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New Kingdom Hieratic Material in the Museo Egizio in Turin

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ABSTRACT

The Museo Egizio in Turin holds one of the world's most significant papyrus collections, comprising nearly 900 whole or reassembled manuscripts and over 25,000 papyrus fragments. Together, these papyri represent over 3,000 years of written material in seven scripts and eight languages. Most of the papyri in the collection were acquired by the King of Sardinia Carlo Felice of Savoy in 1824 from B. Drovetti (1776–1852). B. Drovetti was the French consul in Egypt at the time, and his agents procured most of the antiquities in his collection from Western Thebes. The rest of the papyri in the collection come from the early twentieth century excavations conducted by the Turin Museum in Gebelein, Asyut, and Western Thebes under the direction of E. Schiaparelli (1856–1928) and G. Farina (1889–1947). The Ramesside pharaohs (c. 1300–1050 BCE) constructed their mortuary temples in Western Thebes, and many of the Turin papyri refer to these temples, as well as dealing with matters related to the construction of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. Most of the hieratic papyri in the Museo Egizio date back to the Ramesside period; it is highly likely that they stem from the settlement of Deir el-Medina, which housed the families of the workmen who built the royal tombs. The papyri probably belonged to members of the administration of the royal necropolis.

1. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC TEXTS [S. D.]

1.1. Origins

During his time in Egypt, the French consul B. Drovetti (1776–1852) acquired a substantial

collection of antiquities that was subsequently purchased in 1824 by the King of Sardinia Carlo Felice of Savoy.¹ This collection included many hieratic papyri dating from the Ramesside to the Roman period.² Although no information about the archaeological context or the discovery of

1 B. Drovetti acquired most of the objects in his collection between 1816 and 1820; see the overviews in Donatelli (2019) and Roccati (2019).

2 The oldest papyri in the Museo Egizio do not belong to the Drovetti Collection but were discovered by E. Schiaparelli in 1914 at Gebelein (Demichelis 2003: 246) and by G. Farina in 1935 at the same site (Posener-Kriéger 2004). The Old Kingdom letter reassembled by G. Farina (P. Turin CGT 54002) was most likely bought in Egypt by Schiaparelli; see Roccati (1968: 15). The Middle Kingdom Magical Papyrus CGT 55003, also reassembled by G. Farina, cf. Roccati (1970), is also unlikely to have formed part of the Drovetti collection; likewise, the Middle Kingdom model letter CGT 54004; see Roccati (1975: 245). The

these papyri is known,³ it is well established that B. Drovetti's agents⁴ worked mainly in the Theban area, both in the temple of Karnak and the Westbank.⁵ It is also possible to deduce some information about the circumstances of the acquisition of the papyri from the consul's correspondence.⁶ A letter written by F. Gau (1790–1853) to B. Drovetti in 1818 from Qurna mentions the purchase of a papyrus “*grand et bien conservé*” for which he paid 40 piastres.⁷ Another letter written by the French mineralogist F. Cailliaud (1787–1869) in 1820 mentions three papyri “*avec caractères hiératiques et grecs*” that were found by A. Lebolo (1781–1830).⁸ These papyri were kept by Lebolo in a case inside a tomb that he used as a storeroom for his findings in Qurna.⁹

Items in the Drovetti collection (= *Drovettiana*) were first sent to Livorno as early as 1818.¹⁰ This first consignment of antiquities was followed by others, the last of which took place in 1823. The *Catalogue de la Collection d'antiquités*

de Monsieur le Chevalier Drovetti lists 170 papyri with brief descriptions.¹¹ In addition to these papyri, two crates of papyrus fragments arrived in the Gulf of La Spezia on 27th February 1820.¹² It is possible that these papyri, which arrived in “fragments,” were in a better state of preservation when the manuscripts were shipped from Alexandria. In any case, it is likely that the adverse weather conditions on that 61-day journey contributed to the severe deterioration of the manuscripts.¹³ They were subsequently put in long-term storage in a damp port-warehouse,¹⁴ which most likely caused further damage to them. Worried about the state of his collection, B. Drovetti wrote to his friend P. Balthalon in 1821: “*Parmi les affaires qui m'inquiètent et me tourmentent, celle de la collection d'antiquités qui dépérissent à Livourne est sans contredit la première.*”¹⁵ Negotiations with the Savoy agents for the purchase of the collection were not concluded until 1823. At the end of that year, the antiquities were again sent by sea to Genoa

papyri in the Turin collection are the main focus of this contribution. Documents in this collection are quoted without P. Turin, only with number after the inventory type. Manuscripts belonging to other collections are cited with full inventory numbers.

- 3 The exact circumstances of their discovery and acquisition go unmentioned in the catalogue of the collection compiled for the sale of the objects; see Donatelli (2019: 49) and Roccati (2019: 12).
- 4 Among those who worked on behalf of B. Drovetti in his search for antiquities were the French sculptor J.J. Rifaud, cf. Cincotti (2013; 2017), the Italian adventurer A. Lebolo, the French mineralogist F. Cailliaud, and the architect of German descent F. Gau; see Donatelli (2019).
- 5 Donatelli (2019: 34–35).
- 6 Curto & Donatelli (1985).
- 7 Letter no. 89, Curto & Donatelli (1985: 115–116).
- 8 Letter no. 119, Curto & Donatelli (1985: 149–150). It is possible that F. Cailliaud's reference to “hieratic” texts here is incorrect, and that the texts he was discussing were in fact Demotic.
- 9 This tomb is perhaps to be identified with the tomb of Thutmoses (TT 32), where A. Lebolo's name is engraved on the ceiling. Many objects found by A. Lebolo in this tomb found their way into the Drovetti collection; see Marochetti (2019: 18–19).
- 10 Donatelli (2019: 36).
- 11 See Donatelli (2019: 82–83). The catalogue was compiled before J.-F. Champollion's decipherment of hieroglyphics in 1822; its descriptions are thus based on the limited contemporary knowledge of hieratic and cursive-hieroglyphic scripts.
- 12 Donatelli (2019: 37).
- 13 A description of this journey can be found in a letter in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris written by B. Drovetti's nephew, also named Bernardino, who accompanied the consignment; see Donatelli (2019: 37).
- 14 The warehouse belonged to the Morpurgo company. The objects remained in storage there until 1823, when negotiations for the purchase of the collection were concluded; see Donatelli (2019: 36).
- 15 Guichard (2005: 402).

and from there by carriages to the Accademia delle Scienze in Turin. The transfer of the collection to its final location was completed in March of 1824.¹⁶ In June 1824, the French Philologist J.-F. Champollion (1790–1832) travelled to Turin to consult the *Drovettiana* and improve his system for deciphering hieroglyphs. His time there yielded an early description of the papyri,¹⁷ the poor state of which J.-F. Champollion noted in a letter to his brother: “*Il paraît que leur [des papyrus] séjour à Livourne, encaissés pendant trois ou quatre ans, leur a été très funeste. Un tiers, au moins, est réduit en tabac d’Espagne, et quelques parcelles seules ont résisté et permettent de voir leur contenu.*”¹⁸ According to J.-F. Champollion, the better preserved manuscripts, both cursive-hieroglyphic and hieratic, were mostly copies of the *Book of the Dead*.¹⁹ As for the “historical” papyri written in hieratic, these were very poorly preserved, and fragments often had to be joined together.²⁰ J.-F. Champollion, however, succeeded in reconstructing a papyrus bearing the plan of a royal burial (Cat. 1885), understanding that the hieratic inscriptions described the dimensions of the rooms of the tomb, which he correctly identified as belonging to Ramesses IV (KV 2). Even more sensational discoveries awaited J.-F. Champollion on his entrance into what he called “the columbarium of history”, the storeroom in which several thousand papyrus fragments were piled up on a table.²¹

Amongst these fragments, he was able to identify a number of administrative documents which he argued belonged to a single archive.²² Among his most extraordinary discoveries were 47 fragments of the so-called *Royal Canon* (Cat. 1874 verso), an ordered list of kings.²³ Alongside these fragments, J.-F. Champollion was surprised to find others of a less “noble” character, including satirical and erotic texts (Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001).²⁴ In 1826, the German Egyptologist G. Seyffarth (1796–1885) arrived in Turin, where he contributed significantly to the recovery of the manuscripts in the collection, which he proposed reconstructing on the basis of the papyrus fibre structure. He continued working on such manuscripts as the *Royal Canon* (Cat. 1874)—identifying and arranging nearly 200 more fragments and undertaking an initial restoration of the papyrus by mounting the fragments onto papier végétal—as well as the so-called *Goldmine Papyrus* (Cat. 1869++), the *Tomb-Plan of Ramesses IV* (Cat. 1885) and the *Satirical-Erotic Papyrus* (Cat. 2031). G. Seyffarth’s work was included in an 1842 publication by K.R. Lepsius (1810–1884) dedicated to some of the major Egyptian documents in Turin.²⁵ In the following years, various monographs on the most extensive papyri appeared. The *Royal Canon* was published by J.G. Wilkinson (1851).²⁶ The *Goldmine Papyrus* was edited by F. Chabas (1862), whose publication was supplemented a few

16 Donatelli (2019: 67).

17 At the same time, A. Peyron (1825) was working on the Greek and Coptic papyri in the Drovetti collection; see Roccati (2019: 13) and Donatelli (2019: 82).

18 Hartleben (1909: 55). In the letters written to his brother, edited by H. Hartleben, J.-F. Champollion refers to the papyri he was working on and the progress he made in understanding their texts.

19 Hartleben (1909: 46): “*Extraits plus ou moins étendus du grand rituel funéraire.*”

20 Called “incurables” by J.-F. Champollion, these were probably Ramesside administrative texts.

21 According to J.-F. Champollion (1824: 5), the pile of fragments was ten feet long by half a foot high.

22 The site of Deir el-Medina had not yet been investigated at the time.

23 H. Winlock (1947: 4) reports, that the papyrus was purchased intact by B. Drovetti and shattered by him during the transport, but this account is not reliable; cf. Farina (1938: 7) and Ryholt (2004: 235).

24 The so-called *Turin Satirical-Erotic Papyrus*; see Omlin (1975).

25 Lepsius (1842).

26 J.G. Wilkinson also provided the first description of the Taxation text on the recto.

years later by J. Lieblein (1886), who also published one of the Necropolis Journals (Cat. 1898). The *Harem Conspiracy* (Cat. 1875) was published by T. Deveria (1897), while the *Tomb-Plan of Ramesses IV* was first published in 1868 by K.R. Lepsius.²⁷ Between 1869 and 1876, W. Pleyte and F. Rossi published facsimiles of a substantial number of the collection's hieratic papyri.²⁸ Their two-volume publication presented drawings of the larger fragments, though many of the connections between manuscripts escaped them. Their facsimiles, however, offered an overview of the wide variety of genres in the Turin *papiroteca* for the first time. These included administrative, magical, literary, and religious texts—most of which were still unpublished at the time. The “Pleyte-Rossi” (abbreviated PR) thus provided a strong catalyst to further studies on the Turin hieratic manuscripts. By making these materials accessible to the international scientific community,²⁹ their work facilitated initial analyses of the *Magical Papyrus of Thot* (Cat. 1995+1996 = CGT 54050) and the *Magical Papyrus of Isis* (Cat. 1993 = CGT 54051),³⁰ the *Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880),³¹ the *Love Songs Papyrus* (Cat. 1966),³² and the *Elephantine Scandal Papyrus* (Cat. 1887).³³

A catalogue of the antiquities preserved in the Royal Egyptian Museum of Turin, compiled by A. Fabretti (1816–1894), F. Rossi (1827–1912) and R. Lanzone (1834–1907), was published in 1882, with a section by F. Rossi on the papyri. F. Rossi listed the manuscripts based on their script and textual genre, including both the best-preserved manuscripts and a large number of fragments, though the list gives only a rough idea of the size of the collection.³⁴ Despite several errors in the classification of textual genres, the numbering of the papyri in this catalogue is essentially³⁵ still in use today for the manuscripts from the Drovetti collection.³⁶ In 1894, E. Schiaparelli, a former student of G. Maspero (1846–1916), was appointed director of the Museo Egizio, giving further impetus to the study of the hieratic papyri in Turin. E. Schiaparelli resumed work on the fragments in the *Drovettiana*. He found them in a very poor state of preservation: glued together, eaten by insects or worms, and stored haphazardly inside drawers with the generic label “*Fragmenta papyrorum funeralium*”.³⁷ E. Schiaparelli counted about ten thousand fragments altogether.³⁸ Stimulated by “the same hopes as J.-F. Champollion and G. Seyffarth,”³⁹ he nevertheless managed to identify and reconstruct from this “shapeless” ensemble

27 K.R. Lepsius' edition of 1868 was then improved upon by F. Chabas (1873).

28 Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876).

29 Editions of administrative papyri were published by such scholars as G. Maspero and A. Erman (1854–1937), while F. Chabas (1817–1882) and E. Lefébure (1838–1908) dealt with the magical papyri. For a more complete review of the publications originating from W. Pleyte & F. Rossi, see Roccati (2011: 10), with additions in Roccati (2022: 37).

30 F. Chabas (1875) published the verso of the *Magical Papyrus of Thot*, corresponding to plates 120–122 of Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876). E. Lefébure (1883) edited the *Legend of Isis and the name of Ra* (Cat. 1993).

31 Spiegelberg (1895).

32 Müller (1899).

33 Spiegelberg (1891).

34 F. Rossi's list also includes Demotic, Greek, and Coptic papyri.

35 Roccati (1979: 553–554).

36 Problems with the numbering stem mainly from the use of the same number for several fragments. Several erroneous attributions were subsequently “historicized” with publication of the manuscripts. See for clarification chapter 2.3.

37 “*I tarli che non eran rimasti inoperosi avevano compiuto lo strazio*”; see Botti (1921: 143).

38 Schiaparelli (1901: 18).

39 Botti (1921: 143).

numerous manuscripts, including administrative texts concerning the Theban necropolis,⁴⁰ plans of royal tombs (Cat. 2038, Cat. 2039, Cat. 2040 and perhaps Cat. 2110), twenty magical-ritual papyri,⁴¹ a *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days* (Cat. 2104), some royal hymns, and a hymn in Libyan language (= Qeheq language) written in hieratic (Cat. 2106/380 = CGT 54030). These papyri, which were additional to those already published by W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, were presented by E. Schiaparelli in a preliminary way at the 12th Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1899.⁴²

1.2. The expansion of the collection in the 20th century

In the beginning of the early 1900s, E. Schiaparelli was engaged in several excavation campaigns in Egypt, aimed at enhancing the museum's collections. And while this meant that he had to give up his research on the hieratic papyri, it is from his initial missions to the Valley of the Queens (1903) and to Deir el-Medina (1905–1906 and 1908–1909) that the few additions to the museum's collection of hieratic papyri originate. For instance, a letter

dated to the 18th Dynasty (Prov. 3581) probably comes from the Valley of the Queens.⁴³ A caption on the tape used to seal the glass mount notes: “*Frammento trovato nel pozzo*” and “*Babel-Harim-Tebe.*” However, E. Schiaparelli's inventory of finds from the excavation campaigns includes no reference to hieratic papyri from the Valley of the Queens.⁴⁴ His inventory does mention fragments of hieratic, hieroglyphic and Demotic papyri found during later campaigns at Deir el-Medina, including the bilingual Demotic-Greek archive of Totoes, found inside two jars in 1905.⁴⁵ Following the bilingual archive in the inventory, E. Schiaparelli records the discovery, in an unspecified area, of a conspicuous number of papyrus fragments written in cursive-hieroglyphs and hieratic and dating to the New Kingdom. Although no archaeological details survive, the contents of the manuscripts suggest that they stem from the workshop of the painter Pay and his family.⁴⁶ This set of thousands of fragments also included an unfinished cursive-hieroglyphic *Book of the Dead*,⁴⁷ a specimen of a votive cubit on papyrus, written in cursive-hieroglyphs and bearing

40 Schiaparelli (1901: 18).

41 The reconstruction of the portion of CGT 54065 featuring the *The Monologue of Atum* is attributed to E. Schiaparelli by Roccati (1989: 125).

42 Schiaparelli (1901: 17–18); Botti (1921).

43 Gabler & Soliman (2018).

44 There is no mention of the papyrus in the publication dedicated to the work of the Italian Archaeological Mission in the Valley of the Queens (Schiaparelli 1924). While the manuscript inventory only mentions fragments of Coptic papyri from the monastery (Suppl. 5956). The provenance written directly on the ribbon that sealed the glass of the papyrus was therefore known to the curators of the Museum, who kept a record of it in the stages of placing the object under glass and in the subsequent display in the room dedicated to the excavations in the Valley of the Queens, where the papyrus was on display until the first decade of 2000.

45 Suppl. 6068–6125, <https://www.trismegistos.org/archive/248> (accessed 15.01.2024). The numbers Suppl. 6122 and 6123 are attributed to the jars that contained them. The archive has been dated to the 2nd century BC, including Greek and Demotic documents, the first published by G. Vitelli (1929), the latter published by G. Botti (1967). A new edition of all manuscripts published by Uggetti (2018) is accessible online: <https://theses.hal.science/tel-02283192/document> (accessed 20.10.2024).

46 The Pay-family is working at Deir el-Medina from the reign of Horemheb, see Davies (1999: 149). Although it is difficult in general to distinguish between the progenitor Pay, son of Ipu, and the eponymous grandson Pay, who served until the Year 47 of Ramesses II, several elements attribute the papyrus to the work of the former, thus dating back to the reign of Seti I or, to the beginning of that of Ramesses II.

47 Demichelis (2016: 27).

the cartouche of Amenhotep III,⁴⁸ and a copy of the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* written in hieratic on behalf of the painter Pay.⁴⁹ In his next campaign at the end of 1908, E. Schiaparelli also found a high-quality papyrus bearing the *Ritual of Amenhotep I* (Suppl. 10125/1 = Fig. 1),⁵⁰ dating to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. The scroll was stolen from the excavation, and E. Schiaparelli was only able to recover its lower half; the upper half arrived in the Cairo Museum (CG 58030) about ten years later.⁵¹ Also recorded under the same inventory number is a papyrus bearing hymns to Amun, already believed at the time to form part of the *Ritual of Amenhotep I*.⁵² Palaeographic analysis of the two papyri shows that they were produced in the same workshop.⁵³ These few acquisitions aside, “new” additions to the collection during the 1900s were largely the result of identifying and reassembling fragments from the *Drovettiana*. These “new” acquisitions were the outcome of a massive, decades-long collective endeavour by researchers of different nationalities—a process

that is still ongoing (see § 2). While E. Schiaparelli was engaged in his excavation campaigns in Egypt, he entrusted the study of the hieratic fragments in the collection to his student G. Botti (1889–1968), who continued his work on the magical and literary papyri. Botti’s work ranged widely, from literary⁵⁴ to religious⁵⁵ and administrative⁵⁶ texts, including work on fragments from civil status registers and the first reconstruction of the *Ship’s Log Papyrus*.⁵⁷ Following the death of E. Schiaparelli in 1928, however, G. Botti was obliged to leave the Museo Egizio due to differences with the new director of the museum, G. Farina.⁵⁸ Many years later, G. Botti—who in the meantime had specialised in the study of Demotic—was allowed to return to the Turin Museum and complete the publication of the Demotic texts from the Totoes archive.⁵⁹ G. Farina himself continued to work actively on the hieratic fragments in the papyrus collection. In a letter from 1929, he wrote to the Ministry of National Education in Rome to ask for

48 Suppl. 6126/3, publication in preparation by S. Demichelis. The papyrus recalls the known one from the Roman archive of Tebtynis published by G. Rosati (1990; 2017).

49 Suppl. 6126/1 (= CGT 54041). This is the first known exemplar of the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* written on papyrus on behalf of a private individual. Noteworthy are the red guidelines drawn to guide the writing of the text, see Contardi (2017).

50 For the text see Bacchi (1942); Tacke (2013); Contardi (2017).

51 According to E. Bacchi (1942: 13–14), the papyrus was not found by E. Schiaparelli but purchased by him from looters. The scroll was cut vertically by these individuals into seven parts, each consisting of seven columns, and then cut in half horizontally, the lower part being sold to E. Schiaparelli and the upper part to the Cairo Museum; see also Roccati (2016). A similar fate may have befallen the *Book of the Dead* of Ramose, found in the same excavation campaign (and bearing the inventory number subsequent to that of the *Ritual*). Fragments of this papyrus, not mentioned among the findings from G. Möller’s 1911 or 1913 excavations, subsequently entered the Papyrussammlung in Berlin (Lüscher 2007: 17).

52 Bacchi (1942: 15).

53 Although the hieratic ductus of the hymnic text is less accurate. F. Contardi is editing the text.

54 Cat. 1940+1941, Botti (1955). A new fragment of this papyrus was identified by A. Roccati (1984a: 17, pl. 3); see Fischer-Elfert (1999). Further fragments were identified among the CP-fragments.

55 Botti (1923a).

56 G. Botti (1921) deals in particular with numerous fragments of administrative papyri that concern the daily activities of the necropolis workers and the civil status register (the so-called *Stato Civile*, Cat. 1963); see also Botti (1923b).

57 Cat. 2008+2007; the reconstruction is attributed to G. Botti by T.E. Peet (1930: 481).

58 Roccati & Deotto (2019: 491).

59 Found by E. Schiaparelli in 1905 at Deir el-Medina; see Roccati & Deotto (2019: 493).

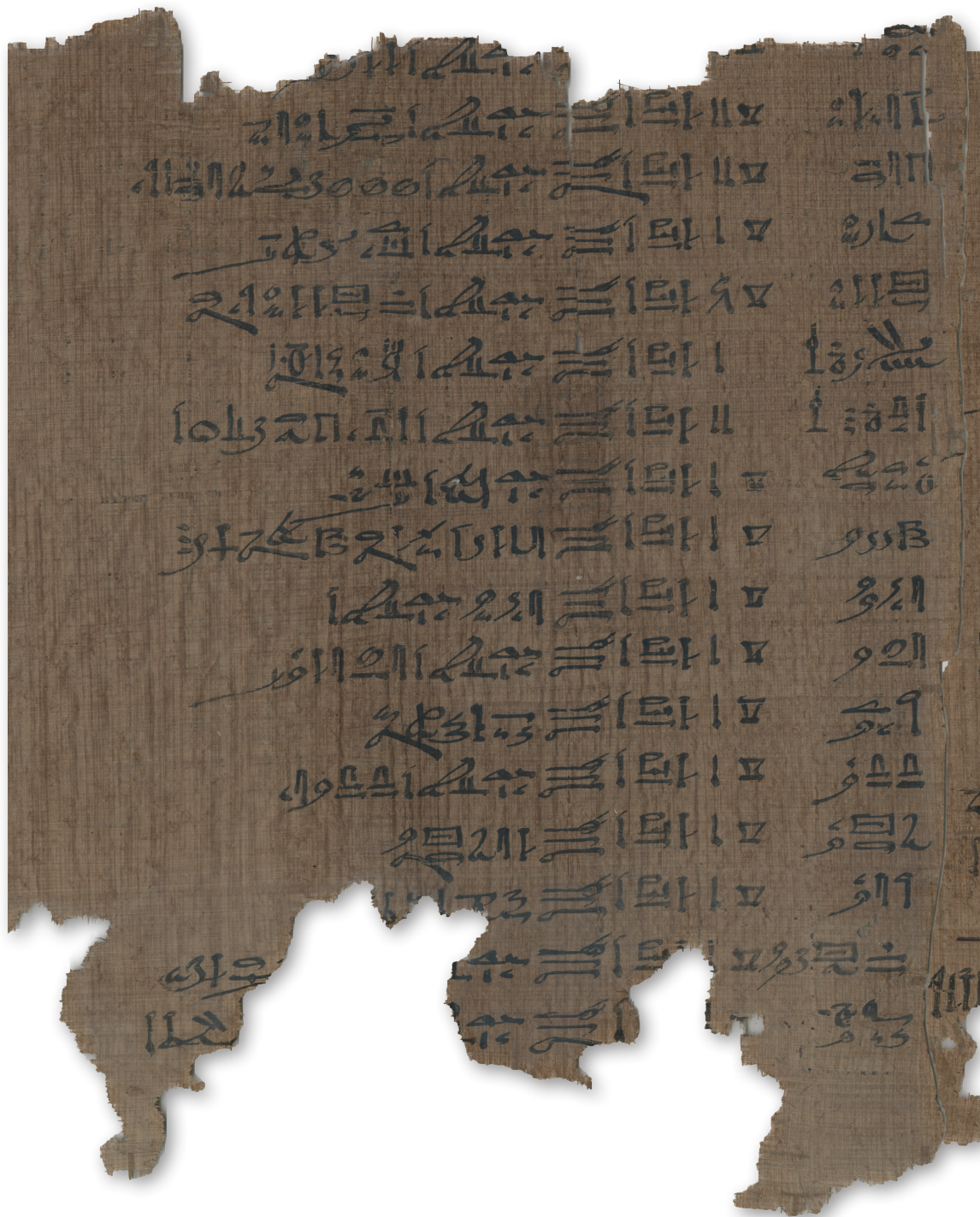


Fig. 1. Detail of the *Ritual for Amenhotep I*, Suppl.10125/1
(© Scan Museo Egizio)

funding for the restoration of the papyri.⁶⁰ In his letter, G. Farina mentioned that he had found several boxes of “trash” (as he called the fragments) in a large, forgotten cupboard, and that these formed part of the same corpus of texts on which E. Schiaparelli had worked. Some papyri from the E. Schiaparelli excavations are also mentioned in the letter; G. Farina described most of them as tiny fragments, collected in the same excavation boxes that they had been placed in at the time of their discovery.⁶¹ Following a successful grant of funds from the Ministry of National Education, restoration work on these pieces was carried out by E. Caudana (1896–1974), formerly of the National Library of Turin, who worked for many years alongside G. Farina on the reconstruction of these papyri, including a manuscript of the *Hymn to the Nile*.⁶² The restoration of the *Royal Canon*, first planned by E. Schiaparelli, was also realized in the 1930s thanks to G. Farina. This restoration was entrusted to H. Ibscher (1874–1943), the foremost restoration expert of the time; he was assisted by E. Caudana in the summer of 1930.⁶³ Over the years, the museum’s curators were assisted in the extensive work of identifying and reassembling the papyrus fragments by various contemporary experts on hieratic. A.H. Gardiner (1879–1963) worked

in Turin from 1905 onwards, copying hieratic manuscripts, and making preparatory slips for the Berlin *Wörterbuch* project. He also revisited some fundamental documents in the Turin collection, including the *Goldmine Papyrus* (Cat. 1879 etc.)⁶⁴ and the *Tomb-Plan of Ramesses IV* (Cat. 1885). In 1917, A.H. Gardiner was able to complete an edition of the *Tomb-Plan* by means of measurements and data collected in the Valley of the Kings by H. Carter.⁶⁵ A.H. Gardiner’s work was also fundamental to the identification and reassembly of fragments of literary texts,⁶⁶ even making possible the material reunification of fragments that had been dispersed across other collections. Working in the Geneva Museum in January 1937, J. Capart (1877–1947) recognised a number of “badly mounted hieratic fragments” similar to those published by A.H. Gardiner in the *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. A.H. Gardiner then arranged with W. Deonna (1880–1959), the keeper of the Geneva Museum, to have them sent to his London house to be restored by H. Ibscher.⁶⁷ A.H. Gardiner subsequently discovered that some of the fragments belonged to Cat. 1882 (= *Miscellanea A*)⁶⁸ and to the legal deposition Cat. 2021.⁶⁹ Thanks to W. Deonna’s enlightened collaboration,⁷⁰ an exchange was organised:⁷¹ A.H. Gardiner offered

60 Archivio di Stato di Torino, Museo Egizio, I versamento, mazzo 48, 10.

61 Probably Suppl. 6126 and Suppl. 10125.

62 Van der Plas (1988).

63 Farina (1938).

64 Gardiner (1914); later published by G. Goyon (1949).

65 The text of the papyrus, including the verso, had been studied by A.H. Gardiner eleven years before its publication (which was completed with H. Carter’s assistance); see Carter & Gardiner (1917).

66 e.g. Cat. 1882, *Miscellanea A*, already published as a facsimile by F. Rossi (1869–1876: pl. 17–19), improved with a fragment presented on plates 73–75, Gardiner (1937); as well as CGT 54011, a copy of P. Anastasi I, see Gardiner (1911), later published by Farina (1932).

67 Gardiner (1955: 30; 1956).

68 Gardiner (1937).

69 Černý & Peet (1927); Allam & Černý (1973: 320–327, pl. 113–119, 131); *KRI* 6, 738–742.

70 Gardiner (1948: XXIV).

71 The Geneva and the Turin fragments share a common origin, being a gift from B. Drovetti in 1825.

a magical papyrus of his own (MAH 15274)⁷² in exchange for the Geneva fragments, which were then reunited with the larger portions of the papyrus already in Turin.⁷³ Some years later, A. Roccati discovered the papyrus sheets that completed the Geneva magical papyrus in the Turin Museum,⁷⁴ as well as a further copy of the magical text.⁷⁵ The dispersal of fragments between collections is a phenomenon whose extent is more and more appreciable with the ongoing publication of texts, even if it has not always been possible to reconstruct the process by which these fragments were dispersed.⁷⁶

Some of the most important administrative documents in the collection were also published by A.H. Gardiner in an anthology that included the *Turin Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880),⁷⁷ the *Taxation Papyrus* (Cat. 1895+2006),⁷⁸ and the

Turin Indictment Papyrus (Cat. 1887), as well as the beginning of Cat. 1882, verso.⁷⁹ A.H. Gardiner also provided a new edition of the *Royal Canon*.⁸⁰ During his work in Turin, A.H. Gardiner was supported by a number of collaborators and students. In 1928, T.E. Peet⁸¹ (1882–1934) and G. Botti published the first volume of a planned two-volume edition of the *Journal of the Necropolis*,⁸² though the second volume never came to fruition. Additionally, T.E. Peet published the *Ship's Log* (Cat. 2008+2007),⁸³ the fragments of which had already been reassembled by G. Botti, who also incorporated the fragments presented in the facsimile by W. Pleyte and F. Rossi.⁸⁴ A.H. Gardiner and G. Farina's work on the Turin copy P. Turin CGT 54011 of P. Anastasi I (BM EA 10247 = *Satirical Letter of Hori*) was completed by R. Caminos (1916–1992),⁸⁵ who also identified new fragments

72 Massart (1957).

73 Fragments D 405–408 and 409 were given to the Turin Museum in exchange for the magical papyrus owned by A.H. Gardiner; see Deonna (1938). The arrival of the fragments in Turin is documented in a letter sent by G. Farina to the Ministry of National Education in December 1937, where he states that A.H. Gardiner had arranged for the precious gift as a symbol of his gratitude for the “study facilities he had received in Turin”; see Archivio di Stato di Torino, Fondo Museo Egizio, I versamento, A52, 13. Such an exchange would not be possible today: fragments recognised as part of the same scroll but preserved in other collections are only reunited virtually.

74 CGT 54063, Roccati (1982).

75 CGT 54064, Roccati (1982).

76 For example the case of the above mentioned *Ritual of Amenhotep I*, the upper half of which is in Cairo. Furthermore, various funerary papyri can be connected with fragments preserved in the Papyrussammlung in Berlin, the Ethnographic Museum in Neuchâtel, and the Vatican Museum. The connection between the Budapest magical papyrus and the Turin papyrus CGT 54058, Kákosy (1971), however, is less obvious; see Roccati (2001). More recently, R. Pietri discovered hieratic literary fragments at the Musée du Louvre that directly connect with some unpublished CP-fragments.

77 Facsimile by Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: pl. 35–48).

78 Corresponding to Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: pl. 65, 96–97, 100–101, 155–157). The text was provided with a translation and commentary by A.H. Gardiner (1941).

79 Gardiner (1948).

80 Gardiner (1959).

81 Peet (1925). Peet also worked on other hieratic texts, such as Cat. 1907/1908.

82 Botti & Peet (1928); *Necropolis Journal of Year 17* of Ramesses IX: Cat. 1884+2067/118+2071/137+2105+2082/173+2082/175+2083/179+2083/181+2083/183+2073/145+ 1945/002.

83 Peet (1930); Janssen (1961).

84 Pleyte & Rossi (1869: pl. 68, 69).

85 R. Caminos (1958: 3), who credits A.H. Gardiner with the identification and repositioning of the fragments. G. Farina (1932) also worked on papyrus CGT 54011; he had previously recognized and published a large number of pieces as well. More fragments were identified by R. Pietri among the CP-fragments.

belonging to the papyrus. In the 1920s, J. Černý⁸⁶ (1898–1970) began working on the hieratic texts in the Museo Egizio, which he frequented regularly until 1967. He focused his activity on the non-literary texts from Deir el-Medina, collecting material for his later publications, including his opus *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, which was published posthumously in 1973. In 1939, he published a transcription of a series of letters dated to the end of the Ramesside period and the beginning of the 21st Dynasty.⁸⁷ J. Černý's work contributed significantly to scholarly understanding of the museum's collection of non-literary hieratic texts from the New Kingdom;⁸⁸ many of his transcriptions were even published posthumously, though without being revised by the author.⁸⁹ In the years between 1969 and 1974, A. Roccati made several major discoveries working on the papyri in the collection⁹⁰. In his own words: “convinto che le mansioni di chi ha il privilegio di lavorare nel Museo Egizio comprendono le più minute curiosità, passai a occuparmi degli innumeri frammenti di papiro da cui Botti, Černý e Farina avevan tratto

*documenti di rara importanza. Non senza stupore mi accorsi però che il vero inventario rimaneva ancora da fare, a causa degli accostamenti e dell'identificazione di nuovi svariati testi che potei rapidamente istituire.”*⁹¹

A. Roccati's discoveries and reconstructions led to a different view of the Turin collection, revealing its hitherto unexpected size and scope. His reconstructions also established the need for a new inventory system, one that could fill the gaps left by the numbering system in use. As a result, a new numerical sequence was adopted for the papyri (Catalogo Generale di Torino = CGT), in accordance with the publication plan of the Soprintendenza del Museo Egizio for the edition of individual monuments or groups of materials.⁹² Among the new identifications made by A. Roccati were the prologue to the *Maxims of Ptahhotep* (CGT 54014),⁹³ the *Tale of Sinuhe* (CGT 54015 = fig. 2),⁹⁴ the *Teaching of a Man for His Son* (CGT 54016),⁹⁵ the text of which was preceded by a new copy of the *Hymn to the Nile*, the *Satire of the Trades* (CGT 54019),⁹⁶ the *Teaching of Hordjedef* (CGT 54017),⁹⁷ and various

86 J. Černý used to spend his summer holidays in Turin in order to study the collection of hieratic texts; see Janssen & Janssen (2014).

87 Černý (1939): Cat. 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1979, 2069.

88 See Černý & Peet (1927: 30–39) for P. Turin Cat. 2021; see also Černý (1936; 1937).

89 J. Černý's notebooks were deposited in the Griffith Institute in Oxford and have served as the basis for many publications, including the transcriptions published in KRI 6. In this regard, see Janssen & Janssen (2014). The notebooks are included in TPOP thanks to a collaboration between the Griffith Institute and the Museo Egizio.

90 Roccati (1979: 553).

91 Roccati (1975: 243).

92 The numbered series starting with CGT 54000 was assigned to the hieratic papyri, while the CGT 55000s were assigned to the figured papyri (the first in which series is the aforementioned *Erotic-Satirical Papyrus*), and the CGT 56000s assigned to the funerary papyri; see Curto (1976); Roccati (2022: 38).

93 Vernus (1996); further fragments were added by A. Roccati (2014).

94 Roccati (2022: 39).

95 Fischer-Elfert (1999). The *Teaching* is preceded by the *Hymn to the Nile*, numerous fragments of which remain to be restored. The verso bears a copy of the *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days*; see Roccati (2022: 39).

96 Identified by A. Roccati (2022: 40).

97 Roccati (2022: 40).



Fig. 2. Fragment with the *Story of Sinuhe*, CGT 54015
(© Scan Museo Egizio)

mythological tales (CGT 54031),⁹⁸ including the *Legend of Anat*.⁹⁹ New fragments belonging to known texts such as the *Hymn to the Nile*,¹⁰⁰ the *Satire of the Trades* (CGT 54020),¹⁰¹ the *Satirical Letter* (CGT 54011),¹⁰² and the poem about the wars of Thutmoses III in Syria (Cat. 1940+1941+CPs = CGT 54009; photo cover)¹⁰³ were also identified by A. Roccati. He further reassembled the fragments of some ritual papyri, including a copy of the *Ritual of the Opening the Mouth* (Cat. 1938 = CGT 54044),¹⁰⁴ and a Ramesside copy of the *Book of Apophis* (CGT 54065).¹⁰⁵ The verso of the latter scroll preserves a divination manual, also containing instructions for lecanomantic practices (CGT 54065).¹⁰⁶ A. Roccati also ascribed a number of other fragments to the divinatory genre, finding evidence for the interpretation of omens drawn from meteorological events and earthquakes,¹⁰⁷ as well as a fragment of an oneiromantic text similar to papyrus Chester Beatty IV. A. Roccati also undertook the complex work of identifying

and reconstructing magical texts,¹⁰⁸ an endeavour J.F. Borghouts (1939–2018) also contributed to,¹⁰⁹ by identifying the first page of the *Book of Thot* (Cat. 1995+1996).¹¹⁰ This papyrus, together with the papyrus bearing the *Legend of Isis and the Name of Ra* (Cat. 1993), was published in 2011 in synopsis with the parallels.¹¹¹ Among the papyri in the collection, several fragments can be traced back to three different manuscripts bearing copies of the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* (e.g. Cat. 1982), which was identified by J.F. Borghouts. One of these texts is illustrated by a vignette (CGT 54078),¹¹² which was perhaps used as a model for the decoration of a royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings.¹¹³ In 1992, J. López (1933–2002), already charged with editing the New Kingdom hieratic ostraca in the collection (see § 3), collaborated with A. Roccati on the identification of some papyrus fragments,¹¹⁴ as well as providing a new edition of the *Love Songs Papyrus* (Cat. 1966).¹¹⁵ Work on the administrative texts from Deir el-Medina was also continued by several researchers. Taking up the earlier studies

98 These tales appear on the verso of a *Hymn to Amon*; see Roccati (2003; 2022: 40).

99 Roccati (2022: 40).

100 The new fragments identified by A. Roccati were added to those identified by J. López in 1983: Cat. 1968+1890+1878+SN (= CGT 54018). See van der Plas (1988) and Roccati (2022: 40).

101 Roccati (2022: 40).

102 Roccati (2022: 41).

103 Botti (1955).

104 See Contardi (2017).

105 The papyrus was reassembled on the basis of a later parallel preserved on Papyrus Bremner-Rhind; see Roccati (1977).

106 Roccati (1977; 1994); Demichelis (2002b).

107 Roccati (1984b); Roccati (2022).

108 Roccati (1969; 1975; 1977).

109 Borghouts (1987), Roccati (2011: 11).

110 Roccati (2011).

111 Roccati (2011).

112 It has also been improved by the discovery of some new fragments.

113 Roccati (2009: 48).

114 Including some new fragments of the *Hymn to the Nile*: Cat. 1968+1878+1890 (= CGT 54018). See Roccati (2022: 40).

115 López (1992).

of T.E. Peet,¹¹⁶ J.J. Janssen provided a new critical edition of the account on Cat. 1907+1908, supplemented by further fragments,¹¹⁷ and of the *Ship's Log* on Cat. 2008+2016.¹¹⁸ In more recent years, P.J. Frandsen has provided in 1990 an updated edition of the *Turin Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880), while R.J. Demarée has worked on various administrative texts,¹¹⁹ including the *Stato Civile* (Cat. 1963), of which he identified new fragments.¹²⁰ In 1992, J.A. Harrell and M. Brown published the *Goldmine Papyrus* in a new reconstruction with a different placement of the fragments. This reconstruction was improved by R.J. Demarée's discovery of two other fragments¹²¹ that connected with the final part of the scroll.¹²² Some of the texts on the verso were also the focus of specific papers by J.J. Janssen (1994) and W. Hovestreydt (1997).

The identification and reconstruction of these manuscripts—part of an extraordinary international collaboration during the 20th century—represents a significant outcome. The enormous amount of work done over the course of the last century, mostly without the use of current technologies, has provided a solid foundation for further achievements in the new millennium.

2. THE NEW MILLENIUM: THE MATURE STUDY OF THE TURIN COLLECTION [S. T.]

2.1. Published vs. unpublished material

Recent work on the Turin collection aims to enhance the results of decades of research on the hieratic papyrus material. As we have seen, the B. Drovetti lot consists of several thousand papyrus fragments. Of these, some 500 larger ensembles have been identified and assigned inventory numbers. Some of these inventory numbers represent more or less complete manuscripts. There are, however, thousands of tiny fragments in the collection which belong either to these ensembles or are part of other, yet unidentified texts. The importance of these manuscripts and fragments, which most likely derive from Deir el-Medina, has been pointed out by scholars—such as J. Černý, J.J. Janssen, A. Roccati, and R.J. Demarée—who have laid the foundation for the study of these hieratic materials.

An overview of previous research on the inventoried papyri in Turin, as well as a systematic bibliography of Deir el-Medina studies, can be found in Leiden University's Deir el-Medina Database.¹²³ This database is the most extensive reference tool for the texts stemming from the administration of the royal necropolis of Ramesside Egypt—an institution that can be compared to a state-run construction company. Although 145 Turin papyri with catalogue numbers are recorded in the

116 Peet (1925).

117 Jansen (1966); Ventura (1983); Helck (2002).

118 Peet (1930); Janssen (1961).

119 Such as Cat. 2044, 1961+2007, 2074; see Demarée (1993; 1997).

120 Published with D. Valbelle in 2011; see § 2.

121 Incipit of the verso, Demarée (1997). The papyrus was restored in 2015 on the basis of J.A. Harrell and M. Brown's hypothesis; this restoration included the fragments identified by R.J. Demarée as well as further additions, though not all of the known fragments could be relocated; see Demichelis (2016: 4–5, pl. 2).

122 Demarée (1997).

123 <https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/> (accessed 15.01.2024).

database, many of them are listed as unpublished and the information on them provided in the database is based only on J. Černý's notebooks.¹²⁴ These manuscripts were copied in K.A. Kitchen's multi-volume collection *Ramesside Inscriptions*¹²⁵ or published on the basis either of facsimiles given in the catalogue by W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, old black-and-white photographs, or brief examinations of the originals. Until recently, scholars had little opportunity to study the originals in Turin extensively, while information about the thousands of undocumented fragments was available only to a few scholars. This has only changed within the last 20 years.

In 2011, R.J. Demarée and D. Valbelle published an administrative manuscript containing lists of households and their members called the *Stato Civile* (Cat. 1963).¹²⁶ This document reflects not only the complexity of the legal and taxation systems in Ramesside Thebes, but also the complexity of working with the Turin papyri. Rediscovered by G. Botti in 1923 before drawing the attention of J. Černý in the 1930s, the manuscript consists of hundreds of fragments. Building on G. Botti and J. Černý's notes, R.J. Demarée and D. Valbelle proceeded to find additional fragments of the papyrus among the museum's undocumented materials. Over a period of nearly 20 years, they managed to reassemble this manuscript before publishing it in their ground-breaking monograph. The same year, A. Roccati (2011) published some of the larger magical manuscripts in the Turin collection (along with their parallels),

including the so-called *Magical Papyrus of Thot* (Cat. 1995+1996 = CGT 54050) and the *Magical Papyrus of Isis* (Cat. 1993 = CGT 54051). The latter is well-known for also bearing a copy of the so-called *Legend of Isis and the name of Ra* (recto 2.11–5.5).¹²⁷

Individual papyrus manuscripts and fragments have also been published over the last 20 years in the form of articles. Since many years S. Demichelis has been actively involved in the study of the fragmentary New Kingdom material and was able to reconstruct many documents. In 2002, she published the *Ritual Festival Calendar* on the recto of P. Turin CGT 54021, a document she reconstructed out of many fragments from the Drovetti collection.¹²⁸ S. Demichelis (2004) published papyrus Cat. 2038 (= CGT 55002), which preserves traces of the ground plans for a number of royal tombs on both the recto and the verso. Papyrus Cat. 2038 may represent the initial plan of Ramesses IV's tomb, the final version of which appears on papyrus Cat. 1885. Further evidence of the initial plan of the tomb is provided by Cat. 2039 (= CGT 55003).¹²⁹ Earlier, S. Demichelis (2000) published Cat. 1858,¹³⁰ a small papyrus inscribed with a protective spell related to spell 100 from the *Book of the Dead*. This papyrus was made for the scribe Butehamun, the son of scribe Thutmose. The Turin letters between Butehamun and Thutmose (Cat. 1971, Cat. 1972, Cat. 1973) have also been published by G. Cavillier (2016). These editions, as well as editions of other Turin letters published by J. Černý

124 <https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/cerny-collection>; included in TPOP (accessed 15.01.2024).

125 KRI (1975–1990).

126 Demarée & Valbelle (2011).

127 A new edition of Cat. 1993 formed the subject of an MA thesis by L. Loprieno (Pisa 2022, unpublished). The results of her research are included in TPOP under the Doc ID 185 (<https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/185>; accessed 15.01.2024).

128 P. Turin CGT 54021 = Cat. 1917+1963/102+2054/053+2049+1913+1926+2042/002+2100/310+2042/003+2042/001; see Demichelis (2002a). The verso contains a journal account which with several unpublished texts.

129 Demichelis (2007: 45–60).

130 Demichelis (2000: 267–273).

(1939) and E. Wente (1967), can be found online in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.¹³¹ Further to this, the scribal hand of Thutmose, the author of the *Turin Taxation Papyrus* (Cat. 1895+2006), has been subject to analysis by R.J. Demarée, who also published a late Ramesside *Ships's Log* (Cat. 2053/051+2061/076+2098/281+2100/305+2100/307).¹³² Other writings amongst the Turin papyri produced by Thutmose were subsequently published by R.J. Demarée in 2022 (Cat. 2061/082+2106/387; Cat. 2090/217+2090/218+2090/221+2096/259; CP 22/009; Cat. 2107/40).¹³³ Similar administrative notes were published in 2014 by M. Müller (Cat. 1894)¹³⁴ and M. Müller and K. Gabler in 2020 (Cat. 2034).¹³⁵ Papyrus Cat. 2034 is of special interest: the notes on the papyrus appear next to drawings on the recto and verso depicting the footboard of a bed decorated with the figures of the protective deity Bes and several lions (recto) and a piece of furniture (probably a chair, verso). In 2021, B.J.J. Haring published a Ramesside letter to Pharaoh's workmen (Cat. 2022).¹³⁶

In 2017, the Museo Egizio launched the online journal *Rivista del Museo Egizio*. The journal aims to disseminate a variety of research on all aspects of the museum's collection. Publications of various Turin hieratic manuscripts appear in nearly each of its volumes. In 2018, for instance, an 18th Dynasty letter from the Valley of the

Queens (Prov. 3581) was published in the journal by K. Gabler and D. Soliman.¹³⁷ A text on papyrus Cat. 1878, referring to the nomination of the Vizier Useramun, was published in 2019 by M. Frère; the composition is a Ramesside historical fiction, most likely written during the first half of the 20th Dynasty.¹³⁸ In 2021, J. Jurjens published papyrus CGT 54019; it bears an excerpt from *The Teaching of Khety*, also known as *The Satire of the Trades*.¹³⁹ The first complete edition of the administrative hieratic papyrus Cat. 1883+2095 was published in 2022 by M. Landrino.¹⁴⁰ In the same year, G. Lenzo published papyrus Cat. 1877, which lists the forms of Osiris and the names of royal ancestors.¹⁴¹

Preparing the Turin New Kingdom hieratic materials for publication is often an extremely time-consuming process due to the complexity of their contents and the fragmentary condition of the papyri. With the onset of the digital age, however, it has become possible to speed up this process. Philology and papyrology are particular beneficiaries of digital tools and databases as a means of documenting and processing papyri and ancient texts and elucidating their context. While the papyrological study of written material from the Hellenistic and Arab periods already represents something of a "digital vanguard,"¹⁴² Egyptian philology (and particularly the study of hieratic texts) has been extremely slow to catch up.

131 <https://aaew.bbaw.de/de/>; in "Strukturen und Transformationen des Wortschatzes der ägyptischen Sprache, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften", section "Briefe> Briefe des Neuen Reiches und der Dritten Zwischenzeit> Verwaltung/Alltag> Briefe des Deir el-Medina Corpus" (accessed 15.04.2023).

132 Demarée (2018).

133 Demarée (2022).

134 Müller (2014).

135 Gabler & Müller (2020).

136 Haring (2021).

137 Gabler & Soliman (2018).

138 Frère (2019).

139 Jurjens (2021).

140 Landrino (2022b).

141 Lenzo (2022). For additional, recently discovered CP-fragments by R. Pietri, see TPOP Doc ID 133.

142 Cf. Reggiani (2017: 2–10); Berti & Naether (2016); <https://papyri.info/> (accessed 15.04.2023).

This began to change for the Turin material in 2017 with the development of the *Turin Papyrus Online Platform* (TPOP). Available online since 2019,¹⁴³ TPOP facilitates work on the Turin papyri—from the recording of fragments to their annotation with metadata and their publication online. Over 400 documents are currently accessible to registered TPOP users; these consist mostly of Ramesside hieratic papyri from Deir el-Medina. The platform also features over 12,000 NK hieratic fragments, complete with photographs and metadata. These were encoded from 2019 to 2023 as part of the project *Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt*.

2.2. On-going publications and projects

Partnering on the four-year *Crossing Boundaries* project were the Universities of Basel and Liège and the Museo Egizio.¹⁴⁴ The project proposed a context-based and interdisciplinary approach to the written material produced by the highly literate ancient Egyptian community of Deir el-Medina. Its goal was to enhance scholarly understanding of the complex scribal practices behind the texts produced by this community, and it aimed to do so by studying a particular category of documents from Deir el-Medina kept in the Museo Egizio: the so-called “heterogeneous” papyri. The partners on this project encoded and connected thousands of undocumented papyrus fragments, “puzzling together” new manuscripts bearing magical, literary, religious, and administrative texts. The results of the project connected research (St. Polis, K. Gabler,¹⁴⁵ M. Müller), PhD (E. Hertel, St. Unter) and Post-Doc (R. Pietri,¹⁴⁶

N. Sojic) will be published not only within TPOP but also in form of articles and monographs.

Related to the *Crossing Boundaries* project are two PhD and one post-doctoral project financed by the Museo Egizio. M. Landrino’s PhD project, titled “The ‘Archive’ of Ramesses IX: Administrative Documents Housed in the Museo Egizio” represents the edition of some 30 papyri related to the administration of Deir el-Medina. Dating to the reign of Ramesses IX, these papyri had previously received some attention from scholars, notably J. Černý, but a complete edition of the majority of these administrative texts remained a considerable desideratum.¹⁴⁷ The aim of A. Fanciulli’s PhD project, titled “Picturing the King from Deir el-Medina: A Twentieth Dynasty Perspective” is to investigate the ways in which pictorial and written images of the king were constructed by the Deir el-Medina community during the 20th Dynasty (1190–1076 BC). As part of this study, he will produce a new complete edition of Cat. 1892+1886+1893+1934 including CP fragments. Finally, M. Di Teodoro’s post-doctoral project, titled “The Transmission of Literary Knowledge on Papyrus during the Ramesside Period: The Turin Collection in Focus,” explores the uses of literary texts and the forms of literary knowledge that were transmitted on papyrus in the late New Kingdom. It pays special attention to the manuscripts from Deir el-Medina, as that community’s written products permit insights into the selection and transmission of texts within a narrowly defined geographical and temporal context. A case-study will examine the *Turin Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days* (e.g. CGT 54016, verso

¹⁴³ See Töpfer (2018); <https://collezionepapi.museoegizio.it/> (accessed 15.01.2024).

¹⁴⁴ See the report by Polis et al. (2020). For detailed information on the *Crossing Boundaries* project see the website: <http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/x-bound/> (accessed 20.06.2023).

¹⁴⁵ K. Gabler (Mainz) is studying the letters (and journals) found amongst the Ramesside papyri in the Museo Egizio.

¹⁴⁶ The Post-Doc project by R. Pietri (Paris) represents a new scholarly edition and analysis of the Turin copies of the *Satirical Letter of Hori* and other literary texts, parallels for which are known in other collections, such as the British Museum.

¹⁴⁷ For an overview with inventory numbers, see Landrino (2022a).

and CGT 54023),¹⁴⁸ also called hemerologies, which assign good or ill omens to each day of the year. All three of these studies will be published within 2024 and 2025 in the *Studi del Museo Egizio* series.

Despite being one of the most famous papyri from Egypt, the so-called *Turin Papyrus Map* or *Goldmine Papyrus* (Cat. 1879++) has never been properly published. This is about to change thanks to A. Dorn (Uppsala) and St. Polis (Liège), who are preparing to publish both the map on the recto and all of the texts on the verso. The *Turin King List* also known as *Royal Canon* (Cat. 1874) has attracted the attention of Egyptologists since it entered the Museo Egizio in 1824 as part of the Drovetti collection. Over many years, K. Ryholt has studied the papyrus and proposed a new arrangement of the fragments alongside a new interpretation of the text. The restoration was done in 2022 by M. Krutzsch (Berlin) following K. Ryholt's scientific project. The publication of the *King List* on the verso and the *Tax register* on the recto by K. Ryholt, F. Hagen and R.J. Demarée is ongoing and planned for the near future.

2.3. Overview of inventory numbers and genres

The Museo Egizio uses several types of mutually exclusive inventory numbers for papyri (see graphic 1) and ostraca:

- Cat. for “Catalogo”, i.e. the numbers assigned to the museum's objects published in the catalogue by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R. Lanzone (1882), notably including the Drovetti collection. “Cat.” numbers also include objects collected before and after the purchase of the Drovetti collection.¹⁴⁹
- CP for “Cartelline Papiri”, i.e. the numbers assigned to 201 cardboard folders containing

thousands of undocumented (now documented) papyrus fragments from the Drovetti collection and E. Schiaparelli's excavations;

- Suppl. for “Supplemento”, i.e. the numbers assigned to objects acquired after the publication of the catalogue by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R. Lanzone (1882), largely from E. Schiaparelli's purchases and excavations (1901–1920), but also including objects acquired after his tenure as director of the Museo Egizio (1894–1928);
- Provv. for “Provvisorio” (temporary), i.e. the numbers assigned to objects whose original inventory number is not known;
- CGT for “Catalogo Generale Torino”, i.e. a numbering system assigned since 1965 to objects when they were published, but which has been employed more recently for the inventorying of papyri (including unpublished papyri).¹⁵⁰

A number of difficulties arise with respect to the papyri which possess Cat.-inventory numbers. In the first volume of the catalogue by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. Lanzone (1882: 391), inventory numbers were assigned to papyri with cursive-hieroglyphic and hieratic script (Cat. 1769–2160). Some of these numbers (Cat. 2042–2114) reflect several hieratic fragments belonging to different manuscripts. These in turn were assigned sub-numbers (n. 1–504), and old labels bearing the sub-numbers attached to the fragments are crucial when it comes to distinguishing these different (fragmentary) manuscripts. Cat. 2094, for example, consists of 11 fragments (objects) with the sub-numbers 236–246. These belong to at least four documents, while sub-numbers 240 and 241 remain unidentified:

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Demichelis (2008).

¹⁴⁹ See Curto (1976).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. n. 92.

Document A (recto: journal and account / verso: delivery)

Cat. 2094/236 + Cat. 2094/237 + Cat. 2094/238 + Cat. 2094/239

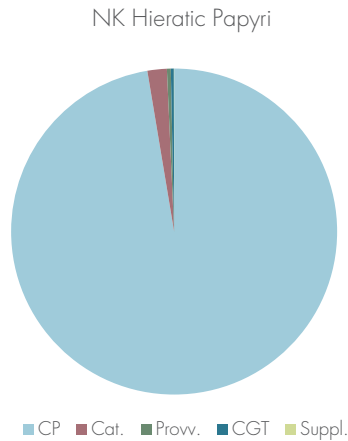
Document B (recto: protocol / verso: list)

Cat. 2094/242 + Cat. 2094/243 + Cat. 2094/245 + Cat. 2094/246 + Cat. 2095/247 + Cat. 2095/248 + Cat. 2095/250 + Cat. 2095/256 + Cat. 2068/126 + Cat. 2065/101–105

Document C (recto / verso: necropolis journal)

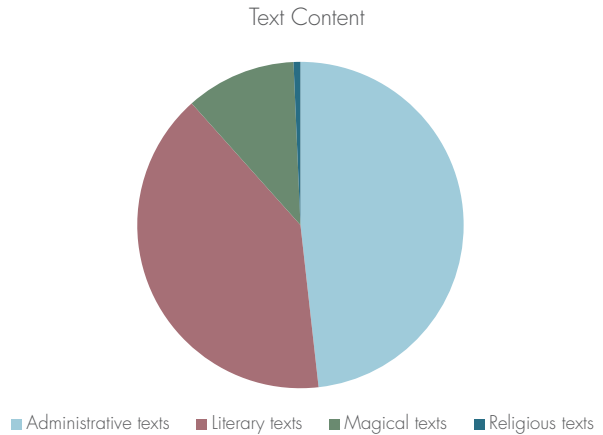
Cat. 2094/244 + Cat. 1898 + Cat. 1926 + Cat. 1937

Such sub-numbers have not always been taken into consideration in publications and online tools (e.g. Leiden DeM Database, Trismegistos). This often complicates the identification of documents referred to by their main number (e.g. Cat. 2094). Further to this, A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. Lanzone (1882) were not consistent in their allocation of sub-numbers. In the Cat. 1769–2041 and Cat. 2115–2117 ranges, for instance, we quite often find several fragments assembled under one inventory number. It is possible, however, to distinguish these fragments based on the description and measurements given in the catalogue, and they have been numbered consecutively in TPOP as 001, etc.



Type	NK Hieratic Papyri
CP	11,398
Cat.	225
Provv.	45
CGT	35
Suppl.	3
TOTAL	11,706

Graphic 1. Overview of NK hieratic papyri in the Museo Egizio according to their inventory numbers (status from December 2023)



Content	Numbers
Administrative texts	1,495
Literary texts	1,245
Magical texts	339
Religious texts	21
TOTAL	3,100

Graphic 2. Overview of the main genres of hieratic texts in the Turin collection (status from December 2023)

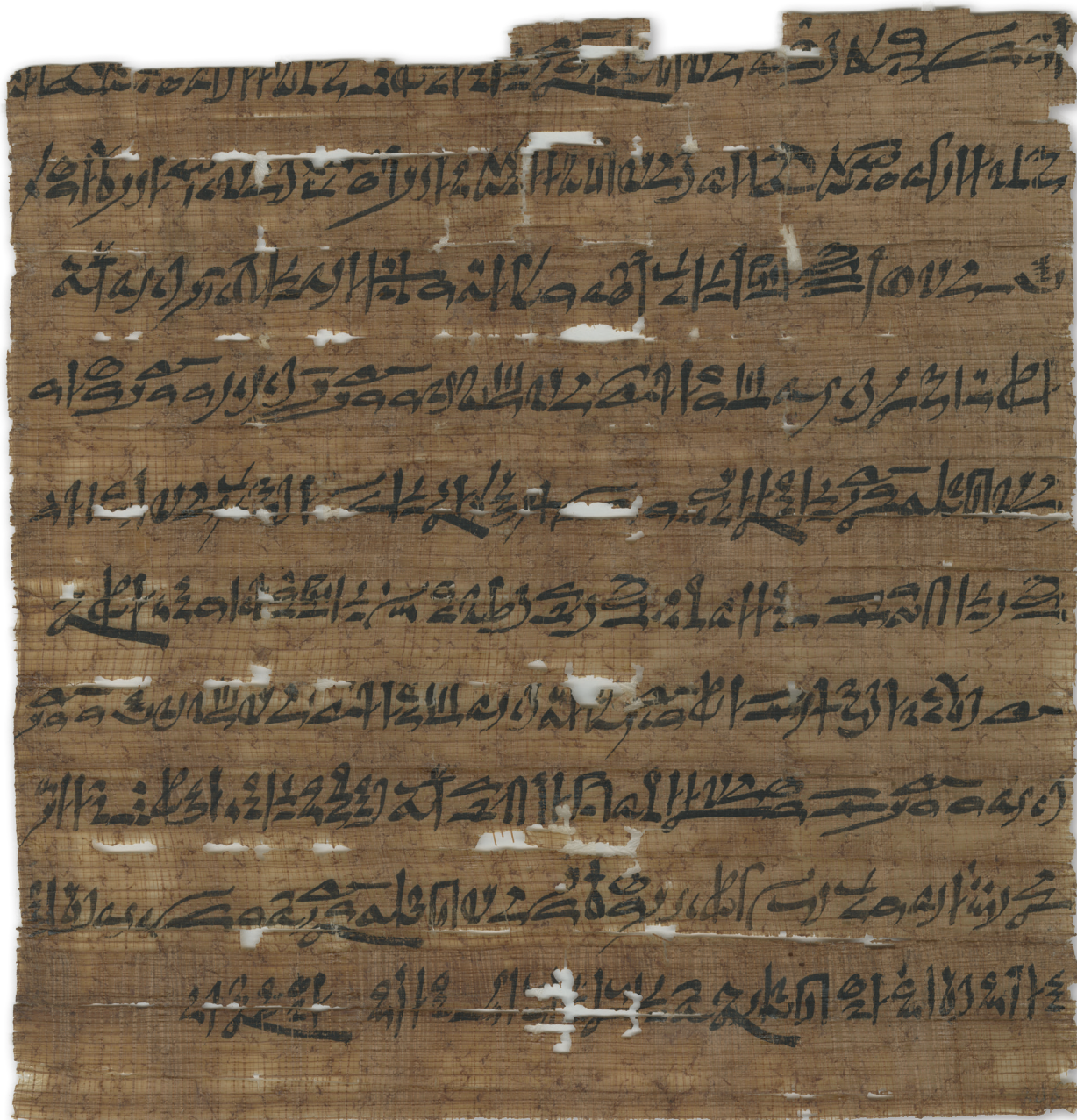


Fig. 3. Letter, Cat. 1977 (© Scan Museo Egizio)

The New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the Turin collection embrace texts of various genres (see Graphic 2). These include:¹⁵¹

– Administrative texts:

Accounts,¹⁵² Census lists,¹⁵³ Fiscal documents,¹⁵⁴ Inventories,¹⁵⁵ Lists of materials and names, Necropolis journals,¹⁵⁶ Payment lists and Receipts¹⁵⁷

– Biographical texts:

Autobiographies, Letters¹⁵⁸

– Legal texts:

Adoption documents,¹⁵⁹ Court records,¹⁶⁰ Disputes,¹⁶¹ Deposits,¹⁶² Divisions,¹⁶³ Juridical texts¹⁶⁴

– Literary texts:

Discourses,¹⁶⁵ Instructions/Teachings,¹⁶⁶ Love songs and poems,¹⁶⁷ Mythological texts,¹⁶⁸ Narratives,¹⁶⁹ Prophecies,¹⁷⁰ Satirical texts,¹⁷¹ Wisdom texts¹⁷²

– Religious texts:

Amuletic texts,¹⁷³ Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky days,¹⁷⁴ Daily Temple Ritual,¹⁷⁵

¹⁵¹ Bibliographical references and further information can be found online in TPOP: <https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Login.aspx> (accessed 15.04.2023). Furthermore, see Töpfer (2024).

¹⁵² e.g. Fish Account: Cat. 2056/056+2056/057+2075+2096/263; TPOP Doc ID 72.

¹⁵³ e.g. *Stato Civile*: Cat. 1963; TPOP Doc ID 601.

¹⁵⁴ e.g. *Turin Taxation Papyrus*: Cat. 2006+1895+2107/407+CP 009/021; TPOP Doc ID 37.

¹⁵⁵ e.g. Inventories in Journals: Cat. 2002; TPOP Doc ID 41.

¹⁵⁶ e.g. *Necropolis Journal of Year 17 of Ramesses IX*: Cat. 1884+2067/118+2071/137+2105+2082/173+2082/175+ 2083/179+2083/181+2083/183+2073/145+ 1945/002; TPOP Doc ID 5.

¹⁵⁷ Payment lists and receipts can be found on numerous *Necropolis Journal* papyri.

¹⁵⁸ e.g. Cat. 1978, 1973, 1972, 1974, 2077, 2026 and Cat. 1977 (fig. 3).

¹⁵⁹ e.g. Cat. 2021 recto; TPOP Doc ID 511.

¹⁶⁰ e.g. *Turin Indictment Papyrus*: Cat. 1887; TPOP Doc ID 430.

¹⁶¹ e.g. *Turin Strike Papyrus*: Cat. 1880; TPOP Doc ID 131.

¹⁶² e.g. Cat. 2015; TPOP Doc ID 465.

¹⁶³ e.g. Cat. 1894; TPOP Doc ID 479.

¹⁶⁴ e.g. *Turin Conspiracy Papyrus*: Cat. 1875; TPOP Doc ID 391.

¹⁶⁵ e.g. *The Discourse between Head and Body*; wooden writing board Cat. 6238.

¹⁶⁶ e.g. CGT 54014; TPOP Doc ID 509.

¹⁶⁷ e.g. *Love Songs*: Cat. 1966 recto; TPOP Doc ID 250.

¹⁶⁸ e.g. *Book of the Heavenly Cow*: Cat. 1982; TPOP Doc ID 137.

¹⁶⁹ e.g. *Sinuhe*: CGT 54015; TPOP Obj ID 284 (pl. 2). The main fragment is parallel to P. Berlin p. 3033, l. 138–162.

¹⁷⁰ e.g. CGT 54024; TPOP Doc ID 15.

¹⁷¹ e.g. *Erotic-Satirical Papyrus*: Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001; TPOP Doc ID 202.

¹⁷² e.g. *Instructions of Khety*: CGT 54019; TPOP Doc ID 543.

¹⁷³ e.g. CP 154/129; TPOP Obj ID 432290.

¹⁷⁴ e.g. Cat. 2104 = CGT 54022; TPOP Doc ID 92.

¹⁷⁵ e.g. *Ritual for Amenhotep I*: Suppl. 10125/1; TPOP Doc ID 296 (pl. 3).

- Litany,¹⁷⁶ Offering text,¹⁷⁷ Hymns,¹⁷⁸ Ritual texts¹⁷⁹
- Scientific texts:
 - Geographical texts,¹⁸⁰ Magical texts¹⁸¹
 - Royal texts:
 - Royal decrees,¹⁸² Royal letters,¹⁸³ Royal historical texts, and Royal names¹⁸⁴

3. NEW KINGDOM HIERATIC OSTRACA [A. F.]

The most substantial source of information about the hieratic ostraca in the collection of the Museo Egizio is the introduction to the first of J. López's four-volume catalogue of this corpus.¹⁸⁵ In this work,¹⁸⁶ J. López presents around 560 New Kingdom hieratic ostraca with general descriptions, facsimiles and, in almost all cases, preliminary hieroglyphic transcriptions. These heterogeneous ostraca vary by material and text type. Around 45% of them consist of inscriptions on limestone flakes, and 55% of inscriptions on sherds of pottery jars and vessels. The number of administrative texts—necropolis journals, inventories, accounts, and lists of materials and names—is larger than other categories of text. Nonetheless, a significant number of literary compositions—hymns, teachings, narratives, satirical texts, etc.—are also present on these ostraca, as well as

epistolary and legal documents, and more rarely, scientific and mathematical and medical texts.

J. López was not the first scholar to study the Turin ostraca. They have been studied sporadically since the end of the 19th century. Ostraca in the Drovetti collection, for instance, were included in the museum's first catalogues, edited by P.C. Orcurti (1822–1871) and by A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R. Lanzone. W. Pleyte and F. Rossi published the first facsimiles and annotated translations of Cat. 2163 and Cat. 2168,¹⁸⁷ while G. Maspero (1880: 116–118) published transcriptions of two autographs signed by the scribe of the necropolis Amennakhte, son of Ipyu: Cat. 2161 and Cat. 2162+2164. A.H. Gardiner also transcribed some ostraca in hieroglyphs in 1905 for the *Zettelarchiv* of the *Wörterbuch*.¹⁸⁸ Numerous ostraca were later studied by J. Černý during his stays in Turin in 1923, 1925, 1926, 1927, and then in 1957 and 1963. The preliminary transcriptions he produced, collected in his notebooks, are extremely valuable sources, since the state of preservation of some of the objects has worsened over the years. J. Černý's transcriptions have been used extensively by S. Allam (1973) and in K.A. Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*. G. Posener (1951: 171–189) also studied some of the Turin originals in the mid-20th century. Subsequently, many of the Deir el-Medina ostraca in the Turin

176 e.g. Cat. 1877; TPOP Doc ID 133.

177 e.g. Cat. 1876 = CGT 54045; TPOP Doc ID 120.

178 e.g. Cat. 1892+1886+1893 + CP 119/001 + CP 128/054; TPOP Doc ID 28.

179 e.g. *Opening of the Mouth Ritual*: CGT 54042; TPOP Doc ID 39.

180 e.g. *Goldmine Papyrus*: Cat. 1879+1969+1899+2083/174+2083/182 recto; TPOP Doc ID 9.

181 e.g. Cat. 1994; TPOP Doc ID 368.

182 e.g. Cat. 1896; TPOP Doc ID 259.

183 e.g. *Letter to King Ramesses VI*: Cat. 1879+1969+1899+2083/174+2083/182 verso; TPOP Doc ID 9.

184 e.g. *Turin King List / Royal Canon*: Cat. 1874 verso; TPOP Doc ID 97.

185 López (1978: 7–9).

186 López (1978; 1980; 1982; 1984). In the bibliography, each fascicle has an entry of its own.

187 Pleyte & Rossi (1869–1876: 209–211, CXLVIII–CL).

188 Orcurti (1852: 176); Fabretti et al. (1882: 287–288).

collection were translated by A.G. McDowell (1999), who produced an anthology of texts from the village for a general readership. In a volume on Ramesside Period chronology, W. Helck (2002) also translated and outlined the contents of several New Kingdom hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina in the collection.

In the present, two online tools support research on the collection, the Leiden Deir el-Medina Database¹⁸⁹ and the University of Liège's Ramses Online portal.¹⁹⁰ The Leiden database holds information on 284 Turin New Kingdom hieratic ostraca, while Ramses Online records almost every ostrakon transcribed in the J. López's catalogue with their hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration, grammatical analysis, and translation. Some of the ostraca in the collection, particularly the literary ones, are also included in the corpus of the online *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.¹⁹¹

As for the Museo Egizio's system of inventory numbers, the ostraca are divided into three groups.

Nine ostraca belong to the "Catalogo" group, from Cat. 2161 to Cat. 2170 (CGT 57001 to 57009 in J. López's catalogue). All nine clearly originate from the Theban area, most likely from the village of Deir el-Medina, and date to the Ramesside period. A. Dorn and S. Polis (2022: 424–450) have recently argued, that Cat. 2162+2164 represents an original composition by Amennakhte, son of Ipuw. In their analysis of the text, they show that this hymn may be situated among Amennakhte's expressions of religious piety, as the scribe appears to adapt the content of the hymn to the social environment of Deir el-Medina, linking the god Ptah to the village water carriers. This interpretation grounds the ostrakon within Amennakhte's

geographical, chronological, and social context, and brings home the value of contextualizing similar artefacts from the collection.

The second and largest group of ostraca in the collection belong to the category of "Supplemento" numbers. Some 90 % of these ostraca come from the village of Deir el-Medina. They were found on site by E. Schiaparelli during his 1905 and 1909 campaigns.¹⁹² Unfortunately, although E. Schiaparelli's reports provide some general information about the archaeological context of these artefacts, they do not include specific details about their find-spots or the state of preservation of the ostraca before they arrived in Turin. In fact, the format of these reports, which simply lists the ostraca, leaves open the question whether these lists were compiled in Egypt or when the boxes of ostraca arrived in Turin.

Most of the remaining 10 % of ostraca with "Suppl." numbers stem from the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission in the Valley of the Queens in the years 1903–1905. In addition to these ostraca, and those found during Schiaparelli's archaeological excavations in Deir el-Medina, a few other New Kingdom hieratic ostraca are listed in E. Schiaparelli's handwritten inventory. The ostraca numbered from Suppl. 1443 to Suppl. 1446 + SN (CGT 57010 to 57013 in J. López's catalogue) are among more than 1400 objects bought on the antiquities market in Egypt by E. Schiaparelli in 1900–1901. Suppl. 4646 (CGT 57015) is said to have been found in Qau el-Kebir but, as noted by J. López (1978: 21), it might actually originate from Deir el-Medina, where E. Schiaparelli was working at the time. This type of mistake would support the idea that Schiaparelli compiled his list of ostraca in Turin rather than Egypt.

189 <https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/> (accessed 10.01.2024).

190 <http://ramses.ulg.ac.be/> (accessed 10.01.2024).

191 <https://aaew.bbaw.de/de> (accessed 10.05.2023).

192 According to E. Schiaparelli's notes, no ostraca were found in 1906, as work that year focused mainly on the Tomb of Kha and Merit in Deir el-Medina (TT 8). For a general overview of E. Schiaparelli's work in Deir el-Medina, excluding ostraca and papyri, see also Del Vesco & Poole (2018: 97–130).

The third group of ostraca belong to the “Provisorio” category; detailed information about their provenance and their arrival in Turin is limited. The ostraca numbered from Provv. 1367 to Provv. 1379 (CGT 57525 to 57538) and from Provv. 1381 to Provv. 1387 (CGT 57548 to 57554) are very likely to have come to Turin with E. Schiaparelli after his archaeological campaigns in Deir el-Medina, just like Provv. 1380 (CGT 57545) and Provv. 9859 (CGT 57535), which were found on site in 1909. Provv. 1389 (CGT 57556) and Provv. 1390 (CGT 57557) may stem from the excavations led by G. Farina in 1935. No archival information exists for the other documents registered as “Provv.,” nor do their texts offer any clues as to their provenance. The majority of them bear several lines of administrative text, but copies of the *Kemyt* (fig. 4, Provv. 1387) are also attested.

Taken together, all of these ostraca represent a unique textual repertoire—from lists of names

and products to necropolis journals and evidence of legal disputes—that sheds valuable light on the life and organization of the community of workers at Deir el-Medina. At the same time, they also offer insights into New Kingdom literary production, particularly during the Ramesside and Late Ramesside Period. Numerous well-known literary compositions were copied on these ostraca, such as the *Satire of Trades*,¹⁹³ the *Hymn to the Nile*,¹⁹⁴ *Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days*,¹⁹⁵ as well as famous stories like that of *Khonsuemheb and the Ghost*,¹⁹⁶ together with pseudo-prophetic texts like the *Prophecy of Neferti*,¹⁹⁷ oracular documents,¹⁹⁸ and so on. The only New Kingdom medical sources known to date in the Turin collection are also notably preserved on ostraca.¹⁹⁹ Finally, several ostraca bear texts that await identification. It was only recently, for instance, that Suppl. 9610 (CGT 57440) was shown to bear a cryptographic composition.²⁰⁰

193 Suppl. 6378 (= CGT 57082); Suppl. 6409 (= CGT 57095); Suppl. 6778 (= CGT 57244); Suppl. 6684 (= CGT 57298); Suppl. 6622 (= CGT 57316); Suppl. 9571 (= CGT 57358); Suppl. 9647 (= CGT 57403); Suppl. 9580 (= CGT 57430).

194 Suppl. 6356 (= CGT 57064); Suppl. 6360 (= CGT 57067); Suppl. 6685 (= CGT 57172); Suppl. 6805 (= CGT 57277); Suppl. 9607 (= CGT 57437).

195 Suppl. 6415 (= CGT 57304).

196 Suppl. 6619 (= CGT 57314 = fig. 5); Suppl. 6806 (= CGT 57315); Suppl. 6620 + 6838 (= CGT 57317); Suppl. 6851 (= CGT 57318).

197 Suppl. 9596 (= CGT 57435).

198 Suppl. 6759 (= CGT 57227).

199 Suppl. 6645 (= CGT 57163) bears two medical prescriptions. Suppl. 6433 (= CGT 57104) is a list of body parts. Thanks to the *Crossing Boundaries* Project, other medical texts have been found on papyri among the CP-fragments. These will be published in the next few years.

200 Polis & Seyr (2023: 117–181).



Fig. 4. Ostracon with parts of the *Kemyt*, Prov. 1387 (© Photo Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio)



Fig. 5. Ostracon with parts of "Khonsuemheb and the Ghost", Suppl. 6619 (= CGT 57314) (© Photo Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio)

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