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DEIR EL-MEDINA PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI: THE ARCHIVE OF TOTOÊS¹

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ABSTRACT

The archive of Totoês and his wife Tatehathyris (TM Arch 248) was discovered in February 1905 by Ernesto Schiaparelli's "Missione Archeologica Italiana" in Deir el-Medina and is now kept in the Museo Egizio (Suppl. 6068-6125). It is comprised of 61 documents dated to the second century BCE, for the most part legal acts of a priestly family. Written and photographic evidence in modern archives allows us to specify the circumstances of both the find and the opening of the two sealed jars that preserved them. The discovery occurred north of the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor in the recess of a wall of House H or a later structure on the same spot, probably by Roberto Paribeni. A few of the thirty-three or thirty-four rolls found were unwrapped on site soon after, but most were unrolled in Turin by October 1906 and some during the summer of 1948. The resulting fifty-six Demotic and Greek papyri, along with five inscribed linen strips, received labels indicating the roll of provenance, but unfortunately these have since been lost. Modern archives sometimes contain clues on how Totoês' texts were arranged in ancient dossiers: this reconstruction helps us to understand the archive better. As an example, the fact that *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, 34 B+C, 35 and 36 were wrapped together support the interpretation that they deal with the devolution, from father to sons, of the tasks of agent of Hathor and manager of the temple of Deir el-Medina in 100 BCE.

¹ I thank Paola Boffula Alimeni, Paolo Del Vesco, Sara Maria Demichelis, Federico Poole and Susanne Töpfer for their valuable comments and Andrew Monson and Todd Gillen for checking and correcting my English. Any shortcoming remains my responsibility.

1. THE DISCOVERY OF THE ARCHIVE

In February 1905, the “Missione Archeologica Italiana” led by Ernesto Schiaparelli discovered two sealed jars at Deir el-Medina. Their opening revealed 61 documents written in Greek and Demotic, dated to the second century BCE. They formed the family archive (TM Arch 248) of the priest of Hathor Totoês (*twtw*) and his wife Tatehathyris (*tꜥ-tw-Hw.t-Hr*) and they are now kept in the Museo Egizio under the inventory numbers Suppl. 6068-6125.² The Greek texts were published by Girolamo Vitelli in 1929,³ and Giuseppe Botti published those written in Demotic in 1967.⁴ The latter gave only brief details about the discovery in two preliminary articles⁵ and in the *editio princeps*:⁶ the jars were found some meters outside the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor, in a house in ruins. Vitelli reported Schiaparelli’s own words in the introduction to the Greek papyri:⁷

Nel Febbraio dell’anno 1905, dopo avere esaurito l’esplorazione della Valle delle Regine, iniziammo i lavori nella vicina valle di Deir el Medinet, ai due lati del tempio tolemaico che sta in testa alla valle medesima. Il centro di questa piccola valle, segnatamente al tempo della XXª Dinastia, e forse anche prima, era occupato da una piccola città, la città della Necropoli [...]. Sulle rovine di codesta piccola città fu costruita nell’età tolemaica una casa di abitazione di qualche importanza, a poche diecine di metri dal recinto del tempio, anche questo ricostruito nel medesimo periodo; e probabilmente per uso di persone addette al tempio stesso. Fra i ruderi di questa casa si trovarono i due vasi contenenti i papiri, collocati l’uno accanto all’altro e ancora chiusi coi loro antichi legamenti.

² The two vases are inventoried as S. 6121 and 6122.

³ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), *Papiri greci e latini. Volume nono*, 1929, pp. 15–35.

⁴ Botti, *L’archivio demotico*, 1967.

⁵ Botti, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951), p. 192; Botti, in Milano, Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere (ed.), *Atti dell’XI congresso internazionale di papirologia*, 1966, p. 92 (the last passage cited also in Botti, *Dal Monte Rosa alla Terra dei Faraoni*, 2010, p. 174).

⁶ Botti, *L’archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 1.

⁷ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), *Papiri greci e latini. Volume nono*, 1929, p. 15; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 117.

Schiaparelli never described this discovery in his publications,⁸ but letters he sent to the Royal Ministry of Public Education are fortunately richer in detail. The first one bears the title “Rinvenimento di papiri” and is a short communication stored in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome, written in the Valley of the Queens and addressed directly to the Minister, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando. Its date, the 14th of February 1905, in all likelihood reveals the exact day of the discovery.⁹ A longer account occurs in a field report of the 1905 campaign, dated the 24th of August 1905 and now housed in the Archivio di Stato of Turin:¹⁰

Gli scavi iniziati il dì 18 gennaio, si proseguirono ininterrottamente fino al dì 4 luglio [...].

L'esplorazione della Valle delle Regine si poté esaurire in meno di due settimane; né vi furono, come già si prevedeva, importanti rinvenimenti [...].

Il lavoro di maggiore importanza nella necropoli tebana, fu, nell'anno corrente lo scavo di quella parte della necropoli di Deir-el-Medinet, che si trova sulla destra e sulla sinistra dell'omonimo tempio; scavo che ci occupò per oltre quaranta giorni, impiegandovi giornalmente anche più di 500 operai. [...]

Prima di giungere allo strato archeologico più antico, e sovrastanti alle rovine delle tombe e delle altre costruzioni ora menzionate, si erano colà costruite nel periodo romano numerose abitazioni i cui resti, dopo che furono diligentemente rilevati a cura del Dott. Paribeni, si dovettero demolire per arrivare agli strati inferiori. Eseguendo appunto la demolizione di una di queste casette, che si era innestata sulla cappella consacrata al faraone Seti I, vennero in luce due vasi fittili, intatti, colla bocca chiusa con un piattello ben assicurato alle anse con più giri di spago, che, aperti, si rinvennero pieni di papiri in perfetto stato di conservazione. Erano 34 rotoli di varia lunghezza, ben legati con spago e fasciati con tele, nella condizione medesima in cui dal loro antico proprietario erano stati

⁸ Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori*, 1927, pp. V–VI, focuses on Kha and Merit's tomb and defers to further publications the description of other finds, included the archive of Totoês. Then Schiaparelli died on the 14th of February 1928.

⁹ ACSR, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II 1908-1912, envelope 3. I owe this reference to Dr. Paola Boffula Alimeni, that I sincerely thank.

¹⁰ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 9; Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, pp. 218–19; Roccati, in Consonni et al. (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini*, 2012, p. 34; Moiso and Lovera, in Del Vesco and Moiso (eds.), *Missione Egitto 1903-1920*, 2017, pp. 154 and 164; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 117.

riposti in un vano nel muro. Di quelli che intanto si sono aperti, uno è greco e gli altri sono demotici; tutti sono atti privati costituenti l'archivio di una famiglia egiziana nel periodo romano.

Given that Roberto Paribeni, one of the field assistants in 1905 at Deir el-Medina, mapped the house at issue before its dismantlement, it was almost certainly he who discovered the sealed jars in the recess of a wall. The following year, a similar letter of report by Schiaparelli confirmed the general framework, adding more information about the content of the vases.¹¹

La campagna si iniziò nella necropoli tebana, nella regione che è conosciuta col nome di Deir-el-Medinet. L'anno passato la nostra Missione già vi aveva lavorato esplorando la zona ai due lati dell'omonimo tempio, e trovandovi la necropoli a cui era addetta la confraternita dei Sotem-ash, le cappelle in onore dei Faraoni defunti, e, in una casa tolemaica rovinata, un gruppo di 52 papiri demotici e greci, del tempo di Cleopatra III.

The paucity of written records is often compensated for by the abundant photographic documentation produced by the Italian Archaeological Mission.¹² A printed copy of a photo shows a chapel in Deir el-Medina during the excavations, and its back side displays the following handwritten note that connects the place with the finding of the archive: “Luogo del ritrovamento dei papiri. Deir el Medinet 1905”.¹³ Del Vesco identified this sanctuary as Chapel G, at the northernmost edge of the cult building cluster north of the Ptolemaic enclosure wall of the temple of Hathor. Schiaparelli assigned it to the reign of Seti I,¹⁴ but

¹¹ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 10; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 110, 117.

¹² Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, pp. 122–23 and 128; Moiso and Lovera, in Del Vesco and Moiso (eds.), *Missione Egitto 1903-1920*, 2017, pp. 167–70; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 108.

¹³ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 8; Archivio Museo Egizio, C 930; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 114–15 (the picture in fig. 13 is C 933, hard to distinguish from the almost identical C 930).

¹⁴ As reported even in an article of the Turin newspaper *La Stampa*: “Ma era a Der-el-Medinet una delle piccole valli della necropoli tebana che lo Schiaparelli doveva fare la sua scoperta più preziosa. Scavando attorno al tempio della Dea Hathor scoprì le cappelle votive di Seti I, e accanto a queste due vasi di terracotta contenenti 52 papiri perfettamente conservati, 43 demotici e 9 greci, del tempo di Cleopatra III, e contenenti atti privati (E. Thovez, “Tra le meraviglie dell’Egitto dissepolti. Un colloquio col prof. Schiaparelli”, *La Stampa*, Torino, Giovedì



Fig. 1 Surroundings of the discovery location of the archive of Totoês, identified by a handwritten note on the back: “Luogo del ritrovamento dei papiri. Deir el Medinet 1905” (Archivio Museo Egizio, C 930).

indeed, Del Vesco recognized in the Museo Egizio the relief visible on the bottom wall of the sanctuary depicted on another photo of the excavations,¹⁵ and he was thus able to ascribe the erection of the chapel to Amenmesse and its usurpation to Seti II.¹⁶ Accordingly, the building where the archive of Totoês was found is identified by Del Vesco either as House H or as a later structure erected over it, immediately to the south of Chapel G [Fig. 1].¹⁷

2. THE OPENING OF THE JARS AND THE UNROLLING OF THE PAPYRI

An aspect that still needs to be clarified is when the two jars were opened. It is probable that, after the end of the mission activity on site, all of the 1905 find-

15 *Ottobre 1908*, p. 3). See also Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 117.

¹⁵ Archivio Museo Egizio, C 897. Another photo from the museum archive, bearing the number C 922, is very similar.

¹⁶ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 114–16.

¹⁷ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 117–18.

ings from Deir el-Medina were first catalogued and temporarily stored in the facilities of the Franciscan mission in Luxor, then submitted to the Egyptian antiquities service for inspection and *partage*, and finally arrived in Turin in 1906 thanks to Gondrand transport company.¹⁸ Even if these objects were shipped in the same year they were found, it would have happened not before the 10th of August, as is indicated by a Gondrand company note bearing this date and listing the number (111) and weight (35 tons) of the crates containing the archaeological objects.¹⁹

Botti stated that the vases containing the archive of Totoês arrived in Turin still sealed.²⁰

Giova sin da ora rilevare che per le rotture che si incontrano nei papiri, le mancanze di parte del testo, e i frammenti conservatici si devono ascrivere allo stato dei testi all'epoca stessa della loro introduzione nelle giarre, non già in seguito alla loro apertura; essendo esse, come già si è detto, giunte a Torino ermeticamente chiuse, così come si erano trovate.

In contrast to such a reconstruction, in a letter dated the 23rd of May 1905, Vitelli wrote to Annibale Evaristo Breccia that Schiaparelli already knew, well before the end of the excavations in Egypt on the 4th of July²¹ and his subsequent return to Italy, that the jars contained papyri.²²

Oggi ho avuto notizie anche dello Schiaparelli da Matarié. Passerà ancora del tempo prima che torni in Italia. Pare sia contento dei risultati ottenuti. Mi accenna anche ad alcuni papiri: vedremo cosa saranno, se toccherà a me vederli.

¹⁸ Moiso, *La storia del Museo Egizio*, 2016, pp. 72–74. An inquiry to the Franciscan Mission in Luxor, whose staff I would like to thank for their hospitality and kindness, has unfortunately produced no results. For the collaboration between the Italian Archaeological Mission and the “Società Nazionale di Trasporti Fratelli Gondrand” between 1903 and 1908: Moiso *et al.*, in Del Vesco and Moiso (eds.), *Missione Egitto 1903-1920*, 2017, p. 321.

¹⁹ Moiso, in Moiso (eds.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, p. 222.

²⁰ Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 3. Pestman, in Boswinkel and Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, 1978, p. 193, also supposed that the opening of the vases took place in Turin.

²¹ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 9; Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, pp. 217 and 222.

²² Vitelli, in Morelli and Pintaudi (eds.), *Cinquant'anni di papirologia in Italia*, I, 1983, p. 149.

In the abovementioned letter that announced the discovery, dated the 14th of February 1905, Schiaparelli partially resolves the discrepancies between these two versions:²³

Mi è grato annunziare a V. E. che negli scavi che, a cura di questa Missione archeologica, si stanno eseguendo nella attigua necropoli di Deir-el-Medinet, oltre a varii pregevoli cimelii dissepelliti nei decorsi giorni, si sono ora rinvenuti due vasi intatti contenenti 34 papiri, ancora chiusi cogli antichi legacci, e in stato perfetto di conservazione. Dei detti papiri uno è greco, e gli altri, secondo ogni probabilità, sono demotici.

Indeed, he admitted that he unpacked some of the discovered rolls and that one of them was written in Greek, the other ones being “in all likelihood” in Demotic (no Demotists joined the mission, making it impossible to confirm on the spot the kind of cursive writing on the papyri). So, the opening of at least one of the two vases took place immediately after the discovery, after which Schiaparelli wrote about it to the Minister Orlando and then to Vitelli while he was still in Egypt, before resealing the jars and shipping them to Turin. In any case, both of the jars had been opened, their content unrolled and at least partially examined by some papyrologist (probably the same Vitelli) by the 9th of October 1906: in the letter of report bearing that date, Schiaparelli declared having found fifty-two papyri in Demotic and Greek in the previous year’s campaign in Deir el-Medina, and also gave a more precise date for the texts, namely the reign of Cleopatra III.²⁴

It would also be important to know how the papyri were stored within the jars and whether they were subdivided into ancient dossiers. We know from different sources that the jars contained only thirty-three²⁵ or thirty-four²⁶ “rolls”: three photos of them are preserved in the Archivio Museo Egizio **[Fig. 2]**.²⁷ But

²³ ACSR, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II 1908-1912, envelope 3.

²⁴ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 10; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 110.

²⁵ Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, pp. 2 and 204. The same is stated in Ballerini's letter to his family dated the 14th of March 1905: Consonni and Quirino, in Consonni *et al.* (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini*, 2012, p. 148.

²⁶ ACSR, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II 1908-1912, envelope 3; ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 9; Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, p. 219.

²⁷ Archivio Museo Egizio, D 98, D 99 and D 142.



Fig. 2 Some of the still unpacked rolls (Archivio Museo Egizio, D 142).

the archive of Totoês is actually comprised of fifty-six papyri: forty-four in Demotic, eight in Greek and four bilingual. This means that some of them were rolled one inside the other, then wrapped in linen cloths tied with string, or enveloped in linen strips; five pieces of linen bear Demotic inscriptions,²⁸ thus bringing the number of documents up to sixty-one. Unfortunately, Schiaparelli's list of archaeological objects for each field mission does not supply enough data on how the papyri were rolled together.²⁹

In the introduction to the edition of the five Demotic texts on linen, Botti declared that, when the jars were opened, each roll received a number and each linen strip a descriptive note. In the drafts of his edition, dated between 1962 and 1964, he recorded many of the roll numbers from which each papyrus was extracted. But at least since the 10th of May 1963, only three papyri still had labels attached marking the roll of origin:³⁰

²⁸ Provv. 5056, 5057, 5064, 5065 and 6134.

²⁹ Curto, *Storia del Museo Egizio*, 1990³, pp. 57–58 and 123; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 108.

³⁰ ASTo, Fondo Botti, doss. 7, fasc. 4.

Solo sui Papiri seguenti rimasto cartellino indicante il rotolo:

N. 6078³¹ = rotolo 25

N. 6079³² = rotolo 21

N. 6080³³ = rotolo 12

10 maggio 1963.

Because of the data lost for *P.Tor.Botti 7 A+B + PSI IX 1015*, *P.Tor.Botti 20 and 27*, *P.Tor.Botti 45 + PSI IX 1021*, and of some inconsistencies concerning *P.Tor.Botti 16, 28, 41* and the linen strip n° 3, Botti decided to omit such notes in his drafts.³⁴

Ma i cartellini con i numeri dei singoli rotoli dei papiri, nel rimaneggiamento di questi sono in gran parte andati perduti, per cui i rotoli non sono più tutti precisabili: d'altra parte la distinzione non era ad essi inerente, fu fatta per la semplice enumerazione dei rotoli al momento dell'estrazione dalle giarre. La perdita non ha pregiudicato per nulla la classificazione dei papiri, risultata ben chiara dai singoli contesti; e quindi non mi sono preoccupato della numerazione dei singoli rotoli.

Anche per le bende con iscrizione non è possibile precisare a quale singolo papiro appartenessero, essendo i nomi propri in esse conservati, privi di particolari specificazioni, e quindi possibili le iscrizioni di diverse appartenenze.

He therefore did the same in the final publication of 1967.³⁵ The only exception is *P.Tor.Botti 35*: Botti remarked that it wrapped a group of papyri, only specifying that *P.Tor.Botti 34 B* was one of them.³⁶

In any case, probably with the help of the restorer Erminia Caudana³⁷, between

³¹ *P.Tor.Botti 6 A+B*.

³² *P.Tor.Botti 8 A+B*.

³³ *P.Tor.Botti 3 A+B + PSI IX 1014*.

³⁴ ASTo, Fondo Botti, doss. 7, fasc. 4.

³⁵ Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 204.

³⁶ Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 179.

³⁷ Curto, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975), p. 271. The inventory numbers of some papyri are still recorded on oval labels that Caudana put between the glass slabs. I owe this reference to Dr. Sara Maria Demichelis (Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Torino), that I sincerely thank. Curto, *Storia del*

the 1st of July and the 15th of August 1948,³⁸ Botti personally unwrapped some of the rolls still packed at that time:³⁹

Papiro: Suppl. 6113.⁴⁰ [...]

Bibliografia. Manca. È stato sviluppato dallo scrivente solo nel 1948 insieme con altri due 6097 - (*vacat*), sfuggiti allo Schiaparelli, nella sistemazione fatta nell'estate 1948 di tutto il materiale demotico posseduto dal Museo di Torino. [...]

Papiro: Suppl. 6103.⁴¹ [...]

Bibliografia. Manca. Sviluppato nella sistemazione del 1948. [...]

Papiro: Suppl. 6097.⁴² [...]

Bibliografia. ~~Manca. Il papiro fu sviluppato come il n. 6113 nella sistemazione del 1948.~~ El Amir. Turin Pap. 39 (6° gruppo, p. 225. [...]

~~Non risulta nell'articolo di El-Amir. Sviluppato nella sistemazione del 1948.~~ El Amir, Turin Pap., (39) 6° gruppo, p. 225.

The third papyrus unrolled by Botti in place of Suppl. 6097 = *P.Tor.Botti* 42 has yet to be identified. With regard to the Greek papyri, some clues about their origin come from the preparatory files for the paper catalogue of the Museo Egizio.⁴³ Pencil notes lacking a date mark the original rolls for *PSI* IX 1016, 1018, 1019 and 1020. As for Vitelli, we only know that he studied them after they had been mounted between glass panes.⁴⁴ The *scripturae interiores* of *PSI* IX 1018, 1022 and 1025 were still sealed at least until the end of September 1927, when he went to Turin for transcriptions and collations of the originals;⁴⁵ afterwards,

Museo Egizio, 1990³, p. 124, stated that the inventory numbers of the Egyptian collection in Turin were assigned in 1948: these data would fit with Botti's stay in Turin.

³⁸ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 48, fasc. 12: three letters dated between the 24th of May and the 21st of June 1948, authorising Botti, who was at that time under the authority of the Florentine superintendent of antiquities Antonio Minto, to be temporarily seconded to the Museo Egizio in order to study the Demotic texts. See also Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 4; Botti, *Dal Monte Rosa alla Terra dei Faraoni*, 2010, pp. 133 and 174; Botti, *MATur* 35-36 (2011-2012), p. 184.

³⁹ ASTo, Fondo Botti, doss. 7, fasc. 4.

⁴⁰ *P.Tor.Botti* 18 A+B.

⁴¹ *P.Tor.Botti* 20.

⁴² *P.Tor.Botti* 42.

⁴³ SABAP-TO, archivio cartaceo, schede pre-catalogo 6115-18 and 6123-25.

⁴⁴ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), *Papiri greci e latini. Volume nono*, 1929, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Botti, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951), p. 192; Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 4.

they were unrolled for photos not long before Vitelli's *editio princeps* in 1929;⁴⁶ and finally, they were rolled up again before 1955, the date of the preparatory file for PSI IX 1025 that records one of its sides as wrapped up.⁴⁷

Further information about the circumstances of the discovery of the archive of Totoês and the opening of the jars could possibly be given by Paribeni's private archive in Tuscany. As for the way the papyri were rolled together inside them, it could be useful to retrieve the full-size photos of the papyri sent by Schiaparelli, in order to get quick indications about the content of the archive. Pencil notes on the images indicated either the original roll numbers or the frames in which they were mounted.⁴⁸ The pictures of the Greek documents were addressed to Vitelli in Florence; those concerning the Demotic texts to Francis Llewellyn Griffith, afterwards passing into the hands of Henry Francis Herbert Thompson, Stephen Ranulph Kingdon Glanville and Mustafa Muhammad El-Amir in Cambridge.⁴⁹ These latter three scholars cited certain of the roll numbers in their publications.⁵⁰ El-Amir, even if deeply interested in the archive of Totoês, was not able to describe ten of the Demotic papyri before Botti's edition:⁵¹ thus, it is possible that either they were not photographed by Schiaparelli or their photos got lost before 1950.

3. THE CONTENT OF THE ARCHIVE

The archive of Totoês includes various legal documents. Most of them are title deeds for the sale, lease or gifting of days of liturgical service in several temples on the Theban west bank, which would have entitled the beneficiaries to a pro-

⁴⁶ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), *Papiri greci e latini. Volume nono*, 1929, p. 16, n. 2.

⁴⁷ SABAP-TO, archivio cartaceo, scheda pre-catalogo 6125.

⁴⁸ El-Amir, *AcOr* (C) 25 (1960), p. 205, n. 7.

⁴⁹ El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, I, 1959, p. VII and II, p. 16; El-Amir, *AcOr* (C) 25 (1960), p. 204; Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Thompson, in Glanville and Macdonald Griffith (eds.), *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 1932, pp. 20 and 27 (n° 45), p. 34 (n° 17), pp. 21 and 29 (n° 55), pp. 32 and 35 (n° 22); Glanville and Skeat, *JEA* 40 (1954), p. 49 (n° 16) and p. 53 (n° 38); El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, II, 1959, p. 31, n. 1, pp. 67–68, p. 76, n. 1, pp. 80–81 (n°s 9 A+B and 10), p. 149, n. 2, pp. 157–59 and 162–3 (n°s 13-15), p. 161 (n° 4), p. 165 (n° 8); El-Amir, *AcOr* (C) 25 (1960), pp. 206–26.

⁵¹ El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, I, 1959, p. VII; El-Amir, *AcOr* (C) 25 (1960), p. 205, n. 7; Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, pp. 25, 58, 89, 116, 120, 173, 179, 188, 191 and 203.

portion of those temples' incomes; others are field leases and real estate purchases. Demotic instruments of sale are usually composed of two documents often written on the same papyrus. The first, on the right, is the real sale, *sh r-dbꜣ ḥd* (συγγραφή πράσεως), where the seller states that he has received the right amount of money from the buyer. The second, on the left, is a quitclaim, called *sh n wy* (συγγραφή ἀποστασίου): here, the previous owner renounces any future claim to the assets ceded to the new one. Both of them are usually finalized by the signatures of sixteen witnesses on the verso of the papyrus.⁵² The measures taken regarding the position of the centre of the big stroke at the top of these witness lists from Deir el-Medina confirms Pestman's hypothesis, at least for the Theban region during the second century BCE, that they were sketched on the back of the sign *dd*, which introduces the actual content of legal deeds on the recto.⁵³ Family law is represented by five marriage contracts that fit the A type of Pestman's classification, where the bridegroom gives to his spouse a "wife's gift" (*šp n s.ḥm.t*),⁵⁴ as well as by one of the ten divorce settlements surviving from Ptolemaic Egypt.⁵⁵ Other than official legal acts (*sh*), the archive of Totoês also contains several Demotic documents in an epistolary format (*šꜥ.t*):⁵⁶ four acknowledgements of debt,⁵⁷ an agreement before witnesses⁵⁸ and an exchange of animals.⁵⁹

⁵² Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, pp. 50–51 (n^{os} 1-2) and pp. 118–19; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 91–93, § 4.1.2.1.1, pp. 147–50, § 4.2.6.1.1 and pp. 153–54, § 4.2.6.2.3; Manning, in Keenan *et al.* (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice*, 2014, pp. 53–56; Depauw, in Keenan *et al.* (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice*, 2014, pp. 56–57; Manning, in Kehoe *et al.*, (eds.), *Law and Transaction Costs*, 2015, p. 106. For their structure, see Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition*, I, 1968, pp. 113–56 and II, tables 1 and 3.

⁵³ Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenotes*, 1981, p. 161; Pestman, *Il processo di Hermias*, 1992, pp. 225–32; Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, I, 1994, pp. 26–27.

⁵⁴ *P.Tor.Botti* 5, 11, 22 A, 38 and 39; El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, II, 1959, pp. 139–47 and 162–63; Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 1960, pp. 254–333, 339–53 and tables I–XII; Pestman, *Marriage*, 1961, pp. 9–32, 50–71, 75–102, 108–80 and table A; Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 52, n^o 6 a and pp. 170–77; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 119–23, § 4.1.5.1 and pp. 166–69, § 4.2.6.12.1; Manning, "4.1 Marriage", in Keenan *et al.* (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt*, 2014, pp. 149–50.

⁵⁵ *P.Tor.Botti* 16: El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, II, 1959, pp. 148–49 and 165; Pestman, *Marriage*, 1961, pp. 58, 71–79, 167–81 and table Z; Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 52, n^o 7 and pp. 177–78; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 123–24, § 4.1.5.2 and p. 171, § 4.2.6.13.1.

⁵⁶ Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, pp. 56–58 (n^o B); Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 138–40, § 4.2.1.1-2.

⁵⁷ *P.Tor.Botti* 13, 14, 15 A and 26: Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 51, n^o 5, pp. 113–14, p. 133, n^o 1 and pp. 137–39; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 99–102, § 4.1.3.1.1 and pp. 160–61, § 4.2.6.8.1.

⁵⁸ *P.Tor.Botti* 23 A: Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 53, n^o 9, p. 54, n^o 3, pp. 113–14 and 178–79; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 103–04, § 4.1.3.1.5-6, p. 116, § 4.1.4.4, pp. 163–64, § 4.2.6.10.1 and p. 174, § 4.2.6.17.

⁵⁹ *P.Tor.Botti* 18 A: Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², p. 94, § 4.1.2.1.4 and p. 156, § 4.2.6.4.1.

In addition, the Greek language was used in legal deeds written by *agoranomoi*: to the left of the full text (*scriptura exterior*), these Greek officials usually drew up a summary (*scriptura interior*), that was then rolled up and sealed. Afterwards, if one of the parties had charged the other with modifying the terms of the transaction on the accessible part of the document, then the seal could have been broken: this method would have allowed one to verify the consistency between the full text and its secured summary.⁶⁰ Local bankers, too, issued transfer tax receipts in Greek: four of them are conserved in this archive, in connection with both Demotic and Greek legal deeds.⁶¹ Lastly, Greek was employed to record two documents in the form of homology: one of the objective type for a cession,⁶² the other of the subjective type for a receipt of partial repayment in money,⁶³ linked to another one in Demotic.⁶⁴

4. NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SOME DOCUMENTS

The abundance of Demotic official legal acts preserved in the archive of Totoês allows us to identify peculiar scribal practices and to reconsider the attribution of some documents. In this regard, the frequent transmission of grandfathers' names to grandsons inside the same scribal family often creates confusion in modern scholars' reconstructions. For instance, eighteen texts have been signed by a certain Harsiêsis (*Hr-s3-'Is.t*) son of Chestephnachthis (*Hnsw-t3y=f-n.t*) in Djême: Pestman, Quaegebeur and Vos suggested the identification of at least three different scribes bearing that name.⁶⁵ On the one hand, they admitted that

⁶⁰ Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, pp. 62–63, (n° a) and pp. 121–22 (n° III); Wolff, *Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens*, 1978, pp. 184–97; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², p. 142, § 4.2.2.1.3.

⁶¹ PSI IX 1014, 1015, 1017 and 1025 C: Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 68, n° ee; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 173–74, § 4.2.6.16.2.

⁶² PSI IX 1019 A: Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 61, n° 3; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², p. 141, § 4.2.2.

⁶³ PSI IX 1023: Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 61, n° 2 and p. 134; Wolff, *Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens*, 1978, pp. 106–14; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², p. 141, § 4.2.2, p. 144, § 4.2.2.2.3 and pp. 161–62, § 4.2.6.8.2.

⁶⁴ P.Tor.Botti 42.

⁶⁵ Pestman et al., *Recueil*, I, 1977, pp. 148–52. Accordingly, Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenotes*, 1981, pp. 77–78 and 154; Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, 1990, p. 30, n. 29, p. 34, n. 92 and p. 63, n. 22; Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 1993, pp. 128, 131, 134, 149, 155, 158, 260 and 319; Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge der Ptolemäerzeit*, 1997, pp. 29 and 78; Artl, in Widmer and Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IX^e Congrès International des Études Démotiques*, 2009, pp. 35–37, 40–41 and 44–46.

the hands of these homonym scribes are quite similar; on the other, they noticed some variations in the writing of one of these Harsiêsis, depending on the thickness of the reed used.⁶⁶

The general layout of the document could help in assigning each document to individual scribes, when purely palaeographical arguments fail. As an example, *P.Tor.Botti* 9 is characterized by a broad format with few long lines and the signatures of sixteen witnesses on the verso; *P.Tor.Botti* 37 on the other hand has far more points in common with *P.Tor.Botti* 16. In particular, the vertical format made by several narrow lines and four witnesses' signatures at the end of the legal act on the recto: the last one was a quite common feature in other places like Pathyris, where the scribe Nechtminis (*Nht-Mn*) son of Nechtminis drew up at least seven documents this way,⁶⁷ but was exceptional in the Theban area. Therefore, I suggest the attribution of both *P.Tor.Botti* 16 and 37 to the same Harsiêsis, who would have acted as official scribe in Djême between 114 and 101 BCE at least [Figs. 3, 4 and 5].⁶⁸

The relevance of tracing back the roll of origin for each document, and so of reconstructing ancient dossiers, is evident from the following case.⁶⁹ In several publications, Pestman has mentioned how some papyri were wrapped together;⁷⁰ unfortunately, he never pointed his source out, but probably he obtained this kind of information during his frequent working sessions in the Museo Egizio.⁷¹ In particular, he stated that *P.Tor.Botti* 35 was used as an envelope for *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, 34 B+C and 36 A+B, all rolled one inside the other, forming together the roll number 11.⁷² *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A and 36 A+B are legal agreements; *P.Tor.Botti* 34 B+C and 40 are temple oaths linked to the same matter⁷³ (the last

⁶⁶ Pestman et al., *Recueil*, I, 1977, pp. 94–95, 148 and 149, n. g.

⁶⁷ *P.AdL.Dem.* 5 and 6; *P.Dryton* 8, 26 and 27; P. Brit. Mus. EA 10533 (TM 332) and 10835 (TM 130909).

⁶⁸ Uggetti, *ChronEg* 95/189 (2020), pp. 48–49, 61–62 and 64.

⁶⁹ Uggetti, *BIFAO* 121 (2021), pp. 475–97.

⁷⁰ Pestman, in Boswinkel and Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, 1978, pp. 194–95, n. 1; Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Familiearchieven uit het land van Pharao*, 1989, p. 27; Thieme and Pestman, in Boswinkel and Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, 1978, p. 144, n. 1; Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, p. 181, n. *; Den Brinker et al., *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, I, 2005, p. 388.

⁷¹ Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, p. 167, n. *.

⁷² Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, p. 169, n. 8; Den Brinker et al., *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, I, 2005, p. 398.

⁷³ "Promissorischer Eid". See Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide*, I, 1963, pp. 9 and 17; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², p. 105, § 4.1.3.2.1 and pp. 174–75, § 4.2.7.1.



Fig. 3 P.Tor.Botti 9 (Suppl. 6069) (Photo Museo Egizio).

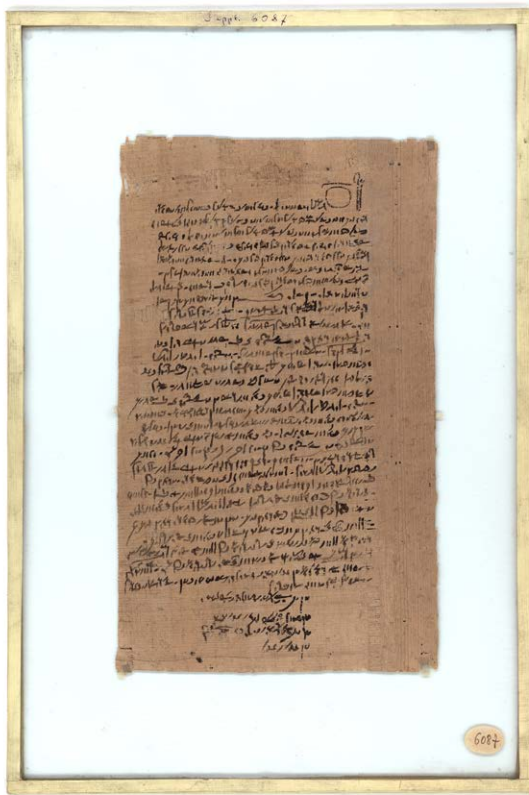


Fig. 4 P.Tor.Botti 37 (Suppl. 6087) (Photo Museo Egizio).

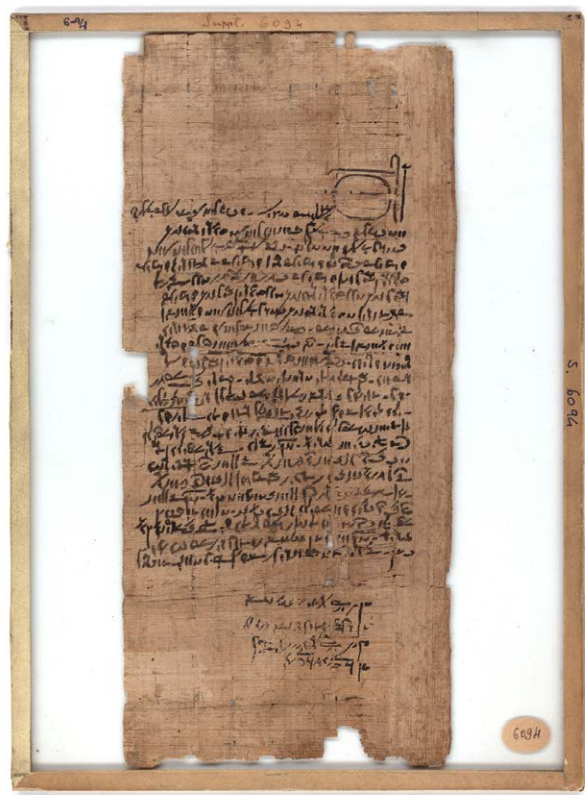


Fig. 5 P.Tor.Botti 16 (Suppl. 6094) (Photo Museo Egizio).

one not included in the original bundle). These documents have been kept in the archive of Totoês because he was one of the elders of the temple of Hathor,⁷⁴ probably being at that time the leader of this representative body, and he was one of the parties entrusted with the task of ensuring the proper organisation and of acting in the best interests of the sanctuary.⁷⁵

The other party was formed by three brothers, Harsiêsis, Amenôthês (*Imn-htp*) and Pikôs (*Pꜣy-kꜣ*). Their names are followed by a title they shared, transliterated by El-Amir and Zauzich as *hs*, “singer”, because of the determinative of the man with hand to mouth in most of the papyri.⁷⁶ On the contrary, in *P.Tor.Botti* 34 C, this same word carries the determinative of the bow-string (T12 in Gardiner’s hieroglyphic sign list), which has the same phonetic value⁷⁷ as the variant reading for the preceding ligatured group of signs: *rwḏ*, “agent”.⁷⁸ In *P.Tor.Botti* 36 A, one of the three brothers, Amenôthês, loaned three chests to the offerings to Hathor for a period of five years, and was also responsible for “maintenance expenditures, expenses and provisions”,⁷⁹ “for covering with gold the shrine of Hathor”⁸⁰ and for keeping the account book of the goddess:⁸¹ these tasks would be more appropriate to an “agent” of Hathor than to a “singer”. Furthermore, the determinative of the man with hand to mouth, at the end of the title defining Amenôthês’ function, appears only in documents written or directly influenced by him: *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A and 36 A were signed by Amenôthês, acting as scribe; *P.Tor.Botti* 36 B and 40 bear no signature, but they show graphic peculiarities in some personal names that, in the Ptolemaic period, are shared only with documents written by Amenôthês’ scribal family,⁸² thus suggesting that he himself

⁷⁴ *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, ll. 1-2. See Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, pp. 168–70; Allam, in Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies*, 2002, pp. 15–26.

⁷⁵ *P.Tor.Botti* 34 B+C, ll. 16-17 and *P.Tor.Botti* 40, ll. 14-16.

⁷⁶ *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, l. 10, *P.Tor.Botti* 36 A, l. 8, *P.Tor.Botti* 36 B, l. 1, *P.Tor.Botti* 40, ll. 7 and 13, and *P.Tor.Botti* 35, l. 1. See El-Amir, *AcOr* (C) 25 (1960), p. 220 (n° 25); El-Amir, *BIFAO* 68 (1969), p. 116; Zauzich, *Enchoria* 3 (1973), pp. 65–66 and 68.

⁷⁷ *Wb* II, p. 413.12-26; *DemGloss*, pp. 256–57.

⁷⁸ Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempelide*, I, 1963, pp. 348–50; Botti, *L’archivio demotico*, I, 1967, pp. 174–75, 178–79, 181–82, 184, 194–95; Pestman, in Pestman (eds.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, p. 169; Den Brinker et al., *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, I, 2005, pp. 396–400.

⁷⁹ *P.Tor.Botti* 36 A, l. 18: *hy he hr.t*.

⁸⁰ *P.Tor.Botti* 36 A, l. 19: *r ḥḏ-w n nwb r tꜣ gw.t n Ḥw.t-Ḥr*.

⁸¹ *P.Tor.Botti* 36 A, ll. 20-21: *mtw-y in pꜣ ip n Ḥw.t-Ḥr i.ḥr-ḥr=tn n pꜣ hrw nty i.ḥr=tn r šn.tꜣ-y r-r=f n-im=f*, “And I shall bring the ledger of Hathor before you on the day on which you will demand it from me”.

⁸² For the name Chestepnathis: Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1980-2000, I, 12, pp. 880–81. For the name Snachomneus: Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1980-2000, I, 9, pp. 680–82.

could have written them; without any doubt, the archival note *P.Tor.Botti* 35 was drafted while the scribe was looking at the texts to which it referred, namely both *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A and 36 A. Indeed, the graphic development of both the bow-string and the bound enemy determinative (Z6 in Gardiner's hieroglyphic sign list) had the same iconographic result in Demotic writing. Therefore, Amenôthês' preference for the more neutral determinative of the seated man with hand to mouth could be explained as a hypercorrection that he consciously made in order to avoid associating his own title with the common determinative for evil things. He acted likewise with the term *shn*, "loan": in *P.Tor.Botti* 36 B, instead of the papyrus scroll with a stroke underneath,⁸³ he used the cobra, the usual determinative for the homophone *shn*, "crown".⁸⁴

This interpretation, made possible by the clear inclusion of all these documents in the same roll, could shed new light on this ancient dossier: between the 15th of January and the 17th of April 100 BCE, *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, 34 B+C, 36 A and 40 show the devolution of Chestephnachthis' functions as agent of Hathor and manager of the temple of Deir el-Medina to all of his three sons first, then only to Amenôthês. The core of *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A mentions 17 talents;⁸⁵ in the same period, a house in Djême would have cost between 3 and 12 talents.⁸⁶ Moreover, there is reference to renovation works and expenses already begun by the father Chestephnachthis,⁸⁷ which could imply that the agents of Hathor may have invested the amount of 17 talents in building projects related to the temple of the goddess in Deir el-Medina. One possible destination could have been the gilding of the wooden shrine of Hathor mentioned in *P.Tor.Botti* 36 A,⁸⁸ but a direct intervention on the stone structure of the temple could also be a possibility. The father Chestephnachthis started his activity as a scribe in Djême in the last years of the coregency between Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Sôtêr II, and in the same period he probably played the role of agent of Hathor as well. If so, he could have eventually directed the building and the decoration of the so-

⁸³ *DemGloss*, p. 448; Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*, II, 1994, p. 47, n° Y 1 c.

⁸⁴ *DemGloss*, p. 446; Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 184, n. 1; *CDD S*, p. 352.

⁸⁵ *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, ll. 16-21.

⁸⁶ *P.Choach.Survey* 63 (16th of March 103) and *P.Choach.Survey* 64 (1st of April 103) show that a sixth of a house could have cost between half a talent and two talents.

⁸⁷ *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, ll. 18-20. For the meanings of *hy* and *he*, see Hughes and Nims, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 247-48; Hughes, *JNES* 16 (1957), p. 60; *CDD H*, pp. 4-11.

⁸⁸ *P.Tor.Botti* 36 A, l. 19.

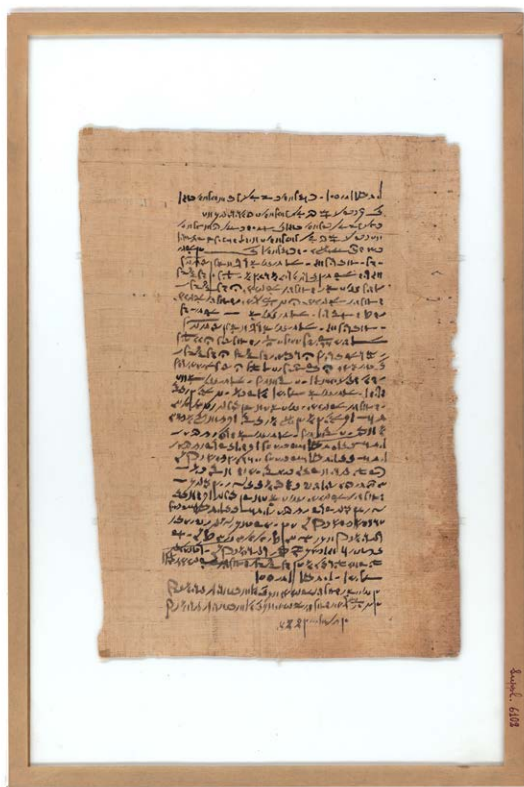


Fig. 6 P.Tor.Botti 34 A (Suppl. 6102) (Photo Museo Egizio).

called “mammisi”⁸⁹ of Deir el-Medina,⁹⁰ whose reliefs bear cartouches of these two sovereigns. Or alternatively, he and his three sons Harsiêsis, Amenôthês and Pikôs could have been in charge of the work on the temple portal, whose cartouches remained empty,⁹¹ but probably completed before the decoration of the enclosure wall portal under Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos [Fig. 6].⁹²

⁸⁹ Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, 1958, pp. 43–44 considered the surviving inscriptions on this structure not specific enough to call the latter “mammisi”.

⁹⁰ Du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina*, 2008, p. 167.

⁹¹ Du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina*, 2008, § 171–80.

⁹² Du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina*, 2008, p. 177.

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