

Istituto Papirologico
«G. Vitelli»

COMUNICAZIONI

dell'Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli»

15



a cura di
Francesca Maltomini
Simona Russo

EDIZIONI DELL'ISTITUTO PAPIROLOGICO «G. VITELLI»

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INDICE

<i>Premessa</i>	VII
<i>Francesca Maltomini</i>	

EDIZIONI E RIEDIZIONI DI TESTI

<i>PFAY. 318 DESCR.: RICEVUTA DEL PRAKTOR SITIKON</i>	3
<i>Marzia D'Angelo</i>	
<i>PFAY. 214R DESCR.: MEMORANDUM AL KOMOGRAMMATEUS</i>	5
<i>Marzia D'Angelo</i>	
<i>PFLOR. I 7: RICEVUTA DI DECAPROTI</i>	7
<i>Bianca Borrelli</i>	
<i>PFAY. 348R DESCR.: CONTO PER LAVORI A UN TEMPIO (?)</i>	13
<i>Simona Russo - Marco Stroppa</i>	
<i>PFAY. 347R DESCR.: LISTA DI OGGETTI RUBATI</i>	23
<i>Simona Russo - Marco Stroppa</i>	
<i>PTeBT. SUPPL. 1613-16: LETTERA DI ISIDORA AL MARITO KRONION</i>	29
<i>Simona Russo</i>	
<i>PALEX. P. 37 DESCR. (INV. 382): FRAMMENTO DI LETTERA DI SYROS</i>	35
<i>Gabriella Messeri</i>	
<i>SB VI 9474: LETTERA DI HERONINOS AD ALYPIOS</i>	39
<i>Gabriella Messeri - Dominic Rathbone</i>	
<i>SB VI 9478: LETTERA DI SYROS A HERONINOS</i>	43
<i>Gabriella Messeri</i>	

CONTRIBUTI E NOTE CRITICHE

<i>A PROPOSITO DELLA PROVENIENZA DI PSI IL. 21</i>	47
<i>Roberta Carlesimo</i>	
<i>BIRRA, CALLIMACO E TERRENI IN PICCOLI REPERTI DEL MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO DI FIRENZE</i>	61
<i>Marco Stroppa</i>	

NOTE SUL VERSO DI <i>PHAMB. III 198</i> , PER UNA NUOVA ASSEGNAZIONE CRONOLOGICA DEL RECTO.....	77
<i>Roberta Carlesimo</i>	
<i>VARIA HERONINIANA</i>	81
<i>Gabriella Messeri</i>	
QUALCHE NOTA SULL'AGGETTIVO <i>Ἀpcivoιτικός</i>	87
<i>Simona Russo</i>	
ANCORA SUL CROSSOVER FRA REPERTI ARCHEOLOGICI E PAPIRI: IL CASO DELLA 'TOMBA DI <i>HAWARA</i> '	95
<i>Simona Russo</i>	
' <i>ARSINOE 3D</i> '. A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ISTITUTO PAPIROLOGICO «G. VITELLI» EXCAVATION AT <i>KIMAN FARES</i>	121
<i>Francesca Maltomini</i>	
THE FINDSPOTS OF PAPIRY EXCAVATED AT <i>TEBTYNIS</i> BY THE ITALIAN MISSIONS 1928-1936	127
<i>Ilaria Cariddi - Kim Ryholt</i>	
I DOCUMENTI IN GRECO RIUTILIZZATI NELLA BIBLIOTECA DEL TEMPIO DI <i>SOBEK A TEBTYNIS</i> : OSSERVAZIONI PRELIMINARI	179
<i>Francesca Maltomini</i>	
THE BEGINNING OF TEXT 11 OF THE 'VOTIVE CUBITS': A SHORT NOTE	189
<i>Gloria Rosati</i>	
INDICI	
<i>Indici dei testi editi nel volume</i>	195
<i>Indice dei papiri editi, riediti, corretti o commentati nel volume</i>	199
<i>Abbreviazioni bibliografiche</i>	201
<i>Crediti</i>	215
TAVOLE	217

PREMESSA

Questo volume quindicesimo delle *Comunicazioni* è stato concepito all'interno del progetto PRIN 2017 "Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum (4th BC – 7th AD): Texts, Contexts, Readers" ed è interamente dedicato a ricerche di ambito arsinotico condotte dai membri dell'Unità di Ricerca fiorentina e da altri collaboratori del nostro Istituto. I contributi qui raccolti intendono fornire un campione, spero non privo di interesse per la comunità scientifica, di indagini incentrate su un distretto dell'Egitto greco-romano che rivestì una notevole importanza sul piano economico-sociale e che rappresenta, per la papirologia e per l'egittologia, una fonte cruciale di documentazione. Abbiamo selezionato contributi nei quali il focus papirologico vede diverse declinazioni: alle edizioni o riedizioni di testi ospitate nella prima sezione si affiancano, nella sezione dei saggi, studi di 'archeologia museale' dedicati alla collezione dei Papiri della Società Italiana, indagini di ambito lessicografico (con un'attenzione specifica ai contatti fra papirologia e documentazione archeologica), resoconti di iniziative di valorizzazione e disseminazione delle attività di scavo dell'Istituto. L'interazione fra testi e contesti (archeologici, economici, sociali, linguistici), che ha rappresentato una cifra importante del progetto PRIN e caratterizza ormai da molti anni diversi filoni di ricerca portati avanti in Istituto, fa da comune denominatore a non pochi fra i lavori qui presentati.

La fase finale di preparazione di questo volume ha coinciso con l'inizio di un nuovo progetto, finanziato sul bando PRIN PNRR 2022 e intitolato "Reconstructing Fragmentary Papyri through Human-Machine Interaction: Case Studies from Two Italian Collections". Il progetto vede l'Istituto Papirologico come capofila e coinvolge l'Istituto di Scienze e Tecnologie dell'Informazione (ISTI) del CNR di Pisa e il Dipartimento di Antichità, Filosofia e Storia (DAFIST) dell'Università di Genova. Il lotto della collezione fiorentina proveniente da Tebtynis potrà dunque continuare a ricevere cure e produrrà, auspicabilmente, risultati di notevole interesse: qualche 'assaggio' è già presente, qui, negli articoli di Roberta Carlesimo (pp. 47 ss.), di Ilaria Cariddi e Kim Ryholt (pp. 127 ss.), e della sottoscritta (pp. 179 ss.).

Un sincero ringraziamento va a Guido Bastianini e Gabriella Messeri per aver letto, in diversi stadi di stesura, molti dei contributi che qui si stampano. A tutto lo staff dell'Istituto va poi la mia personale gratitudine per lo sforzo congiunto prodotto, nel più autentico spirito di collaborazione, nella fase finale di revisione.

Simona Russo si è insieme a me dedicata alla curatela di questo volume con l'abnegazione e l'energia che ha sempre riservato alle attività dell'Istituto e, in particolare, alle *Comunicazioni*. La sua prematura scomparsa le ha impedito di vedere l'opera pubblicata, ma sapeva di lasciarla in un avanzato stato di preparazione. A lei l'Istituto tutto rivolge un pensiero di affetto e gratitudine, con la certezza che, aperta la cassa delle copie a stampa ed estrattane una, ce l'avrebbe mostrata con un bel sorriso e uno sguardo luminoso, soddisfatta del lavoro svolto.

Francesca Maltomini

Firenze, 15.09.2024

The Findspots of Papyri Excavated at Tebtynis by the Italian Missions 1928–1936

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is the result of our efforts to find documentation at the Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» in Florence relating to the excavations of the Italian missions at Tebtynis in the years 1928–1936. This undertaking forms part of a project aimed at clarifying the archaeological context of the papyri, especially all those found within the temple precinct. As is well known, only brief preliminary reports of the excavations were published at the time, and no full report was ever made available¹. This has naturally hampered research into various aspects of the site and its texts, and much effort has therefore been invested in archival research over the years, above all by Claudio Gallazzi, Ian Begg, and Giulia Deotto². The outcomes have been considerable and it is our pleasure to be able to contribute further to these endeavours.

¹ This was owing – at least in part – to the fact that Carlo Anti, who was the director of all but one of the seasons, was promoted to rector of the University of Padua and found his career and interests going in another direction. His original intentions were grand, and focused on the importance of the archaeological perspective and the rigorous methods of excavation. In an unpublished manuscript (undated), he writes “Il maggior valore dello scavo di Tebtunis sta nel criterio topografico con cui è stato condotto: nell’aver mirato cioè alla conoscenza totale dell’ambiente archeologico e non al disseppellimento di singoli edifici o, peggio, al ricupero di singoli oggetti. [...] Lo scavo di Tebtunis ad ogni modo sta a dimostrare la ricchezza di risultati che si può avere lavorando con più larghe vedute, senza nulla trascurare anche se il campo di rovine è stato frugato così da distruggere connessioni fra edifici, documenti ed oggetti che avrebbero fornito lumi ben più ricchi sulla cronologia, sulla storia e sulla destinazione dei singoli monumenti”. Cf. Deotto, *L’Università di Padova in Egitto*, p. 442.

² The bibliography includes, but is not limited to, the following: Gallazzi, *La ‘cantina dei papiri’*, pp. 283–288; Gallazzi, *La prima campagna di Vogliano in Egitto*, I, pp. 131–195; Gallazzi, *I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis*, pp. 113–172; Begg, *The Canadian Tebtunis*; Begg, *‘It was Wonderful’*, pp. 185–210; Begg, *Tebtunis, 1934–1999*, pp. 225–254; Begg, *Fascism in the Desert*, pp. 19–31; Deotto, *L’Università di Padova in Egitto*; Deotto, *Dai documenti d’archivio*, pp. 289–304. Cf. further Ryholt, *The Illustrated Herbal*, pp. 223–238; Ryholt, *Libraries*, pp. 393–400; Fiorillo, *Dall’«infame inferno dei coccodrilli»*, pp. 461–469; Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*.

Our project yielded better results than we had anticipated, even if the record inevitably remains incomplete. In effect, the bulk of the documentation relates to the 1930, 1931, 1934 and 1934/35 seasons. We have found only scant reference to the season of 1928/29 and nothing that explicitly relates to the seasons of 1932, 1933, and 1936. Most of the documentation is hitherto unpublished, and the purpose of this paper is to provide a register that may serve as a reference for future studies. For the sake of convenience, the documentation is first presented season by season, and then arranged in two sets of concordance lists citing the relevant material according to the dates of discovery and the findspots respectively.

We conclude the paper with a critical observation, discussing some problems relating to the identification of excavated papyri and their archaeological context, and then, on a more positive note, provide examples of the potential of the new documentation.

We are currently preparing for separate publication more detailed analyses and reconstructions of the archaeological context of a series of the papyri. Our main focus is those found in the buildings along the interior of the enclosure wall on the eastern and western sides and in the north-western area of the temple of Soknebtynis. A further paper will present documentation about the archaeological context of various papyri from Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte in Padua³.

The dates of the eight Italian seasons at Tebtynis from 1928 to 1936 are provided by Table 1 below. As will be seen, the details remain somewhat elusive. Among the reports made available at the time, precise dates are provided only for the 1933 season. The remaining dates listed in the Table are based on the studies of Deotto and Begg, which differ to some extent, especially in the case of the 1930 season⁴. The records presented here show that it lasted beyond March 24, since there are documented discoveries of papyri on a daily basis spanning the three weeks of March 10–31 during that season.

Table 1. The eight seasons of Italian excavations at Tebtynis 1928 – 1936.

Season	Date	Notes
1928/29	December 1928 – March 1929 (Deotto).	Directed by E. Breccia; concession holder G. Vitelli.
1930	8 March – 24 March 1930 (Deotto). 15 February – 10 May 1930 (Begg).	Directed by C. Anti; concession holder G. Vitelli.

³ Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*.

⁴ Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, pp. 88, 96; Deotto, *Dai documenti d'archivio*, p. 297; Begg, *Fascism in the Desert*, pp. 19–31.

Season	Date	Notes
1931	9 January – 4 April 1931 (Deotto).	Directed by C. Anti; concession holder G. Vitelli ⁵ .
1932	14 February – 23 April 1932 (Deotto).	Concession holder and director C. Anti (1932 to 1936).
1933	1 February – 25 April 1933.	<i>De facto</i> field director G. Bagnani.
1934	3 February – 18 April 1934 (Deotto). 4 February – early April 1934 (Begg).	<i>De facto</i> field directors G. Bagnani (first four weeks) and A. Vogliano (March–April).
1934/35	8 December 1934 – 19 April 1935 (Deotto). 6 December 1934 – 10 April 1935 (Begg).	<i>De facto</i> field director G. Bagnani. (also brief excavations by A. Vogliano).
1936	8 April – 8 May 1936 (Deotto). 26 April – 8 May 1936 (Begg).	<i>De facto</i> field director G. Bagnani.

2. THE DOCUMENTATION AND ITS NATURE

The documentation preserved at the Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» in Florence and at the Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte in Padua sheds light on the practices exercised during several excavation seasons at Tebtynis between 1928 and 1936. It is clear that care was usually taken to record the findspots of papyri, and that this was done for the vast majority of the discoveries. There is virtually no information about the 1928/29 season, but it can be observed that the notations become somewhat more precise between the 1930 season, where most findspots refer to general areas, and 1931, where parts of buildings are often more detailed. Not surprisingly, given the date of the excavations, there is no indication of stratigraphy nor any other material aspects of the archaeological context.

The papyri were packed and labelled immediately or soon after discovery. Remains of rolls and larger fragments would be placed in boxes, while smaller fragments were usually placed in envelopes. Less attractive, minor or tattered fragments in many cases went straight into small containers, mostly cigarette boxes, without any cleaning or other prior treatment⁶. There are also cases where fragments that might be considered interesting were placed in small boxes, whether to protect them or keep them apart from other material, but in these instances, they were treated beforehand. One example is an astrological fragment kept in a cigarette box (Box 23.1, cf. § 5.3). Another is

⁵ For recent evidence confirming Vitelli as the 1931 concession holder, cf. Cariddi, *The Papyri of the 1931 Tebtunis Campaign*, § 6.1, pp. 61–64.

⁶ The majority of these small boxes were sent to Padua where they are still preserved; cf. Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*. Only a limited number went to Florence. The reasons for this division are not entirely clear at present: cf. Fiorillo, *Catologo*, p. 57.

a fragment of the visually impressive hieroglyphic cubit text which Guido Bastianini and Gloria Rosati similarly discovered in a small cardboard box some years ago⁷.

An exception to the usual procedure was the temple library deposit, discovered on 10 March 1931, which was stored in four suitcases without any packing or protection. This less-than-ideal approach was evidently caused by the overwhelming quantity of fragments and the perceived necessity to complete the excavation of the two cellars, where the deposit was found, on the same day of the discovery for the purpose of security. This meant that several thousands of fragments were brought out in a matter of just eight hours. In the words of G. Bagnani in a letter dated to 11 March, “we had been used up till now to keep the bits of papyrus we found in old cigarette boxes and, the better bits, in fairly large tin boxes like flat biscuit tins. We at once came to the end of our available boxes and had to put the papyri in baskets”⁸. Anti similarly describes the enormity of the finds and their makeshift storage in a letter to Vitelli dated to the same day as the discovery: “Ho raccolto 15 cuffe di papi. C’è un po’ di tutto: geroglifico, ieratico, demotico e greco. Una biblioteca. (...) Ho tre valigie da 0.65 x 0.40 x 0.16 e una ventina di scatole di latta, piene colme” (*I collected 15 baskets of papyri. There is a bit of everything: Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic, and Greek. A library. (...) I have three suitcases measuring 0.65 x 0.40 x 0.16 and about twenty tin boxes, all filled to the brim*)⁹. The material discovered in the preceding days was far more carefully packed, and Anti resumed his meticulous method of storage in annotated envelopes immediately afterwards (cf. § 7.3).

3. “PACCO I”

The first object of our research were two large packages composed of hundreds of folders with papyrus fragments that Giuseppe Botti had worked on from 1933 through the 1960s. During most of this time, the papyri were kept at Botti’s private residence. Documentation at the Istituto shows that they were dispatched to Museo Egizio in Turin following Botti’s death in 1968; it is likely that they were housed within his personal library and archive, both of which were bequeathed to the Museo in accordance with the provisions outlined in his handwritten will¹⁰. In 1972 the

⁷ We thank Gloria Rosati for drawing our attention to this instance. The box in question cannot presently be located.

⁸ Begg, *‘It was Wonderful’*, pp. 189–191.

⁹ Draft of a letter to G. Vitelli in the Anti archive (IVSLA, Archivio Anti, faldone 9), cited in Boffula Alimeni, *Quello che anche la papirologia deve a Giuseppe Botti*, p. 168. The mention of only three suitcases indicates that at least some of the material of the boxes (or the baskets cited by Bagnani) was later transferred to a fourth suitcase, as hypothesised also in Gallazzi, *I papi del tempio di Soknebtynis*, p. 140, note 167. No metal boxes pertaining to the finding of the temple library deposit are preserved at the Istituto.

¹⁰ We are grateful to Beppe Moiso and Tommaso Montonati, curators of Museo Egizio in Turin, for providing us with further details about the transfer of the two packages from Florence to Turin and back. Giuseppe Botti’s will is inventoried as Archivio di Stato di Torino, MAE 323/1 M54 n2.

material was recognized as belonging to the Istituto Vitelli, since the papyri came from excavations carried out on behalf of the *Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto*. It was therefore agreed that the packages would be returned to Florence, and they were collected in Turin by the then director of the Istituto, Manfredo Manfredi, who compiled an itemized receipt for the director of the Museo Egizio, Silvio Curto, with a brief description of their contents. This document served as the basis of a typewritten inventory of the packages by Isabella Andorlini, who reorganized the Egyptian papyri at the Istituto in the 1980s and 1990s. Some notes were added to the inventory by Gloria Rosati in 2004.

The inventory refers to the principal package as “Pacco I”, and this designation has been adopted for the present paper¹¹. Over the years, editors have sometimes referred to a “Pacco del Grande Tempio di Tebtynis” and a “Pacchetto piccolo”. Especially in the case of sizeable fragments, Pacco I was undoubtedly meant. The second package, “Pacco II” (“Gran pacco”, “Pacco grande”), is larger in size, but consists of only very minor fragments and it has seldom been accessed over the years. It is described in § 4 below.

The contents of the package were systematically surveyed by the two authors in collaboration with Marco Stroppa in December 2019. The outline provided below follows the division of the material into eight groups in Andorlini’s inventory, to which we have added some further detail.

Group 1 and 2. Demotic papyri from Tebtynis in preparation for publication by Botti at the time of his death, with sets of draft editions for five of them, numbered 1–5. Nos. 1–2 and 4–5 are kept in Group 1 and no. 3 in Group 2¹². Some further fragments without comments are kept in Group 1b and 2b. Group 1 has been marked “Provenienza ignota” (*unknown provenance*); in the draft of an edition from 1967, kept with the papyri, Botti notes that they derive from purchases by Anti in the temple area, and not from the main deposit. Group 2 is marked “Casa torre”. The reference to the tower house indicates that the fragments derive from the 1934/35 season (cf. below).

Group 3. Marked “Riportati da Copenhagen agosto ’51” (*Brought back from Copenhagen, August 1951*). Nine folders with Greek fragments, some of which have notes in the hand of Aksel Volten¹³. These papyri must derive from Tebtynis, since

¹¹ The two packages are referred to with these denominations also in Andorlini, *Trattato*, pp. 13–14, note 33.

¹² These five papyri, and a further, substantial fragment from Group 2, have now been inventoried as PSI inv. D 134–139.

¹³ Aksel Volten was entrusted with the sorting and publication of the Tebtynis papyri in Copenhagen and thus effectively formed the counterpart of Giuseppe Botti. Their collaboration over many years and the exchange of fragments will be discussed in a future article by Kim Ryholt.

only material from this site was exchanged between Copenhagen and Florence by Volten and Botti.

Group 4. Papyri from Tebtynis, as indicated in a pencil note in Botti's handwriting: "Tebtnis – fogli di papiri già sezionati (*sic*) dal Prof.re in n.ro di fogli 109 – Frustuli e frammenti greci (in corso)" (*Sheets of papyri already sectioned (sic) by the Professor in 109 sheets – Greek small fragments – work in progress*). Nineteen blotting paper folders, most of them with no numbers, which included mostly Greek material evidently removed from "Pacco II" (cf. § 4 below)¹⁴. The provenance is further secured by the identification of fragments of known texts, including the handbook for pulmonary diseases PSI inv. 3054¹⁵, and more joins are presently under study.

Group 5. Papyri from Tebtynis, season of 1931. This group is described separately below.

Group 6. No marking. One folder with two fragments; one preserves the illustration of a standing crocodile-headed deity, presumably Suchos (now inventoried as PSI inv. D 126), and the other is inscribed with a Demotic text which includes some Greek *voces magicae* (PSI inv. D 127)¹⁶. The nature of the papyri would be compatible with Tebtynis. The other folder contains blank or extremely tattered Demotic fragments.

Group 7. Nine folders labelled 1 through 10 (with no. 2 missing). The fragments include Demotic documentary texts of Ptolemaic date (such as PSI inv. D 143), several Arabic and Greek texts, and a colourful illustrated papyrus with remains of a Greek text (PSI inv. 4285). The contents of the Demotic fragments are indicative of Tebtynis.

Group 8. Six folders with abnormal Hieratic and early Demotic papyri from el-Hibeh, as noted by Botti on their cover¹⁷.

3.1. SET OF ANNOTATED FOLDERS (TAV. XIV.a)

The most detailed documentation within "Pacco I" is found in Group 5, which requires a more systematic treatment. It is kept in a large cardboard binder, with ribbon fastenings, which is inscribed "Tebtnis da buste località precisata" (*Tebtnis from envelopes with known findspots*) with a blue pencil in Giuseppe Botti's handwriting.

¹⁴ Group 4 also included an empty folder said to have contained 25 smaller folders ("camicie") with "frag. ricavati dalla testa di mummia" (*fragments extracted from the head of the mummy*), i.e., presumably from cartonnage. Since the folder may have been reused, it remains uncertain whether the contents came from Tebtynis.

¹⁵ Andorlini, *Trattato* (= TM 59149). Andorlini extracted thirteen fragments from Pacco II, four from Pacco I, Group 3 (from Copenhagen), and three from Group 4, although she did not establish the connection between this last group and Pacco II. Cf. Andorlini, *Trattato*, p. 13, note 33.

¹⁶ Edition in preparation at the Istituto Vitelli.

¹⁷ Further abnormal Hieratic and early Demotic papyri from the Italian excavations at el-Hibeh have been identified among the fragments placed under glass by Botti, viz. vetri 197 and 198.

The binder contains two sets of material. The first is a set of now empty envelopes, with annotations concerning their original contents and their findspots in the hand of Carlo Anti. The second is a set of 44 blotting paper folders, numbered 1 through 33 by Botti, again in blue pencil; the lesser number owing to the fact that sometimes two or three folders were assigned the same number. Nearly all of the folders still contain fragments, the majority of them in Demotic and Hieratic, but there are also texts in Greek, Coptic and Arabic, and a few items are written on ancient paper.

It is evident how the two sets of material should be understood. During the excavation, a large number of smaller fragments was placed in envelopes for easy storage and transportation, each personally inscribed by Anti with relevant information about the provenance¹⁸. At a later date, in Florence, Botti transferred the contents of the envelopes to folders, which made it easier to study and sort through them. He duly copied the information provided by Anti¹⁹. A single folder usually sufficed for the contents of an envelope, but some held enough material to fill two folders (nos. 12 and 28) or even three (nos. 14 and 27)²⁰. In the latter cases, the notations on the envelopes were only copied unto the first of the folders. The numbering of the envelopes and folders is evidently secondary, since it was inscribed in the same pencil, whereas Anti used ink, and it does not follow the order in which the papyri were found nor any other obvious arrangement²¹.

There are no envelopes corresponding to folders 12–14 and 29–33, and eight folders have in common that none of them provides any indication of the findspot. This suggests that the fragments derive from one or more containers that had not been labelled with such information, or that it had been lost after the material arrived in Florence.

The folders are inscribed with additional information, recording a number of fragments as “restauro” (conserved) and “ricavo” or “ricavato” (obtained), and a separate register in the binder provides a tally of the same notations. In fact, most of

¹⁸ Examples of boxes provided with similar information are listed below. It may be noted that this attention to context was not solely the concern of Anti, but was also explicitly advocated by Vitelli. In a letter from E. Breccia to M. Norsa, dated to 11 April 1930, concerning the photography and publication of papyri, it is said that “Sen. Vitelli has replied to Anti remarking that we intend to proceed as we always have: by earnestly specifying the provenance of the individual papyri, which is mandatory for scientific purposes and to avoid undermining the work of those conducting the excavation (*indicando cioè sinceramente la provenienza dei singoli papiri, il che è doveroso e per riguardi scientifici e per non menomare l'opera di chi attende agli scavi*).” The letter is published in Morelli, Pintaudi, *Cinquant'anni di papirologia*, vol. II, p. 473.

¹⁹ Botti sometimes abbreviated the information, e.g. folder 4 where the specific provenance is omitted. There is also a single outright error. Folder 1 states that the papyri were found on the ‘east side’ of the temple in a cellar below Room 15. However, the envelope has ‘west side’ and it is clear that this must be correct. Not only was this information recorded by Anti in the field, but Room 15 with the cellar is in fact on the west side of the temple.

²⁰ In these cases, we have added *-bis* and *-ter* to the second and third folders from a specific envelope.

²¹ Apparently by mistake, two envelopes were both assigned the number 22. They pertain to different findspots, and one has therefore now been changed to *22bis* in order to distinguish them.

the fragments appear to have been carefully cleaned and flattened, while others received a more rudimentary treatment. It is therefore not entirely clear what the notes mean in the present context. Perhaps they pertain to an early stage of the work on these fragments, where only some of them had been fully conserved. The number of the *obtained* fragments is always less or equal to those that had been *conserved*. It is therefore possible that *obtained* indicates the number of conserved fragments that were considered important enough to be removed to the series of Egyptian or Greek mounted fragments. This might explain how some of the Egyptian fragments from Tebtynis, with Greek texts on the *recto*, found their way into the older Greek series of frames (cf. § 5.3 pp. 147–151, § 9).

Over the years many fragments have been removed from the folders, but a substantial amount still remains. Folder 31 is the only one that is completely empty, but the folders that would have contained the fragments from Envelopes 21 (which contained only Greek pieces, as penned on the envelope) and 22 are missing, which suggests that they too were emptied out entirely.

The tally at the end of the folder, titled “Copia – Frammenti tolti da buste numerate” (*Copy – fragments removed from numbered envelopes*), was evidently drawn up by Botti whose hand is easily recognizable. It indicates for every folder (1 to 33, with the indication of the double and triple folders) how many fragments had been *delivered* (“ne consegno”). These were possibly Greek fragments that were given over to Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa. The note lists also “17 fogli del bruciato” (*17 sheets from the burnt layer*), “1 striscia di tela, 2 quadri a vetro” (*1 strip of cloth, 2 glass frames*): these indications remain, for the moment, unexplained. At the end of the inventory, Botti writes “verificato” (*verified*), in pencil.

Table 2. Indications of provenance, “Pacco I”, Group 5. Season of 1931.

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
1	Gr. Tempio. Lato ovest. Cantina a del vano 15.	Grande Tempio. Lato est ^(sic) , cantina a, vano 15. Restauro: 2. Ricavo: 1.
	Great Temple. West side. Cellar A of Room 15.	Great temple. East side ^(sic) , cellar A, Room 15. Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.
2	Gr. T. Lato est. 19.3.31. Ultimi vani a sud.	Grande Tempio. Lato Est. 19.3.31. Ultimi vani a sud. Restauro: 1. Ricavo: 1.
	Great Temple. East side. 19.3.31. Last rooms to the south.	Great Temple. East side. 19.3.31. Last rooms to the south. Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
3	Gr. Tempio. Lato ovest. 19.3.31. Sporadici.	Grande Tempio. Lato ovest. 19.3.31. Sporadici. Restauro: 2. Ricavo: 1.
	Great Temple. West side. 19.3.31. Isolated.	Great Temple. West side. 19.3.31. Isolated. Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.
4	Gr. T. lato ovest. 19.3.31. Sporadici.	Grande Tempio. 19.3.31. Sporadici. Restauro: 2. Ricavo: 1.
	Great temple. West side. 19.3.31. Isolated.	Great Temple. 19.3.31. Isolated. Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.
5	Framm. copti ed arabi dal quartiere NE. (Acquisto 16.3.31).	Acquisto 16.3.31. Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 1.
	Coptic and Arabic fragments from the north- eastern district. (Acquired 16.3.31).	Acquired 16.3.31. Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.
6	Gr. T. Lato est. case Ambienti a nord di 20. 16.3.31.	Grande Tempio. Lato est. (16.3.31) Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. East side. Houses Rooms north of [Room] 20. 16.3.31.	Great Temple. East side. (16.3.31) Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
7	Gr. Tempio. Lato est. angolo NE.	Grande Tempio. Lato Est. Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. East side. North-eastern corner.	Great Temple. East side. Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
8	Gr. T. Lato est. Sporadici. 18.3.31.	Grande Tempio. Lato est. Sporadici. (18.3.31) Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. East side. Isolated. 18.3.31.	Great Temple. East side. Isolated. (18.3.31) Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.
9	Gr. Tempio. Lato ovest. vano 6. 20.3.31.	Grande Tempio. Lato ovest. (vano 6) (20.3.31) Restauro: 1. Ricavo: 1.
	Great Temple. West side. Room 6. 20.3.31.	Great Temple. West side. (Room 6) (20.3.31) Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
10	Gr. T. Lato ovest. Cantina 15 b.	Grande Tempio. Lato ovest. Cantina 15b. Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 2.
	Great Temple. West side. Cellar 15 B.	Grande Tempio. Lato ovest. Cantina 15b. Great Temple. West side. Cellar 15B. Restored: 2. Obtained: 2.
		Great Temple. West side. Cellar 15B.
11	Gr. T. Lato ovest. Estremi ambienti merid. 23.3.31.	Grande Tempio. Lato ovest. ambienti meridionali. (23.3.31). Restauro: 3. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. West side. Southernmost rooms. 23.3.31.	Great Temple. West side. Southern rooms. (23.3.31). Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.
12	—	Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 2.
	—	— [= folder 12bis]. Restored: 2. Obtained: 2.
	—	— [= folder 12bis].
13	—	Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	—	Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
14	—	Restauro: 4. Ricavato: 3.
	—	— [= folder 14bis].
	—	— [= folder 14ter].
	—	Restored: 4. Obtained: 3.
	—	— [= folder 14bis]. — [= folder 14ter].
15	26.2.31. [schizzo di pianta dell'area]. Dalle stanza A, B.	Dalle Stanze A, B. Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	26.2.31. [sketch of area]. From rooms A, B.	From Rooms A, B. Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
16	6.3.31. Gr. Tempio. davanti alla porta sud della casetta a sud del deipneterion.	Grande Tempio. Davanti porta sud della casetta a sud del deipneterion. Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 1.
	6.3.31. Great Temple. In front of the south door of the small house south of the deipneterion.	Great Temple. In front of the south door of the small house south of the deipneterion. Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.
17	6.3.31. G. Tempio dalla cantina ad ovest del 2° pilone.	Grande Tempio. Cantina ad ovest del 2° pilone. Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	6.3.31. Great Temple. From the cellar west of the 2 nd pylon.	Great Temple. Cellar west of the 2 nd pylon. Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
18	Papiri trovati il 25.2.31. Cortile nell'angolo NO del Gr. tempio e vani a SE da questo.	Grande Tempio. Cortile nell'angolo N.O. (25.2.31). Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1 (solo frammenti: gli altri greci).
	Papyri found on 25.2.31. Courtyard in the north-western corner of the Great temple and the rooms south-east of the same.	Great Temple Courtyard of the north-western corner. (25.2.31). Restored: 1. Obtained: 1 (fragments only: the others are Greek).
19	Gr. Tempio. Ambienti merid. da est. 8.3.31. [a matita, stessa mano:] = Vani 3 e 6 giorn. di scavo.	Grande Tempio. Ambienti meridionali da est. (8.3.31). Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. Southern rooms of the east. 8.3.31. [in pencil, same hand:] = Room 3 and 6 of the excavation journal.	Great Temple. Southern rooms of the east. (8.3.31). Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
20	Gr. T. Casa a sud di quella con il forno. 4.3.31. [a matita rossa, forse mano di Botti:] Rotolino.	Grande Tempio casa a sud di quella del forno. (4.3.31). Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. House south of the one with the oven. 4.3.31. [in red pencil, perhaps Botti's hand:] Small roll.	Great Temple. House south of the one with the oven. (4.3.31). Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
21	Gran Tempio. Papiri trovati nella stanza a destra della porta occidentale. 24.2.31. [a matita, forse altra mano:] Tutti greci.	(later folder missing).
	Great Temple. Papyri discovered in room to the right of the western gate. 24.2.31. [in pencil, perhaps different hand]: All Greek.	
22	Gr. Tempio – lato est. trovati l'8.3.-31 presso il muro di cinta ad est della cantinetta con lo sportello.	(later folder missing).
	Great Temple – east side. Found on 8.3.31 near the border wall east of the small cellar with the door.	
22bis	Gr. Tempio. Ambienti dell'angolo interno NE. 5.3.31.	Grande Tempio. Ambienti dell'angolo interno NE. (5.3.31). Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. Rooms of the inner north-eastern corner. 5.3.31.	Great Temple. Rooms of the inner north-east- ern corner. (5.3.31). Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
23	9.3.31. Gr. T. Lato est. dalla 3a stanza a sud di quella con la cantina dalla serratura. [a matita, stessa mano:] = 3 del giorn. di scavo.	Grande Tempio. Lato Est. (9.3.31). Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 1.
	9.3.31. Great Temple. East side. From the third room south of the one with the cellar with a door lock. [in pencil, same hand:] = 3 of the excavation journal.	Great Temple. East side. (9.3.31). Restored: 2. Obtained: 1.

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
23bis ²²	Gr. T. Lato est. 9.3.31. Casetta dalle 3 cantine a sud di quella con la serratura. I papiri provengono dal pozzetto C = 7 del giornale di scavo. [a matita, stessa mano:] = 7 del giorn. di scavo.	n/a
	Great Temple. East side. 9.3.31. Small house with three cellars south of the one with the door lock. The papyri come from pit C. [in pencil, same hand] = (Room) 7 of the excavation journal.	n/a
24	Gran Tempio. Ambienti vari della casa dal fornello a sud del deipneterion. 3.3.31. [in matita rossa:] fiore.	Grande Tempio. Ambienti vari della casa del fornello. (3.3.31). Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	Great Temple. Various rooms of the House with the Small Oven south of the deipneterion. 3.3.31. [in red pencil:] flower.	Great Temple. Various rooms of the House with the Small Oven. (3.3.31) Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
25	Sporadici.	Sporadici. Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	Isolated.	Isolated. Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.
26	18.3.31. Gr. Tempio. Sporadici.	Grande Tempio. (Sporadici). (18.3.31). Restauro: 1. Ricavato: 1.
	18.3.31. Great Temple. Isolated.	Great Temple. Isolated. (18.3.31). Restored: 1. Obtained: 1.

²² This item is a sheet of paper which was found misplaced in folder 19. It evidently belongs with envelope 23 and has therefore been moved and catalogued as 23bis.

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
	Gr. T. Lato est. Stanze varie a N e a S della cantina con la serratura. 9.3.31. [a matita, stessa mano:] 8 e 10 giorn. di scavo.	Grande Tempio. (Lato est). (9.3.31). Restauro: 3. Ricavato: 3.
		— [= folder 27bis].
		— [= folder 27ter].
27	Great Temple. East side. Various rooms to the north and south of the cellar with the door lock. [in pencil, same hand:] 8 and 10 of the excavation journal.	Great Temple. East side. 9.3.31. Restored: 3. Obtained: 3.
		— [= folder 27bis].
		— [= folder 27ter].
	Gr. T. Lato est. 9.3.31. 2 ^a e 3 ^a stanza a nord della cantinetta con la serratura. fila esterna [a matita, stessa mano:] = 12-13 del giornale di scavo. [a matita, stessa mano:] tolti da scatola con scritto "Grande Tempio Lato merid." [a matita, stessa mano:] busta in cui non c'era nulla.	Grande Tempio. Lato meridionale. Restauro: 2. Ricavato: 2.
		— [= folder 28bis].
28	Great Temple. East side. 9.3.31. 2 nd and 3 rd rooms north of the small cellar with the door lock. External row. [in pencil, same hand:] = 12-13 of the excavation journal. [in pencil, same hand:] Removed from box labelled "Great Temple south side". [in pencil, same hand:] Envelope found empty.	Great Temple. South side. Restored: 2. Obtained: 2.
		— [= folder 28bis].
29	—	—
30	—	—
31	—	—
32	—	—
33	—	—

No.	Original envelopes	Later folders
Addendum 1: two envelopes (re-used, both originally addressed to Anti) Their contents were moved to Envelope 21 at some point in time		
21bis	[Busta bianca "Jules & Henri Fleurent"]. Papiro trovato l'11.1.31 nei quartieri centrali sgomberando le strade. [forse altra mano:] In cartella 21. [White envelope "Jules & Henri Fleurent"]. Papyri discovered on 11.1.31 in the central quarters while clearing the streets. [perhaps 2nd hand:] In folder 21.	[It is not clear why the contents of these two envelopes were transferred to the now-missing folder 21, since it would then contain fragments from an entirely different area. The two envelopes have now been assigned nos. 21bis and 21ter for the sake of reference. Since the original envelope 21 was noted as containing Greek pieces only ("tutti greci"), it is likely that the corresponding folder 21 had been emptied and was therefore available for re-use, or discarded].
21ter	[Busta celeste] Fr. papiro: fra il tempio C e la casa a sud. [forse altra mano:] In cartella 21. [Light blue envelope]. Papyrus fragments: between Temple C and the house to the south. [perhaps 2nd hand:] In folder 21.	
Addendum 2: Envelope without number, but marked "b" in red pencil		
24bis	Gr. Tempio. Ambiente del forno nella casa a sud del deipneterion. Great Temple. Room of the oven in the house south of the deipneterion.	[Since this envelope is related to the contents of envelope 24, it has now been assigned no. 24bis for reference].

4. "PACCO II"

The history of "Pacco II" (which has also been referred to as "Pacco I bis", or "Gran pacco") has been described above in connection with "Pacco I"; it was similarly provided with a typewritten inventory by Andorlini. At the time, it contained 181 blotting paper folders with thousands of very minute fragments, presumably those from the temple library deposit that had been considered too small, too numerous and bearing too few legible signs to be placed under glass in the process of sorting and conserving the material from the suitcases. The decision to transfer these fragments to folders was likely a practical measure. Glass frames are less useful for masses of minor fragments, since they tend to shift position if not individually fixed, and the use of folders also facilitated future sorting and removal of individual pieces.

Despite their size, the fragments were arranged into groups according to which side of the papyrus had been inscribed. Arabic numbers were used for *recto* fragments, Latin letters for *verso* fragments, and Greek letters for fragments with text on both sides. In the case of the two latter groups, Botti ran out of letters and added

further folders which he decided to provide with Arabic numbers; as a result, there are three sets of folders labelled 1-5 but within different groups. Fragments without writing were placed in two unmarked folders.

The figures provided in Table 3 below reflect the condition of the package at the time when Andorlini produced the inventory and this was also its state as of 2022. Some additional folders from this package are present in Group 4 of “Pacco I”, as already noted by Rosati.

Table 3. Contents of “Pacco II”
(based on the inscriptions on the folders and the inventory by I. Andorlini).

Script	Quantity	Distinction	Present designations	
<i>Recto</i> only	122 folders	Arabic numbers	Group 1 Numbered 1-122	
<i>Verso</i> only	29 folders	Latin letters	Group 5 Numbered a-z	Group 4 Numbered 1-5
<i>Recto</i> and <i>verso</i>	29 folders	Greek letters	Group 2 Numbered α-ω	Group 3 Numbered a-e
No writing	2 folders	None	Group 6 Unnumbered	

Most of the fragments in these folders are inscribed in Egyptian. Since the deposit also included Greek texts, mainly re-used documents, it is clear that Botti further sorted the material according to script. The missing Greek fragments are almost certainly to be identified with the contents of Box 55, which were placed in identical blotting paper folders, one of which has a note by Botti in the same blue pencil that he often used on the two packages (§ 5.6).

Few of the pieces in this package are important in themselves. While it is possible to identify fragments of known manuscripts (as it was done, for instance, for several pieces of PSI inv. I 98 and PSI inv. 3054²³), their minute size means they would require an inordinate amount of time to edit and sort – a time that would mostly be entirely disproportional to what may be gained from the few additional signs they provide. They are nonetheless valuable, since the contents of these folders have not been mixed with the other material. Accordingly, any papyrus to which fragments from “Pacco II” can be joined or attributed can be positively linked to the two cellars in which the temple library deposit was discovered. This conclusion may be extended to the contents of Box 55, if we have identified them correctly.

²³ As per reports by J. Osing and G. Rosati kept at the Istituto; for PSI inv. 3054, cf. p. 132, note 15.

5. BOXES WITH ANNOTATED ENVELOPES AND FOLDERS (TAV. XIV.b)

A number of older metal and cardboard boxes from the excavations that were conducted on behalf of the Istituto Vitelli since the 1930s are preserved in the collection²⁴; they correspond to the loose description of “fairly large tin boxes like flat biscuit tins” provided by Bagnani for the containers used on the field²⁵. Each box has a reference number, but the numbers were assigned at a point in time when the provenance of the material inside was often no longer certain, and intended only for internal reference. The numbers themselves, therefore, reflect neither the date nor place of discovery. Fortunately, documentation inside the boxes, and sometimes also the nature of the papyri, can help to establish their provenance. Whatever material we have been able to relate to Tebtynis is presented below, arranged in chronological order whenever possible²⁶.

As with the fragments from Group 5 of “Pacco I”, material from these boxes has continuously undergone restoration and study over the years. As a result, most of their contents have now been sorted out and the papyri in question have been assigned PSI numbers. The papyri were often removed without preserving any record of the original information supplied by the excavators, and it is now difficult – and perhaps largely impossible – to re-establish which papyri came from what context. Since the 1990s, the provenance from the boxes has been documented more systematically. Some fragments have remained *in situ*, including important items such as a recently identified fragment of Herodotus (PSI inv. 4260), whose *Histories* were not previously attested in Tebtynis²⁷.

5.1. SEASON OF 1928/29

Box 30

Metal box with material from different sites. Envelope no. 2 is labelled “busta Tebtynis 1929 da una casa verso il centro” (*envelope Tebtynis 1929 from a house near the centre*), probably in Breccia’s handwriting. It still contains some small Greek fragments which were restored by students during the 2018 Papyrological Seminar of the Istituto Vitelli; these have not yet been inventoried.

Box 43

Large cardboard box with material from different sites. Envelope no. 2 bears a note in blue pencil “Frammenti acquistati da vari fellahin nelle ezbeh nei dintorni

²⁴ These containers were briefly mentioned by S. Strassi in 2019, based on information by G. Bastianini and M. Stroppa, with a remark on the potential of their contents and annotations: cf. Strassi, *Carlo Anti e i papiri da Tebtynis*, pp. 443–444. They were also recently cited in Fiorillo, *Catalogo*, p. 17, who was only aware of the envelopes of Box 18.

²⁵ Begg, ‘*It was Wonderful*’, pp. 189–191.

²⁶ The information hereby presented derives from an ongoing survey of the boxes conducted by M. Stroppa and I. Cariddi, and from a partial account previously compiled by A. Lopez and preserved in a brief internal report.

²⁷ Edition in preparation by F. Maltomini.

di Umm el Baragat 1928–1929” (*fragments bought from various fellahin in the ezbeh in the whereabouts of Umm el Baragat*); it still contains some Greek fragments²⁸.

5.2. SEASON OF 1930

Box 18

Metal box with 15 envelopes containing fragments from Anti’s excavations in 1930, dated March 10 through 29²⁹.

Table 4. Indications of provenance, Box 18. Season of 1930.

1	lunedì 10.3.30 papiri.	Monday 10.3.30 papyri.
2	martedì 11.3.30 papiri – dallo scarico ad ovest dello scavo nuovo.	Tuesday 11.3.30 papyri – from the spoil to the west of the new excavation.
3	mercoledì 12.3.30 papiri.	Wednesday 12.3.30 papyri.
4	13.3.30 Nuovo scavo e scarico ad ovest.	13.3.30 New excavation and spoil to the west.
5	14.3.30.	14.3.30.
6	15.3.30 Nuovo scavo.	15.3.30 New excavation.
7	17.3.30 Nuovo scavo.	17.3.30 New excavation.
8	18.3.30 Nuovo scavo.	18.3.30 New excavation.
9	19.3.30 dalla via del Tempio.	19.3.30 From the road of the Temple.
10	19.3.30 Nuovo scavo.	19.3.30 New excavation.
11	21.3.30 Nuovo scavo.	21.3.30 New excavation.
12	25.3.30 Saggio di Reis Ali a nord delle case Breccia.	25.3.30 Reis Ali’s trial trenching north of the Breccia houses.
13	26.3.30 Saggio di Reis Ali a nord delle case Breccia.	26.3.30 Reis Ali’s trial trenching north of the Breccia houses.
14	27.3.30 Saggio di Reis Ali a nord delle case Breccia.	27.3.30 Reis Ali’s trial trenching north of the Breccia houses.
15	29.3.30 Casa dalla scala di pietra = casa del decapitato.	29.3.30 House with the Stone Staircase = House of the Beheaded.
16	Saggio di Reis Ali a nord dello scavo principale = casa della cucina, “insalata” ³⁰ .	Reis Ali’s trial trenching north of the main excavation = House with the Kitchen, “salad”.

²⁸ PSI inv. 4237 (III cent. CE), with notes for a *laographia*, to be published in PSI XIX by R. Carlesimo.

²⁹ Envelope 4 includes the beginning of a petition to the *epistates* of Tebtynis (PSI inv. 4176, I cent. CE): cf. S. Russo, PSI Com12 3, pp. 16–18.

³⁰ The term “insalata” (*salad*) in the description of folder 15 is the informal designation used amongst Italian papyrologists of that era for groups of tiny, mixed fragments, mostly of little interest and not suitable for publication; cf., e.g., the term used by Medea Norsa in a 1930 letter to Breccia, published in Morelli – Pintaudi, *Cinquant’anni di papirologia*, I, p. 458.

Box 27

Small metal box with 22 envelopes containing fragments from Anti's excavations in 1930, dated March 13 through 29, partially overlapping with the indications from box 18³¹.

Table 5. Indications of provenance, Box 27. Season of 1930.

1	13.3.30 Case Breccia.	13.3.30 Breccia houses.
2	15.3.30 Case Breccia – 1 pezzo buono.	15.3.30 Breccia houses, 1 good piece.
3	17.3.30 Case Breccia – 2 pezzi[?].	17.3.30 Breccia houses, 2 pieces[?].
4	18.3.30 Case Breccia.	18.3.30 Breccia houses.
5	18.3.30 Iseo.	18.3.30 Iseion.
6	19.3.30 Case Breccia.	19.3.30 Breccia houses.
7	20.3.30 Iseo.	20.3.30 Iseion.
8	20.3.30 C. Breccia (interno locali occidentali).	20.3.30 Breccia houses (inner side of the western rooms).
9	21.3.30 Iseo.	21.3.30 Iseion.
10	21.3.30 Case Breccia specialm. lato est.	21.3.30 Breccia houses, especially east side.
11	22 marzo 1930 – Iseo.	22 March 1930 Iseion.
12	22 marzo 1930 Iseo – rotolo –.	22 March 1930 Iseion – roll –.
13	22 marzo 1930 Case Breccia – lato est (1 pezzetto[?]).	22 March 1930 Breccia houses, east side (1 small piece[?]).
14	23 marzo 1930 Iseo.	23 March 1930 Iseion.
15	24.3.30 Casa presso l'Iseo = casa dei papiri.	24.3.30 House near the Iseion = House of the Papyri.
16	25.3.30 da punti vari della città.	25.3.30 From various points of the city.
17	25.3.30 Casa presso l'Iseo = casa dei papiri.	25.3.30 House near the Iseion = House of the Papyri
18	26.3.30 Casa presso l'Iseo = casa dei papiri.	26.3.30 House near the Iseion = House of the Papyri
19	Casa presso il t. di Iside. Cantina: pomeriggio 28.3.30 (2° vano).	House near the temple of Isis [<i>sc.</i> the Iseion]. Cellar: afternoon 28.3.30 (2 nd room).
20	29.3.30 2° vano della cantina.	29.3.30 2 nd room of the cellar.
21	29.3.30 da punti vari della città.	29.3.30 from various points of the city.

³¹ The contents of envelopes 7 and 12 are inventoried as PSI inv. 4143 and 4132 respectively.

Box 42

A large metal box containing material from different sites. Eight envelopes have notes that can be directly connected with Anti's excavations in 1930, partially overlapping with those of boxes 18 and 27. A ninth envelope only bears a note "vari" (*various*) in blue pencil, but displays the same format and the same handwriting as the others, together with which it was kept, and hence it too presumably belongs to the group. The following numbers were recently assigned, following the original order of the material, for reference purposes.

Table 6. Indications of provenance, Box 42. Season of 1930.

1	Martedì 11.3.30 stoffe dallo scarico ad ovest dello scavo nuovo.	Tuesday 11.3.30. Textiles from the spoil to the west of the new excavation.
2	22 Marzo 1930 saggio meridionale.	22 March 1930. Southern trial trenching.
3	23 Marzo 1930 saggio di Reis Ali a sud.	23 March 1930. Reis Ali trial trenching to the south.
4	31.3.30 fra la porta dell'Iseo e quella della casa dalla scala di pietra.	31.3.30. Between the door of the Iseion and that of the House with the Stone Staircase.
5	fra la porta dell'Iseo e quella della casa dalla scala di pietra.	Between the door of the Iseion and that of the House with the Stone Staircase.
6	fra la porta dell'Iseo e quella della casa del decapitato.	Between the door of the Iseion and the door of the House of the Beheaded.
7	fra la porta dell'Iseo e quella della casa del decapitato.	Between the door of the Iseion and the door of the House of the Beheaded.
8	fra la porta dell'Iseo e la casa del decapitato.	Between the door of the Iseion and the House of the Beheaded.
9	Vari.	Various.

5.3. SEASON OF 1931

Box 15

Small metal box with a torn label on the lid "Tebtynis – Soknebtynis Gran Tempio Lato [...]" (*Great Temple side [...]*) (part of the label has been removed) and another label on the side with "Stanza 1" (*Room 1*). It contains loose fragments as well as two envelopes with fragments pertaining to different seasons.

1	Saggio di Reis Ali a nord dello scavo principale = Casa della cucina – pezzi migliori.	Reis Ali's trial trenching north of the main excavation = House with the Kitchen – best pieces.
2	Gr. Tempio lato est 11.3.31 vano n. 2: piano soprastante alla cantina.	Gr. temple, east side 11.3.31 room no. 2: floor above the cellar.

The loose fragments presumably relate to the label of the box itself and this seems to be confirmed, at least in part, by their contents. These include around twenty new fragments of the famous Illustrated Herbal from Tebtynis³². Two other fragments of the Herbal (PSI inv. 4160) were identified some years ago among the Egyptian frames, which indicated that the papyrus derived from the temple library deposit³³. Fragments of various papyri from the deposit were found scattered in the area south of the two main cellars, and this is also the location of Room 1 which was excavated on March 11, the day after the discovery of the temple library deposit.

The envelope dated 11 March 1931 was likely added to the box for convenience because it contained material found in the adjacent Room 2 on the same day. The date is otherwise undocumented in Florence, but there are further fragments from “Rooms 1 and 2” among the residua that remained in boxes in Padua.

The other envelope refers to Reis Ali and therefore clearly pertains to the previous season. It is uncertain why it was transferred to the present box. It was almost certainly removed from Box 18, where the last envelope has the same annotation, except that it replaces “pezzi migliori” with “insalata”. It seems clear, then, that the fragments from this findspot were divided into two envelopes, one containing the *best pieces* (Box 15, 1) and the other the *salad* (Box 18, 16). The fragments that remain in the envelope are rather small, and presumably the main pieces have been studied and removed over the years.

Box 19

Small metal box with the indication “Papiri Deipneterion A”, containing two envelopes with notes from Anti’s excavations in 1931, overlapping with the earliest dated folder of “Pacco I”, Group 5 (folder 21*bis*). Under the two envelopes, the box is partially filled with loose fragments that can similarly be ascribed to Tebtynis owing to joins with material from the temple library deposit: a fragment of PSI inv. I 4 (copies of the texts from the tombs of the nomarchs of Asyut)³⁴ and two newly identified fragments of the hieroglyphic cubit PSI inv. I 135, which will be included in the forthcoming new edition by G. Rosati in the *Carlsberg Papyri* series.

³² I.e. P.Tebt. II 679 + P.Tebt.Tait 39–41 + P.Tebt.Tait 39 add. + PSI inv. 4160 = TM 63596. This discovery was announced by Cariddi’s paper, *Notes on the Archaeological Context*.

³³ Ryholt, *The Illustrated Herbal*, pp. 235–238.

³⁴ Osing – Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici*, pp. 84–94.

³⁵ Rosati, *Cubito “votivo”*; Rosati, *A Votive Cubit*.

Table 7. Indications of provenance, Box 19. Season of 1931.

1	Papiro ritrovato l'11.1.31 sul pavimento del piano terreno della casa orientale che chiude il lato sud del mercato. [a matita:] = deipneterion A.	Papyrus found on 11.1.31 on the ground floor of the eastern house that closes the south side of the marketplace. [in pencil:] = Deipneterion A.
2	Frammenti di papiro trovati l'11.1.31 sul pavimento del piano terreno della casa orientale che chiude il lato sud del mercato. [a matita:] = deipneterion A.	Papyrus fragments found on 11.1.31 on the ground floor of the eastern house that closes the south side of the marketplace. [in pencil:] = Deipneterion A.

Box 23

Large metal box containing loose fragments; it further includes a small cigarette box (Box 23.1, Tav. XV) bearing the note “dall’androne a volta tra la casa dei seccacci e il deipneterion 3.3.31 Angolo SO” (*from the vaulted hall between the House of the Sieves and the deipneterion 3.3.31. South-west corner*). It contained an astrological fragment in Greek (PSI inv. 4360). This is apparently the only item from Tebtynis in the box, while the rest of the contents is almost certainly unrelated³⁶.

Box 29

Large cardboard box with materials from different sites. It contains a smaller cardboard box (29.1) with a label “Frammenti greci Anti 1931” (*Greek fragments Anti 1931*), written in a hand that cannot be identified, and a note by Andorlini: “Frammenti greci e greco-demotici dal pacco degli scavi Anti Tebtynis 1931. C’erano alcuni frammenti del trattato di medicina (PSI 3054). Trasferiti qui dall’incarto: (sic) Dic. ‘96 IA” (*Greek and Greek-Demotic fragments from the package of the Anti 1931 Tebtynis excavations. There were some fragments of the medical treatise (PSI 3054). Transferred here from the wrapped bundle: (sic) Dec. ‘96 IA*). This small box still contains a few fragments in Greek (two with Demotic on the *verso*), some partially conserved, and some untreated.

Determining the exact provenance of this lot poses significant challenges. While “pacco” might be assumed to refer to Pacco I or Pacco II, the materials in those sets of folders are all carefully conserved; by contrast, several items in Box 29.1 are not. It is also not possible to ascertain what part of the bundles Andorlini meant with “incarto” (*wrapped bundle*). In her 2009 edition of additional sections of PSI inv. 3054, Andorlini describes “new small papyrus fragments either freshly restored in Florence or identified in the Berkeley and Copenhagen collections”, noting that “Frs. 3–9 were restored by me in 1996 from the remaining Greek and Demotic fragments

³⁶ We owe this observation to M. Stroppa and F. Maltomini.

of Tebtynis housed in the Istituto Papirologico³⁷. The two references align in so far as the fragments originate from material physically restored in 1996. However, the note on Box 29.1 that these pieces derive from a “pacco” is more difficult to explain. Moreover, Andorlini’s later edition does not specify from what particular folders the fragments derived, as she did meticulously in her *editio princeps*. A possible explanation is that, in 1996, “pacco degli scavi Anti Tebtynis 1931” referred to a set of materials from that season, including but not limited to Pacco I and II (see *infra*).

Another small cardboard box (29.2) is labelled “Frr. ier-greci-dem. da pacco Anti 1931. Selez. 15.10.99 IA” (*Hieratic-Greek-Demotic frgs. from the Anti 1931 pacco. Selected 15.10.99 IA*), which now contains only insignificant remains of papyri. There is no information available regarding the current location of the pieces originally stored in this container, whether they were later catalogued in the Greek or Egyptian inventories, or whether they might now be part of other material from 1931 that Andorlini worked on, such as those outlined in the following sections.

Series of frames “Anti 31” and “May/97”

In the 1990s a number of fragments from the 1931 campaign were placed under glass, possibly for the purpose of papyrological training in restoration and conservation, aside from studying the pieces themselves. They fall into two groups. The first was labelled simply “Anti 31”. Notably, a frame now preserved in the Hieratic section, PSI vetro I 530, bears similar labelling in the same handwriting, with one important addition: “da scatola ‘Tebtynis - Scavi Anti 1931’ - nuovo restauro IA (ottobre 1999)” (*from box ‘Tebtynis - Anti Excavations 1931’ - new restoration IA October 1999*). This would appear to link this whole set of frames to the work of Andorlini in October 1999, and it further connects the fragments to a “Tebtynis 1931 box”. Most of the fragments are inscribed in both Greek and Egyptian, and while some are large enough to suggest they could originate from Group 5 of “Pacco I,” most of the frames contain smaller and unrelated fragments. These seem more likely to result from restoration of fragments selected from Boxes 15, 19, or 29.1, which still preserve some untreated items from the 1931 campaign.

The second group of frames was labelled “PSI inv. - May 1997, Tebtynis (Anti 1931)”, or more concisely “May/97”, and it is further recorded that they were produced by Andorlini and H. Sayed³⁸. No other details about the origin of these frames is recorded.

³⁷ Andorlini, *Medical treatise* (addenda), pp. 3-5.

³⁸ No information about “H. Sayed” has been found in the archive of the Istituto. He is possibly to be identified with Sayed Hasan, mentioned in a report concerning a study mission in Egypt in 1987 as an assistant to Soheir el-Sawy, papyrus conservator at the Cairo Museum, with whom M. Manfredi collaborated. Alternatively, he might have been one of the Egyptian students or early career research-

The exact provenance of both groups of frames is now lost, but it is probable that they do not derive from the two cellars where the temple library deposit was discovered, since all those fragments had already been placed under glass by Botti³⁹. Accordingly, this second series would have again derived from the set of boxes. In order not to confuse fragments from the two groups of frames with other material, it was decided in 2019 to provide them with a separate sequence of frame numbers, PSI vetri D 700ff for the first group and D 800ff for the second.

The “Tebtynis box”?

An isolated batch of 16 small frames preserved at the Istituto under a label “PSI da numerare” (*PSI to be numbered*) contain fragments with Greek *recto* and, in most cases, Demotic *verso*. They are quite small and appear to result from a less meticulous restoration process. An attached note in Andorlini’s hand states: “poiché, in questi vetri, sono stati trovati fr. del Trattato di medicina (PSI inv. 3054), i papiri provengono dalla ‘Scatola di Tebtynis’” (*since fragments of the Medical treatise (PSI inv. 3054) were found in these frames, the papyri originate from the “Tebtynis box”*). From this note, it is evident that Andorlini found these fragments already framed, with no accompanying information. The presence of additional fragments of PSI inv. 3054 among them led her to deduce their provenance from the “Tebtynis box” – a reference presumably familiar to those working at the Istituto during her time.

However, it is now unclear what this designation signified, and whether it was intended to denote one of the aforementioned boxes. Boxes 15 and 19 would again be suitable candidates. The small boxes 29.1 and 29.2 might also fit the criteria for containing “new” Greek fragments; however, the notes of them, as we have seen, mention a “Pacco (*package*) degli scavi di Tebtynis”, and not a box. Alternatively, as mentioned above, it is possible that there was a set of containers with loose fragments from the 1931 excavation, including a box with untreated fragments in addition to Pacco I and II, which contained treated fragments placed in folders and between blotting paper. However, it cannot be excluded that this set of unnumbered frames consisted of pieces extracted from the Greek or Egyptian frames, despite Andorlini’s hypothesis about this “box”.

In any case, the frames display clear connections with the material of the temple library deposit. One fragment joins with the astrological manual of predictions for women P. Carlsberg 100 + PSI inv. D 152; two join with PSI inv. 1431 + P. Carlsberg 959, whose *verso* was inscribed with an Inaros section penned by the distinc-

ers who came to Istituto for papyrological training, including the restoration and mounting of papyri, under the supervision of I. Andorlini.

³⁹ The only material from the temple library deposit that remained in folders were the minute fragments, effectively *residua*, in “Pacco II” and in Box 55.

tive “Nun hand”⁴⁰ which is well-attested within the temple library (see § 10); and yet another displays the same Greek hand of the *recto* of PSI X 1154. Further possible connections are currently being investigated.

An overview of the challenges posed by this material and related hypotheses will be provided in the concluding sections, particularly in § 9.

5.4. SEASON OF 1934

The 1934 season commenced at the beginning of February under the direction of Bagnani, but on the 28th Vogliano arrived at the site and, having secured substantial funding from Milan, he largely took over the direction of the excavation. The season concluded around mid-April. The six weeks Vogliano spent at the site resulted in the most important discoveries of Greek papyri, and he insisted that the material uncovered with the funding he provided should be allocated to Milan⁴¹. As a result, only the papyri found prior to his arrival were sent to Florence (aside from the famous roll with Callimachus’ *Diegeseis*), which caused some friction⁴².

Vogliano reports that the following papyrological material was obtained: 381 Greek, 64 Demotic, and 8 Hieratic papyri, as well as 38 Greek and Demotic ostraca, and an additional 82 Greek, 20 Demotic, 10 Coptic, and 61 Arabic papyri, as well as 25 Greek ostraca, were acquired⁴³. The material sent to Florence seems to have been

⁴⁰ For this hand, see Ryholt, *Scribal Habits*, p. 181, and Quack, *On the Regionalization*, p. 190.

⁴¹ For this reason, Bagnani decided to begin a separate excavation journal on March 4, entitled *Campagna di scavo della R. Università di Milano*, and the subsequent finds were marked “TM 34” (sc. Tebtynis Milano 1934) in contrast to the earlier finds that were simply marked “T 34” (sc. Tebtynis 1934). It has recently been discovered that at least one box of fragments apparently from the Milan concession is now in Padua, sc. TM 34/29–30, which has the recorded provenance “Dalla casa superiore dietro magazz. rossi” (*upper house behind the red storerooms*); Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*.

⁴² Begg, *Fascism in the Desert*, pp. 26–27. Cf. further Bastianini – Deotto, *Carlo Anti e Girolamo Vitelli*, pp. 47–52, for Anti and Vitelli’s discussions about the directorship of the excavation after the important discoveries by Vogliano. The final arrangement is specified in an undated letter by Vitelli to Anti: the papyri found prior to Vogliano’s excavations should be sent to Florence, as per agreement, while the rest fell under Milan’s share. In the latter, Vitelli includes also the *Diegeseis*, reporting that he will kindly refuse Vogliano’s recent offer for him to edit the papyrus; things turned out differently, and, as it is well known, Vitelli and Norsa published the papyrus in December 1934. In another exchange of communications between Anti and Vitelli, dated 28–29 November 1934, it is said that a box (“cassetta”) of materials from Tebtynis assigned to the Istituto Papirologico (“di spettanza della S.P.I.”) was stuck at the Italian customs since July; Vitelli replied that the contents were probably of little importance.

⁴³ A. Vogliano, *Notizia sugli scavi della missione archeologica della R. Università di Milano*, handout presented at the Papyrological Congress in Florence, 1935, p. 9, note 1; the numbers were at least partially imprecise, and were excluded from the re-edition of the *Notizia* in P.Mil.Vogl. I (cf. Gallazzi, *La ‘cantina dei papiri’*, pp. 284–285). Vogliano’s list contains a few minor and relatively insignificant mistakes; e.g. two papyri incorrectly classified as Hieratic. One (P.Mil.Vogl. inv. Hierat. 6) actually preserves a drawing with hieroglyphic text: Ryholt, *A Survey of Illustrated Papyri*, pp. 172–173, pl. 37. The other (P.Mil.Vogl. Hierat. 7) is a Demotic fragment of the Myth of the Sun’s Eye which joins another piece in Padua: Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*.

much more limited. Its scope is difficult to ascertain, since most of it was likely removed from the original containers and is therefore now difficult or impossible to identify. However, it includes the field numbers “T 34/35”, “T 34/39”, “T 34/81”, “T 34/82”, “T 34/85”, and “T 34/86”, which suggests that it comprised a minimum of 86 lot numbers. Evidence from the excavation journal shows that at least from 1931, the notation system using “T” followed by an abbreviated year and a progressive number was employed to identify individual objects; in our case, it was applied to containers with single or multiple papyrus fragments from the same findspot⁴⁴. Initially, during the 1931 season, this system was used exclusively for archaeological objects, not papyri or their containers. However, while in 1931 papyri were routinely assigned to Florence, by 1934 the situation had become more complex. This evolution, coupled with the increasing systematization of field documentation, likely explains the change.

The numbers cited are found inscribed on four long, narrow cardboard boxes. The details are as follows:

Box 4: T 34/85

Box inscribed “T 34/85” and “Da fuori la porta della casa principale dell’insula 1°. Feb. 1934” (*From outside the door of the main house of the 1st insula. February 1934*), as well as “Materiale spedito da Tebtynis dal Prof. Vogliano e rimasto intatto” (*Materials sent from Tebtynis by Prof. Vogliano and left intact*).

Box 5: T 34/81

Box inscribed “T 34/81” and “Dal deipneterion” (*From the deipneterion*).

Box 11: T 34/86

Box inscribed “T 34/86” and “Dalla parte rovinata dietro casa N, 26/2/34” (*From the ruined side behind house N, 26/2/34*).

Box 12: T 34/82

Box inscribed “T 34/82” and “Due prime camere della casa principale della insula 1°. Feb. 34” (*First two rooms of the main house of the 1st insula. February 1934*), and also “Materiale spedito dal prof. Vogliano e rimasto intatto” (*Materials sent by Prof. Vogliano and left intact*).

⁴⁴ We are grateful to M. Stroppa for this observation; cf. in this volume Stroppa, p. 69, note 36. See also Deotto, *L’Università di Padova in Egitto*, p. 364, for Anti’s numbering system of the findings in the 1931 campaign. The indication “T 31” is inscribed on several objects allocated to the Museo Egizio in Turin: cf. Borla - Gabutti, *I materiali da Tebtynis*, p. 476. Cf. Deotto, *L’Università di Padova in Egitto*, p. 281, for a possible indication “T1930” for an artifact of the 1930 campaign sent to Turin. As noted above, it is important to distinguish the two sets of field numbers “T 34” and “TM 34”. A different group of papyri from those here under discussion, marked TM 34/81-82 and 34/85-86, were part of Vogliano’s discoveries and sent to Milan. See also the discussion in Fiorillo, *Catalogo*, pp. 22-23.

The annotations on the frames of PSI inv. 3022 and 3023 bear the numbers T 34/35 and T 34/39, both documented as originating “dall'immondezzaio della casa del forno (*from the rubbish dump of the House with the Kiln*), 21/2/34”. The same date, but without an indication of a findspot, is recorded on the frame of PSI inv. 1511. The source of this information, which may have been inscribed on a box or folder, seems no longer to be preserved at the Istituto.

5.5. SEASON OF 1934/35

The limited papyrus finds from the 1934/35 season were divided between Florence and Padua (cf. below). Florence received less than half of the material, but apparently some of the better items since its share included an actual roll. The only documentation discovered in Istituto Vitelli is a brief annotation on the box listed below, but some further papyri can also be identified as coming from this season (cf. § 7.5 and below).

Box 38

This metal box contains a smaller cardboard box which is labelled “No. 195 Cartonaggi” and still contains cartonnage fragments; they presumably derive from the so-called cartonnage storeroom (cf. § 6).

5.6. UNDATED MATERIAL

Box 55

Metal box with 52 folders. These blotting paper folders are identical to those of “Pacco I” and “Pacco II”. They bear no original numbers or annotations, except a single folder with a handwritten note signed by G. Botti in the same blue pencil as the notes on the two packages⁴⁵. It reads “Inviati n. 90 frammenti a Copenhagen il 6/6/38 per ritornare [?] il pacco gravato da Dogana ricevuto dal dott. Volten il 10/4/38” (*90 fragments sent to Copenhagen on 6/6/38 to reciprocate [?] the package in custom's hold received by Dr. Volten on 10/4/38*). Apparently, the note refers to a group of ninety fragments that had been sent to Copenhagen as security against another group of fragments, belonging to Copenhagen, that had become stuck in Italian customs. The situation was likely soon resolved, given that the fragments were returned to Florence, and the collaboration between Botti and Volten continued for many years.

The folders contain small and medium-sized restored Greek fragments. They are currently being studied by F. Maltomini, R. Carlesimo and B. Borrelli, who

⁴⁵ All the folders have now been sequentially numbered by F. Maltomini, following the original order of the material, for reference purposes.

have identified a series of joins with fragments from “Pacco I” as well as mounted fragments from the temple library deposit; an example are small new pieces of PSI inv. D 7 + P. Carlsberg 203, the renowned treatise on the Primeval ocean in the Nun hand (= TM 56179). Given that all these fragments had been subject to systematic conservation, despite their petty size, renders it very plausible that these folders from Box 55 were the “Greek equivalent” of those from “Pacco II”; i.e. containing minor fragments from the four suitcases that had been identified as Greek and conserved, like the Egyptian ones, by G. Botti and E. Caudana⁴⁶. Similar folders, without numbers and filled with mostly Greek fragments, are in “Pacco I”, Group 4 (§ 3). It is likely that Box 55 was at some point delivered by Botti to the papyrologists at the Istituto, as it consists almost exclusively of Greek material, and it was not found with the Pacchi. Conversely, the folders from “Pacco I”, Group 4, were designated as “work in progress,” which explains why they remained in Botti’s possession.

6. SEASON OF 1934/35

Records published by Guido Avezzù in 1977/78 document the division of papyri from the 1934/35 season between Florence and Padua and, to some extent, also their findspots (Table 8)⁴⁷. These data are notable, since there appear to be no substantial records about this transfer in Florence, and its extent would therefore be otherwise difficult to establish. It should be noted that the folders referenced by Avezzù were not from the field like those from “Pacco I” in Florence; the papyri in question were removed from boxes that had been filled with untreated fragments during the excavation, and then shipped to Padua. A number of these boxes were provided with information about the findspots, and fortunately whoever was responsible for the treatment and removal of the fragments took care to copy the relevant details whenever available.

⁴⁶ In a recommendation letter for E. Caudana, G. Botti states that she had worked on the more than 10000 fragments of Hieratic and Demotic papyri unearthed during the excavations of 1931 (“... dal 1935 al 1937 [...] [aveva] pure provveduto al restauro del considerevolissimo gruppo (oltre diecimila) di frammenti di papiri ieratici e demotici, scoperti nella campagna di scavo del 1931, dalla nostra Missione archeologica in Egitto diretta dal prof. Carlo Anti”); see the document published by Boffula Alimeni, *Quello che anche la papirologia deve a Giuseppe Botti*, I, pp. 173–174, pl. 1. The number of larger fragments restored by the hand of Caudana, and subsequently placed under glass, run into many hundreds, but with the petty fragments from Pacco II and Box 55 included, Botti’s figure is generally correct. In number may even exceed 20000 fragments.

⁴⁷ Avezzù, *Nuovi papiri della missione archeologica Anti-Bagnani*, pp. 192–196. For the identification and localisation of some of the findspots mentioned in Avezzù’s paper, cf. Deotto – Begg, in Deotto – Zanovello *et al.*, *I papiri di Tebtynis della missione Anti-Bagnani*, pp. 334–338, 345; Fiorillo, *Dall’infame inferno dei coccodrilli*, pp. 461–469; Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*. The most recent and comprehensive identification of the findspots is Fiorillo, *Catalogo*, pp. 19–21, pl. 4.

Table 8. Distribution list in Padua. 1934/35 season.

The cartonnage storeroom ("Magazzino cartonaggi")	
Padua list, nos. 7, 9-18, 23-24, 28, 117-126, 142-150.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
Padua list, nos. 1-6, 8, 19-22, 25-27, 29-31.	Given to Norsa in Florence.
Pyrgos ("Pyrgos", i.e. tower house)	
Padua list, nos. 101, 106-110, 167-187.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
Padua list, nos. 102-105, 161, 163-166.	Given to Norsa in Florence ⁽¹⁾ .
Tower house ("Casa torre"), 20.2.1935	
Padua list, nos. 127-141.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
Padua list, no. 162.	Given to Norsa in Florence ⁽¹⁾ .
Market place ("Horrea")	
Padua list, nos. 151-160, 189-190.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
Building north of the viaduct ("Edif. a N del viadotto"), 11.12.34	
Padua list, no. 188.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
Coal layer north of the viaduct ("Strato carbone a N del v."), 11.12.34	
Padua list, no. 191.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
From storeroom 10 ("Dal magazzino 10"), 28.1.35	
Padua list, no. 193.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
House of the Mirror ("Casa dello specchio")	
Padua list, no. 115.	Given to Norsa in Florence.
Cartonnage ("Cartonaggio")	
Padua list, no. 195 ⁽²⁾ . (box w. fragments).	Given to Norsa in Florence.
Without indicated provenance	
Padua list, nos. 32 "?", 192 "?".	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
Padua list, no. 196 documento intero (rotulo) (entire document, roll).	Given to Norsa in Florence.
Padua list, nos. 197-198.	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
Missing/unidentified items	
Padua list, nos. 33-100, 111-114, 116, 194 ⁽²⁾ .	
Further material	
68 scatole non numerate (68 unnumbered boxes).	Museo di Sc. Archeologiche e d'Arte, Padua.
2 papiri figurati ⁽³⁾ . (2 illustrated papyri).	Given to Bartoletti in Florence.
16 vetri con papiri di varia provenienza (16 frames with papyri of various provenance).	Istituto di Filologia Greca, Padua.
Frammenti minori di provenienza varia (Minor fragments of various provenance).	Given to Norsa in Florence.

Almost all of the material sent to Florence seems to have been removed from the original folders; some are PSI XIII 1310–1314, as Norsa mentioned in the introduction of the volume. G. Bastianini identified them with the “*papiri migliori*”, cited in a letter by Anti to Breccia; PSI XIII 1310, a large and elegant document with a sentence of the *chrematistai*, is probably the “entire document (roll)” registered as item no. 196 in Avezzù’s list⁴⁸. In the same letter, Anti points out that Norsa may still have had some of the papyri scheduled for publication; a number of pieces were lost in the bombing of her house on the 23 March 1944 – as Norsa herself recalls in PSI XIII.

Some further papyri can be identified through records at the Istituto:

(1) Four fragments marked *Tower House* (“Casa Torre”) were found in “Pacco I”, Group 2. The two main items have now been catalogued as PSI inv. D 136 and 139. They presumably formed part of no. 162 since this was the only item marked “Casa Torre” that was sent to Florence.

(2) Concerning nos. 194 and 195, there appears to be an error in the documentation published by Avezzù. No. 194 is listed as a box of cartonnage fragments given to Norsa in Florence, and no. 195 is not included. In fact, no. 194 remains in Padua and consists of a folder with fragments without any indication of provenance. No. 195 has, by contrast, been identified in Florence (cf. § 5.5 above) and consists of a box of fragments, which matches the description of no. 194 in Avezzù’s list. Hence it would appear that 194 is a slip of the pen for 195, and we have substituted the two numbers in the list accordingly. The cartonnage fragments presumably derive from the so-called cartonnage storeroom.

(3) The two illustrated papyri (“2 papiri figurati”) are PSI inv. 2557 (PSI XIV 1450) and 2558 (PSI XIV 1451). A document with acknowledgement of their receipt by Vittorio Bartoletti is dated 8 December 1953. They were published by Botti just a few years later, and have recently been re-edited⁴⁹. Botti explicitly states that the two papyri were found by Anti in 1931 together with numerous other Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic papyri, i.e., within the temple library deposit. This may well be correct, but the fact that they are now known to have been sent to Florence with material from the season of 1934/35 at least raises the possibility that the attribution of the papyri to the famous deposit might have been based on a false assumption or misunderstanding.

7. DATES WHEN PAPYRI WERE FOUND

In the following we provide lists of the dates where the discovery of papyri are recorded. These lists in effect represent a concordance of the lists already cited in Section 6 and discussed below in Section 8.

⁴⁸ Bastianini, *Papiri di Tebtynis*; the letter, sent by Anti to Breccia, is dated 22.6.1950. Norsa mentions the delivery of papyri from Padua in September 1942 in the introduction to PSI XIII (fasc. 1) and in the overview of PSI XIII 1310 (1948), but dating it to 1933/34; Bastianini believes it to be a simple slip of the pen or a misremembering for 1934/35. In fact, no other transfers from Padua to Florence are recorded, and the aforementioned letter specifies that the papyri were from Bagnani’s last campaign in Tebtynis, which is that of 1934/35.

⁴⁹ PSI XIV 1450, 1451 (1957), pp. 171–177, pl. IX; Ryholt, *Survey of Illustrated Papyri*, pp. 191–192, pl. 45.

7.1. SEASON OF 1928/29

We have found just two records relating to the 1928/29 season (§ 5.1, § 8.1). They provide no specific dates and are mentioned here merely for the sake of completeness.

7.2. SEASON OF 1930

All the fragments from the 1930 season were found during the three weeks spanning March 10–31, where new discoveries were made literally every day. From March 23 to 27, alongside the main excavation, Reis Ali conducted trial trenches to the north and south of the dig site; the principal findings from the north trenching included a furnished kitchen annexed to the peristyle building and some papyrus fragments⁵⁰. We have supplied the list with additional information from the excavation journal: this data is partially complementary and partially supplementary⁵¹.

Table 9. Dates of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1930.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
10.3.1930	Journal	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.
	Box 18, 1	—	—
11.3.1930	Box 18, 2	Scarico a ovest dello scavo nuovo;	Spoil to the west of the new excavation.
	Journal	Scavo nuovo. Scarico a ovest del muro dell'insula dei papiri.	New excavation. Spoil to the west of the wall of the papyri insula.
12.3.1930	Journal	Case Breccia. Scarico che riempie l'estremità ovest della strada a nord della casa principale.	Breccia houses. Spoil that fills the west end of the street north of the main house.
	Journal	Scavo nuovo.	New excavation.
	Box 18, 3	—	—
13.3.1930	Box 18, 4	Nuovo scavo e scarico a ovest.	New excavation and spoil to the west.
	Box 27, 1	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.
14.3.1930	Box 18, 5	—	—
	Box 18, 6	Nuovo scavo.	New excavation.
15.3.1930	Box 27, 2	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.
	Journal	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.
16.3.1930	Journal	Nuovo scavo.	New excavation.
	Journal	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.

⁵⁰ Cf. Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, pp. 270–272, 285.

⁵¹ Cf. Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, pp. 282–285. This information is marked as “journal” in the Table. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 212–219 for the location of the “Breccia Houses”, an area investigated by Breccia in 1929 (and re-excavated by Anti in 1930) on the central-west side of the *dromos*.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
17.3.1930	Box 18, 7	Nuovo scavo.	New excavation.
	Box 27, 3	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.
18.3.1930	Box 18, 8	Nuovo scavo.	New excavation.
	Journal	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.
	Box 27, 5 Journal	Iseo.	Iseion.
19.3.1930	Box 18, 9	Via del Tempio.	Road of the Temple.
	Box 18, 10	Nuovo scavo.	New excavation.
	Box 27, 6	Case Breccia.	Breccia houses.
20.3.1930	Box 27, 7	Iseo.	Iseion.
	Box 27, 8	C. Breccia (interno locali occidentali).	Breccia houses (inner side of the western rooms).
21.3.1930	Box 18, 11	Nuovo scavo.	New excavation.
	Box 27, 9	Iseo.	Iseion.
	Box 27, 10	Case Breccia specialm. lato est.	Breccia houses, especially east side.
22.3.1930	Box 27, 11-12	Iseo.	Iseion.
	Box 27, 13 Journal	Case Breccia – lato est.	Breccia houses – east side.
23.3.1930	Box 27, 14 Journal	Iseo.	Iseion.
	Box 42, 2	Saggio di Reis Ali a sud.	Reis Ali's south trial trenching.
	Box 42, 5	Saggio meridionale.	Southern trial trenching.
24.3.1930	Box 27, 15	Casa presso l'Iseo = casa dei papiri.	House near the Iseion = House of the Papyri
25.3.1930	Box 18, 12	Saggio di Reis Ali a nord delle case Breccia.	Reis Ali's trial trenching north of the Breccia houses.
	Box 27, 16	Punti vari della città.	Various points of the city.
	Box 27, 17	Casa presso l'Iseo = casa dei papiri.	House near the Iseion = House of the Papyri
26.3.1930	Box 18, 13	Saggio di Reis Ali a nord delle case Breccia.	Reis Ali's trial trenching north of the Breccia houses.
	Box 27, 18	Casa presso l'Iseo = casa dei papiri.	House near the Iseion = House of the Papyri
27.3.1930	Box 18, 14	Saggio di Reis Ali a nord delle case Breccia.	Reis Ali's trial trenching north of the Breccia houses.
28.3.1930	Box 27, 19	Casa presso il t. di Iside. Cantina (vano 2).	House near the Iseion. Cellar (2 nd room).

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
29.3.1930	Box 18, 15	Casa dalla scala di pietra = casa del decapitato.	House with the Stone Staircase = House of the Beheaded.
	Box 27, 20	2° vano della cantina.	2 nd room of the cellar.
	Box 27, 21	Punti vari della città.	Various points of the city.
30.3.1930	Box 27, 22	Casa della rete = piano superiore della Casa dalla scala di pietra = Casa del decapitato.	House of the net = upper floor of the House with the Stone Staircase = House of the Beheaded.
31.3.1930	Box 42, 3	Fra la porta dell'Iseo e quella della casa dalla scala di pietra.	Between the door of the Iseion and that of the House with the Stone Staircase.
—	Box 18, 16	Saggio di Reis Ali a nord dello scavo principale = casa della cucina, “insalata”.	Reis Ali's trial trenching north of the main excavation = House with the Kitchen, “salad”.
—	Box 15, 1	Saggio di Reis Ali a nord dello scavo principale = Casa della cucina – pezzi migliori.	Reis Ali's trial trenching north of the main excavation = House with the Kitchen – best pieces.

7.3. SEASON OF 1931

The fragments assigned to the 1931 season are recorded as having been discovered on January 11, February 24–26, March 3–9, and March 16–23, with a few days excluded in the two latter weeks⁵².

Table 10. Dates of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1931.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
11.1.1931	Group 5, 21bis	Papiro trovato l'11.1.31 nei quartieri centrali sgomberando le strade.	Papyrus discovered on 11.1.31 in the central quarters while clearing the streets.
11.1.1931	Box 19, 1	Papiro ritrovato l'11.1.31 sul pavimento del piano terreno della casa orientale che chiude il lato sud del mercato. [add:] = “deipneterion A”.	Papyrus found on 11.1.31 on the ground floor of the eastern house that closes the south side of the marketplace. [add:] = “Deipneterion A”.

⁵² Folders 21ter and 24bis are not dated. The date of folder 21ter emerges from a contemporary letter, as mentioned above, and that of folder 24bis from folder 24.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
11.1.1931	Box 19, 2	Frammenti di papiro trovati l'11.1.31 sul pavimento del piano terreno della casa orientale che chiude il lato sud del mercato. [add:] = "deipneterion A".	Papyrus fragments found on 11.1.31 on the ground floor of the eastern house that closes the south side of the marketplace. [add:] = "Deipneterion A".
[11.1.1931]	Group 5, 21 ^{ter}	Fr. papiro: fra il tempio C e la casa a sud.	Papyrus fragments: between Temple C and the house to the south.
24.2.1931	Group 5, 21	Gran Tempio. Papiri trovati nella stanza a destra della porta occidentale. 24.2.31. Tutti greci.	Great Temple. Papyri discovered in the room right of the western gate. 24.2.31. All Greek.
25.2.1931	Group 5, 18	Cortile[?] ^(sic) nell'angolo NO del Gr. Tempio e vani a SE da questo.	Great Temple, courtyard[?] ^(sic) of the north-western corner of the great temple and the rooms south-east of the same.
26.2.1931	Group 5, 15	[Gran Tempio, angolo nord-est] Stanze A, B.	[Great Temple, north-western corner], Rooms A, B.
[3.3.1931]	Group 5, 24 ^{bis}	Gr. Tempio. Ambiente del forno nella casa a sud del deipneterion.	Great Temple, room with the oven in the house south of the deipneterion.
3.3.1931	Group 5, 24	Gran Tempio. Ambienti vari della casa dal fornello a sud del deipneterion.	Great Temple. Various rooms of the House with the Small Oven south of the deipneterion.
3.3.1931	Box 23.1	Dall'androne a volta tra la casa dei setacci e il deipneterion. 3.3.31. Angolo SO.	From the vaulted hall between the House of the Sieves and the deipneterion. 3.3.31. South-west corner. [cf. above].
4.3.1931	Group 5, 20	Gr. T. Casa a sud di quella con il forno (rotolino).	Great Temple. House south of the one with the oven (including small roll).
5.3.1931	Group 5, 22 ^{bis}	Gr. Tempio. Ambienti dell'angolo interno NE.	Great Temple, Rooms of the inner north-eastern corner.
6.3.1931	Group 5, 16	Gr. Tempio, davanti alla porta sud della casetta a sud del deipneterion.	Great Temple, in front of the south door of the small house south of the deipneterion.
6.3.1931	Group 5, 17	G. Tempio, dalla cantina ad ovest del 2° pilone.	Great Temple, from the cellar west of the 2 nd pylon.
8.3.1931	Group 5, 22	Gr. Tempio – lato est, presso il muro di cinta ad est della cantinetta con lo sportello [= vano 9].	Great Temple, east side, near the border wall east of the small cellar with the door [= Room 9].
8.3.1931	Group 5, 19	Gr. Tempio. Ambienti merid. da est. [add:] = Vani 3 e 6 giorn. di scavo.	Great Temple, east side, southern rooms. [add:] Rooms 3 and 6 of the excavation journal.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
9.3.1931	Group 5, 23bis	Gr. T. lato est. Casetta dalle 3 cantine a sud di quella con la serratura. I papiri provengono dal pozzetto C. [add:] = 7 del giornale di scavo.	Great Temple, east side. Small house with three cellars south of the one with the door lock. Papyri from pit C. [add:] Room 7 of the excavation journal.
9.3.1931	Group 5, 23	Gr. T. lato est. Dalla 3a stanza a sud di quella con la cantina dalla serratura. [add:] = 3 del giorn. di scavo.	Great Temple, east side. Third room south of the one with the cellar with a door lock. [add:] Room 3 of the excavation journal.
9.3.1931	Group 5, 27	Gr T. lato est. Stanze varie a S e a N della cantina con la serratura. [add:] = vani 8 e 10 del giorn. di scavo.	Great Temple, east side. Rooms north and south of the cellar with the door lock. [add:] Rooms 8 and 10 of the excavation journal.
9.3.1931	Group 5, 28	Gr T. lato est. 2a e 3a stanza a nord della cantinetta con la serratura. [add:] = vani 12-13 del giorn. di scavo.	Great Temple, east side, second and third rooms north of the small cellar with the door lock. [add:] = Rooms 12 and 13 of the excavation journal.
10.3.1931	Temple library deposit: numerous frames and folders	"10 Marzo. Si esplorano gli ambienti 18-19. Le cantine fe g di 16 si trovano intatte e zeppe di papiri" ⁵³ .	"Tuesday 10 (...) We had been working on some houses on the east wall of the temenos of the Temple (...). We got down to two small cellars side by side (...) the cellar had been filled practically to the top with papyri" ⁵⁴ .
11.3.1931	Box 15, 2	Gr. Tempio lato est 11.3.31 vano no. 2: piano soprastante alla cantina.	Great Temple, east side 11.3.31 room no. 2: floor above the cellar.
16.3.1931	Group 5, 6	Gr. T. lato est. Ambienti a nord di 20.	Great Temple, east side, Rooms north of Room 20.
16.3.1931	Group 5, 5	Framm. copti e arabi dal quartiere NE (acquisto).	Coptic and Arabic fragments from north-eastern district (acquired).
18.3.1931	Group 5, 8	Gr. T. lato est. Sporadici.	Great Temple, east side. Isolated.
18.3.1931	Group 5, 26	Gr. Tempio. Sporadici.	Great Temple. Isolated.
19.3.1931	Group 5, 2	Gr. Tempio lato est. Ultimi vani a sud.	Great Temple, east side. Last rooms to the south.

⁵³ From Anti's journal entry, cf. Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, p. 356.

⁵⁴ From Bagnani's letter dated 11.3.31, cf. Begg, *'It was Wonderful'*, pp. 189-190.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
19.3.1931	Group 5, 3	Gr. Tempio, lato ovest. Sporadici.	Great Temple, west side. Isolated.
19.3.1931	Group 5, 4	Gr. T., lato ovest. Sporadici.	Great Temple, west side. Isolated.
20.3.1931	Group 5, 9	Gr. Tempio, lato ovest. Vano 6.	Great Temple, west side. Room 6.
23.3.1931	Group 5, 11	Gr. T., lato ovest. Estremi ambienti merid.	Great Temple, west side. Southernmost rooms.
—	Group 5, 1	Gr. T., lato ovest. Cantina A del vano 15.	Great Temple, west side. Building 15, cellar A.
—	Group 5, 10	Gr. T., lato ovest. Cantina 15 B.	Great Temple, west side. Building 15, cellar B.

7.4. SEASON OF 1934

The limited information relating to the 1934 season is confined to the month of February and explicitly cites only the dates of February 21 and 26. The records are arranged according to the “T 34” numbers below.

Table 11. Dates of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1934.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
21.2.1934	PSI inv. 3022 (T 34/35)	Dall'immondezzaio della casa del forno	From the rubbish dump of the House with the Kiln
21.2.1934	PSI inv. 3023 (T 34/39)	Dall'immondezzaio della casa del forno	From the rubbish dump of the House with the Kiln
21.2.1934	PSI inv. 1511 ⁵⁵	—	—
No date	Box 5 (T 34/81)	Dal deipneterion.	From the deipneterion.
February 1934	Box 12 (T 34/82)	Dalla parte rovinata dietro casa N.	From the ruined side behind house N.
February 1934	Box 4 (T 34/85)	Da fuori la porta della casa principale dell'insula.	From outside the door of the main house of the insula.
26.2.1934	Box 11 (T 34/86)	Due prime camere della casa principale della insula 1°.	First two rooms of the main house of the 1 st insula.

⁵⁵ The date is noted on the edge of the frame. Hickey, *Tebtunis on the Arno*, p. 80, relates this contract, on the basis of the date, to the southern half of the (still undiscovered at that time) *Insula dei papii*. He suggests more specifically that PSI inv. 1511 might belong to the archive of Philosarapis son of Lysimachos (= TM Arch 192), discovered in the same area, which is in part in the PSI collection. The boxes dated to 1934 are currently under study to determine whether they contain any fragments pertaining to the same archive.

7.5. SEASON OF 1934/35

The limited information relating to the season of 1934/35 records the dates of December 11 and 18, January 28, and February 20⁵⁶.

Table 12. Dates of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1934/35.

Date	Reference	Provenienza	Provenance
11.12.1934	Padua list, no. 188.	Edif. a N del viadotto.	Building north of the viaduct.
11.12.1934	Padua list, no. 191.	Strato carbone a N del v.	Coal layer north of the viaduct.
18.12.1934	Absent from the Padua list.	Scarico dietro la quarta taberna.	Spoil behind the fourth tavern.
28.1.1935	Padua list, no. 193.	Dal magaz. 10 a N della casa del gaphir.	From storeroom 10 north of the house of the ghâfir.
20.2.1935	Padua list, nos. 127-141, 162.	Casa torre.	Tower house.

8. LIST OF LOCATIONS WHERE PAPYRI WERE FOUND

We here sum up the list of locations where papyri were discovered according to the records discussed above. We have not excerpted the information already available in the preliminary reports from the excavation, but have occasionally cross-referenced it, and the commentary is deliberately brief. Some aspects of the finds will be explored in more detail elsewhere.

8.1. SEASON OF 1928/29

The papyrus finds of the 1928/29 season were considered disappointing and only vague indications were provided in the preliminary report⁵⁷. Breccia mentions some “très petits et presque inutilisables” fragments found in a layer of *afsh* on the western side of the Kôm and “quelques rares fragments de papyrus” at a partially excavated building on the south-west side. Within a group of houses near the interior of the western quarter were found “quelques pièces utilisables”. Some additional information is provided in a later report by Botti who records that a group of eight Demotic oracle questions were found at the southern end of the Kôm, not far from the temple of Suchos (“*rinvenuti all'estremità sud del Kôm, poco distante dal tem-*

⁵⁶ Details of the discoveries of December 18 and January 28, absent from the Padua report, can be found in Fiorillo, *Dall'«infame inferno dei coccodrilli»*, pp. 461-469; cf. also Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*.

⁵⁷ Breccia, *Rapport sur les fouilles*, pp. 22-23 (reprinted in Breccia, *Le Musée*, p. 62).

pio di Suchos)⁵⁸. The context of these papyri has recently been analysed by Gallazzi who demonstrates that the findspot was the area of a large building just outside the western enclosure wall of the temple⁵⁹.

Some – and perhaps all – of the demotic and hieratic papyri from this season were handed over to Botti for study and were subsequently inventoried by him at the Museo Egizio of Florence, as donations by the Istituto. They include ME 8690 (donated in 1938), the aforementioned group of eight oracle questions ME 8700–8707 and ME 10486–10489 (all donated in 1942)⁶⁰.

The Greek papyri presumably remained at the Istituto, but only a few can now be identified. As regards provenance, the only new information we have identified (Table 13) mentions “a house near the centre” which might belong to the above-mentioned group of houses. The remaining papyri were acquired (Box 43).

Table 13. Location of papyrus discovery. Season of 1928/29.

Provenance	Date	Reference
A house near the center.	1928/29	Box 30, 2

8.2. SEASON OF 1930

A number of the papyri found during the season of 1930 are ascribed to the *new excavation*, i.e. the main area explored by Anti that season⁶¹. This area was located in the southwest of the city, west of the *dromos* of the temple behind the deipneterion. Another group is ascribed to the *Breccia houses*, which is the area investigated by Breccia in 1928/29. Apparently Anti continued the excavations in this vicinity, or explored what had already been uncovered by Breccia in more detail. Some of the papyri were found in the spoil from the preceding season.

Only a limited number of papyri were provided with a more specific context. The main group derives from three adjoining houses, viz. House 12 (also known as the *House with the Stone Staircase* and *House of the beheaded*), House 13 (also known as *House near the Iseion* and *House of the Papyri*), and House 14 (also known as the *Iseion*)⁶². These buildings formed part of a larger block of houses west of the dro-

⁵⁸ Botti, *Biglietti per l'oracolo di Soknebtynis*, p. 12.

⁵⁹ Gallazzi, *I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis*, pp. 131–132.

⁶⁰ For further details, see Cariddi, *The Papyri of the 1931 Tebtunis Campaign*, § 6.3 and § 6.4.

⁶¹ The location of the *new excavation* is indicated by Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, p. 204, in an aerial photograph of the site from 1935/36. Some further details on this location and the “Case Breccia” are offered in a partial, marked-up draft of a letter from Anti to Breccia, dated 21 June 1930, aimed at compiling material for the final excavation report the final report on the excavation: see Strassi, *Appendici. I*, no. 3 p. 347.

⁶² The three houses are discussed by Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, pp. 234–248, 294–295, with plans and images.

mos within the *new excavation*⁶³. The so-called archive of Heron son of Herakleides is elsewhere said to have been discovered within one of these houses⁶⁴. The latter is perhaps to be identified with House 13 given its designation as *House of the Papyri*, which suggests that it was the source of the main group of papyri found in this area.

The journal from the season occasionally mentions the discovery of papyri, but the record is clearly incomplete when compared to the folders⁶⁵. It records a series of fragments that are generally ascribed to the new excavation and the Breccia houses, including the spoil from the earlier excavations. However, it makes no mention of the discoveries within the above-mentioned block of houses apart from House 14. Concerning the latter, it is apparently only recorded that fragments were found on the first day of excavation, March 18 (corresponding to Box 27, 5), and that more fragments – as well as two ostraca – were found in March 23 (corresponding to Box 27, folder 14)⁶⁶. Similarly, the journal states that “various fragments of papyri” were collected during Reis Ali’s trial trenching towards the north, and it provides a list of finds from the *House with the Kitchen*, but it does not mention that any of these papyri were actually found inside that building; presumably because these fragments were mere “insalata”⁶⁷.

Table 14. Locations of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1930.

New excavation (“nuovo scavo”, var. “scavo nuovo”)		
From the spoil to the west of new excavation.	11.3.1930	Box 18, 2
		Box 42, 1
		Journal
New excavation and spoil to the west.	13.3.1930	Box 18, 4
	12.3.1930	Journal
	15.3.1930	Box 18, 6
	16.3.1930	Journal
	17.3.1930	Box 18, 7
no further indication.	18.3.1930	Box 18, 8
	19.3.1930	Box 18, 10
	21.3.1930	Box 18, 11

⁶³ Cf. Begg, *‘It was Wonderful’*, pp. 186–187.

⁶⁴ TM Arch 615 only ascribes PSI X 1138, 1140, 1141 and 1142 to the archive, while Vitelli explicitly says that PSI X 1129, 1133 and 1136–1142 were from the house in question. The archive is also briefly mentioned in the preliminary report (Anti, *Scavi della missione archeologica Italiana* (a) p. 296; Anti, *Scavi della missione archeologica Italiana* (b), p. 18; Anti, *Archeologia d’oltremare III*, p. 1061), but the context is not specified.

⁶⁵ Cf. Deotto, *L’Università di Padova in Egitto*, pp. 282–285. This information is marked as “journal” in the Table.

⁶⁶ Cf. Deotto, *L’Università di Padova in Egitto*, p. 245.

⁶⁷ Cf. Deotto, *L’Università di Padova in Egitto*, pp. 285–286.

The block of 'Breccia houses' ("Case Breccia")		
Spoil that fills the west end of the street north of the main house.	12.3.1930	Journal
Inner side of western rooms.	20.3.1930	Box 27, 8
Especially east side.	21.3.1930	Box 27, 10
East side.	22.3.1930	Box 27, 13
no further indication.	10.3.1930	Journal
	13.3.1930	Box 27, 1
	15.3.1930	Box 27, 2
	16.3.1930	Journal
	17.3.1930	Box 27, 3
	18.3.1930	Box 27, 4 Journal
	19.3.1930	Box 27, 6
	22.3.1930	Journal
House 12: House with the Stone Staircase / House of the Beheaded ("Casa 12 / Casa dalla scala di pietra / casa del decapitato")		
Between the door of the Iseion and that of the House with the Stone Staircase.	31.3.1930	Box 42, 4 and 5
Between the door of the Iseion and the door of the House of the Beheaded.	no date	Box 42, 6, 8 and 8
no further indication.	29.3.1930	Box 18, 15
House 13: House near the Iseion / House of the Papyri ("Casa 13 / Casa presso l'Iseo / Casa dei papiri")		
Cellar, 2 nd room.	28.3.1930	Box 27, 19
no further indication.	24.3.1930	Box 27, 15
	25.3.1930	Box 27, 17
	26.3.1930	Box 27, 18
House 14: Iseion ("Casa 14 / Iseo")		
Between the door of the Iseion and that of the House with the Stone Staircase.	31.3.1930	Box 42, 4 and 5
Between the door of the Iseion and that of the House of the Beheaded.	no date	Box 42, 6, 8 and 8
no further indication.	18.3.1930	Box 27, 5 Journal
	20.3.1930	Box 27, 7
	21.3.1930	Box 27, 9
	22.3.1930	Box 27, 11-12
	23.3.1930	Box 27, 14 Journal

From the road of the temple ("dalla via del Tempio")		
no further indication.	19.3.1930	Box 18, 9
Reis Ali's trial trenching to the south ("Saggio di Reis Ali a sud")		
no further indication.	23.3.1930	Box 42, 3
Southern trial trenching ("Saggio meridionale")		
no further indication.	22.3.1930	Box 42, 5
Reis Ali's trial trenching north of the block of Breccia houses ("Saggio di Reis Ali a nord delle case Breccia")		
House with the Kitchen.	no date	Box 18, 16
	no date	Box 15, 1
	25.3.1930	Box 18, 12
no further indication.	26.3.1930	Box 18, 13
	27.3.1930	Box 18, 14
From various points of the city ("da punti vari della città")		
no further indication.	25.3.1930	Box 27, 16
	29.3.1930	Box 27, 21
Just labelled 'papyri'		
no further indication.	10.3.1930	Box 18, 1
	12.3.1930	Box 18, 3

8.3. SEASON OF 1931

The finds during the 1931 season include the famous temple library deposit⁶⁸ and other important material that call for a more detailed analysis in the light of the records presented in this preliminary report, and further sources are currently being prepared for publication. The archaeological context and nature of this material will therefore be discussed in forthcoming papers. Suffice it to mention here that most of the papyri were found in the buildings along the inside of the temenos, which was the main object of exploration that season.

The main discoveries were made along the eastern enclosure wall, with some additional finds in the north-western corner and along the western wall. The most important was the remains of a temple library that had been deposited within Cellars F and G of Building 32. It preserved thousands of fragments which filled more

⁶⁸ Recent discussions of the nature of the temple library deposit are Gallazzi, *I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis*, pp. 143-146, and Ryholt, *Libraries*, pp. 397-400.

than 700 frames and envelopes after they had been treated. Further fragments, some evidently connected to the deposit, were discovered in the vicinity, especially the area to the south. Their number was far more limited and they mainly consisted of minor pieces. Bagnani describes these discoveries as consisting of no more than 'bits of papyri'⁶⁹, and the whole material only filled around ten folders, a few small cigarette boxes, and probably two small metal boxes (Box 15 and 19).

The many thousands of fragments from the main temple library deposit were originally kept separate from the other papyri, but the distinction between papyri from the cellars and from elsewhere in the area now poses a problem. The finds from the temple library deposit had been packed into four suitcases, and the bulk was subsequently placed under glass by Botti in Florence. These frames constitute the vast majority of the more than five hundred frames with Egyptian fragments that were numbered after Botti's death. Unfortunately, some fragments in frames not from the temple library were mixed in during this process. The unrelated material is evidently rather limited, since no major finds were reported that season apart from the deposit, and some of it can be readily identified, such as fragments of Ptolemaic date and a couple of frames with fragments explicitly labelled as coming from el-Hibeh. Moreover, there is a very large number of minute fragments that were evidently sorted, but placed in folders instead of glass. "Pacco II" preserves 182 numbered folders with Egyptian fragments (§ 4), whereas Box 55 preserves 52 folders with Greek fragments (§ 5.5). As we have argued above, these were almost certainly fragments from the temple library deposit considered too insignificant for framing.

Other, smaller discoveries were made elsewhere, but in most cases we have no other details than what the annotations themselves provide. The papyri discovered near Deipneterion C (Temple C) are described in one contemporary letter from Bagnani as "a few bits of papyri", while in another he regrets that after the excavation of this area the mission had still not found any papyri worth mentioning⁷⁰. On March 3 the *House with the Oven* was excavated and Bagnani was happy to report that the missions "began getting some quite large papyri"⁷¹. These larger papyri will almost certainly have been removed for study after their arrival in Florence and, since the notes about findspots were mostly not retained for the items placed under glass, they cannot be readily identified at present. A few smaller fragments from the house are still preserved in Folder 24; Envelope 24*bis*, which refers to the same building, is empty.

⁶⁹ Letter from Bagnani to his wife dated 11.3.1931, cited by Begg, *It was Wonderful*, p. 189: "We had been working on some houses on the east wall of the temenos of the Temple and had been finding bits of papyri".

⁷⁰ Cf. Begg, *It was Wonderful*, pp. 187-188.

⁷¹ Cf. Begg, *It was Wonderful*, p. 189.

A seemingly limited number of papyri were acquired.⁷² These include a group of fragments from the north-eastern part of the town (Group 5, 5); presumably the provenance was provided by the seller. The fragments are described as Coptic and Arabic, but what now remains inside the folder is mainly Hieratic and Demotic. This was evidently not the only acquisition, since four papyri in “Pacco I” are explicitly said to have been acquired by Anti and to derive from the temple area (cf. § 3). A Demotic oracle question published by Botti is similarly said to have been acquired by Anti in 1931⁷³; this papyrus, by contrast, likely came from the south-western part of the town, more specifically from an area just west of the temenos of the temple⁷⁴. No provenance is provided for the envelope of fragments acquired by fellahin near Tebtynis in 1928/29 (cf. § 5.1).

Table 15. Locations of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1931.

Eastern side of the temple		
North of Building 30: Rooms north of room 20.	16.3.1931	Group 5, 6
Building 32, Room B, Cellars F and G.	10.3.1931	500+ frames 180+ folders
Building 33, Rooms A and B: Rooms 12 and 13 = 2 nd and 3 rd rooms north of the small cellar with the door lock.	9.3.1931	Group 5, 28
Building 34, Room A & Building 35, Room D: Rooms 8 and 10 = Various rooms north and south of the cellar with the door lock.	9.3.1931	Group 5, 27
Building 34, Room B: Room 9 = Near the border wall east of the small cellar with the door.	8.3.1931	Group 5, 22
Building 35, Room E: Room 7 = Small house with three cellars south of the one with the door lock. Papyri from pit C.	9.3.1931	Group 5, 23 ^{bis}
Building 35, Rooms D and F-G: Rooms 3 and 6 = Southern area.	8.3.1931	Group 5, 19
Building 35, Room F-G: Room 3 = Third room south of the one with the cellar with a door lock.	9.3.1931	Group 5, 23
Building 36: Room 2, floor above the cellar.	11.3.1931	Box 15, 2

⁷² *Contra* Gallazzi, *Lo scavo di una discarica*, p. 189, where it was stated that no evidence exists of purchases made by Anti. The possibility of purchasing papyri was, in fact, anticipated by the provider of the funds, as mentioned in a letter by Vitelli and Norsa to Anti dated to 29 January 1931: «it is not excluded that it may appear appropriate for you to pay a visit to the merchants of Cairo or Faiûm (*non è escluso che possa sembrare opportuna una Sua corsa dai negozianti del Cairo o del Faiûm*)». Edited in Strassi, *Lettere dal carteggio*, n. 9, p. 637.

⁷³ Botti, *Biglietti per l'oracolo di Soknebtynis*, p. 12. This papyrus has subsequently entered the Museo Egizio in Florence as ME 11914: cf. Ryholt's entry “Cat. 19” in Cafici, *Tebtunis in Italian Museums*, pp. 115–116.

⁷⁴ Gallazzi, *I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis*, pp. 131–132.

Building 36: Room 1.	No date	Box 15
Last rooms to the south.	19.3.1931	Group 5, 2
Isolated finds.	18.3.1931	Group 5, 8
North-eastern part of the temple		
Rooms of the inner north-eastern corner.	5.3.1931	Group 5, 22 <i>bis</i>
Western side of the temple		
Building 76, Room A: Room 6.	20.3.1931	Group 5, 9
Building 72, Room B, eastern cellar: Room 15, cellar A.	no date	Group 5, 1
Building 72, Room B, western cellar: Room 15, cellar B.	no date	Group 5, 10
Southernmost rooms.	23.3.1931	Group 5, 11
Isolated finds.	19.3.1931	Group 5, 3-4
North-western part of the temple		
Room to the right of the western gate.	24.2.1931	Group 5, 21
Courtyard[?] of the north-western corner of the great temple and the rooms south-east of the same.	25.2.1931	Group 5, 18
Rooms A and B.	26.2.1931	Group 5, 15
Room with the oven in the house south of the deipneterion.	[3.3.1931]	Group 5, 24 <i>bis</i>
Various rooms of the House with the Small Oven.	3.3.1931	Group 5, 24
House south of the one with the oven.	4.3.1931	Group 5, 20
In front of the south door of the small house south of the deipneterion.	6.3.1931	Group 5, 16
From the vaulted hall between the House of the Sieves and the deipneterion ... South-west corner.	3.3.1931	Box 23.1
From the cellar west of the 2 nd pylon.	6.3.1931	Group 5, 17
Inside temple, no further specification		
Isolated finds.	18.3.1931	Group 5, 26
Deipneterion A		
Ground floor of the eastern house that closes the south side of the marketplace.	11.1.1931	Box 19, 1-2
Deipneterion C (/Temple C)		
Between Temple C and the house to the south.	[11.1.1931]	Group 5, 21 <i>ter</i>
Found elsewhere outside the temple		
Discovered ... in the central quarters while clearing the streets.	11.1.1931	Group 5, 21 <i>bis</i>
Coptic and Arabic fragments from the north-eastern district ("Framm. copti e arabi dal quartiere NE")		
Purchased.	16.3.1931	Group 5, 5

8.4. SEASON OF 1934

This section covers only the papyri found during the first four weeks of excavation, since the records in Florence shed no light on the material subsequently discovered, virtually all of which went to Milan⁷⁵. The available information is quite limited and confined to three discoveries at a deipneterion and at two buildings referred to as the *Main house of the insula* and *House N*. In his preliminary report, Bagnani mentions the discovery of a “number of papyri” in one of the deipneteria east of the two insulae⁷⁶. He does not specify which one, except to say that it was not the very long one that measured 7 by 25 metres; hence they must have found either in the other large deipneterion immediately to the south or in one of the smaller ones to the north.

Table 16. Locations of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1934.

The House with the Kiln (“La casa del forno”)			
From the rubbish dump of the House with the Kiln.	T 34/35	21 February 1934	PSI inv. 3022
From the rubbish dump of the House with the Kiln.	T 34/39	21 February 1934	PSI inv. 3023
Deipneterion (“Deipneterion”)			
From the deipneterion.	T 34/81	no date	Box 5
The main house of the 1 st insula (“Casa principale della insula 1 ^a ”)			
First two rooms of the main house of the 1st insula.	T 34/82	February 1934	Box 12
From outside the main door of the main house of the 1st insula.	T 34/85	February 1934	Box 4
House N (“Casa N”)			
From the ruined side behind House N.	T 34/86	26 February 1934	Box 11

8.5. SEASON OF 1934/35

The findspots from the 1934/35 season cited by the report by Avezzù are listed in the table below, to which a frame in Padua and a group from “Pacco I” in Florence have been added. They are discussed and partially identified in two separate papers, which draw on additional unpublished records and add some further details⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ For the ‘cantina dei papiri’, see Gallazzi, *La ‘cantina dei papiri’*, pp. 283–288.

⁷⁶ Bagnani, *Gli scavi di Tebtynis*, p. 381.

⁷⁷ Fiorillo, *Dall’«infame inferno dei coccodrilli»*, pp. 461–469; Ryholt, *Report on the Find Spots*.

Table 17. Locations of papyrus discoveries. Season of 1934/35.

The cartonnage storeroom ("Magazzino cartonaggi").
Padua list, nos. 1-31, 117-126, 142-150.
Pyrgos ("Pyrgos"), i.e. tower house.
Padua list, nos. 101-110, 161, 163-187.
Florence, "Pacco I", Group 2.
Tower house. ("Casa Torre"), 20.2.1935.
Padua list, nos. 127-141, 162.
Market place. ("Horrea").
Padua list, nos. 151-160, 189-190.
Building north of the viaduct. ("Edif. a N del viadotto"), 11.12.34.
Padua list, no. 188.
Coal layer north of the viaduct. ("Strato carbone a N del v."), 11.12.34.
Padua list, no. 191.
From storeroom 10 north of the house of the ghâfir. ("Dal magazzino 10 a N della casa del gaphir"), 28.1.35.
Padua list, no. 193.
House of the Mirror ("Casa dello specchio").
Padua list, no. 115.
Cartonnage ("Cartonaggio").
Padua list, no. 195. (cited as '194').
Spoil behind the fourth tavern. ("Scarico dietro la quarta taberna").
Frame with fragments in Padua; original no. lost.

9. SOME CHALLENGES

While it has proven possible to identify a great deal of information about the exact findspots of papyri during the excavations at Tebtynis, certain factors hinder full exploitation of this evidence. The most critical is the fact that a substantial number of fragments have been separated, over the years, from the information recorded by the archaeologists. Colleagues interested in archaeological context will know that this, unfortunately, is a general problem affecting most collections⁷⁸. Disassociation has often been caused by items being sorted out of their original storage to be in-

⁷⁸ The same is true in relation to material acquired on the antiquities market. The records of the original transactions are often no longer preserved, and material from different acquisitions within the same institution has not always been kept apart.

ventoried or studied, especially in the past, when many editors were less aware of the importance of archaeological context.

The disassociation began soon after the arrival of the four suitcases in Florence. The papyri would naturally be surveyed but, to Botti's frustration, many of the Greek documents, some of them re-used for Demotic and Hieratic texts, had been removed without noting down where they came from. As a result, he noted in a letter to Volten, the provenance of all these fragments was lost⁷⁹. A recently published series of letters reveals that between December 1 and 6, 1931, Norsa selected 34 pieces from the suitcases, 22 of which were later published in PSI X⁸⁰. Although the suitcases were supposed to be transferred to Turin immediately after that date, they were never retrieved, and remained in Florence; eventually, they were relocated to the Biblioteca Laurenziana, though the exact timing remains unknown. Consequently, it is unclear whether Norsa and Vitelli had consistent access to the materials before their handing over to Botti in the summer of 1933. It is sometimes difficult even to identify which fragments came from Tebtynis, and the challenge has not been diminished by the fact that some of them were later thought to derive from the excavations at Oxyrhynchus and were therefore labelled accordingly⁸¹. In some cases, it has been possible to identify mislabelled or unprovenanced fragments as belonging to manuscripts with a recorded provenance⁸², and in other cases the provenance is suggested by text internal criteria.

The extraction of fragments from the annotated folders and boxes continued for decades. The main object of transfer were the Greek texts, and as a result, relatively few fragments of substantial size or immediate interest remain in their original storage.

⁷⁹ Letter from A. Volten to H.O. Lange dated 30 March 1938.

⁸⁰ Edited in Strassi, *Lettere dal carteggio*, n. 35, p. 656. The arrival of the 1931 papyri in Florence and their subsequent transfers and issues with the documentation are discussed in Cariddi, *The Papyri of the 1931 Tebtunis Campaign*, § 6.2.1-2, pp. 64-67.

⁸¹ Hickey, *Tebtunis on the Arno*, pp. 68-69.

⁸² An example is afforded by PSI inv. 1439 and 2185 which are said to come from Oxyrhynchus. Both of them join directly to the remains of a papyrus from the temple library deposit: Ryholt, *New Fragments of the Story of Chasheshonqy*. In order to explain the incorrect labelling, it was suggested in this edition (p. 490, note 8) that these fragments might have been acquired independently, along with papyri from Oxyrhynchus, but, in light of the new information now available, it seems clear that they belong to the Tebtynis material that had been sorted out because of the Greek texts on the *recto*. See also several Greek PSI pieces that are probably mislabelled as from Oxyrhynchus, instead of Tebtynis, in Hickey, *Tebtunis on the Arno*, p. 69. Some of Hickey's conclusions, however, have been reconsidered by R. Carlesimo, *A proposito della provenienza di PSI Il. 21*, in this volume. In particular, the assumption that a mix-up of papyri from Tebtynis and Oxyrhynchus may have occurred in Cairo, where items from both excavations of 1931 and 1932 were presumed to have arrived around the same time, can now be disproven with newly edited documents showing that the crate with the suitcases and the rest of the Tebtynis 1931 papyri reached Florence in August 1931 (see Cariddi, *The papyri from the 1931 Tebtunis campaign*, p. 64) while the Oxyrhynchus 1931/32 campaign began in December 1931. The question of the mislabelling of numerous pieces from Tebtynis to Oxyrhynchus will be discussed in depth by M. Stroppa in *PSI da Tebtynis*, forthcoming.

It is difficult to quantify the amount of material that was removed, but it was clearly considerable. To give an example, one folder contains a single Hieratic fragment and the note that “all the others are Greek” (“Pacco I”, Group 5, Folder 18); all of the latter fragments were later removed and none of them can currently be identified.

A further problem is the fact that material has, at least on one occasion, been moved between folders, and the contents have thus effectively been contaminated in relation to the original labelling. This is the case with the contents of two envelopes (Group 5, 21*bis* and 21*ter*), which contained material from two different places that was moved to a folder that originally contained material from yet a third place (Group 5, 21). Given that Envelope 21 was annotated as “all Greek”, it is possible that Envelopes 21*bis* and 21*ter* also contained Greek material and their items were thus collectively transferred to the Istituto, with their current identification no longer traceable. In another case, the folder (Group 5, 5) consists of an assortment of Hieratic and Demotic fragments, but the contents are labelled as Arabic and Coptic. This indicates that the folder was either reused, without changing the original annotation, or that the annotation did not accurately record the contents.

The set of frames labelled “Anti 31” and “May 1997” (now PSI vetri 700ff and 800ff) and those linked to an unspecified “Tebtynis box”, as covered in § 5.3, present a further number of issues. Andorlini inconsistently referred to uninventoried material from the 1931 campaign as originating from a “package of the Anti 1931 excavations” and “the Tebtynis box”; as already noted, it is possible that both terms alluded to a general “bundle” from that excavation, containing the Pacchi and collections of unrestored materials. Alternatively, the “Tebtynis box”, always cited in the singular, might correspond to the modern Box 15 or Box 19, with Box 15 being the more likely candidate. Its contents were in fact excavated the day after the deposit was found, in a building immediately adjacent to it, thus making it a plausible source of fragments with strong connections with the deposit, such as PSI vetri 700ff/800ff and the series of unnumbered frames “from the Tebtynis box”. Another possibility is that Boxes 29.1 and 29.2, which still contain unprocessed material from the field, are the remains of the “Tebtynis box”. However, it is not possible to ascertain whether these untreated fragments were part of Vitelli and Norsa’s selection from the suitcases, or whether they derive from the envelopes and boxes with the fragments excavated elsewhere along the temenos, which may also have been sorted through by the two papyrologists. All these hypotheses remain must remain tentative for now. While the analysis has provided probable evidence that the uninventoried items in question derive from the 1931 excavation, it cannot be determined whether they belong to the deposit itself.

It is also important to note that Boxes 15 and 19, with fragments from the 1931 campaign, were likely not handed over to Botti, since their contents were not restored and placed in folders like the rest of the material at his disposal, but remained untreated. This seems to indicate that the boxes were separated from the suitcases before the Egyptian papyri were entrusted to Botti in 1933 and that they remained at the Istituto.

The vast majority of the fragments in the series of frames produced by Botti derives from the temple library deposit. As already remarked, these frames were mixed up after his death with a limited number of frames containing unrelated material. Perhaps more important is the fact that a substantial number of the fragments among this series of frames in fact came from Copenhagen and thus derives from the antiquities market. Botti and Volten had recognized that numerous papyri were split between the two collections and obtained permission from their superiors to exchange fragments of such papyri in order to facilitate their restoration and study. In return for the material sent to Florence, Copenhagen received an equal number of fragments from the Italian excavations. Already the first exchange included more than a thousand fragments, and the total will inevitably have been much larger, given that exchanges (though interrupted by the Second World War) continued for twenty years. The traded fragments are not marked in any manner in either collection, but most of the texts in question can generally be identified through descriptions, and some specific fragments can be recognised on the basis of archival images. Since the exchange included only papyri with fragments in both collections, it is unlikely to have led to the inclusion of extraneous material, i.e., fragments from other contexts.

In the past 20–30 years, scholars have generally been careful to record what fragments have been removed whence through notes or reports on their work. The fragments that still remain in original folders and boxes have now been systematically documented to ensure that no further information is lost⁸³.

Table 18. Key to the provenance of the main groups of Egyptian material.

Group	Provenance
PSI vetri D/I 1-530(?) ⁸⁴	Virtually all from the temple library deposit, 1931 season, but a few frames are from a different season or site.
PSI vetri D 700ff	1931 season, probably elsewhere than temple library deposit.
PSI vetri D 800ff	1931 season, probably elsewhere than temple library deposit.
“Pacco I”, Group 1	Season uncertain, perhaps 1934/35.
“Pacco I”, Group 2	1934/35 season, tower house.
“Pacco I”, Group 5	1931 season, elsewhere than temple library deposit.
“Pacco I”, Group 4	1931 season, residua from temple library deposit.
“Pacco II”	1931 season, residua from temple library deposit.
Box 55	1931 season, residua from temple library deposit.

⁸³ An exception are the many thousands of fragments in “Pacco II” which has not yet been digitally documented.

⁸⁴ It is not entirely clear where the series of frames produced by Botti ends. Some further frames were added later.

10. THE POTENTIAL OF THE NEW DOCUMENTATION: EXAMPLES OF PAPYRI WITH RECORDED ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

We conclude this paper with two examples that serve as an illustration of the potential of the new documentation and discoveries. The examples concern some recently identified fragments that can be joined with pieces in other collections, and they shed light on activities inside the temenos in the time just before the abandonment of the temple as well as the early excavation history of the site.

The first example is PSI inv. D 146 ("Pacco I", Group 5, 10) which has been identified as part of the same Demotic astronomical papyrus as two other fragments in Oslo and Oxford⁸⁵. The Oxford fragment derives from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt in 1899/1900, whereas the Oslo fragment was acquired in 1929. Neither has a recorded context. By contrast, the Florentine fragment is known to have been excavated in March 1931 in a cellar beneath Building 72, which was located against the inside of the western temenos wall (Tav. XVI). This cellar was one of several where papyri must have been stored in antiquity, the most famous of which are the two abovementioned cellars that contained the temple library deposit. It also preserved parts of some other papyri, including a Demotic narrative and several fragments of a Hieratic ritual text, but the nature of the deposit has yet to be determined, e.g., whether the papyri in question were intended for continued use or for re-use. What we would like to highlight here is the relevance of the astronomical papyrus for the excavation history of the site. It has already been shown that a number of papyri derive from excavations outside the western temenos wall in 1928/29, some having been unearthed by Breccia and others appearing on the antiquities market⁸⁶. The discovery that one of the fragments sold on the market in 1929 and another from the excavations by Grenfell and Hunt joins a small fragment found *in situ* inside the cellar below Building 72 indicates that also the area inside the western temenos had been searched prior to the excavations of 1931, both in 1899 and 1928⁸⁷. Another indication of activity in this specific area was the discovery of what Anti took to be the recent burial of a sebbakhin with his baskets in one of the two cellars below Building 69, just six meters away⁸⁸.

⁸⁵ Publication by A. Jones, J.F. Quack, and K. Ryholt, in progress.

⁸⁶ Gallazzi, *I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis*, pp. 129–134.

⁸⁷ Grenfell – Hunt, *A Large Find of Papyri*, p. 600, reports in general terms on the discovery of papyri within the houses inside the temple, during December 1899, but the authors do not indicate which specific areas they sampled. They clearly dug in different places, and also discovered fragments that join papyri from the temple library deposit on the eastern side of the temple. The papyri that appeared on the antiquities market in early 1929 were presumably found immediately prior to Breccia's arrival at the site in December 1928. Alternatively, papyri may well have been stolen from his excavation, but there is no certain indication that excavations were carried out inside the temenos during this season.

⁸⁸ The location is marked in Rondot, *Tebtynis II*, p. 58, with plan 2 (marked "scheletro sebakîn"); cf. also Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, pp. 360, fig. 270 (marked "cantina del morto"), 361; Gallazzi, *I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis*, p. 136, note 152.

The second example is a small fragment of a papyrus (“Pacco I”, Group 5, 3) inscribed with the Inaros Epic. The main parts of this papyrus are in Copenhagen, with some further fragments in Berkeley from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt⁸⁹. The new fragment joins directly between one fragment in Berkeley and another in Copenhagen. The text itself is written in the so-called Nun hand⁹⁰, and since a series of other texts in this hand were discovered within the temple library deposit, this has also been assumed to be the provenance of the present papyrus. However, despite many years of research, no certain fragments of this particular manuscript have been identified among the contents of the deposit. Seeing that the new fragment is recorded as having been found along the western temenos wall, it now seems more likely that this was the provenance of the papyrus, and the direct join with fragments excavated by Grenfell and Hunt provides yet further evidence of their exploration of this area. The fragment is recorded as an isolated find (“sporadici”) on the west side of the temple on 19 March 1931⁹¹. Although the exact findspot is not indicated, it might be possible to pinpoint an approximate location. From March 19 to 23 the excavations focused on the southern half of the interior of the temenos, beginning with Building 79 and working in a southward direction. Hence the fragment is likely to have been found in this general area. Building 79 itself was found to contain a large dump of papyri (“*immondezzaio di papiri*”), according to the excavation journal, and other papyri were discovered in Buildings 76 and 72⁹².

The discovery of a series of Egyptian literary papyri of various genres – such as the astronomical, narrative, and ritual texts here mentioned – in the western part of the temple area provide significant new insights. It shows that not all such texts were gathered and placed in the temple library deposit when the temple was abandoned in the 3rd century CE. The purpose and process behind the assemblage of the several hundred literary papyri that did end up in the deposit still remain to be understood, and the documentation of the findspots outlined in this paper provides further aspects for consideration.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We would like to thank Marco Stroppa for the long-term work carried out with Ilaria Cariddi on “Pacco I” and the boxes, and also for the reports on his ongoing investigations into the documentation of the Florentine collection. We are further

⁸⁹ The main group of fragments are P. Carlsberg 68+123; a general discussion of the text and references are provided by Ryholt, *The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt*, pp. 492–495.

⁹⁰ For this distinctive hand, see p. 150, note 40.

⁹¹ Several other fragments in the Nun hand were found on this side of the temple as well, but it has not yet been determined whether they belong to known papyri. One of them mentions the character Pektur, a well-known character from the Inaros stories, and it too might belong to the Inaros Epic.

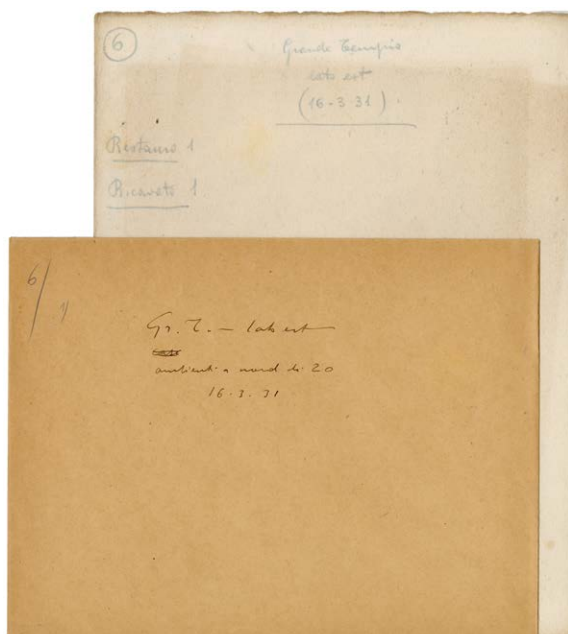
⁹² Cf. § 8.3 above, and Deotto, *L'Università di Padova in Egitto*, p. 360.

grateful to the director, Francesca Maltomini, and to Gloria Rosati for their kind support and assistance, and for providing information about their work on the Greek and Egyptian material respectively. It is also our pleasure to thank the former director, Guido Bastianini, for facilitating access to and research on the collection of the Istituto over many years. Lastly, we would like to thank Silvia Strassi for sharing with Ilaria Cariddi her important work *Lettere dal carteggio* prior to its publication.

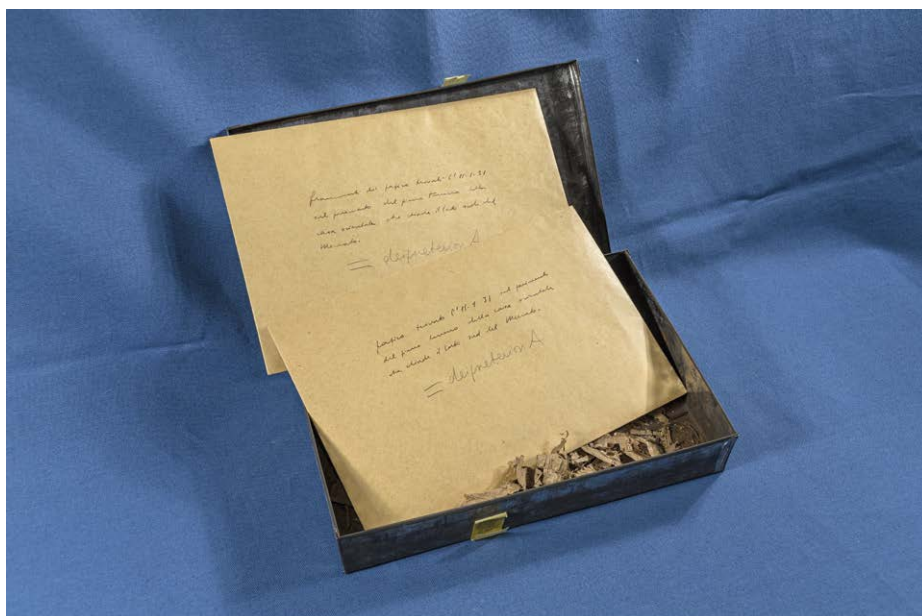
The present paper has joint authorship. Ilaria Cariddi was responsible for the initial draft of §§ 2, 3, 5, while Kim Ryholt drafted §§ 1, 4, 6–10. The whole text was subsequently reworked in close cooperation over several months.

Ilaria Cariddi - Kim Ryholt

Tavola XIV



a. Example of an original envelope from the excavations and the corresponding folder (to which Botti transferred the fragments in question) from “Pacco I”, Group 5.

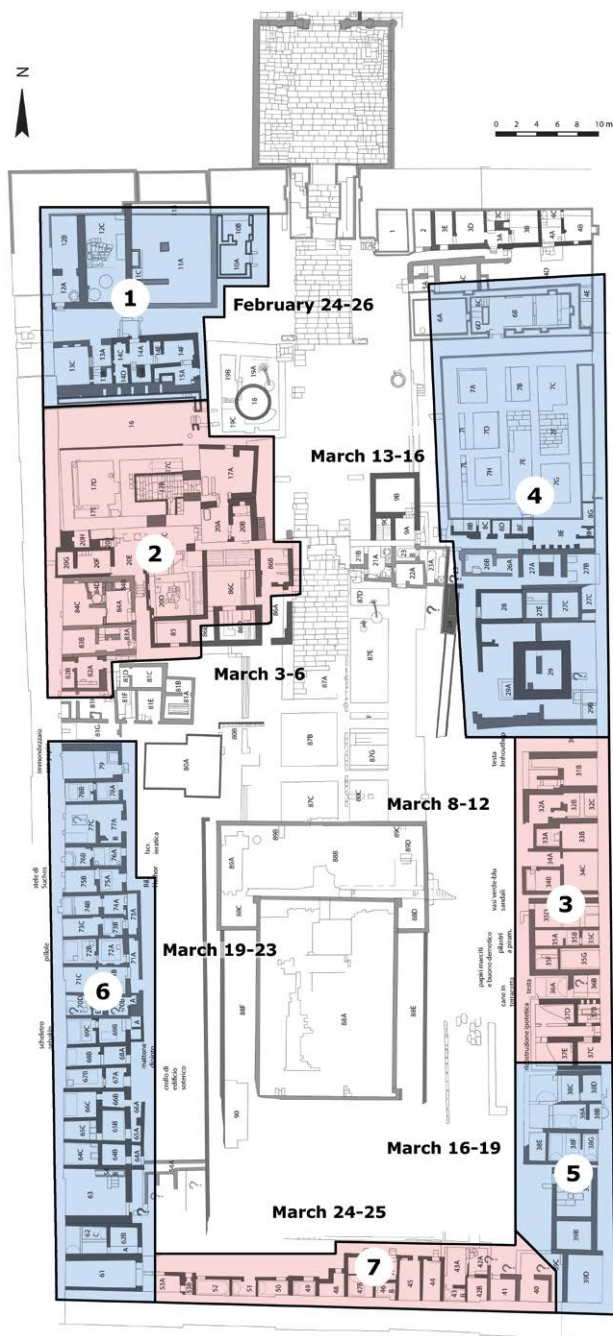


b. Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, Box 19: example of box with envelopes.



- a. (left) A small cigarette box with the indication "dall'androne a volta tra la casa dei setacci e il deipneterion 3.3.31 Angolo SO", containing an astrological fragment (PSI inv. 4360), kept at the Istituto Vitelli in Box 23.
- b. (right) A similar box with the indication "casa falsario" from the collection of the Museo di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte, University of Padua.

Tavola XVI



Tebtynis, Temple of Soknebtynis. The progress of excavation along the temenos during the season of 1931.