all had a lot of surface dirt, dust and inactive mould which had become ingrained in the ridges of the squeeze. In order not to damage the squeezes, only loose surface soil was removed using a NILFISK HEPA vacuum before being cleaned with Absorene sponge erasers and latex free sponges.<sup>11</sup> Once cleaned, the squeezes were placed in archival folders and stored in flat units so they were safe from any further deterioration and yet were still accessible to scholars, or they were placed in custom-made sink-mats. The intention is for all of the squeezes to be scanned and made available as an online resource for Roman history and epigraphy scholars at the Cornell Collections of Antiquities. The digitally-imaged squeezes will eventually be reconstructed in three-dimension.

This conservation project has had previous background research carried out on the squeezes

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<sup>8</sup> <http://blogs.cornell.edu/culconservation/2013/12/13/epigraphic-squeezes-part-i/> (2013) (accessed 9 March 2015).

<sup>9</sup> <http://blogs.cornell.edu/culconservation/2013/12/13/epigraphic-squeezes-part-i/> (2013) (accessed 9 March 2015).

<sup>10</sup> Iacchei & Hamill 2014: 5.

<sup>11</sup> Iacchei & Hamill 2014: 3.

as those chosen for conservation have a precise date of manufacture as well as epigraphical information of the scenes depicted and their importance and value within the discipline. This is a stark contrast to the Smithsonian Institution Squeeze Imaging Project discussed above, which concentrated on digitalisation but with no recorded information about the squeeze or the image depicted. It does, however, need to be noted that the Cornell project focuses only on ninety squeezes rather than their whole collection and research facilitated choosing which ones to work with.

### **The Canadian Epigraphic Mission of Xanthos Letoon (Lycia) Project**

Since the 1890s, The Canadian Epigraphic Mission of Xanthos Letoon (Lycia) Project has been collecting squeezes from this region of Turkey and ‘a collection of photos and squeezes preserved at the Université Laval is being built.’<sup>12</sup>

In addition to maintaining the archive of these nineteenth and early twentieth-century squeezes, the project still actively produces squeezes in the field. During the 2006 season in Letoon, the objective was to record 689 complete or fragmentary inscriptions, with the aim that ‘this material will all be photographed and squeezed.’<sup>13</sup> This was on-going until 2010, when squeezes were also being made of published inscriptions for ‘archival purposes’. This has created an archival record of each inscription that can be compared to previous published works or earlier records of the monuments:

‘Studying these texts again is not in vain because comparing stones and published texts can sometimes bring about improvements in reading or editing the texts.’<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> [http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/objectifs\\_eng.htm](http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/objectifs_eng.htm) (2006) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>13</sup> [http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/2006\\_eng.htm](http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/2006_eng.htm) (2011) (accessed 9 February 2015).

<sup>14</sup> [http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/objectifs\\_eng.htm](http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/objectifs_eng.htm) (2006) (accessed 9 February 2015).

A secondary aspect of the project was to match squeezes currently in the archive with the original inscription in the field. When trying to locate the original inscriptions, the team was only able to locate sixty-seven of the 134 texts,<sup>15</sup> meaning the squeeze was the only surviving record of some inscriptions. This renders these squeezes as important archaeological records and worthy of conservation.

This project is in line with the current research and the catalogue in Appendix 1, as the Canadian Mission is not only maintaining a vast collection of squeezes but is also analysing each squeeze and trying to match it with the original. This enables the value of the squeeze to be categorised, with those of 'unidentified originals' potentially being more valuable than those with matched originals. In addition they continue to collect inscriptions ensuring that currently accessible archaeological material is recorded for future generations and future researchers.

### **Department of Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies of the University of British Columbia, Canada**

The Department of Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies of The University of British Columbia is working on a project to digitise its collection, which amounts to 1,051 squeezes, which are between forty and seventy years old. The vast majority of the squeezes were made in Greece by Malcom McGregor and were donated to the University of British Columbia in 1975.<sup>16</sup>

This squeeze project was started 'as their utility as a resource for countless members of the department is undeniable.'<sup>17</sup> Due to the size of the squeezes, they are difficult to handle in

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<sup>15</sup> [http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/photographies\\_eng.htm](http://www.xanthos.hst.ulaval.ca/eng/photographies_eng.htm) (2009) (accessed 9 March 2015).

<sup>16</sup> <http://fromstonetoscreen.com/squeeze-collection/> (2014) (accessed 21 March 2016).

<sup>17</sup> <https://fromstonetoscreen.wordpress.com/about/> (2014) (accessed 9 February 2015).

the classroom and the project will therefore facilitate the studying of these inscriptions without causing further damage to them.

Digitisation of the collection of squeezes is the first step in preservation of these epigraphic records, and something all archival collections should be attempting to do. The UBC have identified that digitisation makes the material easier for study, which is something that has not yet widely been adopted in the discipline of Egyptology, but it also means the material is available for worldwide dispersal.

Before digitising the squeezes on the *From Stone to Screen*<sup>18</sup> website, they were identified either using the index written by Professor Nigel Kennell in the 1970s or notes of Professor McGregor which includes museum accession numbers. However, some of the squeezes have been unidentifiable using these resources and the organizers turned to the public, via social media, to help. The website went live in November 2014.

Creating a rudimentary catalogue using notes and catalogue cards is a primary step into the preservation of these artefacts, but without cross-checking the information held on original accession records and catalogue cards total accuracy is not guaranteed.

Using the catalogue in Appendix 1 as an example the notes associated with the squeezes in the Petrie Museum are inaccurate, attributing some of the images to the tomb of Sety I when they are all either from the tomb of Khaemhat or Paser. Another example is the Bristol City Museum collection where in the catalogue the squeezes are attributed to Belzoni, which would not have been possible due to the date of the discovery of the tomb squeezed. Checking the accuracy of the information is a fundamental step in maintaining a useable

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<sup>18</sup> [www.fromstonetoscreen.com](http://www.fromstonetoscreen.com) (2014) (accessed 31 March 2016).

online catalogue. However, with budgetary restraints appealing to the public to help with identification and information is a useful tool, if the information received is also verified.

### **Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy**

The Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano, has a number of squeezes from different groups of material which they are systematically working on. In 2012, students and staff of the Egyptology Archive started a project photographing and cataloguing squeezes of the Alexandre Varille (1909–1951) collection which includes blocks from the Cairo Museum.

This collection forms only part of the wider collection of squeezes held at the archive. Varille was a student of Loret who later published some of his works. The Victor Loret (1859–1946) collection, also at the archive, comprises a number of squeezes of the *Appeal to the Living* text, which is situated between the hall and the inner room of the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) and comprises sixteen vertical lines of text:

‘Nevertheless these squeezes have often provided the only means of reconstructing the lost parts and identifying fragments of otherwise unknown provenance.’<sup>19</sup>

These Khaemhat squeezes were taken by Loret in 1884 and were later published by Alexandre Varille in 1940. When Loret visited the tomb of Khaemhat some of the inscriptions were still covered in sand<sup>20</sup> and therefore the squeezes provide some social history on the archaeology of the tombs themselves. The squeezes are stored in the same way as Loret intended with the dozen tin squeezes and gesso squeezes of wildlife (e.g. ichneumon mongoose, fish) being

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<sup>19</sup> Piacentini 2008: 51.

<sup>20</sup> Piacentini 2008: 51.

stored in cigarette boxes.<sup>21</sup>

The squeezes in the collection are gradually being published<sup>22</sup> and made available to a wider audience of researchers. In the absence of the resources required to publish the entire collection, this piecemeal approach is sufficient, as it ensure small groups within the wider collection become available for study. By taking groups of material such as the *Appeal to the Living* or blocks from the Cairo museum means these can be studied as a subject but it would be useful to be able to study the collection as a whole to get an overview of the work that Varille and Loret carried out throughout their careers.

### **The Griffith Institute, University of Oxford**

In 2007 The Griffith Institute started to digitise 200 of its collection of paper squeezes. These are from the Sheikh Abd el Qurna tombs of Khaemhat (TT57) and Paser (TT106), and the tomb of Sety I (KV17) from the Valley of the Kings.<sup>23</sup> They have been scanned and made available online.<sup>24</sup> All of these sites are represented by squeezes in the catalogue at the end of this thesis.

At the time of publishing in 2007 Malek commented that ‘this appears to be the first digital publication of this material in Egyptology.’<sup>25</sup> However, also in 2007, the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery completed a very similar project (see chapter 8) where its fourteen squeezes of TT57 were conserved, remounted, photographed and published on its online catalogue.<sup>26</sup> This thesis goes some way to improve the Bristol City online catalogue entries, making more

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<sup>21</sup> Piacentini 2001: cat. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Piacentini 2008 & Piacentini 2002.

<sup>23</sup> Malek 2007: 24.

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4gisquee.html> (2007) (accessed 31 March 2016).

<sup>25</sup> Malek 2007: 25.

<sup>26</sup> <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/list.php?keyword=squeeze> (accessed 31 March 2016).



information available about each squeeze. The catalogue database could also go some way in providing a central hub where squeezes from different collections can be viewed aiding with inter-institutional dialogue about their content and subsequent value.

### **Egypt Exploration Society, London**

Since starting the current research, the Egypt Exploration Society has carried out work on its collection (discussed in chapter 8). At the EES Office, London, two rooms were refurbished and fitted with humidity and temperature controls in 2015.<sup>27</sup> The Sesebi squeezes, which were originally stored in the Committee Room in ill-fitting drawers, have been relocated to one of these secure refurbished rooms. No conservation was carried out on the squeezes themselves and 'their state is not improved – and I fear that there is not much we can do about that.'<sup>28</sup>

Moving the squeezes from the wooden drawers is a significant improvement as wooden drawers provide a closed environment where untreated wood produces decomposition by-products such as pitch, resin, peroxides and acidic material which can damage paper.<sup>29</sup>

### **Discussion**

Considering the thousands of squeezes held in museums, archives and private collections covering Greek, Latin and Egyptian monuments, this handful of projects demonstrates the lack of research being carried out worldwide to preserve these collections.

The majority of squeezes, as discussed, are not catalogued adequately, if at all, and therefore many archives and museums will be uncertain as to the numbers of squeezes in their

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<sup>27</sup> Carl Graves from the EES personal correspondence 4 January 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Carl Graves from the EES personal correspondence on 4 January 2016.

<sup>29</sup> Ritzenthaler 2010:176.

collections.

For example, the Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford, lists that the Jacques Jean Clère (1906–1989) collection contains ‘Impressions’<sup>30</sup> but provides no further information.

‘The J. J. Clère MSS. contains a lot of material which hasn't really been consulted by anyone since the material was accessioned over 15 years ago.’<sup>31</sup>

These impressions comprise fifteen albums of ‘impressions’. Each album contains between fourteen and seventeen pages of impressions, none greater in size than A5, with four or five to a page. This provides an estimated quantity of more than 800 squeezes, in this one collection. At least twelve other manuscript collections within the Griffith Institute also contain squeezes, such as the John Williams (1797–1874), which comprises four albums of rubbings, or the Lieder manuscripts (Rudolph Theophilus (1798–1865) and Alice (?–1868)) which is catalogued as an unspecified ‘paper squeezes of monuments made in Egypt 1850–3.’<sup>32</sup>

The British Museum also houses a number of squeezes, with the John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875) collection as an example numbering 5,500 squeezes.<sup>33</sup> In order to access the searchable database for the archival catalogue of the British Museum, it is necessary to make an appointment to visit the AES Study Room, meaning it is not readily accessible to the public unless specifically requested.

In Germany, at the Berlin Academy of Sciences and Humanities, there are 600 boxes,

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<sup>30</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4clerems.html> (accessed 17 July 2017).

<sup>31</sup> Elizabeth Fleming, Griffith Institute, personal correspondence 28 March 2013.

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/archive/holdings/> (accessed 17 July 2017).

<sup>33</sup> Moss 1976: 108-9.

containing approximately 300,000 squeezes dating from 1833 to 1911, made by numerous Egyptologists, including the Prussian expedition to Egypt (1833–1859), Borchardt-Junker expedition (Philae and Nubian temples 1908–10), and Naville and Mariette (Dendera). These have also not been studied in any great depth.

‘In general, we have no documentation according to modern archival standards. They were never recognized as an important research object by themselves, only the information about the original monument was thought to be of interest and therefore documented. Thus, I have no overview about preservation, colouring, size, paper etc. Restorations were never executed as far as I know.’<sup>34</sup>

These limited examples provide a snapshot of the potential number of squeezes in existence but without research into each museum and archive individually, there is no real indication of the numbers available.

The examples cited are from the UK and Germany, but it should be considered that there will be squeezes throughout Europe, all over the USA, and possibly in Egypt. There are also records of collections in China,<sup>35</sup> as well as countless private collections all over the world. When presented in this light, the enormity of the subject becomes apparent, as well as the inadequacy of the limited conservation and research projects that have already been carried out.

The main focus of many of the projects is to make the artefacts available to a wider audience through online databases (Griffith Institute, Smithsonian, Cornell University and University of

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<sup>34</sup> Personal correspondence from Dr. Silke Grallert, keeper of the archival materials from the former Berlin Dictionary Project at the Berlin academy of Sciences and Humanities, 30 June 2017.

<sup>35</sup> Hǎiyīng & Clarysse. 2006: 45-51.

British Columbia). With the advent of the digital age, an increased level of public interaction is, of course, slowly being made available, as more institutions are digitising their collections. Indeed, it is the responsibility of museum staff to document their collections and make them accessible to the public.<sup>36</sup>

Two projects (The Canadian Epigraphic Mission of Xanthos Letoon (Lycia) Project and the University of British Columbia) mirror this doctoral research in the sense it was considered important to locate the original inscription before publication, in order to compare the squeeze and the current condition of the monument. This approach is time-consuming and more costly than the simple digitisation projects, but provides much more valuable information per squeeze.

Obviously, funding is not always available for such research and in these cases any work carried out is preferable to none. Even the simple but effective act of moving the squeezes to more suitable storage (EES, London) or publishing small groups of squeezes at a time (Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Milan, Griffith Institute, Oxford) is worthy of note. It is preferable to have each squeeze conserved, as at Bristol City Museum and Cornell University, but as the former only has fourteen squeezes and the latter chose a sample of ninety squeezes, the project becomes more manageable and something every museum or archive could aspire to.

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<sup>36</sup> Pearce 1990:73-4.

## Chapter 5

### Collecting Paper Impressions

Considering the quantity of squeezes held in museums throughout the world, it is important to discuss how they were collected and how they ended up in archives. There appear to be two forms of collection in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – squeeze-taking by professional archaeologists, and squeeze-taking or purchasing by tourists and travellers. As discussed in chapter 1, the labelling of ‘tourist’ is broad and covers anyone who was not commissioned to work in Egypt on the monuments.

Professional archaeologists were deemed to be those with a classical, university education which amateurs did not have. This definition meant renowned archaeologists like Howard Carter and Flinders Petrie were officially considered amateurs.<sup>1</sup>

#### Professional Egyptologists

Squeezes taken in the field were used as an aid to archaeological publication and many late nineteenth- and twentieth-century publications include drawings,<sup>2</sup> photographs of squeezes,<sup>3</sup> and photographs of casts made from squeezes.<sup>4</sup> The majority of Egyptologists used squeezes for publication, from Gaston Maspero and Kurt Sethe on their publications on the Pyramid Texts,<sup>5</sup> to the de Garis Davies’ on their various tomb publications.<sup>6</sup> The latter also used tracings from the walls and watercolours, which were more accurate and easier to use than

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<sup>1</sup> Gange 2015: 96.

<sup>2</sup> Loret 1884.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie 1904.

<sup>4</sup> de Garis Davies 1901b: Frontispiece.

<sup>5</sup> Caminos 1976: 9.

<sup>6</sup> See EES squeezes in the attached catalogue.

photographs.<sup>7</sup>



Figure 3: Seventeenth century squeeze. Rostgaard nr. 28. Photograph from Kragelund 2009: 139.

### Earliest Squeezes

Some of the earliest surviving Egyptology squeezes were made in the field by tourists (see the catalogue in Appendix 1). George Tomlinson, the Bishop of Gibraltar, made squeezes in Egypt in 1846 and the earliest produced by professional Egyptologists includes the Gardiner Wilkinson (1797–1875) squeezes at the British Museum and the Alice Lieder (1851–2) squeezes at The Collection, Lincoln, which forms part of the catalogue discussed in Chapter 10.<sup>8</sup> However, these are considered late when compared with squeezes from classical and Mediterranean archaeology.

<sup>7</sup> Caminos 1976, 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> See the catalogue in this volume for the Lieder and Belzoni squeezes.

A series of twenty-nine squeezes of Greek and Roman inscriptions are currently held in the manuscript department of the Danish Royal Library and form part of the projects of Raffaello Fabretti (1619–1700), Cassiano (1588–1657) and Carlo Dal Pozzo (1606–89). These squeezes were acquired in 1699<sup>9</sup> (see fig.3) and are dated some two centuries before the Egyptian examples currently being studied. The method of manufacture, however, remains the same:

‘Single sheets have been soaked in water and the paper is then pressed into the letters cavity, such that they reproduce the entire inscription in the negative, but completely true to original.’<sup>10</sup>

This early history of Mediterranean squeezes is outside the scope of this research, but in this context it is enough to be aware that Egyptology as a discipline was not a pioneer of this recording method which could be a reflection of the later date of exploration into Egypt as opposed to Europe.

For nineteenth-century scholars squeezes were convenient as they enabled them to work on inscriptions in comfort, away from the field. Squeezes guaranteed accurate impressions of the monuments – something that could not be assured with drawings, no matter how skilled the artist. Additionally, studying squeezes enabled inscriptions to be examined alongside each other, whereas in reality the originals might not be in the same locality.<sup>11</sup>

Many published epigraphic studies were produced through a combination of studying squeezes and drawings<sup>12</sup> side-by-side, although the final published drawing was not always

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<sup>9</sup> Kragelund 2009: 153.

<sup>10</sup> Translated from the Latin in Kragelund 2009:18.

<sup>11</sup> Woodhead 1959:82.

<sup>12</sup> For example Lepsius 1859, quoted in Caminos 1976: 4.

checked for accuracy against the original before publication.<sup>13</sup> Some of these publications, like Lepsius' *Denkmäler Aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, remain to this day an example of exemplary epigraphy and provide the most up-to-date and accurate research on some of the monuments, even though it was published more than 150 years ago.<sup>14</sup>

A key problem with drawing as a means of record-keeping was that images could be open to interpretation and might include elements of artistic licence. As would be expected some artists were held in higher esteem for accuracy than others. Egyptologist Percy Newberry (1868–1949), whilst admiring the accuracy of Robert Hay (1799–1863), commented that others' drawings 'are not to be altogether trusted for fidelity.'<sup>15</sup> He used Hay's drawings of the tombs at Beni Hasan as a check for his own, due to Hay's reputation for accuracy.<sup>16</sup>

Nina and Norman de Garis Davies and Charles K. Wilkinson also used Hay's drawings 'to restore in our copies missing parts of the original paintings that had been cut out of the walls during the century after Hay recorded them.'<sup>17</sup> Even at this time in Egyptological history, older records were being used to reconstruct missing inscriptions.

With regard to the importance of Hay's drawings for filling in missing inscriptions Tillet (1984) makes the observation that 'if Newberry considered Hay's records invaluable, they are even more so today in view of the recent state of the tombs.'<sup>18</sup> This could apply as easily to Hay's casts and squeezes.

Bednarski comments in his discussion of the publication process in the early nineteenth

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<sup>13</sup> Caminos 1976: 6.

<sup>14</sup> Dorman 2008: 82-3 & Caminos 1976:4.

<sup>15</sup> Tillet 1984: 64.

<sup>16</sup> Tillet 1984: 63.

<sup>17</sup> Charles K. Wilkinson quoted in Thompson 2016: 240.

<sup>18</sup> Tillet 1984: 65.



century that,

‘A subject that is not addressed ... but which is particularly relevant to the artwork accompanying many early nineteenth-century manuscripts, is unashamed, or even intentional, inaccuracy.’<sup>19</sup>

He emphasises in particular that Frédéric Cailliaud (1787–1869) was more concerned with illustrating the text in his chapters than accurately representing the original images.<sup>20</sup>

This therefore throws some doubt onto the accuracy of some line-drawings throughout nineteenth-century publications. This potential inaccuracy of early illustrations render squeezes more valuable as a modern research tool, than these drawings especially if the original inscription is missing.

James Henry Breasted commented on the value of accuracy when he noticed he had inaccurately recorded an inscription at Amarna which had been vandalised. His biographer emphasised that this realisation ‘impressed on him the value of accurately recording such sources before they were permanently lost to vandalism or natural erosion.’<sup>21</sup>

Squeezes were additionally utilised by nineteenth-century scholars as photographs are today.

Amelia Edwards, in a letter to Dr Birch at the British Museum, asks,

‘if you will kindly tell me the meaning of the two inscriptions enclosed, taken partly from rubbing, & then defined in ink.’<sup>22</sup>

The term ‘rubbing’ here could refer to a paper squeeze or a charcoal rubbing on flat paper, as

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<sup>19</sup> Bednarski 2014: 91.

<sup>20</sup> Bednarski 2014: 92.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Thompson 2016: 218.

<sup>22</sup> 25 October 1874 quoted in Moon 2009: 136.

both methods were popular at the time and were rather confusingly referred to in the same way. As Edwards outlined the images in ink, it suggests she is making reference to a paper squeeze. However, the important aspect of this letter is the idea of sending an original paper-impression with the letter in order to facilitate research amongst scholars in the same way a photograph would be sent today.

Scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were clearly aware of the value of squeezes to correct drawings and fill in gaps where inscriptions were lost. This makes the neglect and lack of interest by modern scholars in squeezes, at a time of monument decline, of much cause for concern.

### **Petrie and the BAAS**

In addition to collecting squeezes as part of wider archaeological excavations and as a well-established recording technique, squeezes were also utilised in order to obtain information for comparative studies. By the 1880s, squeezes had been used in Egypt for at least thirty years. Petrie had made his mark in the world of Egyptology following his extensive studies of the Great Pyramid at Giza<sup>23</sup> and it is through this study that Petrie came into contact with Francis Galton and Karl Pearson, pioneers of the eugenics programme in Britain. Galton defined his eugenics theories in 1883 thus:

‘Eugenics means ... good in stock, hereditarily endowed with noble qualities .... we greatly want a brief word to express the science of improving stock, which is by no means confined to questions of judicious mating, but which especially in the case of

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<sup>23</sup> Petrie 1883.

man, takes cognizance of all influences that tend, in however remote a degree, to give to the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had.'<sup>24</sup>

In 1880, Francis Galton from University College London, made a public request for information on the hereditary gifts of what he referred to as 'native Britons'. Galton, a first cousin of Charles Darwin, intended to apply the theory of natural selection to the improvement of the human race<sup>25</sup> by studying these 'gifts'.

Flinders Petrie, aged 27, wrote to Galton regarding his own mathematical abilities and how he could contribute to the study of exceptional Britons. By 1883, Galton saw Petrie's notes and photographs of the pyramids and thought the level of detail was incredible, believing such meticulous research could prove useful. Galton declared Petrie a mathematical genius,<sup>26</sup> which began their eugenics research relationship together.

In 1886, Petrie was hired with a grant from the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) to travel to Egypt to photograph different racial types in ancient portraits, sculptures and temples for a volume entitled *Racial Photographs of the Egyptian Monuments*. He was chosen by Galton to aid his research on,

'the skull measurements of racial types. [Galton] needed photographs of the heads of different enemies and allies – Libyans, Hittites, Syrians, Nubians and Beduin – depicted on the walls of temples and tombs in Egypt ...'<sup>27</sup>

This study would provide a more varied corpus of material than was available in Britain at the

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<sup>24</sup> Galton 1911: 17 quoted in Sheppard 2010: 21.

<sup>25</sup> Silberman 1999: 70.

<sup>26</sup> Silberman 1999: 72.

<sup>27</sup> Drower 1985: 106.

time and was part of a wider project of 'surveying mankind' in order to document groups which may become extinct,<sup>28</sup> should the eugenics programme be followed.

Between 1878 and 1883, the BAAS had researched the face as a marker of race and using this premise had claimed to map British populations.<sup>29</sup> The application of such research to ancient Egypt is described in the 2005 catalogue of *Petrie Museum Objects*:

'Determined to return to work in Egypt, Petrie was commissioned by Francis Galton, who was engaged in research on genetics, to photograph and record different racial types found in Egypt. This was the unfortunate beginning of the eugenics movement, whose proponents attempted to validate their ideas of racial superiority by projecting them back into the past. Like other Egyptologists of his day, Petrie was badly misled by these ideas.'<sup>30</sup>

Through comparing the races of Britain with those of the ancient past, the eugenics supporters hoped to prove Caucasian superiority. There are modern attempts to distance Petrie from this now unfashionable and horrifying movement, either showing him as misguided or glossing over his involvement. It is evident that he was a believer in the theories and was actively interested in the research. As Sheppard comments:

'He was not 'badly misled' by anyone or by their ideas, nor was his involvement in eugenics an accident. Petrie was a believer in, and a proponent of, the biometric methods and the solutions eugenics offered for the ills of society.'<sup>31</sup>

She further adds that the omission of Petrie from the history and historiography of eugenics is

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<sup>28</sup> Challis 2013: 85.

<sup>29</sup> Teasley-Trope et al 2005: xix.

<sup>30</sup> Teasley-Trope et al. 2005: xv.

<sup>31</sup> Sheppard 2010:23.

unfortunate and perpetuated by those themselves who are misled into believing a sanitised version of Petrie's past.<sup>32</sup> His original connection with Galton, was due to his belief that he was indeed part of the superior Caucasian British race, and Petrie agreed with the eugenics theories to the extent that he believed in forced sterilization of the 'worst stocks' of women and even suggested a programme of voluntary sterilization.<sup>33</sup>

The BAAS project came at a convenient time in Petrie's life (1886) as he had fallen out with the committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund and was available for work.<sup>34</sup> Although he was employed by the BAAS, he was initially only given £20 (approximately £966.20 in modern currency)<sup>35</sup> for the expedition to Egypt, which was enough to cover the photographs but not the actual trip, resulting in Galton personally donating a further £100.

Amelia Edwards suggested Petrie share the cost of the trip with Francis Llewellyn Griffith who had not yet had the chance to visit Egypt. This would perhaps suggest that Edwards, and then by association Griffith were also not adverse to the research that Petrie was carrying out on the eugenics programme. Griffith was not initially very keen on accompanying Petrie, as it was common knowledge that Petrie liked to live frugally whilst in the field.<sup>36</sup> He eventually changed his mind and Petrie left Liverpool to sail to Alexandria, whilst Griffith travelled overland via Marseille. Days before they departed, Galton added a further £40 to the £100 he had already given to Petrie and the promise of a further £300 on completion of the project.<sup>37</sup>

Griffith and Petrie met in Alexandria on 29 November 1886.<sup>38</sup> After gaining the necessary

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<sup>32</sup> Sheppard 2010: 29.

<sup>33</sup> Sheppard 2010: 27 n. 77.

<sup>34</sup> Challis 2013: 86.

<sup>35</sup> Challis 2013: 92.

<sup>36</sup> Drower 1985: 106.

<sup>37</sup> Challis 2013: 93.

<sup>38</sup> Drower 1985: 107.

permissions from the Director of Antiquities, they started their southern journey on 19 December. They travelled to Minya and continued by boat to Aswan from where they started the northward journey stopping at the sites on the way to collect squeezes and photographs. Despite the increased funding for the project, Petrie maintained his frugal lifestyle and they travelled from Aswan to Luxor with a third-class ticket on a government vessel.<sup>39</sup>

The trip was to last three months and the photographic itinerary was busy. Prior to departure, Galton contacted BAAS committee member Reginald Stuart-Poole, who listed the most important places for Petrie to record.<sup>40</sup> Galton believed racial types had remained stable over millennia and therefore Petrie was employed to collect measurements and photographs of ancient Egyptians, Libyans, Hittites, Syrians, Nubians and Bedouin from the wall reliefs.<sup>41</sup> He aimed to obtain images of Hyksos heads and people from Punt from the Bulak museum (Cairo), frescoes from the Beni Hasan tombs and numerous images from Thebes – from Karnak, Luxor temple, Asasif, Ramesseum, Medinet Habu and the Valley of the Kings.<sup>42</sup>

Prior to the start of the expedition, Petrie told Galton he preferred to take squeezes ‘where there is no paint to be injured,’<sup>43</sup> indicating they were a well-respected, even preferred recording technique in the 1880s. This request was not questioned and in some places squeezes were clearly preferable to photographs. However, in other places Petrie refused to take squeezes. At the Ramesseum the images of the Hittites were highly-coloured and Petrie knew squeezing could cause damage, so he photographed them instead.<sup>44</sup> In the tomb of Sety I, Petrie took only one photograph as there was only one extant figure left with ‘brown black

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<sup>39</sup> Drower 1985: 116.

<sup>40</sup> Challis 2013b: 48.

<sup>41</sup> Silberman 1999: 72.

<sup>42</sup> Poole to Galton 26 Oct 1886 quoted in Challis 2013: 91.

<sup>43</sup> Challis 2013: 96.

<sup>44</sup> Drower 1985: 119.

hair’,<sup>45</sup> and he did not take any squeezes in this tomb owing to the extent of surviving colour.

As an active supporter of eugenics research, Petrie asked if modern subjects needed to be included in his photographic collection. He was applying his meticulous recording techniques into this racist pseudo-science demonstrating how seriously he took the eugenics research. He acknowledged it was possible to take pictures of modern Egyptians, but it would be difficult ‘as they give false names and run away’, but he offered to take pictures of monuments with the people in the foreground:

‘In this way one can sidle up to a group who imagine they are mere spectators and think that you are doing something away at right angles from them.’<sup>46</sup>

This demonstrates his superior attitude to the Egyptians as their reluctance to be photographed was not considered by him important enough to acknowledge or respect.

To obtain the required images of foreign types from the tomb walls took six weeks. Pitching tents near the Cataract Hotel they took daily excursions to record the nearby rock art:

‘Early every morning they would set out with a rope ladder, a basket and a roll of squeeze paper for making wet paper impressions. They would work all day.’<sup>47</sup>

They reached Karnak temple in mid-February (1887) and this was to be where Petrie and Griffith parted company and where Petrie increased his squeeze production:

‘After a good deal of wandering about here, I set to work on the foreigners, beginning by taking squeezes of all the foreign heads here on the temple walls. I soon found that

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<sup>45</sup> Challis 2013: 97.

<sup>46</sup> Letter from Petrie to Galton 4 November 1886 quoted in Challis 2013: 93.

<sup>47</sup> Drower 1985: 115.

the squeezes were so manoeuvrable and clear that I determined to do all I could by squeezes, and only photograph where squeezes were impracticable. The result will be that I shall have a gallery of plaster casts of 200 or 300 heads probably when I have worked them all off in England; and photographs can be taken far better from clean white casts arranged in good light than directly from the monuments. Such a set of actual casts too will be in the collection either for Francis (as ethnology) or for Oxford under Tylor.’<sup>48</sup>

The majority of Petrie’s images (both photographs and squeezes) were of the traditional four races of Egypt (Nubian, Asiatic, Libyan and Syrian) as characterised by the ancient Egyptians, dating to the reign of Sety I and Ramses II.<sup>49</sup> Petrie then explained the practicalities of making casts from the paper squeezes:

‘A box of such paper impressions weighing only a few pounds could be brought home to England and a cast made of each separate head ... This was a complete success, the squeezes were eventually waxed before a plaster cast was taken and the photographs obtained from the cast were far clearer than if they had been made from the stained and darkened sculptures.’<sup>50</sup>

Petrie intended to take a series of casts from the squeezes and classify them racially, then ask the BAAS committee to help choose the most ‘typical’ ones for use in composite photographs.<sup>51</sup> Composite photographs were produced by laying a number of faces over one

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<sup>48</sup> Petrie 1886-7, 14-23 February 1887 quoted in Challis 2013: 96.

<sup>49</sup> Challis 2013: 92.

<sup>50</sup> Drower 1985: 118.

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Petrie to Galton, UCL Galton Archives: 2 April 1887.



another, highlighting their similarities and obscuring their individual features.<sup>52</sup>

Once he returned to Britain, Petrie presented his findings to the annual meeting of the BAAS in Manchester in September 1887, which was later published as meeting proceedings with a separate pamphlet including a number of photographs of the casts.<sup>53</sup>

He displayed his casts and photos at this meeting.<sup>54</sup> In total, he took more than 200 squeezes, which were subsequently made into casts, of which some were painted to reflect the original colours, and forty photographs.<sup>55</sup> The squeezes have since been lost, although the casts are still in the accession lists of the British Museum.<sup>56</sup> All that remains of the squeezes is a set of photographs of the squeezes or casts at the Petrie Museum, London, catalogued as part of a mixed lot:

‘PMA/WFP1 115/13/1 29 Photographs, paintings of Palaeolithic flints; drawings of symbols and bowls, mainly from Syria, but including prints from 1886–1887 *Racial Types* Petrie photographs of (squeezes from) Egyptian depictions of foreigners, also Abydos II faience plaque watercolour (original?) for 1903 publication, otherwise n.d.’

This set comprises thirty photographs wrapped in acid-free paper and placed in a cardboard folder within an archive box. The photographs, dated to the 1880s, are black and white, which makes it impossible to see how Petrie had painted the squeezes and casts. On the rear of each picture Petrie labelled the foreign race depicted, which includes Amar, Syrian (northern,

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<sup>52</sup> Hannavy 2007: 569.

<sup>53</sup> Challis 2013: 104.

<sup>54</sup> Challis 2013b: 48.

<sup>55</sup> Challis 2013: 96.

<sup>56</sup> Challis 2013: 104.

southern and typical), Shasu, Indehmalk, Askalna, Innuua, North Race, Khita, Palestinian, Puntites, Shurdana, Shakalsha, Takrui, Harebu and Mashwash. Very little information is provided on the photographs, other than a couple of the painted casts being identified as



Figure 4: Northern Race from the tomb of Merenptah. painted squeeze/cast. Courtesy of the Petrie Museum.

coming from a particular tomb. It is evident that the race was more important than the original location of the image. Even in the final copy of *Racial Photographs from the Ancient Egyptian Pictures and Sculptures* the images of the racial types 'are clipped away from their monuments, devoid of any spatial context'.<sup>57</sup>

Petrie's *Racial Photographs of the Egyptian Monuments* was eventually published in 1887 and comprised 190 photographs from all over Egypt. He was planning to send 150 casts of 268 heads to the British Museum, but he commented that when they arrived at the museum, 'but few will see the light I expect'<sup>58</sup> demonstrating what his perception of the museum's apathy towards his casts was. However, 'the Palestine Exploration Fund have agreed to exhibit all the casts at South Kensington on their bases.'<sup>59</sup> This exhibition ran from October 1887 to early 1888.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Challis 2013: 85.

<sup>58</sup> Letter from Petrie to Galton, UCL Galton Archives: 14 September 1887.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from Petrie to Galton, UCL Galton Archives: 14 September 1887.

<sup>60</sup> Challis 2013: 105.

This journey to Egypt to record the foreign heads was not the end of Petrie and Galton's working relationship. The research carried out in the UCL eugenic laboratories relied heavily on Petrie for human remains, statistical information and eugenic conclusions.<sup>61</sup> For example, in 1894, Karl Pearson requested 100 skulls from Naqada but Petrie sent more than 400. By 1895, the UCL laboratory was full to capacity.<sup>62</sup> This did not prevent Petrie from sending more human remains and in 1904 he sent a further 2,000 skulls and skeletons and in 1925 a further 140 mandibles.<sup>63</sup>

From the 1880s until the early twentieth century Galton, Pearson and Petrie gave a number of speeches regarding eugenics. Pearson believed in carefully selected eugenics marriages as,

'selective breeding might well change the centre of regression from one generation to the next. In short the mean of the population for a given character might be deliberately moved in an evolutionary line of eugenic advance.'<sup>64</sup>

Galton believed human abilities were due to genetics rather than culture and therefore wanted to encourage skilled individuals to breed, whilst encouraging those without skills and abilities to refrain.<sup>65</sup> By 1904, the eugenics programme was introduced to the United States of America and Charles Davenport set up the Eugenics Record Office in the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratories.<sup>66</sup>

Throughout his career, Petrie wrote three books on eugenics, although in biographies these works are rarely mentioned in any depth. The first was his *Racial Photographs from the*

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<sup>61</sup> Sheppard 2010: 18.

<sup>62</sup> Sheppard 2010: 23.

<sup>63</sup> Petrie, Brunton, and Gardiner, 1927: 5.

<sup>64</sup> Sheppard 2010: 22.

<sup>65</sup> Galton 1911: 17.

<sup>66</sup> Kevles 1995: 41–56.

*Egyptian Monuments*, the result of his journey to Egypt to collect squeezes and photographs, then *Janus in Modern Life*, followed by *Revolutions of Civilisations*. In *Janus* he discusses the potential for isolating ‘fine’ races through ‘monitored marriages and reproduction, and state monitored abstinence and sterilization’<sup>67</sup> – a solution greatly supported by Galton.<sup>68</sup>

Petrie also explored the theory of migrations as a ‘means of supplanting the less capable by the more capable’ and used skull measurements to support his theories. It is reported that whilst excavating a Coptic cemetery in the Kharga Oasis Petrie and his archaeological team,

‘undertook some anthropological work, measuring villagers’ heads, as well as more leisurely activities like picnicking.’<sup>69</sup>

It is horrifying that such deeply concerning research as head measurements is casually coupled with picnicking indicating Petrie had no doubts about the theories he was supporting and attempting to prove.

In 1894, whilst excavating the Pre-Dynastic cemeteries of Naqada and Ballas, Petrie discovered a number of burials that were different from his other excavations and ‘blinded by migration theories, theorized that this was a ‘new race that had moved into the Nile Valley after the collapse of the Old Kingdom.’<sup>70</sup> Due to the prevalence of the finds throughout Upper Egypt he concluded ‘they must have occupied Egypt for a considerable time, certainly for many generations.’<sup>71</sup> He soon admitted his mistake and acknowledged that the unrecognisable pottery forms actually belonged to a pre-historic culture rather than a new

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<sup>67</sup> Petrie :88-9.

<sup>68</sup> Sheppard 2010: 29.

<sup>69</sup> Lee 1992: 49.

<sup>70</sup> Teasley-Trope et al. 2005: xviii.

<sup>71</sup> Petrie & Quibell 1896: 17.

race.<sup>72</sup>

In Drower's biography of Petrie, she very generously comments that Galton had influenced Petrie, due to his beliefs in the 'gifted class,'<sup>73</sup> but it must be remembered their collaboration started when Petrie wished to be part of the study into British talents. He clearly felt he was part of the superior gene pool to such an extent he donated his own head to the Royal College of Surgeons in order to enable them to study it as a 'typical' British skull.<sup>74</sup> The chief bacteriologist at the Royal College, Dr W.E. Thompson, wondered if studying the brain would 'reveal some of the reasons for the remarkable capacity and retentive memory' displayed by Petrie.<sup>75</sup> In 1948, Hilda Petrie was informed 'the brain has been the subject of concentrated study', although whether any major insights were gained is unlikely.<sup>76</sup>

It is clear that Petrie utilised squeezes as part of his recording techniques for carved inscriptions and he therefore took this skill-set into his foray into the unethical eugenics research. A methodical archaeologist, Petrie used the same high standards to the BAAS project as he did to any other research. However he was also influenced by his passion for the subject, and his belief in his own superiority within the British community itself as well as over non-British communities. Whilst the subject itself is distasteful the use of squeezes as a recording technique shows its acceptance at the time as a recognised technique.

### **Tourists Collecting Squeezes**

A large number of squeezes found in archives were produced, bought or acquired by travellers

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<sup>72</sup> Teasley-Trope et al. 2005:.xix.

<sup>73</sup> Sheppard 2010:22.

<sup>74</sup> Perry & Challis 2013: 277.

<sup>75</sup> Silberman 1999: 70.

<sup>76</sup> Silberman 1999: 46.

and tourists although very little evidence is available regarding acquisition by these groups. This activity was perhaps as inconsequential to a nineteenth-century traveller as a modern traveller taking photographs of a monument or purchasing postcards.

The similarity between collections of material and subjects for squeezes suggests there was an industry either providing the materials to produce squeezes or selling pre-squeezed impressions. Such an industry would have been a convenient way for travellers to collect mementos of their trips without taking time out of their schedule to produce squeezes themselves. Alternatively, purchasing pre-squeezed impressions ensured the quality was better than perhaps their own skills could produce.

Such a market was replaced by tourist photographs in Egypt of Egyptian monuments. Between 1850 and 1890, photographic studios were big business. The daguerreotype camera was introduced in 1839, but it was not until 1888 that amateur roll-film cameras were introduced, enabling all tourists to take photographs of the monuments. Early cameras were cumbersome and fragile and it was difficult for non-professionals to obtain good results. Therefore, in 1850, the first photograph studio was opened in Cairo, selling professional photographs to tourists. Florence Nightingale (1849–50) records how she purchased such photographs to give to her relatives.<sup>77</sup>

Following the influx of tourists in 1869 and the advent of the package tour, photographic studios were common and they produced studio albums which showcased the images for sale.<sup>78</sup> Like squeezes, such studio photographs have ended up in archives and the Griffith Institute, Oxford, has one of the largest collections of studio photographs of Egypt, some of

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<sup>77</sup> Nightingale 1987: 201.

<sup>78</sup> Stapp 2007: 475-8.

which have been published in their *Egyptian Mirage* project.<sup>79</sup>

It would seem that whilst the sale of photographs was popular for tourists, squeeze sales were less commercial, with no apparent studios focusing on squeezes and their production. It is likely squeezes were sold at the sites, perhaps by Egyptian villagers, or ghaffirs. Considering the overwhelming quantity of inscriptions the average tourist was and still is confronted with, the impulse-buy of squeezes at the sites may have been a means for tourists to provide a memento of their trip and to create a 'predictable and ordered world'<sup>80</sup> out of the chaotic array of temple and tomb illustrations.

Whichever way tourists obtained squeezes, it needs to be considered what happened to them once they returned home. Many archives and museums possess entire collections of squeezes belonging to tourists. This suggests many tourists kept the squeezes rather than distributing them as gifts and keepsakes to friends and family. This is comparable to modern holiday photos which are often stored on mobile telephones, external hard-drives and discs but rarely looked at.

Others may very well have distributed squeezes to friends and family. The squeezes in The Collection, Lincoln, (see chapter 8) produced by Alice Lieder, were donated to the museum in 1930 by Miss Josephine Parker. She presumed her father, Lt-Col Charles John Bullivant Parker (b.1821), had taken them. However, the writing on the squeeze is identified as that of Lieder, who may have given the squeezes to Lt-Col Parker. Alternatively he may have purchased them from her.

Other tourists, such as the Reverend Butterfield who produced the squeezes held in the Petrie

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<sup>79</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4mirage.html> (accessed 14 November 2016).

<sup>80</sup> Pearce 1992: 55.

Museum, may have displayed the squeezes (see chapter 8). All of the Butterfield squeezes are mounted on stiff card, mottled with age, with pink hanging ribbon, indicating they were suspended rather than stored in a box or drawer.

George Tomlinson, the first Bishop of Gibraltar, whose squeezes can be found in the University of Aberdeen Special Collections (see chapter 8), perhaps intended to display his squeezes as he had completely water-coloured one of them<sup>81</sup> and had started colouring another.<sup>82</sup> This will be discussed further in chapter 7 and chapter 8. There are no signs they had been mounted at any time and the edges on the squeezes in his collection are uneven, suggesting they had not been trimmed.

Numerous squeezes in archives and museum store-rooms are testament to the supposition, that most tourist squeezes were brought back from a tour of Egypt, perhaps with good intentions, but ended up in the loft. These were then discovered by descendants who, realising they were old and potentially important donated them to a local museum. It is only through the study of the squeezes from the different archives discussed in chapter 8 that this production difference is evident and only further research will clarify the extent of the squeeze tourist industry.

### **The End for Squeezes**

In the discipline of Egyptology, squeezes fell out of popular use in the early twentieth century, following restrictions on their manufacture due to the damage to painted surfaces caused by the process. Petrie, whilst being an avid squeezer himself, condemns the process *when* carried out by unqualified people. He recalls one piece of advice from an unscrupulous

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<sup>81</sup> A001.

<sup>82</sup> A002.



archaeologist and antiquarian, Count Riamo D'Hulst (c.1850–1916) who,

‘told me, with superior wisdom, that in order to copy the graffiti at Meydum I ought to have put a wet paper on the wall and beaten it so as to bring the ink away on the paper!! This would be his way of treating a graffito – a priceless and irreplaceable record.’<sup>83</sup>

Amelia Edwards in 1877 also condemns squeeze taking and states ‘the student of Egyptology, by taking wet paper squeezes sponges away every vestige of the original colour.’<sup>84</sup> It is laudable that such well-known Egyptologists as Edwards and Petrie were campaigning to prevent damage from squeezes and they were indeed very quick to criticise the behaviour of others but their own behaviour was not impeccable.

On one hand, Edwards’ *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* is thought to have introduced ideas of conservation of Egyptian monuments to the Western world,<sup>85</sup> but on the other hand she had written her name on the wall over the door of the South Chapel of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel in 1874, causing more damage to the wall than the damage she condemned by squeeze taking.

‘The Painter [Andrew McCallum] wrote his name and ours, with the date (February 16<sup>th</sup>, 1874), on a space of blank wall over the inside of the doorway; and this was the only occasion upon which any of us left our names upon an Egyptian monument.’<sup>86</sup>

It was considered almost acceptable to carve or write one’s name on the monuments. Phillip

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<sup>83</sup> Drower 1985: 283.

<sup>84</sup> Edwards 1887:353.

<sup>85</sup> Gange 2015: 78.

<sup>86</sup> Edwards 1887:353.

Rhinelanders visited the Great Pyramid at Giza in 1839 and he records how he carved his name into the top of the pyramid and also into a tomb at El Kab.<sup>87</sup> However, like Edwards' name at Abu Simbel, Rhinelanders' name is no longer visible as it has since worn away, showing the additional natural level of deterioration occurring to the monuments.

Some travellers were aware of conservation practices and took this into consideration, paradoxically whilst they defaced the monuments. For example, in the tomb of Paheri at El Kab, the names of Irby and Mangles<sup>88</sup> have been written within a carefully incised box and not on an area of decorated wall, as they did not wish to deface any ancient figures.<sup>89</sup> In 1911, Alan Gardiner wrote to Arthur Weigall, astutely commenting, 'I am growing more and more convinced that Egyptologists themselves are for the most part the worst vandals.'<sup>90</sup>

Petrie's and Edwards' campaign appeared to be more against unprofessional amateurs than established Egyptologists. Petrie tells us:

'Fatuous tourists and brazen students have wrecked innumerable monuments by wet squeezing, and it is now [1904] necessarily prohibited in Egypt unless special permission is obtained to do some object which cannot be injured by it.'<sup>91</sup>

Such comments did draw attention to the deteriorating state of the monuments and the tourists' and students' contribution to the deterioration. However, the answer was not thought to be controlling the behaviour of all visitors on site. Instead it was still considered preferable for Egyptologists and archaeologists to export inscriptions and moveable objects

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<sup>87</sup> Oliver 2009: 102.

<sup>88</sup> See squeeze G040 in catalogue (plate 25).

<sup>89</sup> Hume 2011: 136.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in Thompson 2015: 127.

<sup>91</sup> Petrie 1904: 61-2.

back to Europe<sup>92</sup> where they could be preserved. Such ideas were encouraged, especially in the light of the problems suffered by Mariette's museum in Bulaq.

1878, in particular, was a bad year for the museum when it not only suffered a fire,<sup>93</sup> but there was a very high inundation, which caused a great deal of water damage.<sup>94</sup> Every year during the inundation it was uncertain whether the museum was in danger of flooding.<sup>95</sup> Following 1878, the museum was moved to one of the khedival palaces, on the edge of the desert in Giza. Concern was raised that the building itself was susceptible to fire and the desert-edge location made it at high risk of robbery from Bedouin.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, well-meaning Europeans argued items were safer in Europe.

Edwards, herself a pioneer of conservation, exported items to Europe to distribute to donors who funded and supported the excavation work in Egypt.<sup>97</sup> In the early 1900s, a rival group to the Egypt Exploration Fund was set up in London – the Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt – whose aim was to stop the destruction of the monuments. However, like the EEF before them, they discovered patrons did not donate unless they were guaranteed some form of monument or artefact as remuneration, and they inevitably closed down.<sup>98</sup>

In the mind of Victorian Egyptologists, the problems were caused not by the experts, but by the travellers and tourists, although in reality there was sometimes very little distinction between the two. With squeeze-taking in particular the method of taking a wet paper squeeze

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<sup>92</sup> Gange 2015: 79.

<sup>93</sup> Thompson 2015: 128.

<sup>94</sup> Thompson 2015: 1.

<sup>95</sup> Gange 2015: 81.

<sup>96</sup> Thompson 2015: 128.

<sup>97</sup> Gange 2015: 79.

<sup>98</sup> Gange 2015: 86.

was the same whether Petrie took it or a tourist and yet his were considered more acceptable and less damaging.

As late as 1920, the British Museum issued a document *How to Observe in Archaeology*, which rather than condemning collection of artefacts whilst in Egypt, gave advice on 'responsible' collecting and encouraged the traveller to offer the item to a museum before selling on the open market.<sup>99</sup> It was only in 1922, following the creation of an Egyptian parliament that laws were introduced which carried enough weight to prevent unauthorised removal. The first test of this law was the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun.

Although Petrie comments that in 1904 squeeze taking was prohibited on Egyptian monuments, this was not the end of the activity. Battiscombe Gunn (1883–1950) records Old and Middle Kingdom scenes from Saqqara using this method as late as 1924. M.F. Laming Macadam (1909–1997) made squeezes at Kawa (published in 1949–55) and Herman Junker's (1877–1962) facsimile of Philae temple (1958) was based on squeezes.<sup>100</sup> Squeezes held at the Egypt Exploration Society of Sesebi and Amarah were taken in the field in 1938–9 and those at Armant in 1936 (see chapter 8). This suggests either that it was not necessarily difficult to obtain such permission –although the documentation has not survived in the archives – or that sites were not closely monitored and squeezes were taken without permission.

### **Squeezes as Souvenirs**

Before the ban on squeeze-making, many mid-nineteenth-century travellers to the Middle East partook in squeeze-taking as a more efficient means of recording than sketching or

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<sup>99</sup> Gange 2015: 87.

<sup>100</sup> Caminos 1976: 16.

painting and perhaps later as a cheaper alternative to photography.

Photography was announced for the first time at the French Academy of Sciences in 1839 by Daguerre and as Egypt was a popular destination at the time, due to the recent decipherment of hieroglyphs, photography was sold as something that could reduce the time required for recording the monuments of the Nile with 'distortions caused by the artist's hand or eye'.<sup>101</sup> The first daguerreotype was taken in Egypt only four months after it had been introduced.<sup>102</sup>

Photography was in its infancy and often watercolours were able to pick up better details than photographs could provide<sup>103</sup> as the process also encountered difficulties of developing glass-plate negatives in the field.<sup>104</sup>

Squeezes therefore remained popular until the early-twentieth century, when they quickly fell out of fashion as photography became easier and cheaper. Whether there was a correlation between the 1904 government ban on producing squeezes and the rise in popularity of the camera is not clear.

In the modern field of Egyptology 'the making of squeezes would not be acceptable [...] because of the damage it might cause to the recorded monuments, especially to any remains of colours.'<sup>105</sup>

Nevertheless, squeezes are still used in Mediterranean archaeology, so prolifically, in fact, that a new squeeze-making brush was commissioned by Dr Benet Salway, University College London, as recently as 2013:

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<sup>101</sup> Dorman 1984: 86.

<sup>102</sup> Stapp 2007, 475.

<sup>103</sup> Moon 2009: 139.

<sup>104</sup> Dorman 1984: 86.

<sup>105</sup> Malek 2007: 24.

‘The reason that I commissioned the squeeze brushes from Russell Brothers is that squeezes are still made both in the field [in the Mediterranean] and in museums, but the last manufacturer of brushes died a few years ago without leaving an apprentice.’<sup>106</sup>

In November 2013, Dr R.W. Benet Salway, from the History Department, UCL, gave a demonstration for the British Epigraphic Society of a new squeeze brush he had designed in collaboration with *Russell Brothers Brushes*, Chesham, UK.<sup>107</sup> The brush was made using Pure Bristle (Wild Hog Hair) on a beech wood stock,<sup>108</sup> with the long handle angled upwards for ease of holding. The design matches the description given by Woodhead:

‘The brush should be stout and fairly weighty, should have a handle well adapted to a firm grasp, and should be in general shape rather like a lady’s hairbrush, although with a head more rectangular than such brushes are apt to have. It should be some nine or ten inches long (including the handle), and the head should be about four inches wide. The bristles should be set closely together and be fairly soft and supple, as in the brushes used for stippling work by house decorators.’<sup>109</sup>

Although squeezes are being made, as the manufacture of hand-crafted squeeze brushes is limited, it indicates non-specialist materials are being used for the procedure. Charles Crowther, Oxford, commented that any stiff brush could be used as long as the head was heavier than the handle and was made from stiff natural fibres. He explained that in his work in the Mediterranean he had used bath brushes, shoe-brushes with a handle attached and professional brushes from a UK manufacturer near Reading, Berkshire, and a horsehair brush

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<sup>106</sup> Benet Salway personal correspondence April 22 2014.

<sup>107</sup> Benet Salway personal correspondence 1 April 2014.

<sup>108</sup> Robert Russell personal correspondence 2 April 2014.

<sup>109</sup> Woodhead 1959: 78.

from a manufacturer in Athens.<sup>110</sup> In the nineteenth century, whilst specialist material was preferable, the simplicity of squeezes was that they could be made from whatever materials were to hand. Edwards, for example, preferred 'a fine brush, like a tooth-brush.'<sup>111</sup>

Most commissioned archaeologists planned ahead as they each had preferred materials and ensured they had enough for the intended work season. Petrie tells us that whilst at Wady Magara in 1903–6, their camp was robbed. One of the things taken was his roll of newsprint procured from *The Times*, London, which he preferred for copying and taking squeezes of the monuments. This paper obviously needed to be replaced and similar paper was obtained from a Cairo newspaper, although he felt the quality was not the same.<sup>112</sup>

However, the beauty of the squeeze production process was that with little skill but suitable materials reasonable impressions could be made.

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<sup>110</sup> Crowther *Practical Epigraphy Workshop* June 2016 at the University of Oxford.

<sup>111</sup> Letter written to A. Dodgson on 5 January, 1889, Griffith Institute.

<sup>112</sup> Drower 1985: 289.

## Chapter 6

### Making Squeezes

Over a period of less than 200 years, tens of thousands of squeezes were made in Egypt and many are housed in museum storerooms and private collections all over the Western world.<sup>1</sup> Although it appears to have been a common activity for people travelling to Egypt in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, there are very few records available regarding the technique of taking squeezes. Often in site reports and travel diaries there are passing references to it, such as Thomas Young's discussion on the tomb of Sety I (KV17), stating: 'Belzoni has made moulds of every individual object in the tomb.'<sup>2</sup> Newberry comments in his notebook on 26 January 1896 that 'Spiegelberg is squeezing and copying inscriptions of Tahuti.'<sup>3</sup> These give the impression that the average reader of Egyptian travel memoirs and archaeology reports would know how to produce a squeeze.

A complementary theory is that some squeezes were mass-produced and sold to tourists, and therefore, the writers of many memoirs were not involved in the technical side of the process.

### Casts

Squeeze-making was often the first stage of making casts of monuments, and therefore the method of production may not have been considered worthy of detailed recording, as it was a means to an end. Petrie comments that 'it is often desirable to take casts and impressions

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Caminos (1976: 3) discusses how Karl Richard Lepsius himself brought thousands of squeezes back from Egypt to Berlin in the 1840s, and Moss (1976: 108-9) discusses the Gardiner Wilkinson squeeze collection in the British Museum numbers 5500 squeezes. Discussed further in chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> Usick 2002: 18.

<sup>3</sup> Galán 2015:164.



both for future reference and also as a step towards a photograph,’<sup>4</sup> indicating that squeezes themselves, for an archaeologist, were not the finished product.

In the nineteenth century casts were often displayed prominently in museums and galleries as an alternative to original monuments. Casts were considered so relevant that large galleries were created to hold them – for example the Cast Court, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1873), the Cast Galleries, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1880s),<sup>5</sup> and the Cast Gallery at the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge (1880s). Casts were an excellent way for art students, classicists and art historians to handle and study ancient artworks when the originals were unavailable for study.<sup>6</sup>

The earliest documentary evidence for casts being used by artists to study the human form dates to 1427 CE, when the Italian painter Francesco Squarcione travelled to Greece to teach art students to draw using casts.<sup>7</sup> In 1638/9 the British artist Nicholas Store travelled to Rome and returned with casts and models of little-known pieces which he then used to teach himself artistic form.<sup>8</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the cast gallery at Oxford contained five Egyptian casts which were,

‘placed here for comparison ... These five figures represent the successive phases of Egyptian art. In technique it is more advanced than the early Greek work; but it sinks

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<sup>4</sup> Petrie 1904: 64.

<sup>5</sup> Peck 2012: 72.

<sup>6</sup> Peck 2012: 71.

<sup>7</sup> Kurtz 2000: 123.

<sup>8</sup> Kurtz 2000: 129.

under the dominion of convention.<sup>9</sup>

The study of classical Greek art was more popular than Egyptian and a major supplier of plaster casts, especially in the USA was the Caproni Cast Company of Boston,<sup>10</sup> and the Spurlock Museum in Illinois, USA.<sup>11</sup>

The Caproni Cast Company provided institutions, museums and art schools internationally with plaster casts of numerous classical items. According to the 1911 cast catalogue, Caproni took casts of the Assyrian wall scenes from the British Museum, a number of Egyptian statues, including Akhenaten from the Louvre, and Greek and Roman statues from the Vatican and Uffizi Gallery, Florence,<sup>12</sup> and numerous friezes from the Parthenon, Athens, which ranged in price from \$6 to \$12 a slab.<sup>13</sup> Pietro Caproni, the founder of the cast company, had been able to travel the world's museums, taking moulds from the museum pieces which were then turned into plaster casts for resale.<sup>14</sup> The company closed in 1928, following the death of Pietro, primarily due to an increase in the popularity of photography which meant casts were going out of fashion.<sup>15</sup>

Although no longer used for art students in contemporary museums, casts have enabled galleries to explore the original paintwork that would have been employed on the sculptures. In 2015 the Ashmolean Museum housed a touring exhibition called *Gods in Colour; Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity* where they took numerous casts of classical statues, such as

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<sup>9</sup> Percy Gardner (1887-1925) in his guide to the casts, quoted in Kurtz 2000: 281.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www2.ku.edu/~wilcox/exhibits/casts/> (accessed 17 February 2015).

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.spurlock.illinois.edu/collections/search-collection/index.php?q=parthenon&g=All&Search=Search> (accessed 20 November 2016).

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.giustgallery.com/images/pdfs/1911-caproni-catalog.pdf> (accessed 17 February 2015).

<sup>13</sup> Caproni 1911: 99.

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.giustgallery.com/history/caproni-sculpture-history.php> (accessed 17 February 2015).

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.giustgallery.com/blogs/blog/55295747-the-stories-and-the-people-part-1-caproni> (accessed 20 November 2016).

Augustus Caesar and Peplos Klore, and experimented by painting them in different colours in an attempt to recreate their original appearance:

‘The color reconstructions are based on close examination and scientific analysis of the scarce traces of paint remaining on the surfaces of the originals.’<sup>16</sup>



Figure 5: British Museum painted casts from Beit el Wali. From Wikimedia commons by Andres Rueda.

This exhibition was created by Vinzenz Brinkmann and Raimund Wünsche and was displayed originally in the Gyptothek, Munich, in 2003. It has travelled the world since then, exhibiting in a number of places including the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, USA in 2007–2008, Museo Arqueológico Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Madrid, 2009–2010 and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, in 2012.

Painting casts is not a new practice as discussed above. Petrie painted some of his racial-type plaster-casts in order to give a ‘better’ representation of the original,<sup>17</sup> and Hay’s Beit el Wali casts, which were sold to the British Museum, were painted to reflect the original colours<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Harvard Art Museums <http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/visit/exhibitions/3418/gods-in-color-painted-sculpture-of-classical-antiquity> (accessed 6 January 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Challis 2013: 96.

<sup>18</sup> Tillet 1984: 82.

(see fig. 5) which are no longer visible on the monuments. With original inscriptions and statues, it would be morally inappropriate to paint them and therefore casts provide an ideal alternative. Squeezes, as the first step in cast-making, could be used to produce 3D images of lost or damaged inscriptions. Even inscriptions that are not damaged, but have lost their colour could be cast from the squeezes and experiments with colour carried out.

Casts also played an important role in the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs, as 'Lithographic copies and plaster casts [of the Rosetta Stone] began circulating among European Museums and Scholars,'<sup>19</sup> enabling scholars all over Europe to work on decipherment without requiring access to the Rosetta Stone directly.

For portable objects, cast making was straightforward and was carried out at the holding museum, either for distribution to other museums or as a means of preserving their own collection. It was the acquisition of casts by many major museums which led to cast-making being carried out in Egypt on the monuments themselves, in order to be sold and displayed in major collections.

Moulds for casts were generally made from plaster for smaller casts and clay for large-scale casts,<sup>20</sup> although paper squeezes could be used for shallow inscriptions. Both materials left deposits on the stone. The most reported case of this concern regards Robert Hay at Abu Simbel in 1825. He took a cast of one of the faces of the colossal statues outside the main temple and although it was 'possible to make plaster casts without damaging the monuments in Hay's time the methods used were fairly casual.'<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Welde 2015: 174.

<sup>20</sup> Petrie 1904: 65.

<sup>21</sup> James 1997: 147.

To produce the cast he used two and a half tons of plaster and two and a half tons of water.<sup>22</sup> After the plaster dried and the cast was removed, the plaster remnants were not removed from the face. In 1874, when Amelia Edwards travelled to Abu Simbel, she was distressed at the sight and cleaned the remnants of plaster off the face, and stained any remaining plaster with coffee:

‘The coffee proved a capital match for the sandstone and though it was not possible wholly to restore the uniformity of the original surface, we at least succeeded in



Figure 6: Still from the movie ‘*Blackmail*’ from [thehitchcockreport.wordpress.com](http://thehitchcockreport.wordpress.com)

obliterating those ghastly splotches, which for so many years have marred this beautiful face as with the unsightliness of leprosy.’<sup>23</sup>

Hay’s cast of the Abu Simbel statue was displayed at the British Museum<sup>24</sup> in a vestibule north of the sculpture gallery<sup>25</sup> for a number of years<sup>26</sup> and even featured in the 1929 Alfred Hitchcock movie

*Blackmail* (fig. 6), the first British talkie.<sup>27</sup>

After visiting Abu Simbel on 18 March 1825,<sup>28</sup> Hay and his team of artists stayed at Kalabsha from 29 May until 16 July 1825, producing further plaster casts<sup>29</sup> which, until the 1980s, were

<sup>22</sup> A letter from J. Bonomi dated October 1837 quoted in Tillet 1984: 74.

<sup>23</sup> Edwards 1887: 309.

<sup>24</sup> Accession number 1071 in Tillet 1984: 29.

<sup>25</sup> Peck 2012: 72.

<sup>26</sup> James 1997: 147.

<sup>27</sup> Tillet 1984: 29.

<sup>28</sup> Tillet 1984: 21.

<sup>29</sup> MS 31054 – Hay’s Expedition Journal British Library.

still displayed in the British Museum.<sup>30</sup>

Cast-making was such an important aspect of his expeditions that in 1827, Hay employed a plaster man, an Italian called Nasciambene.<sup>31</sup>

However, transporting plaster casts from Egypt to Europe or the United States was an awkward task due to their weight and storing them once they arrived was cumbersome. They were extremely fragile, especially in the damp climate of the United Kingdom. Indeed some of Hay's Kalabsha casts were damaged by the damp before they were transported to the British Museum. Museum staff were required to wet and weight them until they were flat again.<sup>32</sup>

In 1840, more of Hay's casts were accepted into the museum and further items were purchased after his death in 1863, including '1 box of drawings, 2 of paper impressions, & 11 boxes of plaster casts.'<sup>33</sup> The inclusion of 'paper impressions' in the accession list indicated he also took squeezes in addition to plaster casts.

The difficulty of shipping and storage are perhaps what led to the popularity of the squeeze for cast makers, especially for large wall inscriptions. These could be paper, latex, foil or gypsum and could be transported, stacked flat, generally making carriage easier, lighter, safer, and more 'convenient for handling, transporting and filing away'.<sup>34</sup> Casts could then be made from these squeezes in the comfort of a museum storeroom, as often as required.

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<sup>30</sup> Tillet 1984: 23.

<sup>31</sup> Tillet 1984: 28.

<sup>32</sup> Tillet 1984: 82.

<sup>33</sup> Tillet 1984: 107. Purchased in October 1868.

<sup>34</sup> Woodhead 1959: 78.

However, a further avenue of research could be on the actual number of casts which could be made from a single squeeze before it degraded. Petrie claims 'several casts'<sup>35</sup> could be made from a squeeze but this is not specific. It would also be interesting to study the verso of squeezes, especially those in poor condition, to identify whether casts had been made from it.

### **Materials of Squeezes**

Squeezes can be made of a variety of materials, including plaster, gypsum, beeswax, latex, tin-foil and paper. Those discussed primarily in this study are paper squeezes which in the wider context of materials, is one of the least damaging to the monuments.

The tomb of Sety I (KV17) has been abused by squeeze takers using all materials available, some of which are more damaging than others.

'The squeezes taken by Hay using gypsum were lethal for the pictorial layer. The gypsum was mixed with water, making it polar, and therefore, when it was applied to the surface, it dissolved the pictorial layer. The areas where gypsum squeezes have been made have, in fact, lost their painted layer and are totally colourless with the rock support showing through.'<sup>36</sup>

Sety I's tomb (KV17) was a draw for early cast and squeeze-makers and the ARCE (American Research Centre in Egypt) conservation project records how Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1824), in a period of only two years,<sup>37</sup> took 650 squeezes here – 510 with beeswax and 140

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<sup>35</sup> Petrie 1904: 66.

<sup>36</sup> Vazio 1999: 17.

<sup>37</sup> Hamed 2013: 435.

with a mixture of beeswax, resin and vegetable fibres.

‘As regards the materials utilized by the archaeologists it’s possible to confirm that the traces of the cast discovered on the wall are composed of Honeybee wax mixed with natural fibres.’<sup>38</sup>

Belzoni records his methods of making squeezes in his *Narratives*. The materials used can be compared with the material remaining on the walls of the tomb of Sety I.

‘The wax alone I found would not stand, as the climate did not permit it, but with wax, resin, and fine dust, I made an excellent composition.’<sup>39</sup>

Due to the damage caused and the apparent casualness of the people taking the squeezes, it is often overlooked that it was a skilled, time-consuming task.

‘I have taken impressions of everything in wax; to accomplish the work has been a laborious task that occupied more than 12 months.’<sup>40</sup>

On the scale in which this was carried out by Belzoni, indicates it was the only conceivable means of getting the desired product at the time.

### **Practicalities of Squeeze-making**

As varying methods and techniques were utilised to produce squeezes it is important to turn to epigraphic studies on squeeze-making to ascertain how they was carried out. One of the earliest records is not Egyptological but concerns the sixteenth-century squeezes of Jean

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<sup>38</sup> Jones 2003: 258.

<sup>39</sup> Belzoni 2001: 229.

<sup>40</sup> Belzoni 2001: 204.



Matal (1517–1597) taken of bronze Latin inscriptions. The bronze was initially covered in a layer of ink and,

‘It is represented diligently ... for it was so bent by five blows [...] from a hammer, that it could not be placed in a press. He placed it on a large pile [...] then when the letters were filled with ink, he placed a sheet on top and heaped sand on the pile. Thus the entire tablet, between two piles of sand [made] a representation of the letters. Afterwards he placed the sheet in a press, when the ink that it had picked up from the bronze was still drying, and put another white sheet on top, and pressed them together. Since, therefore, the first sheet showed [an impression] of the tablet, with the letters reversed, the second sheet, itself a product of the first, also represented the lettering on the tablet, with the same size, shape and outline. But because in many places the ink did not stick to the page, he filled in the gaps with a pen; and those places which were corrupted by the age of the tablet, were not represented in the pictures.’<sup>41</sup>

Other epigraphists from this period, including Augustin, recorded filling inscriptions not only on bronze, but also on stone, with red or black ink and then pressing paper over the inscription to get a printed impression.<sup>42</sup> The concept of damage to stone inscriptions by saturating them in ink was not considered at the time.

As discussed in chapter 2, the scholarship on Egyptian squeeze-making is sparse, and often the most basic of information is provided – this being that wet paper was applied to the wall and allowed to dry. The depth of further detail is very much dependant on the individual

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<sup>41</sup> Stenhouse 2005: 53. On the reverse of BAV Vat. Lat, 6034, 6-7.

<sup>42</sup> Stenhouse 2005: 53.

author and the period within which they were writing. Information regarding the process of squeeze-making is far more prevalent in the discipline of Classics than Egyptology.

For example, Ernst Herzfeld, who took squeezes at Near Eastern sites in the early twentieth century, assisted in his endeavours by Hans von Busse, described the process in a letter to his father in 1933:

‘We had made casts. [...] One takes enough large sheets of extremely thin cigarette paper that is carefully hammered on with a hard brush, while damp. When it is well moulded to the form, new layers are progressively overlaid. [...] Once it is dry one can lift off the paper layers, which are now firmly stuck together, and one has an exact reproduction of the original.’<sup>43</sup>

As this rudimentary description asserts, the main equipment needed to make a squeeze comprises paper, water, and a brush.

The paper is the most important item as this is what produces the final squeeze and Traunecker recommends using a type of blotting paper,<sup>44</sup> whereas Woodhead specifies that ‘blotting paper disintegrates too readily to be of much value’.<sup>45</sup>

However, there are some excellent quality squeezes in the Marischal Museum, Aberdeen, made from used pink blotting paper, which have not disintegrated.<sup>46</sup> Iacchei and Hamill state rag-paper, acid-free chemist filter paper, cigarette paper or cartridge paper should be used<sup>47</sup> and Woodhead further suggests the best paper to use was filter paper from a laboratory

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<sup>43</sup> Ernst Herzfeld papers correspondence, September 23, 1933: 4  
[http://asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq\\_making.asp#three](http://asia.si.edu/research/squeezeproject/sq_making.asp#three) (accessed 19 April 2016).

<sup>44</sup> Traunecker 1987: 169.

<sup>45</sup> Woodhead 1959: 78.

<sup>46</sup> See catalogue numbers M017, M018 and M019 discussed in chapter 8.

<sup>47</sup> Iacchei & Hamill 2014: 4.

supplier.<sup>48</sup> This paper is still favoured by Mediterranean archaeologists. The paper thickness required is dependent on the size, depth and height of inscriptions – the thinner or lighter the paper (for example grade 1 laboratory paper) the easier it is to manipulate into the inscription, but for deep inscriptions grade 3 paper should be used as it is more durable when wet.<sup>49</sup> Should the paper prove too fragile, it can be stiffened by applying egg-white whilst damp and as it dries it will stiffen, holding the inscription's shape.<sup>50</sup> Petrie describes his preference as 'a tough rag paper without much size ... but good newspaper will do. The tougher the paper when wet the better.'<sup>51</sup>

Edwards preferred a,

'paper of a soft woolly quality – damp it – dry it off on blotting paper – lay it over the inscription, & pat it into the hollows with a fine brush, like a tooth-brush. Thus a perfect cast is easily taken of antiquities in either relief or intaglio.'<sup>52</sup>

However, whilst Woodhead, Traunecker and Petrie assert that sheets of paper are applied to the wall, Dorman states:

'damp *pulp* was pressed against the monument in question and allowed to dry and coalesce, after which the squeeze was carefully pried away.'<sup>53</sup>

This indicates the paper was shredded and soaked in water, making a pliable pulp, before being applied to the wall, creating a sheet in situ. The only squeezes from the catalogue which may have been made using this method are the Bristol City Museum squeezes.

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<sup>48</sup> Woodhead 1959: 78.

<sup>49</sup> Charles Crowther 2016 Practical Epigraphy Workshop, University of Oxford June 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Woodhead 1959: 78.

<sup>51</sup> Petrie 1904: 60.

<sup>52</sup> Letter written to A. Dodgson on 5 January, 1889, Griffith Institute, Oxford.

<sup>53</sup> Dorman 2008: 86. (Italics are mine).

The conservation reports on these sixteen squeezes describe the paper as a brown/grey pulp with inclusions of wood and other materials. The remainder of the catalogue entries are all made from sheets of paper rather than paper pulp. This is further clarified when the squeeze taken was larger than a single sheet of paper a sheets were joined to make a larger sheet.<sup>54</sup>

The edges of paper were laid over each other and:

‘particular attention should be given to this point of overlap. When dry, if the sheets have been well worked together at their edges, the whole squeeze should come off in one piece.’<sup>55</sup>

Due to individual scholars preferring different paper, the surviving squeezes are made of a variety of paper types. Whichever paper was chosen, to be formed into a squeeze it needed be moistened and applied to the wall. Traunecker emphasised that there is no need to add an adhesive to the paper as once it is malleable, it is possible to push it into the inscription using a soft brush<sup>56</sup> and the moisture will hold it to the wall.

‘The presence of any sort of glue utilized to stick the paper-pulp to the painting surface has not been detected.’<sup>57</sup>

For particularly large inscriptions, numerous layers of wet paper were added to the inscription<sup>58</sup> with an overlap, before being left to dry.

In addition to simply wetting the paper, it has also been suggested that wetting the stone before applying the paper made the application easier. This is one of the oldest methods, with

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<sup>54</sup> L004 in the catalogue is made from six pieces of paper.

<sup>55</sup> Woodhead 1959: 79.

<sup>56</sup> Traunecker 1987: 169.

<sup>57</sup> Baldan 1999:14.

<sup>58</sup> Jones 2003: 259.

Febretti in 1699 using this method to produce his squeezes. First, the stone surface was made wet and then soaked sheets of paper were laid over the inscription. Instead of using a brush, he used a compressed cloth of dry sponge to ensure the paper went into all the incised inscription.<sup>59</sup>

Woodhead suggested water on the stone should be enough to moisten the paper in order to make it malleable enough to produce the squeeze.<sup>60</sup> If this was not sufficient, then the paper could have more water applied to it as needed. It is not made apparent whether Woodhead is discussing producing squeezes in a museum environment or on the walls of a temple, as water on a wall in direct sunlight will evaporate before the paper can absorb it.

The application of the paper to the wall was not always a straightforward task and Petrie describes making his racial-types squeezes from inscriptions high up on temple walls using wetted paper and a brush full of water.<sup>61</sup> He then refers to wetting the wall further before applying the already saturated paper to it, although he does not explain why this would make the process of squeeze-making easier.

It can be assumed that it enabled the paper to adhere to the wall for long enough to enable him to start 'beating' the paper into the hollows of the inscription. He also adds, more importantly, that when beating the paper to the wall it is essential to avoid moving it, which may be difficult on some stones, such as granite which has a smooth surface. Other problems to avoid were air bubbles or water bubbles under the paper.<sup>62</sup> Petrie comments that on stone

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<sup>59</sup> Kragelund 2009: 137.

<sup>60</sup> Woodhead 1959: 79.

<sup>61</sup> Petrie 1931: 75-77.

<sup>62</sup> Petrie 1904: 61.

like granite, where there was no purchase, or on very shallow inscriptions,

‘such squeezes generally need to be taken off while wet and allowed to dry alone, or else the paper drags flat out of the hollows when contracting in drying.’<sup>63</sup>

Whilst it was essential for the squeezes to stick to the wall long enough to dry, many squeeze takers did attempt to prevent the wet paper from sticking to the wall and damaging the paint when it was removed. To do this they often brushed a thin layer of wax across the wall before applying the paper.

‘These very substances, however, served to protect the painted layer beneath so that the pictorial surface is usually relatively well conserved in areas where squeezes involving wax have been made.’<sup>64</sup>

Whilst it may have protected the paint to a certain extent, it left a grey, waxy residue on the wall and often small fragments of paper.<sup>65</sup>

G.A. Hoskins records in his *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert* [etc.] (1837) a method of taking a wet-paper squeeze without damaging the paintwork beneath. He is one of the few archaeologists to offer such a method:

‘I found stiff, unsized, common white paper to be best adapted for the purpose. It should be well damped; and, when applied to sculpture still retaining its colour, not to injure the latter, care should be taken that the side of the paper placed on the figures be dry – that it be not the side which has been sponged. The paper, when applied to the sculpture, should be evenly patted with a napkin folded rather stiffly;

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<sup>63</sup> Petrie 1904: 61.

<sup>64</sup> Vazio 1999: 16.

<sup>65</sup> Jones 2003: 259.

and, if any part of the figures or hieroglyphics be in intaglio or elaborately worked, it is better to press the paper over that part with the fingers. Five minutes is quite sufficient time to make a cast of this description: when taken off the wall, it should be laid on the ground or sand to dry.’<sup>66</sup>

Applying the paper to the wall was only the start as the most skilled, and inevitably the most important part of the process, was to gently push the paper into the dips and contours of the inscription, without ripping it and before the paper started to lose its malleability. Once the paper was secure, Petrie tells us that,

‘finally a severe beating is given ... as violent as can be done without tearing the paper. The paper should be pulped on the stone and driven into every crack and porosity; using a second and even third sheet to bind it together.’<sup>67</sup>

To ensure an evenly produced squeeze, it is essential to start ‘brushing’ from the centre of the paper and work outwards,<sup>68</sup> eliminating air bubbles. It is important to ensure the paper does not move, as this will produce a squeeze with poorly defined lines – rather like a blurred photograph. Once the paper is beaten into the dips and grooves of the inscription and it is possible to see the image on the top of the paper, it needs to be left to dry. Should the paper be particularly thin or fragile, a second layer of paper is laid over the first, making a double layer which, as they dried adhere together, making a stronger squeeze. This method can be seen in the Sesebi squeezes of the EES collection.<sup>69</sup>

Once dry, the paper is peeled off the wall and is ready to transport, store, and make casts or

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<sup>66</sup> Hoskins 1837: 109-10.

<sup>67</sup> Petrie 1904: 63.

<sup>68</sup> Woodhead 1959: 79.

<sup>69</sup> Squeeze numbers E061 (plate 13), E064 (plate 14) and E088.

facsimiles from. The squeezes are lighter and easier to transport<sup>70</sup> than the plaster casts, but can be used to produce them.

### **Latex Impressions**

In 1920, liquid latex was invented, a medium formed of one-third natural latex, two-thirds water and less than 1% ammonia. It was quickly adopted by archaeologists to take impressions of fossilised footprints and tracks, as well as to make moulds and then copies of portable objects in museums. Latex squeezes were employed by Professor Fritz Hintze at the lion temple in Sudan, where he used them to produce the facsimile drawings in his *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra* (Berlin 1962).<sup>71</sup>

This medium is really only suitable for portable objects such as stelae and statues and horizontally placed items, as the liquid does not spread evenly on vertical surfaces. Latex mould-making was considered more suited for ‘unhurried museum work than [for] casual squeeze-taking in the field.’<sup>72</sup> In many ways, latex moulds were superior to paper squeezes, and some say it is the only method that can be given the true facsimile label.<sup>73</sup> The material picks up every surface scratch and incision – essentially anything that exists on the original object. Therefore, they are excellent for studying inscriptions closely, creating plaster casts, they can be photographed<sup>74</sup> and should they remain transparent (depending on the number of layers), it is possible to shine light through them to highlight certain elements of the inscription that may not be visible on the original object.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Traunecker 1987: 169.

<sup>71</sup> Caminos 1976: 16.

<sup>72</sup> Woodhead 1959: 81.

<sup>73</sup> Traunecker 1987: 167.

<sup>74</sup> Traunecker 1987: 167-9.

<sup>75</sup> Woodhead 1959: 81.



The equipment required to make latex moulds is simple and comprises liquid latex, a brush, and some form of powder to prevent the finished mould from sticking to itself. The process itself is simpler than taking a paper squeeze, although the consistency of the liquid latex is an essential part of the process. If it is too liquid the mould will not set,<sup>76</sup> and if it is too thick it will not spread evenly over the surface of the item and will congeal before it dries.<sup>77</sup>

The key to good latex moulds is to build up the layers slowly, as the thinner the mould the better the inscription impression will be.<sup>78</sup> On average, the first layer of rubber should take twenty-four hours to dry before a second layer can be applied. The drying time generally depends on the moisture content in the air. It is easier to apply thin layers as these pick out more details making it easier for the epigraphists to manipulate later. Once the latex has been applied to the inscription, but before it is dry, it is possible to strengthen the mould by adding a fine cloth to the upper side.<sup>79</sup> Whilst this means the mould will no longer be transparent, it will be stronger and less likely to get damaged.

In order to remove the latex from the stone, it is necessary to apply corn starch or French chalk to prevent it sticking to itself. Once covered in this powder it is then possible to store the impressions on top of each other, although it is best to put some acid-free paper between them. Storing latex impressions can be difficult, as over time they can become brittle and difficult to handle. They should be stored flat, in a temperature and humidity controlled environment in order to prevent this.<sup>80</sup> If they do become brittle it is possible to 'revive' them, in a way that paper squeezes cannot be, should they be damaged. Latex can be warmed up

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<sup>76</sup> Woodhead 1959: 80.

<sup>77</sup> Woodhead 1959: 80.

<sup>78</sup> Woodhead 1959: 79.

<sup>79</sup> Traunecker 1987: 167-9.

<sup>80</sup> Traunecker 1987: 167-9.

by rubbing it in the hands, enabling a creased latex impression to return to its original shape.

There are mixed opinions about the damage latex causes to the stone, with Traunecker<sup>81</sup> claiming if the stone is in good condition, with an intact surface layer there will be no destructive action.

There are, of course, benefits to using latex, and Franck Goddio in 1997/1998 used flexible silicon sheets to make impressions of inscriptions at the palace of Cleopatra in the Mediterranean, at Alexandria. These were taken under water by divers and placed over the submerged inscriptions. A sheet of metal was then placed on top of that and was then hammered into the inscriptions. Once the metal was removed, the silicon produced a perfect impression of the inscription.<sup>82</sup>

Latex is an expensive method of recording, as although minimal equipment is needed, latex is more difficult to acquire than paper and water, and although the results are generally more detailed than a paper squeeze, they were used less often in the Egyptology discipline.

### **Discussion on Experiments (See Appendix 2)**

As squeezes are no longer made in the Egyptological discipline modern Egyptologists have no experience of the technique. Therefore in order to ascertain the skills required alongside the practicalities of squeeze-making, in 2014 the researcher carried out an experiment in Egypt to make wet-paper squeezes using stone stelae bought from a Luxor tourist shop, and a variety of paper types and methods, including wetted paper, wetted wall, wax layer on the wall, paper covered with egg white, double layered paper or shredded paper pulp.

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<sup>81</sup> Traunecker 1987: 167-9.

<sup>82</sup> Discovery Channel Documentary 'Cleopatra's Palace: In Search of a Legend'. Directed by Jane Armstrong, 1999. Attempts to contact Frank Goddio were unsuccessful.

This experiment proved valuable for the interpretation of the squeezes presented in the catalogue here. The majority of these are made from a thick, rough grey paper with inclusions. This paper produced the best squeezes because it was absorbent and therefore easy to manipulate into the grooves and ridges of the inscriptions. Squeezes made from textured craft paper<sup>83</sup> produced the best squeezes in the experiment because this is paper similar in absorbency to that used in the nineteenth century.

The least absorbent paper used in the experiment<sup>84</sup> produced very shallow squeezes, similar in appearance to L003. The impression on this squeeze is very shallow and difficult to see and the experiment highlighted that the paper is the reason for this, not the inscription or the skills of the squeeze taker.

In June 2016, the author then attended the Practical Epigraphy Workshop at the University of Oxford and was able to experiment making squeezes on larger (approximately 30cm x 20cm), original Greek inscriptions. The method used started with wetting the stone with purified water, and then dipping grade 1 laboratory paper into water until it was saturated. This was then laid over the stone and beaten into place using a strong natural-fibre squeeze brush. The first squeeze was left on the stone overnight to dry, and required some manipulation to remove from the inscription. The second squeeze was removed whilst damp, which created extra challenges as stretching the paper and flattening the squeeze needed to be avoided.

An interesting observation from both experiments was how the manipulation with the brush to get the wet paper into the grooves damaged the top-side of the paper, which obviously affected the final quality of the squeeze produced.

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<sup>83</sup> Purchased in The Works, a UK based discounted craft and book shop.

<sup>84</sup> Art sketch paper 115gsm, cartridge paper 96 gsm, cotton mould-made paper 300gsm.

Using G024 as an example, the completed squeeze is lumpy and gives the impression the original inscription is perhaps damaged or carved from an unstable, friable surface. However, the original inscription is in excellent condition on a smooth, almost polished surface. This indicates that the paper was damaged when it was being manipulated with the brush. Even the laboratory paper used in the Oxford Epigraphy Workshop (see chapter 4) was very fragile when wet and unless the squeeze brush was beaten with parallel strokes, the paper was easily damaged. It was important not to hit the squeeze at an angle as this split the paper, but with a small amount of practice, this technique was perfected.

In addition to providing insight into how the finished squeezes were produced and why some are very different in appearance, these experiments also provided insight into the habits of nineteenth and twentieth-century travellers. The squeezes did not take very long to dry, as little as fifteen minutes in Egypt, whilst in Oxford they took significantly longer (two to three hours) due to the humidity.

It also needs to be taken into consideration that the squeezes in the Egypt-based experiment were very small (less than 30 cm) and the majority of the squeezes under discussion in the catalogue are of a much larger scale, with some measuring more than two metres long.<sup>85</sup> The larger the squeeze, the thicker the paper that was used and therefore the longer they took to dry. Crowther suggested that in warm Mediterranean climates squeezes take approximately thirty minutes to dry. Therefore, even in the Egyptian winter temperatures and in the shade the particularly large squeezes would take no more than a couple of hours to dry, leaving ample time for the squeeze taker to explore the temple or another tomb, returning later to remove the dried squeeze from the wall. This indicates that temples and tombs were not the

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<sup>85</sup> For example E038 in the catalogue which is 2.39 metres wide.

crowded places they are today and visits were more relaxed than the whistle-stop tours of modern travellers to Egypt. To provide some point of reference, Major C.K. Macdonald, the first excavator at Serabit el-Khadim spent four to six months at the temple and 'he had the time and leisure to make a very large collection of squeezes of the now famed inscriptions in the area, some of which no longer exist.'<sup>86</sup>

Margaret Orr, the daughter of Egyptologist, Arthur Mace, describes her childhood family visits to Medinet Habu in the early 1920s:

'We drew and painted and were read to. Frances having been before had set out with sketching book, writing pad, skipping rope, sunshade, fly switch and dark glasses. We had sandwiches and then tinned pears. Later we found another court looking into what all those years ago was an ornamental pool on which they'd have flamingos, barges and beyond a walled garden.'<sup>87</sup>

This indicated visitors had time to spare, as they treated a visit to the temple as perhaps a modern family treats a visit to the park. Therefore it would be possible for the adults to produce squeezes whilst the children played and after their picnic lunch they could remove them from the wall.

The only complicated aspect of the process for the nineteenth and twentieth-century traveller would be the water needed, not just for soaking the paper initially, but to add as the squeeze-making process is carried out. Some of the sites are not close to the Nile, so a canister of water would have been carried to the site for the process. Whether the travellers carried clean drinking water in addition to non-drinking water to make squeezes or they used clean water

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<sup>86</sup> Cooney 1972: 281.

<sup>87</sup> Lee 1992: 125.

for the process is unknown.

Considering the vast numbers of squeezes made at a single site, the amount of additional water could have been substantial, especially if the squeezes were large and the paper thick. In order to make two experimental squeezes measuring 20.5 x 14.5 cm in Egypt, 35.4ml of water was needed. In Oxford, a shallow tray of water was laid out, which provided enough water to produce ten large squeezes, but did not take into account water loss through evaporation.

All of the nineteenth-century squeezes in the catalogue, are of approximately 30 x 40 cm and the paper more than three times as thick as the experimental squeezes. Therefore at least double the amount of water would be needed (i.e. 35.4 ml per squeeze) if not three times the water (i.e. 53.1 ml per squeeze).

Considering that it is recommended that each person requires 2–2.5 litres of water for drinking,<sup>88</sup> an extra litre of water per squeeze-taking individual would make between nineteen and twenty-eight squeezes (based on 30 x 40 cm). Some squeeze-takers would be more prolific than others, and the squeezes would vary in size but the amount of water needed would not be too cumbersome to transport to the sites. However, the squeeze-takers would be limited by the amount of water at their disposal.

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<sup>88</sup> European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) Panel on Dietetic Products, Nutrition, and Allergies (NDA), 2009 (published 2010).

## **Chapter 7**

### **Value of a Squeeze**

The effort and resources that went into producing the tens of thousands of squeezes of Egyptian monuments in existence should render them as interesting as nineteenth-century watercolours, sketches and even photographs. Although squeezes, from an epigraphical point of view alone, show more detail than drawings, watercolours and photographs, these are used more often by modern scholars than squeezes.

### **Impact of a Negative Reputation**

The neglect of Egyptian squeezes in archives suggests that many archivists, curators and Egyptologists are unaware of the potential or current value they hold and can be quick to dismiss them. Such neglect could be due to squeezes being tainted by their past and being deemed 'bad' due to the damage some caused when being produced.

It is not unusual for an object or collection of objects to be attributed with positive or negative characteristics or even something superstitious, such as lucky, unlucky or cursed items.<sup>1</sup> Once an object is labelled 'bad', for whatever reason, it is often difficult to apply any positive value to it. For example, Peter Dorman states unequivocally that squeezes have,

'limited application: the squeeze produces a copy at a one-to-one scale, it cannot be handily reproduced for dissemination to scholars at large, and it cannot easily be edited to delete extraneous features of the wall surface.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pearce 1992: 45.

<sup>2</sup> Dorman 2008: 86.

Dorman here misinterprets the strength of a paper squeeze as its main weakness; that of being a one-to-one scale image of an ancient inscription.

This is the starting point for identifying their value as epigraphic records. The preservation of the complete inscription provides us with the image as the ancient Egyptians intended it to be viewed – not the perceived important elements captured by an artist. For this reason alone, they are unique records and, by default, valuable. However, value is a concept that can be interpreted in many ways and both positive and negative value inherent in any object needs to be taken into account.

### **Damage to Painted Surfaces**

Dorman's opinion of their inconvenience of handling is one commonly held in Egyptology, although this is superseded by what is seen as squeeze production's most common fault, which is the damage caused to the wall inscriptions when they were produced. This negative attitude affects the response that some people have towards squeezes and how they are dealt with in academia. In Thompson's *Wonderful Things: History of Egyptology*, despite the long history of squeeze taking and their value as records, only a short paragraph is dedicated to them:

'Squeezes were made by applying thick, dampened paper to raised or sunken surfaces, leaving a distinct impression when the paper dried. Unfortunately, many of these surfaces were painted. When the squeezes were removed, they took colour with them.'<sup>3</sup>

It is rarely considered that not all squeezes were taken of painted inscriptions and therefore

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<sup>3</sup> Thompson 2015: 155.



not all were responsible for the damage to inscribed surfaces. It also needs to be noted that squeezing is not the only cause of damage to the monuments, as Ayah points out in reference to the south wall of the courtyard of Amenirdis' funerary chapel at Karnak:

‘water damage and rubbings of the wall make it extremely unclear whether he [Atum] wore an upper-body garment.’<sup>4</sup>

Rubbings here refers to squeeze taking but also indicates damage has been caused to ancient monuments by a combination of factors, including water and salt damage, theft and vandalism, as well as the impact of tourism.

For example, when the tomb of Nefertari was opened to the public in 1905, approximately 20% of the tomb decoration had disappeared by 1906.<sup>5</sup> In the tomb of Sety I, damage has been caused by flood waters,<sup>6</sup> as well as rainwater seeping through natural cracks in the rock-cut structure,<sup>7</sup> as well as ‘the walls of the entrance corridors, Rooms A, B, and C and part of the well, Room D, were scoured clean by flooding both before and after Belzoni’s time.’<sup>8</sup>

Unintentional tourist damage has also been a major culprit in the deterioration of monuments, which started in the nineteenth century in the tomb of Sety I, where the sheer numbers of tourists brushing against the walls caused abrasive damage, as well as the smoke from their torches leaving dark traces on the paintwork.<sup>9</sup> Other damage to the tomb of Sety I included robbers trying to cut through walls in the hunt for secret chambers, or collectors and archaeologists removing painted scenes for sale or placing in western museums.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> 2009: 6.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson 2016: 137.

<sup>6</sup> Jones 2003: 253.

<sup>7</sup> Jones 2003:254.

<sup>8</sup> Jones 2003: 259.

<sup>9</sup> Jones 2003: 259.

<sup>10</sup> Hamed 2013: 436.

Although there is little doubt that squeeze taking, especially those of plaster or gypsum caused irreparable damage to painted surfaces, the damage to unpainted surfaces is negligible. In the unpainted carved tomb of Khaemhat (TT57), for example, the taking of numerous squeezes has had no visible effect on the tomb walls.

Bearing this in mind, other disciplines have embraced squeezes into their areas of research. Mediterranean archaeologists still use them in the field and can also see the full potential of studying early examples in archives. The Cornell University Library Conservation Project summarised this value:

‘1) Many monuments reside in distant locations; access often requires expensive and timely travel. Squeezes are lightweight and portable.

‘2) The squeeze allows for comparison to and revision of existing interpretations, as well as potential for fragmentary inscriptions to be pieced together. This is especially useful in reconstructing the topography of antiquity. The congruity of a text was often disrupted in times of conquest or political changes as it was common for monuments to be moved from their original locations and re-purposed for building materials.

‘3) Many monuments have become the casualties of time, man, and natural disasters. It is likely that they are in poorer condition today than they were at the time the squeeze was collected. Photographs are of value, yes, but their accuracy depends heavily upon the light in which they were captured. *A squeeze often provides the most complete, accurate and accessible copy of the text available to date.*<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Iacchei & Hamill 2014: 2 (emphasis is mine).

It is this last sentence which is of the most importance, as in some cases, especially when studying Egyptian squeezes, the text or inscription does not necessarily exist in the same manner as it did when the squeeze was taken. Many have been damaged, destroyed, stolen or lost.

Such damage has been occurring since the earliest travellers to Egypt and Edwards, in her *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, commented on the destruction to the monuments as it was happening in 1877:

‘I am told that the wall paintings which we had the happiness of admiring in all their beauty and freshness, are already much injured. Such is the fate of every Egyptian monument, great or small. The tourist carves over it with names and dates ... the ‘Collector’ buys and carries off everything of value he can. The work of destruction, meanwhile goes on apace. There is no one to prevent it, there is no one to discourage it. Everyday more inscriptions are mutilated – more tombs are rifled, more painting and sculptures are defaced.’<sup>12</sup>

### **The Impact of Subscription Incentives on Inscriptions**

In the 1880s, there was an influx of travellers to Egypt, partially due to the introduction of the Thomas Cook tours, but also administrators drafted in from India travelled the length of Egypt. In letters to London-based journals these administrators wanted ‘to put Egyptologists on the alert’ to the ‘museum thieves’ and ‘stone contractors’<sup>13</sup> who were systematically destroying the monuments for profit. Their warnings fell on deaf ears as the local police

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<sup>12</sup> Edwards 1877: 353.

<sup>13</sup> Gange 2015: 79.

showed little interest,<sup>14</sup> and Egyptologists were not in a position to prevent thefts and damage, and in fact may, in some cases, have been part of the problem.

For example, the Egypt Exploration Fund relied on subscriptions from their members to fund excavations in Egypt. To encourage subscriptions, subscribers were promised artefacts from the excavations as an incentive.

Many items were at the time being sold on the open antiquities market and were without provenance, which affected the value. In contrast, those provided by the EEF came with detailed provenance adding further historical value to the artefacts and made them more desirable.<sup>15</sup> Although the EEF was dedicated to preservation of the monuments in Egypt they did not associate such distribution as harmful:

‘Small objects of absolutely no historical or archaeological value have frequently much value for ourselves, inasmuch as they enable us to give freely to provincial museums, & even to distribute souvenirs of various sites to our subscribers at General Meetings.’<sup>16</sup>

Numerous museums, including the Metropolitan Museum, New York,

‘in common with other American Museums, owes no small part of its Egyptian collection to the annual donations of antiquities sent to it by the Egypt Exploration Fund in return for subscriptions received from America.’<sup>17</sup>

Even the Antiquities Service in Egypt was not immune to the value of provenanced artefacts and often sold their share of excavation finds to foreign museums. Such artefacts could

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<sup>14</sup> Gange 2015: 79.

<sup>15</sup> Thompson 2016: 243 & 214-5.

<sup>16</sup> Amelia Edwards, Egypt Exploration Society, Archives, Notes on Minutes of Committee in re Purchase System, 1 January 1888 quoted in Thompson 2016: 27.

<sup>17</sup> First issue of the Metropolitan Museum Bulletin in 1905 quoted in Thompson 2016: 233.

comprise complete mastaba chapels. The sale of these items was self-funding and they only ceased trading in 1979.<sup>18</sup>

Whilst distribution of archaeological discoveries is no longer carried out, damage caused to the monuments has not improved in 135 years since Edwards first commented on the deterioration. In the current political unrest following the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, such damage and destruction is ongoing, to a more violent degree, meaning that archival information is more important than ever in reconstructing the monuments of ancient Egypt.

### **Post-2011 Heritage Crime**

Since the Arab Spring and the 2011 revolution in Egypt, hundreds of sites have been illegally excavated and looted and storehouses and museums have been broken into, robbed and artefacts destroyed. There are myriad factors contributing to this increasing activity – opportunity, poverty and an increase in the desire for Egyptian antiquities, especially from the Gulf States,<sup>19</sup> where new museums are opening producing a need for antiquities to fill them.

In 2003 in Bagdad, Iraq, it transpired that collectors were commissioning looting to order. They specified a particular object or type of artefact, or even requested certain object groups were destroyed to increase market value.<sup>20</sup> This is not unique to Iraqi museums.

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<sup>18</sup> Thompson 2016: 123-4.

<sup>19</sup> Ikram 2013: 33.

<sup>20</sup> Ikram 2013: 33.

Following the Egyptian revolution, fifty-four objects were stolen from the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo.<sup>21</sup> Some were recovered, but many of the stolen items were immediately exported from Egypt for private collections.<sup>22</sup> This emphasises that,

‘illicit trade of cultural goods is a type of crime which transcends national boundaries.

We also recognise that it is a type of crime which can only be counteracted through international collaboration.’<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately, the increase in technology and internet trading has made illicit trade in antiquities easier,<sup>24</sup> and therefore more difficult to monitor.

In 2012, such looting to order was also uncovered in Egypt, regarding rock inscriptions from the Wadi Hamammat and Amarna objects stolen from the Egyptian Museum in 2011. These objects were quickly absorbed into the black market and have not been found.<sup>25</sup> The Amarna period is particularly popular and in Middle Egypt, near Deir Abu Hinnis, Belgian archaeologists recently discovered a graffito dated to year 16 of Akhenaten, mentioning Nefertiti, which they are concerned will be hacked out and sold on the black market.<sup>26</sup> All they can do is record the graffito carefully so the information is not lost should the worst happen.

Since the 2011 revolution such thefts and vandalism have been easier to carry out as many of the sites are no longer guarded by police and military.<sup>27</sup> Instead protection is left to the local ghaffirs, who are armed with little more than sticks or old revolvers with no ammunition. They stand no chance against violent, better-armed gangs. Furthermore, these guards are poorly

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<sup>21</sup> Pareli 2011: 58.

<sup>22</sup> Kolinski 2011: 54.

<sup>23</sup> Florjanowicz 2011: 7.

<sup>24</sup> Lehtimäki 2011: 13.

<sup>25</sup> Ikram 2013: 33.

<sup>26</sup> Ikram 2013: 37.

<sup>27</sup> Kolinski 2011: 54.

paid which provides little incentive to protect the sites.<sup>28</sup> Until the police return to the archaeological sites, such thefts will continue to take place.<sup>29</sup> Even in the cities, there are not enough police responding to day-to-day crimes,<sup>30</sup> so archaeological sites in desert areas may not seem a priority to a struggling government.

The people looting the sites fall into different categories – organised mafia-type groups involved in arms dealing with modern weapons or more local organisations that have been described as ‘Fagin like’,<sup>31</sup> where one man will control a group of villagers, quite often children. These groups are far less violent than the former but are paid for each item they find.<sup>32</sup> How the artefacts are distributed depends on the size of the object and some are taken to a safe place to be picked at by antiquities dealers, whereas others are immediately transferred abroad.<sup>33</sup>

Due to the abundance of – some claim in the region of 5,000<sup>34</sup> – sites in Egypt, no area of Egypt is safe<sup>35</sup> and there are anecdotal cases from all over the country. Many of the sites cover a large area and are not easily policed. For example, from Giza to Dahshur the distance, through desert, is 23 kilometres, at times 14 kilometres, wide.<sup>36</sup>

Looting and thefts, however, are not confined to desert-based archaeological sites, and in April 2014, two small medieval Coptic lion heads were stolen from the Luxor Temple Open Air

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<sup>28</sup> Ikram 2013: 39.

<sup>29</sup> Kolinski 2011: 54.

<sup>30</sup> Hanna 2013: 372.

<sup>31</sup> Ikram 2013: 35.

<sup>32</sup> Hanna 2013: 372.

<sup>33</sup> Ikram 2013: 35.

<sup>34</sup> Pareli 2011: 58.

<sup>35</sup> Hanna 2013: 374.

<sup>36</sup> Hanna 2013: 371.

Museum in broad daylight. They were both bolted to a plinth with an aluminium band, and one had an alternative block inserted, in order to hide the theft. A Ministry of Antiquities spokesman tried to downplay the theft by stating ‘they are just two small pieces,’ but Mena Melad writing for the *Luxor Times* asserts, ‘It doesn’t matter how big or small they are, they are still part of Egypt and its history.’<sup>37</sup> The Open Air Block Yard is well lit, even at night, and is guarded and protected with a fence and is visible from all sides.

Tombs are equally threatened by looters and the Middle Kingdom tomb of Djehutyhotep, in El Bersha, was targeted and at least one scene was hacked away from the wall. Hanna comments that ‘It was one of the few reliefs when the head of a figure was still in good condition,’<sup>38</sup> but now this is no more.

Such crime is not new, it is perhaps just exacerbated at present owing to political instability. Glanville (1900–56) commented that the drive for the purchase and acquisition of antiquities ‘destroyed almost as much evidence as it garnered.’<sup>39</sup> Gardiner commented in 1913 that thieves and vandals,

‘are by no means content with searching for portable objects, but will, with equal readiness, cut fragments of painting or sculpture from the tomb-walls for sale to Europeans who are vandals enough to purchase them ...’<sup>40</sup>

Whilst the crime is perhaps not new, the scale of the crime is increasing, and it is not always

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<sup>37</sup> 2014. Facts on Luxor Temple theft including a statement from Dr. Raymond Johnson. Luxor Times Blogspot <http://luxortimesmagazine.blogspot.co.uk/2014/04/exclusive-photos-of-stolen-antiquities.html> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.archaeology.org/news/3313-150526-egypt-djehutyhotep-tomb> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>39</sup> Thompson 2015: 127.

<sup>40</sup> Galán & Menéndez 2011: 163.



motivated by greed. Some sites are destroyed rather than looted.

In Heliopolis, for example, the mafia gangs set fire to the site many times in order to hide the archaeological remains.<sup>41</sup>

The destruction of the Mallawi Museum in August 2013 shocked the world when it made the international news. More than 1,000 artefacts were stolen, and many others which were too big to be removed were destroyed.<sup>42</sup> These can never be recovered and therefore archaeologists and Egyptologists of the future are reliant on records of these destroyed artefacts.

Squeezes could be instrumental in ensuring these lost and stolen articles and inscriptions are not lost forever. In the thousands of squeezes around the world images of these stolen blocks and scenes could be preserved. This means they could be reconstructed or published. Although the originals may never be recovered it may be possible to recover the lost information through archival research and they could be instrumental in locating these stolen items. However, extensive research into squeeze collections would be required to identify exactly what information they hold.

### **Combating the Antiquities Black Market**

Trying to ascertain a fool proof way of preventing the thefts and destruction is a difficult task in a country where law and order has not yet been maintained and poverty is high. Ideally

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<sup>41</sup> Hanna 2013: 374.

<sup>42</sup><http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2013/08/pictures/130823-museum-mallawi-egypt-looting-artifacts-archaeology-science-antiquities/> (accessed 30 March 2016).

should stolen items be presented on the art market, they should be identified and returned to Egypt. At present, this is reliant on individuals 'recognizing' or 'spotting' items when they are advertised for sale.<sup>43</sup> This is a huge undertaking, requiring archaeologists and museum staff to be ever vigilant.

In 2013, British Museum curator Marcel Marée was lauded for doing exactly this, when six items were pulled from a Christie's sale after he had identified them as being looted objects. In 2015, Marée was also able to save a looted carving from an unknown temple in Assiut, which he recognised in an auction catalogue. He flagged the items to the authorities, who confirmed their authenticity. The inscription has since been returned to Egypt.<sup>44</sup>

Unfortunately, the punishment for heritage crime and theft is not much of a deterrent, as the thief in the Christie's case, Neil Kingsbury, was fined only £500 plus £50 court fees.<sup>45</sup> He claimed he bought the items from a dealer in Luxor and put them into his suitcase for the flight home. This indicates that airport security leaving Egypt was not looking for antiquities, making it easier for smugglers.

Between January 2011 and November 2012 many antiquities were smuggled through Ain Sokhna in the Red Sea Gulf of Suez as there was no antiquities security in place.<sup>46</sup> In addition to this security lapse, even curators at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo have been arrested for

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<sup>43</sup> Ikram 2013: 36.

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.archaeology.org/news/4010-151216-egypt-relief-returned> (accessed 20 January 2016).  
<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/40/173512/Heritage/Ancient-Egypt/Stolen-relief-of-Egyptian-King-Seti-I-recovered-fr.aspx> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>45</sup> <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/40/99060/Heritage/Ancient-Egypt/Briton-fined-%C2%A3-by-UK-court-for-attempted-sale-of-s.aspx> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>46</sup> Hanna 2013: 372.

stealing artefacts and replacing them with replicas.<sup>47</sup> Until perpetrators of such crimes are severely punished, these activities will continue, and heritage will continue to be lost.<sup>48</sup>

Generally, large auction houses such as Sotheby's and Christie's check the provenance of antiquities before they sell them, but some of smaller houses are not so conscientious.<sup>49</sup> A clause in the 2003 *Dealing in Cultural Objects (Offences) Act* in the UK, means it is very difficult to prosecute anyone as a dealer can simply claim they were unaware that the item was stolen.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, museums are, surprisingly, not obliged to check the provenance of an item closely before purchase and Colin Renfrew criticised the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in particular as,

‘It is a group of prominent museum directors who must take the main blame for the scale of looting.’<sup>51</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum does not have a published acquisition policy, and as a result it is possible for stolen items to be purchased by the museum. As discussed in chapter 3, two blocks stolen from the tomb of Hery (TT12) in the early twentieth century were located in the Metropolitan Museum collection.

In contrast, the British Museum released a document in 1998 which emphasised that it would only accept objects with documents proving they were removed from the country of origin prior to 1970.<sup>52</sup> Even if policies like this are in place, such documents can be forged and they can be difficult to follow up. For example, it is possible to transport looted objects to a so-

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<sup>47</sup> <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/cairo-antiquities-stolen-curators-arrested-304863> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>48</sup> Hanna 2013: 371.

<sup>49</sup> Kolinski 2011: 54.

<sup>50</sup> Mackenzie 2007: 114.

<sup>51</sup> Pareli 2011: 58.

<sup>52</sup> Pareli 2011: 59.

called 'transit port' and obtain 'false or inaccurate documents' at these ports. Although it may seem strange for an object looted in India to have documentation from Hong Kong, but for some countries this would not be questioned.<sup>53</sup>

In order to combat the legal loophole that allows museums and dealers to buy stolen artefacts, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) founded the Disaster Relief Task Force which supports museums in times of war and natural disasters in an attempt to prevent looting and smuggling. However, the rules introduced by ICOM only affect museums which voluntarily sign up to the task force. Art museums in the USA are not included and therefore cannot be held to the rules.<sup>54</sup>

The repatriation of stolen artefacts to the country of origin is laudable, but without addressing the looting and smuggling routes, the problem will continue.<sup>55</sup>

In response to the problem of looting archaeologists have to presume any find or site may not be in the same condition once they leave to site and so every inscription, monument and artefact must be recorded in more detail than usual.

Additionally, different models and programmes are being founded in order to combat the problem of looting. Pareli suggests the best way to protect Egypt's monuments is to,

'Consult with local and international agencies and specialists in order to put a workable management plan in place.

'Train on-site inspectors and give more responsibility to them in addition to providing better security for the sites and the museums.

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<sup>53</sup> Dr. Donna Yates, February 2016 *Antiquities Trafficking and Art Crime* Unit 1:13 Futurelearn course.

<sup>54</sup> Pareli 2011: 59.

<sup>55</sup> Dr. Donna Yates, February 2016 *Antiquities Trafficking and Art Crime* Unit 1:23 Futurelearn course.

‘[Provide] more financial aid for conservation and documentation and condemn political and commercial interests which affect the monuments.’<sup>56</sup>

A key objective of many projects is awareness and one initiative, the Saving Antiquities for Everyone (SAFE) Project believes public awareness is key to protecting cultural heritage.<sup>57</sup> Another initiative, the International Foundation for Art Research, has launched an art database listing items that have been stolen.<sup>58</sup> By making the database available to the public, they hope to broaden awareness and prevent stolen items from being easily and openly sold on the market.

The University of Oxford has started the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa Project (EAMENA),<sup>59</sup> which documents archaeological sites using satellite imagery. The objective is to compare ‘before’ and ‘after’ images to identify what has been lost. There are five elements of destruction recorded: agriculture, conflict, construction, looting and natural erosion. Such a project is limited to the study of archaeological sites, rather than portable monuments or wall inscriptions, which are easily removed and sold to collectors. The focus of the project is very much awareness and heritage management.

In early 2016, the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities, along with the Antiquities Coalition, launched a database which aims to document ‘materials, location and provenance of each object in the nation’s extensive public collections.’<sup>60</sup> However, such a database will only highlight items stolen from museums and will not contribute to illuminating illegal excavation and land grabbing concerns. Such a database will take years to compile and may be too late

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<sup>56</sup> Pareli 2011: 60.

<sup>57</sup> Chabiera 2011: 147.

<sup>58</sup> Chabiera 2011: 146.

<sup>59</sup> [www.arch.ox.ac.uk/ea.html](http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/ea.html)

<sup>60</sup> <http://theartnewspaper.com/news/museums/egypt-to-launch-antiquities-database-to-track-public-collections-and-combat-smuggling/> (accessed 27 April 2016).

for many artefacts during the current political problems, but could prove invaluable in years to come.

### **Squeezes and Heritage Crime**

It should be obvious in light of the damage, theft, looting and vandalism, which have been on-going for more than a century, that prevention is the ideal solution. If prevention is not possible, then reconstruction or identification is the next step. This can be achieved using squeezes, drawings and photographs of monuments taken in the nineteenth century. Malek pointed out in 2003 that,

‘We must make sure that, whenever possible, no known source of information is lost or that its value as an information provider is reduced; where a physical loss is inevitable we must record all data before it happens.’<sup>61</sup>

Such information is not simply archaeological data but includes archival material, including squeezes. As they are paper and deteriorate over time, it is important to preserve them before they deteriorate further.

Without producing a database similar to that in Appendix 1, of every squeeze in existence around the world, it is impossible to ascertain how many lost, stolen and damaged images are recorded upon them. The minimal damage caused by the production of squeezes pales into insignificance when compared to a century of looting, vandalism, archaeological removal and theft, destruction by the elements, tourists and fundamentalists. All of this is still continuing and with more items being stolen and sold on the black market every year, it could be the case that squeezes may provide the only accurate record of some of these items, which as

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<sup>61</sup> Malek 2003: 229.

the research in the tomb of Hery demonstrated, can be used to identify stolen items. In places where inscriptions are destroyed – whether by natural deterioration, thieves or vandals – if they were squeezed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, they may not be lost to the world for ever. The true value of squeezes and the images they represent is as a resource waiting to be tapped.

### **Epigraphic Value**

In addition to studying the inscriptions and art work recorded on squeezes, Iacchei and Hamill from Cornell further emphasise the less glamorous, but no less important, use of squeezes to study the surface of a monument. When a squeeze is produced, it makes an impression of the carved image, but also shows other characteristics of the surface, including cracks, dents, uncarved areas, re-carved areas and those dressed in preparation for decoration. These can be useful for archaeologists reconstructing the changing use and decoration of a monument.<sup>62</sup>

The epigraphical use of squeezes as a record of ancient wall inscriptions is simply one potential use of these artefacts by modern researchers. Galán and Menéndez used squeezes to identify missing and stolen inscriptions<sup>63</sup> and the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project produced squeezes to view inaccessible inscriptions.<sup>64</sup> Such uses highlight that the utilisation, and therefore the value of a squeeze, has in fact changed since those which are the focus of this study were made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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<sup>62</sup> Iacchei & Hamill 2014: 4.

<sup>63</sup> 2011: 143-166.

<sup>64</sup> Erika Feleg, from the Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall Project, personal correspondence 2 March 2015.

The value of squeeze taking in modern archaeology varies greatly depending on the discipline, as discussed above, with many classical scholars turning to squeezes as a technique of epigraphical study.<sup>65</sup>

When they were made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, squeezes were considered an inexpensive means of producing an accurate image of a wall inscription. For archaeologists, they were cheaper and easier to transport than plaster casts and enabled detailed study of monuments outside of the field season. For both tourists and professionals, squeezes were far cheaper and sometimes more convenient than photography and quicker than producing a watercolour. For non-professionals, squeezes were a means of recording a memorable holiday or possibly the product of a pseudo-mass-produced tourist souvenir industry.

The importance of squeezes to the individual depended on the reasons for making them. Archaeologists valued them as records of the monuments that could then be used to produce facsimiles or drawings for publication. Tourists, on the other hand, had no specific purpose for making them or purchasing them, other than for sentimental reasons, as a reminder of their trip, rather like modern tourists and photographs. However, in the modern world of digital photography and laser scanning, such basic record making as squeezes is considered to be little more than an archaic curiosity.

Although squeezes have more value in the modern world than simply as epigraphic records, Dorman's arguments regarding the difficulty in widely distributing squeezes are based on the assumption that the *only* use squeezes have is as epigraphic records of wall inscriptions. That

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<sup>65</sup> The Oxford Epigraphy Workshop in 2016 taught new scholars to practice squeeze-making alongside other methods of epigraphy including drawing and photography.



was indeed their use when they were made but that use has since changed and therefore evaluation of their value needs to evolve accordingly. It is naïve and potentially destructive to believe the value of squeezes has not developed over the decades from its primary function as an epigraphic record or as a memento of a trip. These values died with the individuals but squeezes have since adopted a new value system.

### **Evolving Use/Evolving Value**

To analyse the new value system, it is essential to evaluate how paper-impressions are approached in Egyptology and by the public. As epigraphical specimens they have been superseded in Egyptology by modern record-keeping techniques (e.g. digital photography, digital scanning).

The new value is dependent on varying factors;

What their use was in the past

What their use is today

How the new use is presented to the public

Presentation to the public is particularly important as this affects the public's response to the object and its perceived meaning. This in turn can lead to 'financial' interest, resulting in conservation projects focussed on squeezes.

An individual views any object as a subjective abstract,<sup>66</sup> attaching value and meaning to them only if they can relate to the object and their own concept of the past.<sup>67</sup> If an individual is unable to relate to an object, then the perception of its value is diminished. Feedback from visitors to the stores at the Science Museum, London, stated 'the stories about the objects,

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<sup>66</sup> Pearce 1995: 141.

<sup>67</sup> Pearce 1995: 355.

the connections between objects, people and events' provided by the curators were invaluable.<sup>68</sup> This highlights that the value of an object, as viewed by the visitors, was not based on the object itself, but rather the information provided by the curator.

This was further emphasised in the 2015/16 exhibition at the Museum of London called *The Crime Museum Uncovered*.<sup>69</sup> The exhibition included 600 items taken from the Scotland Yard collection, including evidence, weapons and reports associated with famous and infamous crimes from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whilst such items as a gun, chair or a gas mask may seem ordinary or unremarkable in an exhibition about weapons, furniture or the Second World War, in the Crime Museum exhibition these items took on another level of value as they are connected with a specific crime, many of which are within living memory of the intended audience. It is therefore clear that the value of the object is not present in the artefact itself, but rather in the interaction between the artefact and its context.<sup>70</sup> Through careful displays and information boards, the most unremarkable items become remarkable:

'Most of the objects ... in the Crime Museum, have undergone a journey within which their meaning has changed. They have moved from domestic or personal items to become part of the evidence for a criminal investigation ...The power of an object to relate a story and to bring us into that story is very real.'<sup>71</sup>

This was the Museum of London's most popular exhibition to date, with 131,416 visitor attendances. Of these, 11,842 visitors left feedback 'in response to the questions asked via the digital stations.'<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Caesar 2007: 8-9.

<sup>69</sup> Keily & Hoffbrand 2015.

<sup>70</sup> Mason 2002: 8.

<sup>71</sup> Keily & Hoffbrand 2015: 192.

<sup>72</sup> Louise Doughty, Major Exhibitions Project Manager, personal correspondence 25 January 2017.

Unfortunately paper squeezes are rarely displayed, and therefore remain unknown entities to most people. As invisible items they are considered unimportant and uninteresting, but in a time where heritage management and conservation are important issues in the archaeological discipline,<sup>73</sup> squeezes could be an integral aspect of relaying a conservation message. If squeezes were displayed alongside images of a damaged or destroyed original, the impact would be dramatic with the squeeze immediately becoming an essential item with increased value (see plate 9).

As discussed above, in the post-2011 revolution in Egypt, heritage crime, looting and selling stolen items on the black market is on the increase and such an approach would be extremely powerful. However, a display of this kind would require extensive research, for which most museums and archives do not have resources.

The apparent invisible, 'unimportant' status currently held by squeezes as a whole is not static. With research, creativity and publicity, squeezes could become valuable elements of everyday Egyptology and part of the campaign to preserve declining heritage.

### **Assessing the Meaning of Value**

As the status of a squeeze is transient, so are the concepts of value, use and authenticity. In order to identify the potential value of a squeeze it is essential to assess its value in a modern world, not its value in the nineteenth century. Before assessing how this value has changed, first the different meanings of the term need to be clarified.

There are various approaches to this topic, with scholars producing various models by which archaeological artefacts, monuments and sites can be valued. For example Lipe (1984) lists

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<sup>73</sup> For example Chabiera 2011, Carman 2002, Chowaniec & Więckowski 2011 and de la Torre 2002.

four categories of value for cultural resources which include monuments, artefacts, sites and historic buildings.

‘Aesthetic – contemporary appeal.

Economic – the current market value.

Associative – sentimental or historical associations.

Informational – the value of future research which can include undiscovered archaeological deposits.’<sup>74</sup>

Riegl (1982) identified three criteria for assessment of value which parallels two of Lipe’s criteria.

‘Art value where aestheticism is marked out of ten (Lipe’s Aesthetic).

Historical value where their value is assessed in relation to historical events (Lipe’s Associative).

Age value where quality is identified by signs of age.’<sup>75</sup>

Such criteria is more applicable to museum curators than for antiquities dealers. Squeezes are very difficult to assess according to these criteria as they are nineteenth-century impressions of ancient monuments and therefore their age value is limited to less than 200 years old. With a squeeze, part of its value is not in its age-value, but rather the scene presented, and should this image no longer exist, the information-value increases.

Lowenthal believes ‘the actual age of an artefact does not matter very much’ as the ‘aura of art objects ... authenticates our own taste and thus our worth.’<sup>76</sup> In this light, it could be suggested that Egyptologists see the destructive method of recording embodied in squeezes

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<sup>74</sup> Quoted in Carver 1996: 46.

<sup>75</sup> Quoted in Pearce 1995: 132.

<sup>76</sup> Lowenthal 1989: 846.

as a reflection of themselves and their discipline. Rather than identify a positive use or value for these artefacts, misplaced guilt perpetuates the desire not to interact with them.

Another challenge in trying to apply Riegl's criteria to squeezes is that they represent unoriginal art not associated with the producer of the squeeze. Additionally, the squeeze itself has no historical value unless it is produced by someone of note (for example Alice Lieder or Belzoni – see catalogue). As museums and archives revolve about 'authentic' and 'real things',<sup>77</sup> it is important to be able to clearly define the value and importance of a squeeze in museum terms.

Lipe's informational category to a certain extent encapsulates squeezes as their value lies in the information they hold, which may not at the present time be known. Riegl does however, emphasise that ancient artefacts should be preserved and conserved for future study due to their potential historical-value and any repairs should be distinguishable from the original. This is particularly applicable to the study of squeezes, as their preservation has immense future value for researchers and it is only in the future that their true worth will be identified.

To determine the value of a squeeze, Riegl's model is insufficient and therefore a different model needs to be considered. None of the models already in place can be directly applied to squeezes so these can be considered a starting point, providing a foundation on which to create a more appropriate model which takes into account that every squeeze should be assessed on a case-by-case basis.<sup>78</sup>

Each squeeze may hold a different value depending on the information portrayed, the person who produced it and the social history before it arrived in the museum.

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<sup>77</sup> Pearce 1992: 24.

<sup>78</sup> Mason 2002: 11.

The Nara document on authenticity emphasises this by stating,

‘All judgements about values attributed to heritage as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture.’<sup>79</sup>

This can be applied to squeezes, as with many other artefacts, which have to be addressed on a case-by-case basis and looked at in context.

When identifying or attempting to identify the value and importance of such objects, research should not be,

‘... restricted merely to descriptions of the objects or to the assessment of their value as pieces of art or as information-carriers, historical sources. The retrieval of the so-called second life of the objects, the story of their whereabouts after the removal from their original context is also essential, indispensable even for obtaining the full information they contain. In my view this component of curatorial research in *aegyptiaca* has received too little attention. Much material is lying waste.’<sup>80</sup>

### **Squeezes as Authentic Art**

Squeezes are perhaps overlooked by many archivists and Egyptologists *because* they are not easily classified, or they are simply dismissed as ‘tourist souvenirs’ and therefore hold little value. However, tourist curiosities of the nineteenth century are not the mass-produced plastic items to be found in modern tourist shops the world over – these are hand-crafted,

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<sup>79</sup> Paragraph 11 of the Nara Document on authenticity.

<sup>80</sup> Schneider 1991: 392.

time-consuming items. They additionally have a connection to past events, which adds further authenticity to them.<sup>81</sup>

They were not throw-away items purchased at a port, but provide a snapshot of the destination at a particular moment in time, which during the intervening years may have changed. Therefore, just because something is a tourist souvenir, does not immediately render it valueless and inauthentic, although needless to say research may be required to ascertain the rarity and therefore importance of the item before it is considered a museum piece. However, 'credibility, not truth, is the name of this game,'<sup>82</sup> and until the stigma of tourist souvenir can be overlooked, many squeezes will struggle to be given the credit they deserve in a museum environment.

Souvenirs hold sentimental value to the individual as they can aid with memories of an event that cannot be relived,<sup>83</sup> but they can also hold value as an authentic artefact of that event:

'Authenticity is a quality that modern Western society places on objects that do not derive from modern Western society: it is not a quality that is immanent in the object itself but is imposed on it by us.'<sup>84</sup>

Such an imposition of classification has little to do with the object – simply the individual's perception of it. The value of an object is directly correlated with the characteristics attributed to it by society or an industry and not a result of the characteristics of the object.<sup>85</sup> Should a souvenir be connected to an historical event or an important person the object acquires

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<sup>81</sup> Pearce 1992: 17.

<sup>82</sup> Thompson 1979a: 23.

<sup>83</sup> Pearce 1992: 72.

<sup>84</sup> Carman 1990: 201.

<sup>85</sup> Pearce 1992: 32.

‘glamour by association.’<sup>86</sup> Such associations become more important than the object itself. This process is witnessed in the Scotland Yard Museum exhibition, where household items became museum pieces because of their historical associations.

Simply because objects have a humble origin, this should not ‘deceive us about their significance.’<sup>87</sup> Clifford (1988) supports this assertion using the example of a Native American craftsman making traditional jewellery. Just because such jewellery is sold to tourists does not necessarily render it as inauthentic and therefore valueless. The skills and craftsmanship being used demonstrate traditional methods that have remained the same for hundreds of years. This authenticity and therefore associated value, is instantly diminished when purchased by tourists.

This premise could be applied to squeezes, where their value is associated with the person who produced, commissioned or collected them. If they are produced by a well-known archaeologist, they are more interesting as professional records than if they were produced by tourists or a ghaffir, even if the subject and quality is the same.

It is often considered that objects become less real and authentic the more of them there are in existence,<sup>88</sup> so any souvenirs that are mass-produced are considered ‘boring and embarrassing’ to museums should they be in the collection.<sup>89</sup>

However, this could conversely be one of the many values of a squeeze. There are a lot in existence, but in Egypt squeezes have not been produced for more than a century and therefore are a remnant of something that will not be reproduced. If they are allowed to

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<sup>86</sup> Pearce 1992: 71.

<sup>87</sup> Pearce 1992: 24.

<sup>88</sup> Carman 1990: 201.

<sup>89</sup> Pearce 1992: 72.



deteriorate they will not be replaced. As production of squeezes is a lost skill – at least in the discipline of Egyptology – this could render them as ‘authentic’ artefacts, increasing their value and therefore rendering them worthy of preservation.

The existence of squeezes in museums, even if not displayed, coupled with the finite number in existence aids their rise to ‘durability’ or increasing value.<sup>90</sup>

It is therefore apparent that authenticity, and the associated value system, is a modern construct which has no relevance to the informational, historical or artistic value of an item.<sup>91</sup>

The term ‘authentic’ itself was only introduced in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century and is thought to be ‘what distinguishes an original and unique work of art from a mechanical reproduction – what gives it credibility and authority.’<sup>92</sup> The meaning of authenticity has since developed and now includes items and artwork of folkloric origin.<sup>93</sup>

Darvill, recognising the complexity of attributing value to an item, included the concept of Existence Value into his model of Value of Archaeological Resources.<sup>94</sup> This value can be attributed to an object simply because it exists, with no dependence on authenticity. Even if it is not clear why something is important, the fact that it exists is a positive thing. This idea of an Existence Value was adopted by Mason, who emphasised that the public appreciate the value of something, even if they do not personally benefit from or have interaction with it.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Thompson 1979: 31.

<sup>91</sup> Carman 1990: 202.

<sup>92</sup> Holtorf & Schadla-Hall 1999: 292.

<sup>93</sup> Holtorf & Schadla-Hall 1999: 292.

<sup>94</sup> Quoted in Carver 1986: 46 but also introduced by Mourato & Mazzanti 2002: 51.

<sup>95</sup> Mason 2002:13.

Others however do not believe 'Existence' is enough to prove value. Clifford for example feels authenticity is key to value and he addresses authenticity with the Art-Culture System, which explains the transient nature of value and authenticity of artefacts. He identifies four zones;

- 1) Authentic masterpieces
- 2) Authentic artefacts
- 3) Inauthentic masterpieces
- 4) Inauthentic artefacts

Certain artefacts can change their status owing to various factors. Cultural (authentic) artefacts increase in value due to their rarity, the disappearance of the group, culture or skill, or even changing trends in the art market which increase the price and pushes up their market value.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, artefacts of cultural or historical value (authentic artefacts) can ascend to the primary zone of authentic masterpiece, sometimes overnight. A prime example is one of Shakespeare's first folios, which was discovered in April 2016 on the Isle of Bute, Scotland. This folio had been in the collection of the library of Bute since 1896<sup>97</sup> and was considered an interesting artefact, but discovering this book was one of only 234 first folios in existence pushed it into the category of authentic masterpiece.<sup>98</sup> However, there is no possibility, according to this system, of movement from inauthentic artefact (tourist art) to authentic masterpieces.<sup>99</sup>

When considering the Art-Culture System it is important to identify where nineteenth-century squeezes fit in. According to Clifford's system, they would be considered 'non-art' as

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<sup>96</sup> Clifford 1988: 223.

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.mountstuart.com/media-and-news/news/shakespeare-first-folio-discovered/> (accessed 21 November 2018).

<sup>98</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-35973094> (accessed 27 April 2016).

<sup>99</sup> Clifford 1988: 225.

they are 'reproduced' and 'commercial', as opposed to art which is classified as 'original' and 'singular'.

Squeezes, as identified in the catalogue, are sometimes duplicated across collections and therefore some are clearly not 'singular'. Whilst not being mass-produced in the modern, mechanical sense of the word there are definitely mass-examples of the same scenes, in particular from the tomb of Khamenhat and Sety I, produced using the same materials throughout the world potentially for a tourist market. Further research will reveal the extent of these mass-produced scenes.

Additionally, squeezes are impressions of others' original artwork rather than an original piece in their own right. As many were made by tourists, they are considered to be 'inauthentic artefacts' and can never be viewed as masterpieces. However, this assumes all squeezes are homogeneous, whereas this is not the case. The quality of each squeeze varies, as does the quality of the original inscription being squeezed and sometimes it is difficult to identify a bad squeeze from a bad inscription without seeing the original monument.<sup>100</sup> As 'it requires a fair amount of practice to be able to make a good squeeze'<sup>101</sup> and they are easy to spoil through slippage or tearing the paper,<sup>102</sup> there are clear variants in the quality of the squeezes. These factors clearly make some difference to the final object, meaning some are more aesthetically pleasing than others.

The aesthetic value is the most personal and therefore subjective element of the sociocultural values.<sup>103</sup> However, as mentioned, in order to be considered 'art' in Clifford's system, the

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<sup>100</sup> Malek 1976: 44. See Squeeze M062, Plate 27. The squeeze shows creases and irregular edges which are not reflected in the original inscription.

<sup>101</sup> Woodhead 1959: 78.

<sup>102</sup> Woodhead 1959:79.

<sup>103</sup> Mason 2002: 12.

squeeze must be 'original' and 'singular', which is very much the case with A001 and A002 (plates 41 and 42), two squeezes taken by George Tomlinson, the Bishop of Gibraltar, in 1846. These were taken using the 'reproduction' technique, but Tomlinson made them a unique piece of art by painting them. The original stelae from which the squeezes were taken were not painted and therefore the colours applied emerged from his imagination.

Other squeezes which could transfer from non-art to art are the de Garis Davies squeezes in the Egypt Exploration Society,<sup>104</sup> where the original tomb images were squeezed and then inked in to make the outlines clearer.

The inking-in of de Garis Davies' squeezes and the watercolour painting of Tomlinson's squeezes require a certain level of artistic skill and could therefore enable them to be classified as 'authentic art'.

Additionally the skill required to produce squeezes is a lost art in the discipline of Egyptology, and not a widely disseminated skill in the discipline of Mediterranean archaeology. This adds another dimension to the discussion, as this could push the Egyptian squeezes into the classification of authentic artefact.

However, on the whole, squeezes would be given, according to Clifford's system, the classification of 'inauthentic' and it has to be considered to what extent this diminishes their 'value'. Such categorisation as authentic or inauthentic is part of the narrative of curators and scholars, but the purpose of such discussions is questionable. Trilling comments that,

'it is in the museum, where persons expert in such matters test whether objects of art [and by extension, ethnographic objects] are what they appear to be or are claimed

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<sup>104</sup> See catalogue E025-E040.

to be, and therefore ... worth the admiration they are being given...'<sup>105</sup>

This indicates that the characteristics of an artefact and whether they are classified as authentic or not is almost irrelevant. How they are displayed and presented to the public is far more important.

The majority of tourists are a lot less concerned with authenticity and classifications than curators<sup>106</sup> and therefore if things are presented positively they will be accepted positively. Even knowing that a squeeze is not an ancient artefact or original art piece will not hinder the experience for the visitor as they will be accepted as part of the narrative<sup>107</sup> if they are presented in a positive light.

For display purposes in a museum, this classification of squeezes is not that important, as they can be part of the Egyptology narrative without being ancient artefacts within themselves. Diary pages, newspapers, letters and watercolours are often displayed as a means of highlighting elements of the 'discovery of ancient Egypt' and squeezes can fit into this form of narrative easily. In the modern world, where conservation is important and repatriation of objects is regularly debated, squeezes can also be used to show the deterioration of monuments, as well as an alternative method of display to using original blocks which have been hacked from the walls of tombs and temples.

### **Cast Galleries**

This discussion of the wider importance of the narrative over authenticity, leads to the study of nineteenth-century cast galleries, where copies of famous or even less well-known Greek

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<sup>105</sup> Trilling 1972: 93.

<sup>106</sup> Cohen 1988: 376.

<sup>107</sup> Cohen 1988: 377.

and Roman sculptures were rendered in plaster and displayed in newly formed galleries. Although it was known they were not original and therefore according to Clifford's System 'inauthentic non-art' (like squeezes) and would never be considered as original 'masterpieces', they held the same value to the visitors to the galleries as authentic sculptures. This is made clear with the reception of Petrie's casts following his expedition to Egypt to collect images of racial types. They were displayed in Manchester at the BAAS conference in 1887 and there was 'fair interest in them and the subject.'<sup>108</sup> In the absence of the original images, casts were considered to be as interesting.

Yet, for many throughout the nineteenth century and the height of cast production they were also little more than tourist souvenirs. During the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, the Grand Tour was an aspiration of many well-to-do members of European society and once on tour many purchased original sculptures or casts of classical statues for their homes and gardens.<sup>109</sup>

In the late eighteenth century, casters producing items for the Grand Tourists were making so many moulds of certain classical statues that some Italian producers were required to get permits to do so,<sup>110</sup> giving some indication of the popularity of this inauthentic art.

Cast galleries maintained their fine art status until the early twentieth century,<sup>111</sup> when interest in them waned and the majority of them closed. Value of the casts themselves had dropped to such levels that at the start of World War II, when the University of Oxford needed space in the basement for an air-raid shelter the casts were ground down to fill sandbags:

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<sup>108</sup> Challis 2013: 104.

<sup>109</sup> Hermann 1972: 6 quoted in Kurtz 2000: 132.

<sup>110</sup> Kurtz 2000: 131.

<sup>111</sup> Pearce 1995: 363.

‘Power was sought and granted to demolish many of the larger ... casts, the portrait heads being in all cases preserved.’<sup>112</sup>

Such destruction of museum artefacts, whether casts or authentic artefacts, leaves modern historians feeling uncomfortable, indicating that such items have once more altered their status to that of artefacts of importance.<sup>113</sup> Such destruction would not be considered ethical and acceptable by the current Museums Associations Code of Ethics, or indeed the individually devised Collection Development Policies held by each museum. Section 3.2 of the Code of Ethics states museums should ‘avoid behaviour that could be construed as asserting personal ownership of collections,’<sup>114</sup> which is in addition to carefully laid out procedures for artefact disposal.

### **Rubbish Theory**

Legislation aside, the fluidity of an object’s value and importance needs to be approached. A cast, mass-produced 150 years ago, has since become an authentic artefact in its own right, which according to Clifford’s System should not be possible. However, Thompson’s Rubbish Theory is much more applicable in this situation as it postulates that there are three categories of value for any artefact:

Transience – the value of the artefact is decreasing.

Durable – the value of the artefact is increasing.

Rubbish – the value of an artefact has reached zero.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Sir Charles Holmes quoted in Kurtz 2000: 299.

<sup>113</sup> Pearce 1995: 142.

<sup>114</sup> Museums Association Code of Ethics, 2015: 18.

<sup>115</sup> Thompson, 1979: 7 & 9.

The difference between Thompson's Rubbish Theory and Clifford's Art-Culture System is that, in Thompson's, once an artefact has declined in value to zero and is then classified as rubbish, it is possible for that artefact to once more regain durable status.<sup>116</sup>

Thompson's theory is far more simplistic than Clifford's System, although it allows for much more manoeuvrability of value. Objects can transfer from a transience (declining) value to a durable (increasing) value, but only once they have been considered rubbish. However, the transition from transience to rubbish, rubbish to durable or durable to transience can happen overnight for variable reasons. For example, once an object is sent to a museum, it transfers from being transient to durable. This can change further from durable to rubbish should at some point it be deaccessioned from the collection.<sup>117</sup> The only rule is that in order to change from transient to durable, the value of the object must reach zero – no matter how briefly it remains there.

The fundamental similarity between Clifford's and Thompson's systems is that they describe the life of an object and the associated value as cyclical. This is an idea also described by Mukařovský:

‘There are also frequent instances where a canon that has sunk to the lowest limit is suddenly raised back into the focal point of aesthetic activity to become again—albeit in an altered form—the new young and up-to-the-minute norm.’<sup>118</sup>

Essentially as one society, culture or individual discards an object deeming it valueless, another individual picks it up, rendering it valuable once more. The meaning and potential

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<sup>116</sup> Thompson 1979: 26.

<sup>117</sup> Pearce 1992: 35.

<sup>118</sup> Mukařovský 2015: 294.



use in the new social system will be different from the original and therefore the value and meaning of the object also changes:

‘values are always changing in some respect and we should expect this as part of the essential social routine of heritage.’<sup>119</sup>

Archaeologists uncover artefacts which have been discarded as rubbish (in middens, placed in a grave etc.), but through their re-evaluation, once more meaning and therefore a value, albeit one different from its intended one, is attributed to the artefact. Carman uses the example of the discarded waste from a 2,000 year old metal-working archaeological site. The waste material discovered held no value when it was discarded during the metal-working process and was therefore rubbish. However, once the archaeologists excavated and studied the material, they were able to reconstruct the metal-working processes. The rubbish was now durable as it has a value of information. As research is becoming more detailed and technology becomes more advanced, more of the past’s rubbish is labelled as ‘significant.’<sup>120</sup> The artefacts themselves are not durable, but, ‘what is valued is its capacity to inform us’ about past ages.<sup>121</sup> Carver comments that evidence of human activity does ‘not become a resource until defined as such by researchers. Deposits only become archaeological when they are declared to have a research potential.’<sup>122</sup> Therefore, it is humans and in particular archaeologists and researchers who identify which data is important and significant. Usually, such designations are reached using uni- rather than multi-disciplinary means and are reliant on the ‘historical, art historical and archaeological notions held by professionals.’<sup>123</sup> It is also

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<sup>119</sup> Mason 2002: 9.

<sup>120</sup> Carver 1996: 50.

<sup>121</sup> Carman 1990: 199.

<sup>122</sup> Carver 1996: 49.

<sup>123</sup> Mason 2002: 5.

inevitable that in such decisions, some values are held as more important than others<sup>124</sup> and therefore not everyone will agree with the designation of significant. In one example, the Lavenham gasworks, Sudbury was given the status of 'monument' which meant it would be protected as one of the few of these structures remaining and it had a research potential. However, others viewed this as an eyesore, not a monument of interest.<sup>125</sup>

Such a value of information can be applied to the squeezes studied here, where they were discarded by archaeologists once they had served their epigraphic purpose, or by the tourists, normally upon their death, when the memories of the holiday are since forgotten. Once picked up by curators or researchers who work with them and realise what information can be found within them, their value changes.

The value of an object, can also plunge from durable to rubbish in an instant if certain negative information is discovered. An expensive (durable) painting could be discovered to be a forgery, therefore diminishing the value to zero (rubbish).<sup>126</sup> A rubbish artefact which has been reworked can once more increase in status to that of durable<sup>127</sup> – such as purchasing an old car and refurbishing it until it becomes a valuable classic motor.

The flexibility of Rubbish Theory is that there are no restrictions of classification, as evident in Clifford's model. An item can go from transience, to rubbish and then to durable, but not necessarily for the same reason. It is not necessary to classify something as authentic art or inauthentic art – the reason for the increasing or decreasing value is left open. Whilst the physical properties of an artefact may have some impact on the durability of the object's

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<sup>124</sup> Mason 2002: 24.

<sup>125</sup> Carver 1996: 50.

<sup>126</sup> Carman 1990: 199.

<sup>127</sup> Carman 2002: 169.

value this is not the only factor being taken into consideration. Social factors have more impact and can take the form of the expected lifespan of an object as well as social associations or fashion. Generally, items in the transient category have limited lifespans whereas durable items have longer, sometimes undefined, lifespans.<sup>128</sup>

Mukařovský however, discusses intentionally short lifespans and states, ‘for besides art made to last and to retain its validity for as long as possible, there are instances of art intended by their very creators to be short-lived, as “consumer” art.’<sup>129</sup> This is where tourist art, and perhaps squeezes fall into the discussion.

Thompson however, discussed intentional long lifespan and uses buildings as an example of the importance of lifespan of an object – St Paul’s Cathedral in London is expected to have a longer lifespan than Victorian working-class accommodation in London’s East End and therefore is perceived to have more value. In this example, through continued repairs and maintenance, the natural lifespan of St Paul’s Cathedral is prolonged, attributing more value to this building, whereas limited repairs to the East End houses will eventually render them valueless.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, the behaviour towards an object can contribute to the perceptions of value or non-value<sup>131</sup> and behaviour is often controlled by cultural norm. Therefore whilst squeezes may be considered to have a negative value or a value of zero, cultural expectations and Museum Association Guidelines prevent them from being discarded.<sup>132</sup>

Once an object/building/artefact has reached the end of its natural lifespan it is rendered

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<sup>128</sup> Thompson 1979: 7.

<sup>129</sup> Mukařovský 2015: 296.

<sup>130</sup> Thompson 1979a:14.

<sup>131</sup> Thompson 1979: 7.

<sup>132</sup> The idea of behaviour against an object being affected by cultural expectations is discussed in Thompson 1979: 82-7.

obsolete and can generally be discarded. This is not necessarily related to the physical deterioration of the object, but rather a 'decline in public esteem – that is, obsolescence.'<sup>133</sup> Add to this the social implications of utilising obsolete items and they quickly become undesirable. Using the example of East End Victorian houses to demonstrate, once they reach the extent of their intended lifespan the structures become dilapidated and the only people who live in them are 'the lower ends of the working class, perhaps criminal,'<sup>134</sup> further reducing the value. However, an object or a building does not necessarily reach a value of zero at the same time as the intended lifespan expires. Instead, the valueless object remains in existence, with the possibility of being revived should an intrinsic value be observed at a later date, once more rendering the artefact durable.<sup>135</sup> The transference from rubbish to durable is not a gradual rise – it is an instant leap whereas transient to rubbish can be a slow decline in value. The difficulty in this transition is discarding any implications or reputations attached to the object,<sup>136</sup> as engaging in a particular ideology or opinion means it is impossible to view things in any other way.<sup>137</sup>

Squeezes have a reputation for damage and this affects the transition from rubbish to durable. This reputation is so ingrained in Egyptology as to have become a 'fixed assumption' – something which is known to be true and therefore cannot be argued against.<sup>138</sup> This 'ideology of a discipline, to a large extent, constrains the actions of its members'<sup>139</sup> and actively keeps the squeezes in the rubbish category. Whilst it cannot be denied that excessive squeeze-taking caused damage, the assumption that due to this squeezes are therefore

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<sup>133</sup> Thompson 1979a:15.

<sup>134</sup> Thompson 1979a: 18.

<sup>135</sup> Thompson 1979: 10.

<sup>136</sup> Thompson 1979: 25-6.

<sup>137</sup> Thompson 1979: 147.

<sup>138</sup> Thompson 1979: 94.

<sup>139</sup> Thompson 1979:163.

valueless and should remain invisible is an 'opinion' and therefore can be changed through academic debate.

In this vein, Rubbish Theory can be easily applied to squeezes. The intended lifespan of a squeeze was short – either as a mould to make casts for publication or as a memento of a holiday, rendering them obsolete once the main protagonists passed away. Additionally, some were thought by many to be the products of tourism and therefore something which, according to Clifford's theory, would not be considered authentic art. Through the decades when they no longer held value as epigraphic records of Egyptian temples and tombs, and the traveller themselves had passed away, squeezes were discarded and placed in museums and archives. Many of them have remained unstudied since arrival and have maintained their perceived status of rubbish.

Thompson discusses the idea of saving items which have a negative value using the analogy of a man blowing his nose into a handkerchief, folding it and then placing it in his pocket. By blowing his nose, the man is discarding something with a negative value, but by storing it in his pocket it has been raised to a valueless object. He does not want the substance in his nose, but does not feel the need to dispose of it entirely.<sup>140</sup> Squeezes in an archive are comparable – not important enough to be used in a social context, they are donated to a museum. Here they remain invisible, which can mean literally or/and culturally invisible.<sup>141</sup> They are not considered valuable enough to use or be displayed but are considered too valuable to discard completely.

Therefore, curators can discard upon acquisition any items they consider rubbish or ignore

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<sup>140</sup> Thompson 1979:3.

<sup>141</sup> Carman 1990: 204.

their existence without actually destroying them due to their perceived negative value. However, without fully understanding what a squeeze depicts it is difficult for curators to include them in museum exhibitions and, as they are not easily classified, contributing to story-telling to the public is almost impossible.

Their value no longer solely lies in the epigraphic technique, but rather in the image portrayed on the squeeze. The key to making this rubbish artefact durable once more is through information and research. Once it is known what is depicted on the squeeze, who made the squeeze and why it was made renders the artefact potentially valuable and worthy of preservation. For example, suspecting that the squeezes in Bristol were possibly produced by Belzoni, a person of note, makes them valuable and worthy of preservation. Moreover, being able to identify that squeezes G033 (plate 5) and G012 (plate 20) represent now-lost inscriptions, increases their value dramatically. Until the research can be carried out on all known squeezes in museums and archives, the true information-value cannot be assessed.

Until such research can be undertaken it would be useful to be able to identify the entire group of artefacts as 'significant' or 'worthy of further study' until their true value can be identified. In the discipline of archaeology, entire sites are given such designations meaning the site should be preserved and investigated further.<sup>142</sup> Obviously such decisions are based on unknowable factors of what can be discovered in the future and is dependent on the evidence of the visible items on the surface which hints at what is beneath.<sup>143</sup>

Once such a designation has been given, it is not compulsory to investigate further, but it prevents the site being destroyed. If such a system could be transferred to museums and to

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<sup>142</sup> Carman 2002: 155.

<sup>143</sup> Carver 1996:51.

portable objects, it could prevent the neglect of artefacts such as squeezes, which could instigate Lipe's informational value category, once research has been done into identifying the inscription depicted, the person who produced them and the techniques used. Therefore 'the remains will require examination and interpretation before their value can be made apparent to a wider audience.'<sup>144</sup>

### **Reserve Collections**

In the twenty-first century, museums are rarely privately-owned collections; they are generally 'funded out of the public purse and act in the public name and for the 'public good.'<sup>145</sup> This means the activities of the museum and their collections are in the public eye, and they are therefore accountable for the work they do, or as the case may be, do not do. One of the continuing arguments regarding museums concerns reserve collections (also known as storage, museum stores, research collections and study collections) and are categorised thus;

- 1) 'In use or on display daily.
- 2) In steady demand by workers of all kinds.
- 3) Not often consulted and unlikely to be displayed.'<sup>146</sup>

Such classification can cause problems. Some groups of material within the stores can be a combination of the three categories. Some items may be viewed more than others, but splitting the collection according to such categories could be detrimental to the overall value

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<sup>144</sup> Startlin (1993) quoted in Carver 1996: 51.

<sup>145</sup> Carman 2002: 149.

<sup>146</sup> Pearce 1990: 90.

of the group as a collection 'as an entity is greater than a sum of its parts.<sup>147</sup>

Essentially objects that are held in storage 'mostly hidden from the very people for whom they were intended.'<sup>148</sup> Squeezes fall into this category as they are rarely, if ever, displayed.

The general public do not really understand why large reserve collections are needed, especially those that will never be displayed.<sup>149</sup> The Museum Associations commented that 'the size of many museum collections now means that most of the things they contain can never be displayed.'<sup>150</sup> When the Science Museum, London, opened its stores to the public, many visitors were surprised at the quantity of items held in the store, and the author stated that 90% of its collection was in fact held in storage.<sup>151</sup>

Large collections of items which will never be on display, are not cost effective especially when the storage space could be filled with something which can and will be displayed at some point in the future. Essentially 'where there is an object nothing else can go there,'<sup>152</sup> so the space should be used wisely.

'A large part of the collections ... is in storage rather than on public display. Informed decisions about ... whether the level of items in storage is excessive ... cannot be made without information as to both the quantity and financial value of those items. Without information about the financial value of items in storage, there can be no informed assessment of the opportunity cost of holding these items.'<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Pearce 1992: 49.

<sup>148</sup> Gammon and Mazda, 2004: 1 quoted in Caesar 2007: 11.

<sup>149</sup> Pearce 1990: 75.

<sup>150</sup> Caesar 2007: 5.

<sup>151</sup> Museum Associations 2004 quoted in Caesar 2007: 4.

<sup>152</sup> Pearce 1992: 16.

<sup>153</sup> Miacallef & Pierson 1997: 34 quoted in Carman 2002: 152.



As a result, more and more museums are opening up their stores for special guided tours to ensure they do not remain unexplored.<sup>154</sup> The Museum Association's Code of Ethics states:

'Museums balance the interests of different generations by safeguarding collections ... there is a strong presumption in favour of the retention of items within the public domain.'<sup>155</sup>

Retaining the items in museums is therefore seen as the preferred action, as it ensures the objects are kept within the public collections, rather than being sold into private collections and potentially lost for good.

However, whilst keeping items in museums is laudable, if, like the thousands of squeezes in store, the items are inadequately catalogued, badly stored and never accessed, it does little good other than safe storage.

The very idea of a reserve collection is a by-product of the 'modern museum'. In the early eighteenth century museums were little more than private collections, displayed according to material and technology. In 1792, a large scale museum combining such collections was planned. It was originally called the Museum Français and opened in 1796. It changed its name twice before 1803 to Musée Central des Arts and then Musée Napoléon.<sup>156</sup> It is better known today as the Louvre, in Paris. This museum was a response to the Revolution, with the objective of allowing citizens to share what was previously in the 'private hands of the king.'<sup>157</sup> The Revolution also saw the introduction of the first centralized national archive, where all

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<sup>154</sup> Caesar 2007: 3.

<sup>155</sup> Code of ethics quoted in MA 2014: 4.

<sup>156</sup> Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 172.

<sup>157</sup> Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 174.

government records were stored and registered.<sup>158</sup>

Due to the collection practices of the director of the Louvre, Vivant Denon, there were more artefacts than it was possible to display and the first reserve collection was created, with the intention of organising temporary exhibitions<sup>159</sup> where items on display were changed.

The trend of large reserve collections has been maintained since this time and some curators believe 'that the sole reason why stored collections were on display was a lack of exhibition space.'<sup>160</sup> In essence, the items in store exceed the number of items displayed and yet the majority of museums do not change their displays with any regularity and the only way to see stored items are specialist displays and store tours.

There are financial implications to storing so many artefacts in museums and archives, if not only on insurance valuations but also conservation costs, storage facilities, salaries and general overheads.

### **Financial Value**

Attempting to assess the monetary value of any single artefact however, is fraught with problems. Technically, once an item is removed from the market and placed in a museum it becomes 'heritage'<sup>161</sup> and therefore invaluable as it cannot be replicated, but this does not stop market values often being applied.

For items of marketable materials (e.g. gold) it is possible to attribute a market value to them, but this does not take into account the other 'values' that the item may hold, such as artistic,

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<sup>158</sup> Roe 2005: 34.

<sup>159</sup> Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 180.

<sup>160</sup> Caesar 2007: 12.

<sup>161</sup> Pearce 1992: 33.

historical, age or information value, 'which are not reducible to balance-sheet terms.'<sup>162</sup> For example, putting a financial value on restoring a missing inscription from a tomb using a nineteenth-century squeeze would be impossible, unless there were some marketable considerations, such as opening the restored monument to the public and the charges made, or through the sale of replicas. If something can be provided with a market value, even if this is less important than another value system, it is likely to be applied as something measurable.

A financial value simply represents 'the exchange between persons rather than being immanent in the object itself.'<sup>163</sup> Economic value is also dependent on fashion, market value of certain materials and legislation concerning the sale of archaeological items, essentially 'related to the (human) social world in which it circulates.'<sup>164</sup> For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, collectors could purchase Medieval and Renaissance artefacts very cheaply as 'they were considered worthless' at the time as the fashion was primarily for Greek and Roman artefacts.<sup>165</sup>

Additionally, when attributing a financial value to an ancient artefact, there is always a danger of the museum viewing the item as a financial asset rather than a piece of heritage which they are safeguarding for the public. The Museum Association maintains it is important that museums refrain from doing anything which,

'risks damaging public confidence in museums and the principle that collections should not primarily be seen as financially negotiable assets.'<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Hewison 1991: 167.

<sup>163</sup> Carman 1990: 195.

<sup>164</sup> Carman 1990: 195.

<sup>165</sup> Basin 1967: 220.

<sup>166</sup> Museums Association 2014: Appendix 4: 3.

In 2014, Northampton Museum fell into this trap when they sold at auction an ancient Egyptian statue. This limestone statue was dated to the fifth dynasty (c.2400 BCE), and depicted the official Sekhemka. Since acquisition by the museum in 1849-50, it was displayed intermittently, and according to the expert's statement, the statue was of 'durable' status using Thompson's theory and fell into the 'Authentic Masterpiece' zone of Clifford's model:

'The statue is arguably the finest piece of non-royal sculpture from Old Kingdom Egypt (age of the pyramids), anywhere in the world. There is not a single object of this type and quality housed in a UK collection (public or private)...

'The statue is of great significance in understanding the development of private statuary and funerary religion in Egypt ... It is thus of supreme importance for the subjects of Egyptology and the history of art.'<sup>167</sup>

Regardless of the expert opinion concerning the value of the statue to the history of art and Egyptology, it had rarely been on display and it was 'sold at auction by Christie's of London for £15,762,500 (£14 million plus the buyer's premium).'<sup>168</sup>

This sale was internationally condemned. The act of deaccessioning the artefact in itself was not the main concern. The concern was doing this for purely financial gain:

'Deaccessioning for financial reasons is a short-sighted fix that will not bring long term gain. Selling items from collections ... reduces public trust and risks lessening donors' desire to give items to museums for their long-term safe-keeping.'<sup>169</sup>

There were numerous concerns with the financial sale of this item, as the Museum Council

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid. 2.

<sup>168</sup> Statement from Northampton Council <http://www.northampton.gov.uk/news/article/1899/statement-the-sale-of-the-statue-of-sekhemka> (accessed August 8 2017).

<sup>169</sup> <http://www.artfund.org/news/2014/07/11/statement-about-the-egyptian-statue-of-sekhemka> (accessed 23 July 2017).

states unequivocally that artefacts considered suitable for disposal should first be offered to other museums in order to keep the object in the public domain. As this statue originated in Egypt Northampton should have questioned whether ‘the source nation may wish to make a claim for repatriation.’<sup>170</sup>

The key issue with the sale of the Sekhemka statue is that the museum allowed one value system, that of the financial, to predominate. When this happens, all other value systems are side-lined or completely eliminated altogether.<sup>171</sup> Unfortunately, this is not uncommon but in this case the result was disastrous for the museum, the statue and the people of Britain.

Although at present squeezes are at the lower end of the financial value scale, and therefore are unlikely to be sold in the same manner of the statue of Sekhemka, the apparent ease of deaccessioning and disposal of museum artefacts is a concern. If something so valuable can legally be sold – albeit with a public backlash – then it may be easier to dispose of something with little apparent financial value, such as squeezes.

Such a designation of an artefact as disposable is not an easy one to make and collections are regularly assessed by curatorial teams. It is specified by the Museums Association that such decisions,

‘are the responsibility of the governing body of the museum acting on the advice of professional curatorial staff, if any, and not of the curator of the collection acting alone.’<sup>172</sup>

Even with a number of criteria in place curbing museums from selling artefacts for financial

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<sup>170</sup> Museums Association 2014: Appendix 4, 8.

<sup>171</sup> Mason 2002: 8.

<sup>172</sup> Museums Association 2014: 6.

gain, the Museum Association Guidelines do enable museum artefacts to be sold purely for financial gain. In this time of political financial austerity, this could be considered concerning. Even though squeezes do not hold any financial value at the present time, in the future with further research their value could increase and they could, along with thousands of other artefacts, be eligible for sale.

### **Artefact Disposal**

When ascertaining the financial value of an artefact, many items, like squeezes, may find themselves at the lower end of the financial value scale. There are strict guidelines for deciding the potential value, in more than a financial sense of the word, of items in the reserve collections.

Some items may be viewed more than others, but splitting the collection according to the amount of research interest could be detrimental to the overall value of the group.<sup>173</sup> Therefore decisions have to be made by the curators and the governing body concerning this.<sup>174</sup> Additionally, items which fall into category one are constantly changing depending on museum trends as well as the condition of the objects. Very few items from the reserve collections end up on display, especially as criteria for display change over time.

The curator, along with designers, educators, conservators and marketers, decides what displays will be created in the museum and then what artefacts are needed to relay the required information. The most appropriate items for this agenda along with the most attractive are chosen once the conservationist has studied the condition of each object.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Pearce 1992: 49.

<sup>174</sup> Pearce 1990: 91.

<sup>175</sup> Pearce 1990: 107.

The public generally 'values' beautiful objects, especially those made of bright eye-catching material (gold, pearl shells, feathers)<sup>176</sup> and these are more likely to be displayed than uncoloured paper squeezes.

Like value, appropriateness is a constantly evolving concern and therefore objects may be removed from display due to changing ethics, new information regarding the object or even changing fashion. For example, over the last decade there have been a number of discussions regarding the ethical implications of the display of human remains. At the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, their most popular artefacts are the tsantsas or 'shrunk heads' from South America. However, ethical arguments have necessitated the re-evaluation of the display and therefore when it is updated the 'fake' tsantsas will be removed. These were produced using the unclaimed bodies of the poor which therefore have no ritual connections with their production.<sup>177</sup> Therefore, although new information has not been discovered about the tsantsas, ethical considerations have been taken into account and whilst they were made in the same manner, as they were made for a potential tourist market, their categorisation changed, which Cohen describes as 'One of the paradoxes of the progressive professionalization of curators.'<sup>178</sup>

At present, the shrunk heads (both authentic and fake) hold cultural and ritualistic value, but once these 'fake' heads are placed into storage and are no longer displayed it does not necessarily mean they no longer hold value. Their value however will be reduced or tainted to reflect ethical issues and they may never again be considered suitable for display.

Another example where ethical and sensitivity issues needed to be addressed is the *Crime*

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<sup>176</sup> Pearce 1992: 33.

<sup>177</sup> Peers 2011: 16.

<sup>178</sup> Cohen 1988: 374-5.

*Museum Uncovered* exhibition at the Museum of London. No murder post-1975 was included, in deference to the families, and no human remains were displayed, to comply with the Human Tissue Act.<sup>179</sup>

Whilst at present squeezes do not have any ethical concerns which are comparable to the debates above the point which needs to be addressed is the changing attitudes to specific artefacts based on modern ethical considerations, research and information gathered. This is very important when regarding squeezes and their invisibility in the discipline of Egyptology. Whatever negative associations squeezes hold at present could change with research and through publicity and presentation to the public could alter their reception and acceptance in the history of Egyptology.

Once an item is considered unfashionable or unethical, it does not automatically become valueless or even that it will remain unfashionable or unethical permanently. The Museums Association warns against disposing of items classified in this way.<sup>180</sup> Once an artefact has been classified as valueless or rubbish, there are three potential outcomes – consumption (disposal), transference to durable and once more raising in value or remaining as valueless.<sup>181</sup> Making the decision of disposal therefore needs to take into consideration the potential future of the value of an artefact.

Further ideas of appropriateness are taken in account when preparing museum displays. Some collections are deemed to be more appropriate for national museums and others more appropriate for local museums. Items considered important or valuable are often sent to the national collections and concern national heritage or a wider interest. Items attributed to be

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<sup>179</sup> Keily & Hoffbrand 2015: 4-5.

<sup>180</sup> MA 2014: 10.

<sup>181</sup> Thompson 1979: 126.



of less historical, aesthetic or age value, have often been kept in local collections.<sup>182</sup> Sometimes this has meant splitting an artefact group, depending on what the curators of different collections considered worthy or appropriate for their collection. Such decisions are now guided by the Museums Association Code of Ethics which states,

‘transfer within the public domain, or another form of disposal, can improve access to, or the use, care or context of, items or collections.’<sup>183</sup>

However, not all items accepted into collections have been valued by all. Burgon in his *Some Remarks on Art with Reference to the Studies of the University* (1846), regarding the casts in the Oxford collections, states,

‘Let me at once declare that I deprecate in the strongest terms the admission of those casts into our public gallery. It is absurd that because these casts have been given us, that therefore they must be accommodated ...’<sup>184</sup>

This is obviously an issue faced by curators accepting items that are donated to the museum. Curators may wish to keep certain items from a donated collection but not others. Modern museums no doubt feel obliged to accept some items they do not want. Items are therefore ‘deemed by curators as being of “museum quality”’<sup>185</sup> or not. However, it is essential that curators, whilst considering the financial implications of the present, also prepare for the future. Collections need to be maintained and kept up-to-date and to a certain extent futureproof. For example, the Crime Museum at Scotland Yard has to plan the museum of tomorrow by collecting artefacts connected with newer crimes (e.g. cyber-crimes, Female

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<sup>182</sup> Pearce 1990: 83.

<sup>183</sup> MA 2014: 4.

<sup>184</sup> Kurtz 2000: 194.

<sup>185</sup> Pearce 1997: 48.

Genital Mutation and honour crimes) to reflect the history of the future.<sup>186</sup> Therefore something considered unimportant today could be an important artefact in the future, which is where squeezes have a place in this discussion. Their value may not be obvious to all, but in the future, further research may be carried out and their true potential will be realised.

A museum collection is at times guided purely by the interest of the curator<sup>187</sup> and in some cases the curator's decision has been detrimental to a collection. In the late nineteenth century, following Petrie's first season at Naukratis, he sent a number of iron instruments to the British Museum for display. However, they were not accompanied with full records of what the collection contained, so when he went to the museum some time later he learned 'the curator, C.T. Newton, had considered the iron items ugly and thrown them away. They were never recovered.'<sup>188</sup>

The Museums Association suggests that, should an item not be considered worthy or appropriate for display, the museum staff should consider additional means of using the items, such as object handling, educational purposes or set dressing.<sup>189</sup> For example, the nineteenth century museums held a number of hunting trophies, which in the modern United Kingdom are no longer displayed as a trophy or souvenir of a hunting trip and instead are used in natural history displays.<sup>190</sup>

Even when something is chosen for display, the associated information will obviously affect the reaction from the visitor. Therefore the education officers need to ascertain what information is to be presented with each object displayed. How items are presented greatly

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<sup>186</sup> Keily & Hoffbrand 2015: 191.

<sup>187</sup> Keily & Hoffbrand 2015: 92.

<sup>188</sup> Gange 2015: 90.

<sup>189</sup> MA 2014: 10.

<sup>190</sup> Pearce 1992: 69.

affects their perceived importance and Thompson provides an example where two identical oriental vases were advertised in *The Times*, one with 'second-hand' written above it and the other with 'antique'. The former suggested the item was inferior to the latter, something that is unwanted, essentially rubbish, whereas the latter indicated something of value.<sup>191</sup> This indicates that the information provided can immediately attribute value in the mind of an individual and this means curators have a great deal of responsibility when making such decisions. In the case of squeezes, which are rarely displayed, such invisibility immediately sends out the message that they are valueless items. However, this is easily rectified increasing their value. At present they are not displayed and therefore have no associated information meaning they have *tabula rasa* in regard to presenting this set of artefacts to the world. Curators can choose how squeezes are to be considered and received by the public, if they have the foresight to see the potential value in them.

Of course when value, quality and importance are judged by the curator, collections are guided by their interests and knowledge alongside their collection development policy. Although many curators have extensive knowledge of their collections, which in some instances is taken for granted,<sup>192</sup> time prohibits them from keeping up-to-date with research, publications, conferences and general reading. Therefore, some items offered for donation may be overlooked due to the curator making the decision not to accept it based on a lack of understanding of the potential informational value the artefact holds.

Unfortunately, squeezes could and probably have slipped through the net in this way, as without researching the squeezes as individual items, it is difficult to ascertain the value of

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<sup>191</sup> Thompson 1979: 6.

<sup>192</sup> Pearce 1990: 123.

each one. Their importance as artefacts in their own right may be overlooked and considered inappropriate for museum collections and display and therefore languish in their thousands in reserve collections.

As time progresses, even old packaging, labels and boxes housing donated squeezes become artefacts in their own right, accumulating value. Many collectors know, trying to sell a vintage toy is difficult without its original box. The tin squeezes made by Victor Loret held in the Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano were brought back from Egypt in cigarette boxes and remain stored in them in the archive.<sup>193</sup> These boxes are as interesting as the squeezes themselves due to their age. However, when Loret chose to use them as storage for his squeezes they were rubbish – detritus left over from his smoking habit.

Packaging and accompanying notes can also provide provenance for artefacts and add to their perceived value. The Fairman squeezes in the Egypt Exploration Society (see chapter 8) were placed in a folder when he made them with a handwritten sign with ‘Amarah etc.’ providing an idea of where the squeezes were originally taken. This is valuable information today, although at the time the quickly written note was likely more for his benefit than for Egyptologists of the future.

The true importance of reserve collections, which should be emphasised by the curators is the *future* research potential of the material,<sup>194</sup> not necessarily their value at present. It is important to remember,

‘that a value assigned independently of research [is] an illusion; that the research which should be done [is] as important as the research which had been done and the

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<sup>193</sup> Piacentini 2002.

<sup>194</sup> Pearce 1990: 75.

research which could be done at that particular place and at that time.’<sup>195</sup>

This is particularly important as many squeezes are neglected because their true potential has not been realised. Pearce (1990) adds that research develops ‘the potential of the collections.’<sup>196</sup> Further research could attract future funding, generate events and exhibitions, whilst adding to the respect of the museum if they are viewed to be on the cutting edge of research.

Keeping reserve collections relevant is a concern of the Museums Association, which requires a series of questions to be considered for underused items, one of which is whether, with specialist research, the items could be brought into use. The curators then need to ascertain whether they have the assets to pay for the research to be carried out. If not, this could mean transferring the items to another museum where such resources are available.<sup>197</sup> With changes and quick technological advancements, material collected in the nineteenth century has the potential to be examined in a way considered unthinkable at the time (e.g. CT scans), and therefore items should be held for future generations and future technologies which are likely to continue advancing in years to come.

## **Conclusions**

In light of this discussion, it can be concluded that attempting to ascertain the value of an object as unusual as a squeeze is not a straightforward task. Squeezes, as discussed, are nineteenth-century impressions of ancient art and therefore cannot be considered under Clifford as ‘authentic art’ in their own right. For the most part they are hidden in archives and

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<sup>195</sup> Carver 1996: 53.

<sup>196</sup> Pearce 1990: 125.

<sup>197</sup> MA 2014: 10.

therefore qualify for the classification of 'rubbish' according to Thompson's model. However, the potential value of squeezes and the information they can provide has not truly been discovered yet to any great extent and therefore Carver's idea of 'future value' needs to be considered:

'We do not know and cannot know what we want from this resource in the future, any more than we know why we shall want to be able to see a whale in the year 3000. But we do know we want to keep it.'<sup>198</sup>

This idea of 'future value' also appears in Mourato and Mazzanti's model<sup>199</sup> but is referred to as 'option value' and they specify that this marks a site or object as having potential value in the future. However, 'more research is needed on the best way to treat and account for future values.'<sup>200</sup>

As discussed above, the value of squeezes is being determined by preconceived ideas regarding damage caused during production as well as being an out-dated recording technique. Thompson poses the question:

'Does the category membership of an object determine the way we act towards it, or does the way we act towards an object determine the category membership?'<sup>201</sup>

In regard to squeezes this is very much the case. If items are hidden away, and their position in the history of Egyptology is glossed over then they will be considered as unimportant or 'rubbish', and conversely if squeezes are considered unimportant and irrelevant they will not

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<sup>198</sup> Carver 1996: 48.

<sup>199</sup> 2002: 51.

<sup>200</sup> Mourato & Mazzanti 2002: 58.

<sup>201</sup> Thompson 1979: 7.

be displayed or discussed as part of the historical narrative. The way Egyptologists approach squeezes as a genre of material very much determines their status as 'rubbish'. However, despite such negative attitudes towards them and limited active interest or research into them, cultural and legal restraints prevent Egyptologists and curators from discarding them altogether. Instead, it is culturally acceptable, and indeed expected, that once such items as squeezes have been placed into a museum they are 'safe' and can be actively ignored with a clear conscience.

When considering the backlash regarding the sale of the statue of Sekhemka by Northampton Museum, this idea of safety needs to be reconsidered. The item was not on display, and many of the people campaigning to save the statue had probably never heard of nor seen it prior to the sale. However, its mere existence within a museum meant it was to be protected, and discarding it in such a way suddenly made it of interest. The 'financial', 'aesthetic' and 'option' values were immediately highlighted once the object was sold. If an object is in a museum, therefore, it must be important, but not necessarily important enough to be on display.

Darville also discusses 'future value' and 'option value' but labels it as 'existence value' and it should be applied here. People may not know why it is important, but once it is threatened it is worth fighting for. This in itself is an important concept, and one that can be witnessed in any museum in the world.

In the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, there is a display of ethnographical objects associated with festivals. In the midst of this display is a hot cross bun, a traditional British Easter bread product. Visitors look at this hot cross bun and discuss the significance in a way never seen in the aisles of supermarkets.

Therefore, if squeezes are important enough to be kept in the stores of museums and archives, albeit as 'invisible' items, and important enough not to be destroyed, then surely it makes sense for them to be studied in order to enable their informational value to be demonstrated. Ideally everything in museum storerooms and archives should be studied but this of course is not practical due to financial and human resources. However, by protecting them in the stores they will be available in the future when resources do become available and they are considered important and valuable enough to study.

Darvill considered the information value to be particularly important in his model of Value of Archaeological Resources and separated the categories into archaeological and scientific research, although the difference between the two is not that clear.<sup>202</sup> Thompson would consider this scenario as rubbish in the right place.<sup>203</sup> The item that has been removed from circulation can lie dormant in museums until its value can once more be deemed durable. Placing an item in a museum and taking it out of circulation does not immediately classify the object as rubbish. Many items in museums remain durable. Should these items remain in store, unstudied and neglected, they maintain their status as rubbish.<sup>204</sup> This means they can be ignored as long as they remain in stores, but should they materialise in a skip outside the museum or an auction house sale room, then the rubbish is in the wrong place and would need to be re-evaluated.<sup>205</sup>

Perhaps in order to help re-value squeezes, Egyptologists could re-evaluate their pre-conceived ideas with regard to them and approach their study in a different way. One of the ways of changing such negative views would be to re-evaluate the relevance of the damage

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<sup>202</sup> Quoted in Carver 1986: 46.

<sup>203</sup> Thompson 1979: 92.

<sup>204</sup> Thompson 1979: 130.

<sup>205</sup> Thompson 1979: 92.



caused by squeeze-making in regard to the modern role and potential value of squeezes. Rather than discarding squeezes as ‘rubbish’ discard the attitude to the ‘rubbish’ category.<sup>206</sup> That is not to say the damage caused is unimportant, but it is not the *most* important aspect of squeezes in the modern world, some 150 years after their production. Thompson comments that it is important to realise that regarding attitudes and opinions ‘we can never take everything into account’<sup>207</sup> and it is time that squeezes were acknowledged for their attributes other than potential damage.

The value of a squeeze lies not in the financial value, but in the information-value. However, this can only be discovered if each and every squeeze is studied in order to gather information. The information which can be provided by squeezes covers more than the epigraphic value, although this of course is the most obvious. Any squeeze in any archive could depict a now lost inscription (see G012, plate 20) or a damaged inscription (see L013), enabling scholars to reconstruct these images from the one-to-one scale impressions provided by the squeeze.

Squeezes are also a source of information about the social history of the traveller to Egypt in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The idea of objects possessing a social history themselves is not new and developed from the discipline of economic anthropology.<sup>208</sup> It may be possible to draw conclusions about sites visited, site accessibility, preferred images to squeeze and the material available (this is discussed further in chapter 8). It is clear that such information is also valuable and would be lost should squeezes continue to be neglected.

At some point in the future, it is possible that squeezes will be considered as ‘authentic

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<sup>206</sup> Thompson 1979: 91.

<sup>207</sup> Thompson 1979: 215.

<sup>208</sup> Carman 1990: 195.

artefacts' in their own right, showing an element of technical skill, if not an artistic eye. Casts of classical Greek and Roman statues were once considered as important as the original and a squeeze may one day be viewed in the same way, a product produced 150 years ago, albeit sometimes for the tourist trade or as tourist souvenirs, yet valuable as an artefact in its own right. At the moment, however, the vast majority of squeezes are 'rubbish' waiting for the research which will once more render them 'durable'.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Discussion on Seven UK Collections**

#### **Introduction**

The thousands of squeezes of Egyptian monuments in museums and archives around the world could hold important ‘information value’. This could be epigraphic, recording now damaged or lost inscriptions, social studies, providing information on practices of nineteenth-century travellers and archaeologists as well as technical paper manufacturing techniques and materials used in ancient Egyptian pigments. There are likely to be further categories of information that will only become apparent as technologies develop in the future and research is carried out.

In a study of this scope, it is not possible to catalogue all squeezes in existence; the task of gathering a comprehensive list of these would take many years. Therefore, a sample has been showcased of seven institutions in the United Kingdom which provide a cross-section of the types of squeezes and the sorts of information that can be gleaned from them.

The catalogue contains 339 squeezes from the collections of;

- Petrie Museum, London
- Leeds Museum and Gallery
- Bristol City Museum
- The Collection, Lincoln
- Egypt Exploration Society, London
- Marischal Museum, Aberdeen
- University of Aberdeen, Special Collections

The initial premise behind choosing museums to feature in the catalogue was that they were not the most obvious starting places for scholars to research Egyptian squeezes. The most obvious places were identified as the British Museum, which holds in excess of 5,000 squeezes<sup>1</sup> and the Griffith Institute, Oxford, which houses an Egyptological archive of printed material, including various squeeze collections, also amounting to thousands of squeezes. It was also essential that these collections were unpublished, at least not in any substantial manner, and this is the case with all the collections catalogued here.

The level of catalogue records was not taken into account when selecting the collections for inclusion as this was difficult to determine prior to research into the individual collection in question. There are varying levels of cataloguing in place, with the Petrie and the Marischal Museum collections lacking any accession numbers or basic catalogue referencing for their squeeze collections. This, in general, is considered a basic requirement of all archives and museums, as accessioning material can 'establish initial control over a group of records. The control needs to be accomplished for administrative, physical care, and access purposes.'<sup>2</sup>

The lack of this basic function in two of the collections highlights the resource concerns that are prevalent in many institutions, which could ultimately be detrimental to the collection as such understudied and unrecorded material can easily go missing.

Upon initial enquiries into the collection at Edinburgh, for example, despite the acquisition records stating there were squeezes in the collection, they were not adequately catalogued and subsequently they had been lost. One of the squeezes from the Egypt Exploration Society was also lost. This is described in the catalogue as:

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<sup>1</sup> Moss 1976: 108-9.

<sup>2</sup> Roe 2005: 45.

‘Squeeze Tell el Amarna 1 squeeze of an inscription from a stela, with card that reads: ‘Stela El Amarna’. 9 pages in total, separated by 1 sheet of newspaper (which, judging by its appearance dates to very early 20th century, likely the 1910s). Maps & Plans Area 7 (Office).’

It was vaguely catalogued with no reference to who made it and the precise nature of the squeeze other than it was a ‘stela’.

Many of the squeezes presented in this analysis are inadequately catalogued under umbrella terms such as ‘Bundle of images, some outlined in ink, of Egyptian inscriptions, stele etc.’<sup>3</sup> These descriptions provide little useful information, with the latter not identifying the number of documents in the collection, meaning it is impossible to identify if any have gone missing over the years since they were produced.

As only Bristol, Leeds and Lincoln have individual accession numbers for each squeeze, a simple numbering system was introduced to make referencing more straightforward. Each squeeze has been given a number with a prefix letter corresponding with the collection (e.g. P (Petrie), L (Leeds), G<sup>4</sup> (The Collection), M (Marischal), A (Aberdeen Special Collection) E (Egypt Exploration Society) B, (Bristol)). Then a consecutive number was added. This system ensures each squeeze is numbered and accounts for discrepancies or absences within the museum systems.

Of the institutions studied for the catalogue, Leeds Museum and Gallery is the only one which has displayed any of their squeezes.<sup>5</sup> Display is an important tool for enabling the public to

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<sup>3</sup> University of Aberdeen, Special Collections.

<sup>4</sup> This was originally the Grantham Collection.

<sup>5</sup> Squeezes L009, L015, L016, L020.

understand the past and connect it to the present and should be something all the collections should consider. Describing squeezes on a website (Bristol City Museum, Griffith Institute) is not enough for the public to understand these artefacts fully. For example, to get the records



Figure 7: Squeezes on display in the Leeds Museum.  
Courtesy of David Strike.

of the squeezes on the Bristol Museum website it is essential to search for the word 'squeeze' or 'Khaemhat' and a search for 'Egyptian tomb' and 'tomb art' did not bring up the items. This means without prior knowledge of the items and the inscriptions concerned, they are unlikely to be found.

This also has the knock-on effect that no new people will be introduced to squeezes through random searching. To truly understand their potential and importance, it is essential for the public to be able to see artefacts and to touch them<sup>6</sup> (where possible) and this invisibility, even online, is detrimental to the value of the artefacts.

This is by no means intended to criticize any of these museums for their treatment of and lack of research into their squeezes as this problem is widespread and not limited to paper squeezes. Malek comments that,

'the maturity of a scholarly subject can be judged by how it treats and looks after its

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<sup>6</sup> Pearce 1992: 23.

sources of information. For Egyptology, these may still be in situ in Egypt or be removed to museums, collections, laboratories, and storerooms, but they also include archive records, such as early copies of inscriptions and representations on tomb and temple walls, photographs, tracings, squeezes, and descriptions of sites and monuments. In this respect, I venture to suggest, Egyptology had not yet fully matured.<sup>7</sup>

There is a lot of material other than squeezes in archives and museum stores, many of which are under-studied. Squeezes would be a good start to excavating these resources as they are deteriorating and will not survive forever.

### **Collecting the Squeezes**

The seven featured collections in this catalogue were each acquired in a different way, providing insight into how museums increase collections and process materials held in their archives' inventories. The methods of collection also influence to a certain extent how these collections can be recorded and discussed.

It is extremely time intensive and, to many, impractical to record each squeeze in a comprehensive matter, extracting the full extent of information available. A squeeze is more than the image it represents, but also a reflection of the time it was made, the material it was made from, who made it, where it was made and how it relates to other squeezes with a similar personal history.

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<sup>7</sup> Malek 2015: xiii.

## **Analysing the Collections**

Initially, when gathering the data on the squeezes from the seven UK institutions, the plan was to analyse and discuss the collections as single entities, as this was something which does not appear to have been done in other scholarly literature on the subject. The majority of papers investigate individual monuments and how the squeezes aid in the reconstruction of specific scenes. However, due to the diverse nature of the squeezes, their collectors or producers and the information available about the squeeze, this 'entire collection' approach was not going to present the true value of studying squeezes. Instead, each collection had to be analysed on a case by case basis, as each produced different potential value.

The most obvious value of paper squeezes of ancient monuments is the epigraphical value – the inscription portrayed. This is one of the most important aspects and presents the most potential impact for future work. In some squeezes, the images portrayed are of monuments and inscriptions which are damaged (plates 6–24) or missing (plates 1–5). Therefore squeezes can be used to reconstruct them to their nineteenth-century form. This is something that could either be done digitally or through 3D printing and has great potential in the future of reconstruction. Further conservation work on original monuments could also be carried out through the study of the paint traces on the verso of some of the squeezes. Considering pigment transference is one of the reasons that squeezes have such a poor reputation as a recording method, it is time to turn that negative into a positive academic feature; one which will further existing knowledge about paint and the original appearance of many of the monuments.

Other squeezes, such as the Sheikh Said squeezes from the Egypt Exploration Society, can be used to identify alternative methods of producing paper squeezes, as well as the process, with



publication as the end goal.

Squeezing for pleasure, by tourists rather than professionals, can be identified in A001 and A002 (plates 41 & 42) from University of Aberdeen, Special Collections where the aesthetics of the squeeze were more important than representing the original monument. Other tourist squeezes show a pragmatic approach to paper, with recycled blotting paper, complete with blottings from a letter, used to produce three of the squeezes at the Marischal Museum.

The Collection, Lincoln shows a different element of tourist squeezes, with the Nile cruise of 1851–2 of Alice Lieder being documented by her squeezes, showing a hands-on itinerary of her trip. A practical tourist enterprise of selling squeezes from popular tombs is identified with the collections of Bristol, Leeds and the Petrie museum. This can also be connected to squeezes in collections not discussed in this thesis (Griffith Institute and Smithsonian) indicating squeezes produced for tourists were not uncommon, even if they are unrecorded.

In this thesis, the squeezes of these seven collections are recorded under the headings of epigraphic value, social studies, economical history, methods and techniques, conservation and as research tools, but these categories are in no way intended to restrict or limit how they can be studied. In future research, other categories may be applied or the same categories applied to different collections. This analysis is not exhaustive, but presents the diversity of information available when studying these artefacts.

#### **Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London (*P001–P016*)**

This collection of sixteen squeezes was discovered in the museum by accident whilst the staff and researcher were looking for the collection of racial-type photographs of squeezes and casts, which are discussed in chapter 5. The squeezes were located in a filing cabinet drawer

in the main office and have had preliminary conservation work carried out. The extent of this is that each squeeze is separated from the next by a sheet of acid-free tissue before being placed horizontally in metal drawers. Other than this, there are no records of how the squeezes came to be in the museum. They have not been catalogued and therefore do not have museum accession (UC) numbers. This situation may have been the cause of some distress for Petrie himself who commented in his *Introductory Lecture* in 1893:

‘This library [new Edwards Library] will also be a long-needed home for those paper impressions or ‘squeezes’, of sculptures, which are invaluable for study, but which are too readily thrown aside and lost, owing to their size and care they require. A series of such impressions will be a great help to the student.’<sup>8</sup>

Petrie clearly had a larger collection in mind than the sixteen that the museum currently holds and was able to see the potential value of using squeezes as study aids.

At some point in their history, the squeezes were displayed, although whether this was at the museum or by the original owner is unknown. They are all mounted on a sheet of stiff cardboard, mottled with age, with two holes punched at the top, through which is threaded a small piece of pink ribbon. Whilst this mounting has protected the squeezes from damage, especially along the edges, it is impossible to see the verso and identify whether there are any traces of paint. They appear to be stuck well and removal could be a costly and potentially dangerous activity.

Each mount board has a note written in pencil identifying the location of the original monument. These descriptions are either vague, for example ‘*Tomb in Thebes*’, or labelled

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Janssen 1992: 99.

incorrectly as '*Belzoni's tomb*'. All of these squeezes can be identified as originating in the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) and Paser (TT106) in Sheikh Abd el Qurna in Thebes. Such mislabelling indicates one of three possibilities; one, that the squeezes were labelled some time after they were taken and the location had been forgotten; two, they were labelled by an uninformed museum curator; three, that the person taking the squeezes was not an Egyptologist and was confused by the places visited; or four, the squeezes were purchased.

On the bottom right hand corner of each of the cardboard mounts, written in pencil, is the name '*Rev.<sup>d</sup> C.D. Butterfield.*' Enquiries to the Petrie Museum, ASTENE, Roger De Keersmaecker,<sup>9</sup> and a search for British clergy members going back until the mid-nineteenth century has uncovered no information about this possible squeeze taker. The only similar reference was to a Reverend Christopher Butterfield, who was curate of Armthorpe from 18 March 1728, and then the curate of Bradfield from 8 December 1742. He died in July 1767.<sup>10</sup> However, the notes on the squeeze refer to Belzoni's tomb (Sety I KV17), which was only discovered in 1817, and the squeezes themselves are of the tombs of Khaemhat (discovered 1842) and Paser (discovered between 1835 and 1844).<sup>11</sup> This therefore means that Reverend Christopher Butterfield died before the squeezes had been produced. There were thirteen Reverend Butterfields in the Church of England clergy database, but none with the initial C, G or D indicating perhaps his given name was different to his commonly used name or he was known by a middle name. It is also possible that he was American or based abroad and therefore further research needs to be carried out to try to identify him.

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<sup>9</sup> A graffiti expert on ancient Egyptian monuments.

<sup>10</sup> Clergy of the Church of England Database <http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search/index.jsp> (accessed 12 July 2015).

<sup>11</sup> In Porter & Moss, TT106, Paser is listed in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie*. 1835-45.

### **City Museum, Leeds (L001 – L022)**

The Leeds collection comprises twenty-two squeezes from a number of sites, although the majority are from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) and a further four from the tomb of Paser (TT106), both situated in Sheikh Abd el Qurna. There are also a number of cartouches which have been impossible to identify due to their frequency of depiction on temple and tomb walls.

These twenty-two squeezes are catalogued and have been provided with twenty-four museum accession numbers. L001 is comprised of two separate squeezes,<sup>12</sup> and L004 is comprised of three separate squeezes.<sup>13</sup> It appears that as the image depicted in L004 was large, there was no paper of a suitable size available and therefore smaller pieces of paper were joined together during the squeeze-making process and then became unstuck before arriving at the museum and was then accessioned as separate artefacts.

Minimum conservation work has been carried out on all of the squeezes in the archive and they are mounted on thin card, meaning the verso cannot be checked for colour traces. These mounted squeezes have been slipped into static free plastic.

Leeds City Museum has carried out some research on these squeezes and Stitch published an article in the *Leeds Museums and Galleries Review*,<sup>14</sup> providing general information about the artefacts and squeeze-taker. Initially, the museum contacted John Taylor at the British Museum (November 1998) and the former Editor of the *Topographical Bibliography* and Keeper of the Griffith Institute Archive, Jaromir Malek, (April 2001) in an attempt to identify

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<sup>12</sup> LEED M.D.1998 0044 001 & LEED M.D.1998 0044 002.

<sup>13</sup> LEED M.D.1998 0044 007, LEED M.D.1998 0044 003 & LEED M.D.1998 0044 006.

<sup>14</sup> Stitch 2001: 7-10.

the location of the original images. The vast majority of the Leeds squeezes have copies in the Griffith Institute and Malek states:

‘It almost looks as if some of them could have been made by the same person at the same time, the size and materials look almost identical.’<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, many of the squeezes also appear in other collections catalogued here and therefore may have been sold to tourists. Such a discovery highlights the importance of cross-referencing between collections. Squeezes cannot be studied in isolation. Studied in isolation they are limited to what they depict, but studied across collections hints at an entire nineteenth-century industry in providing squeezes for tourists which is otherwise unrecorded.

Leeds City Museum displays four of these squeezes as part of their museum narrative on mortuary chapel decoration, providing an alternative to carved blocks removed from sites.

Although the precise details are unrecorded, the squeezes were thought to have been donated to the museum by George Morley. In *The Forty-fourth Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* (1863–4) the donation is listed thus:

‘Mummies of the ibis and hawk from Egypt; soft paper impressions, from hieroglyphic inscriptions from Karnak.’<sup>16</sup>

Whether these are the Khaemhat and Paser squeezes is not clear, but it could indicate some of the other unidentifiable squeezes may have come from the temple of Karnak, as well as adding a *terminus ante quem* date for the squeezes which must have been taken prior to 1863

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<sup>15</sup> Malek Letter dated 20 March 2001 to Bryan Sitch from the Leeds Museum.

<sup>16</sup> Anonymous 1863-4: 28.

when the items were donated. John Taylor from the British Museum suggests they were taken in the mid to late 1840s,<sup>17</sup> as the tomb of Khaemhat was only discovered in 1842 by George Lloyd (1815–1843), a British botanist. He also asserts that two of the squeezes are of scenes which were removed in the late 1840s and transported to the Berlin Museum following Lepsius' expedition to Thebes in 1842–5. However, Jaromir Malek from the Griffith Institute does not agree with the dating, stating 'I suspect that Dr Taylor's dating to the 1840s is a little too early.'<sup>18</sup> He bases this on the collection of more than 200 similar squeezes of the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57), Paser (TT106) and the tomb of Sety I (KV17) at the Griffith Institute. They



Figure 8: The tomb of Khaemhat in 1884, as recorded by Loret. Courtesy of Università degli Studi di Milano.

form part of the Reverend Henry Stobart (1824–1895) collection and are the same size and material as those in Leeds. It is thought they were purchased by Stobart in 1854–5. These squeezes are also very similar in size and material to those from the Petrie Museum and the Bristol City Museum.

Without further information about these squeezes in particular, and who made them it is impossible to say whether an earlier or later date is preferable. Putting a specific date on them becomes even more problematic if they were made for sale to the tourist market as

<sup>17</sup> Letter dated 20 March 2001 to Bryan Sitch from the Leeds Museum.

<sup>18</sup> Letter dated 3 May 2001 to Bryan Sitch from the Leeds Museum.

there is no information at present as to who was manufacturing these items and whether they 'stock-piled' or squeezed to order. The evidence we have is a *terminus ante quem* of 1863 when they were donated and a *terminus post quem* of 1842 when the tomb of Khaemhat was discovered.

Mr Arthur Morley, George Morley's great grandson, also does not believe that George made the squeezes himself, but rather acquired them whilst travelling in Egypt.<sup>19</sup> It has been suggested that the ghaffir in the tomb of Khaemhat (at least) was taught how to make squeezes and sold them on to the tourists. Malek describes this process being carried out by,

'an enterprising individual who was then selling them to visitors to the Theban West Bank. The tombs of Khaemhat, Paser and Sethos I were accessible and especially suitable subjects because of the quality of their relief decoration and their relatively good preservation.'<sup>20</sup>

Little is known about George Morley himself; his entry in the *Modern English Biography* is brief and does not mention an interest in Egypt or provide a clue as to where he may have acquired the squeezes and other artefacts:

'MORLEY, George (son of Rev. George Morley president of Wesleyan conference 1830, d. 10 Sept. 1843). b. about 1802; ed. At Woodhouse Grove school, Yorkshire; apprenticed to a draper; L.S.A. 1831, M.R.C.S. 1832; became an eminent surgeon at 18 Park place (*sic*), Leeds; lectured on chemistry at Leeds school of medicine many years; one of the medical experts at trials of the prisoners Wm. Dove and Wm. Palmer

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<sup>19</sup> Sitch 2001: 8.

<sup>20</sup> Malek 2007: 25.

in 1856. d. Jersey 14 Aug 1867.’<sup>21</sup>

Morley moved to Jersey in 1864 and died of a lung infection<sup>22</sup> which may have been the reason he travelled to Egypt.<sup>23</sup> It was common for sick people to travel there for their health and the warm, dry climate may have eased Morley’s symptoms. It would also support a later date for the squeezes.

### **Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery – B001–B014**

There are fourteen squeezes currently in the Bristol City Museum, which are all from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) in Sheikh Abd el Qurna, Thebes. All are catalogued, although these entries are vague, with little more than a brief description of the squeeze. These catalogue entries are currently on the Bristol City Museum website,<sup>24</sup> which was created using the catalogue cards held with the objects. All fourteen squeezes are attributed to ‘Senor Giovanni Belzoni’ (sic) although no date is given for when the squeezes were taken. It is believed the collection was donated to the museum in 1822 and that therefore they must have been made before this date:

‘In 1822 Mrs Belzoni put on an exhibition of Egyptian antiquities in Bath while her husband was on his way to Timbuctoo (where he died in December 1823). Some of the objects were for sale and were purchased by a member of the Paget family of Cranmore in East Somerset. One of their descendants gave them to Wells Museum during the curatorship of its founder H.E. Balch who tended to be omnivorous in his collecting policy. When Dr F.S. Wallis became curator of Wells Museum he passed

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<sup>21</sup> Boase 1965: 976.

<sup>22</sup> Sitch 2001: 8.

<sup>23</sup> Sitch 2001: 8.

<sup>24</sup> <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/list.php?keyword=paper+squeeze> (accessed 21 November 2016).



these items to my department.’<sup>25</sup>

Grinsell adds in his description of the donations as containing “nothing particularly outstanding but are of interest by reason of their association with Belzoni,”<sup>26</sup> which in itself is intriguing. It emphasises the value attributed to artefacts based upon factors such as association with famous individuals, but the opinion that there is nothing ‘particularly outstanding’ demonstrates the influence wielded by curators and what was essentially their personal opinion. If the squeezes had not been associated with Belzoni, it is possible they could have been discarded due to this opinion?

The squeezes were bought from the Wells Museum in 1966 by the Bristol City Museum and were part of a larger lot of items described thus:

‘Egyptian Antiquities: (1) lower part of small inscribed Obelisk (ex Belzoni), (2) 2 alabaster Ushabtis from Thebes, 1 serpentine Ushabti, 1 bronze Figurine of Ptah, 1 fragment of Tomb of Sety I (ex Belzoni), coloured Picture 20cm x 12 ½ cm of Belzoni Exhibition in Piccadilly, Advert concerning Belzoni exhibition at 10 New Bond St., Bath, Volume of Belzoni Plates, 14 papier mache squeezes of Egyptian reliefs.’<sup>27</sup>

However, it is not physically possible for these squeezes to have been produced by Giovanni Belzoni, as he died nearly twenty years before the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57), the subject of the squeezes, was discovered in 1842.

The scenario itself opens another avenue of research into the history of the museum collection. Whilst the accession records show 14 squeezes were donated to the collection

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<sup>25</sup> Grinsell 1989: 31.

<sup>26</sup> Grinsell 1989: 31.

<sup>27</sup> Amber Druce, Bristol City Museum personal correspondence June 4 2013.

amidst Belzoni associated artefacts, they are clearly not originally part of the Belzoni collection. These squeezes arrived at the Wells Museum by a different route and were grouped with the Belzoni material indicating there were no accurate accession records for these squeezes and assumptions were made.

It was suggested in the 1970s or 1980s by McEvedy, a student of Jaromir Malek, that the squeezes in the Bristol City collection were produced for tourists as discussed above:

‘Lots of squeezes in existence of Kha em het’s tomb, perhaps made by keeper of tomb to sell to tourists. Maybe Belzoni taught him the technique? Certain scenes popular & squeezed several times.’<sup>28</sup>

Whilst impossible to prove who taught the technique, this theory is intriguing, although it does seem unlikely due to the length of time between his death and the discovery of the tomb in question.

There is little doubt that there are squeezes of similar size, material and subject covering four of the seven collections (Petrie, Leeds, Marischal, Bristol) in addition to similar squeezes held at the Griffith Institute, Oxford<sup>29</sup> and the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, Washington DC.<sup>30</sup>

In March 2007, the fourteen squeezes in the Bristol City Museum collection were conserved and remounted and a conservation report is available for each squeeze, except *B009*.<sup>31</sup> Whereas the catalogue cards describe the squeezes as made from rough brown paper, the

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<sup>28</sup> Written on the catalogue card of B001 but applicable to all the squeezes in the collection.

<sup>29</sup> Malek Letter dated 20th March 2001 to Bryan Sitch from the Leeds Museum.

<sup>30</sup> Personal correspondence from Louise Marie Wilkie, Marischal Museum, who required help with a request from the Smithsonian regarding their squeeze collection November 13 2013.

<sup>31</sup> Example report in Appendix 3.

conservation report adds that this brown/grey paper pulp also contains small pieces of wood and other 'foreign material'. It is possible that this paper pulp was cheaper to produce and use than sheets of newsprint (Petrie's preferred paper),<sup>32</sup> for example, and could be strengthened with other materials whilst wet.

All of the Bristol squeezes had been previously mounted and stuck to a back-board with double sided tape, with a 'top window mount which appears acidic.'<sup>33</sup> This board was removed. On some squeezes the adhesive left dark patches on the verso. Any holes and tears were repaired where possible with eltoline tissue toned with watercolour and applied with pure wheat starch paste. Then they were remounted on acid-free museum mount board, with a back board, two aperture boards and a top flap meaning they could safely be stacked without causing further damage.

Unfortunately, this conservation work means it is impossible to see the verso of the squeezes to observe any colour traces or written notes that might be present. Whilst a great deal of work has been carried out to preserve the squeezes, none of them are on display.

However, in the basement of the museum, near the staff toilets, a display contains a cast made from *B009*. The original image was removed from the tomb in 1899 and taken to the Neues Museum in Berlin, leaving the wall in the tomb empty. This is the only example of a cast made from a squeeze associated with this catalogue, even though Petrie photographed a number of his racial-types casts, which were made from his squeezes and then painted (see chapter 5). These were sent to the British Museum but have subsequently disappeared.

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<sup>32</sup> Drower 1985: 289.

<sup>33</sup> Conservation reports on the squeezes – sample report in Appendix 3.

## **Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen M001–M065**

The collection at the Marischal Museum, Aberdeen, comprises sixty-five squeezes stored in large archive boxes and separated from each other by acid-free tissue paper, except for M063, M064, and M065, which are framed behind glass and stored separately.

A note in one box (M001–M007) reads ‘Rubbings from Tombs at Thebes from Lord Aberdeen’. Most of them are from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) in Sheikh Abd el Qurna, but the handwriting has been identified as being that of Robert Wilson.

Robert Wilson was born in 1787 in Banffshire, Scotland, and entered Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1802 to study the Arts. He started working for the East India Company in 1805 and made five round trips to India as ship’s surgeon before retiring in 1814.<sup>34</sup>

In 1809, after his ship, the *Admiral Gardner*, was wrecked in the Thames, Wilson started travelling the world and in 1820–1822 he travelled to Egypt, Nubia, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persia and India on a series of archaeological expeditions.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps this trip sparked an interest in Wilson for Egyptian art, encouraging him to acquire the squeezes later in life from Lord Aberdeen. As many squeezes are of the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57), discovered in 1842, he could not possibly have visited it and squeezed it himself.

He does however, record a visit to Sheikh Abd el Qurna in his journal:

‘The peasantry of the tombs of Gurneh are the best lodged in Egypt. I with some difficulty gained admittance into a few of the ancient Hypogea for the Arabs are

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<sup>34</sup>Special Collections catalogue page

<http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=6&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Robert%20Wilson%27%29> (accessed 23 April 2014).

<sup>35</sup> Unpublished report provided by the Marischal Museum.

particularly tenacious of strangers entering their houses – nothing however, worthy of my curiosity was developed, the walls have been stuccoed in some of them, and hieroglyphic subjects are still perceptible, but much defaced and covered with a black incrustation occasioned by the smoke.’<sup>36</sup>

This presents a very different experience of the tombs than is represented in the squeezes he later acquired.

Wilson donated a number of items (which may have included the squeezes) to Alexander Thomson’s museum at Banchory House, which was later acquired by the Marischal Museum.<sup>37</sup> It is possible the squeezes arrived via this route.

Robert Wilson died on 24 September 1871, and in his last will and testament he bequeathed a number of Greek and Egyptian items to the museum, including,

‘the prints of my excavations in Classic regions ... two portfolios with a diversity of drawings and engravings and upwards of five hundred volumes of miscellaneous works...’<sup>38</sup>

In total, his will lists almost 200 pieces that were to be bequeathed to the Marischal collection.

The framed squeezes (M063–M065 – plate 19) are recorded as being donated by Lord Haddo. Lord Haddo and Lord Aberdeen are the same person and therefore both sets of squeezes are from the same collector. Whether this title refers to George Hamilton-Gordon, the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Aberdeen (28 January 1784 – 14 December 1860) or his son, George Hamilton the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of

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<sup>36</sup> Wilson 1820-21: 137 MS 415 Special Collections, University of Aberdeen.

<sup>37</sup> Louise Marie Sarah Wilkie, Curatorial Assistant (Collections), University Museum, personal correspondence May 13 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Provided by Louise Marie Wilkie, Curatorial Assistant at the Marischal Museum 21 October 2013.

Aberdeen (28 September 1816 – 22 March 1864) is not verified in the records. Lord Haddo was a family title which the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl inherited from his father and he passed the title to his son, the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl, in 1860.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Aberdeen had an interest in classical civilisations and travelled extensively before his marriage in 1805. His son travelled to Egypt in 1854 in order to ease the symptoms of tuberculosis, and again in 1860, when he campaigned for the Copts to convert to his own particular brand of Evangelicalism.

In order to identify which Earl was responsible, the squeezes themselves need to be addressed. M001–M007 and M0063–M0065 are scenes from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) in Sheikh Abd el Qurna, Luxor. This tomb was discovered in 1842<sup>39</sup> meaning George Hamilton-Gordon (4<sup>th</sup> Earl) was in Egypt too early to have squeezed this tomb. Therefore it can be assumed that the squeezes were made or purchased by George John James Hamilton-Gordon, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Aberdeen, in 1854 or 1860, and then possibly acquired by Robert Wilson at a later date.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Aberdeen, was a British peer and a Liberal Party politician. He was educated at Harrow School and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1854 he travelled to Egypt for his health. When he returned a few months later, he took his seat in the House of Commons. He died in Haddo House in 1864.

The second box of squeezes (M008–M0062) includes an envelope claiming they are from the tomb of Sety I (KV17), Valley of the Kings, although the donor is not identified. There were two major donors to the Marischal Museum; Robert Wilson (discussed above) and Dr James

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<sup>39</sup> Weeks 2005: 454.

Grant Bey. Grant Bey was known to have donated sixteen squeezes to the Smithsonian, National Museum of Natural History, Archaeology Collection, on November 25, 1887.<sup>40</sup>

Unfortunately, none of the records in the Marischal Museum mentions squeezes as part of either of these two men's donations to the museum.

This donation comprised nine squeezes from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) and one from the tomb of Sety I (KV17). Three of them are duplicates of those held in the Smithsonian collection.

Smithsonian Squeeze (Accession No.)	Booth Catalogue Reference
A129643 – 10	M006
A129643 – 11	M021
A129643 – 12	M007
Table 1: Smithsonian squeezes and how they correlate with the Booth catalogue.	

James Andrew Sandilands Grant was born in 1840 in Methlick, Aberdeenshire, and graduated with an MA and MD from Aberdeen University. He spent a great deal of his adult life in Egypt, achieving the title Chevalier of the order of Medjidieh from the Sultan of Turkey in recognition of his work during a cholera outbreak there. He later settled in Cairo with a government medical appointment associated with railway administration. The Khedive gave him the title of Bey, which corresponds to the title of Colonel in the British Army.

He was also an active Egyptologist who was present when Waynman Dixon discovered the two shafts in the Queen's Chamber of the Great Pyramid in 1872. He collected a large number

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<sup>40</sup> Louise Marie Wilkie, Curatorial Assistant at the Marischal Museum personal correspondence October 22 2013.

of Egyptian artefacts and his collection came to the Marischal by various routes.

The Catalogue of Antiques in the Archaeological Museum of King's College University of Aberdeen lists their Grant Bey collection as entering the museum in 1873. This collection was further expanded after his death in 1897 by his widow, Florence Sabina Grant, and later additions in 1937–8. Upon the death of Florence, E.F. Morice, Grant's granddaughter donated more items in 1947. However, when the squeezes were donated to the museum is not recorded and there is no catalogue information about these artefacts.

### **Duplication**

Many of the squeezes in the Marischal Museum are duplicated across the other collections in this study (The Collection, the Petrie Museum, and Bristol City) and could be evidence of squeezes sold to tourists. The squeezes all appear to be of similar quality and size, indicating the duplicates were not made due to failed attempts, but rather to have copies to pass to other individuals and institutions or they had been purchased.

The tombs of Khaemhat (TT57), Paser (TT106), and Sety I (KV17) are the most represented by the squeezes across the collections. Of 339 squeezes, forty-eight are from the tomb of Sety I and fifty-six from the tomb of Khaemhat.

The popularity of these tombs for squeeze-making is one potential approach for the future study of these squeezes. By viewing the squeezes across different collections, it is possible to identify trends in favoured or popular images to squeeze which, as already mentioned, could suggest a squeeze producing tourist industry which is supported by similarity in size, material and scope of the squeezes.



## Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)

The tomb of Khaemhat (TT57), Sheikh Abd el Qurna, is dated to the reign of Amenhotep III of the eighteenth dynasty (1386–1349 BCE). It was discovered in 1842<sup>41</sup> providing a *terminus post quem* for any squeezes of this tomb. This tomb has been extensively recorded since its

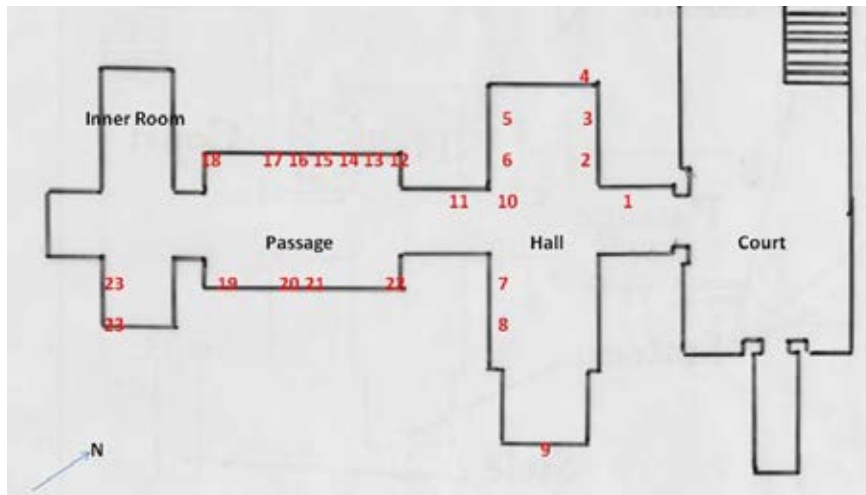


Figure 9: Layout of TT57, the tomb of Khaemhat with squeeze placements.

discovery<sup>42</sup> and numerous people have squeezed the tomb, including T. Devéria (Louvre), D. Dunham (Boston),<sup>43</sup> Reverend Henry Stobart (Griffith Institute), Alice Lieder

(The Collection), Lord Haddo (Marischal Museum) plus other squeeze takers whose names are now lost. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the tomb of Khaemhat was damaged by robbers<sup>44</sup> and many of the squeezes show these scenes prior to this date and therefore before the damage.

From this cross-section of collections, there are a total of fifty-six squeezes from the tomb, spanning four of the seven collections studied (Petrie Museum, Leeds Museum and Gallery, Bristol City Museum, and The Collection, Lincoln). Of these, sixteen scenes were present in

<sup>41</sup> Weeks 2005: 454.

<sup>42</sup> Extensive bibliography in Porter & Moss 1960: 113-19.

<sup>43</sup> Malek & Miles 1989: 227.

<sup>44</sup> Malek & Miles 1989: 227.

two or more of the four collections. There were only twelve scenes which were represented in a single collection.

		Marischal Museum	Petrie Museum	Leeds Museum and Gallery	Bristol City Museum	Illustration Ref No.
Profile view of the tomb owner with small false beard		X	X	L008	B009	1
Goose offered in a bowl		M064	P011	X	X	2a
Profile Picture (facing right) Khaemhat making offerings		M065	X	L-07	B010	2b
Agricultural Scene (putting a lid on the grain basket)		X	P004	X	B014	3
Group of officials praising with scented cones upon their head		X	X	L016	B007	5a
Profile Picture (facing left) – Official with hand to chest		X	P005	L005	B012	5b
Profile Picture (facing right) of Amenhotep III in curled wig		M007	P007	L002	B001	6a
Amenhotep III cartouche		X	P010	X	B002	6b
Throne of Amenhotep III		X	P016	L014	X	6c
Profile Picture of Amenhotep III (facing left)		X	P014	L009	X	7
Leading the calves		M003	P008	L021	X	8
Man facing left in front of an offering table		X	P001 & P002	L010	X	10
Seated deities		M006	P015	L003	X	12
Goddess of the West		M001	P009	X	B013	20
Funerary Offering Procession		M005	P012	X	X	22
Profile of Khaemhat with a small false beard		X	P013	L012	X	23

Table 2: Scenes from Khaemhat (TT57) repeated in more than one collection.

## **Tomb of Sety I (KV17)**

The tomb of Sety I (KV17) was discovered by Giovanni Belzoni (1778–1824) in 1817 and was squeezed excessively throughout the nineteenth century. Belzoni alone took 650 squeezes there – 510 of beeswax and 140 with a mixture of beeswax, resin and vegetable fibres.<sup>45</sup> From the seven collections showcased within this thesis, there are forty-eight from the tomb of Sety I (KV17). Thirteen squeezes are duplicated in the Griffith Collection belonging to Henry Stobart (1824–1895)<sup>46</sup> (M062, M055, M035, M056, M042, M033, M040, G054, M059, M059, M043, G023, M031), which raises the question as to why some images were repeatedly squeezed by different people, years apart.

There are two possibilities; one is that most visitors liked the same scenes, although in a tomb as large as KV17 there are thousands of images to choose from, so such coincidence is unlikely. The second possibility is that there was a squeeze industry as discussed above, where squeezes were either produced and sold to tourists or tourists were clearly guided as to where they could squeeze. Unfortunately, the precise location of the 650 squeezes taken by Belzoni is unknown. The casts were sold at auction in 1822 for £490, but the fate of the squeezes themselves is unrecorded.

Squeezes from the tomb of Sety I (KV17) appear in two collections; the Marischal Museum and The Collection, Lincoln. Of the 339 squeezes, forty-six are from Sety I (13%), but there are only four duplicated scenes across the collections. The other forty-two squeezes are distributed evenly throughout the rooms at the rear of the tomb, with none in corridors A-D

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<sup>45</sup> Jones 2003: 258.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4sethos.html> (accessed 2 June 2016).

and room F.<sup>47</sup>

Whilst only four scenes were duplicated across the collections studied here and thirteen duplicates can be found in the Griffith Institute, this small sample can still be seen as significant, as it indicates there are duplicates across collections, and further studies are likely to uncover more duplications of this tomb.

	Marischal Aberdeen	Museum,	The Collection, Lincoln	Illustration Number	Reference
Profile head of Anubis	M040		G054	7	
Profile view of the head of Osiris holding the crook and flail.	M040		G023	6	
Profile of ram-headed solar god	M051		G027	8	
Coiled cobra	M030		G053	12	

Table 3: Duplicated Scenes from the tomb of Sety I (KV17).

The level of duplication in the tomb of Sety I compared to the tomb of Khaemhat is significant and is probably due to the different sizes of the tombs. The tomb of Sety I is markedly bigger than the tomb of Khaemhat, which only has three chambers, and therefore KV17 has a greater number of images for the squeeze-takers to choose from.

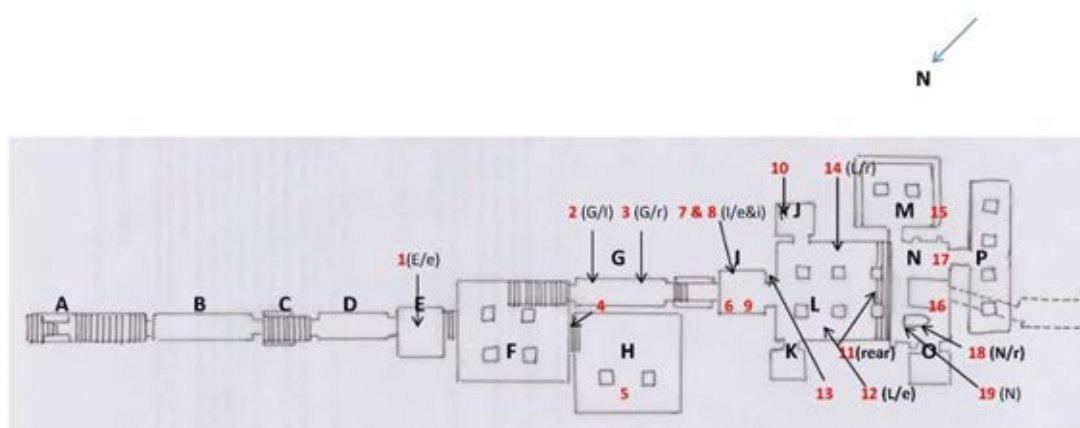


Figure 10: Placement of squeezes in the tomb of Sety I (KV17).

<sup>47</sup> Using Hornung 1991 room labelling.

### **Tomb of Paser (TT106)**

Also situated in Sheikh Abd el Qurna is the tomb of Paser (TT106) dated to the reign of Sety I (1291–1278 BCE) and Ramses II (1279–1212 BCE) in the nineteenth dynasty. It was discovered between 1835 and 1844 and was then open and available for the public to access. A publication of the tomb was planned in the 1980s, but never came to fruition and the tomb has been closed to the public for a number of years.

There are four squeezes in the Leeds Museum and Gallery collection from the tomb of Paser. Three of them are from the north-eastern wall of the first chamber and one is from the south-eastern wall of the same room. Photographs of the tomb are currently housed in the University of Heidelberg. Of the four squeezes, three represent images that have been destroyed since the squeezes were taken, which means their value as an epigraphic tool in potential reconstruction is increased.



Figure 11: Tomb of Paser (TT106). L011 (Left) and L015 (Right) as they would be on the north-eastern wall of the first chamber. Image adapted from one held at the Leeds Museum and Gallery.

It appears that from these tomb scenes which include a number of squeezes produced for the

tourist industry indicates the most popular images squeezed are of people and in particular details of their face in profile. Cartouches are also popular across the other seven collections of popular kings; Thutmosis III, Amenhotep III, Sety I and Ramses II.

With such a small cross-section of squeezes in existence it is impossible to say with any certainty that this trend is maintained throughout all collections. Once further 'tourist squeezes' have been examined and catalogued it would be possible to produce a clearer picture of popular images squeezed.

### **The Collection, Lincoln**

The Collection, currently housed in Lincoln, and previously known as the Grantham Collection,<sup>48</sup> comprises sixty-seven paper squeezes which are stored horizontally in standard archive boxes, each wrapped in acid-free tissue paper. They have been catalogued with individual accession numbers and have all been attributed to Alice Lieder, taken in 1851–1852. This is based on a number of squeezes being dated by Lieder and the handwriting being identified as hers.<sup>49</sup>

These squeezes were originally donated to The Collection by Miss Josephine Parker in February 1930 and they were assumed to be taken by her father, Lt-Col. Charles John Bullivant Parker (b.1821), from Stonebridge House, Grantham, although the handwriting on the squeezes has been identified as being Alice Lieder's.<sup>50</sup> It is possible that Lt-Col. Parker may have met Reverend and Mrs Lieder in Egypt and acquired the squeezes from them directly.

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<sup>48</sup> The collections from the Grantham Museum are still managed by Lincolnshire County Council, although the museum itself is now managed by an independent trust and some items were moved to Lincoln.

<sup>49</sup> Magee & Malek 1991: 195.

<sup>50</sup> Magee & Malek 1991: 195.

Alice Lieder née Holliday was the wife of Reverend Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, a German Protestant Missionary<sup>51</sup> who lived in Egypt from 1826–1865.<sup>52</sup> He was commissioned by the Church Missionary Society to work in Egypt and Abyssinia in 1825. He arrived in Alexandria in May 1826 and married Alice in 1838 or 1839.<sup>53</sup>

The Lieders' main work was with a school founded by missionaries in Cairo. Reverend Lieder and Reverend Kruse ran the boarding school founded in 1828 which trained young men for the Coptic Church<sup>54</sup> and from 1835, Alice was in charge of the day school for girls founded in 1829.

The Lieders had a great interest in Egyptian history and as was common, in addition to their missionary work, they also partook in excavations, namely at Giza. They worked on a monument locally known as the Lieder's Tomb. This was that of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), which stands on the northwest corner of the Great Pyramid on the eastern edge of the western field at Giza. It was initially excavated by Lepsius in 1842–3, and then the Lieders arrived in 1850 and re-excavated this tomb and that of his son Sennedjemib Mehti.<sup>55</sup> Squeezes taken of this tomb can be found in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

Reverend Lieder was an antiquities dealer and 'had a reputation for driving a hard bargain for his own illegal purchases or antiquities, made in the intervals between unsuccessful attempts to convert the Copts to Protestantism.'<sup>56</sup> At the time it was illegal to sell or purchase antiquities as all, by right, belonged to the Egyptian government. However, this law was not

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<sup>51</sup> Malek 1986: 101.

<sup>52</sup> Magee & Malek 1991.

<sup>53</sup> Malek 1986: 102.

<sup>54</sup> Tejrarian & Simon 2012: 79.

<sup>55</sup> Brovarski 2002.

<sup>56</sup> France 1991: 129-30.

enforced and collecting antiquities was a common European pastime; the Lieders amassed a large collection and her drawing room was described as 'quite a museum of Egypt.'<sup>57</sup> The Lieder collection of more than 200 items was bought by Mr W. A. Tyssen Amherst (later Lord Amherst) in 1861.<sup>58</sup>

Very little research has been carried out on the squeezes from The Collection, although G056 and G060 were sent to Marcel Marée at the British Museum in 2007 in an attempt to identify them. The catalogue states 'he was unable to match it up with any of the descriptions supplied by the Ashmolean Museum.' It is unclear what the descriptions from the Ashmolean are related to. However, the latter squeeze (G060) has been identified, as part of this thesis, as being of an inscription on the Bubastite Portal of Sheshonq I at Karnak, on the north face of the west pilaster. The former has not yet been identified.

The dates written on the squeezes in The Collection provide a day-by-day itinerary for a journey taken by Alice Lieder from Nubia to Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt in the winter of 1851–2. Whilst these images do not provide the same detail as would be found within the pages of a written diary, they are invaluable, as they are a physical reminder of the visits made during this two-week period.

As some of the squeezes taken are of inscriptions high up on the walls of the temples, it also demonstrates that these were more accessible in the 1850s than they are now and provide some insight into the accessibility of the sites in the early 1850s.

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<sup>57</sup> Carey 1863: 60–1.

<sup>58</sup> Malek 1986: 103.



Unlike many of the individuals who produced squeezes, Alice Lieder recorded the date on many of the squeezes, as well as some details regarding the location and what or who the scene depicts. Unlike the squeezes discussed of the tomb of Khaemhat or Sety I, where there was a certain element of homogeny about the size and material used, the Lieder squeezes vary in size, according to the appropriateness for the image chosen to be squeezed.

This supports that they were produced by her as an individual and that paper was cut to size rather than the squeezes being mass-produced and bought by her. Such unevenness with regard to size and shape could also be an indication that the squeezes were not intended for public display, but were for private enjoyment or later study.

The order of the sites visited, as identified by the dates, coincide with the general manner of conducting a tour of Egypt at this time which was to sail southwards without stopping, working with the wind and sails. As the Nile flows south to north it was easier to make any stops when travelling with the current. Therefore, once reaching the most southerly point of the intended journey, the boats turned around and started sailing northwards with the current. They then stopped as often as required for excursions to the sites.

These dated squeezes are valuable as a record of the social history of Victorian travellers to Egypt, as they provide not only a dated itinerary of the journey, but also a dated study of the condition of the temples and the accessibility of certain inscriptions. Therefore squeezes in this case are very informative on the modern history of excavation and site management.

#### *25 December 1851 – Dakka (Nubia)*

In the chapel constructed by Arkamani Alice took three squeezes (G046, G045, G062 – plate 21) showing alternate royal profile images.

In the Roman chapel constructed by Emperor Augustus, another profile of a king was squeezed (G061) in addition to a cartouche of pharaoh pr '3 (G038).

Squeeze G039 shows graffiti of John Hyde and James Mangles inscribed when they visited the site between Wednesday 6 and Thursday 7 August in 1819 and April 1819 respectively. The current location of this graffiti is unidentified, meaning the squeeze is potentially the only evidence we have of their presence there.

*27 December 1851 – Beit el Wali (Nubia)*

This temple was relocated in the 1960s when the Aswan High Dam was constructed and is now situated at the site of Kalabsha.

Alice Lieder took one squeeze there (G057, plate 22) of a profile of the king being embraced by Amun. This is situated on the left hand jamb of the central doorway leading to the hypostyle hall from the courtyard.

Since 1851, a hole has been hacked out of the head of the figure. The squeeze therefore shows a more complete image, although it is not very well produced and is rather shallow. A cast would be difficult to produce from this squeeze.

*28 December 1851 – Dabod (Nubia)*

In 1968 the temple of Dabod was dismantled and removed to Madrid, Spain, where it is currently open to the public.<sup>59</sup>

Only one squeeze was taken at this site (G037) of the cartouches of the Merotitic king

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<sup>59</sup> Wilkinson 2000: 216.

Adikhalamani (Tabriqo) which can be found on the southern wall of the chapel founded by this ruler.

The squeeze itself is made from two pieces of paper stuck together to add extra strength.

*1 January 1852 – Kom Ombo*

Alice Lieder took three squeezes at Kom Ombo on the east side of the first courtyard of the temple, from the standing pillars.

G043 was taken from the second pillar from the entrance, and G031 and G035 from the fourth pillar from the entrance.



Figure 12: Kom Ombo, 1850. F. Firth courtesy of Library of Congress.

All are taken from near the top, indicating these pillars were buried and the tops were more accessible than they are today.

*3 January 1852 – Edfu*

Alice took one squeeze at Edfu temple of hieroglyphic signs (G036). Unfortunately, the squeeze was not matched with the original inscription.

*5 January 1852 Paheri, El Kab*

Two squeezes were taken in the tomb of Paheri of graffiti left by famous travellers showing a social history value to the squeeze. Both squeezes were taken from the eastern wall, near the tomb entrance, with G041 (plate 29) sitting below G040 (plate 28).

G041 was taken of the signature of Giovanni Belzoni in 1817 and the other (G040) was of the signatures of James Mangles and Charles Leonard Irby also in 1817.

These squeezes are also valuable for the colour traces on the verso. G040 (plate 28) shows a large amount of yellow paint on the pile of grain and yet the colour remains vibrant on the wall itself. G040 has remnants of reddish-brown pigment from the male figures depicted beneath the signatures.

#### *10 to 16 January 1852 – Thebes*

During this period (10 – 16 January) Alice visited Karnak on five occasions (10, 12, 14, 15, 16 January).

Karnak temple in the nineteenth century looked very different to its current appearance. The pillars in the hypostyle hall had collapsed and were leaning against each other and sand covered much of the lower levels of the inscribed walls. On the outskirts of the main temple of Amun, many of the smaller chapels and shrines were little more than piles of ruins, which have since been reconstructed where possible.

Therefore, whilst some squeezes are labelled clearly as coming from Karnak temple, they were not all easy to identify, owing to a combination of inaccessibility at the site due to lack of maintenance of the foliage in the less-visited areas and removal or reconstruction of loose blocks as well as damage within the intervening years.

On 10 January, Alice squeezed the Shabaka gate, to the north-east of the main temple of Amun, near the smaller temple of Ptah (G026).

Two days later, she squeezed the northern end of external wall of the naos of Phillip Arrhidaeus (G024) in the main part of the temple as well as an image of Thutmosis III (G033, plate 5) from his courtyard behind the sixth pylon, on the left hand of the pylon entrance. This image today is mostly gone.

Then she took a squeeze from the Bubastite Portal of Sheshonq I, on the outside wall (G034) situated to the north of the second pylon, and, although G060 is undated, it has been identified as being taken on the Bubastite Portal on the west pilaster, north face, showing the cartouches of Sheshonq I.

The temple of Khonsu had a squeeze (G030) taken of the high priest of Amun's cartouche. This was situated in the first pillared court on the south face of the first pillar on the eastern platform, facing into the court.

A further squeeze (G014) was taken at Karnak on 12 January 1852, but this has not been possible to identify.

On 14 January, Alice returned to Karnak, taking two squeezes: one on the door lintel above the entrance to the temple of Ramses III, on the internal (south) side on the west side of the door (G004, plate 16), and the other in the Hypostyle Hall of Sety I (G009). The latter has not been identified from the remaining images in the Hypostyle Hall, although many are similar to that represented in the squeeze.

Two further visits were made to Karnak temple, where only one squeeze was taken on each occasion. On 15 January Alice, returned to the rear of the site, to the Chapel of the Divine Adoratrice Nitocris and Aknkhesneferibre (G016, plate 27) and on 16 January, again at the

rear of the main temple, she took a squeeze (G021, plate 27) in the chapel of Osiris-Onnophris Nebzefa.

This area of Karnak is currently very overgrown, due to lack of tourist traffic, and it was not possible to identify the exact image, although the style and size indicates the inscription is from this chapel.

The squeeze of the temple of Ptah (G022 - plate 28) is undated, but was probably taken on one of these visits, from the right of the door leading to the main shrine.

*10 January 1851, Sheikh Abd el Qurna*

These five visits to Karnak were interspersed with visits to other sites in the Luxor region.

On 10 January, one squeeze (G012 - plate 20) was taken in tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) in Sheikh Abd el Qurna, of the profile view of the tomb owner on the western end of the northern wall of the passage.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the tomb of Khaemhat was damaged by robbers<sup>60</sup> and the image is currently only identifiable by surviving fragments of the ear, wig and collar.

*13 January 1852 – Valley of the Kings*

On 13 January, four tombs from the Valley of the Kings were squeezed:

- KV9 Ramses VI – two squeezes (G002, G003) were taken in the burial chamber of the tomb: G002 represents the solar bark with the sun-god depicted as a scarab beetle, on the northern wall, two registers from the base of the wall; and G003 (plate 25) depicts the profile of Sety I, on the north side on the second pillar. There is no damage

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<sup>60</sup> Malek & Miles 1989: 227.

to either scene and there is still a great deal of colour visible.

- KV6 Ramses IX – one squeeze (G008, plate 26) was taken of the profile of Ramses XI, but it is poorly executed and the squeeze is badly defined. It was taken from the south wall of the entrance corridor, in the third section, to the east of the magazines. There are colour traces on the verso of the squeeze. The colour has faded on the original image and repairs have been carried out around the head of this figure.
- KV8 Merenptah – one squeeze (G010, plate 26) was taken and shows the profile of king Merenptah, with a uraeus, nemes headdress and false beard. It was taken from the north wall and is the first image to the east of the entrance. There are colour traces on the verso of the squeeze on the cheek of the king. The colour on the original inscription remains vibrant.
- KV17 Sety I – seven squeezes (G011, G023, G025, G027, G047 (plate 29), G053, G054) were taken throughout the tomb due to the accessibility of the entire tomb in 1852. The locations within the tomb are displayed in figure 10 and table 3.

#### *15 January 1852 – Deir el Bahri*

15 January saw a visit to the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri. The temple was first excavated in the 1890s<sup>61</sup> by the Egypt Exploration Fund. The temple site as it appears today was reconstructed in the 1960s from a series of blocks



Figure 13: Deir el Bahri 1895. Anonymous  
Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.

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<sup>61</sup> Faulkner 1943: 199.

recovered from the site<sup>62</sup> under the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission, which was created in 1961 and directed by Kazimierz Michalowski.<sup>63</sup>

Photographs from the mid to late nineteenth century show the lower course on the northern side was ruined, as was the third terrace. This potentially provides an explanation for being unable to match the squeezes with the original blocks. These blocks may since have been removed, subjected to damage beyond recognition or exist in an inaccessible part of the temple.

There were images similar to those on the squeezes indicating they were taken at the temple. For example, G007 (plate 3) probably came from the middle terrace on the northern side, on the rear pillars on the east face. It is similar to an image on the fourth pillar from the south and may have come from one of the heavily reconstructed pillars where the face of the king is no longer extant. The squeeze has colour traces on the rear, showing the face of the king was a vibrant reddish-brown.

Squeeze G005 posed similar problems, with similar images on the southern end of the middle terrace. However, none of these images bore the same hieroglyphs above the individual's head, although the similarities would suggest this image came from this part of the temple.

The third squeeze labelled as coming from this site (G005) was not identified in the temple and similar scenes were not present.

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<sup>62</sup> Dąbrowski 1970: 101

<sup>63</sup> Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission website <http://www.templeofhatshepsut.uw.edu.pl/en/> (accessed 8 February 2017).



### *16 January 1852 – Luxor Temple*

On 16 January, Alice Lieder and her party visited Luxor Temple, where she took three squeezes showing profiles: two of a king (G017, G020) and one of a goddess (G018).

The original inscription of G017 was in the divine birth hall of Amenhotep III on the western wall, approximately twelve feet up. This part of the wall is not accessible



Figure 14: First court of Luxor Temple, 1890. A. Beato Somers Clark. Griffith Institute.

to modern tourists due to its height, which suggests this chamber had been filled with sand and access to the higher blocks was easier.

The other identifiable squeeze (G018) shows a goddess holding a tally stick and is situated in the room behind the sacred naos, on the eastern wall near the southernmost row of pillars. This room was completely accessible to Victorian travellers as the figure is at head height meaning there were more available surface inscriptions available to view in this part of the temple.

The final squeeze produced at the temple (G020) is labelled as coming from Luxor Temple and shows the profile of a queen wearing a uraeus, but this was not identified here. It may be located in an inaccessible part of the temple or high up on the wall and not easily visible.

### *17 January 1852 – Dendera*

When visiting Dendera on 17 January 1852, Alice took four squeezes (G019, G006, G013, G032) in the first hall of the main temple. G032 and G013 are taken from two of the column

bases, indicating that these were accessible to tourists and provides compelling evidence that this part of the temple was cleared.

G032 shows a monkey hieroglyph holding a tally stick and is depicted on the base of the pillar in the south-eastern corner, on the east side of the pillar. G013 is of a similar hieroglyph of a dancing man on the western side of the hall on the base of the southernmost pillar of the middle row on the northern side.

The remaining two squeezes were taken from the wall scenes, and represent offering piles. G006 depicts a pile of food with a bird and a basket of fruit hanging from the bottom and can be found in the first hall of the main temple on the west wall to the north of the side door. Since the squeeze was taken, the image has been marked for removal and a carved outline is in evidence. G019 can be found to the south of the same door and shows a similar pile of offerings.

#### *18 January 1852 - Abydos*

Only one squeeze was taken at Abydos (G001) and shows Sety I holding a fan over his cartouche. The squeeze was not identified at the temple and a publication of the image has not been identified.

#### *24 January 1852 - Beni Hasan (figure 15)*

The journey along the Nile finished at Beni Hasan on 24 January, where Alice took five squeezes from the tomb of Khnumhotep III (Tomb 3). They were all from the Great Inscription situated beneath the painted scenes in the tomb (G048, G049, G050, G051, G052).

All five squeezes are of cartouches and all from areas of the wall that are highlighted as being damaged in Newberry's 1893 publication. This damage does not appear to be apparent in the squeezes taken in 1851-2 and Newberry comments that,

'The Great Inscription, which forms the dado to the main chamber, was, in 1888 or 1889, much mutilated by a reckless thief, who removed or destroyed all the royal names; and all the colours of the paintings are much faded.'<sup>64</sup>



Figure 15: Placement of G049, G052, G051 and G050 (left to right) in the tomb of Khnumhotep III.

This squeeze therefore provides a clearer image of the inscription than Newberry's illustration.

These squeezes which record Alice's journey on the Nile provide a combination of social history as well as the history of the monuments. The dated squeezes allow us to follow her journey as well as the types of images which interested her. Additionally they show us the accessibility of the monuments at the time therefore adding an important element to the history of Egyptology and the excavation of the monuments.

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<sup>64</sup> Newberry 1893: 40.

## Unprovenanced

Six squeezes taken by Alice Lieder as part of The Collection, Lincoln, do remain unprovenanced, but were quite likely to have been taken on this 1851–1852 tour.

G056 is made up of two squeezes which form a personified cartouche of Ptolemy VIII, measuring more than a metre in height. There are numerous temples on the tour from which the squeeze could have been taken, including Dakka, Debod, Edfu, Kom Ombo and Karnak.

Other cartouches represented by unprovenanced squeezes include that of Nectanebo II (G044) who ruled (360–343 BCE) and could have originated at Edfu, Karnak or Luxor Temple as well as the cartouche of Thutmosis III (1504–1450 BCE)(G058) which could be from Karnak, Luxor Temple or Deir el Bahri.

With hundreds of potential cartouches in existence at these temples, locating a specific cartouche was not possible.

Additionally, there are two unprovenanced profile images, one of a Ptolemaic queen or goddess (G059) and one the profile of the god Nefertem, which could have originated at any of the Ptolemaic temples.

G042 (plate 4) is the only squeeze which does not appear to have been taken on the Nile cruise as it is of a portable object, a stela belonging to Neferhor. The location of this stela is currently unknown.<sup>65</sup> At the time the squeeze was taken it was in Alice Lieder's personal collection but it is not in the British Museum as part of the W.A. Tyssen Amhurst collection which was purchased from the Lieders.

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<sup>65</sup> Magee & Malek 1991: 197.

## **Preferred Squeezes**

The collections discussed above comprise on the whole squeezes produced by tourists or for the tourist market. Whilst the images are varied and have been listed, there are similarities in image type. Profiles were the most popular image of kings, gods, queens and nobles. As all the images are of New Kingdom scenes these profiles have elaborate wigs, headdresses and collars which may have been a draw for the nineteenth century travellers.

In addition to these profile images, royal cartouches are also popular with Ramses II and Amenhotep III dominating although this may not have been by design but rather the high number of these cartouches in New Kingdom temples.

### **Egypt Exploration Society, London E001–E090**

The squeeze collection at the Egypt Exploration Society (EES), London, comprises five smaller collections, each created and donated by a different Egyptologist working under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund (as the EES was originally called). Each collection is catalogued as a group rather than individually and the majority of the squeezes are annotated with handwritten notes, indicating exact location and sequence of images.

The larger squeezes (more than two metres in length) are rolled together as they were when initially accessioned and have been stored vertically, resulting in damage to the ends of the rolls. Ideally these items, whilst appropriate to be rolled owing to their size, should be wrapped individually, with each squeeze wrapped around the outside of an alkaline cardboard tube longer than the squeeze, so it extends out of each end. This means the tube could then be safely lifted without damaging the squeeze. If more than one item is to be rolled

on the same tube, they should be rolled as one item rather than individually.<sup>66</sup> Even if on cardboard tubes, rolled material should never be stored end on, as this will cause damage to the bottom of the squeeze, as has been seen here. Instead, they should be stored flat, in boxes<sup>67</sup> but as is the case with many archives, space is at a premium and such methods are not always practical.

Smaller squeezes at the EES are in individual packages or stored in wooden map drawers. They have not been conserved or wrapped in acid-free paper and not all of them are in archive folders. Since the initial studies began on these collections for this thesis, the wooden map drawers are no longer used. In 2015, two rooms were refurbished at the EES Office in London and fitted with humidity and temperature controls.<sup>68</sup>

If resources permit, all paper records should ideally be kept in horizontal file folders and then placed into something to provide further support, such as an archive box.<sup>69</sup> These folders should be of a larger size than the squeeze within, to protect the edges from being damaged with handling.<sup>70</sup> Only Bristol City Museum has reached this ideal storage solution and Leeds City Museum, Marischal Museum and The Collection, Lincoln has placed its squeezes in boxes separated by acid-free tissue.

As can therefore be expected at the EES, there is a lot of damage to the squeezes due to years of inadequate storage and the edges of many of them are disintegrating. Most of them

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<sup>66</sup> Ritzenthaler 2010: 203.

<sup>67</sup> Ritzenthaler 2010: 204.

<sup>68</sup> Carl Graves from the EES personal correspondence January 4 2016.

<sup>69</sup> Ritzenthaler 2010: 193.

<sup>70</sup> Ritzenthaler 2010: 194.

(especially the Sesebi group) are extremely dusty, have non-active black mould on them and the edges crumbled when handled.

It is clear that simply having items in an archive is not always enough to preserve them. When 'records look timeworn and sit in dirty, ragged folders and boxes [it] give[s] the impression that they have little value to the repository or anyone else.'<sup>71</sup>

The poor condition and storage (at the time of initial study) of some of the squeezes is the reason the EES squeezes are included in the catalogue, despite being housed in an archive which is greatly publicised and is often the first port of call for many Egyptologists when carrying out research.

The five groups of material held in this collection were all collected as preparation for Egypt Exploration Fund/Society publications, in contrast to the other museum collections in this catalogue which are primarily tourist squeezes. Therefore, due to their traditional means of production under controlled and focused conditions, they will be discussed as site-related groups primarily focusing on their epigraphic value.

#### *Group 1 – Dr Hans Alexander Winkler group E001–E002*

There are two squeezes rolled within a cardboard tube depicting rock art scenes. These were related to Hans Alexander Winkler's Rock Drawing expedition and were produced in 1937–1938, more than thirty years after the ban on squeeze-making was in place. Enquiries have been unable to produce any permission to squeeze that may have been applied for. They were donated to the Egypt Exploration Society by Robert Mond and any permissions gained were not passed on with the squeezes.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, whether these squeezes were illicitly

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<sup>71</sup> Ritzenthaler 2010: 187.

<sup>72</sup> Carl Graves, EES, London personal correspondence received March 31 2017.

produced is not clear. They were made as part of the research for the publication of *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, Vol 2 on the Robert Mond Desert Expedition,<sup>73</sup> but did not end up being published in this volume.

This does therefore raise the question of what happened to those squeezes which were published. There is the possibility that once the squeezes had served their purpose in providing illustrations for publication they were discarded. Unfortunately there is no record of what was discarded before they were accessioned into the EES collection.

*Group 2 – 'Temples of Armant 1936: stone register' E003–E024*

The Egypt Exploration Society holds a group of twenty-two squeezes taken from the stela of Thutmosis III from Armant. This stela is now in the Cairo Museum (Cairo JE67377) and is not displayed.

The site of Armant was excavated by Robert Mond in 1936, approximately twelve miles (twenty kilometres) south of Luxor. The stela was located in the temple area of the site and was already damaged before discovery. It is thought it may have either been deliberately smashed or fallen from a wall and broken on impact. The stela was in two pieces, one facing downwards and one upwards, and together they formed the floor of a poor Coptic-period dwelling.<sup>74</sup> The surface of the piece facing upwards had been worn away by the inhabitants of the house walking across it.

The squeezes may have been instrumental in the publication of the stela in *Temples of Armant: Preliminary Report*.<sup>75</sup> The preface of the publication thanks 'Mr Cerny who took

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<sup>73</sup> Winkler 1939.

<sup>74</sup> Mond & Myers 1940: 182.

<sup>75</sup> Mond & Myers 1940.



squeezes and notes' and 'the curator and Assistant of the Cairo Museum for sending us photographs, squeezes and notes'. This indicates these squeezes were not taken by Mond or Myers, but were acquired to reproduce difficult-to-read aspects of the stela.<sup>76</sup>

The preserved squeezes have random placement over the stela, with large areas not represented by the squeezes in this collection. This indicates they are not the full set of squeezes that were possibly taken and simply represent those areas that were difficult to read.

If this was the case, it highlights the usefulness of squeezes as a research tool. Due to squeezes being light and easy to transport, scholars from different institutions and countries could easily share data. Additionally, squeezes were more accurate than line-drawings and easier to manipulate than photographs, which are reliant on light.

Alternatively, if these squeezes represent half the number made of this stela, the remainder may have been discarded before entering the collection.

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<sup>76</sup> Mond & Myers 1940: xi.

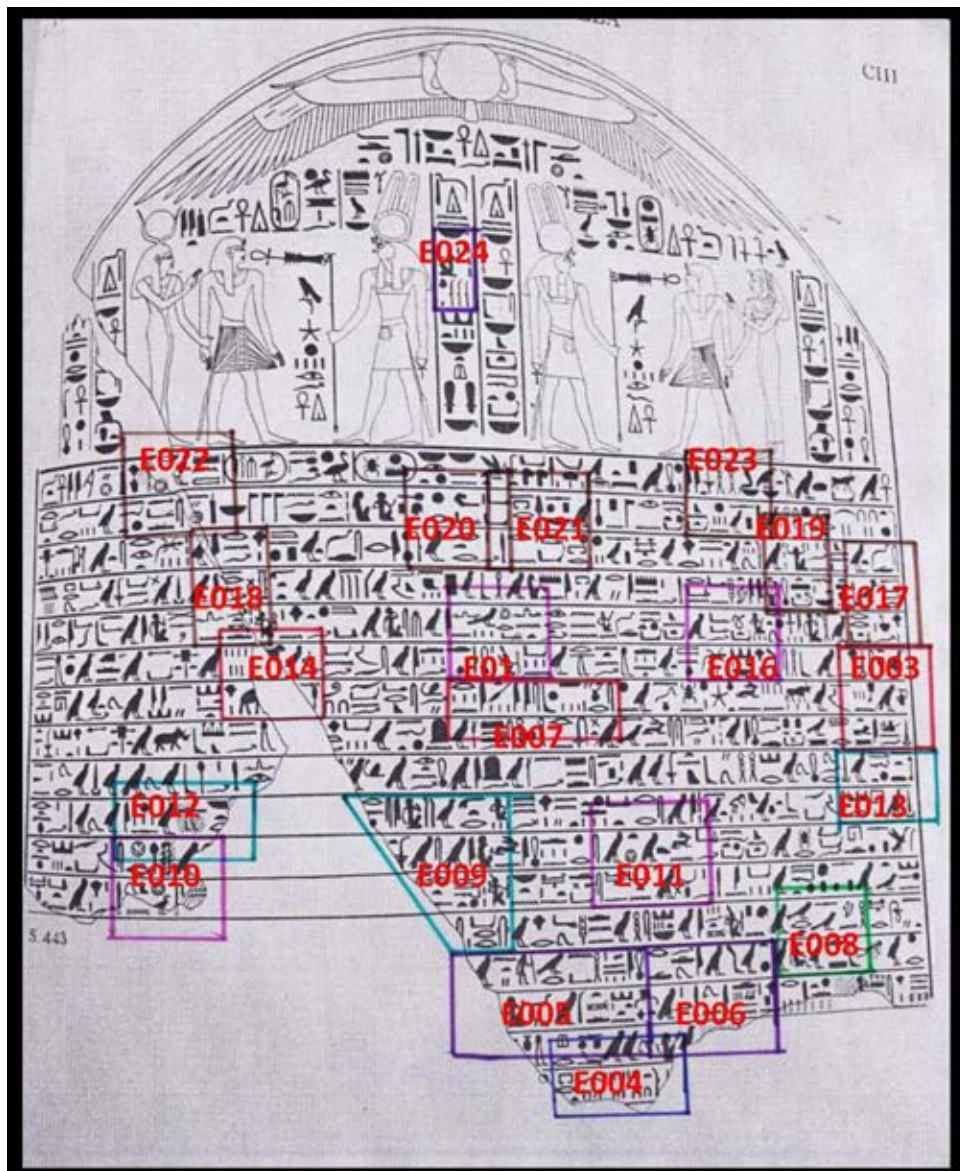


Figure 16: Placement of squeezes on the Armant Stela. Adapted from Mond, R. and Myers, O. 1940.

### Group 3 – Norman de Garis Davies Sheikh Said Tombs E025–E040

The cemetery of Sheikh Said is situated in Middle Egypt, a mile south of Deir el Bersha, on the northern edge of the Amarna Plain. The cemetery is situated just to the north of the most northern of the Amarna boundary stelae.<sup>77</sup> The tombs there are dated to the Old Kingdom

<sup>77</sup> de Garis Davies 1901: 6

and are some of the earliest rock-cut tombs in Egypt. In 1898, Norman and Nina de Garis Davies travelled there for the Egypt Exploration Fund, in order to continue the work of Percy Newberry,<sup>78</sup> and to embark on new projects in the region. Newberry's records were never published but the de Garis Davies' took a number of squeezes which aided their 1901 publication *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*. This is the only publication on the Sheikh Saïd tombs and therefore provides the only published images. It is likely that these squeezes were made using the dry squeezing method (see chapter 2), in which, instead of wet paper being applied to the wall, dry paper was used and the fingers pressed the paper into the crevices of the inscription. The result is a squeeze with shallow impressions, which have then been outlined in black ink to make the definitions clearer. Due to the shallowness of the inscription it is unlikely a cast could be made from these squeezes, but it might be possible to scan them and print them using 3D printers.

At the time, the tombs were difficult to access as they were situated high up on a cliff face, with only rough access steps in places. In the intervening years they have not been readily accessible to tourists and therefore tourist-friendly access like steps and ramps have not been added to the surrounding landscape. Considering that the authors refer to the tombs here as 'dilapidated monuments'<sup>79</sup> it is likely they have deteriorated further in the last century.

Many of the tomb images were damaged during the Coptic period in an attempt to eradicate the images before converting them into churches, residences or meeting places.<sup>80</sup> In the tomb of Urarna, for example, the wall surfaces were plastered over and Coptic graffiti obscures the pharaonic inscriptions beneath.

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<sup>78</sup> Thompson 2016: 131.

<sup>79</sup> de Garis Davies 1901: preface.

<sup>80</sup> de Garis Davies 1901: 4.

The areas between the tombs and outside the entrances were peppered with the remains of mud-brick dwellings, showing the area had been an actively changing environment. At the time Norman and Nina de Garis Davies were at the site, some of the smaller tombs were regularly plundered.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, to the south of the cliff cemetery was an ancient quarry which was still being worked in 1901, which destroyed some tombs in the vicinity.<sup>82</sup> Such destruction happening in 1901 was likely to have gone unchecked for some time. The tombs currently are open to the elements and the tomb deterioration has continued for the last century.

As the 1901 folio is the only academic publication regarding this cemetery and it is difficult to travel to the site it has been impossible to find images of the tomb scenes as they appear today. This, therefore, provides scope for further research on this group of squeezes which are likely to be in a superior condition to the tomb decoration as it stands today.

In the EES there are fifteen large-scale squeezes from the tombs of Urana, Serfka, Hepa, Meru and Imhetep, some more than two metres long. As with any works of the scale of the 1901 folio, such records were a work in progress and an erratum in the publication corrects the tomb owners' names. Plates III–VI in the folio are labelled as belonging to Urana I, but is corrected to Serfka, and Plates VII–XVI which are labelled as Urana II are corrected to Urana and on the squeezes themselves, E028 is labelled as coming from the tomb of Hepa, but is actually from the tomb of Urana. These labels are therefore at odds with the notes on the squeezes and until access to the tomb is available, these cannot be verified as being sufficiently corrected.

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<sup>81</sup> de Garis Davies 1901: 4.

<sup>82</sup> de Garis Davies 1901: 6.

The reconstruction of squeeze E025 was also incorrectly carried out by the de Garis Davies'. It is labelled as coming from Sheikh Said with no tomb specified. At the bottom of the squeeze there is a jackal or hound beneath the striding legs of the tomb owner. However, where the kilt and upper body should be located, the squeeze shows a farming scene, which demonstrates these are squeezes of two different scenes that have been incorrectly attached to each other. Neither of the images is published in the folio and once again access to the monument would be needed to verify.

#### *Tomb of Serfka – Tomb 24*

Serfka was a priest under the reign of king Khufu (2589 – 2566 BCE) and his tomb is one of the larger ones in the Sheikh Said cemetery. The front wall and outer chamber were in poor condition in 1901 and 'threaten further ruin.'<sup>83</sup>

Squeeze Description	Location in Tomb	Plate References
<b>E033</b> Scene showing three boats laden with sailors and traces of cattle at the top. This is the lower part of E039.	Northern half of the western wall.	Plate V (de Garis Davies) Plate 41
<b>E039</b> This is the top part of E033 and shows administrative staff making records.	Northern half of the western wall.	Plate V (de Garis Davies) Plate 41
<b>E034</b> A large figure of the tomb owner holding a long staff in his right hand. Between his feet is a small naked boy with a side-lock and a slightly larger child in front of his right foot.	Figure on one of the piers.	Plate VI (de Garis Davies) Plate 39
<b>E036</b> A large figure of the tomb owner holding something over his shoulder, and wearing a leopard skin cloak. A dog is being led by a dwarf beneath his feet.	Figure on one of the piers.	Plate VI (de Garis Davies) Plate 39
<b>E037</b> A large figure of the tomb owner facing right. Between his feet is a small boy with a side-lock.	Figure on one of the piers.	Plate VI (de Garis Davies) Plate 40
Table 4: Squeeze location on tomb of Serfka.		

<sup>83</sup> de Garis Davies 1901: 11.

### *Tomb of Urarna – Tomb 25*

Squeeze Description	Location in Tomb	Plate References
<b>E040</b> Top part of a marsh scene, showing reeds and numerous birds in flight. The bottom of the scene is E026/E027	Northern wall	Plate XI (de Garis Davies)
<b>E026/E027</b> Lower part of the marsh scene showing a papyrus skiff and two hippopotami in the Nile. E027 is the right hand of the image and E026 forms the left hand and E040 forms the top.	Northern Wall	Plate XI (de Garis Davies)
<b>E028</b> A fowling scene showing a drag net full with birds, being pulled by a group of men. In the bottom register a number of men are bringing in the harvest.	Northern wall	Plate XII (de Garis Davies)
<b>E038</b> This is situated beneath E028 and shows a fishing scene with four small two-man papyrus skiffs on the top register and a larger boat holding six men pulling a dragnet full of fish.	Northern wall	Plate XII (de Garis Davies)
Table 5: Squeeze location on tomb of Urarna.		

Urana was the son of Serfka and was a priest of king Niusserre (2453–2422 BCE). In this tomb a lot of damage occurred during the Coptic period. This is described by de Garis Davies who laments,

‘the stupid energy with which the work of the mutilation was begun is plainly shown ... where the heads of the figures of Urarna and his wife and a vertical strip of bas-reliefs at the end have survived the onslaught ... an unsightly church was likely to result.’<sup>84</sup>

### *Tomb of Hepa – Tomb 22*

This tomb is above that of Meru and is carved directly into the cliff face. The east and western

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<sup>84</sup> 1901: 15.

walls of the tomb were decorated with extremely damaged bas reliefs which provide little more than the name of the tomb owner.

Squeeze Description	Location in Tomb	Plate References
<b>E035</b> Tomb owner holding a long staff and facing left. A small naked child is in front of him.	Southern half of the Western wall	Plate XXXI (de Garis Davies)
<b>E032</b> Tomb owner seated holding a long staff in his left hand. A male figure stands behind him.	Eastern Wall	Plate XXXI (de Garis Davies)

Table 6: Squeeze location on tomb of Hepa.

### *Tomb of Imhetep<sup>85</sup> – Tomb 15*

Imhetep was a Superintendent of the House under the reign of one of the kings called Pepy. The identification of which Pepy is not clear. The outer room of this tomb is decorated in two sections, whereas the inner chamber only had a running inscription and the remains of a statue as decoration.

Before the de Garis Davieses were at the site, it had been studied by Lepsius in 1843. When publishing their folio on the tombs they had to refer to his work, as between 1843 and 1901 some decoration had disappeared.<sup>86</sup>

Squeeze Description	Location in Tomb	Plate References
<b>E030</b> Three servants carry fowl to the seated figure shown in E031.	Southern half of western wall	Plate XXXIX (de Garis Davies)
<b>E031</b> A seated figure to the left of the scene with a female figure beside him. They are seated in front of an offering table with two servants bringing cattle. This is the bottom of the scene in E030.	Southern half of western wall	Plate XXXIX (de Garis Davies)

Table 7: Squeeze location on tomb of Imhetep.

<sup>85</sup> Although the modern convention is Imhotep the author has used Imhetep after de Garis Davies, who produced the only academic publication on the cemetery.

<sup>86</sup> de Garis Davies 1901: 33.

### *Tomb of Meru – Tomb 20*

Meru had various titles, including Sole Companion and Chief Lector Priest but the royal name in his tomb has been deliberately hacked out, making identification of the ruler difficult. Only the outer room of the tomb was inscribed and this was damaged before the de Garis Davieses arrived to study it.

Squeeze Description	Location in Tomb	Plate References
<b>E029</b> Large image of the tomb owner holding a shot staff in his left hand and wearing a leopard skin cloak. A servant stands in front of him holding a fan above his head.	Doorway of Meru's tomb.	Plate V (de Garis Davies)
Table 8: Squeeze location on tomb of Meru.		

### **Value of the Sheikh Said Squeezes**

The squeezes from the cemetery of Sheikh Said could be considered valuable for two reasons. The first is their epigraphic value. At present there is limited access to the original tombs and these squeezes are therefore a means of still being able to study this tomb. As potentially the only records, it is vital that they are preserved.

The second inherent value is historical based on the people who made the squeezes and their reason for making them. The de Garis Davieses were well-known for their epigraphic skills and these squeezes provide the first step in their process for illustrating one of their publications. The squeezes are large and cumbersome to handle, but provided a one-to-one scale image of the wall art they wanted to reproduce, leaving little room for interpretative error in the same way line-drawings may have done.



#### *Group 4 – Amarah West/ Sesebi (?) E041–E050*

These ten squeezes are located, stored flat, in a ‘makeshift cardboard folder labelled ‘Sesebi/Amarah West Squeezes?’<sup>87</sup> which is in turn within a plastic bag, additionally labelled ‘Sesebi/Amarah West Squeezes’. The question mark on the label suggests there may have been some doubt as to this identification when it was written. It is not recorded who wrote these labels.

Six of the ten squeezes have been identified as being made at Sesebi and were therefore produced in the 1936–1938 season and could be related to the *Group 5* squeezes discussed below.

The remaining four squeezes may have been taken at Amara West in Northern Sudan. The field director, H.W. Fairman, was responsible for writing the *Preliminary Reports* on the excavations at Amara which were published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and therefore he, or one of his team, is likely to have produced these four potential Amara West squeezes. However, the excavation was not published in any further detail until Patricia Spencer in 1997 used Fairman’s notes and diaries to produce the first of a three-part set of reports.<sup>88</sup>

Fairman had intended to publish the work in two volumes; the first covering the excavation and epigraphic copies of the temple, and the second doing the same for the town and cemetery.<sup>89</sup> In the absence of any manuscripts or plans for these volumes Spencer decided to produce three volumes, the first on the architectural report of the excavation of the town and

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<sup>87</sup> EES Catalogue reference.

<sup>88</sup> Spencer 1997: 8.

<sup>89</sup> Spencer 1997: 3.

temple, the second on the epigraphic records; the objects were to be published in a third volume.<sup>90</sup> However, the expected second and third volumes have not been published. Spencer highlights that,

‘All known field records including the photographs and surviving negatives, together with the relevant correspondence are preserved in the Egypt Exploration Society Archive at the Society’s London Office.’<sup>91</sup>

However, in the specific list of all the archive material held by the Egypt Exploration Society of the Amara excavations, she fails to mention these squeezes, even though they are catalogued by the Society as being from Amara (or Sesebi),<sup>92</sup> and labelled by Fairman himself. This could perhaps suggest they were not consulted when preparing the book.

The winter of 1938–39 was dedicated primarily to the excavation and recording of the temple<sup>93</sup> and this could be the origin of these four squeezes. The temple of Amara West was dedicated primarily to Amun-Ra and was started during the reign of Sety I and completed by Ramses II, with later additions by their successors.<sup>94</sup>

Fairman comments on the images of the captured African towns in the Hypostyle Hall:

‘The African series contained about 95 names, and has suffered much damage. The identification of African names is much more difficult than that of the Syrian lists, but it is hoped that useful results will emerge from careful study.’<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Spencer 1997: 4.

<sup>91</sup> Spencer 1997: 4.

<sup>92</sup> Spencer 1997: 9.

<sup>93</sup> Fairman 1939: 140.

<sup>94</sup> Spencer 1997: 27.

<sup>95</sup> Fairman 1939: 141.

A number of these captive Nubian town cartouches are preserved in the Group 5 squeezes from Sesebi in addition to E050 from this group (4). However, in the absence of any publications arising from the work at Amara West other than the preliminary reports, the value of these squeezes remains to be seen.

In 1947–1948, the temple at the site was re-buried as a measure to preserve it from wind and weather, deeper than it had been when they started the excavation.<sup>96</sup> Since 2008 the British Museum has been working at Amara West, under director Neal Spencer. To date the temple has not been re-excavated and,

‘It remains preserved, buried underneath spoil from the excavations of the 1940s, and at some point will require new epigraphic recording.’<sup>97</sup>

P. Spencer’s 1997 volume on the temple at Amara West only covers the architecture and not the decoration, meaning these four squeezes may be the only known records of what lies beneath the sand at the site. At the time of excavation, some of the scenes on the north side of the gate to the Hypostyle Hall still bore traces of gold foil and much of the original colouring remained’<sup>98</sup> and it would be fascinating to see how well they survived being reburied.

#### *Group 5 – Blackman / Fairman 1936 – 1937 – Sesebi E051–E090*

Group 5 comprises forty squeezes of inscriptions from the temple of Sesebi, a temple approximately 80km south of Amara West on the west bank of the Nile. The site has not been completely excavated or published to date.<sup>99</sup> The squeezes are all quite large (approximately 80 cm in length) and

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<sup>96</sup> Fairman 1948: 3.

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[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research\\_projects/all\\_current\\_projects/amara\\_west\\_research\\_project/the\\_town\\_of\\_amara\\_west.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/amara_west_research_project/the_town_of_amara_west.aspx) (accessed 21 April 2014).

<sup>98</sup> Spencer 1997: 36.

<sup>99</sup> Manniche 2016: 5.

made of thick paper. In some cases, two pieces have been stuck together to provide a thicker sheet. The squeezes are of a poor quality, due to the condition of the inscription rather than the skill of the squeeze-taker. Each squeeze has been labelled in pencil placing them within a temple sequence.

The excavation season 1936–7 at Sesebi was the first at this site, where three temples were discovered. The foundation deposits of the north-west and south-west corners of the central temple<sup>100</sup> showed it was constructed by Akhenaten (1350–1334 BCE) before year six of his reign, only to be usurped by Sety I (1391–1278 BCE) and then Ramses II (1279–1212 BCE). The temple was used as a quarry shortly after it had been abandoned and consequently there is very little of the structure surviving, other than bases of four columns.<sup>101</sup> This goes some way to explaining the quality of the squeezes, which are poorly made and it is difficult to discern the details.

In the EES archive, there are six boxes and an album of photographs taken on the site during the 1936–7 season. The photographs comprise distance shots of the columns with no close-ups of detail. The squeezes, no matter how difficult it is to see the inscriptions, are the only means of viewing the condition of the inscriptions in the 1930s.

The earliest survey of Sesebi was carried out by Frédéric Cailliaud in 1821, which resulted in a scale plan and measurements of the four columns. This survey was followed by Linant de Bellefonds and William Bankes. In 1844, Karl Lepsius worked at the site and also produced drawings of the pillars.

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<sup>100</sup> Blackman 1937: 148.

<sup>101</sup> Blackman 1937: 146.

By 1907, when Henry Breasted with the Oriental Institute of Chicago was at Sesebi, one of the pillars recorded by Cailliaud and Lepsius had disappeared, leaving only three columns remaining. The decoration on these has deteriorated substantially since this date and illegal excavations carried out in 2010–2011 have caused further damage.<sup>102</sup>

The excavation continued briefly in the 1937–8 season before the team moved to the nearby site of Amara-West.<sup>103</sup> A short article from this season was published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*<sup>104</sup> following the Blackman/Fairman season, although none of the squeezes were utilised in the content of this article. However, a note may refer to Blackman's making of the squeezes:

‘The following remarks on the houses are derived from the notebook of Mr. Fairman, who, at my request, made a special study of these buildings while I was busy copying the reliefs and inscriptions in the crypt and on the columns of the central temple.’<sup>105</sup>

Kate Spence from Cambridge University is currently working on the site of Sesebi. All that is left of the main temple are the three pillars. Although the base decoration is reburied after every season, the shafts of the pillars are exposed and they are covered extensively in graffiti, meaning some of the inscriptions are no longer clearly visible.

Each year further graffiti are carved onto the pillars<sup>106</sup> and over the last century the columns' decoration has been eroded by sand and wind,<sup>107</sup> meaning even such poor quality squeezes

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<sup>102</sup> Manniche 2016: 7.

<sup>103</sup> Fairman 1938: 151.

<sup>104</sup> Blackman 1937: 145–51.

<sup>105</sup> Blackman, 1937: 149.

<sup>106</sup> Kate Spence personal communication December 2014.

<sup>107</sup> Manniche 2016: 9.

as those in the EES provide a clearer image of the decoration than the original monument does.

The squeezes of Sesebi, which include all of Group 5 plus E042 – E046 and E050 from Group 4 were taken at four different locations at the temple; column II, column III, column IV, and the central temple. These squeezes were taken in the excavation season 1936–7. Whether the squeeze ban imposed on Egypt in 1905 extended to Sudan is unknown.

### *Column II*

Column II is the southernmost of the surviving pillars and has some remaining decoration on both the shaft and the base. The captive cartouches at the base of this column represent Nubians and the shaft shows a number of female headdresses and a text from the Amarna period.

The decoration on this column is represented by twenty-one squeezes. Twelve squeezes represent the decorated panel at the base of the column and run in consecutive order as detailed in the table below. These represent a band of personified cartouches with the name of foreign settlements within and the head of a bound Nubian captive at the top.

Sequence of squeezes around the base of Column II									
E050	E090	E089 E054 Repeated on E053	E073	E074	E061	E075	E076	E077	E088

The remaining squeezes represent the decoration on the shaft of the column from the eastern through to the western side. These squeezes are of a very poor quality and the images are very difficult to discern. This is due to the condition of the original inscription rather than poor squeeze-making. To clarify the imagery represented by the squeezes, Blackman went over the

outlines of the images with pencil. These scenes depict Akhenaten and Nefertiti worshipping Amun. The sequence of these squeezes is represented in the table below.

Sequence of squeezes on the shaft of Column III		
E067 (Eastern)	E069 (Central)	
E086 (Eastern)	E072 (Central)	E068 (Western)
		E071 (Western)
E060/E043 (Eastern)		E070 (Western)

### *Column III*

Column III is the most central of the three surviving pillars and also has some remaining decoration. The captive cartouches around the base show Asiatic captives and the scenes on the shaft shows images of Akhenaten and Nefertiti making offerings to Amun. This scene is similar to the decoration on Column II.

The decoration on Column III is represented by thirteen squeezes, with E046/E056 and E044/E051 being duplicates of two scenes. A sequence of squeezes was taken of the band of enemy cartouches at the base and numbered in the table below.

Sequence of squeezes on the base of Column III							
E062	E064	E057	E052	Break in sequence	E066	'nothing left' written on the squeeze at this stage.	E065

There were eight squeezes taken of the shaft of column III, the positioning of which is outlined in the table below.

Sequence of the squeezes on the shaft of Column III	E058	E059
E055	E046/E056	E044, E051

The images on E055 are in a much better condition on the squeeze than on the remaining pillar. The pillar has since been extensively vandalised with graffiti and the head and shoulders of Nefertiti are now almost invisible.

#### *Column IV*

This column is the most northernmost of the three, but there is very little decoration remaining. There are seven squeezes from the Egypt Exploration Society archive of column IV but these are difficult to identify against the original. E045 is duplicated in E084 and forms the lower part of the body of Akhenaten and the head is represented in E082.

#### *Central Temple*

There is only one squeeze surviving from the central temple at Sesebi (E042) which is no longer extant on the original monument. The squeeze shows a small section of hieroglyphic inscription. This squeeze therefore is the last remaining image of what was originally on this column.

#### *Group 6 – Miscellaneous*

There are nine additional squeezes in the EES catalogue that are now missing which are labelled as 'Stela El Amarna' comprising, according to the catalogue '9 pages in total, separated by 1 sheet of newspaper (which, judging by its appearance, dates to very early twentieth century, likely the 1910s)'. No further information is available on these squeezes or which stela is depicted.



## University of Aberdeen, Special Collections, Aberdeen (A001 – A068)

The sixty-eight squeezes in the University of Aberdeen Special Collections held in the Duncan Rice library are part of the archival collection of the ‘Papers of the Fraser Family of Castle Fraser’, which dates back to the sixteenth century. This archival material was acquired in 1995<sup>108</sup> by the University of Aberdeen and has been loosely catalogued into date and material type. The 68 squeezes are catalogued in three lots; A001 as an ‘Egyptian funerary stela of the Ptolemaic period, showing a youth making offerings to Osiris’;<sup>109</sup> A002 as ‘Egyptian inscription, depicting a male figure (unfinished) surrounded by hieroglyphic script’;<sup>110</sup> and A003–A068 catalogued as ‘Bundle of images, some outlined in ink, of Egyptian inscriptions, stele etc.’<sup>111</sup>

The archive had no records of how many squeezes were actually contained within the collection and it is only once the study was under way that this number was ascertained. All the archival material was given the vague date of 1550–1891.

These squeezes are quite likely to be the work of George Tomlinson, the First Bishop of Gibraltar (1801–1863), who was married to the daughter of Charles Mackenzie-Fraser. The Fraser family were of military stock and there is evidence of members of the family serving in Quebec (1759), Seringapatam (1799), Egypt (1807) and at Waterloo (1815).<sup>112</sup> George

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<sup>108</sup> Chavez 2002: 153.

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<http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Egyptian%20funerary%27%29> (accessed July 26 2017).

<sup>110</sup>

[\(http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=\(RefNo==%27MS%203470%2F27%2F71%27\)](http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=(RefNo==%27MS%203470%2F27%2F71%27)) (accessed July 26 2017).

<sup>111</sup>

[\(http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=\(RefNo==%27MS%203470%2F27%2F77%27\)](http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=(RefNo==%27MS%203470%2F27%2F77%27)) (accessed July 26 2017).

<sup>112</sup> Chavez 2002: 153.

Tomlinson married Eleanor, the daughter of Colonel Charles Mackenzie-Fraser, in 1855, and together they had three children.<sup>113</sup> Eleanor died when the youngest child was only five months old, and George died five years later, in 1863. Unfortunately, as he was married rather than born into the Fraser family, George is mostly absent from their archival records and there is little information available about him and his visit to Egypt.

George Tomlinson was born in 1794 and studied at St John's College, Cambridge. In 1820 he founded the Cambridge Apostles, an intellectual society at the university. He was ordained in 1822 and in 1842 became the first Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar, with a diocese covering the whole Mediterranean area. He had a fascination with ancient Egypt and it is said he visited many times. Throughout his journeys he carried a small notebook<sup>114</sup> within which he recorded cartouches, stelae and engravings from Edfu temple and Thebes amongst other items.<sup>115</sup> The catalogue describes the book as containing:

'Notes and translations of Egyptian hieroglyphs, Greek and Demotic inscriptions. Note:

The cover is loose, so care must be taken when handling the booklet.'<sup>116</sup>

Unfortunately, the notebook makes no reference to his squeeze-making. One of Tomlinson's visits took place in 1846 and is attested to by a number of letters written to the Fraser family.<sup>117</sup> It is likely that it is whilst on this particular trip that Tomlinson made the squeezes held in the Special Collections.

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<sup>113</sup> Smiley 1978: 36.

<sup>114</sup> 3470/16/20.

<sup>115</sup> Chavez 2002: 156.

<sup>116</sup>

[http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=\(RefNo==%27MS%203470%2F16%2F20%27\)](http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=(RefNo==%27MS%203470%2F16%2F20%27)) (accessed July 26 2017).

<sup>117</sup> Smiley 1988: 151.

Following the 1846 trip to Egypt, between 1854 and 1858, George Tomlinson was in regular correspondence with Samuel Birch from the British Museum. Birch wrote to Tomlinson with information on Egyptian antiquities, translations of texts and recommendations for books.<sup>118</sup> This indicates that in order to understand the linguistic discussions in the letters Tomlinson was able to read hieroglyphs and was carrying out research on which Birch was assisting.

The archive of three accession lots comprises five boxes of Tomlinson's papers and the catalogue entry states, 'he also produced squeezes, pressed paper images of bas-reliefs and some of these still carry remnants of the pigment from wall paintings.'<sup>119</sup>

The squeezes are themselves of average quality, with some being of a finer quality than others indicating that he was a practised amateur rather than a seasoned expert. Two of the squeezes, A001 and A002 are particularly unusual as Tomlinson water-coloured the details creating a colourful squeeze (plates 41 & 42). His colour work was not in keeping with the original colours on the stela as A001 (British Museum EA886) is a limestone stela which shows no evidence of colour traces. The stela (Louvre C243) represented in A002 on the other hand, is painted. Tomlinson had not finished painting the squeeze, but it is clear from the colours used that he was not painting according to the original. A third squeeze (A035) has had a yellow-brown wash brushed over the entire squeeze and some of the details were picked out in black ink. A negative wash was brushed over A043, which filled all the indentations with red ink, highlighting the inscription whilst leaving the background clear. Treating these squeezes in such a creative manner indicates that Tomlinson was not taking the squeezes for

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<sup>118</sup> MS 3470/16/27 Special Collections, University of Aberdeen.

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<http://calms.abdn.ac.uk/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqServer=Calms&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27five%20boxes%20of%20notes%27%29> (accessed July 26 2017).

a professional or academic purpose, but rather for the aesthetics of the inscription and his painting emphasised this beauty.

These are the only squeezes treated in this way within the catalogue, although Petrie had painted some of his racial types squeezes to demonstrate the original colours. Unfortunately, as the photographs are black and white, this is not possible to verify, and the squeezes themselves have long since disappeared.

The majority of the Tomlinson squeezes were of portable objects, namely stelae. Some of these have been identified as originating in the Anastasi collection, which was sold at auction in 1857. As these squeezes were probably produced inside, with no time or weather considerations, this provides an explanation for their excellent quality. Some of them may have also been made horizontally rather than vertically.

The Anastasi collection was the private collection of Giovanni Anastasi (1780–1860) who was Armenian by birth, born in Damascus and who settled in Alexandria in 1801, when he adopted this name.<sup>120</sup> He was the Swedish-Norwegian Consul General in Egypt between 1828 and 1857.<sup>121</sup> As a successful merchant he was responsible primarily for trading grain, but he used these trade routes to purchase and sell Egyptian antiquities,<sup>122</sup> especially items from Saqqara and Thebes. In Saqqara, he worked alongside Giuseppe di Nizzoli and his wife Amalia and in Thebes and Abydos his agent was Piccinini.<sup>123</sup> Anastasi acquired antiquities on behalf of Henry

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<sup>120</sup> Dawson 1949: 158.

<sup>121</sup> Schneider 1991: 399.

<sup>122</sup> Chrysikopoulos 2015: 2151.

<sup>123</sup> Schneider 1991: 400.

Salt,<sup>124</sup> had agents in Upper and Lower Egypt and was on very good terms with Mohammed Ali, the Pasha who made exportation to Europe easier.

At least one stela represented by a squeeze in the catalogue (A001) is from the site of Saqqara, indicating he also purchased for his own private collection and ‘scavenged saleable antiquities’<sup>125</sup> from Abydos, a site greatly ignored until Auguste Mariette focused excavations here in 1858, a year after the collection of Anastasi was sold at auction.

Five of the stelae represented by squeezes in the catalogue have been identified as coming from Abydos (A023, A024, A051, A054 (plate 38), A061). It is unlikely that Anastasi took part in any excavations personally, preferring to manage his mercantile business in Alexandria, whilst relying on his agents to bring interesting items to his attention.<sup>126</sup> He started buying and exchanging antiquities<sup>127</sup> as early as 1811, so by 1828 when he took on the role of Consul, he had over sixteen years’ experience and had amassed a large collection of antiquities. ‘After Salt and Drovetti, [Anastasi] was the greatest collector of Egyptian antiquities.’<sup>128</sup>

His collection was then sold at auction in three lots; 5,600 pieces to the Dutch Government in 1828, which were placed in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,<sup>129</sup> a further auction in London in 1839 and 1,129 lots sold at a Paris auction in June 1857.<sup>130</sup> The latter had been offered to the king of Netherlands first, but was rejected prior to ending up in Paris.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Mairs & Muratov 2015: 8.

<sup>125</sup> Thompson 2016: 79.

<sup>126</sup> Dawson 1949: 159.

<sup>127</sup> Schneider 1991: 400.

<sup>128</sup> Schneider 1991: 399.

<sup>129</sup> Thompson 2015: 115.

<sup>130</sup> Bierbrier 2012: 19-20.

<sup>131</sup> Schneider 1991: 399.

The result of these auctions was that ‘nearly all the principal museums of Europe as well as many private collectors acquired valuable additions ...’. As George Tomlinson only travelled to Egypt in 1846, the contents of the first two Anastasi auctions (1828 and 1839) are not perhaps as pertinent to the present study as they were sold before he arrived, whereas the remaining 1,129 objects were potentially available for him to view and squeeze. However, it is clear that at least one of the stela he squeezed (A063/A064) was in the British Museum (BM830) from 1839, when it was purchased in the earlier Anastasi auction. This suggests that Tomlinson squeezed this whilst it was in the British Museum, as he was not in Egypt prior to the sale, and could not have squeezed it on site or in Anastasi’s collection. No other squeezes were matched to this earlier auction.

Some of the items available to him may now be in private collections, meaning these squeezes are the only publically available records of these stela.<sup>132</sup> Unfortunately, trying to locate the items purchased by private buyers is difficult and some may have been resold to other collectors since the original auction. Additionally many of the items sold, even to museums, have subsequently been lost. For example, seven of twelve stelae purchased by the Egyptian Museum in Berlin in 1857 have since been lost<sup>133</sup> and cannot be identified as being represented by the catalogue here.

Additionally, items have been passed onto other institutions or private collections. For example, wooden coffins from the 1857 sale were originally purchased by Belgian archaeologist A.G.B. Schayes. Following his death in 1859, his collection was dispersed and was purchased by a Belgian collector Baron Albert d'Otreppe de Bouvette and former

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<sup>132</sup> Dawson 1949: 160.

<sup>133</sup> Acquisition list from the Anastasi collection, provided by Klaus Finneiser, Curator.

diplomat Emile de Meester de Ravestein. In 1865, Baron d'Otreppe de Bouvette donated his purchases to the Musée Curtius in Liège.<sup>134</sup> Similar sales histories have also been identified for the stelae represented by some of the squeezes in the catalogue (Appendix 1). For example, A023 was sold to the Guimet Museum in Paris, but was later sold on to the Louvre, Paris, whereas A002 and A068 were bought in the Anastasi collection by Louis Fould, who then also sold them to the Louvre in 1860.

A number of the stelae squeezed by Tomlinson have been identified in the 1857 auction catalogue *D'une Collection D'antiquités Egyptiennes par M. Francois Lenormant cette Collection Rassemblée par M. d'Anastasi*. This was done using a combination of translating the texts on the stelae, matching them with the auction descriptions and using a catalogue annotated by Alan Gardiner obtained from the Institute of Archaeology Library, UCL. He recorded the purchaser of some items next to their catalogue entry.

The auction was carried out by Felix Schaye (from 5 Rue de Cléry) and his assistant, the expert M. Roussel (5 Rue de Neuve l'Université) at an auction house at 76 Rue de Clichy, Paris, and took place over five days (23–27 June 1857). Unfortunately the auction house no longer exists and the site is the home of the Aurore Montmartre Hotel.

#### *Anastasi Collection*

Of the sixty-eight squeezes in the University of Aberdeen Special Collections, there are fourteen squeezes that represent nine stelae that have been identified as originating from the Anastasi Collection. From searching the auction catalogue from 1857, it is possible to

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<sup>134</sup> De Meulenaere 1980:75-6.

identify which museums purchased these stelae, although the amount paid has not been recorded.

In the case of A002, it was sold twice before reaching the Louvre; and A023/A024 was originally sold to the Guimet Collection, but when their Egyptian collection was closed it was passed on to the Louvre.

Reference Number	Location	Comments
A002	Louvre 243	This was originally sold as part of the Anastasi collection (Anastasi 20) and then re-sold as part of the Fould collection (no 11).
A031	Louvre C214	This was originally sold as part of the Anastasi collection (Anastasi 60). Since the squeeze was taken the left third of the stela has been damaged destroying two images from the top register, and the figure of Anubis on the bottom register.
A048	Louvre C176	This stela originated in the Abydos region. (Anastasi 38)
A050	Berlin 1191	This stela originated in the Abydos region. Today this stela is nothing but a few fragments meaning this squeeze is an important means of reconstructing this inscription. (Anastasi 79)
A052/A067	Louvre Museum (C218).	Sold as part of the Anastasi collection (Anastasi 63).
A054/A058	British Museum (BM828)	Sold as part of the Anastasi collection (Anastasi 17)
A062	British Museum (834)	Sold as part of the Anastasi collection (Anastasi 61)
A065/A055/A061/A060	Staatliche Museum, Berlin (1192)	From the Anastasi Collection (Anastasi 14).
A068	Louvre C240	Originally from Abydos and sold as part of the Anastasi Collection (36) and then sold as part of the Fould Collection. (Fould 10)
Table 9: Stelae in the Anastasi Collection.		

Within the collection there are an additional five stelae represented which have been identified as being part of the Anastasi 1857 collection, but the purchase and current location has not been identified. These five stelae are represented by six squeezes.



Squeeze Number	Anastasi Reference
A047	Anastasi 18
A057	Anastasi 12
A021	Anastasi 66 – the catalogue is annotated by Alan Gardiner with sh.1.96 but what this refers to is uncertain.
A045	Anastasi 68
A042/A043	Anastasi 80
Table 10: Unidentified stelae in the Anastasi Collection.	

There are an additional five stelae which are currently in the British Museum, Louvre and the Staatliche Museum, Berlin. They have reached these museums through auctions and donations and have been matched to the squeezes by comparing the squeeze with the objects.

Reference Number	Location	Comments
A001	British Museum EA886	This is the stela of the High Priest of Ptah, from Memphis, Psherenptah the husband of Taimhotep. It originated in Memphis. It was purchased by BM in 1875 from Salima Harris as part of the Anthony Charles Harris Collection
A023/A024	Louvre Museum E20900	This originally came from the Abydos region possibly in Simpson's North Offering Chapel. It was sold to the Guimet Museum [11324] and then to the Louvre.
A035/A036	Staatliche Museum, Berlin (1200).	This was initially thought to be part of the Anastasi collection but it is not on the Anastasi Acquisition list at the museum.
A051	Louvre Museum 174	This was originally from the Abydos region possibly in Simpson's North Offering Chapel.
A063/A064	British Museum (830)	This stela originated in the Abydos region possibly in Simpson's North Offering Chapel. It was purchased from Giovanni Anastasi in 1839.
Table 11: Identified stelae not from the Anastasi Collection.		

There are an additional forty squeezes in the collection —representing nineteen stelae, three

wall inscriptions, two offering tables, and a carved coffin — that have not been identified.

### **Colour Transference (Plates 25–39)**

One of the most common reactions to squeezes as archaeological artefacts is derision due to the damage caused to painted surfaces when they were produced, with no consideration for the information they currently hold. Hankey, in her biography of Arthur Weigall, comments:

‘Some had taken wet squeezes – that is, they had pressed wetted paper onto the paintings so as to take coloured prints – draining the colour from the originals and leaving streaks and smears behind.’<sup>135</sup>

Hankey’s comments are exaggerated, as it would be impossible to take a colour print using a squeeze, but that is not to say noticeable damage had not been caused. Petrie believed colour in the tombs at Meidum had been damaged by squeeze-making:

‘Elsewhere, Marriette or one of his helpers had removed more of the colour by wet-squeezing.’<sup>136</sup>

Whilst there can be no doubt that applying wet paper to an ancient painted surface is harmful, evidence from the seven collections showcased in the catalogue leads to the conclusion that squeezes did not remove the paint *to the extent* they are reputed to have done. Often the example of the tomb of Sety I (KV17) is used to demonstrate the level of damage caused by squeezes. However, as discussed in chapter 6, the tomb of Sety I is unusual in that some scenes were squeezed hundreds of times, with varying materials including gypsum, wax and plaster, all of which are more damaging than wet paper squeezes. For the majority of the

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<sup>135</sup> Hankey 2007: 76.

<sup>136</sup> Drower 1985: 174-5.

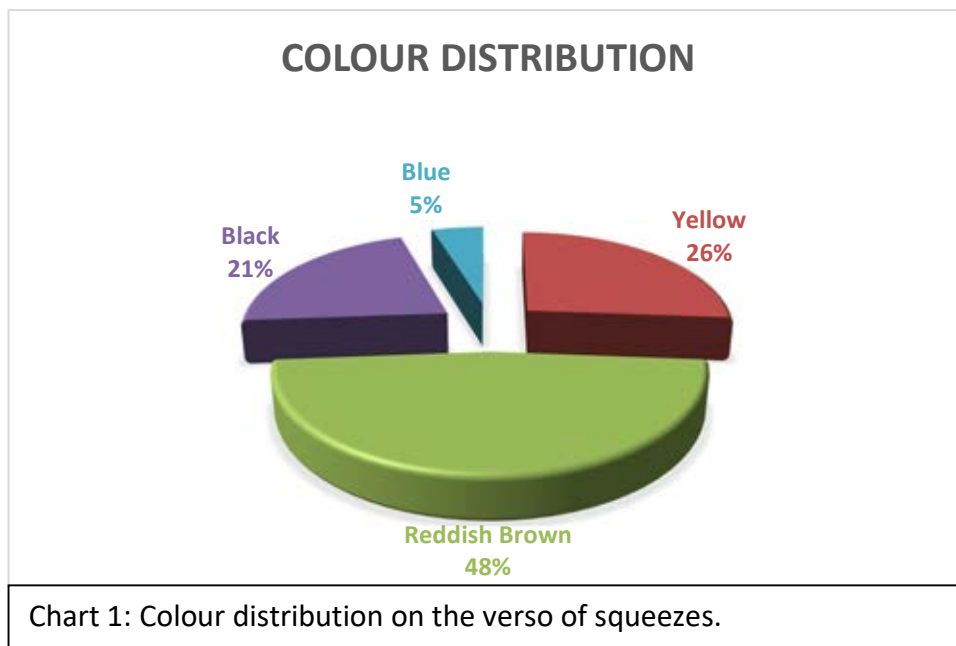
squeezes studied here, the original monuments do not seem to be marked by the squeeze-making process and in many cases the colour is still extant and vibrant on the original. Evidence from this study therefore suggests such extreme damage as witnessed in the tomb of Sety I is the exception, rather than the norm.

Of 339 squeezes examined, thirty-seven were mounted, so observing the verso was not possible. Of the remaining 302 squeezes only thirty-one have visible paint traces – a total of 9% of total squeezes with visible versos. Whilst such a small sample cannot be considered representative of all squeezes in existence, it does indicate that stripping colour from the walls is not as widespread a problem as reported.

Squeeze number	Museum	Site	Colour traces
G003	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Ramses VI KV 9	Reddish brown, black.
G007	The Collection, Lincoln	Deir el Bahri. Possibly Great Temple.	Reddish brown
G008	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Ramses XI KV 6	Reddish brown, yellow
G010	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Merenptah KV 8	Reddish brown.
G016	The Collection, Lincoln	Chapel of the Divine Adoratrice, Nitocris. Karnak.	Reddish brown.
G021	The Collection, Lincoln	Chapel behind Thutmose III hall. Karnak.	Reddish brown.
G022	The Collection, Lincoln	Temple of Ptah, Karnak.	Reddish brown, blue.
G040	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Paheri, El Kab.	Yellow and reddish brown.
G041	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Paheri, El Kab.	Reddish brown.
G047	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Sety I, KV17.	Yellow.
M025	Marischal, Aberdeen	Tomb of Sety I, KV17.	Reddish brown.
M047	Marischal, Aberdeen	Tomb of Sety I, KV17.	Reddish brown, black.
M062	Marischal, Aberdeen	Tomb of Sety I, KV17.	Reddish brown, black, yellow.
A004	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Reddish brown, black.
A006/A007	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Reddish brown.
A009	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Black.
A011	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Yellow.
A012	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Yellow.
A013	University of Aberdeen		Yellow.

	Special Collections		
A014	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Reddish brown, blue.
A015	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Yellow, black.
A016	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Reddish brown, black.
A017	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Yellow.
A018	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Black.
A029	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Reddish brown.
A037	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Reddish brown, yellow.
A031	University of Aberdeen Special Collections	Louvre, C214.	Black.
A051	University of Aberdeen Special Collections	Louvre, C174.	Reddish brown.
A054	University of Aberdeen Special Collections	British Museum 828.	Reddish brown.
A056	University of Aberdeen Special Collections		Yellow.
<b>Table 12:</b> The colour transference on the squeezes in the catalogue.			

Upon examination of the thirty-one squeezes (9%) which have colour traces on the verso, the traces are small and fragmentary in nature. Hankey's claim of taking colour prints is not borne out by the evidence. Only four colours have survived on the squeezes; blue, yellow, black and reddish-brown. The latter is the most common and was traditionally used for male skin-tone and survives in 48% of the examples.



The survival of these four colours more than any others could be dependent on the compounds within the pigments. Without closely examining each colour trace, the exact pigments are unknown although reds, browns and yellows were generally made of naturally occurring ochres.<sup>137</sup> There are, as one would expect, different components added to the ochres to achieve various shades and textures. Red paint, for example, from the tomb of Suemniwet (TT 92) is a combination of red ochre, arsenic and sulphide,<sup>138</sup> but other samples include iron oxides such as haematite and clays.<sup>139</sup> It is also to be considered that many painted artefacts and images were constructed with multiple layers of paint, glazes and transparent washes<sup>140</sup> and some of the traces on the verso of squeezes may show evidence of being a glaze, varnish or even a paint binder, rather than a paint layer.

Some of the components in the paint itself can go some way to explaining why certain colours

<sup>137</sup> McCarthy 2001: 17.

<sup>138</sup> McCarthy 2001: 18.

<sup>139</sup> Green 2001: 46.

<sup>140</sup> McCarthy 2001: 17-18.

transferred and others did not. Some minerals used in the manufacture of paint are unstable, resulting in a friable top layer, which can easily dissolve in water.<sup>141</sup> Such a surface will be damaged by the application of a wet-paper squeeze, but could as easily be damaged by condensation from tourists' breath or poor weather.

Egyptian blue is particularly unstable and is a synthetic pigment used throughout Egyptian history. As it degrades it changes to a green-blue colour and the top layers becomes more friable than the lower levels.

The top levels tend to contain high levels of calcium and sulphur, consistent with the presence of gypsum.<sup>142</sup> Egyptian blue has been transferred to the verso of some squeezes, due to this friability.

Realgar, a natural red-coloured pigment, is sometimes used in red paint and is also unstable. When exposed to light it changes to an orange-yellow colour and becomes friable and liable to lift from the paint surface,<sup>143</sup> which provides an explanation for its discovery on the verso of some squeezes.

Colour transference is one of the main criticisms against the use of squeezes and it would be useful to turn such a negative aspect into a positive through the study of the remnants of colour on the verso of some squeezes. Studying paint from tomb, temple or stela inscriptions is destructive due to their antiquity, but squeezes provide a younger artefact bearing the same ancient paint and the removal of samples will not negatively impact on the integrity of the squeeze. These paint fragments will provide details on the components used to produce

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<sup>141</sup> Newman & Halpine 2001: 22.

<sup>142</sup> Green 2001: 45.

<sup>143</sup> Green 2011: 46.

the paint and could also be used to identify the location of an unidentified squeeze, as certain paint ingredients could be specific to a region, tomb or temple. For example, paint with traces of orpiment is generally found on royal sarcophagi and could be a sign of an elite material.<sup>144</sup> Evidence of such material in the paint traces of an unidentified squeeze could narrow down where the original image could be located. Such research, is outside the scope of this thesis, but could provide useful data for future studies.

### **Damaged and missing monuments**

The most obvious value of nineteenth-century squeezes is epigraphical, as discussed at length in chapter 7. They represent inscriptions as they were when the squeeze was taken. Essentially, they are one-to-one 3D images of monuments which in many cases do not look the same today.

Original inscriptions may have suffered damage since the squeeze was taken, either through human agency (theft, vandalism), natural elements (rising water table, sand or wind erosion) or they have since been lost. Therefore, squeezes of those inscriptions show them in better condition than they are in today. Malek comments that,

‘the only hope of recovering at least some of it [lost cultural history] is to search for it in records made by earlier travellers and copyists and more recently, by Egyptologists.’<sup>145</sup>

There is no quick and easy solution to this and the only way to identify lost or damaged scenes in archival material is to match the document with the original monument, as has been done

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<sup>144</sup> McCarthy 2001: 19.

<sup>145</sup> Malek 2003: 231.

where possible within this catalogue. Often there are no clues from the squeeze as to the condition of the original wall as it can be difficult to differentiate between a badly produced squeeze and an extremely damaged wall. For example, the quality of the Sesebi squeezes from the Egypt Exploration Society is similar to that of G024 at Karnak, from The Collection, Lincoln. Whereas the Sesebi monuments are greatly dilapidated since the squeezes were taken, the Karnak squeeze actually depicts a scene in near-perfect condition.

However, even badly produced squeezes can be valuable if the scene is currently in a worse condition than when it was squeezed, or if the monument is now missing.

Of the 339 squeezes in the catalogue, nine are missing (2.6%) (plates 1–5) and sixty-eight are damaged. These have been defined as marginally damaged where there is little difference between the squeeze and the original, other than a scratch, crack or small piece of damage. Other items have been defined as having major damage where the squeeze provides much more information than the original. From the sixty-eight squeezes of damaged inscriptions, there are fifteen suffering from major damage.

Whilst it is possible to broadly categorise the squeezes into inscriptions that are marginally damaged and suffering from major damage, this is a difficult thing to quantify and is in some way subjective. The level of damage varies from inscription to inscription and therefore to truly ascertain the value, each squeeze really needs to be studied on a case-by-case basis.

Squeezes showing inscriptions that have been marginally damaged include cracks, graffiti, chips or damage to the paintwork. The latter is particularly noticeable in the tomb of Sety I (KV17), where numerous squeezes were taken of single images creating discoloured or faded patches around the images.



There are some particularly striking examples from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57) where the squeezes represent inscriptions that have been badly damaged. Squeezes B009, L008 and L019 represent scenes that no longer exist in the tomb (plate 9) whereas G012 shows the profile of the tomb owner, but all that remains in the tomb is an ear and part of the chin (plate 20) by which the squeeze was matched. B011 (plate 11) and P006 (Plate 6) depict scenes in which half the originals have since been removed and therefore the squeezes provide the resources for reconstructing these missing scenes.

Squeeze Number	Museum	Site
G057	The Collection, Lincoln	Beit el Wali
G062	The Collection, Lincoln	Dakka
G004	The Collection, Lincoln	Karnak
G035	The Collection, Lincoln	Kom Ombo
A031	University of Aberdeen	Louvre C214
E055/E058 E056/E046 E058/E059 E042 – E046 E050-E061 E064-E080 E082-E084 E086 E088-E090	Egypt Exploration Society	Sesebi
A050	University of Aberdeen	StBerlin 1191
P007/B001/L002/M007	Petrie Museum Bristol City Leeds Museum Marischal	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
P009/B013/M001	Petrie Museum Bristol City Marischal	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
M063	Marischal Museum	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
P006	Petrie Museum	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
L017	Leeds Museum	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
L019	Leeds Museum	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
B003	Bristol City	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
B004	Bristol City	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
B011	Bristol City	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
B013	Bristol City	Tomb of Khaemhat

		(TT57)
G012	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)
L018	Leeds Museum	Tomb of Paser (TT106)
G027/M051	The Collection, Lincoln Marischal	Tomb of Sety I (KV17)
G053/M030	The Collection, Lincoln Marischal	Tomb of Sety I (KV17)
M061	Marischal Museum	Tomb of Sety I (KV17)
G027	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Sety I (KV17)
G053	The Collection, Lincoln	Tomb of Sety I (KV17)
<b>Table 13:</b> The squeezes which are in better condition than the original monument.		

## Method of Manufacture

Throughout the previous chapters, various differences have been highlighted in regard to the methods and materials used to produce paper squeezes. All of these are represented in the catalogue itself.

## Joining numerous sheets together

Most tourist squeezes were made from single sheets of paper of uniform size which were easy to produce and handle, but limited the size of the impression taken. In some cases, the scene is only partial, with perhaps the head of the tomb owner (B001) or the hands of an individual (M064). Squeezes made by individuals, on the other hand, vary in size and tend to cover fuller scenes than the tourist examples. The difference in size is obvious between the Petrie Museum collection and the de Garis Davies group at the EES.

Large squeezes encounter a specific set of challenges as they are not as easy to handle as the tourist squeezes and some require long sheets of paper. There are numerous examples within the catalogue that show how paper which was not long enough was joined together. Woodhead describes the process of overlapping sheets of paper to extend the squeezing surface. The edges of paper were laid over each other and he states:

‘particular attention should be given to this point of overlap. When dry, if the sheets have been well worked together at their edges, the whole squeeze should come off in one piece.’<sup>146</sup>

In the catalogue there are twenty-five examples of this technique of extending the paper length from the collection at Leeds City Museum, Marischal Museum and the Sesebi and de Garis Davies groups from the Egypt Exploration Society. The majority are made by joining two squeezes together (nine of the twenty-five), with five being made of three sheets, four squeezes of four sheets, and three each comprising six and seven sheets. One squeeze (E032) was unusual as a border of plain paper had been added around the edge.

Whilst many of the Marischal Museum squeezes were made for the tourist market, as discussed above, the joining of extra sheets to produce M010/M011, M008 and M020 demonstrates that some of the collection was made by an individual traveller. The poor location of the join on M010/M011, across the centre of the image to be squeezed and the visibility of the join, indicate the person making the squeeze was not a professional archaeologist or seasoned squeeze maker.

The join in A018 (plate 36), from the Special Collections, University of Aberdeen, is equally poorly executed, although the join is not so visible. Another squeeze from the collection with a join is A004 (plate 31) and, along with A018, although unidentified, seem to form part of a coffin inscription. All the squeezes in the sequence (A003, A003, A009-A018) may have been joined originally and only these two show any signs of this today. An additional strip of paper has been added to the bottom of the squeeze and the join is visible at the knee-level of the

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<sup>146</sup> Woodhead 1959: 79.

figures, as the paper has since lifted.

The seventeen Egypt Exploration Society squeezes comprised of joined sheets come from two groups; the Sesebi and the de Garis Davies.

Fourteen squeezes created from multiple sheets of paper are from the de Garis Davies group at the Egypt Exploration Society. They are made of a combination of two, three, four, six or seven sheets.

The objective when producing these squeezes was to reproduce the entire wall scene, which could be inked in and then reproduced directly into plates for publication. Therefore, extra sheets of paper have been added wherever needed and the squeeze shape becomes rather abstract, depending on the shape of the image they were squeezing (e.g. E026/27 and E033). Any visible joins could be removed at the publishers and, as they were also dry squeezed, they were never intended to have been used to produce casts.

Squeezes E057 (plate 13), E066 and E087 were produced using two sheets of paper joined together and come from the Sesebi group. However, the squeezes are of very poor quality, with the paper generally having a lumpy appearance and numerous small holes. Column III, the original monument depicted in E057 and E066, as discussed above, is in very poor condition, but the squeeze itself also seems to be very poorly executed, as does the unidentified E087.

Another reason for joining two sheets of paper together was to strengthen the squeeze rather than lengthening the paper. In the catalogue, there are seven examples of double paper squeezes and four examples of squeezes made from paper folded in half to make a stronger squeeze. There are three from the Sesebi Group at the Egypt Exploration Society, three from

the Collection, Lincoln, and five from the Marischal Museum.

### **Dry squeezing**

The majority of the squeezes in the catalogue have been produced using the wet squeezing method which, as described in previous chapters comprises placing wet paper onto a carved inscription and then hammering into the indentations using a hard brush. However, the de Garis Davies' squeezes at the Egypt Exploration Society appear to have been made using the dry squeezing method, as described by Petrie:

‘A sheet of thin paper is held over the stone, and it is pressed over each edge of the cutting so as to leave a bend in the surface. Then, laid on a drawing-board, with an oblique lighting, the bends are all drawn on with a pencil, checking by comparison with the stone.’<sup>147</sup>

The squeezes are very shallow and have been inked in to make the images clearer. In some places, perhaps where they have been rolled up for a century, the raised edges of the squeeze have almost disappeared, with the resulting document resembling a drawing rather than a squeeze.

Dry squeezing may have been chosen by the de Garis Davieses as the scenes on the tomb walls were heavily coloured and wet squeezing would have lifted some of the more friable paint. Additionally, the squeezes were never intended to be used to produce casts, but rather to produce the plates in the *Sheikh Said* portfolio. Therefore, it was not necessary to have a sturdy impression that could be used repeatedly for cast producing. They were needed for a

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<sup>147</sup> Petrie 1904: 62.

single purpose – to reproduce the plates and then to be stored for posterity.

### **Different types of paper**

The squeezes represented in the catalogue are made from a variety of paper types. These have not been studied in any professional capacity due to restraints within the research question.

Many of the squeezes that appear to have been made for the tourist industry are made of brown/grey pulped paper with a mixture of unidentified organic inclusions. The Bristol City collection is the only collection which has been conserved and the paper examined professionally.

‘The paper sheet is formed of brown/grey paper pulp. The pulp looks very coarse with small pieces of wood/other foreign material embedded.’<sup>148</sup>

At least twelve of the Leeds City squeezes, six of the Lincoln collection, and at least four from the University of Aberdeen Special Collections have also been identified as being produced from a dark grey absorbent paper with foreign inclusions.

The other main type used is a white paper, which appears to be similar to art paper, with a shiny surface. There were three squeezes in the Leeds City collection made with this type of paper (L003, L007, L008), as well as all the Sheikh Said squeezes made by the de Garis Davies in the Egypt Exploration Society collection. These produced a shallower squeeze than the rough, absorbent paper.

Only three squeezes, M017, M018 and M019, have clearly been made from readily available

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<sup>148</sup> See Appendix 3 for the full sample report.

daily-use paper. These are made from pink blotting paper, which also has traces on the verso of blottings from a letter (plate 40).

There is potential for further study on the paper used in squeeze-making, which may identify the similarities in paper type across collections. It may also go some way to proving there was a tourist industry of squeeze-making or a retailer selling the same material for squeeze-making to tourists.

### **Tourist Industry**

With some of the collections, it is clear the squeezes have been made by the person who donated them to the archive of the museum; for example, all the squeezes at the Egypt Exploration Society which are connected to specific excavations, or the squeezes of Alice Lieder at The Collection, Lincoln, where the squeezes all have notes written by her on them.

However, one of the most intriguing aspects of squeeze-making in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is that, across at least three of the collections studied in depth, there are squeezes of the same paper type, same size and in some instances the same scenes, hinting at some form of quasi-mass-produced tourist squeezes.

Clues that squeezes are made by individuals rather than tourist products for purchase can be identified in the dimensions of squeezes across a collection. This is where looking at collections as a whole, rather than squeezes in isolation, is essential. If squeezes across a collection are of the same size, material and dimensions, it is an indication they were produced for sale, whereas in collections where each squeeze is a different dimension, of different paper type and more importantly scenes that are not repeated across numerous collections, indicate it was made by an individual. The squeeze holdings of The Collection, Lincoln and the University of Aberdeen are each made by an individual, as the different sized

products, unique images and dated notes in the case of the former would suggest.

Marischal Museum is an unusual collection, as it appears to be a combination of mass-produced tourist squeezes (M001–M007 and M021–M065) and a small collection of squeezes produced by an individual, as the different sized squeezes (M008 is 44.5 x 122 cm) and squeezes made with different paper types (M017/M018/M019 are made of used pink blotting paper) would suggest (plate 40).

The entire collections of Bristol City Museum, Leeds Museum and Gallery and the Petrie Museum collections are of the same dimensions and show scenes from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57). All of these potential tourist squeezes are of dimensions of approximately 43 x 31cm and produced using a coarse grey paper with inclusions. The Leeds collection have not been trimmed for display and mounting and there is therefore more variance in the size (some being 34 x 47 cm) although all show similar dimensions. The paper used for the Leeds collection is also lighter in colour than those at Bristol and Petrie, but the similarities are remarkable and do support the theory that there was a connection between these collections.

### **Unmatched**

The majority of the squeezes in the catalogue were successfully matched with their original monument, or in the case of missing scenes, with the place the inscription should be. In some cases it was not possible to procure an image of the current monument, either due to photographic restrictions on the archaeological site or a lack of available photographs, as in the case of the Sheikh Said tombs. In these instances the location of the images are known, but no photographs of the decoration are available.

There were a number of squeezes which have proved impossible to match so far. This does



not necessarily mean the inscriptions no longer exist, but that the author has been unable to locate them. Further studies may locate more of these inscriptions and continue to develop the catalogue database.

There are eighty-one (26%) squeezes where the precise location of the original monument is unknown. Of these eighty-one, four have been attributed to a temple or site, but the inscription has not been located within that site.

Museum	Total Number of Squeezes	Unmatched
Bristol City	14	0
Egypt Exploration Society	98	11
The Collection, Lincoln	63	10
Leeds City	22	2
Marischal Museum	64	12
Petrie Museum	16	0
University of Aberdeen Special Collections	61	42
Table 14: Unmatched squeezes		

The reasons for being unable to match the squeezes are varied, as each squeeze presents its own challenges. Some squeezes at the Marischal Museum are poorly executed, making the inscriptions difficult to identify. Others there and also at Leeds Museum have a common subject matter, such as cartouches of kings prolific in building, meaning it is impossible to identify the temple in which they could have originated.

Great difficulties presented themselves with the University of Aberdeen squeezes, as they are of portable objects which belonged to private collectors and have spent the last 170 years potentially being sold, lost or damaged. Very few of the stelae identified from this collection are currently on display or catalogued in a public way. Further work on the identifications may be possible through research by experts in funerary stelae with access to the museum storerooms of the UK, Europe and possibly the USA.

Other reasons for not being able to match some of the inscriptions could be that since the squeezes were taken the original inscriptions have been lost, vandalised or stolen.

## **Conclusion**

The categories of information provided in the above chapter are not finite. The sub-headings chosen are an example of the information available, in addition to the most obvious epigraphic value.

Studying this small cross-section of squeezes from seven small institutions has been instrumental in putting together the history of squeeze manufacture and techniques of production as well as the socio-historical aspect of travelling to Egypt in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The squeezes in the collection span a period from 1842 – 1937, a total of ninety-five years, and are split between professionally produced squeezes by archaeologists (Egypt Exploration Society) and amateur squeezes by tourists and travellers (University of Aberdeen Special Collections), as well as the tourist industry squeezes (Bristol City, Leeds and Marischal Museum), which should be considered as a separate category of squeeze-making.

In chapter 11, there follows a discussion of future work that can be carried out with squeezes, not necessarily the 339 discussed here, but any Egyptological collection of paper impressions. With further studies and scientific research which has been beyond the scope and resources of this study, the categories discussed here can be expanded upon, discovering levels of information that at present are not available.

The resources required to put together such extensive research on these 339 squeezes are more than many institutions have at their disposal. Until the true value of squeezes is

understood, then these resources will never be made available as there will always be something considered to be more important or educational upon which to use valuable resources.

## Chapter 9

### Lost information

The most valuable result of this research is the identification of lost and damaged inscriptions depicted on the squeezes. This information is the easiest to action immediately and could be used in reconstructions of monuments, the compilation of a database of lost and damaged inscriptions, and/or publication.

#### Missing Inscriptions

‘Missing inscriptions’ refers to those scenes which are identified to a location but the original is no longer available for study, either through vandalism, theft, being misplaced, sold to private collectors, simply lost or inaccessible.

#### L011/L015/L022 – Tomb of Paser (TT106)

The tomb of Paser (TT106) has been closed to the public for a number of years and there is no publication on the tomb. These three squeezes represent three scenes that have been destroyed since they were taken.

In the absence of a publication, these squeezes provide a record of the scenes as they existed before 1863.

L011 shows the profile of the priest Aniy, son of Paser, wearing an elaborate pleated kilt and a *shebyu* collar. His arms are raised in adoration and he has a shaved head. The squeeze shows minor damage to the chin, head and arm, but otherwise is in good condition.

L015 shows the profile of another of Paser’s sons, Titia, the first stable-master to the king. He is wearing a shoulder-length, double-layered curled wig and he is facing the right with his

arms raised in praise. He has a small beard and a plain collar and is wearing a pleated kilt with an elaborate, starched front.

L022 has an image of the profile of Sety I wearing the curled ram's horn behind his ear and the long, curled horns on the top of the crown. He is holding a flail in his right hand and has a long false beard with a uraeus behind it.

### **B009 – Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)**

The original inscription was one of a number of scenes removed from the tomb and placed in the Neues Museum, Berlin. This is the only one where a cast has not replaced the original in the tomb. The wall is currently empty where it was once situated.

The scene shows the tomb owner Khaemhat in a two-layered, curled wig facing to the left. He has a short false beard and a large *wesek* collar, as well as a golden *shebyu* collar. His right arm is raised across his chest and it is possible to make out the bottom of the sleeve of his tunic.

### **G007 – Deir el Bahri**

This squeeze is labelled as coming from Deir el Bahri and shows the profile of a king (probably Hatshepsut) wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, with a uraeus on the brow. The king wears a straight false beard and a broad collar. His arms are down by his side and there has been some damage to the right shoulder. The nose has been pencilled in and indicates these squeezes were for research rather than display purposes. There are also paint traces on the rear.

Due to the style and size of the inscription, it is believed this squeeze may have been taken from the middle terrace on the northern side of the temple, on the eastern face of the rear

pillars. This is based on similar images in this area although none match the image and damage exactly.

#### **G015 – Deir el Bahri**

This squeeze is labelled 'Deir el Bahri' and depicts the profile view of a god with a cloth headdress and long curled beard. On the god's head is a pair of *ka* arms enclosing a *serekh* frame bearing the title *k3 ht wsr pht*.

Whilst there is a series of similar images on the southern end of the middle terrace, the hieroglyphs above the god's head did not match those on the squeeze.

#### **G021 – Karnak**

This squeeze is labelled as 'Karnak' and it has been identified as coming from a small chapel to the rear of the military temple of Thutmosis III. The image shows the profile of a king wearing the double crown – which appears to be of very tall proportions – and a straight, false beard. There is a sword just visible over the king's head, held by a deity. There is a cartouche of king Ahmose II (570–526 BCE).

There are traces of colour on the back of the squeeze and the facial features have been pencilled in.

The temple is very overgrown and access is extremely limited today meaning the exact image was not matched.

#### **G033 – Karnak**

This squeeze is marked 'Karnak' and shows the profile of a king with a curled wig and false beard, as well as the ram's horn headdress associated with the god Amun. The king is also

wearing a broad decorated collar and his right arm is crossed over the chest.

This exact image could not be matched at Karnak temple. However, in the court of Thutmosis III, behind the sixth pylon, there are very similar images, although the arms are in different positions. On the left hand of the pylon entrance, are the remains of what could be this image. All that remains of the scene is a burning incense pot held by the king and indication that the king's arms are raised as they are in the squeeze.

#### **G042 – Stela**

The stela represented by this squeeze has been lost for many years.<sup>1</sup> Alice Lieder may have made the squeeze from her own collection and it is recorded that she provided antiquities for Lord W.A. Tyssen Amherst which were sold to the British Museum. However, this particular stela is not among the collection.

The stela shows Neferhor, standing and holding a staff in his left hand. His wife Senet stands behind him, holding onto his right wrist and their son Montu-hotep stands behind Senet, holding her right wrist. A smaller figure follows behind. There is also an offering inscription.

Until this stela is located, this squeeze is perhaps the only record in existence.

#### **E042 – Temple of Sesebi**

This squeeze depicts a single column of hieroglyphs and was taken from the central temple at Sesebi on the south face of the door jamb, north of the entrance to the sanctuary.

The inscription is no longer extant and this squeeze could be the last remaining image of what

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<sup>1</sup> Magee & Malek 1991: 197.

was originally on this wall.

#### **E041/ E047/ E048/ E049 – Amara West**

The four squeezes taken at Amara West in 1938–9 are the only records left of the original inscriptions. In 1947–1948, the temple at the site was re-buried as a measure to preserve it from the elements, and it was buried deeper than it had been when they started the excavation.<sup>2</sup>

The temple remains buried and these squeezes are the only images surviving of what could be beneath the ground.

The excavation at Amara West was not published at the time and Spencer in 1997<sup>3</sup> used site director H.W. Fairman's notes and diaries to produce the first of a three-part set of reports.<sup>4</sup> The second book was intended to be about the epigraphic records,<sup>5</sup> but to date has not been published.

All of the following squeezes are of very poor quality and the final details are very difficult to identify.

**E041** shows two lines of horizontal hieroglyphs and two lines of vertical lines of hieroglyphs.

**E047** shows at least three lines of hieroglyphic text.

**E048** has four hieroglyphic signs on what appears to an otherwise blank page.

**E049** presents a line and a half of horizontal hieroglyphs on the left hand side.

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<sup>2</sup> Fairman 1948: 3.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Spencer 1997: 8.

<sup>5</sup> Spencer 1997: 4.



## Damaged Inscriptions

Other squeezes show scenes which remain extant, but are in worse condition than when the squeezes were made. These squeezes therefore could be used to help reconstruct damaged inscriptions, either digitally, or through 3D reconstructions.

For ease of reference, the squeezes are presented by site, as squeezes from across the different museum collections represent the same scenes or are from the same site. Images of stelae or single squeezes from different sites are presented at the end of the section and are listed by squeeze number.

### **Tomb of Khaemhat (KV57), Sheikh Abd el Qurna**

The tomb of Khaemhat (KV57) in Sheikh Abd el Qurna was discovered in 1842 by George Lloyd (1815–1843), a British botanist, and was in very good condition when discovered.

Since the squeezes were taken, some of the original inscriptions have been removed from the walls and taken to the Neues Museum, leaving casts in their place. Other scenes have been extensively damaged.

**P006** depicts an offering table and since the squeeze was taken, the top right hand corner of the inscription has disappeared. From the squeeze, it is therefore possible to determine that the hind leg of an ox has been lost – only the foot remains. The head of a goose and a round object that could be a roasted bird have also disappeared from the original inscription.

On the top left hand corner of the image, the hand of the deceased is just visible, but the squeeze shows more of the hand as well as the object he is holding.

**P007, L002, B001, M007** show the same profile image of Amenhotep III that was removed

from the tomb and taken to the Neues Museum in Berlin in 1899 (inv. 14503). However between the time the squeezes were taken and the scene was removed, damage had occurred to the face. A cast of the Neues Museum piece is currently in the tomb and is not as complete as the squeezed image.

The squeeze shows there is a long, false beard which is detailed with wavy lines. There is only a tiny fragment of this on the original inscription near the end of the beard, in line with the bottom edge of the collar.

The image removed from the tomb was only a fragment of the full scene and the squeeze shows the king's arm across his chest holding a staff or flail, although the end is not extant.

In front of the uraeus on the squeeze is an image of an ankh, which was eliminated when the image was removed from the wall.

**P009, B013, M001** show the Goddess of the West, identified by a hawk on her head. This scene has been badly damaged since the squeezes were taken and is so fragmentary it is difficult to identify in the tomb.

The squeezes show the complete image of the standing goddess with an ankh in one hand and the w3s sceptre in her other hand. The original inscription is very fragmentary and the head, right shoulder, right arm and feet are missing.

In the squeezes, an arbour frames the figure of the goddess, but this is no longer visible on the original inscription. When the squeezes were taken there was a figure behind the goddess and the edges are now just visible, but now everything behind the goddess is missing.

**L017** shows a seated image of Osiris wearing a cloak and holding a crook, flail and w3s sceptre.

Isis stands behind him with her arm raised to his shoulder. The image is mirrored to the right and there is an image of Nephthys facing the other way, although the squeeze does not show the full image of this goddess.

There is very little of this image left in the tomb and the squeeze had to be matched based on the lower portion of the scene.

All that remains on the original inscription is the throne and leg as far as the ankle of Osiris. The head is missing, as are the goddesses. Therefore, this squeeze is a valuable asset for reconstructing the scene in the tomb.

**L019** depicts a profile image of the tomb owner facing to the right with his right arm crossed over his body raised in praise. He is wearing a long necklace, with the signs for heart (*ib*), stability (*ḏd*) and protection (*s3*) as a pectoral. There is a small piece of damage to the cheek and neck of the figure.

The damage to the original scene is substantial and the entire head is now missing. The neck and torso, the bottom of the wig, and the hieroglyphics behind the figure are the only parts remaining.

**B003** shows seven columns of text from the passage of the tomb. The damage on the original is minimal and comprises a couple of small chips to the fourth and fifth column of text.

**B004** depicts five columns of text from the passage. The damage on the original comprises three patches of missing inscription across the second to fifth column of text.

**B011** shows a group of eight adult professional mourners and five younger mourners in training. They all have their arms raised in the air above their heads or covering their faces.

The youngest mourners are holding babies in slings. The women all have long wigs tied back with ribbon. To the far left of the image there are two men bent at the waist.

The left hand side of the original image has since disappeared and the three mourners at the back of the group and the four smaller figures are complete, but the middle group are missing their faces. The remainder of the mourners and the two male figures in the squeeze are now lost.

**M063** shows a young man ploughing a field with an ox in front of him. There is a smaller figure behind him carrying a bag of seeds in his left hand, which he is sowing with his right.

The original scene is now badly damaged, with the image shattered into a number of pieces which appear to have been reconstructed on the wall – resulting in cracks across the entire image.

**G012** depicts a profile view of Khaemhat wearing a double layered curled wig, a short, false beard and a double colour. The natural hair is visible under the wig just in front of his ear.

All that remains of this inscription are small fragments of the ear, the wig and the collar.

### **Tomb of Sety I – KV17, Valley of the Kings**

The tomb of Sety I (KV17) in the Valley of the Kings has been excessively damaged through over-squeezing since its discovery in 1817.

The American Research Centre in Egypt conservation project on the tomb records how Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1824) alone, in only two years,<sup>6</sup> took 650 squeezes here –

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<sup>6</sup> Hamed 2013: 435.

510 of beeswax and 140 with a mixture of beeswax, resin and vegetable fibres.<sup>7</sup> This excessive squeeze-taking has left many images in the tomb faded and obscured to the point that they are almost impossible to identify.

### **M061 – Room H/I**

This squeeze shows a statue of Sety I in the centre holding an ankh in his left hand and a long staff in his right. There is a priest in front and another behind him. Both priests are facing the king performing the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony. The priest in front is wearing a kilt, with a broad band across the torso and is holding a scribal palette in his left hand. The priest behind the king is wearing a leopard skin cloak.

The ARCE Conservation project identified that at least six gypsum, six wax, four wax/resin and four paper squeezes had been taken of this image.

After the Burton photographs were taken between 1921 and 1928, the gypsum and the soot layer was removed and the white pigment was retouched, brightening the image.

The original image is badly damaged, with the head, right shoulder and torso of the king completely missing.

### **G053/M030 – Room L/r**

The scene from the end of the fourth hour of the *Book of Gates* depicts a cobra goddess with her hood raised in protection.

The ARCE Conservation project identified at least two gypsum and five wax/resin squeezes were taken of the image. There were numerous paper fragments stuck to the wall, but the

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<sup>7</sup> Jones 2003: 258.

number of paper squeezes taken is unknown.

The pictorial layer on the original image is now completely lost. Since the Burton picture was taken between 1921 and 1928, some gypsum fragments were removed, causing further damage to the coloured layer.

The image of the serpent is now almost impossible to see on the wall, due to the damage caused by gypsum squeezes.<sup>8</sup>

### **G027/M051 – Room J/I**

These squeezes show a scene from the *Book of Gates* depicting the ram-headed sun god in a linen head-cloth and a short kilt. Another figure is standing behind, although all that is visible of this secondary figure is the hand.

The ARCE Conservation project has identified that at least two gypsum, two wax, three wax/resin and twenty-four to twenty-six paper squeezes had been taken of this scene. The surface where the wax squeezes were taken has been stained a yellowish brown and the paper squeezes left paper remains on the walls. Abrasions associated with the removal of these squeezes have also been identified.

The colour layer is damaged on the original inscription and the red and yellow pigments in particular are flaking. The coloured layer was much more intact when Burton took his photographs in the 1920s.

In particular, there is a white 'square' covering the head and shoulders of the figure, showing

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<sup>8</sup> Vazio 1999: pl 1 after 25.

where the outline of the majority of squeezes were taken, stripping all colour.

### Sesebi Temple Squeezes

The set of squeezes in the Egypt Exploration Society taken at the temple of Sesebi in 1936–8 are particularly valuable for the information they represent, even though the squeezes themselves are of poor quality. All that remains at the site of Sesebi are three columns, which have been extensively damaged by vandals carving graffiti onto the stone over the decades since these squeezes were taken. The inscriptions are gradually becoming harder to see after every season and therefore these squeezes are invaluable for making sense of the faint traces of inscription that remain.

The value of many of the Sesebi squeezes is that they are part of a wider sequence and represent the full decorative scheme of the columns at the site.

Sequence of squeezes around the base of Column II									
E050	E090	E089 E054 Repeated on E053	E073	E074	E061	E075	E076	E077	E088

Sequence of squeezes on the base of Column III							
E062	E064	E057	E052	Break in sequence	E066	'nothing left' written on the squeeze at this stage.	E065

Due to the poor quality of the squeezed images and the shallowness of the impressions, most details were outlined in pencil in order to make the images clearer.

### Southern column 2 – panel

**E043/E060** show six vertical columns of text and the plumes from the crown of Amun. The original squeeze is of poor quality which reflects a similar quality of the inscription in the late 1930s.

**E086** has an extremely uneven surface and a number of holes and tears. It is not possible to identify whether there is an inscription on this squeeze.

Pencil notes written on the squeeze identify it as coming from the panel of column 2 (southern) at Sesebi.

**E067** shows five vertical columns of hieroglyphs and one horizontal row. To the left are the plumes from the crown of Amun and to the right is the white crown of Upper Egypt.

**E068** shows Akhenaten wearing the crown of Lower Egypt on the left.

**E069** – On the left of the squeeze are two cartouches. One reads mn m3' t r' (Sety I), the other is not clear. To the right of the squeeze are the plumes of Amun's headdress.

**E070** – The pencil outlined image in the centre of the squeeze could be the plumes of Amun's headdress although the details are difficult to identify.

**E071** has been outlined in pencil identifying two pairs of legs facing to the left. The legs at the front – belonging to the god Amun – are on a larger scale than the pair following behind belonging to Akhenaten. There is a bull's tail down the back of both pairs of legs.

**E072** is very fragmentary and depicts two figures – Amun standing in front of an ewer holding a long staff in his right hand and the king, Akhenaten, standing behind the ewer with his arms raised in offering

#### **Southern column 2– base**

**E088** shows a foreign captive oval with a Nubian figure surmounting it. The hieroglyphs within


read  .



**E090** – In the centre is a captive oval with a Nubian figure surmounting it. To the right of the figure are the outlines of the palace façade frieze. In the oval are the hieroglyphs, which read

.

**E050** shows an oval surmounted by what appears to be a bound Nubian captive. The


inscription within the oval reads .

**E053/E054/E089** – E053 shows an inscription of the outline of a captive oval, although the signs inside are not readable.

E089 and E054 show close-up details of E053.

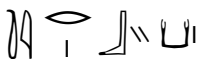
**E061** – The centre of this squeeze is a bound captive oval, outlined in pencil which reads

. The background to this image is a palace façade.

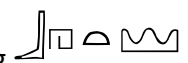
**E073** – In the centre of the squeeze is a captive oval bearing hieroglyphs reading 

The Nubian figure surmounting the oval is fragmentary and there are faint lines of a palace façade frieze on either side of the oval and traces to the far left of the outline of what may be another oval.

**E074** – In the centre of the squeeze is a captive oval bearing hieroglyphs reading



The Nubian figure surmounting the oval is very fragmentary and there are faint lines of a palace façade frieze on either side of the oval.

**E075** – In the centre of the squeeze is a captive oval bearing hieroglyphs reading 

The Nubian figure surmounting the oval is very fragmentary and there are faint lines of a palace façade frieze on either side of the oval.

As this column is partially buried, only the top half of the inscription is now visible, so this squeeze provides a fuller, albeit fragmentary, copy of the scene.

**E076** – In the left hand side of the squeeze is a captive oval, although the hieroglyphs and bottom half of the oval are not visible. The figure on top of the oval is Nubian.

The palace façade frieze is just visible to the right of the oval and the owl hieroglyph just above it.

**E077** – To the left of the squeeze the fragmentary outline of a face is just visible, but the image is shallow and it is difficult to identify the details.

### **Central column 3 – panel**

**E044/E051** – E051 shows the lower half of Akhenaten (based on style) standing before a ewer with a lotus flower resting on top. The king is wearing a kilt tied at the front.

E044 is a close-up detail of E051 and shows the remains of a figure in a heavily starched kilt standing in front of a spouted ewer with a lotus flower laid over it. To the left is a figure holding a long staff.

**E046/E056** represent the lower half of Amun wearing a starched kilt and elaborate apron. The bull's tail is visible along the back of his hips and legs and he is holding an ankh in his right hand.

Behind him, a hand is visible clutching a bundle of staffs and could be a representation of Ptah.

**E051** depicts the lower half of Akhenaten (based on style) standing before a ewer with a lotus flower resting on top. The king is wearing a kilt tied at the front.

**E055** shows the lower half of Akhenaten with his queen Nefertiti behind him – both facing to the right. Nefertiti is of a much smaller scale than the king. In front of Akhenaten is another figure holding an ankh in their left hand.

The head and shoulders of Nefertiti are now missing from the original inscription and Akhenaten's stomach is much clearer in the squeeze than the remaining inscription.

**E058/E059** – The main image on these squeezes is the plumes from the crown of Amun, as well as a cartouche of Sety I (sty mry ptḥ) to the right of the squeeze. This cartouche is repeated in squeeze E059.

E059 also has the head of Sety wearing the *khat* headdress. The Aten is above him with the double *uraeus* and an *ankh* hanging from each cobra.

### **Central column 3 – base**

**E052** –This squeeze shows the lower half of a foreign captive cartouche containing the ḥꜣst sign.

The oval is framed on either side with the palace façade niching, which is common with the Sesebi column design.

**E057** depicts two captive foreign territory ovals. The hieroglyphic text within these ovals is not clear and only the last three signs in the left hand oval can be deciphered.

**E064** shows a captive oval with a Syrian captive surmounting it and surrounded on both sides by a palace façade.

**E065** – There are some pencil outlines on this squeeze, showing the corner of the captive oval, although the hieroglyphs within are not visible.

**E066** shows the edge of a captive oval, but the name within the oval is not clear even though it is been outlined in pencil.

#### **Northern column 4 – panel**

**E045 /E084** show the lower half of the king, wearing a starched kilt and elaborate apron. The bull's tail is visible along the back of his legs.

**E078** – In the centre of the squeeze is a pair of legs with a bull's tail hanging down the back, and part of the right arm.

This male figure is facing right and although there are some hieroglyphs in front of the figure, the reading is not clear.

**E079** shows a fragmentary royal inscription, with nb t3.wy on the right side and the remains

of two cartouches on the left reading  .

The original inscription is much fainter today than it was when it was originally squeezed.

**E080** shows two vertical lines of hieroglyphs with a *serekh* frame surmounted by a Horus bird on the right with the royal 'mighty bull' title written within.

The inscription is very fragmentary and the pencil outlines are therefore essential to identify details.

**E082** shows the head of a king in a layered wig and a solar disc above his head bearing the double uraeus. Ankh signs are hanging from the cobras.

In front of the royal figure is a circle with a diameter of 18cm, although the details of what this is are not clear.

**E083** depicts the body of a king wearing a nemes headdress and a bull's tail hanging down the back of his kilt. The figure is facing left and is holding a long staff in his right hand and an ankh in his left hand. In front of this figure is the leg of a king on a much larger scale.

### **General sites**

#### **G004 – Temple of Ramses III, Karnak**

The squeeze shows a profile view of Ramses III wearing a nemes headdress. His hand is raised in front of his face in praise.

The head of the king in the original inscription is now missing from the nose up. Therefore the squeeze, although being of poor quality, shows more of the image than is currently visible on the temple wall.

#### **G035 – First Courtyard, Kom Ombo**

This squeeze shows a hieroglyph of a crocodile seated upon a plinth balanced on a nb sign.

The original was located on a pillar in the first courtyard. The image is higher than head height and indicates that these pillars were more accessible when the squeeze was taken.

Since the squeeze was taken, damage has been caused to the sign, with a vertical crack through the neck of the crocodile down to the nb plinth it is resting on.

#### **G057 – Temple of Ramses II, Beit el Wali**

This squeeze was taken at the temple of Ramses II at Beit el Wali, 50km (31 miles) south of

the Aswan High Dam. This temple was relocated in the 1960s when the dam was constructed and is now situated at the site of Kalabsha.

The original inscription can be found on the door jamb, on the left hand side on entering the temple itself. Since the squeeze was taken, a hole has been cut into the head of the king.

#### **G062 – Chapel of Ergamenes, temple of Dakka**

The original temple of Dakka was dismantled between 1962 and 1968 and reconstructed at Wadi es Sebua, 40 km upstream, in order to accommodate the construction of the Aswan High Dam.

The squeeze shows a profile image of a king wearing a ram's-horn headdress with bundles of vegetation between them and a cartouche on the right side.

The hand of the figure on the left is badly damaged, so the squeeze shows a more defined image. The cartouche of Ergamenes in front of the king is now completely missing.


#### **A031 – Stela C214, Louvre Museum**

This squeeze shows a stela (41 x 58 cm) of two registers. The top register shows Osiris seated, with Isis and Ahmose Nefertari standing behind him. There is also a cartouche of Ahmose Nefertari. In the bottom register a man praises Ra-Horakhty and Anubis. The inscription is partially pencilled in. There are colour traces on the rear.

This stela is currently in the Louvre museum (C214) and since the squeeze was taken, the left third of the stela has been damaged, destroying two images from the top register and the figure of Anubis on the bottom register

### A050 – Stela (1191), Berlin Museum

The squeeze shows a stela of 28.5 x 35.7 cm with approximately twenty lines of text. The

bottom register has a seated man, called  with his mother standing behind him and an offering table in front of him. Two men, one of smaller scale, is on the other side of the offering table. The man of a larger scale is facing to the right, away from the offering table.

The inscription has been pencilled in to make it easier to read.

Since the stela was taken to the Berlin Museum it has been extensively damaged and currently exists in two small fragments – the largest is approximately 25 cm wide.

The squeeze is therefore a one-to-one scale image of the stela when it was complete and undamaged.

## Chapter 10

### Database Discussion

The background research carried out on the seven UK collections as discussed in the previous chapter needs to be presented in an easily accessible manner. This database is a continual work in progress, as the categories of information can be continually expanded as more information becomes available. It was therefore necessary to curtail the database for this study, whilst at the same time leaving it open for further work. In the first instance this database will be available on CD and then presented on the internet.

However, when presenting this data to the public, it raised the same concerns as those of curators when considering how to digitize their collections; albeit on a smaller scale.

In the twenty-first century, 'science centres and museums ought to be the natural starting points for the public'<sup>9</sup> carrying out research. Combined with the digital age, it is important for all museums to have an online presence and, if possible, their collections to be accessible online. This is where many museums are unsuccessful, as online catalogues are not always search friendly, do not always have the detail required for research, or have no, or poor quality, images.

Visitor and researchers' expectations of the online capabilities are often higher than the museums can provide, but museums need to ensure their collections are multi-media, in real-time or networked.<sup>10</sup> Online visitors should be able to 'visit' the collection with relatively little expense to the institution or, indeed, the visitor. If a museum gets this online presence right,

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<sup>9</sup> Jackson 2010: 153.

<sup>10</sup> Jackson 2010: 155.



they ensure their collection is available to a wider international audience than physical visitors.

Introducing digital information into gallery displays is also something that many museums engage in. Often these displays maintain lexicographical information as presented on traditional object labels, but additionally 'graphic images and didactic text panels are presented in a fixed sequence' providing dynamic information for visitors.<sup>11</sup> Such displays are popularly focused around a particular theme,<sup>12</sup> such as education, everyday life or crime and punishment.

With the advent and consequential advancement of digital technology, curators are faced with two key issues; how to 'make digital products worth saving'<sup>13</sup> and how to prevent them from being irretrievable once digital platforms become obsolete. It is impossible to predict which digital imaging systems will become obsolete, or indeed, the life expectancy of any current or future system.<sup>14</sup> It is believed that the digital media created today is not designed to last longer than fifty years,<sup>15</sup> but even if it does last that long, the systems required to retrieve and interpret the data will not be available.<sup>16</sup> Considering the speed with which technology advances and the problem of media deterioration, digital records become obsolete faster than they are being recorded.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, technology departments in museums and archives are working to prevent this from happening through regular backups and migrations to newer software, but technology moves faster than most museum budgets

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<sup>11</sup> Cameron 2003: 328.

<sup>12</sup> Cameron 2003: 329.

<sup>13</sup> Conway 2010: 367.

<sup>14</sup> Conway 2010: 375.

<sup>15</sup> Lyman & Besser 2010: 342.

<sup>16</sup> Conway 2010: 372.

<sup>17</sup> Lyman & Besser 2010: 336.

can cope with.<sup>18</sup>

Even if the hardware and software are still compatible at some undesignated time in the future, digital systems can be unreliable. For example, the Ancient Egyptian gallery at the Bristol City Museum has all their gallery artefact information on interactive computer screens. The only signage near the artefacts themselves is a number corresponding to the on-screen images. At times when the system is 'down' the visitor experience is extremely limited, as there is no non-digital information available. This indicates that embracing the digital future needs to be practiced alongside traditional methods.

This can be applied to online catalogues. Whilst an online catalogue is necessary, the catalogue cards should also be retained, if not digitalised themselves. A perfect example of such an effective juxtaposition of old and new technologies is the Griffith Institute Anatomy of an Excavation database, which has scans of all the Tutankhamun excavation records, alongside photographs.<sup>19</sup> The database itself could be expanded with interpretive information, but as a straightforward means of getting an archival collection online their method has been very effective.

Traditional catalogues are generally prepared in a linear, typological fashion inherited from the nineteenth century – recording 'facts' such as size, material and provenance. In the past there was very little tolerance for interpretation and speculation,<sup>20</sup> whereas the digital age encourages the use of multi-media in the form of simulations, digital reconstructions and 3D, which requires more data than basic 'facts.'<sup>21</sup> This means that online catalogues can be more

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<sup>18</sup> Lyman & Besser 2010: 339.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/> (accessed July 28 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Cameron 2010: 83.

<sup>21</sup> Cameron 2010: 82.

than ‘facts’ and can include interpretations (past and present), links to similar items in other collections, academic and non-academic articles, audio and video material<sup>22</sup> and reconstructions of buildings or events or even a reconstructed 3D timeline showing the evolution or destruction of a site.

Links between collections and pieces within the collections can be presented without ‘fixed’ interpretations. This idea of layering the information available enables different ideas, links and interpretations to be investigated on an equal footing<sup>23</sup> whilst at the same time providing a much more engaging experience for the online, museum visitor.<sup>24</sup> Such a post-modern approach enables the online visitor to make their own interpretations based on the information presented and visit according to their interests rather than a pre-ordained route through the collection.<sup>25</sup>

It could be argued, as suggested by Barthes (1974), that meaning and interpretations are constantly changing.<sup>26</sup> The post-modern approach to online catalogues presents as many ideas as possible reflecting the dynamic nature of objects and their nature, whereas it could be argued that presenting simple ‘facts’ and taxonomies can be easier for a scholar to interpret for their own research.

From simple taxonomies it is easy to interpret the same object in very different ways. Hooper-Green presents a case-study outlining regional differences of interpretation of an eighteenth century Sheffield silver spoon. In Birmingham City Museum, the spoon is regarded as Industrial Art, whereas in Stoke on Trent it is Decorative Art. In the Victoria and Albert

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<sup>22</sup> Cameron 2010: 83.

<sup>23</sup> Cameron 2003: 332.

<sup>24</sup> Cameron 2003: 334.

<sup>25</sup> Cameron 2003: 329 & 332.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Cameron 2003: 333.

Museum, London, it is classified as Silver and in Kelham Island Museum simply as Industry.<sup>27</sup>

All of these classifications are correct, but each is based on the interpretation and classification of a particular institution.

There are mixed opinions regarding the presentation of interpretations, with some curators believing it threatens their authority within the museum space, whereas others embrace the idea of enabling each online visitor to make their own interpretations, which is seen as a more effective method of learning.<sup>28</sup> However, visitors are not always willing to take responsibility for interpretations and prefer a named individual alongside any online interpretations – in effect viewing ‘the museum’ as an authoritative figure.<sup>29</sup>

Therefore, when deciding on what format a catalogue should take, how much interpretive information should be provided and what digital format should be used for archival material depends very much on the final use of the digital product.<sup>30</sup>

If an item is to be used for research then the resolution of the images accompanying the data needs to be higher than an image for non-research purposes,<sup>31</sup> and the documentation will be laid out in a linear fashion, with references and links. Additionally, if the online database is to be used for research, it is essential that the material is easy to research, with effective keywords and a built-in thesaurus to facilitate retrieval.<sup>32</sup> This is particularly essential when looking at artefacts like squeezes, which can be referred to as paper impressions, cliché moulds or rubbings and therefore, depending on how they are listed and how they are

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<sup>27</sup> Cameron 2010: 84.

<sup>28</sup> Cameron 2003: 333.

<sup>29</sup> Cameron 2003: 336.

<sup>30</sup> Conway 2010: 370.

<sup>31</sup> Knell 2010: 444.

<sup>32</sup> Cameron 2003: 331.

searched for, items could potentially be missed.

Alternatively, if the catalogue is to be used by non-academic researchers, the information needs to be presented as an interactive package and most online users prefer the interpretations to be presented clearly in small bite-sized packages whilst at the same time being an evolving body of knowledge.<sup>33</sup>

Whilst the intended audience and predicted use is important when planning a catalogue, it is crucial to ensure that the digital media is as futureproof as possible. The only way of doing this is by ensuring good quality metadata is preserved, so the media can be migrated to new, updated hardware as and when it is required.<sup>34</sup>

However, it is not possible to predict the future use of digital products, as any predictions and subsequent plans will be based on present needs and modern political, social and economic structures<sup>35</sup> and may not be a reflection of what the requirements will be in the future. Ensuring material is searchable over 'decades and even centuries'<sup>36</sup> is clearly a problem for all archivists.

Difficulties aside, there are many positive aspects of digital catalogues. One of these is that high-resolution digital images can at times be of better quality<sup>37</sup> and more useful than the genuine article<sup>38</sup> and this has indeed been the case with the squeezes included in the catalogue presented in this thesis.

Some of the pencil marks are too faint to see with the naked eye, but are visible with a high-

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<sup>33</sup> Cameron 2010: 85 & 87.

<sup>34</sup> Cameron 2010: 89.

<sup>35</sup> Knell 2010: 438.

<sup>36</sup> Roe 2005:2.

<sup>37</sup> Conway 2010: 366.

<sup>38</sup> Knell 2010: 447.

resolution photograph. Digital images can also be manipulated in a way that the originals cannot be<sup>39</sup> with the use of filters, different lighting sources and manipulation software. Digital scans are also easier to consult — especially in the field — than large, cumbersome and sometimes fragile documents. Additionally, they can be viewed by different scholars simultaneously, regardless of their location, with the additional benefit being that the originals are not handled and damaged further.<sup>40</sup>

Archival items where access is limited (for example those squeezes held in the Special Collections at the University of Aberdeen) are perfect items for digitisation, as a means of accessing the material without having to handle the artefacts.<sup>41</sup>

This does, however, raise questions as to ‘authenticity’ of the objects, and the importance of preserving and providing access to the originals.<sup>42</sup> In an age where a digital copy can be more useful than the original the importance of originals needs to be addressed.<sup>43</sup> Original items will always be important, even if the copy is ‘better’ and a perfect example is the facsimile of the Tomb of Tutankhamun which opened in 2014 in Luxor. It was constructed to relieve the pressure on the original tomb, but seeing a copy still inspires tourists to visit the original, as it contains some elements which the replica does not – age and history:

‘Authenticity only becomes a significant, emotional, almost transcendent idea in an age of artifice, in an age where replication, bastardisation, cheapening of all sorts of things is possible.’<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Conway 2010: 369.

<sup>40</sup> Malek 2003: 230.

<sup>41</sup> Conway 2010: 369.

<sup>42</sup> Knell 2010: 438.

<sup>43</sup> Pachter 2010: 332.

<sup>44</sup> Pachter 2010: 332.

As the originals always need to be preserved and protected, even if they will no longer be accessed it is important to ensure they are digitally reproduced to the highest standard. Often when approaching the issue of digitisation of squeezes, there are limits of financial and human resources. Most museums must rely on mainstream technology, with a limited number of bespoke products meaning many museums are closer to domestic users than commercial users.<sup>45</sup> Most museums in the modern world have embraced the digital age, despite early concerns that providing collections online would affect their physical visitors. However, it was soon realized that online and physical visitors were as important as each other.<sup>46</sup> In fact it is thought that 'the electronic will draw us more to the physical; the replicated will draw us more to the original.'<sup>47</sup>

### **CD-ROM Appendix 1**

Taking the above considerations into account, deciding on the best form of database was a challenging task. In order to future-proof it as much as possible the database is comprised of taxonomic and factual data (size, date, location) with the addition of a photograph of the original inscription of which the squeeze is taken and comments on manufacture. Where a squeeze has been published the references have been included, but where the inscription or the tomb is published with no reference to the squeeze these references have been omitted. This decision was in keeping with the research question which is a study of squeezes and their value, not a study on the epigraphical representations. It is precisely such publications that this study hopes to move away from.

Therefore the database is presented as an Access database with a line for each of the 339

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<sup>45</sup> Knell 2010: 441.

<sup>46</sup> Parry 2010: 1.

<sup>47</sup> Pachter 2010: 334.

squeezes. The audience for this thesis is scholars and researchers and therefore facts rather than interpretations are preferable as it provides a foundation for future research.

The interpretation of this catalogue is discussed in chapter 8 rather than in the catalogue database itself. Each squeeze is linked to images of the squeeze recto, and verso if there are colour traces, as well as the original monument where known.



## Chapter 11

### The Future for Squeeze Studies

The previous discussions have highlighted the value of squeezes and the varying levels of information that are currently accessible through studying these items, but with technological advances, information available may improve in the future.

There is a very hopeful future for squeezes if their reputation for damage is accepted as an important but not defining part of their history. Once this is accepted the resulting paper impressions can be considered a valuable commodity which can be utilised in many ways.

The most obvious immediate use for squeezes is as a means of reconstructing lost and damaged inscriptions. Schneider emphasises that,

‘the Egyptologist is duty bound to ‘repair’ and reconstruct the original connections between all those complexes of finds which had been disturbed by injurious and inexpert excavating ... activities in the nineteenth century. On the other hand the Egyptologist-archaeologist has the obligation to explore and make accessible new complexes of data by methodological fieldwork.’<sup>48</sup>

Since the 2011 Egyptian revolution, concerns regarding heritage crime and conservation fieldwork have increased, and there is an urgency for archive excavation and extensive post-excavation work to ensure nothing else is lost. Many lost and damaged wall inscriptions may lie within abandoned nineteenth-century squeezes which are just waiting to be researched, published and ultimately reconstructed.

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<sup>48</sup> Schneider 1991: 402.

### **3D One-to-One Reconstructions**

The strength and value of squeezes is that they provide an accurate one-to-one scale mould for scenes as they were in the nineteenth century. It would perhaps be inappropriate to use them as moulds to cast directly from, but it would be possible to create casts from these fragile paper records using a 3D scanner and printer.

For scenes which represent damaged or missing scenes, such reconstruction could be valuable for presentation to the public. Additionally once the squeeze had been 3D scanned, it could be repeatedly printed from plastic resin or even stone.

In 2016, a six foot tall replica of the Arch of Triumph from Palmyra was set up in Trafalgar Square, London, before moving to New York and Dubai. The replica was made by the Institute for Digital Archaeology and was created using a 3D printer and a block of marble donated by the Egyptian government. To be able to produce this image, hundreds of photographs of the original, from all different angles, had been studied and scanned. The original 2,000-year-old monument had been destroyed the previous year by the Muslim fundamentalist group Daesh. A squeeze is a far superior basis for such a reconstruction, as it is already in three dimensions and can be viewed from all angles in a way that photographs cannot.

To date, no such 3D reconstructions have been made from squeezes, which considering how neglected these artefacts are, is not surprising. However, as discussed in chapters 6 and 9, plaster reproductions are a well-used form of artefact, as can be seen in the cast galleries of the nineteenth century, the cast replicas of the Parthenon, as well as plaster replicas of scenes from the tomb of Khaemhat (KV57) which had been placed in the tomb after they were removed to be placed in the Neues Museum.

Such replicas made today, however, would be for conservation and reproduction rather than aesthetic reproductions for art's sake or for educational purposes. Squeezes could be used to replace lost and damaged scenes that are only preserved in these paper impressions.

They could also be displayed at the sites in Egypt where they originally stood, to enable visitors to see a completed wall decoration based on what had been there, rather than reconstructions based on conjecture of what had *possibly* been there.

If placing such reconstructions directly onto the original walls was considered inappropriate or impractical, they could be placed in on-site museums, of the type at the temple of Merenptah on the west bank at Luxor, which displays individual blocks from the temple site excavations. Alternatively, replicas could be part of temporary touring exhibitions, similar to the *Gods in Colour* exhibition (see chapter 6).

Zahi Hawass was planning to introduce such exhibitions in Egypt in 2005 before the revolution halted his plans for 'mounting an exhibition of replicas that will be shown, accompanied by a programme of lectures at universities, schools, and clubs.'<sup>49</sup>

Full-scale replicas as a means of preserving the original monument are a new concept in Egypt and in 2014 a full-size replica of the tomb of Tutankhamun opened in Luxor, in an attempt to draw the crowds away from the original in the Valley of the Kings. The replica was created by laser scanning the original tomb images, which were then printed onto a fibreglass mould of the tomb, which then had a fine coloured gossamer skin attached using a vacuum process.

This was carried out by a Spanish company called Factum Arte (Factum Foundation). The reconstruction also included the decorated wall fragment that was removed by Carter's team

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<sup>49</sup> Hawass 2005: 20.

during the excavation in order to enter the burial chamber. The original has been lost for nearly a century, so this was recreated from Harry Burton's photographs. This is displayed in the annexe room along with information on the reconstruction. Adam Lowe from Factum Arte believes the replica to be accurate 'to around a tenth of a mm.' If reproducing a painted scene from black-and-white photography is possible with modern technology, then using squeezes which are 3D impressions could be used in a similar fashion.

The success of the tomb of Tutankhamun has led to further projects being undertaken by Factum Foundation. It has been working on the tomb of Sety I for 17 years, and at the time of writing is working with the Antikenmuseum Basel, the University of Basel and the Ministry of Antiquities in Egypt on an exhibition of two completed one-to-one scale rooms from this tomb, as well as a facsimile of the sarcophagus and tomb fragments found across the world. The exhibition will be called *Scanning Seti: the Regeneration of a Pharaonic Tomb*. Once the exhibition has finished, the rooms will be presented to Egypt to be displayed next to the replica tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>50</sup>

Stoppelaere House in Luxor, built as a dig house in 1950, is currently being utilized as the Factum Foundation 3D scanning training centre run by Alia Ismail. She learned the techniques behind 3D scanning from Factum Arte.

### **Presenting Squeezes to the Public**

Such 3D one-to-one reconstructions are, unfortunately, not available to many museums and archives due to financial restraints, but there are cheaper options for an improved future for squeezes.

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<sup>50</sup> Factum Foundation newsletter July 2017.

An important step would be for museums to present them to the public. Caesar reports that many of the visitors to the stores of the Science Museum, London, were excited to 'see objects that would not necessarily be displayed for various reasons'<sup>51</sup> as well as explore the reasons behind these decisions.<sup>52</sup> This indicates the public realise there are reasons for objects not being displayed and this, to a certain extent, provides an element of mystery with many of the visitors expecting a 'treasure trove.'<sup>53</sup>

The public is drawn to exhibitions of artefacts never before displayed and museums doing this with squeezes could prove lucrative. *The Crime Museum: Uncovered* exhibition at the Museum of London included more than 600 objects from Scotland Yard's archive, which 'is the first time that the artefacts have been on public view.'<sup>54</sup> Reviews of the exhibition referred to the Crime Museum as the 'most inaccessible museum'<sup>55</sup> which automatically rendered it more attractive to visitors.

Curators of nineteenth-century squeezes could also advertise any squeeze exhibition as being 'never before displayed' and, should this be accompanied by research and intellectual interpretation, could result in successful exhibitions, increased revenue and visitor numbers, as well as removing the squeezes from invisibility. Further revenue could be made through selling 3D printed replicas of some of the squeezes.

Studies into museum reserve collections have highlighted that many visitors prior to the stores tour knew little about the existence of certain artefacts within the stores<sup>56</sup> and this is

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<sup>51</sup> Caesar 2007: 5.

<sup>52</sup> Caesar 2007: 15.

<sup>53</sup> Caesar 2007:11.

<sup>54</sup><http://content.met.police.uk/Article/Bookings-for-Crime-Museum--update/1400031395153/1400031395153> (accessed 1 December 2016).

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.timeout.com/london/things-to-do/the-crime-museum-uncovered> (accessed 1 December 2016).

<sup>56</sup> Kelly 1999 & Gyllenhaal 1996 quoted in Caesar 2007: 6.

unlikely to be limited to the stores of a single museum. Temporary exhibitions of unknown, invisible items like squeezes may inspire visitors to research further and make return visits.

The negative reputation of squeezes, which has ensured their neglect in museum stores, can be renegotiated and to a certain extent reversed. The 'aura' and 'authenticity' of an object can be renegotiated by curators and archaeologists through 'their context of presentation.'<sup>57</sup>

If squeezes are presented in a positive manner, demonstrating their value as epigraphical objects, records of nineteenth-century tourism, paint studies or methods of reconstructing lost objects, they are then viewed as something of importance and interest to the public and scholars alike. Simply including squeezes more frequently into Egyptology displays as something normal and expected, means they will slowly be accepted as an element of Egyptological studies. For example, in the UK restaurant business a trend has developed over the last five years for serving food on wooden chopping boards or slates, instead of traditional crockery. This has become the norm in many restaurants and a German professional stated in conversation, 'we went to a lovely restaurant, where they were using traditional British chopping boards to serve the food'. As it is presented as the norm and traditional, the inauthenticity of this image is never questioned. Introducing squeezes into museum displays in this manner could therefore change attitudes subtly, but result in a substantial impact.

### **Visitor interaction**

A simple use of squeezes for visitor interaction, especially if they are never used and represent well-squeezed scenes, could be a tactile experience for blind visitors.

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<sup>57</sup> Holtorf & Schadla-Hall 1999: 231.

The charity Living Paintings, based in Kingsclere, UK, have produced and loaned books for blind people, called *Touch to See* for the past 25 years. These books are published with moulded plastic figures, which are very similar in appearance and depth to an average squeeze, depicting something from the text. These books are accompanied by an audio recording of the text, enabling the blind person to ‘see’ through touch. The books cover a wide range of topics, including the history of art. Using this idea, it would be simple for *Touch to See* sessions to be set up in a museum with a few squeezes, 3D models and a curator describing what is depicted and therefore what could be felt by the blind visitors. This would open the world of Egyptian art to a wider audience, as well as introducing issues of conservation and preservation.

Although handling these squeezes is not ideal due to their age, as many are neglected and hidden anyway, this would be one means of giving these resources a value.



Figure 17: Living Paintings mould for their *Touch to See* books. Photograph and mould provided by Living Paintings.

## Virtual Heritage

Once it has been decided that squeezes will be used in displays, the form this will take can be simplistic, with the artefacts on display as seen at the Leeds City Museum or they can be

incorporated into a highly technological display:

‘The idea that museums are in competition with various other forms of consumption has been around for some time, and at one level the competition is not commercial but technological.’<sup>58</sup>

When Hewison made this comment in 1991, technology had more limitations than it does today, but never has this comment been truer. The key to selling squeezes to the public in museum displays is combining them with modern technology which will demonstrate their potential. Whilst Hewison felt ‘we now live in a world of simulacra: perfect copies of originals that never existed,’ this is what the public expect and it can be used to demonstrate what has been lost and can send a powerful conservation message.

Currently Virtual Heritage is considered the future for conservation, as well as educating the public on important issues of cultural heritage and, more importantly, cultural heritage crime. Virtual Heritage is defined as,

‘The use of computer-based interactive technologies to record, preserve, or recreate artefacts, sites and actors of historic, artistic, religious and cultural significance and to deliver the results openly to a global audience in such a way as to provide formative educational experiences through electronic manipulations of time and space.’<sup>59</sup>

This method of reconstruction has been embraced by the discipline of Egyptology as it is non-intrusive and yet provides accurate results. The definition of a ‘reconstruction’ in such a digital age is,

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<sup>58</sup> Hewison 1991: 163.

<sup>59</sup> Stone & Ojika 2000:73-4.



‘the creation of models using automatic techniques representing existing structures or creation of models representing structures no longer existing but for each there is enough evidence to faithfully reconstruct them.’<sup>60</sup>

Additionally, such projects enable tombs and monuments to be available to a wide audience without having to endanger the monument by opening it to the public.<sup>61</sup> Virtual Heritage is also becoming increasingly easy to produce, with low-cost and even free applications and software to produce virtual environments by people with basic computer skills.<sup>62</sup>

Over the last twenty years there have been a number of 3D virtual reality projects, ranging from the reconstruction of mummified heads<sup>63</sup> to reconstructions of tombs and temples. Computer reconstruction has numerous applications as it,

‘Reduce[s] [...] the complex architecture of the tomb to simple volumetric forms and then rebuilds it virtually. Its main contribution is that it recreates and reveals spaces that no longer physically exist.’<sup>64</sup>

This is where squeezes and 3D reconstructions can come together, as computers enable missing pieces to be restored and squeezes can provide those missing pieces.

‘It can easily be observed that visitors to archaeological sites or museums experience authenticity and aura in front of ancient originals to exactly the same extent as in front of a very good reproduction or copies – as long as they do not know them as

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<sup>60</sup> Rodrigues et al 2014: 93.

<sup>61</sup> Stone & Ojika 2000: 73.

<sup>62</sup> Stone & Ojika 2000: 74.

<sup>63</sup> Attardi et al 2000: 79-85.

<sup>64</sup> Labrousse 1996: 32.

reproductions or copies.’<sup>65</sup>

Visitors like to ‘know’ that something is real for it to have the self-imposed authenticity, but in this nature squeezes can fill the void by being authentic in themselves but also aiding in inauthentic reconstructions.

### **3D Digital Projects**

Computer technological advances have meant that most digital reconstructions are in three dimensions, allowing the viewer to move around a monument or to manipulate their own journey.

One such digital epigraphy project is the *ḥwt: Digital Techniques Applied to the Inscriptions and Reliefs of the Temple of Debod* led by Miguel Á Molinero Polo of the University of La Laguna, Tenerife. This temple is currently in Madrid, after being relocated following the construction of the Aswan High Dam. The objective of the project is to produce a digital reconstruction of the temple.

Prior to being relocated to Spain, the temple was affected by the Nile inundation for ten months of the year and the sandstone became greatly eroded. This was the catalyst for the project. Using a combination of photographs taken with varied angled lighting, watercolours and drawings they were able to reproduce digital drawings of entire wall scenes. Furthermore, by using the nineteenth and early twentieth-century records, they were able to fill in areas which had long since eroded.<sup>66</sup>

This has therefore led to an increase of tomb and temple reconstructions using virtual reality

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<sup>65</sup> Holtorf & Schadla-Hall 1999: 236.

<sup>66</sup> Diaz-Iglesias Llanos & Méndez Rodríguez 2014: 39-41.

and 3D technology through the last twenty years. One of the earliest reconstructions was the tomb of Bakenrenef, the vizier of king Psammeticus I, from Saqqara, which used a combination of images of inscriptions currently within the tomb, combined with those held in museums and private collections, bringing them together in one place.<sup>67</sup> Blocks were added into the sequences from the site first, then from those found in the tomb, in museums<sup>68</sup> and finally from private collections. The project enabled the viewer to,

‘move through parts of the monument, not only spatially but also in time, showing decoration that (for the most part) is no longer in situ and structures that belong to different phases of the tomb’s history.’<sup>69</sup>

The virtual visitor would be able to change the viewpoint to examine the ceiling or the decorations in addition to changing the lighting sources to better illuminate a particular area.<sup>70</sup> This meant the reconstruction of the tomb had to be as full as possible and this even included virtually replacing the sarcophagus, which is currently situated in Florence, back into the funerary shaft of the tomb.<sup>71</sup> Additionally, changes to the exterior of the tomb were represented into the reconstruction and comprised thirtieth dynasty changes and Roman period additions, as well as the original decoration beneath them.<sup>72</sup>

A similar project was the Tomb of Menna Project, which was set up to experiment with how the internet could provide access to the Griffith Institute (Oxford) archives. Photographs of the tomb of Menna, taken by Robert Mond in 1914–16, were used as he had photographed

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<sup>67</sup> Krasniewicz 2000: 164.

<sup>68</sup> Palamidese 1993: 422.

<sup>69</sup> Betrò 1996: 40.

<sup>70</sup> Palamidese et al 1993: 422

<sup>71</sup> Betrò 1996: 41.

<sup>72</sup> Palamidese et al 1993: 422.

90% of the wall, ceiling and floor surfaces, as well as having drawn a plan of the tomb. The finished project, a 3D-walk-through experience of the tomb, was expected to be self-explanatory and therefore there was little to no background information provided. This was unfortunately due more to the lack of resources, as Egyptologists were unable to commit time and resources to interpret the data for the developers.<sup>73</sup>

Whilst this may have been ground-breaking work in 2000, now such 3D experiences are available free on the internet at various sites, with one of the most prolific being [www.osirisnet.net](http://www.osirisnet.net). This was set up in 2001 by Thierry Benderitter with the objective of,

‘gather[ing] photographs from the greatest possible number of known and less well-known tombs and mastabas, so as to represent them as completely as possible, and to put them freely at the disposal of all on the Osirisnet.net site. Thus some splendid but often ignored monuments can safely be shared with the Egyptophiles around the world.’<sup>74</sup>

The 3D virtual tombs include those of Ay (KV23), Horemheb (KV57), Sennedjem (TT1), Thutmosis IV (KV43), Nefertari (QV66), Sennefer (TT96B) and Ramses I (KV16).

In this era often referred to as one of ‘pictorial culture,’<sup>75</sup> 3D reconstructions are frequently used for digital displays at monuments and museums. These displays reconstruct the monument, but also peel away the centuries, showing a sequence of events and monument development/deterioration.<sup>76</sup> One project that utilised this technology well produced a reconstruction of the city of Bologna, Italy, which was a ‘4D web environment that realises a

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<sup>73</sup> Mitchel & Economou 2000: 150.

<sup>74</sup> [http://www.osirisnet.net/e\\_why.htm](http://www.osirisnet.net/e_why.htm) (accessed 5 May 2016).

<sup>75</sup> Rosinska-Balik 2012: 158.

<sup>76</sup> Rosinska-Balik 2012: 153.

link between the concepts of culture and technological innovation.<sup>77</sup> Essentially, the user sees a reconstruction of the city of Bologna and using a time bar can travel back in time to see buildings disappear, destroyed and rebuilt. The closer the viewer is to a building, the more detail is visible, giving them a sense of actually being there.<sup>78</sup> The reconstruction was created using seventeenth century miniatures of the city which were well-known amongst historians, but not the general public,<sup>79</sup> so they were able to combine archival and museum artefacts with virtual reality. It would be possible on a smaller scale to use squeezes to recreate the history of a monument. Using the tomb of Khaemhat as an example it would be possible to show when squeezes were taken, and when images were hacked from the wall to be transported to Berlin, vandalised or damaged due to environmental causes.

Continuing along similar lines was the Kahun Project, which was designed to show objects from the village of Kahun within an ancient context actually being used by an online avatar of an ancient Egyptian. Such items included a senet set, brick moulds, a shaduf, weights and measures and a mirror. Each user took on the role of an avatar and was able to interact with other avatars within the Collaborative Virtual Environment (CVE). In order to ensure the experience ran smoothly, there were virtual actors who 'led the way.'<sup>80</sup>

This was a forerunner of the Egyptian Oracle Project,<sup>81</sup> a far more complex multi-disciplinary virtual reconstruction of the Egyptian oracle rituals within a computer generated virtual temple. Using a combination of live actors and human-controlled computer generated avatars, the performance provided an interactive experience where the audience entered the

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<sup>77</sup> Bonfigli & Guidazzoli 2000:143.

<sup>78</sup> Bonfigli & Guidazzoli 2000: 143.

<sup>79</sup> Bonfigli & Guidazzoli 2000: 147.

<sup>80</sup> Mitchell & Economou 2000: 152-3.

<sup>81</sup> Gillam & Jacobson 2015.

ancient world.<sup>82</sup> In order to reconstruct the virtual temple, they used drawings and watercolours from the Oriental Institute's epigraphic study of Medinet Habu<sup>83</sup> and images from *Déscription de l'Égypte*.<sup>84</sup> Due to financial restraints they were unable to 'restore' damaged inscriptions, so only used those 'fit for purpose'.

### **The Role of Squeezes**

Such projects as Bologna and the reconstruction of Bakenrenef demonstrate how reconstructions can be used for representing structures that have been damaged or robbed since the nineteenth century. If these missing or damaged scenes are represented in squeezes, more accurate reconstructions can be produced.

To do this, it is essential to have accurate data of the monument such as measurements, photographs, plans of similar structures or squeezes of now-lost inscriptions. Dorman comments that,

'Ironically, such a desideratum [use of 3D reconstructions] is simply an updated and more sophisticated version of the discredited 'squeeze' of the nineteenth century, with additional capabilities. A three-dimensional scan reproduces the wall surface itself, with all its blemishes – by itself distinctly limited as a final record.'<sup>85</sup>

Once again, Dorman has missed the potential of having an accurate, one-to-one image of an inscription which is a snapshot of the condition in a particular moment in time. He sees a 3D reconstruction as whimsical and as pointless as he believes squeezes to be. However,

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<sup>82</sup> <http://publicvr.org/egypt/oracle/longvid.html> (accessed 6 April 2016).

<sup>83</sup> Jacobson 2015: 203.

<sup>84</sup> Jacobson 2015: 200.

<sup>85</sup> Dorman 2008: 91.

anything that preserves a monument in any form for future generations is a positive thing.

The replica of Tutankhamun's tomb in Luxor will forever preserve the tomb in the condition it was to be found at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in the same way a reconstruction made from squeezes from the nineteenth century will create a reproduction of the inscription as it was at that time. If the monument is different in the twenty-first century to how it was in the nineteenth then a valuable preservation and conservation message would be presented.

Comparisons of nineteenth-century squeezes with modern images of the same scenes or monuments presents irrefutable evidence of the level of damage, deterioration and theft that is happening to the monuments. This was demonstrated in chapter 8 and Appendix 1, using the seven UK collections as case studies.

Additionally, interactive virtual reality programmes, such as the Oracle Project, could enable the audience to interact with virtual actors in real-time and question their actions. If the avatars played tomb robbers, archaeologists or tourists, the audience could witness the type of destruction carried out in the tombs 'first-hand'. Furthermore, it would present the harsh reality of someone taking a chisel to a temple wall to remove an interesting piece of art for sale or in the name of science. This is something few people witnessed prior to the recent atrocities in Syria carried out by Muslim fundamentalist groups.

A simple reclassification of squeezes as artefacts of importance would render them durable rather than rubbish. It needs to be considered that,

'The role of the museum is thus not restricted to the collection and preservation of heritage as it also seeks to revive heritage and spread knowledge of it among the

various strata of society in a significant attempt to link society to its ancestral cultural roots.<sup>86</sup>

Reviving the importance of the squeeze in the conservation of the past could be as simple as changing the language used when describing them as ‘the very nature of the language that we use leads us to see that relationship [between language and perception] as rigidly self-perpetuating.’<sup>87</sup> If the positives of these valuable resources are emphasised rather than the negatives, their value as an archival artefact will naturally increase. Then they could be brought out of the archives and into the museums themselves, which would be an important step forward in presenting them as an integral element of the history of Egyptology rather than the ‘discredited’ record as presented by Dorman.<sup>88</sup>

As many people need to have a tactile experience, being able to see and to touch items<sup>89</sup> in order to better understand them, squeezes could be used in interactive ways with museum visitors to highlight nineteenth-century recording techniques, the damage caused, and also how valuable the results are. Making a squeeze is relatively straightforward and visitors could make their own squeezes and produce casts emphasising their value and use. Hawass envisioned Egyptian museums ‘entering a new era, changing our museums from storerooms to centres for culture and education,’<sup>90</sup> which is the path many Western museums are on.

However, the reclassification of the squeeze and the acceptance and understanding in the Egyptological world and the wider museum environment is not going to be the result of a single action resulting in suddenism. Instead small changes to this long history of negative

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<sup>86</sup> Abdel Moniem 2005: 29.

<sup>87</sup> Thompson 1979: 217.

<sup>88</sup> Dorman 2008: 91.

<sup>89</sup> Pearce 1992: 23.

<sup>90</sup> Hawass 2005: 15.



reputation of a temporary artefact will result in gradualism where their importance will grow as time progresses.<sup>91</sup> Evidence indicates that 'sudden discontinuous change in response to marginal changes'<sup>92</sup> and therefore a small change, such as re-classification could push squeezes into the public domain highlighting their value in an archaeologically unstable time.

After a relatively short time with squeezes being regularly displayed, referred to and presented, they will become normalised. This will provide squeezes with the equivalent of an emergent authenticity<sup>93</sup> where they will simply be viewed as a common aspect of the study of Egyptology rather than something unseen.

Malek (2003) believes 'new thinking is badly needed' as much of Egyptology, especially the publishing records still proceeds along guidelines 'established seventy or more years ago.'<sup>94</sup>

In the twenty-first century, we are at an exciting time technologically, but that should be utilised in bringing the technologies of the past into the present, ensuring the information inherent within these artefacts is available for future generations.

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<sup>91</sup> Thompson 1979: 221.

<sup>92</sup> Thompson 1979: 222.

<sup>93</sup> Cohen discusses in his paper (1988:371) how something inauthentic such as a reproduction, replica, or reconstruction can over time be considered authentic and this can be applied to this situation with squeezes. Their inclusion in museum displays and regular discussions may be resisted initially but after some time they will simply be considered an integral part of the Egyptology.

<sup>94</sup> Malek 2003: 230.

## **Appendix 1**

The CD attached to this volume is the full database of the 339 squeezes studied as part of this research. This is a searchable database complete with images of each squeeze and the original monument where possible.

Plates at the end of this volume show damaged and missing inscriptions from the squeezes and squeezes with colour transference. All other images are available on the disc.

## **Appendix 2**

### **Experimental Archaeology – Making Squeezes**

#### **Methodology**

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the art of squeeze-making. It is essential to investigate the process, which in itself will provide an insight into this element of sight-seeing experiences in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using the records about squeeze-making there appears to be seven methods utilised;

- 1) Wetted paper
- 2) Wetted wall
- 3) Wax layer on wall
- 4) Paper covered with egg white
- 5) Double layer of paper
- 6) Shredded paper pulp
- 7) Liquid latex moulds

In order to make squeezes as close to the original techniques as possible, appropriate materials were used.

As paper type is an important aspect of the process, a number of different paper types were used in the process, varying in texture and weight. Each paper type was used with six of the methods under discussion (the seventh being latex) and an evaluation of the squeeze quality was made. As the sample inscriptions are small, the need for such a large brush as identified in Woodhead's description was deemed unnecessary and instead a rather stiff paintbrush was sufficient for the task.

The sample inscriptions were in the form of two stone tourist stelae, purchased from a Luxor alabaster factory, one with a scene from the tomb of Ramose (TT55) is 25.7(w) x 16.4 (h) cm, and the other, the harper scene from the tomb of Ramses III (KV11) is 14.3 (w) x 20.3 (h) cm. The former only has black paint on the eyes, whereas the other is fully coloured.

In order to recreate the conditions within which the Egyptian travellers and archaeologists worked the experiment was carried out during the winter (February) in Luxor, Egypt. Most of

the people working and travelling to Egypt did so between September and April, to avoid the summer heat. The experiment was carried out in the open air, but in the shade, although as the sun moved around throughout the day, in order to replicate a temple inscription, the experiment was not moved in order to remain in the shade. Although most of the squeezes included in the catalogue were created on vertical inscriptions, these experiments were carried out on a horizontal plane, due to the size and nature of the inscriptions.

## **Expectations**

The expectations of this experiment were twofold, with the main intention to identify the skill required to make a squeeze and whether it would be simple enough for ‘anyone’ to learn. With such limited material required to carry out the process, the experiment highlighted exactly how much preparation was needed regarding the acquisition of materials (i.e. paper or brushes).

The next expectation was to identify the drying times of the squeezes in the hope it would give some insight into the travelling habits of nineteenth-century visitors. Should the drying time be many hours, what were they doing during this time? Additionally, this experiment would also identify how messy the process was and whether it was likely that wealthy Victorian travellers actually did the task themselves or ‘hired’ a dragoman or ghaffir to do the task for them, whilst simply pointing out the images they liked.

## **Results**

The experiment started with cleaning the surface of the inscriptions with plain water and some kitchen roll. This did not remove any paint traces, although it did remove the surface dirt. As the process that would take the longest, the liquid latex was applied first to the Ramses III inscription. The subsequent paper impressions were then all taken on the Ramose inscription.

Although the recommendations suggest the first layer of latex required 24 hours to dry, after 90 minutes it was totally dry and was starting to lift at the edges. The second layer was then added to make a thicker mould.

As the experiment continued with the paper impressions, adjustments needed to be made to

the methodology. The first adjustment was an abandonment of the method of putting a wax layer on the wall first. As this was generally applied to protect colour (of which the Ramose inscription had none) and to facilitate removal of the paper it was deemed unnecessary. None of the paper squeezes proved difficult to remove and therefore the wax layer would have been redundant in this instance.

The second major adjustment was regarding the paper quality. A number of the paper types chosen for the experiment were not absorbent and therefore the water coated the surface, but did not penetrate the paper matrix, meaning it was not malleable. This resulted in it being impossible to produce a squeeze from them. Therefore, once this had been ascertained it was futile to continue using these papers with all the squeeze producing techniques identified.

Another change was the decision not to use the double-layered paper technique recommended for very thin paper squeezes. Due to the size of the inscriptions, this method would not work. The paper chosen was a suitable thickness for the depth of inscription and adding another sheet of paper would have diminished the quality of the produced piece.

The results showed that the more absorbent the paper, the better quality the squeeze was, regardless of thickness or weight. The best paper was in fact the cheapest, an unbranded textured craft paper bought from a UK high street stationery store, The Works, which is akin to paper found in children's scrap books. The worst paper was the most expensive – Daler-Rowney The Langton Prestige 100% Cotton Mould Made Paper, Rough Grain 300 gsm. Although the paper felt like the squeezes discussed in the catalogue, when wet it did not absorb the water in any way and retained its form completely. There was no indentation of the inscription at all, despite enthusiastic beating with the brush until the top layer of paper had been pulped.



Figure 18: Above: The author making a squeeze.

Figure 19: Top right: Squeeze 008 of the Ramose stela.

Figure 20: Bottom right: Squeeze 016 of the Ramses III stela.

The best technique was to physically dip the paper in water, as opposed to painting water onto the paper with a brush, as this ensured the paper absorbed as much water as possible. Wetting the inscription and then applying dry paper did not work, as even when water was poured onto the inscription there was not enough water on the surface to soak the paper enough to make it malleable. Therefore, even with the most absorbent paper, it was essential to add more water afterwards with the brush until it was plastic enough to mould around the inscription.

Squeeze Number	Technique	Material Used	Date	Temperature	Drying Time	Result
001	Paper brushed with water	WHSmith Art Sketch Pad Sketching paper 115 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	22 mins	The paper is not very absorbent but with the occasional dip of the brush in water a simple squeeze was produced. The basic outline is visible but none of the details.
002	Paper brushed with water	Daler Sketch 100 Cartridge Paper Acid -Free 96 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	15 mins	The sun had come around and was shining on the inscription. As the paper was brushed with water it started to dry and curl almost immediately. Although it was malleable and was pushed into the recesses of the stela it 'curled out'. The finished squeeze was a slight impression rather than a deep image.
005	Paper brushed with water	The Works textured craft paper	21/2/14	30°C	40 mins	The paper absorbed the water quickly and when applied to the stone adhered well. It required firm manipulation with the brush, and as the paper started to pulp dipping the brush in more water helped.
006	Paper dipped in water	WHSmith Art Sketch Pad Sketching paper 115 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	16 mins	The paper absorbed the water quickly and was easily pushed into the grooves of the inscription. The finished squeeze was rather faint.
007	Paper dipped in water	Daler Sketch 100 Cartridge Paper Acid -Free 96 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	17 mins	The paper absorbed the water well and was easily manipulated with the brush into the inscription. The finished squeeze shows a lot of detail that was not visible in the other squeezes.
008	Paper dipped in water	Daler-Rowney The Langton Prestige 100% Cotton Mould Made Paper. Rough Grain 300 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	NA	This paper did not absorb the water and was not malleable in any way. After a few minutes of manipulating with the brush there was not even the slightest impression of the inscription on the paper.
009	Paper dipped in water	Crimson and Blake Watercolour Pad Acid-Free 180 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	32 mins	Instead of dipping the paper I soaked it in water as it is an unabsorbent paper. This enabled the water to penetrate the paper and made it malleable. A very vague outline of the image is visible on the paper.
010	Paper dipped in water	The Works textured craft paper	21/2/14	28°C	30 mins	This paper produced a perfect squeeze with all of the details clearly defined. Removing the squeeze left a large wet patch

						on the stone which took twenty minutes to dry.
011	Shredded paper in water	WHSmith Art Sketch Pad Sketching paper 115 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	1 hour 10 mins	The paper was saturated after two minutes. The paper moulded well into the incisions although the brushing moved the pieces of paper. The impression was clear although the joins of the paper had not adhered together. Covering the squeeze in egg white stiffened it but it curled as it dried and the edges were still not stuck.
016	Wet stone surface first	WHSmith Art Sketch Pad Sketching paper 115 gsm	21/2/14	32°C	24 mins	I poured the water onto the surface of the inscription so it pooled and then spread it across the surface. This was almost enough to create the squeeze, but more water was needed to get the detail. The final squeeze shows some detail.
017	Wet stone surface first	Daler Sketch 100 Cartridge Paper Acid- Free 96 gsm	21/2/14	26°C	20 mins	The water on the stone surface was not enough to dampen the paper so it was necessary to add additional water with the brush. The edges of the paper did not adhere to the surface and it moved in the wind.
020	Wet stone surface first	'The Works' textured craft paper	21/2/14	32°C	39 mins	Even with such an absorbent paper, the water on the stone was not enough to produce the squeeze. The detail of the final squeeze would have been clearer if the paper had not been quite so 'textured' although it is possible to make out the details of the lotus flowers in the headdress which is not clear on some of the other attempts.
029	Egg white mixed with water	Crimson and Blake Watercolour Pad Acid -Free 180 gsm	21/2/14	30°C	50 mins	This paper was not very absorbent, and even though it was dipped in water (mixed with egg white) the water sat on top of the paper. Brushing started to pulp the paper, without pushing it deeply into the grooves on the stela. There is a very fine outline on the squeeze of the image, which is only visible in certain light. The egg caused no real difference in texture to the paper, so adding the egg white to the finished squeeze might be the better option.
036	Liquid Latex	Trylon Latex Liquid Rubber. and Pebeo	21/2/14	28°C	3.5 hours	The two layers were placed on two hours apart. The impression produced is good



		Talc				quality and it would be possible to take a cast from this. The paint on the stela was removed and is visible on the back of the mould. Also, the brush strokes are visible in the background from where the latex was brushed over the surface.
Table 15: results of experimental squeeze-making						

### Appendix 3

#### Bristol City Museum, Paper Conservation Treatment Record (B007)

<b>Department</b>	Ethnography	<b>Accession no.</b>	H5054
<b>Reason for treatment</b>	Re-mounting & housing	<b>Date</b>	March 2007
<b>Artist</b>	Unknown		
<b>Title</b>	Unknown		
<b>Description</b>	Paper squeeze from Egyptian tomb (unknown) formed on a laid mould. Mounted on board window mount attached. In a Melinex sleeve.		
<b>Inscriptions</b>	'H5054' printed black ink bottom right corner mount.		
<b>Dimensions</b>	462x571mm mount size  309x424mm aperture size  318x428mm object size		
<b>Condition before treatment</b>	<p>The paper sheet is formed of Brown/grey paper pulp. The pulp looks very coarse with small pieces of wood/other foreign material embedded.</p> <p>The embossment on this sheet is generally well defined and sharp. There is some slight planar distortion to the edges. There is some creasing/distortion within the sheet but this looks original. There is a small hole centre right edge.</p> <p>The object is partially trapped under the top window mount which appears acidic. The window mount is adhered to the back-board with strips of double sided pressure sensitive tape.</p>		

<b>Treatment</b>	<p>The front window mount was removed by inserting a Teflon spatula between the front &amp; rear boards. The pressure sensitive tape adhesive was embrittled.</p> <p>The edges of the sheet have been pressed.</p> <p>The back-board was split using a Teflon spatula. The margins of the board were removed using a scalpel. The object was then placed face down on a soft support made of capillary matting covered in a layer of Bondina. The back-board was further reduced using a scalpel. The final facing paper was removed dry where it was not adhered to the object. The remnants that were adhered were removed using local application of saliva where necessary.</p> <p>No repairs were necessary.</p> <p>The object was hinged into a 100% cotton, dull white, acid free museum board mount using 15gsm machine made kozo fibre Japanese tissue. The mount consisted of a back board, two aperture boards and a top flap, this allowed sufficient depth for the object and prevented damage to the recto if stacked. The object was float mounted with 'v' hinged allowing all edges to be visible. The mount was a standard size (19x24').</p>
<b>Photographic record</b>	BT digital image, AT digital image in raking light.
<b>Notes</b>	Filed 16.05.07

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## **Plates**

Picture references for images for squeezes and images of the original monuments. All of these images are on the disc (see Appendix 1). A select group can be found in the plate section.

Unless otherwise stated, all photographs are by the author.

### **Bristol City Museum**

All squeeze images courtesy of Bristol City Museum.

#### *Original monuments*

B001 Neues Museum, Berlin – courtesy of unusualegypt.com <http://bit.ly/2uMAgMy>

B002, B007, B008, B010, B011, B012, B014 – courtesy of BKB Photography.

### **Petrie Museum**

#### *Original monuments*

P001, P002, P004, P005, P006, P010, P012, P016 – courtesy of BKB Photography.

P007 Neues Museum, Berlin – courtesy of unusualegypt.com <http://bit.ly/2uMAgMy>

P014 Neues Museum, Berlin – courtesy of Flickr <http://bit.ly/2w9tmk2>

### **Leeds City**

Squeeze images courtesy of the Leeds City Museum

#### *Original Monuments*

L002 Neues Museum, Berlin – courtesy of Unusualegypt.com <http://bit.ly/2uMAgMy>

L005, L007, L008, L010, L014, L016, L017 – courtesy of BKB Photography.

L009 Neues Museum, Berlin – courtesy of Flickr <http://bit.ly/2w9tmk2>

## **Egypt Exploration Society**

### *Composite Squeeze Images*

All courtesy of Dr Kate Spence, Cambridge.

### *Original Monuments*

E003–E024 – photograph courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Photographer Sameh Abdel Mohsen.

E046, E058, E075 – courtesy of Dr Kate Spence, Cambridge.

E057 – photograph taken 1936–7 courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (Ref A164).

E064 – photograph taken 1936–7 courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society (ref A.1 63)

## **Marischal Museum**

### *Squeezes*

M064, M063 – courtesy of the Marischal Museum, Aberdeen

### *Original Monuments*

M005, M065, M064 – courtesy of BKB Photography.

M007 – Neues Museum, Berlin – courtesy of unusualegypt.com

<http://bit.ly/2uMAgMy>

M022, M045 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 116).

M024, M034, M048, M054 – photograph Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 185).

M025 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 149).

M021, M023, M027 – photographs by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 156).

M028 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 58).

M029 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 58).

M030 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 153).

M031 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 185).

M032, M050, M060 – photographs by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 186).

M033, M035 – photographs by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 97).

M036 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 143).

M037 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 158).

M038, M039 – photographs by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 152).

M040 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 130).

M041, M049 – photographs by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 132).

M042, M056 – photographs by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 163).

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M046 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 107).

M047 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 123).

M051 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 136).

M052 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 114).

M053 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 180).

M058 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 106).

M061– photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 115).

M062 – photograph by Harry Burton (Hornung 1991: pl. 128).

## **The Collection, Lincoln**

### *Squeezes*

G043 – courtesy of BKB Photography.

### *Original Monuments*

G003 – courtesy of [www.theartofcounting.com](http://www.theartofcounting.com)

G008, G009, G010, G013, G031, G032, G035, G041, G043 – courtesy of BKB  
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G011 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 98).

G016 – courtesy of Neithsabes Wikimediacommons.

G023 – photograph reproduced by permission of the American Research Center in

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G025 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 102).

G026 – photograph taken from [www.luxortimesmagazine.blogspot.com](http://www.luxortimesmagazine.blogspot.com)

G027 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 136).

G034 – courtesy of

<http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/resource/BubastitePortal/1515>

G037 – photograph after Roeder 1911: pl. 31.

G038 – photograph after Roeder 1930: pl. 116.

G045 – photograph copyright Luciano Napolitano from [http://www.travel-tour-guide.com/egypt/4e\\_egypt\\_tour\\_wadi\\_es\\_sebua\\_kalabsha.htm](http://www.travel-tour-guide.com/egypt/4e_egypt_tour_wadi_es_sebua_kalabsha.htm)

G046 – photograph after Roeder 1930: pl. 81.

G047 – reproduced by permission of the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc.

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G053 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 153).

G054 – photograph by Harry Burton (after Hornung 1991: pl. 130).

G057 – photograph courtesy of BKB Photography.

G061 – photograph after Roeder 1930: pl. 112.

G062 – photograph after Roeder 1930: pl. 84.



## University of Aberdeen, Special Collections

### *Original Monuments*

A001 – courtesy of the British Museum

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=122734&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=122734&partId=1)

A002 – courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris.

A023, A024 – courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris <http://www.photo.rmnm.fr> (photo ref 01-007352).

A031, A052, A067 – courtesy of Musée du Louvre / Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville

A035, A065 – courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Taken prior to 1940.

A048 – courtesy of Louvre Museum, Paris [www.photo.rmnm.fr](http://www.photo.rmnm.fr) photograph number 13-575314.

A050 – courtesy of Neues Museum Berlin.

A051– photographs from the Musée du Louvre

[http://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/imagecache/940x768/medias/medias\\_images/images/louvre-senousret-chef-tresor.jpg](http://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/imagecache/940x768/medias/medias_images/images/louvre-senousret-chef-tresor.jpg)

A058, A054 – photographs from the British Museum

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=136789001&objectId=119646&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=136789001&objectId=119646&partId=1)

A062 – photograph from the British Museum

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=334896001&objectid=123116](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=334896001&objectid=123116)

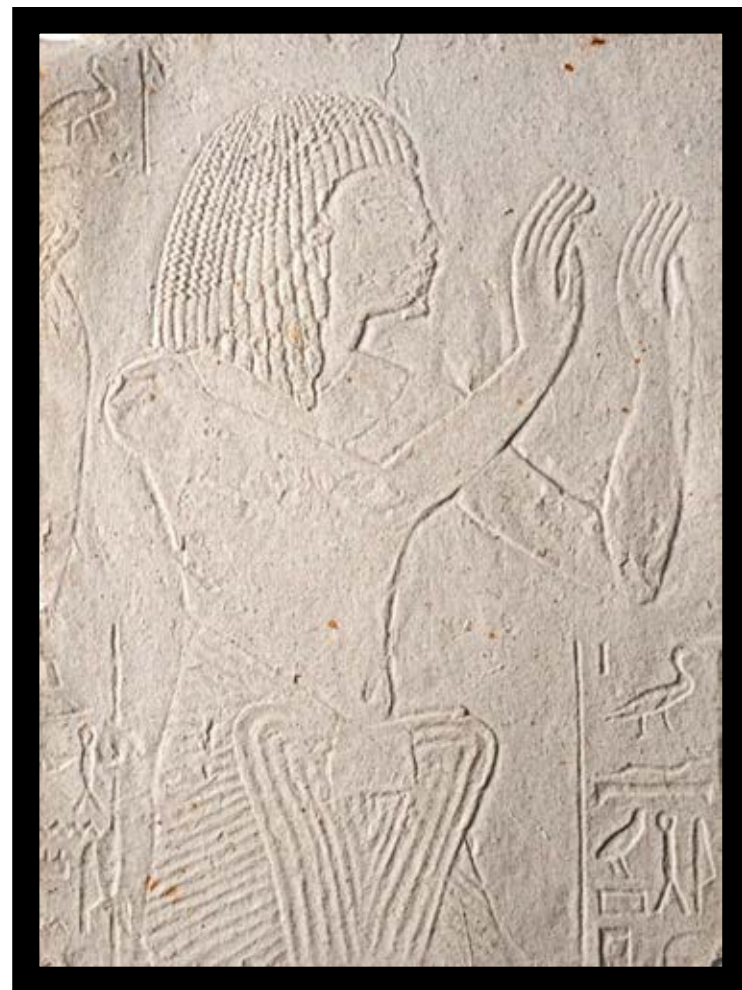
A063, A064 – after Simpson 1974: pl. 8.

A068 – courtesy of [www.photo.rmnm.fr](http://www.photo.rmnm.fr) photograph number photography 13-575313.

L011

Tomb of Paser (TT106)

L015



Missing Inscriptions

Plate 1

# L022

Tomb of Paser (TT106)



Missing Inscriptions

# G015

Deir el Bahri

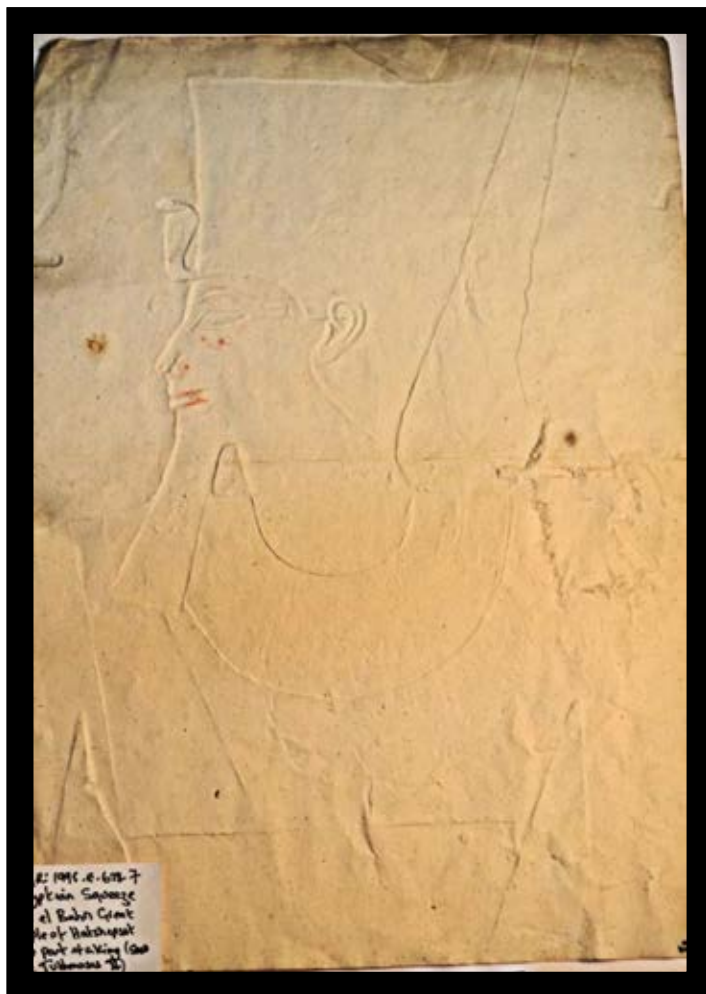


Plate 2



# G007

Deir el Bahri



Missing Inscriptions

# Possible Location



Plate 3

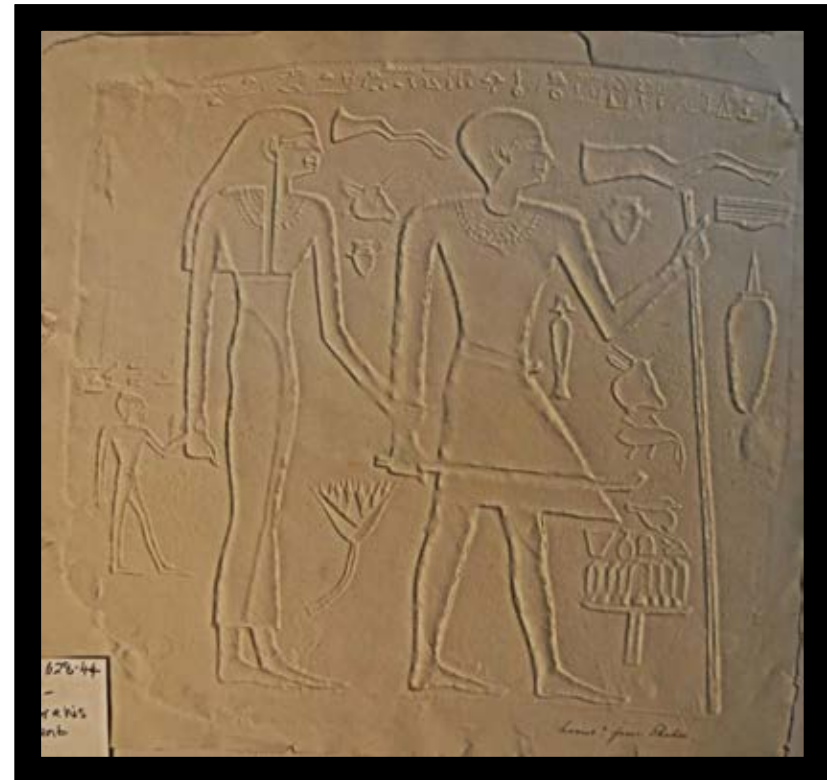
# G021

# Karnak



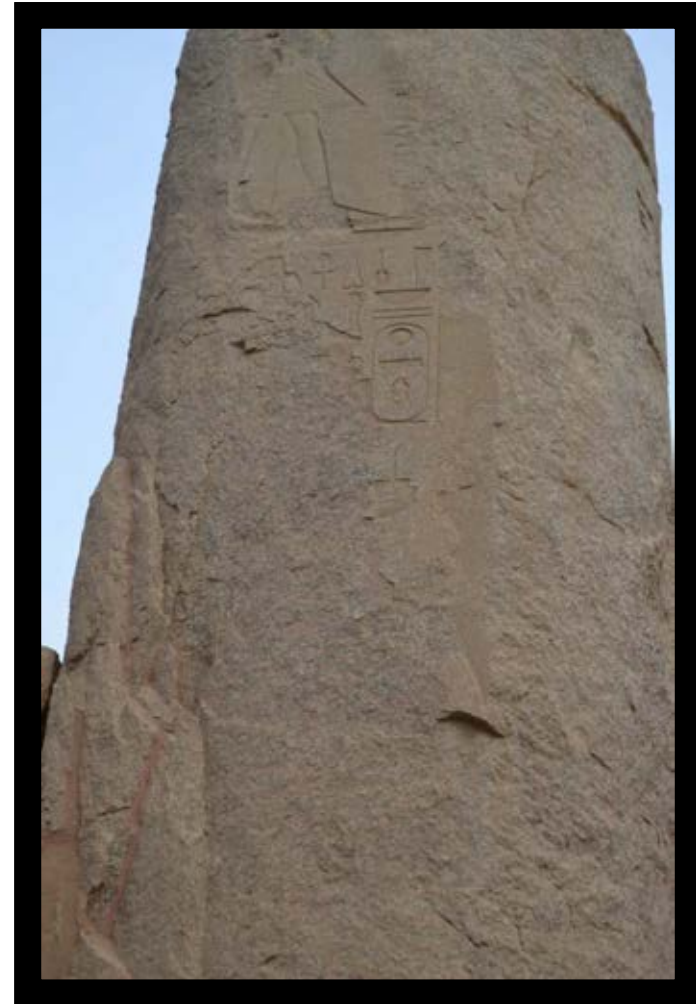
# G042

Unknown



# G033

Karnak



Missing Inscriptions

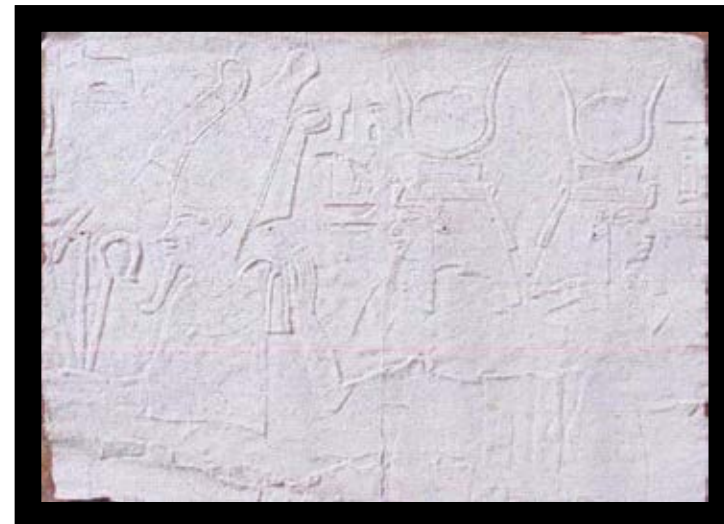
Plate 5



P006

Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)

L017



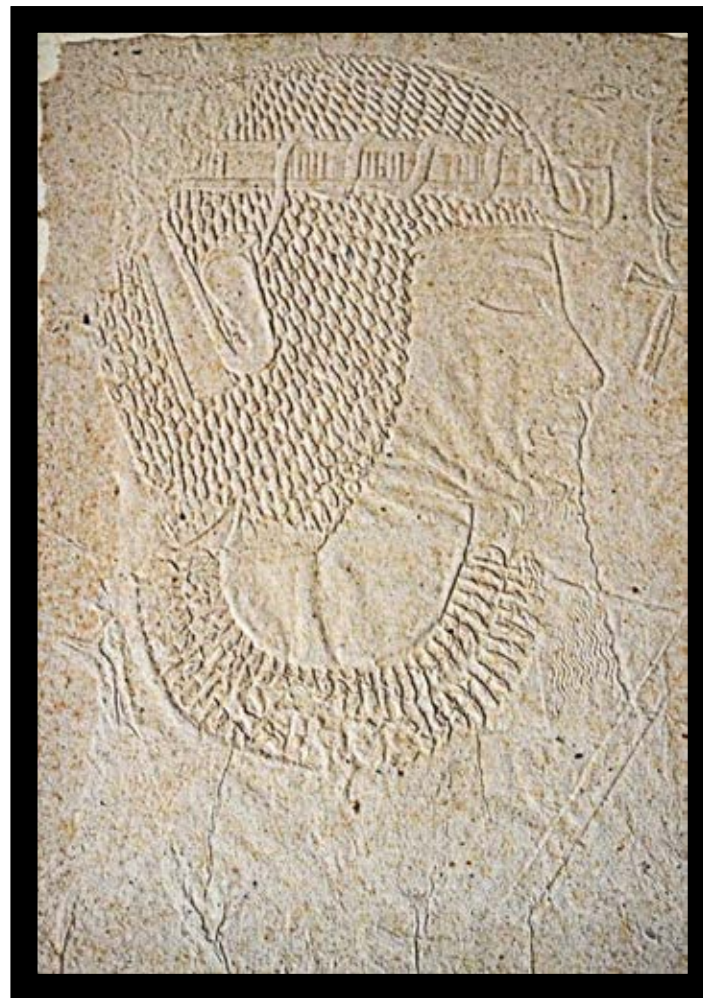
Damaged Inscriptions

Plate 6



# P007

Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)



# L018

Tomb of Paser (TT106)



Damaged Inscriptions



# L019

## Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)



# B003

Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)

# B004



# B011

Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)

# B013



Damaged Inscriptions

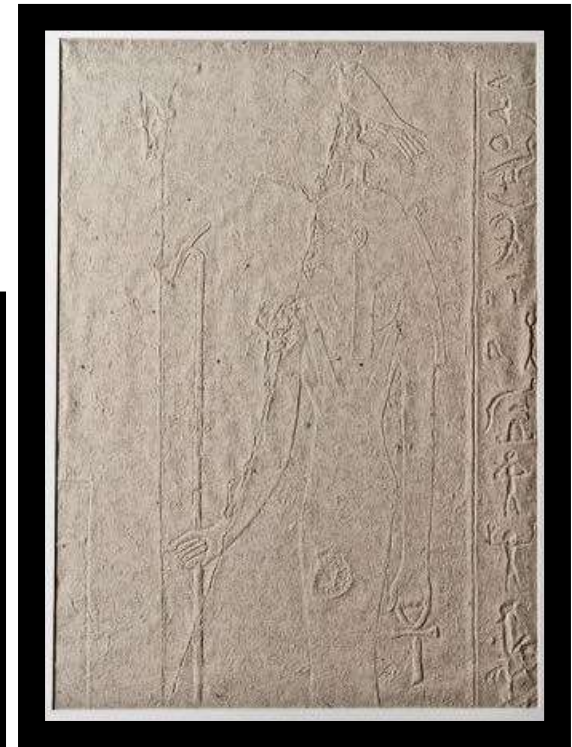


Plate 11



# E046

Sesebi



Damaged Inscriptions

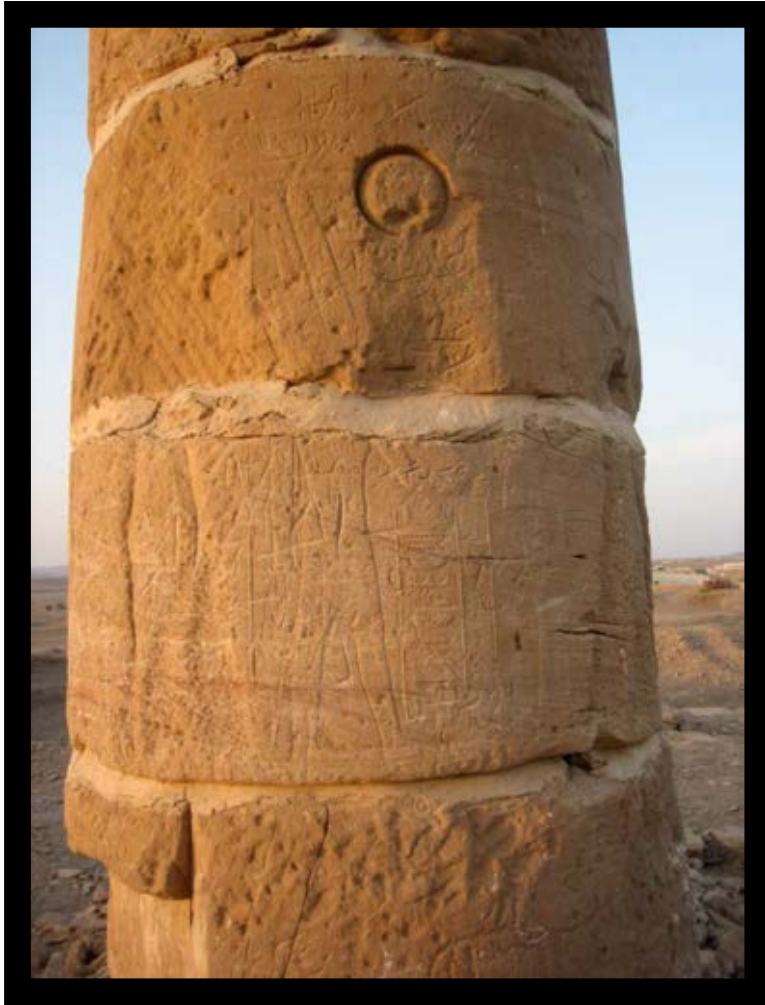
# E057

Sesebi



# E058

Sesebi



Damaged Inscriptions



# E075 (top) E061 (bottom)

Sesebi



# E064 Sesebi



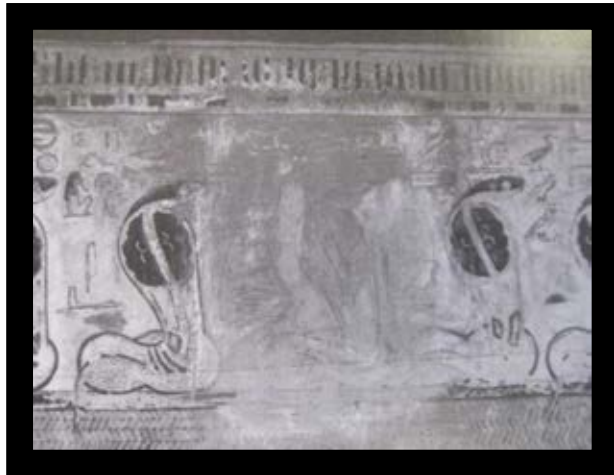
Karnak G004



# M030

Tomb of Sety I (KV17)

# M051



Damaged Inscriptions

Plate 17



# M061

Tomb of Sety I (KV17)



Damaged Inscriptions

Plate 18

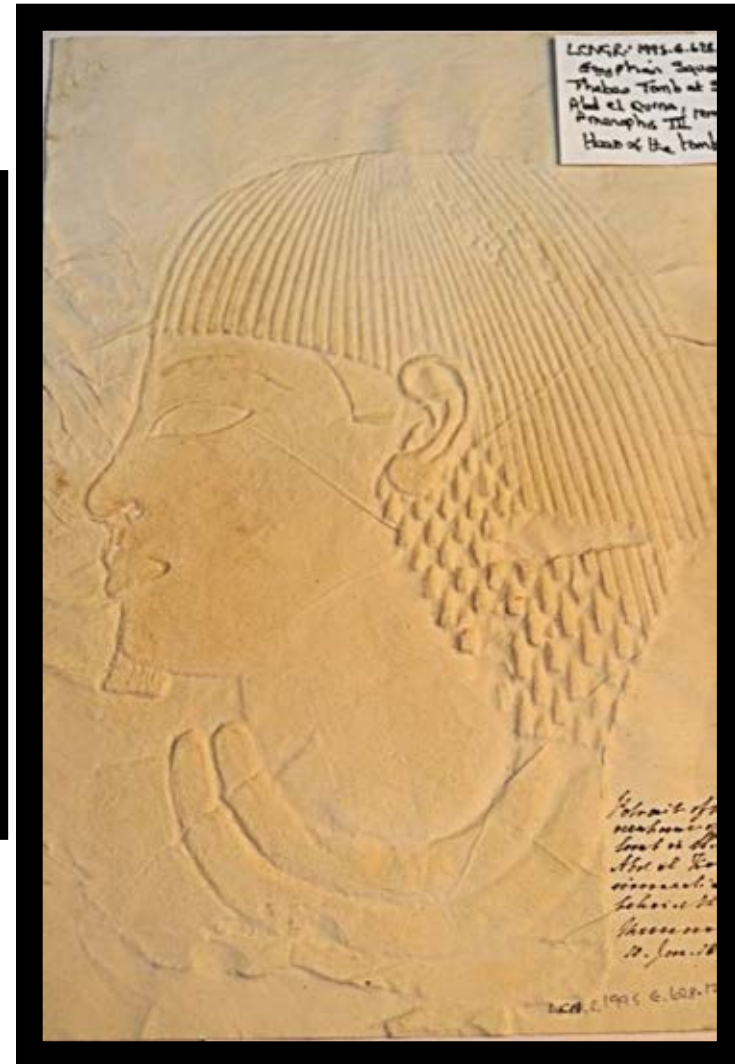
# M063

Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)



# G012

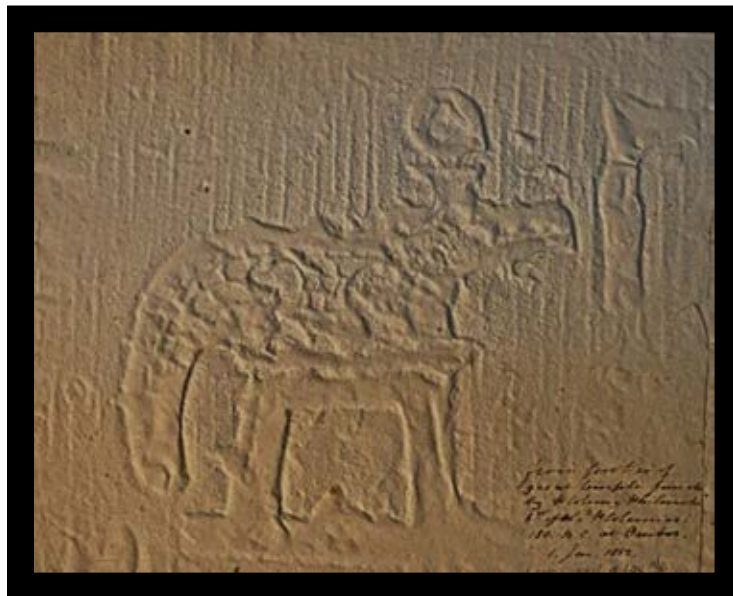
## Tomb of Khaemhat (TT57)



Damaged Inscriptions



# G035 Kom Ombo



Damaged Inscriptions

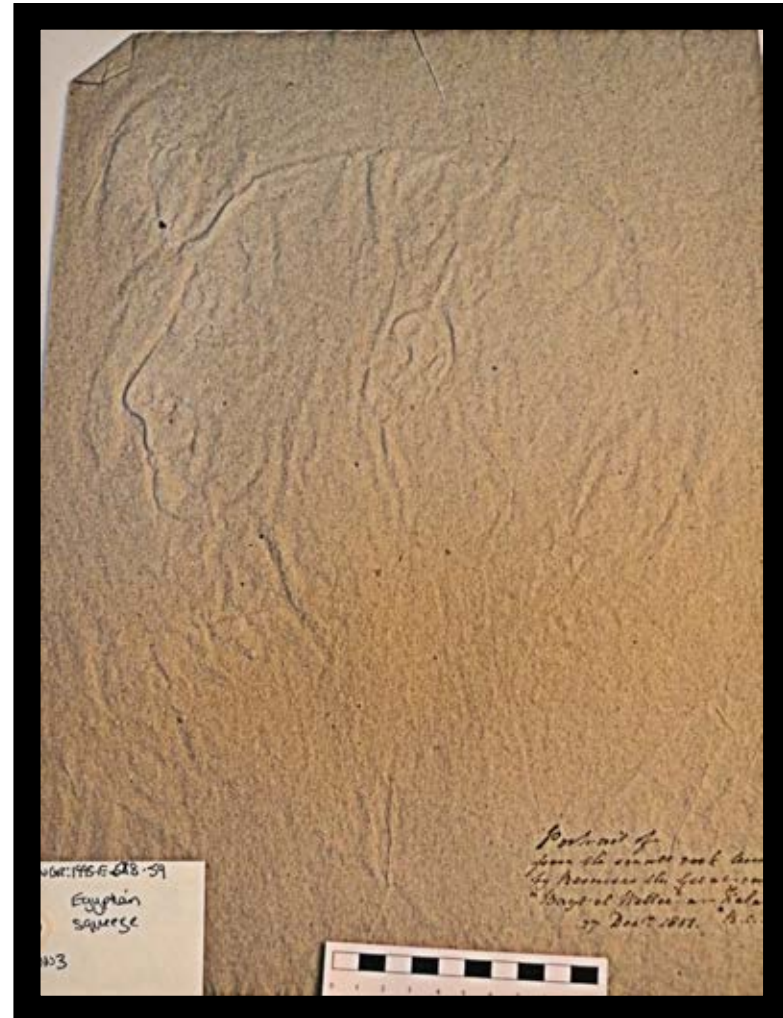
# Dakka G062



Plate 21

# G057

Beit el Wali



Damaged Inscriptions



# A031

Louvre C214



Damaged Inscriptions

Plate 23

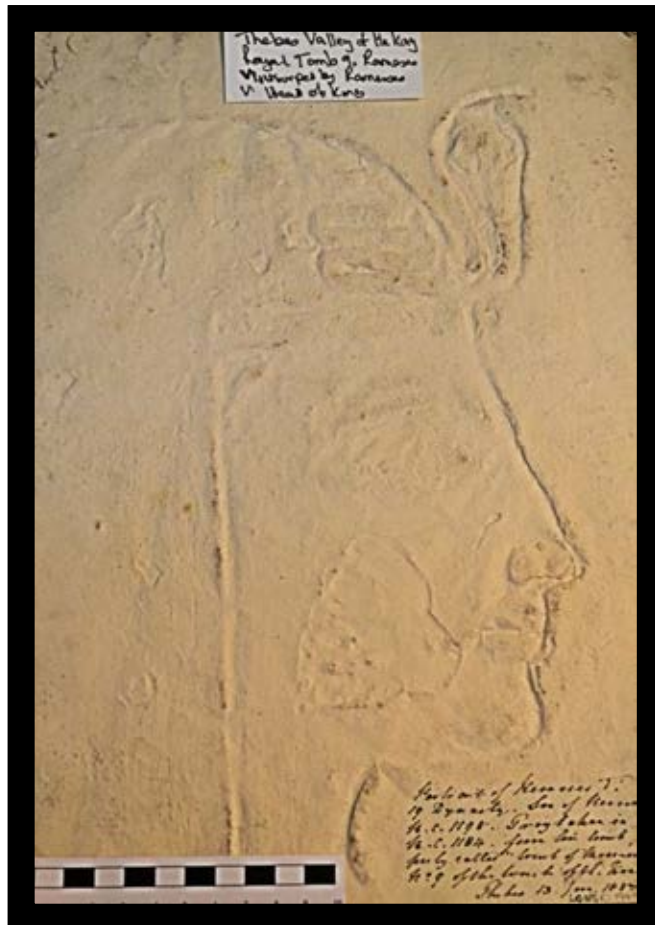
# A050

Berlin 1191



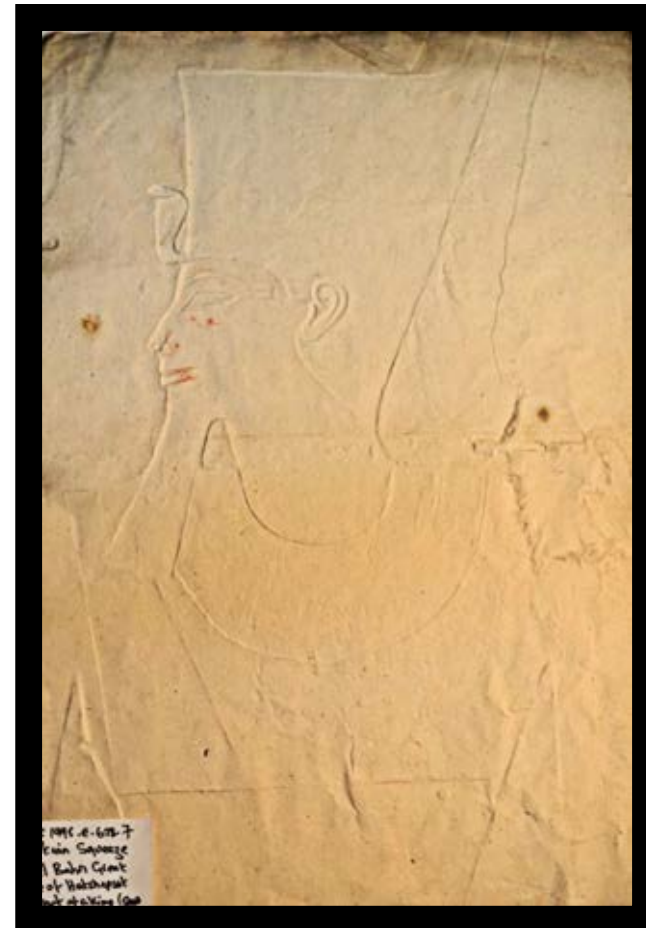
# G003

Tomb of Ramses VI (KV9)



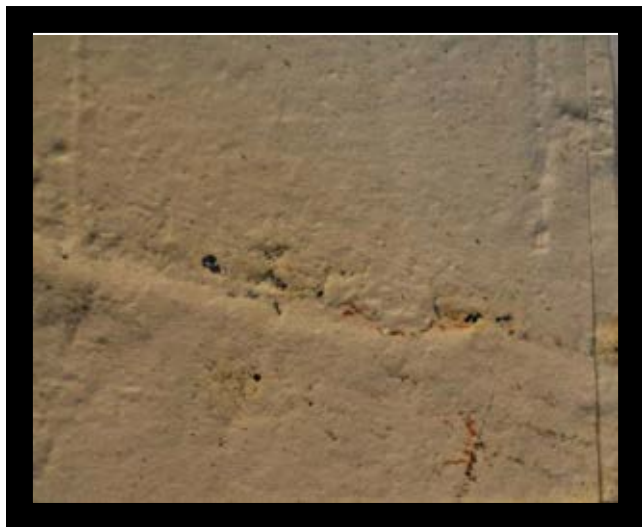
# G007

Deir el Bahri



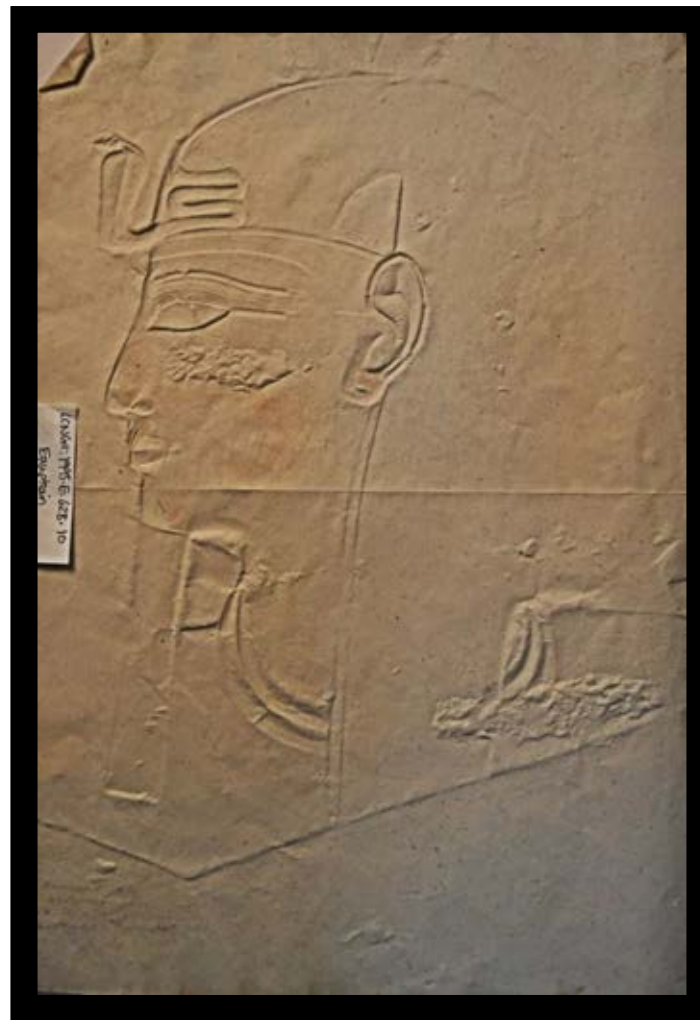
# G008

Tomb of Ramses IX (KV6)



# G010

Tomb of Merenptah (KV8)





# G016

Karnak

# G021

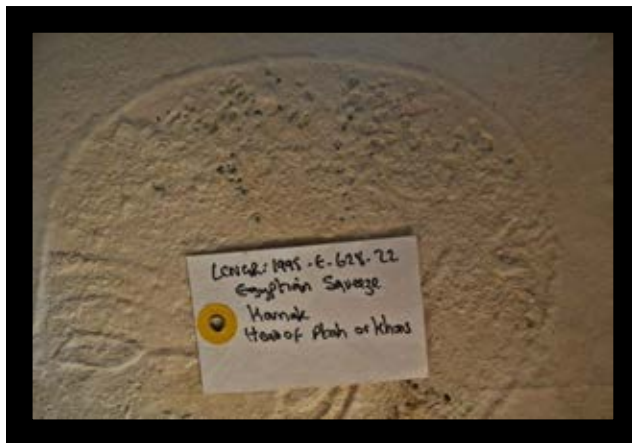


Colour transfer

Plate 27

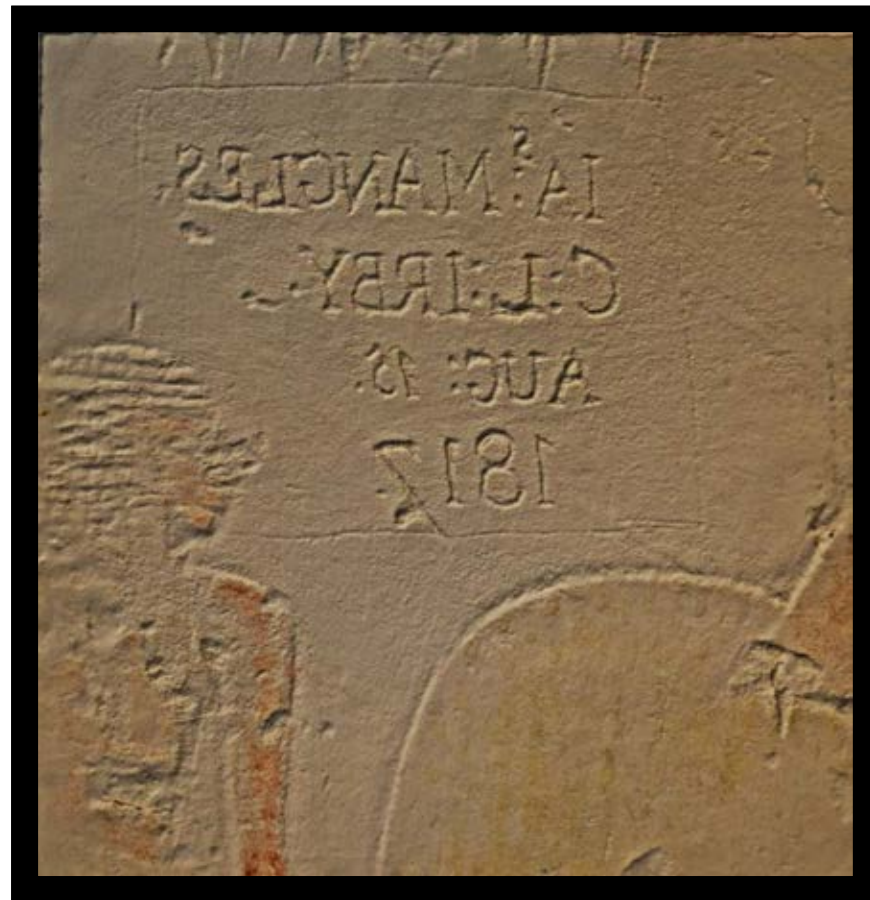
# G022

Karnak



# G040

Tomb of Paheri El Kab



Colour transfer

Plate 28

**G041** Tomb of Paheri El Kab

**G047** Tomb of Sety I (KV17)



**M025**

Tomb of Sety I (KV17)





# M047

Tomb of Sety I (KV17)

# M062

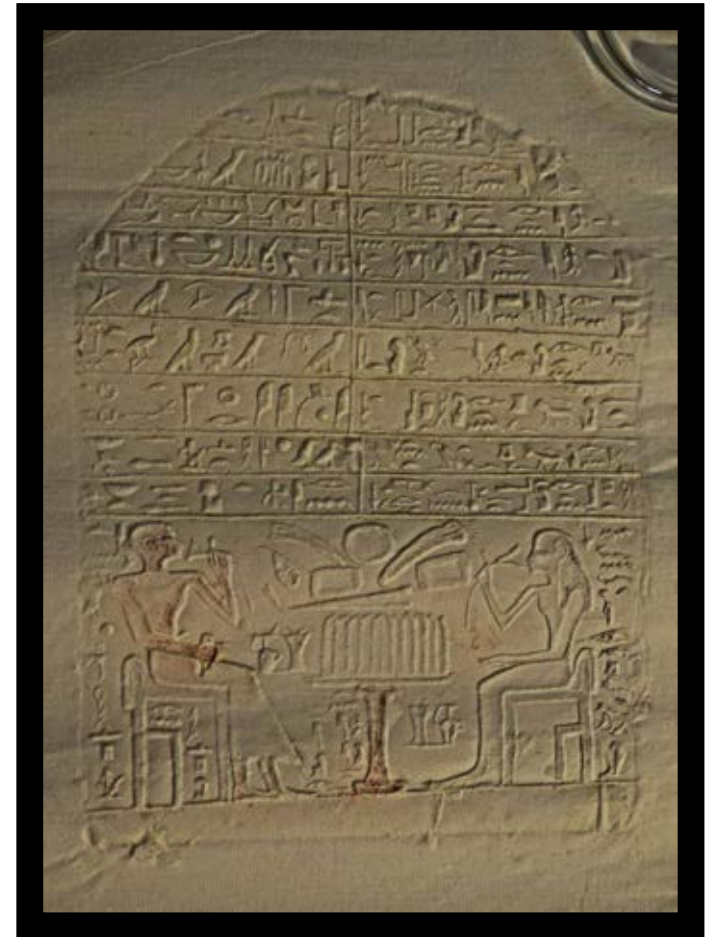




A004

Unknown

A007



Colour transfer

Plate 31

A009



Unknown

A011



Colour transfer

Plate 32

A012

Unknown

A013



Colour transfer

Plate 33



A014



Unknown

A015



Colour transfer

Plate 34

A016

Unknown

A017



Colour transfer

Plate 35

# A018

Unknown

# A029



Colour transfer

Plate 36



# A031

Louvre C214



# A037

Unknown



Colour transfer

Plate 37

# A051

Louvre C174



# A054

British Museum 828





# A056

Unknown



Colour transfer

Plate 39

# M018

Unknown



Squeezes of interest

Plate 40

# A001

British Museum EA 886



Squeezes of Interest

Plate 41



# A002

Louvre C243



Squeezes of Interest

Plate 42