

The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt

*New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the
Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period*

Edited by

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Ceramic Supports and Their Relation to Texts in Two Groups of Ostraca from the Fayum

Clementina Caputo and James M.S. Cowey

In this paper, I will present some results of my work, which is aimed at integrating ceramological and textual approaches in the study of two ostraca-groups from the Fayum.¹

The results stem from two working visits to the ostraca collection in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, in May and October 2016,² and illustrate what can be gained from the study of the material aspects of two very different sets of ostraca. Both originate from the Fayum, more precisely they were found in Philadelphia and Soknopaiou Nesos (fig. 7.1) at the beginning of the last century during the expeditions of the German Mission of Königliche Museen of Berlin directed by Friedrich Zucker.

The methodology applied during the investigation of the ceramic supports of the Berlin pieces followed the same ceramological approach that I perform for ceramic materials in the field in Egypt.³ Each ostrakon has been classified according to its morphology, fabric,⁴ and surface

treatment and compared to others in the *corpus*. A photograph of the section of the fragment was made using a USB microscope with 400-times magnification.⁵ The dimensions (maximum width, length, and thickness) and the physical properties of writing, such as what side of the ostrakon is inscribed (concave or convex), and the orientation of writing in relation to the wheel marks (parallel, perpendicular, oblique) were also recorded.

All the collected data were entered in Excel tables, to enable statistical quantification at various levels, such as calculating of frequency of vessel types, fabrics, and sherd-dimensions as well as their relation to the types of texts.

1 Ostraca from a Cellar in Philadelphia

During the excavation season of 1908–1909 in Kom el-Kharaba el-Kebir / Darb Gerza, ancient Philadelphia,⁶ Paul Viereck and Friedrich Zucker found a group of ostraca in a corner of a cellar of a house in the centre of the city.⁷ The group comprises 67 Greek ostraca and one bilingual Demotic-Greek piece (BGU VII 1544). 63 of these ostraca are inscribed with documentary texts which deal with a broad range of topics involving the administration of a large estate (accounts, lists, notes, receipts); they

1 This article reports some of the results of the work conducted in the project ‘Schreiben auf Ostraka im inneren und äußeren Mittelmeerraum’ (TP A09) within Heidelberg’s Sonderforschungsbereich 933, ‘Materiale Textkulturen. Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typographischen Gesellschaften’. The ceramological sections and conclusion of this article are authored by C. Caputo and the presentation of the demotic texts on the basis of the joins is the work of J.M.S. Cowey.

2 I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Verena Lepper, Curator for Egyptian and Oriental Papyri, and Dr. Marius Gerhart, Curator for Greek and Latin Papyri, for allowing me to study these ostraca, and Anne Schorneck, Administrator of the Papyri Collection, for her help. The preliminary results of the visits to the collection in Berlin were discussed during the 28th International Congress of Papyrology held in Barcelona (Spain), 1–6 August 2016.

3 I would like to thank also P. Ballet (University of Paris Nanterre), D. Dixneuf (CNRS, University of Aix-Marseille), and S. Marchand (Laboratoire de Céramologie de l’IFAO, Le Caire) for tuition and continuous advice on Egyptian ceramics.

4 Concerning the classification of the ceramic fabrics in the Fayum see S. MARCHAND, ‘Appendix 2. Hawara 2000 – The Pottery from Hawara’, in: I. UYTTERHOEVEN (ed.), *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period. Life and Death in a Fayyum Village* (OLA 174, Leuven, 2009), pp. 685–813; P. BALLETT – A. POŁUDNIKIEWICZ (eds), *Tebtynis V. La*

céramique des époques hellénistique et impériale: Campagnes 1988–1993. Production, consommation et réception dans le Fayoum méridional (FIFAO 68, Le Caire, 2012); D. DIXNEUF, ‘Introduction à la céramique de Soknopaiou Nesos’, in: M. CAPASSO – P. DAVOLI (eds), *Soknopaiou Nesos Project, I (2003–2009)* (Pisa – Roma, 2012), pp. 315–361.

5 The analysis was carried out on the existing fractures. The 400-times magnification allows for a relatively detailed picture of the fabric composition.

6 P. VIERECK – F. ZUCKER, *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayûm* (Berlin, 1926). See also P. DAVOLI, *L’archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Napoli, 1998), pp. 139–148, especially 139–142.

7 Excavation Spot IX in building block C7, see VIERECK – ZUCKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–13, Tafeln I–II.



FIGURE 7.1 Map of Fayum
 @ DAVOLI, *L'ARCHEOLOGIA URBANA*, P. 346, FIG. 161

were published in 1926 by Viereck and Zucker in BGU VII.⁸ The remaining five ostraca bear literary texts.⁹ All the pieces

are dated to later than 212 BCE through to possibly the early second century BCE.¹⁰

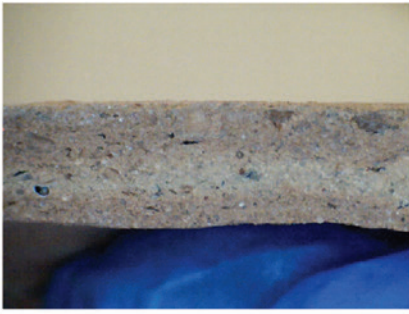
Most of the ostraca are complete and in a fairly good condition. The sherds used are quite large and tend to be of a rectangular or square shape. The complete pieces range in size from 6 to 23 cm width and from 7 to 28 cm high, and their thickness is between 0.8–1.2 cm. The writing is

8 For a list of the objects found during the excavation see VIERECK – ZUCKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12; P. VIERECK, *Philadelphia. Die Gründung einer hellenistischen Militärkolonie in Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 16–25. See also <http://berlpap.smb.museum>.

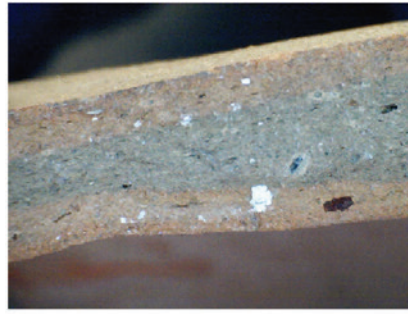
9 TM 65673 (P. 12309), TM 62823 (P. 12310), TM 59946 (P. 12311), TM 65666 (P. 12318), TM 62676 (P. 12319). One of the literary texts, TM 65673 (P. 12309) is a burlesque epitaph for a certain Kleitorios, whose name occurs several times in the documentary texts in the archive. For this reason, and also because a large number of ostraca seem to be inscribed in the same hand, the group was labelled the 'Kleitorios Archive', although the texts most probably were neither authored nor kept by Kleitorios. See P. VIERECK, 'Drei Ostraka des Berliner Museums', in: *Raccolta di scritti in onore di G. Lumbroso* (Milano, 1925), pp. 253–259; E. LIVREA, 'La Morte di Clitorio', in: E. LIVREA (ed.), *Studia Hellenistica*, I (PapFlor 21, Firenze, 1991), pp. 259–265; F. PORDOMINGO, *Antologías de época helenística en papiro* (PapFlor. 43, Firenze, 2013), pp. 183–190, nos 25–27; J.-A. FERNÁNDEZ-DELGADO – F. PORDOMINGO, 'Topics and Models of School Exercises on Papyri and Ostraca from the Hellenistic Period:

P. BEROL. inv. 12318', in: T. GAGOS (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor, July 29-August 4, 2007* (Ann Arbor, 2010), pp. 227–238; G. BASTIANINI, 'Precetti di comportamento in due testi dall'Egitto greco-romano (MP3 2603 e 2591)', in: P. ODORICO, *L'éducation au gouvernement et à la vie: La tradition des 'règles de vie' de l'antiquité au moyen-âge. Colloque international, Pise, 18 et 19 mars 2005* (Autour de Byzance 1, Paris, 2009), pp. 13–18. About the ostraca from Philadelphia see also J. Lougovaya in this volume.

10 On the dating of the ostraca see C. FISCHER-BOVET – W. CLARYSSE, 'Silver and Bronze Standards and the Date of P. Heid. vi 383', *AJP* 58.1 (2012), pp. 36–42 with fn. 9, especially pp. 39–40 (nos. 6 and 18 of the listed sources) and p. 42.



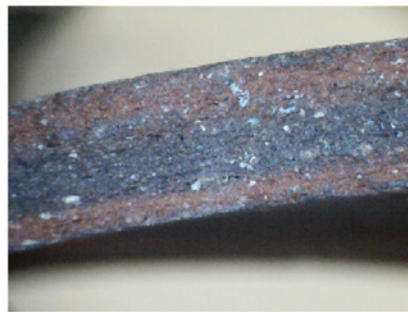
a) BGU VII 1540



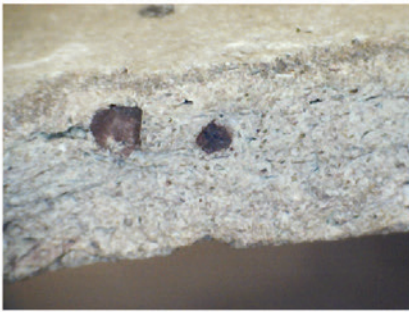
b) BGU VII 1554



c) BGU VII 1542



d) BGU VII 1541



e) BGU VII 1544



f) BGU VII 1559



g) BGU VII 1531

FIGURE 7.2 Macro photos of some Philadelphia ostraca fabrics
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normally on the outer convex side of the sherd, which is smoother than the inner. In three cases,¹¹ the concave face of the sherd was also used for a separate text. The ink is black, and the texts seem to be written with a medium or fine tip. The majority of texts have writing running parallel to wheel marks of the vessel (42 out of 68), 14 are perpendicular, and 10 are at an angle. 16 of the ostraca are palimpsests,¹² that is, an earlier text was washed off and the sherd was re-inscribed again.

In terms of the types of ceramic, 60 out of 68 ostraca are from amphorae of Egyptian production. Both *Amphore Égyptienne 1* and *Amphore Égyptienne 2* are attested. These Egyptian wine amphorae imitate Aegean containers in shape; they are generally dated to the third-second century BCE.¹³ Production of the Aegean imitation amphorae was particularly common in two areas of Egypt: around Lake Mareotis (modern Mariout) and in the Fayum.¹⁴ The fragments used for writing in the Philadelphia archive come exclusively from the body of the container; there is no diagnostic sherd in the set. For this reason, it is not possible to determine the exact sub-types of the original amphorae.

The fabric of the majority of the sherds (86.76%) is made of alluvial or siliceous clay, possibly mixed with a low percentage of limestone.¹⁵ The texture of these fabrics is medium-fine to fine; the colour of the fracture ranges from brown/light brown with chamois or grey/green core to red/dark red with grey/blue or red mauve core (fig. 7.2, a–d). Generally, the exterior surfaces are pinkish to light orange to brown in colour, covered with white, pinkish or orange slips, while the inner side is never pitched. Macroscopically visible inclusions consist of fine to medium chaff particles (white or negative), grains of quartz of medium size, mica (gold or white), and sometimes white and red nodules of different sizes.

Eight ostraca (11.76%) are inscribed on sherds of imported amphorae, possibly from the Eastern Mediterranean area.¹⁶ The fabrics of these sherds are fine and dense in textures, with fractures ranging in colour from pink to light orange to pale brown, with light grey or chamois core. The

surfaces are beige or light yellow, smoothed. Mineral inclusions consist of sand particles of different sizes, sparingly white and red fine nodules (fig. 7.2, f–g). Even if not all of them join physically, similarities of the fabrics and of the surface treatments suggest that some could have belonged to the same vessel. These sherds could be chosen for writing because of their particularly nice and smooth surface.

One ostrakon stands out (BGU VII 1544): it is a sherd in calcareous marl clay, with coarse texture and zoned fracture, pinkish to yellow/green in colour. Inclusions consist of chaff, sand, mica, and medium large red nodules. The exterior surface is irregular and covered with white slip, on which chaff impressions are visible (fig. 7.2, e). The fragment could belong to an amphora of Egyptian production, possibly imitating the Levantine amphorae dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE–first half of the third century BCE.¹⁷ Remarkably, this is the only bilingual ostrakon in the archive with the same text in demotic and in Greek.¹⁸

2 Demotic Ostraca from Soknopaiou Nesos

Friedrich Zucker, in collaboration with Wilhelm Schubart, carried out two campaigns in Soknopaiou Nesos between February 1909 and January 1910.¹⁹ According to Zucker's report a group of demotic ostraca along with some other objects was found in the north-western part of the site, just outside the *temenos*.²⁰ 222 of these ostraca are kept in the Papyrussammlung in Berlin, while six more ostraca, now in the Ägyptische Sammlung of Zurich University, have been identified in 1973 by Karl-Theodor Zauzich as coming from Soknopaiou Nesos.²¹

11 BGU VII 1525, 1531, TM 65673 (P. 12309).

12 TM 59946 (P. 12311), BGU VII 1501, 1509, 1511, 1512, 1514, 1518, 1519, 1521, 1527, 1528, 1531, 1532, 1536, 1547, 1559.

13 D. DIXNEUF, *Amphores égyptiennes. Production, typologie, contenu et diffusion (III^e siècle avant J.-C. – I^{er} siècle après J.-C.)* (Études Alexandrines 22, Alexandrie, 2011), pp. 75–90.

14 DIXNEUF, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–90.

15 Sometimes, the outer surface appears to be slightly faded, indicating that the dough is lightly calcareous, see BALLET – POŁUDNIKIEWICZ, *Tebtynis* V, pp. 14–15.

16 BGU VII 1501, 1515, 1529, 1531, 1532, 1543, 1555, 1559.

17 S. MARCHAND, 'Conteneurs importés et égyptiens de Tebtynis (Fayoum) de la deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. au X^e siècle apr. J.-C. (1994–2002)', in: S. MARCHAND – A. MARANGO (eds), *Amphores d'Égypte de la Basse époque à l'époque arabe*, I (Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 8, Le Caire, 2007), pp. 239–294, especially pp. 251–256.

18 For BGU VII 1544 see figure 6.8 in the preceding article of J. Lougovaya, p. 60.

19 On Zucker's excavation see F. ZUCKER – W. SCHUBART, 'Die Berliner Papyrusgrabungen in Dimê und Medînet Mâdi 1909/10. Das Grabungstagebuch. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Müller', *AJP* 21 (1971), pp. 5–55 (especially 14); F. ZUCKER, 'Archäologischer Anzeiger: Ägypten', *JDAI* 24 (1909), pp. 178–184.

20 The sole purpose of this mission was finding papyri. The archaeological documentation was poor and not systematic.

21 The 6 ostraca were published in 1965 by S.V. Wängstedt together with pieces of Theban origin, but in 1973, K.-Th. Zauzich suggested that they came from Soknopaiou Nesos

The 228 ostraca, all in demotic and dated on the basis of palaeography to the Roman period (first century BCE–second century CE), were published in 2006 by Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit in *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime I*.²² The texts are grouped into two categories: the first group consists of ostraca related to the administrative organization of the temple, such as *Phylai* lists (O. Dime I 1–23 and 24–35),²³ lists of names without any apparent grouping (O. Dime I 36–85), and small ostraca with short texts consisting of one or two names (O. Dime I 86–169 and 170–173).²⁴ The second group includes texts pertaining to economic activities, such as food distribution for the priests and various accounts related to the temple (O. Dime I 176–204).²⁵ These ostraca represent the most significant discovery on the site before the recent excavations by the Soknopaiou Nesos Project,²⁶ which during the Seasons 2003–2014 uncovered about 600 ostraca.²⁷

on the basis of palaeographic and onomastic details. See S.V. WÄNGSTEDT (ed.), *Die demotischen Ostraka der Universität zu Zürich* (Uppsala, 1965), pp. 52–53, nos 47–52; K.-TH. ZAUZICH, 'Demotische Ostraka aus Soknopaiou Nesos', in: B. KRAMER – W. LUPPE – H. MAEHLER – G. POETHKE (eds), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses Berlin, 13.–19. 8. 1995* (*AJP Beiheft* 3, Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1997), pp. 1056–1060. See also S.L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime I. Ostraka* (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 1–2. A small number of published Greek ostraca, found during the Michigan Excavations in Dime (1931–32) are now in Ann Arbor and Cairo.

22 The O. Dime pieces were published in 2006, that is, before the results of systematic excavations were available (2012), thus, ceramological considerations were not taken into account in the publication of the ostraca (LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, *op. cit.*). For details concerning the archaeological excavation, see also CAPASSO – DAVOLI, *Soknopaiou Nesos*, pp. 11–18; P. DAVOLI, 'Lo scavo archeologico', in: CAPASSO – DAVOLI, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–227. See also www.museopapirologico.eu.

23 LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–102.

24 This is the most well represented category of texts in the collection. They contain a male name and a patronymic, but sometimes also the grandfather's name, usually written over two or three lines.

25 LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–125. The third section includes a number of uncertain and fragmentary texts (nos 205–229): LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–138.

26 The Soknopaiou Nesos Project, directed by M. Capasso and P. Davoli, began the excavation at Dime / Soknopaiou Nesos in 2003, and by the season of 2014, had uncovered the area of the main temple labeled ST20 and completed the topographical and ceramological surveys of the settlement and surrounding territory: I. CHIESI – P. DAVOLI – S. OCCHI – N. RAIMONDI, 'I rilievi topografici del sito', in: CAPASSO – DAVOLI, *Soknopaiou Nesos*, pp. 56–66.

27 The texts of the ostraca found during the stratigraphic excavations carried out in Soknopaiou Nesos (2003–2014) are at present

The recent finds are kept in the general storehouse for the Fayum in Kom Aushim, ancient Karanis. My objective has been to integrate the information derived from the texts of the Berlin pieces with the analysis of the material aspects of the ostraca with the help of newly compiled ceramological data for the site²⁸ and to complete the documentation concerning the *corpus* of ostraca found during the modern excavation at Soknopaiou Nesos.²⁹

The O. Dime pieces in Berlin are all in good or fairly good condition. All sherds have a similar smoothed outer, or convex, surface, which was used for inscribing. The inner surface is almost always rough and pitched. Only one sherd is inscribed on both sides, and the inner side in this case is not pitched (O. Dime I 1). The ink used for writing is black, and the texts seem to have been written with a *calamus* with a medium or fine tip. The writing tends to run parallel to the wheel marks of the vessel (136 texts out of 222), more rarely, it runs perpendicular (43 ostraca) or at an angle (32 ostraca), and only on 4 ostraca does the direction of writing vary.

under study by M. Capasso (Università del Salento – Lecce), M.A. Stadler and C. Arlt (Würzburg University), and they will be edited in volume II of the Soknopaiou Nesos Project. For a preliminary study see M. CAPASSO, 'I papiri e gli ostraka greci, figurati e copti (2001–2009)', in: CAPASSO – DAVOLI, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–247; M.A. STADLER, 'Demotica aus Dime: ein Überblick über die in Dime während der Kampagnen 2001–2009 gefundenen demotischen Texte', in: CAPASSO – DAVOLI, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–263. See also C. ARLT, 'The Name Ostraka from Soknopaiou Nesos. Office Lottery or Ostracism in the Fayyûm?', in: C. ARLT – M.A. STADLER – U. WEINMANN, *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit. Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike* (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 7–17.

28 The work conducted in the field by the Soknopaiou Nesos Project has allowed us to produce a chrono-typological field catalogue of the main ceramic types and to classify the petro-fabrics associated with these types. Our ceramological repertory for the site covers the period from Ptolemaic through the 7th century CE. This catalogue is used for the identification of all ceramic fragments currently found on the site, including the inscribed sherds. Cf. DIXNEUF, 'La céramique de Soknopaiou Nesos', pp. 315–361.

29 Since 2006, I have participated as field ceramologist with the archaeological Missions of the *Centro di Studi Papirologici* (Lecce) at the Soknopaiou Nesos Project's excavations and I had the opportunity to study the ceramic supports of all the new ostraca found from 2003 to 2014. The recently found demotic ostraca come from inside the *temenos*, along the two exterior sides of the temple ST20, while the ostraca found in 1909–1910 by Zucker came from the area just outside the *temenos*. For these reasons, I was interested to compare these two sets of ostraca.

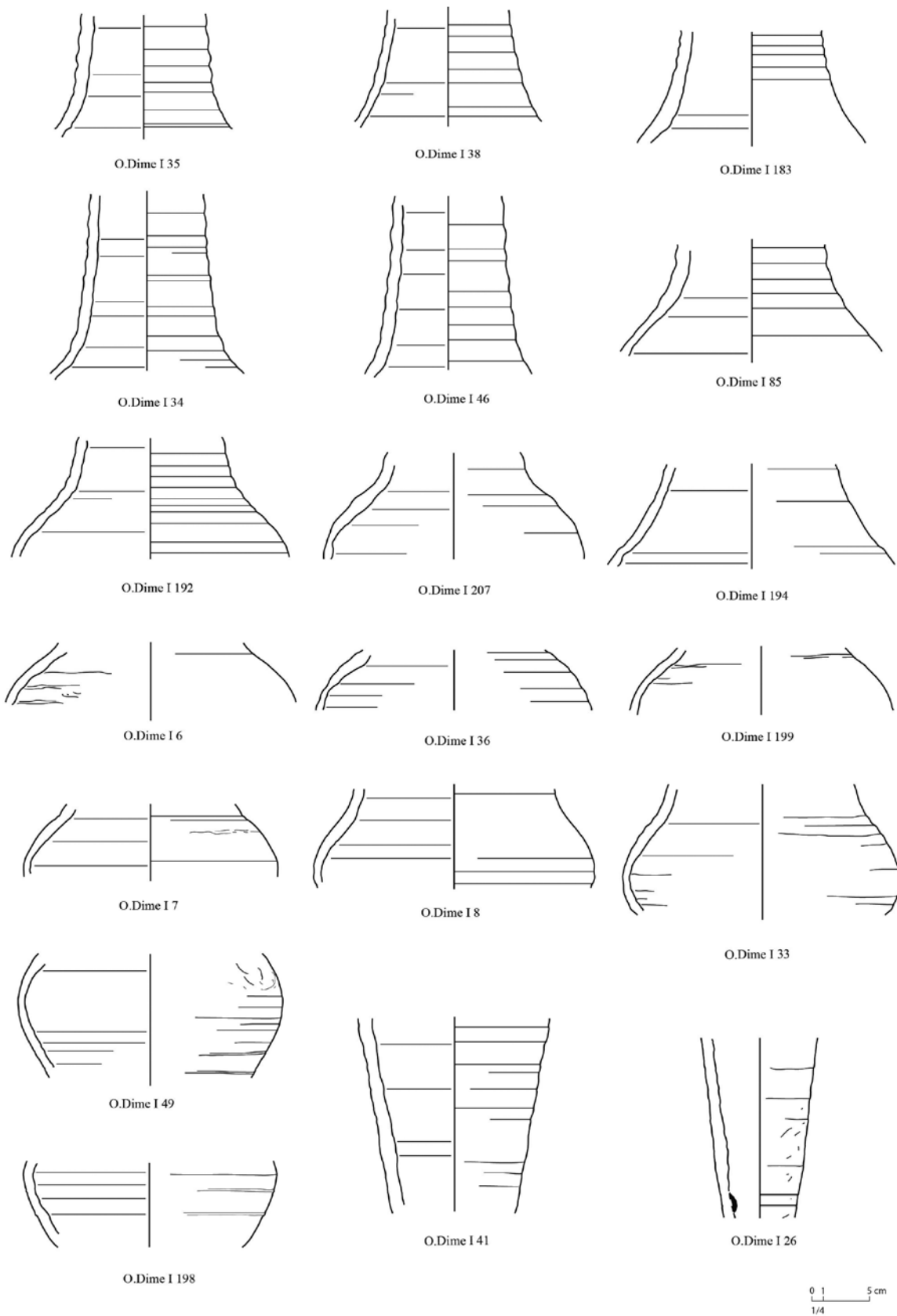
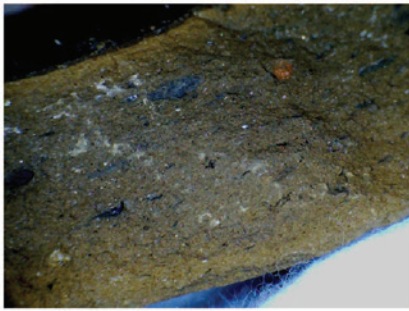
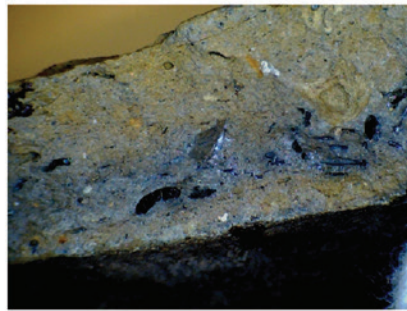


FIGURE 7.3 Diagnostic inscribed sherds among the O. Dime ostraca

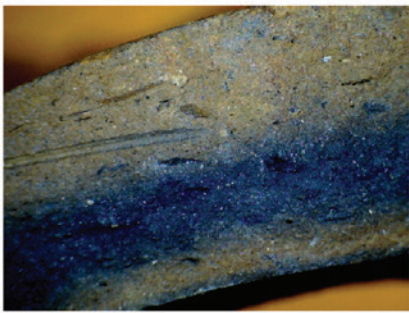
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a) O.Dime I 209



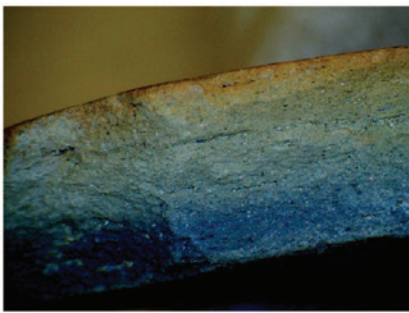
b) O.Dime I 51



c) O.Dime I 12



d) O.Dime I 14



e) O.Dime I 126



f) O.Dime I 147



g) O.Dime I 59

FIGURE 7.4 Macro photos of some Dime ostraca fabrics
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All but one of the O. Dime (99.54%) are from Egyptian amphorae,³⁰ one of the most common containers in Soknopaiou Nesos. This kind of container is generally defined *bi-tronconique* and it corresponds to the *Amphore Égyptienne 3* (AE 3) of the classification made by Jean-Yves Empereur and Maurice Picon.³¹ This amphora, of which many variants are attested, was spread all over Egypt from the early Roman period (end of first century BCE) until the first half of the eighth century CE.³² Although among the O. Dime pieces most of the fragments used for writing come from the body of the amphora, which is least curved and has the most even surface, at least 20 diagnostic fragments have been identified, belonging to the neck (ø 15–10 cm), the shoulder and belly (ø 25–20 cm), and the base (ø 18–16 cm and 12–9 cm) of the recipient (fig. 7.3). They helped in the recognition of at least one sub-type of AE 3 amphora, the ‘Magdola Type’, produced in the Fayum and dated to the first-second century CE.³³ The texts and the supports thus appear to be contemporary.

All ostraca are made with alluvial Nile clay; no ostraca in calcareous clay are present in the collection. According to the fabric’s classification system made for the site,³⁴ the majority of the sherds (83.3%) are in F1a, and most of the rest, 16.20% of the fragments, are in F1. The texture of these fabrics is medium fine to medium coarse. The colour of the fractures ranges from brown to buff, sometimes with

grey/blue core in F1a (fig. 7.4, a–c), and it ranges from red to grey/blue to grey/green colour in F1 (fig. 7.4, d–f). The surface is brown in colour in the first type, and reddish/brown in the second. Macroscopically visible inclusions consist of many fine and medium chaff particles (white or in negative), medium sized grains of quartz, many fine and medium sized golden mica particles and rare white and red inclusions, hardly visible to the naked eye but detectable under a microscope. The chaff inclusions might be visible both on the fracture and on the surface mainly in the sections of the neck, handles and base. All these observations have allowed me to identify the type of the vessel and sometimes to recognize sherds originating from the same recipient. A further level of investigation was a more accurate examination of the relationship between the morphology of the supports and their texts, in particular for some categories of ostraca. The largest category of texts among the O. Dime pieces is that of name-ostraca (82 out of 222 ostraca, 37.96%). The sherds used for these are rather small, ranging from 3.5 to 8 cm in width, from 3.5 to 9 in length, and from 0.6 to 1.6 in thickness. 43.2% of the name ostraca are quadrangular in shape, 39.8% are pentagonal, only 4.5% are triangular and another 4.5% hexagonal; the remaining 8% have more than six corners. The text is always on the convex side, usually parallel to the lines of the wheel; the writing on the sherds in most cases starts in the upper right corner and runs along the upper edge, no matter the precise shape of the fragment. The consistency in shape and similarity of dimensions suggest that the sherds for the name-ostraca were produced or chosen from available ceramic fragments.

A second large group is that containing the lists of names (25.93%). Most of these are incomplete, that is, the supports have been broken after they were inscribed. The writing, generally parallel to wheel marks, is mostly on fragments of varying size and belonging to the neck, shoulder, or body of the amphora. Some of the ostraca have texts written in two or more columns, with a space between the columns of about 2 to 4 cm. Similarities in the fabric, the state and treatment of the surfaces, as well as the morphology of the fragments, that is, which part of the amphora the fragment comes from, helped me recognize some joins between ostraca whose texts had been studied separately as belonging to the same vessel. Thus, I joined nine ostraca, namely:

1. O. Dime I 24+27+54+81 Phyle list (fig. 7.5, a)
2. O. Dime I 69+73 List of names (fig. 7.5, b)
3. O. Dime I 39+70 List of names (fig. 7.5, c)
4. O. Dime I 83+37 List of names (fig. 7.5, d)
5. O. Dime I 182+186 Account of wheat (fig. 7.5, e)

30 Only one text is written on a fragment of an undefined small bowl (O. Dime I 59) in F10 fabric (fig. 7.4, g). The clay used to make this fabric is also alluvial, reddish/brown in color with red core (F10). The texture is medium-fine because of the presence of chaff and sand inclusions, and white mica. On the exterior surface a thin layer of reddish slip is still visible below the writing.

31 J.-Y. EMPEREUR – M. PICON, ‘Les régions de production d’amphores impériales en Méditerranée orientale’, in: *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherche: actes du colloque* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome 114, Rome, 1989), pp. 223–248, especially see p. 77; D.M. BAILEY, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein v. Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab Periods* (London, 1998), p. 125; R. TOMBER, ‘Early Roman Egyptian Amphorae from the Eastern Desert of Egypt: A Chronological Sequence’, in: S. MARCHAND – A. MARANGO (eds), *Amphores d’Égypte de la Basse époque à l’époque arabe*, II (Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 8, Le Caire, 2007), pp. 525–526.

32 DIXNEUF, *Amphores égyptiennes*, pp. 97–128 and pp. 138–142.

33 D.M. BAILEY, ‘A Form of Amphores Égyptiennes 3 from the South-West Fayum’, in: S. MARCHAND – A. MARANGO (eds), *Amphores d’Égypte de la Basse époque à l’époque arabe*, I (Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 8, Le Caire, 2007), pp. 227–237, fig. 1 (1–9); BALLETT – POŁUDNIKIEWICZ, *Tebtynis v*, pp. 181–182, 326 Planche 88 (790); DIXNEUF, *Amphores égyptiennes*, pp. 117–118, figs 101a and 102.

34 DIXNEUF, ‘La céramique de Soknopaiou Nesos’, pp. 317–318.

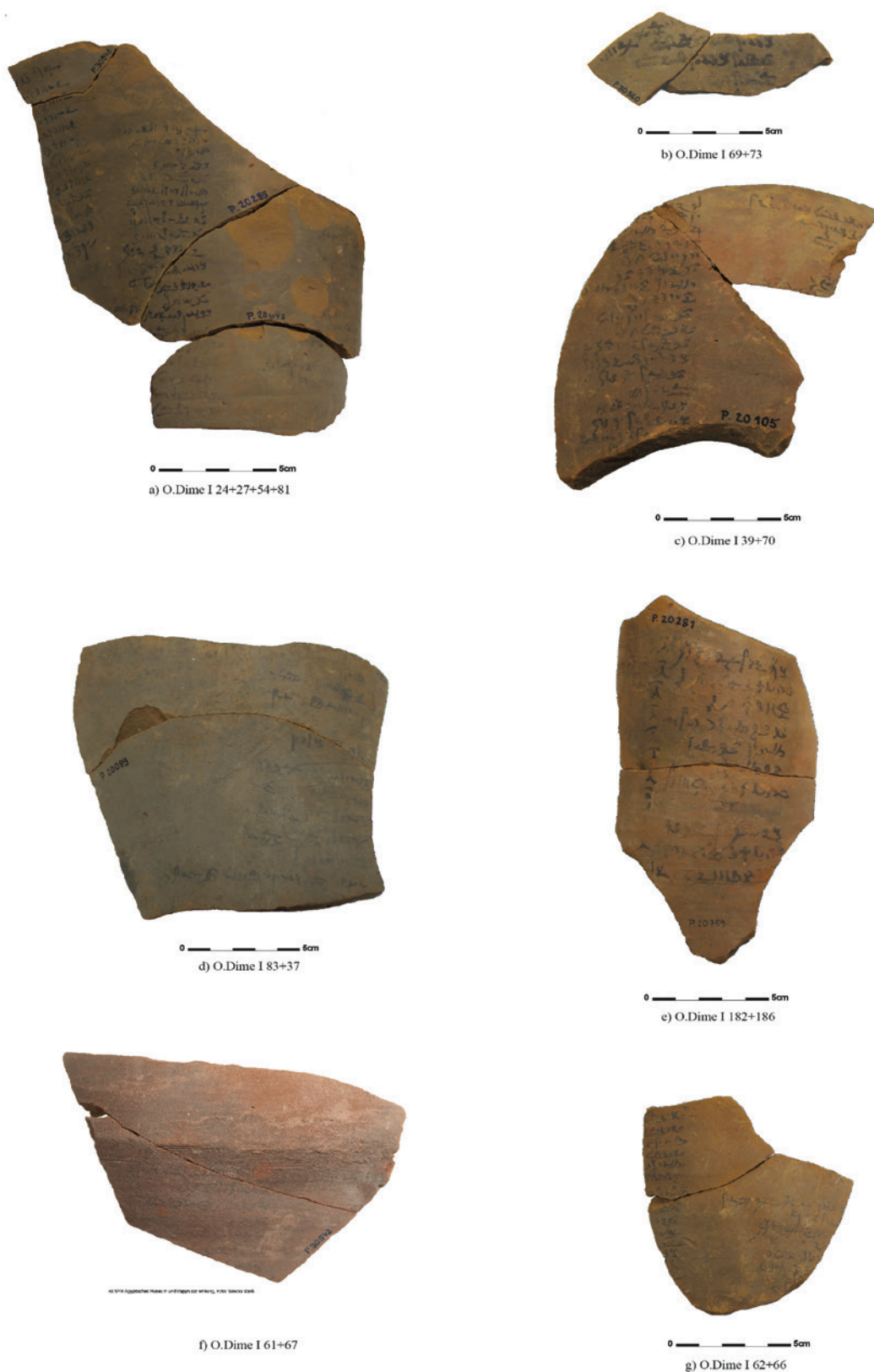


FIGURE 7.5 New joins of the O. Dime ostraca in Berlin

F © STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN – ÄGYPTISCHES MUSEUM UND PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG,

PHOTO: SANDRA STEISS

COMPOSITE IMAGES A–E AND G: PHOTO © C. CAPUTO

6. O. Dime I 61+67 List of names (fig. 7.5, f)
 7. O. Dime I 66+62 List of names (fig. 7.5, g)
 The number of ostraca in the collection has thus been reduced from 222 to 213, and it is possible that more pieces belong together. The edition of the texts of the reassembled ostraca follow below.

3 The Texts of the Reassembled O. Dime Pieces

The texts presented here are those of the newly joined ostraca fragments. They are accompanied by an English translation. I have only added commentary to a line, if I felt that it added to what can already be found in the excellent edition of the ostraca in O. Dime I.³⁵

Text 1 O. Dime I 24+27+54+81

As a result of joining these four separate pieces, there are now three separate columns on the one piece. In column 3 there is now a complete list of 12 people belonging to the 5th phyle.

In column 2 lines 11–12 the join brings together the left and right hand portions of the name followed by father's name of two individual persons.

Column I (O. Dime I 54, Col. 1 + O. Dime I 81, Col. 1)

x+1	「... (s) Wn-nfr(?)」	..., (son) of Onnophris(?)
x+2	Ql-d3d3 (s) 「St3.t-t3-wty」	Kalatytes, (son) of Stotoetis
x+3	P3y-「Šy」(?) 「p3yef」 [...]	Pisais(?), his [...]
x+4	Pa-n3.w-nfr-i「my」 [p3] 「3」 p3yef šr	Panephemmis, [the] elder, his son
x+5	「.....」
x+6	「...」 [...]	... [...]
x+7	Tše-nfr (s) sp(-2) 「...」	Tesenouphis, (son) of the like-named, ...
x+8	「Pa-n3.w-nfr」-imy 「...」	Panephemmis ...
x+9	Twef-nh 「p3yef sn」	Apynchis, his brother
x+10	Pa-n3-nfr-im「y」 [...]	Panephemmis [...]
x+11	「...」 「...」
x+12	「...」 「p3yef šr」	「...」 his son

x+13	Twef-nh (s) St3.「t」t-w-t3 「-wty」 (s) 「Pa-n3-nfr-imy」	Apynchis, (son) of Stotoetis, (the son) of Panephemmis
x+14	Hr-pyt (s) Twef-nh (s) 「...-nfr」	Harpagathes, (son) of Apynchis, (the son) of ... nfr
x+15	Pa-gš (s) sp(-2)	Pakysis, (son) of the like-named
x+16	「...」 「...」	「...」 ...

Column II (O. Dime I 24, Col. 1 + O. Dime I 54, Col. 2 + O. Dime I 81, Col. 2)

1	p3 s3 3.nw Pa-cw (s) Htb3	The 3rd phyle Paous, (son) of Satabous
2	St3.「t」t-w「w」-t3-wty (p3) 「hm(?)」 (s) Hr	Stotoetis, (the) younger(?), (son) of Horos
3	Hr-w (s) Rw「3」	Herieus, (son) of Lous(?)
4	Pa-gše p3yef šr	Pakysis, his son
5	Hr p3 3 (s) Wn-nfr	Horos, the elder, (son) of Onnophris
6	Hr-w (s) Pa-cw (s) Htb3	Herieus, (son) of Paous, (the son of) Satabous
7	P3-di-Sbk (s) Pa-n3.w-nfr-imy	Petesouchos, (son) of Panephemmis
8	Hr-pyt p3yef sn	Harpagathes, his brother
9	Hr-pyt p3yef šr	Harpagathes, his son
10	Htb3 (s) pp	Satabous, (son) of Apophis
11	Pa-n3.w-nfr-imy (s) Sbk-Hcpy	Panephemmis, (son) of Sokonopis
12	St3.「t」t-w「w」-t3-wty (s) sp(-2) p3 3	Stotoetis, son of the like-named, the elder
13	Hr p3yef sn	Horos, his brother
14	Pa-n3.w-nfr-imy (s) St3.「t」t-w「w」-t3-wty	Panephemmis, (son) of Stotoetis
15	H「t」b3 (s) Tše「...」	Satabous, (son) of Tše「...」
16	「St3.「t」t-w-t3-w」[ty ...]	Stotoe[tis ...]
17	Hr-pyt p3 「..」 [...]	Harpagathes the.. [...]
18	nh「ef」 p3 hm「...」	Anchophis, the younger [...]
19	Pa-「n3-nfr」-imy [...]	Panephemmis [...]
20	St3.「t」t-w-t3-wty [...]	Stotoetis [...]

35 I would like to thank Maren Schentuleit for looking over the transcriptions and making helpful comments. Any remaining mistakes are mine.

10. There is also a *Htbz* (*s*₃) *pp* mentioned in O. Dime I 203, 1.
 11. There is also a [*Pa-nz-nfr*]-*imy* (*s*₃) *Sbk-Hrpy* mentioned in O. Dime I 58, x+3.

Column III (O. Dime I 27+ O. Dime I 24, Col. 2)

1	<i>pz s3 5(.nw) Hr-[py] [t(?) ...]</i>	The 5th phyle: Harpaga[thes(?) ...]
2	<i>Htbz</i> [..] [...]	Satabous.. [...]
3	<i>H[Htbz (s3) ...]</i> [...]	Satabous,.. [...]
4	<i>Htbz pz</i> [hm] [...]	Satabous, the younger [...]
5	<i>Htbz (s3) St3. {t} t-w{w}-t3- wty ...]</i>	Satabous, (son) of Stot[oetis ...]
6	<i>Htbz (s3) sp(-2) [...]</i>	Satabous, (son) of [...]
7	<i>Qr-d3d3</i> [...]	Kalatytes [...]
8	<i>St3. {t} t-w{w}-t3-wty [...]</i>	Stotoetis [...]
9	<i>St3. {t} t-w{w}-t3-wty [...]</i>	Stotoetis [...]
10	<i>Hr-pyt (s3) [Hr] [w ...]</i>	Harpagathes (son) of Her[ieus ...]
11	<i>Hr-w (s3) Rts</i> [...]	Herieus, (son) of <i>Rts</i> [...]
12	<i>Pa-nz-nfr-im</i> [y] [...]	Panephremmis [...]
13	<i>r rmt s 1</i> [2]	makes 12 people

3. The first sign of the name *Htbz* is now perfectly visible. The top section is preserved at the beginning of the broken line 3 on O. Dime I 27. The bottom section is preserved at the beginning of line x+1 in column 2 of O. Dime I 24.
 13. The total of twelve persons is now complete from Harpagathes in line 1 through to Panephremmis in line 12.

Text 2 O. Dime I 69+73

Through the join lines 2 and 3 are now complete with name, father's name and name of the grandfather in line 2 and in line 3 name and father's name.

1	[] [Nht] [t] [-nb] [f] (<i>s</i> ₃) [] <i>Tse</i>	[] Nestnephis, (son) of Teses
2	<i>Pa-nz-nfr-imy (s3) Hr-pyt pz s3 (s3?) Nht. t-nb-f</i>	Panephremmis, (son) of Harpagathes, the elder, (the son?) of Nestnephis
3	<i>Hr-pyt (s3) Pa-nz-nfr-imy pz s3</i>	Harpagathes, (son) of Panephremmis, the elder
4	<i>Tse-nfr pz-yf sr</i>	Tesenouphis, his son
5	[...] [..] [...]	[...].. [...]

1. We may expect that the name of the person listed stood here in front of his father's and grandfather's names.

Text 3 O. Dime I 39+70

There are two columns preserved on the joined pieces. Column I remains unchanged and is O. Dime I 70, Col. 1.

O. Dime I 70, Col. 2 preserves the beginning of the name list of O. Dime I 39. These both join perfectly to make up column II as presented here.

Column I (O. Dime I 70, Col. 1)

1	[...] [..] (<i>s</i> ₃) <i>St3. t-wty (s3)</i> [...]	... (son) of Stoetis, <i>Sbk-htp</i> (the son) of Sochotes
2	[...] [..] (<i>s</i> ₃) <i>Pa-nz-nfr-imy</i> [...]	.. (son) of Panephremmis
3	[.....] (<i>s</i> ₃) [.....] (<i>p</i> ₃) [.....] ^{s3}	[.....] (son) [.....] (the) elder
4	[...]	[...]
5	[... (<i>s</i> ₃) <i>Hr</i>]-[<i>pyt</i>] (<i>p</i> ₃) <i>hm</i>	[... (son) of Har]pagathes (the) younger
6	[... (<i>s</i> ₃) <i>Qr</i>]- <i>d3d3</i>	[... (son) of Kala]tytes

Column II (O. Dime I 70, Col. 2 + O. Dime I 39)

1	<i>h3.t-sp 9</i> [..] [...]	Regnal year 9. [...]
2	<i>p3 ip</i> [..] [...]	The list ... [...]
3	<i>s3 tp Hr-w</i> [...]	First Phyle: Herieus
4	<i>Pa-nz-nfr-imy pz s3 (s3)</i> <i>Ht b</i> [3 ...]	Panephremmis, the younger, (son) of Satab[ous ...]
5	<i>Tw-f-nh pz-yf sn</i>	Apynchis, his brother
6	<i>Hr (s3) Htbz (s3) Hr</i>	Horos, (son) of Satabous, (the son) of Horos
7	<i>Hr-w (s3) Htbz (s3) Hr-w</i>	Herieus, (son) of Satabous, (the son) of Herieus
8	<i>Htbz pz-yf sn</i>	Satabous, his brother
9	<i>Hr</i> -[<i>pyt</i>] (<i>s</i> ₃) <i>Tw-f-nh</i>	Harpagathes, (son) of Apynchis
10	<i>St3. t-wty pz-yf sn</i>	Stoetis, his brother
11	<i>Hr-pyt (s3) Htbz (s3)</i> <i>Pa-hd(?)</i>	Harpagathes, (son) of Satabous, (the son) of <i>Pa-hd(?)</i>
12	<i>Pa-nz-nfr-imy (s3)</i> <i>M3-R (p3) [hm]</i>	Panephremmis, (son) of Marres, (the) younger
13	<i>Hr-pyt (s3) P3y-Sy</i>	Harpagathes, (son) of Pisais
14	<i>Tse-nfr (s3) sp(-2)</i>	Tesenouphis, (son) of the like-named
15	<i>P3y-Sy (s3) Qr-d3d3</i>	Pisais, (son) of Kalatytes
16	<i>Sbk-htp (s3) P3y-Sy</i>	Sochotes, (son) of Pisais
17	[<i>Hr-py</i>] [t] (<i>s</i> ₃) <i>Pa-nz-nfr-imy</i>	Harpagathes, (son) of Panephremmis
18	[...] [..] [...]	[...] ...

3. O. Dime I 39, x+2 was originally read as [...] [..] (s3) Hr>w [...] O. Dime I 70, Col. 2, line 3 was originally read as s3 [..] [...]. The two signs on the edge of O. Dime I 39, x+2 can be interpreted as *tp*.

Text 4 O. Dime I 83+37

O. Dime I 37 provides the continuation of the beginning of a list of wheat which started at the bottom of O. Dime I 83. A slightly larger space between the lines 4 and 5 help to mark the beginning of a new text.

x+1	Hr[-pyt (s3) Pa-n3.w-nfr- \bar{t}] [my ...]	Harpagathes (son) of Panephre[mmis ...]
x+2	[Tše] (s3) sp(-2) p3 sh	Teses, (son) of the like- named, the scribe
x+3	[Hr-...] (s3) Htb3 p3 hm (s3) Tše	Hr ..., (son) of Satabous the younger, (son) of Teses
x+4	Pa-n3-nfr- \bar{t} - \bar{i} -w-my (s3) sp(-2) (s3) Tše-nfr	Panephremmis, (son) of the like-named, (son) of Tesenouphis
x+5	p3 ip [..] sw3	The list ... wheat
x+6	Hr>w (s3) [...] (s3) Nht.t-nb[\bar{f}]	Herieus, (son) of [...] (the son) of Nestnephis
x+7	Pa-n3-nfr- \bar{t} - \bar{i} -imy (s3) [...] hm	Panephremmis, (son) of [...], the younger
x+8	Hr>w (s3) [Tše] (s3) [Tše-nfr]	Herieus, (son) of [Teses], (the son) of Tesenouphis
x+9	[Nht.t-nb \bar{f}] (s3) Tše (s3) Tše-nfr	Nestnephis, (son) of Teses, (the son) of Tesenouphis
x+10	[Tše-nfr p3y \bar{f} šr]	Tesenouphis, his son
x+11	[St3.t-w-t3-wty] (s3) Pa-n3-nfr- \bar{t} - \bar{i} -imy (s3) Hr-pyt (p3) [hm]	Stoetis, (son) of Panephremmis, (the son) of Harpagathes, the younger

x+5. The reading offered was p3 [i]p [rmt(?)] [nty] [t3y] sw3. Both p3 ip and sw3 are clear, cf. O. Dime I 60, Col. 2, x+1. What was taken to belong to [rmt(?)] is, I think, part of p3 ip. Whether the curved ink traces that follow are the top portion of nty or belong to t3y is unclear to me.

Text 5 O. Dime I 182+186

Through the joining of O. Dime I 182 and O. Dime I 186 we now have a complete list concerning wheat. O. Dime I 182 provides the first six lines of the list with O. Dime I 186 offering the end of the text. Both the area above the first line and below line 12 indicate that no line is missing. Thus, we possess a list with 12 names and in each case a statement of the amount: either 1/10 or 1/5.

1	Pa-H \bar{c} py (s3) Nht.t-nb \bar{f} 1/10	Paopis, (son) of Nestnephis: 1/10
2	St3.t-w-t3-wty p3y \bar{f} šr 1/10	Stoetis, his son: 1/10
3	Htb3 p3y \bar{f} šr 1/10	Satabous, his son: 1/10
4	Hr (s3) Hr-pyt (s3) Wn-nfr ^{c.w.s.} 1/10	Horos, (son) of Harpagathes, (the son) of Onnophris ^{l.p.h.} : 1/10
5	Hr>w (s3) Hr-pyt 1/10	Herieus, (son) of Harpagathes: 1/10
6	[Hr (s3) Hr>w] [...]	Horos, (son) of Herieus [...]
7	[...] [...] [...]	[...] [...] [...]
8	St3.{t}t-w-t3-wty (s3) Htb3 [1/]10	Stoetis, (son) of Satabous: 1/10
9	[...] 1/5	[...] 1/5
10	Pa-m3e (s3) [P3y- \bar{t} šy]	Pmois(?), (son) of Pisais
11	St3.{t}t-w-t3-wty (s3) Nht-nb \bar{f} [1/]10	Stoetis, (son) of Nestnephis: 1/10
12	[Pa][n3-nfr- \bar{i} -imy (s3) Hr-wd3 ^{c.w.s.} ...]	[Pa]nephremmis, (son) of Haryothes ^[l.p.h.] ...]

Text 6 O. Dime I 61+67

These two pieces clearly belong together, but this does not make the interpretation of the beginning of line 1 of column II any clearer. Two name lists were written on one piece of pottery before it was broken.

Column I (O. Dime I 61, Col. 1)

1	[... -H \bar{c} py] (s3) Pa-n3-nfr- \bar{i} -imy	[... -H \bar{c} py] (son) of Panephremmis
2	[...] p3y \bar{f} šr	[...] his son
3	[...] h[...]	[...] .. [...]

Column II (O. Dime I 61, Col. 2 + O. Dime I 67)

1	[...] (s3) [St3.t-wty (s3) Pa-w	[...] (son) of Stoetis, (the son) of Paous
2	Tše-nfr (p3) \bar{c} 3 p3y \bar{f} sn	Tesenouphis, (the) elder, his brother
3	St3.t-wty (s3) sp(-2) (s3) St3.t-wty (p3) \bar{c} 3	Stoetis, (son) of the like-named, (the son) of Stoetis, (the) elder
4	Hr p3y \bar{f} sn	Harpagathes, his brother
5	Ww \bar{f} -nh (s3) sp(-2) (p3) \bar{c} 3	Apynchis, (son) of the like-named, (the) elder

6	⌈Mꜛꜛ⌋-Rꜛ (sꜛ) Stꜛ.ꜛ-wt[ꜛ ...]	Marres, (son) of Stoet[is ...]
7	Hr-p[ꜛt ...]	Harpa[gathes ...]
8	⌈..⌋ [...]	.. [...]

Text 7 O. Dime I 66+62

Two columns are preserved on O. Dime I 66. Through the joining with O. Dime I 62 the second column is complemented by a further 7 lines preceding those that already existed. Column II remains broken off at the top and thus the beginning of the list of names remains missing.

Column I (O. Dime I 66, Col. 1)

x+1	[...] ⌈rmꜛ⌋ 15	[...] 15 people
x+2	[pꜛ ip nꜛ wnty] tꜛy swꜛ Nht.ꜛ-nbꜛf (sꜛ) Tše (sꜛ) Tše-nfr	[The list of ... who] take wheat: Nestnephis (son) of Teses, (the son) of Tesenouphis
x+3	[...] (sꜛ) ⌈Tꜛ⌋[š]⌈e⌋-nfr pꜛ šꜛ pꜛ sh	[...] (son) of Tesenouphis, (the) son of (the) scribe
x+4	[... (sꜛ) Stꜛ.ꜛ-w-tꜛ-]wtꜛy (pꜛ) hm (sꜛ) Nht.ꜛ-nbꜛf	[...] (son) of Stotoetis, (the) younger, (the son) of Nestnephis
x+5	[.....] 19	[...] 19
x+6	[.....] (sꜛ) ⌈Nhtꜛ.ꜛ-nbꜛf (sꜛ) Tšy	[...] (son) of Nestnephis, (the son) of Teses
x+7	[.....] (sꜛ) Tše-nfr (pꜛ) hm	[...] (son) of Tesenouphis, (the) younger
x+8	[.....] ⌈..⌋	[...] ...
x+9	[.....] ⌈..⌋ (pꜛ) hm	[...].. (the) younger

Column II (O. Dime I 62 + O. Dime I 66, Col. 2)

x+1	Stꜛ.ꜛ-wtꜛy [...]	Stoetis [...]
x+2	Stꜛ.ꜛ-wtꜛy [...]	Stoetis [...]
x+3	Wn-nfr (pꜛ) hm [...]	Onnophris, (the) younger [...]
x+4	Stꜛ.ꜛ-wtꜛy [...]	Stoetis [...]
x+5	Hr-w pꜛyꜛf [...]	Herieus, his [...]
x+6	Pꜛ-di-Sbk (sꜛ) Hr[ꜛw ...]	Petesouchos, (son) of Her[ieus ...]
x+7	Tše-nfr (pꜛ) ⌈hm(?)⌋ [...]	Tesenouphis, (the) younger(?) [...]
x+8	Hr-pꜛy[t ...]	Harpaga[thes ...]
x+9	Hr (sꜛ) Pa-⌈nꜛ⌋-nfr- [imy ...]	Horos, (son) of Panephr[emmis ...]
x+10	Gr-dꜛdꜛ [...]	Kalatytes [...]
x+11	Stꜛ.ꜛ-w[ty ...]	Stoe[tis ...]
x+12	Pa-nꜛ-[...]	Pa-nꜛ-[...]
x+13	⌈r rmꜛ⌋ [...]	makes [...] people
x+14	⌈..⌋ [...]	.. [...]

4 Conclusion

The example of these two sets of ostraca demonstrates how integration of textual information with ceramological analysis of the inscribed sherds can elucidate circumstances in which these documents were produced.

In both sites the sherds used for writing derive from amphorae of Egyptian production, which appear to be contemporary with the texts. Such containers were abundantly spread throughout the two settlements and easily available. In the case of Philadelphia, fragments of imported amphorae were also chosen and, since this is a private archive, that could be related to a specific desire of the scribe who saw in those sherds a good support for writing. There is a significant presence of palimpsest ostraca (23.5%) among the pieces analysed. In some cases, only a few lines of the text were washed off or erased, and then either re-inscribed or left blank. This may have been the result of revisiting and correcting the initial record, as in BGU VII 1518 where the first line of writing in the text has been added later. In either case, the washed-off ink would leave blackened areas on the surface of the sherd, which apparently was not deemed an obstacle for further re-inscribing. The evidence of re-use, plus the regular shapes, suggests that the sherds were appreciated precisely for their shape and because they were easy to write on, and the scribes were unwilling to discard such pieces.

Despite the great wealth of the ruins of Philadelphia, the site was one of the less regularly excavated in the Fayum, as only Viereck and Zucker carried out the excavations in this settlement,³⁶ and a full archaeological report has never been published. This means that it is almost impossible to contextualize either the texts or the other objects found during these excavations.³⁷

In the case of Soknopaiou Nesos the study of the materiality of the Berlin pieces has for some categories of ostraca (name-ostraca) confirmed the same physical characteristics observed in further ostraca found by the Soknopaiou Nesos Project. It has also highlighted a practice that had not been detected during the study of the recent finds, that is, the use of large portions of amphora, or, of the whole container, for longer texts such as names lists or accounts. This practice, so far not otherwise attested in Soknopaiou

36 A preliminary survey at Philadelphia was carried out in December 2015 by the team of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO, Le Caire).

37 The texts and objects constitute a part of the Berlin Collection. See also DAVOLI, *L'archéologia urbana*, p. 143.

Nesos, is known in other areas of Egypt.³⁸ Because of the lack of detailed archaeological reports, it is impossible to determine whether the amphorae on which the texts were written were thrown out into the dump still intact or whether they had been already broken and only parts of them were used as a writing support. However, the high number of fragments pertinent to the same text, and thus container, may indicate a close deposition of these ostraca.

38 Demotic texts on large complete vessels, such as amphorae and storage jars, are attested e.g. in Mitrahine (Memphis), W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen* (DS 5, Leipzig, 1912); Armant (the Greek Hermonthis), R. MOND – O.H. MYERS, *The Bucheum*, 1–III (41st Mem. of EES, London, 1934); Medinet Habu, R.A. PARKER, 'A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement: Medinet Habu Ostrakon 4038', *JEA* 26 (London, 1941), pp. 84–113, Pls. XVII–XIX. As for the Greek texts, there is also evidence of complete or almost complete amphorae in Elkab, J. BINGEN – W. CLARYSSE, *Elkab III. Les ostraca grecs (O. Elkab gr.)* (Bruxelles, 1989), pp. 131–133, XIX (191), figs 1–2; Krokodilô (al-Muwayh), H. CUVIGNY, *Ostraca de Krokodilô. La correspondance militaire et sa circulation. O. Krok. 1–151. Praesidia du désert de Bérénice*, II (FIFAO 51, Le Caire, 2005); from the Theban area, W. CLARYSSE – P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, 'A Military Roster on a Vase in Amsterdam', *AncSoc* 19 (Leuven, 1988), pp. 71–96.

In the 2009 season, the Soknopaiou Nesos Project mission investigated the dumps formed by the discarded material from the excavations of 1910 conducted by Zucker and Schubart.³⁹ This was labelled Area 10, in which two trenches (Trenches 2 and 3) were opened with the aim of investigating the archaeological context of these ostraca and recovering the objects missed or discarded by the 1910 expedition.⁴⁰ In this modern dump 28 demotic ostraca were found, of which 23 are name-ostraca; 3 are accounts; and 2 small fragments belong to lists of names. Through their study, currently in progress,⁴¹ it may be possible to understand whether and how the new finds relate to the Berlin pieces. Certainly, the new technologies of three-dimensional digital documentation could be helpful in this process.

39 CHIESI – DAVOLI – OCCHI – RAIMONDI, 'I rilievi topografici del sito', pp. 45–56, especially 47, fig. 34 (Area 10) and 52; P. DAVOLI, 'Lo scavo archeologico', in: CAPASSO – DAVOLI, *Soknopaiou Nesos*, pp. 119–227, especially pp. 210–217.

40 DAVOLI, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–217, figs 122–140.

41 See above, fn. 27.