Perspectives on Mobility and Travelling

A study of references to functionally-bound forms of individual movement in non-literary texts from New Kingdom Deir el-Medina

PATRICIA BERG

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki in auditorium XII, on the 28th of November, 2014 at 12 o’clock.

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Helsinki 2014
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*Perspectives on Mobility and Travelling. A study of references to functionally-bound forms of individual movement in non-literary texts from New Kingdom Deir el-Medina.*

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ISBN 978-951-51-0468-7 (Paperback)

UNIGRAFIA Helsinki University Print
Helsinki 2014
To Olle
ABSTRACT

Throughout history people have moved between places. How people move is partly determined by cultural elements of the society, and the concept of mobility implies much more than just mere movement. One approach of studying the relationship between people and the environment they live within is called a phenomenology of landscape. According to this approach, all landscapes are embedded in the social and individual times of memory and there is a right way to move around in the familiar landscape.

In this dissertation I present and discuss textual references to mobility and travelling in ancient Egyptian non-literary texts from Deir el-Medina. In other words, I examine in what ways the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina wrote about travelling and mobility. The purpose of this study is primarily to examine going away and coming back home as expressed in the written media, rather than the practical aspects of travelling. Therefore the length of the journey or movement made is here considered of less importance.

Deir el-Medina is situated on the West Bank of Thebes (modern Luxor). It was built to house the workmen that were employed by the state to build the royal tombs in Western Thebes during the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1069 BCE), and their families and servants. Due to the nature of the work at least part of the crew of workmen was literate. The villagers thus communicated to some extent in writing, and by doing this, produced a vast textual material of which a part has been preserved until today.

Of the large number of non-literary texts originating from Deir el-Medina and its surroundings ca. 4,500 non-literary texts have been made available to scholars through publications. Among these texts, 322 include references to mobility and travelling and were incorporated in the corpus of this study.

The dissertation begins with a presentation of the corpus and thereafter follows a discussion on the most important verbs and nominal elements associated with and signifying mobility and travelling in the corpus. Thereafter textual references to mobility and travelling are examined. I have identified three
directions of mobility and grouped the textual references according to which direction they imply: departing from, arriving at, or returning to.

This dissertation is the first comprehensive study of mobility among the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, as expressed in non-literary texts. The overall conclusion is that the inhabitants of the workmen’s community did indeed interact with the outside world and at least part of them on occasion left the village area, for example for shorter trips to the marketplace by the River Nile or even for longer journeys to Nubia.

Within the corpus, references to mobility and travelling are found in a large variety of text types – e.g. letters, journals, accounts, and notes – dating from throughout the Ramesside period (ca. 1295–1069 BCE). References in texts dating from the 18th dynasty (ca. 1550–1295 BCE) are, on the other hand, scarce. Generally, a considerable number of various expressions were used when referring to mobility and travelling. However, especially in administrative texts, standardized expressions were also used. One might thus argue that the villagers not only moved in the right way within the familiar landscape, but also wrote about moving within their close environment in a standardized manner. In administrative texts, references to mobility were in general recorded at the beginning of the text. This would indicate that events related to mobility had a high importance ranking in the documentation system of the necropolis administration.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My mentor and supervisor throughout my studies in Egyptology has been Dr. Jaana Toivari-Viitala. My first work experience in the field of Egyptology was as her assistant in the project *Personal Names at Deir el-Medina*, Emil Aaltonen Foundation, and my Doctoral thesis has been written as part of the project *People and Environment. A multidisciplinary study on human agency, housing constructions, and social and ritual space in Egypt 1550–1069 BC with special focus on the Station de Repos area*, Academy of Finland. Both projects were directed by Jaana. I am much grateful for all the support and encouragement I have received from her and for her comments on my work.

During my Master studies I spent one semester at Leiden University and during my Doctoral studies I visited Basel University for one year. Due to the kindness and helpfulness of the people at the departments both my stays abroad have been very rewarding. From Leiden I would especially like to thank Dr. Robert J. Demarée and from Basel Professor Antonio Loprieno and Professor Susanne Bickel. Rob Demarée and Antonio Loprieno were also the assessors of my thesis, providing insightful comments and corrections to the manuscript.

Among the personnel at my home department in Helsinki (Department of World Cultures, Middle Eastern Studies) I want to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila for including me in the project *Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient Near East*, Academy of Finland, and for reading and commenting on the manuscript. Also Professor Hannu Juusola and Professor Axel Flesich have read the manuscript and encouraged me a great deal along the way. I want to thank Dr. Mark Shackleton and M.Sc. Valter Holmström for correcting my English and making it more readable.

During the whole process of researching and writing the thesis I have been employed part-time by the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland as project manager for a text critical edition on the writings by the Finnish Orientalist Georg August Wallin. I am much indebted to my project colleagues Kaj Öhrnberg and Kira Pihlflyckt for their patience with me spending a considerable amount of time
at the university or abroad, and additionally to Kaj for reading and commenting on the manuscript.

A Finnish PhD candidate in Egyptology is a lone wolf and the opportunities to discuss one’s research are very few. Without the constant support of my colleagues at Helsinki University I doubt whether this thesis would ever have seen the light of day. I wish to thank Sylvia Akar, Lotta Aunio, Jouni Harjumäki, Tiina Hyytiäinen, Sanae Ito, Heidi Jauhiainen, Janne Mattila, Raija Mattila, Simo Muir, Sari Nieminen, Virpi Perunka, Marianna Ruutala, Minna Saarnivaara, Jonas Sivelä, Saana Svärd, and especially my dear colleagues in room B205: Ilkka Lindstedt, Teemu Naarajärvi, Inka Nokso-Koivisto, and Riikka Tuori.

During the process I have received grants from the following foundations and organizations: Eidgenössische Stipendie kommission für ausländische Studierende (Switzerland), Oskar Öflund’s foundation, Ragnar, Ester, Rolf and Margareta Bergbom’s foundation (Society of Swedish Literature in Finland), Victoriafoundation, Finnish Cultural Foundation, The Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation, and the Faculty of Arts, University of Helsinki.

I would like to end by thanking to my family – my mother Anne-Maj, my father Jan-Tord, and my sister Jonna – who have always supported me in every possible way. The same goes for all my wonderful friends who have had the patience to ask about my research and to listen to my long answers and explanations. I dedicate this book with love and gratitude to my husband Olle Stäuber for his constant encouragement and for his believe in me and my work.
NOTES ON TRANSLITTERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lacunas in the source material are marked within [ ], as are suggested readings for the lacunas. Prepositions etc. that have been left out by the writers of the original texts are marked within ( ).

The translations are either direct quotations from the most recent publication of the text, with a reference to the publication in the footnote, or by the author of this study. In the case of the Late Ramesside Letters, the translations of the references are on most occasions by Edward Wente (1967) or by Jaroslav Černý and Sarah Groll (1993). If the quoted publication is in another language than English the original translation is given in the footnote. If the translation is by the author of this study it is also pointed out in a footnote.
1. INTRODUCTION

Travelling and mobility in ancient Egyptian non-literary texts is a topic that has not been studied comprehensively before. The only larger study on travelling in ancient Egypt is Heidi Köpp-Junk’s dissertation *Reisen im Alten Ägypten*,¹ but it focuses on the practical aspects of travelling. My interest in the topic was raised through ancient Egyptian literary tales, where the travelling motif is generally present in some form. The travelling motif in ancient Egyptian literary texts has been the focus of several studies,² but for my research I have chosen non-literary texts as source material. Literary texts represent the kinds of fictional journey-related issues the Egyptians were acquainted with, whereas non-literary texts can be expected to express, at least more than literary ones, real life knowledge and experience of mobility and travelling among the Egyptians. Thus the theoretical and methodological approach is quite different when studying non-literary texts as opposed to literary texts.

My study focuses on mobility and travelling in non-literary texts originating from the workmen’s village of Deir el-Medina. The textual references encompassed in this study cover a broad range of functionally-bound forms of individual movement of varying distances in varying directions.³ By including both terms, mobility and travelling, in the title of this study my attempt has been to be as comprehensive as possible, as the term travelling by itself might have been considered too narrow a definition of the references included. Mobility and travelling are thus here treated as synonyms of sorts.

¹ The dissertation was defended in 2006 at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen and it is published as Köpp-Junk 2014.

² See, for example, Moers 1999a; Moers 2001. For more references, see 1.1.1.

³ For the general considerations and guidelines taken into consideration when deciding which references to be included in the corpus, see pp. 41–42.
Deir el-Medina forms a rather unique case study within Egyptology. Thousands of literary and non-literary papyri and ostraca texts have been preserved from this village. The preserved texts make it possible for scholars to study various aspects of life within the workmen’s community. The corpus compiled for this study includes a large variety of textual references to diverse aspects of mobility and travelling in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts, and the aim of the study is to discuss and present patterns of mobility among the members of this community, or among persons connected to it.

1.1 Some general theoretical considerations

Throughout history, people have moved between places and even travelled vast distances. However, while previously the norm has been place-bound communities and cultural homogeneity, a shift has been made to their opposite, and mobility among people is today considered the norm.4 Within the humanities mobility has for a long time been used as a metaphor for descriptions of “the self” and “the other” as the concept of mobility is to a high degree infused with cultural meaning and implies much more than mere movement.5

The cultural elements of a society can indeed partly determine in which ways people are mobile and relate to their environment,6 but on the other hand how people move around can also have a strong influence on the culture and society. According to Noel Salazar “one could thus argue that cultures themselves are the product of a wide variety of boundary-crossing processes of exchange, processes that have also triggered counter-movements and have led to an increase in displayed cultural difference.”7

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4 Salazar 2010, p. 54.
5 Frello 2008, p. 29.
6 See, for example, Tilley (1994) on the theory of a phenomenology of landscape. Tilley argues that landscapes are embedded in the social memory of people and that there is “a right way” to move around in a familiar landscape within all cultures. Tilley 1994, pp. 27–28.
7 Salazar 2010, p. 55.
A sense of belonging to a place has often been claimed to be a necessary condition for cultural identity, but even within places considered to be homogeneous and static, cultural elements facilitating motion can be found. When studying ancient cultures that are no longer available for cultural anthropological examinations, one has to derive all data from fragmentary archaeological and textual material, and concepts like culture, origin, and identity are challenging to understand and define. The origin of the Egyptian culture can be addressed through several types of evidence, for example, language, material culture, historical records, and physical remains. These data indicate that the ancient Egyptians can be distinguished from other groups of people living outside the Nile Valley and Delta, both linguistically and culturally. Additionally, from the written and pictorial material it can be shown that the Egyptians had a sense of being Egyptian as opposed to non-Egyptian. This assured the individual members of the society of the continuation of their selfhood with the past and with ancestors. Nevertheless, there was a constant movement of various people living in Egypt throughout the Pharaonic period, and it is difficult to state what percentage of the population at any one time would have been recognizably of different origin compared to the native Egyptians.

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8 The concept of enclosure versus mobility has been introduced by Cunningham and Heyman. The general assumption is that people have homes, but how do we define people and their “proper” locations? In order to understand why some people move while others cannot or will not, one has to take into consideration both the concept of mobility and of enclosure. Cunningham and Heyman 2004, pp. 293–295.
9 Greenblatt 2009, p. 5.
10 O’Connor 1997, pp. 15–17; see also, for example, Balbaligo 2006; Cohen 1994; Eriksen Hylland 2002; Goudriaan 1988; Johnson 1999.
11 The origin of the ancient Egyptians, as discussed in Bernal’s work (1987; 1991; 2001; 2006), has been the focus of much debate and his theory has been much criticized. See, for example, Berlinerblau 1999; van Binsbergen 2011; Lefkowitz and MacLean Rogers 1996; Lefkowitz 1996; Orrells, Bhambra, and Roynon 2011.
13 See, for example, Di Biase-Dyson 2013; Gilroy 2002; Moers 2002; Moers 2005; Moers 2010; Nyord and Kjolby 2009; Ritner 2008; Stockfisch 2008; Verbovsek et al. 2005.
The current thought that the Egyptians had negative associations towards leaving their home environment is largely based on the sufferings of protagonists in several ancient Egyptian literary texts. Some of the literary texts have the protagonist performing some kind of journey as part of the main plot. These journeys are usually undertaken in somewhat demanding circumstances, where the protagonist has to struggle and even suffer physically.

On defining ancient Egyptian literary texts Antonio Loprieno has suggested that an Egyptian text can be assigned to the domain of literature on the basis of the combination of three criteria: fictionality, intertextuality, and

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15 Note, however, a recent study by Touzeau et al. (2013) based on an isotope analysis of bones and teeth taken from 48 human and 5 animal mummies. The study shows that the food and drinking habits of the Egyptians hardly changed at all during the 4,000 years the study covers, and thus the conclusion is that the Egyptians preferred to stay within their own village and its surroundings.

See also Bommas (2003) for an 18th-dynasty door jamb from Aniba (Lower Nubia) where the writer expressed homesickness for Thebes. Bommas compares the door jamb text with expressions of homesickness in the Story of Sinuhe and the Shipwrecked Sailor. See Verhoeven (2004) for a discussion of expressions of homesickness in several textual references. Additionally, for texts praising Thebes, see, for example, O. Ashmolean Museum 25; O. Cairo CG 25219; O. DeM 1232 (rto. 1–2).

Additionally, in the cosmopolitan Islamic world travelling was regarded as a virtue and attention was paid to the Egyptians’ reluctance towards leaving their home country. The Egyptians tried to follow the Roman maxim: “Domi manere convenit felicibus”, i.e. “May those who are fortunate stay at home”. Personal communication with Lic.Phil. Kaj Öhrnberg, University of Helsinki.

16 For example the protagonist in the Story of Sinuhe suffers as he leaves Egypt and crosses the Sinai Peninsula. Moers 1999a, pp. 53–54; Parkinson 2009, pp. 43, 281–282.

17 A more theoretical study of ancient Egyptian literature started mainly after 1974 with the review article by Assmann (1974) on the nature of ancient Egyptian literature. See also Assmann 1983; Assmann 1992; Assmann 1996b; Assmann 1999. Earlier studies tended to use Egyptian literary texts as political and historical sources. Thus, one and the same text was used as a historical record but also as an example of the form and content of Egyptian literature. This approach mainly had its base in the concept of “propaganda” introduced by Posener (1956). After Assmann, several scholars have contributed to the discussion, the result being that Egyptian literature is now perceived as a constructed medium that reflects the culture and the specific society where it was created. See, for example, Parkinson 2002, pp. 13–17; Parkinson 2005; Parkinson 2009, p. 5; see also Morenz 2013, pp. 227–228 for a more critical view on the present study of ancient Egyptian literature.

18 The fictional character of literature implies that we cannot read literary texts as historical records of actual events, at least not without reflecting on their fictional nature. See, for example, Cohn 1999 for literary theory conceptions of fictionality.
reception. According to Gerald Moers, the travelling theme in literary texts is a way for the texts to indicate their fictionality. The travelling-abroad motif may be interpreted as a metaphor for the boundary-transgressing nature of fiction itself, where the journey takes the reader from the real world into the fictional one. The sufferings of the protagonists should thus be interpreted based on these considerations.

With the concept of intertextuality it should be understood that texts are always woven into a web of texts, interacting with one another and never truly original creations of their authors. Literary texts have a high degree of intertextuality as they are fictional and appear outside their contextual frame, whereas non-literary texts are contextually bound and thereby in general possess a lower degree of intertextuality. However, as shown by Fredrik Hagen, both literary and non-literary (in Hagen mainly mathematical, medical, and funerary) Egyptian texts demonstrate a tendency to construct a fictional historical identity or frame to increase the authority of the text.

When studying Egyptian texts one must thus bear in mind that literary texts reflect a shared cultural knowledge and awareness, but they do not, however, necessarily express real life knowledge and attitudes in the same way as non-literary texts might do. Or, as expressed in the words of Ludwig Morenz:

We may make a fundamental distinction between texts which are intentionally open and those which are intentionally closed. A text such as the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor contains many levels of meaning and is open to various reading styles. Non-literary texts on the other hand, require of the Model Reader an interpretation strategy within the

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19 Loprieno 1996, p. 43; see also Moers 1999b.
20 Moers 1999a, p. 58.
22 Hagen 2013. Letters dating from the late 20th dynasty have also been shown to include elements stemming from religious or literary texts, see Sweeney 2011.
meaning of the requirement of the Loyalist Teaching: ‘Understand the text, without seeking to modify it!’ (**wt md.t nn snm**).\textsuperscript{23}

1.1.1 Travelling as a topic in the textual material from the Pharaonic period

References to travelling both within the borders of Egypt and to foreign countries occur in various textual sources from throughout the Pharaonic period. For example, from the Old Kingdom (ca. 2686–2181 BCE) onwards autobiographies inscribed on the walls of noble tombs provide evidence of how the elite took part in military and administrative expeditions by order of the Pharaoh.\textsuperscript{24} In addition to autobiographies, a wide range of other literary texts were produced from the early Middle Kingdom (ca. 2055–1650 BCE) onwards,\textsuperscript{25} and during the New Kingdom (ca. 1150–1069 BCE) literary tales were also composed.\textsuperscript{26} In several of these literary tales the main plot centres on the protagonist performing some kind of journeys.\textsuperscript{27}

Literary texts composed during the Middle and New Kingdom continued to be read throughout the Pharaonic period. Also at Deir el-Medina Middle Kingdom

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Morenz 2013, p. 228.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Baines 2004, p. 10; Baines 2007a, pp. 12–14; Eichler 1993; Gnirs 1996; Gnirs und Loprieno 2008; Loprieno 2003, p. 34. For expeditions during the Middle and New Kingdom, see Hikade 2001; Seyfried 1981.
\item These autobiographies have been shown to include the main features adapted by later Egyptian literary compositions, such as concern for moral behaviour and a narration of individual achievements, and in the end, the autobiographic texts became predominantly fictional, and thus more like literary texts. Gnirs 1996, pp. 191–241.
\item \textsuperscript{25} For Middle Kingdom literature, see, for example, Parkinson 1996; Parkinson 1999a; Parkinson 2002; Parkinson 2009; Simpson 2003 (translations of Middle Kingdom literature).
\item \textsuperscript{26} For the so-called Late Egyptian Stories, see Gardiner 1932 (translated, for example, in Simpson 2003); see also Di Biase-Dyson 2013, p. 8.
\item Among the Middle Kingdom tales, for example, the Story of Sinuhe, the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, the Shipwrecked Sailor. Di Biase-Dyson 2013, pp. 72–75; Galán 2005, Chapter I and Chapter II; Moers 2001, pp. 51, 53–54.
\item Among the Late Egyptian Stories, for example, the Capture of Joppa, the Tale of the Doomed Prince, the Tale of the Two Brothers, Astarte and the Insatiable Sea, the Report of Wenamun. Di Biase-Dyson 2013, pp. 72–75; Galán 2005, Chapter III and Chapter IV; Simpson 2003 (translations of, among others, New Kingdom literature).
\end{itemize}
literary texts were copied and known by the inhabitants. However, in addition to literary texts, travelling and journeys are featured as a theme in a wide range of non-literary texts. Of the preserved New Kingdom non-literary texts a large part originates from the workmen’s village of Deir el-Medina.

Many of the non-literate Deir el-Medina texts containing references to mobility and travelling are letters. Hundreds of real letters, shorter communications, and copies of real letters and scribal exercises (i.e. model letters) have been found in the village. The real letters were written by villagers who for various reasons spent time away from the village and wrote letters back home. Some of the real letters are ones which had been received while away and subsequently brought back home to Deir el-Medina on return. The difficulties involved in determining whether a letter is a real or a model one can be well exemplified by the discussion between Günter Burkard and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert on the nature of the letter written on O. Berlin P 10627.

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28 Several thousands of fragments of literary texts have been found at Deir el-Medina and its surrounding areas. According to Gasse (2000, p. 5), ca. 6,380 of the preserved Deir el-Medina texts are literary. An overview of literary texts found at Deir el-Medina is given in Valbelle 1985a, pp. 336–339; Gasse 1992; see also Parkinson 2009, pp. 187–207. Part of the literary texts were found during the French excavations and have been published by *Institut français d'archéologie orientale*. Gasse 1990; Gasse 2005; Posener 1938; Posener 1951; Posener 1952; Posener 1972; Posener 1977; Posener 1978; Posener 1980.

A notable number of the preserved literary texts found at Deir el-Medina are trial pieces copied by students practising to become writers. For example, the following texts have been found in the village: the Story of Sinuhe, the Satire of the Trades, the Prophecy of Neferti, the Loyalist Instruction, the Book of Kemit, the Instruction of Ptahhotep, the Instruction of Djedefhor, the Instruction of Ani, the Instruction of Amenemhat I, and Papyrus Anastasi I. Fischer-Elfert 1997; Gasse 1992, pp. 51–52; Hagen 2007.

29 See p. 43 for the text type categories included in the corpus of this study. For letters from Deir el-Medina, see Demarée 2008, pp. 49–52.

30 Janssen suggests the term ‘communication’ rather than ‘letter’ for shorter messages simply beginning with the name of the sender and the addressee or bearing no names at all, i.e. lacking an introductory formula and blessings. Janssen 1991a, p. 8; Janssen 1992a, p. 88. For introductory formulas, see, for example, Baines 2002, pp. 5–12; Bakir 1970, pp. 41–54; Haring 2009.

31 On scribal exercises and drafts, see Donker van Heel and Haring 2003, pp. 1–82; Gardiner 1937; McDowell 1996, pp. 601–608; Tacke 2001.


Scholars such as John Baines and Christopher Eyre,34 Ben Haring,35 and Deborah Sweeney36 have drawn our attention to the fact that a noteworthy oral practice existed at Deir el-Medina (and in ancient Egypt in general37). Communication is in general and irrespective of time and culture predominantly oral, with the written communication forming only the tip of the iceberg.38 Thus, the written documents preserved until today represent a very small part of the whole communication and administration system in the village. The preserved documents can nevertheless give an indication of which topics were subjects of communication,39 and in which ways topics related to travelling and mobility were discussed. However, one must bear in mind that any corpus of texts will only represent a small piece of what was chosen to be written down. As such, it will only give a fragmented image representing a small group of people at a specific place during a short period of time.40

Within the theoretical considerations presented in this chapter, I will focus my research on various aspects of travelling and mobility as seen in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts.

1.2 Previous research on mobility and contact between Egypt and foreign areas and peoples

In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* “Travelling” (Reisen) does not appear as a separate entry. Instead, the reader is referred to “Transport” (Verkehr) and from there to “Transport system” (Transportwesen) under which different forms of transport

34 Baines and Eyre 1983; Eyre and Baines 1989.
37 For instance, literary texts were read out and performed, see Baines 1999; Baines 2007b; Eyre 2013a; Parkinson 2009, pp. 41–68.
38 Janssen 1992a, p. 89.
39 Sweeney 1993, pp. 523–529.
40 Baines 1984. On the problem of writing a “history” of Egypt, see, for example, Redford 1979; Redford 2003.
connected to the economy and administration are listed. However, an account of
the transport system does not convey much information on social-historical
aspects related to travelling and mobility in ancient Egypt. As already mentioned,
Egyptological research regarding travelling has up until now largely been focused
on journeys as motifs in the fictional literary texts, which might be a reason why
the subject has not been examined more thoroughly in non-literary texts.

The chief publications that are of interest for this study are presented in this
chapter. The selection of publications by no means forms a complete bibliography
on the subject of travelling and mobility in ancient Egypt, but rather aims to give
an overview of different research strategies adapted to the topic. Among the
articles and books produced over the years a distinction may be drawn between
works presenting a more general overview and research focusing on specific
aspects related to travelling and mobility. In order to keep this overview
reasonably short my main focus is on broader publications rather than on more
specific ones. The former publications are grouped according to their main theme,
but may overlap to some degree since many take more than one aspect into
consideration. A smaller part of the publications presented here focus on a
specific kingdom or period, but many take the whole Pharaonic era into account.

John Baines and Antonio Loprieno have produced studies based on both
literary and non-literary material presenting general thoughts on travelling in
ancient Egypt and in ancient Egyptian texts. Other studies have concentrated on
concrete ways of travelling, i.e. where the Egyptians went and what form of
transport they used. The most extensive of the latter type of research is by Heidi
Köpp-Junk, who published her dissertation *Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur,*

42 See 1.1 and 1.1.1.
43 See, however, Berg 2008 for an article on travelling in texts from Deir el-Medina.
44 Baines 2004; Baines 2007a.
46 Additional studies on travelling and the foreign as a motif in literary texts are by, among
Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Landverkehrs in 2014. Köpp-Junk has also published a number of articles related to the subject of her aforementioned thesis. Another rather recent article on communication networks in Egypt and Nubia has been written by Ian Shaw. In order to provide the central government with raw materials and goods that were not available in Egypt, expeditions were sent to surrounding areas. Two scholars that have produced more extensive studies on administrative and commercial expeditions are Thomas Hikade and Jac. J. Janssen. In addition, several studies by various scholars focus on transport and mobility in connection with trade and administration in Pharaonic Egypt.

The vehicles used by the Egyptians and the construction of these have already for many decades received some scholarly attention – for instance the construction and use of various ships and boats. Overland transport was usually undertaken on foot or with the help of steeds, pack animals, and overland transport vehicles. The most commonly used animals were donkeys, bulls, horses, and camels. Several scholars have addressed the use of horses and pack

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47 Köpp-Junk 2014; see also the bibliography in Köpp-Junk 2014 for more references to the practical aspects of travelling.
Note also that a study on travellers and travelling during the Neo-Assyrian period has recently been published by Favaro 2007.
48 For example, Köpp 2008a; Köpp 2008b; Köpp 2013; Köpp-Junk 2013.
49 Shaw 2006.
52 For example, Bard and Fattovich 2010; Bard and Fattovich 2011; Castle 1992; Fattovich 2012; Grimal et Menu 1998; Moorey 2001; Patridge 1996.
54 Elite persons were carried in palanquins or chariots during shorter expeditions. Köpp 2008b, p. 41.
55 For studies on overland transport vehicles (e.g. wagons and chariots), see, for example, Decker 1986a; Decker 1986b; Decker 1994; Fansa 2004; Littauer and Crouwel 1979; Littauer and Crouwel 1985; Moorey 1986; Veldmeijer and Ikram 2013.
56 Köpp 2008a, pp. 404–407.
animals, the seminal work on the subject being a two-volume publication by Helmut Epstein. Ulrich Hofmann published his dissertation on horsemanship in the late 1980s, and a few years later Cathérine Rommelaere’s extensive book on different aspects of the use of horses in ancient Egypt appeared. The introduction of the camel in ancient Egypt was first discussed by Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, while several other scholars have added to the discussion later.

Egypt’s contact with the outside world increased during the New Kingdom. Beginning with the 18th dynasty (ca. 1550–1295 BCE) rulers Egypt started to extend its area of influence and as a result contact with foreign people increased. Numerous studies have been written on Egypt’s contact with and attitudes towards foreign peoples and countries during the Pharaonic period – both within and outside Egypt. The cornerstones in this field are the works by Wolfgang Helck, written in the 1960s and 1970s. More recently several scholars have contributed to the discussion on the Egyptians’ attitudes towards and relations with foreign people.

57 For example, Decker 1984; Förster et al. 2013; Houlihan 2002; Janssen 2005; Kuper 2001; Raulwing 1993; Schulman 1957; Stadelmann 2006. Additionally, a colleague of mine at the University of Helsinki, Yukiyo Sasada, is preparing her doctoral thesis on horsemanship in Ancient Egypt.
58 Epstein 1971.
60 Rommelaere 1991.
61 von Bissing (1900) states that the camel was probably introduced into Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period, but cf. Köpp 2008a, pp. 406–407; Ripinsky 1985; Rowley-Conwy 1988.
62 For example, Köhler 1981; Köpp 2008a; Ripinsky 1985; Rowley-Conwy 1988.
63 Helck 1971; Helck 1977a; Helck 1977b; Helck 1977c; Helck 1977d; Helck 1979; see also Stevenson Smith 1965 on how Egypt’s foreign relations affected the art in other countries.
64 Assmann 1996a; Bresciani 1997; Exell 2011; Franci 2013; Judas 2013; Leahy 1995; Redford 2004; Schneider 1992; Schneider 1998; Schneider 2003a; Schneider 2006; Schneider 2010; Schneider 2011; Valbelle 1990; Vernus 1994; Vittman 2003; Winnick 2009 (see also a review by Bauschatz 2011).
Anthologies focusing on Egypt’s contact with the surrounding countries and areas are, for example, by Edwin van den Brink and Thomas Levy (Eds), Vivian Davies and Louise Schofield (Eds), Kim Duistermaat and Ilona Regulski (Eds), Gary Knoppers and Antoine Hirsch (Eds), Panagiotis Kousoulis and Konstantinos Magliveras (Eds), David O’Connor and Stephen Quirke (Eds), and Jan van der Vliet and Joost Hagen (Eds). Of studies on the Egyptians’ view of their own country and its geographical territory and borders, among others, James Allen and Silvia Lupo might be mentioned. Thomas Schneider has drawn attention to the misleading assumption of ancient Egypt as a closed and isolated society. And lastly, some exhibition catalogues related to Egypt’s contact with the surrounding areas have been published.

Studies focusing on diplomacy in the ancient Near East form an important group of textual source material in the so-called Amarna letters. These approximately 350 letters constitute an extensive and quite rare homogeneous corpus and they are, for example, used as sources for research focusing on contact between the ancient Near Eastern states during the New Kingdom. Various approaches to the topic of Egypt’s diplomatic contact with surrounding countries are found in the anthology compiled by Raymond Cohen and Raymond

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65 Recent articles on the subject are, among others, by Cline and Stannish 2011; Schipper 2012; Sparks 2004.
66 van den Brink and Levy 2002.
68 Duistermaat and Regulski 2011.
70 Kousoulis and Magliveras 2007.
71 O’Connor and Quirke 2003.
72 van der Vliet and Hagen 2013.
73 Allen 2003.
74 Lupo 2007.
75 Schneider 2003b.
76 For example, Petschel und von Falck 2004; Pharaonen und Fremde 1994; Wildung und Vrieze 1997.
77 The letters were translated into English by Moran in 1992. For the Amarna texts, see also Dodson 2009; Murnane 1995.
Westbrook (Eds)\textsuperscript{78} and in the monograph by Mario Liverani.\textsuperscript{79} Additionally, one may also mention the articles by James Hoffmeier,\textsuperscript{80} William Murnane,\textsuperscript{81} Hassan el-Saady,\textsuperscript{82} and Heike Schmidt.\textsuperscript{83}

As examples of studies dealing with New Kingdom social structures and the Egyptians’ awareness of themselves as individuals in relation to their surroundings one may mention, for example, Rune Nyord and Annette Kjølby (Eds),\textsuperscript{84} Lynn Meskell,\textsuperscript{85} and Mary Horbury.\textsuperscript{86}

Publications relevant to the ongoing discussion to what degree the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina had unrestricted freedom of movement and to what degree they were in contact with the outside world are presented below in section 1.3.1.

\subsection*{1.2.1 Presentation of Deir el-Medina non-literary texts}

The primary textual source material on travelling and mobility featuring persons connected to Deir el-Medina includes several categories of texts. The diverse corpus formed by non-literary Deir el-Medina texts is time-consuming and challenging to assess. In some cases the dating and identification of the text is problematic and the reading, palaeography, and grammar can be difficult to decipher.\textsuperscript{87} The texts were written in non-literary Late Egyptian, which was the

\textsuperscript{78} Cohen and Westbrook 2000.
\textsuperscript{79} Liverani 2001.
\textsuperscript{80} Hoffmeier 2004.
\textsuperscript{81} Murnane 1997.
\textsuperscript{82} el-Saady 1999.
\textsuperscript{83} Schmidt 1993.
\textsuperscript{84} Nyord and Kjølby 2009.
\textsuperscript{85} Meskell 1994; Meskell 1997; Meskell 1999; Meskell 2002.
\textsuperscript{86} Horbury 2009.
spoken language of the period. Further, the classification of the texts into categories or types has provided some difficulties since they tend to span over several groups. For this study, mainly personal communications in writing are of interest, that is, letters and notes, as well as administrative texts like necropolis journals and accounts. In addition, for example, depositions, lists, memorandums, oracle questions, protocols, and reports also include references to people leaving or entering the workmen’s community. The text type category of each text has in this study been established according to the classification in the Deir el-Medina Database, Deir el-Medina Online, or the text publication.

Non-literary Deir el-Medina texts are chronologically unevenly distributed over the period of approximately 400 years throughout which the village was inhabited by workmen and their families. A large majority of the texts can be dated to the 19th or the 20th dynasty, i.e. to the Ramesside period (ca. 1295–1069 BCE), and mainly texts from this period of about 220 years have been used in this study. Of the Ramesside texts, documents from the second half of the 19th dynasty greatly outnumber those preserved from the first half of the same dynasty. Texts dating from the early and late 20th dynasty (to the reign of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV, ca. 1184–1147 BCE, and Ramesses IX to Ramesses XI, ca. 1126–1069 BCE) are more numerous while texts dating from the reign of Ramesses V to Ramesses VIII (ca. 1147–1126 BCE) are in general scarce.

Ben Haring explains that the increasing number of preserved private and juridical documents from the end of the 19th dynasty onwards reflects an earlier

88 Literary Late Egyptian retains many Middle Egyptian features and is therefore distinguished from the language used in Late Egyptian non-literary texts. See, for example, Goldwasser 1992; Goldwasser 1999; Groll 1975/1976.

89 Valbelle has divided the texts into the following categories: necropolis journals, lists of rations and deliveries, juridical texts and personal communications. The so-called Stato Civile forms a group of its own. Valbelle 1985a, pp. 56–61. For a detailed classification of the Deir el-Medina texts, see Donker van Heel and Haring 2003, Part II.

90 For an overview of various categories of texts related to the administration of Deir el-Medina, see Eyre 2013b, pp. 233–252.

91 See p. 43 for the text type categories included in the corpus of this study and pp. 28–29 for the Deir el-Medina Database and Deir el-Medina Online.

92 Valbelle 1985a, pp. 51–54.
widespread familiar oral practice in the village. According to Haring, it took some
two centuries from the founding of the village before the oral practice, at least to
some extent, yielded to writing.\textsuperscript{93} Furthermore, as the large number of ostraca and
papyri texts dating from the Ramesside period is mainly due to the presence of
local scribes or persons acting as scribes, Haring suggests that the lack of 18th-
dynasty records related to the royal necropolis and its inhabitants might be
explained by the absence of local scribes during that period.\textsuperscript{94}

Documents from the 19th and the early 20th dynasty are usually written on
ostraca while papyrus is more common among texts dating from the late 20th
dynasty.\textsuperscript{95} This change might have its explanation in the new location of the
administrative centre of the necropolis at Medinet Habu,\textsuperscript{96} where papyrus seems
to have become the norm for administrative documents at the end of the 20th
dynasty.\textsuperscript{97} Predating the move to Medinet Habu, the few preserved texts from Deir
el-Medina written on papyrus consist of some administrative texts from the reign
of Ramesses III\textsuperscript{98} and Ramesses IX,\textsuperscript{99} and some private letters, private documents,
and literary texts.\textsuperscript{100} Jaroslav Černý’s hypothesis that the notes first written on
ostraca were subsequently copied onto a papyrus roll, which was kept at the
scribe’s office while a copy was sent to the central administration,\textsuperscript{101} thus has its
only support in these few papyri.

Regarding provenance and content, the ostraca from the Valley of the Kings
and the Valley of the Queens deal almost exclusively with work in the tombs and

\textsuperscript{93} Haring 2003, pp. 256–267.
\textsuperscript{94} Haring 2006, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{95} The ostraca make for approximately 95% or more of the Deir el-Medina texts. Haring 2003,
p. 251.
\textsuperscript{96} The exact date and circumstances of this move remain difficult to establish, but there is no
evidence that this would have taken place before year 12 of Ramesses XI. Valbelle 1985a, pp.
123–125. For the abandonment of the village, see p. 33.
\textsuperscript{97} Donker van Heel and Haring 2003, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{98} For example, P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P.
Turin Cat. 2065.
\textsuperscript{99} For example, P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091.
\textsuperscript{100} Eyre 1987a, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{101} Černý 2004, pp. 226–227.
date throughout the 19th and 20th dynasty. A large majority of the ostraca from the Valley of the Queens are from the reign of Ramesses III (ca. 1184–1153 BCE). In the village itself ostraca have mainly been found at two sites – at the Grand Puits and at Kom Sud. Most of the non-literary texts found here are accounts of deliveries and payments and private and juridical documents.

The Deir el-Medina Database, compiled and published online by scholars at Leiden University, is an important search tool for non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. The database also includes some of the still unpublished ostraca, for example those transcribed in Jaroslav Černý’s notebooks. Further, the database provides a bibliography of Deir el-Medina publications. Of the 6,000 or so preserved non-literary texts stemming from the workmen’s community, about 4,300 were by the latest update included in the database.

The larger bulk of non-literary Deir el-Medina texts have been found during archaeological excavations in the necropolis area, while others have been bought by collectors as part of larger museum or smaller private collections. Among the first to start excavations in the Deir el-Medina area, during which non-literary texts were found and collected, were Ernesto Schiaparelli in 1903–1909 and Georg Möller in 1911 and 1913. Non-literary texts found during the excavations by Möller have been published electronically, together with the

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102 Eyre 1987a. The ostraca from Qurna published in Deir el-Medina Online (dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de) form a separate group. Donker van Heel and Haring 2003, p. 1.
103 For the Deir el-Medina Database, see www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html.
104 The notebooks are in the Griffith Institute in Oxford.
105 A printed bibliography on Deir el-Medina is Zonhoven 1982, with a continuation by Haring 1992b.
106 There is no exact number known of non-literary texts from Deir el-Medina. Many of the ostraca belonging to collections are still unpublished and therefore it is not possible to give a more accurate estimation. Haring 2003, p. 252.
107 The last update, as of November 2014, was on the 1st of January 2012.
108 The texts found during Schiaparelli’s excavations are in Museo Egizio di Torino and have been published by López. The publication includes all non-literary texts stemming from Deir el-Medina in the Turin Museum and therefore also the Deir el-Medina texts belonging to the Drovetti collection, which was sold to the museum in 1824. López 1978; López 1980; López 1982; López 1984.
109 The excavations were conducted near the so-called German House that is situated just east of Deir el-Medina. Anthes 1943.
hitherto still unpublished ostraca in Berlin and Munich collections.\(^{110}\) The Institut français d’archéologie orientale continued the excavation work in 1917–1951, for the most part under the direction of Bernard Bruyère,\(^ {111}\) and has since 1975 undertaken smaller-scale still ongoing excavations.\(^ {112}\) Non-literary texts found during the French excavations were partly published by Jaroslav Černý and Serge Sauneron.\(^ {113}\) The publication work is, however, still ongoing and the last four volumes are by Pierre Grandet.\(^ {114}\)

Additionally, the numerous excavations carried out in the Valley of the Kings have enlarged the group of non-literary texts connected to the workmen’s community,\(^ {115}\) and surveys in the Theban Western hills have collected and published the graffiti left by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.\(^ {116}\)

Many of the non-literary Deir el-Medina texts included in museum and private collections have been published. One important group of texts for this study is the so-called Late Ramesside Letters. The basic corpus was compiled and published by Jaroslav Černý and consists of 51 letters.\(^ {117}\) Later it was augmented

\(^{110}\) The publication of the database Deir el-Medina Online is undertaken by scholars at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Some of the non-literary Deir el-Medina ostraca in the collection in Berlin have previously been published in *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1911.

\(^{111}\) The excavations were published in: Bruyère 1925; Bruyère 1926; Bruyère 1927; Bruyère 1928; Bruyère 1929; Bruyère 1930; Bruyère 1933; Bruyère 1934; Bruyère 1937a; Bruyère 1937b; Bruyère 1939; Bruyère 1948; Bruyère 1952a; Bruyère 1952b; Bruyère 1952c; Bruyère 1953.

\(^{112}\) Bonnet et Valbelle 1975; Bonnet et Valbelle 1976; Valbelle 1985a. The ongoing excavations have since 2011 been under the direction of Cédric Gobeil.

\(^{113}\) Černý 1935a; Černý 1937a; Černý 1937b; Černý 1939a; Černý 1951; Černý 1970; Černý 1978; Černý 1986; Sauneron 1959.

\(^{114}\) Grandet 2000; Grandet 2003; Grandet 2006a; Grandet 2010; see also Grandet 2006b.

\(^{115}\) Černý 1935b; Daressy 1901; Dorn 2011a.

\(^{116}\) Černý 1956; Černý, Sadek et Shmy 1970–1977; Peden 2001a; Spiegelberg 1921.

\(^{117}\) Already before Černý, Spiegelberg (1895) had noted the relationship between some of the letters in Bibliothèque Nationale. See Černý 1939b for an introduction and the transcriptions of the letters and Wente 1967 for their translations. Another similar group of letters are from an archive in el-Hibe dating from the Third Intermediate period. Spiegelberg (1917) published some of the letters located in Strasbourg and an international group of researchers has since 2004 studied the archive aiming at publishing all letters. Müller 2009, p. 251. The el-Hibe archive will, according to Müller (p.
by Jac. J. Janssen’s publication of nine additional letters of the same correspondence in his *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* and one letter published by the same scholar in article form.\(^{118}\) Furthermore, a few letters most likely belonging to this same group have been published by scholars in the form of articles.\(^{119}\) The latest contribution to the Late Ramesside Letters is by Robert Demarée,\(^{120}\) adding eleven letters written on papyrus and located in the British Museum.\(^{121}\)

The Late Ramesside Letters were written during the late 20th dynasty, but since only very few are dated they are difficult to arrange in a chronological order.\(^{122}\) None of the letters has an established provenance, since they have been part of private and museum collections for decades. According to Jaroslav Černý, the letters included in his publication from 1939 originate from Deir el-Medina. Most of them were probably found by local people during their pillaging of the necropolis in 1817 and 1818, and later passed on to collectors in the early 1820s.\(^{123}\) About half of the letters published by Černý are written by

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\(^{118}\) Janssen 1991a; Janssen 1991b. According to Janssen there are more pieces of the correspondence in Museo Egizio di Torino that have not yet been published.

\(^{119}\) Edwards 1982 (both letters also included in Demarée 2006a); Koenig 1988. Two letters dating from the late Ramesside period, but with no clear connection to Deir el-Medina are published in Gardiner 1951.

\(^{120}\) Demarée 2006a.

\(^{121}\) In Černý 1939b the 51 published letters were grouped according to the sender or receiver of each letter and the letters were given a Late Ramesside Letter number according to their position in the publication. These letters are therefore, especially in older publications, referred to by their LRL number or by the page on which they occur in Černý 1939b, instead of by their collection number. The nine letters included in Janssen 1991a have a LRLC number, but are usually referred to by their collection number. The eleven letters in Demarée 2006a are grouped according to their collection number in the British Museum collection.

\(^{122}\) Wente 1967, p. 1; see, however, the suggested chronology of the letters on pp. 16–17 in Wente 1967.

\(^{123}\) Černý 1939b, pp. XV–XVII.
Djehutymose, the well-known scribe from Deir el-Medina. Djehutymose went on at least two expeditions, one to the south and one to the north of Thebes. During Djehutymose’s absence his son Butehamun had the position as scribe at Deir el-Medina, and son and father wrote to each other about administrative and personal matters. In addition to the correspondence between these two scribes the Late Ramesside Letters also includes letters written by others, some of whom remain anonymous, but all in some way associated with the workmen’s community. The pragmatic aspects of letter writing and correspondence in the Late Ramesside Letters have been thoroughly studied by Deborah Sweeney.

1.3 The workmen’s community at Deir el-Medina

The workmen’s community at Deir el-Medina was founded by the Egyptian state in the early 18th dynasty. The purpose of the village was to house the workmen that were employed by the state to build the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens, and their families and servants. The village

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125 The journey Djehutymose made south is probably identical with the Nubian campaign led by general Paiankh. Haring 1992a, pp. 77–78; see also Thijs 2000. Djehutymose went, in addition to the two expeditions, to various towns in the Theban region to collect grain for the necropolis, see, for example, the account P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006. For additional Ramesside texts relating to the transportation of grain, see Gardiner 1941; Janssen 2004.
126 Butehamun (i) in Davies 1999, chart 9. Several suggestions have been made regarding the chronology between Djehutymose and Butehamun, see, for example, Černý 2004, pp. 357–383; Davies 1997; Egberts 1997; Jansen-Winkeln 1994; Kikuchi 1997; Niwinski 1984; Niwinski 2003. According to Davies, Butehamun might already by year 10 of whm ws wt of Ramesses XI have been inducted as a full-fledged senior scribe and thus gained the same scribal status as his father. If so, after this date Butehamun would not only have been filling in as a scribe when Djehutymose was away, but actually performing his normal duties. Davies 1997, p. 64.

Whm ws wt (‘Repeating-of-Births’) was a dating system that appeared in Thebes in year 19 of the reign of Ramesses XI. Černý 1929, p. 194. The length of this period is generally considered to be ten years, but see Kitchen (2009, p. 193); Palmer (2014, p. 2, n. 6) suggesting the whm ws wt possibly lasted twelve years.

128 The crew of workmen included (in hierarchical order): chief workmen, scribes, deputies, chief draughtsmen, draughtsmen, and workmen. In addition to these youths, boys, and “children” are also mentioned as taking part in the work. A group of service staff named smdt
continued to be inhabited by the workmen for the whole period the royal tombs were built in Western Thebes, i.e. until the end of the New Kingdom. The village, its vicinity, and its inhabitants have been the focus of interest among scholars for a century. In Egyptology the research field of Deir el-Medina studies comprises a broad range of studies on different subjects. This is chiefly due to the extensive amount of various types of source material that has been found in the village and its surroundings, and the fact that the site of Deir el-Medina forms an almost complete preserved settlement with different aspects shedding light on daily life in ancient Egypt.

The earliest preserved – and with certainty dated – material from the Deir el-Medina village itself\textsuperscript{129} are mud bricks from the enclosure wall stamped with the cartouche of Thutmose I.\textsuperscript{130} Nevertheless, the villagers themselves probably considered Thutmose I’s predecessor Amenhotep I to be the founder of the village,\textsuperscript{131} and the deceased king was consulted as an oracle by the community.\textsuperscript{132} During the Amarna period Deir el-Medina was probably at least partly abandoned and the workforce moved to el-Amarna.\textsuperscript{133} After the end of the Amarna period the

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\textsuperscript{129} The settlement site also contains remains of a small number of tombs dated to the Middle Kingdom. See Meskell 1997, p. 29; Toivari-Viitala 2011, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{130} Bonnet et Valbelle 1975, pp. 435 ff., pl. LXVI.

\textsuperscript{131} It has been suggested that Amenhotep I founded the corps of workmen, but not the village itself. Bierbrier 1984, pp. 91–93; Černý 1927; Valbelle 1985a, pp. 1–2.


\textsuperscript{132} See, for example, Černý 1927; Eyre 2012, pp. 131–133; Kruchten 2000; McDowell 1990, pp. 108–109; Sweeney 2008; Weiss 2009. On the cult of the deified Amenhotep I after the New Kingdom on to the Ptolemaic period, see von Lieven 2001.

\textsuperscript{133} During the Amarna period the royal tombs were built in the new royal city Akhetaten (modern el-Amarna) and not at Western Thebes. Although there is no exclusive evidence of this, it is probable that at least part of the crew of workmen was moved to el-Amarna. Kemp 1987, pp. 21–50. However, as some objects stemming from the Amarna period have been found at Deir el-Medina it is also probable that not all workmen left the village. Brugsch 1857, p. 274, pl. 50; Bruyère 1937a, pp. 98–99, 104, pls X, XII; Černý 2004, pp. 50–51; Kemp 1987; Toivari-Viitala 2011, p. 4.
crew moved back to Thebes, and was reorganized and enlarged during the reign of Horemheb (ca. 1323–1295 BC).

The village of Deir el-Medina was inhabited throughout the remaining part of the New Kingdom. It was probably abandoned during the reign of Ramesses XI (ca. 1099–1069 BCE), the last ruler of the 20th dynasty. Deir el-Medina contained about 68 houses inside and about 50 houses outside the village wall at the time of its abandonment. The tombs and chapels continued to be in use after the village was abandoned, and the whole area continued to have a religious and mortuary function that lasted until the Christian era. During the approximately 400 years the village was inhabited, the number of inhabitants and houses fluctuated. During the first phase of habitation dating from the beginning of the 18th dynasty, the village was far less populated than during the Ramesside period. Based on the house ruins the average number of workmen (and thereby households) living at one and the same time in the village during the reign of

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134 O. BM EA 5624 originates from Deir el-Medina and is dated to year 21 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 242. The text includes a statement by someone that his forefather Hay was given a tomb in year 7 of Horemheb. Bierbrier 1984, p. 65; Meskell 1997, p. 30; Meskell 2000, p. 263; Valbelle 1985a, pp. 25, 160–163; Ventura 1986, p. 54.

135 After the abandonment, at least the administrative centre of the necropolis was relocated to the nearby temple area of Medinet Habu. It has been suggested that not only the administration, but also the workmen and their families moved to Medinet Habu around this same time. See, for example, Eyre 1987b, p. 168; Valbelle 1985a, pp. 123–125. There is, however, no compelling evidence that this would have been the case. See Häggman 2002, pp. 321–323; Haring 2006, pp. 111–112.

The abandonment of Deir el-Medina was possibly due to the increasing presence of Libyans in the Theban area. Presumably Medinet Habu with its temple walls was considered a safer place than the village. Haring 1993, pp. 159–165. On Libyans in the textual material from Deir el-Medina, see Haring 1992a, pp. 72–76. However, according to Häggman there is in fact no exclusive textual evidence of hostile relations between the Deir el-Medina villagers and the Libyans in the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI. Häggman 2002, pp. 288–308. See also section 4.3.2.

136 Bruyère 1939, p. 16; Valbelle 1985a, p. 115. The houses within the village wall were confined to a restricted area, but varied in number and size through time according to the needs of the villagers. Koltsida 2007; Meskell 1997, p. 35; Toivari-Viitala 2001, pp. 4–5.

137 McDowell 1999, p. 4; Meskell 1997, p. 28; Montserrat and Meskell 1997, p. 179; Toivari-Viitala 2011, p. 2; see also Strudwick and Taylor 2003.

138 Valbelle 1985a, pp. 23–26. 18th-dynasty royal tombs are much smaller and less decorated than the later Ramesside ones and fewer workmen were needed.
Ramesses IX has been estimated to be some 63 to 73 men.\textsuperscript{139} Based on this number, Jaana Toivari-Viitala has calculated the total number of inhabitants – consisting of workmen, their families, and servants/dependants – to possibly up to 450–630 persons.\textsuperscript{140}

Partly due to the nature of the work, which in addition to building construction also included producing the tomb paintings and tomb inscriptions, at least part of the crew was literate. John Baines and Christopher Eyre have calculated that during the Ramesside period around 20 men of the crew were fully literate,\textsuperscript{141} while Jac. J. Janssen argues that almost the entire male population in the community were literate or semi-literate.\textsuperscript{142} In all likelihood some of the women living in the village were also able to read, and possibly even write.\textsuperscript{143} Thus literacy may not have been restricted to only a small privileged group of the villagers.\textsuperscript{144} The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina thereby differed from the average Egyptian population in that they were in possession of a higher degree of literacy.\textsuperscript{145} The villagers communicated to some extent in writing, and by doing this, produced a vast textual material of which a part has been preserved until today.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{139} Valbelle 1985a, pp. 103–105; see also Valbelle 1985b.
\textsuperscript{140} Toivari-Viitala 2001, p. 4, n. 53. Other estimations are 450–500 persons in Strudwick 1995, p. 100; and 150–200 persons in, for example, Baines and Eyre 1983, p. 90; Bierbrier 1992, p. 1 (for the 19th dynasty).
\textsuperscript{141} The calculation by Baines and Eyre (1983, pp. 90–91) is 5–7.5% fully literate persons for Deir el-Medina (excluding literacy among women).
\textsuperscript{142} Janssen 1992a, pp. 82–84. By ‘semi-literate’ Janssen refers to a person who is able to understand the meaning of a simple written text, but is not able to produce a text him/herself. Janssen 1992a, p. 81; see also Der Manuelian 1999; Lesko 1994, pp. 134–135.
\textsuperscript{143} Female literacy in Deir el-Medina has been discussed by Sweeney and Toivari-Viitala, and it seems possible that at least some of the women were semi-literate. Sweeney 1993, pp. 523–529; Toivari-Viitala 2001, pp. 187–193.
\textsuperscript{144} Janssen 1992a, pp. 83–84; Lesko 1994, p. 135.
\textsuperscript{145} Baines and Eyre (1983, p. 61) have estimated that about 1% of the whole Egyptian population were literate; see also Baines 1983, pp. 584–586.
\textsuperscript{146} Janssen suggests that no more than 10% of the total number of texts produced in Deir el-Medina has been preserved. Janssen 1992a, pp. 84–86.
1.3.1 The community members’ contact with the outside world

The village of Deir el-Medina is situated on the West Bank of ancient Thebes, in a small valley on the rim of the desert south of the Valley of the Kings. The chosen desert location of the settlement seems to have its explanation in the way the Egyptian building projects often had the workmen live close to their workplace. Raphael Ventura argues in his study *Living in a City of the Dead* that Deir el-Medina was founded in the desert in order to isolate the community from the outside world. In his opinion this isolation was necessary because the burial places of the members of the royal family were to be kept a secret. Ventura even claims that the inhabitants were forbidden to leave the village area and outsiders were not, except on rare occasions, allowed to enter. A number of scholars have criticized Ventura’s view and see the isolated location of the village as a result of more pragmatic considerations.

If there was some form of restrictive policy regarding the mobility of the inhabitants it might have been limited to the 18th dynasty. During the Ramesside period there are numerous references in the textual material to the villagers’ contact with the outside world. The Ramesside documents also show that there was a distinction in addressing people living inside the village as opposed to people living outside, but working for the necropolis administration.

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147 McDowell 1994, p. 57; see, however, Haring 2006 for a discussion concerning the possibility that the workforce was not located at Deir el-Medina during the 18th dynasty, as none of the 18th-dynasty texts from Deir el-Medina refers to the workmen’s community or the royal necropolis.
149 Burkard agrees more or less with Ventura about the villagers being restricted in their freedom of movement, but does not see the reason in the presumably secret location of the royal tombs. Burkard 2003a, pp. 128–146; Burkard 2003b, pp. 11–39; Burkard 2006, pp. 31–42; see also Burkard 2013. Other scholars see the community as open to the outside world. Eyre 1987b, pp. 170–171; Eyre 2009, pp. 107–117; Frandsen 1989, pp. 113–123; McDowell 1994, pp. 41–59; Valbelle 1985a, p. 116.
150 Häggman 2002, p. 68.
152 The terms are *n hw* for “of the inside” and *n bnw* for “of the outside”. These terms are occasionally added to names and titles. Häggman 2002, p. 68.
These modes of address do not give an indication of the freedom of movement of the villagers, but they can be useful means of identification when looking at the community members’ contact with people from outside and outsiders visiting Deir el-Medina.

An important issue in this discussion is the location of the ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr, i.e. ‘the enclosure/gate of the tomb’, or in a more general sense – the entrance to the necropolis area. Raphael Ventura’s translation of the above-mentioned term is ‘the fortress of the Necropolis’ and he gives it the function of a guard post situated somewhere near Ramesseum. Günter Burkard and Andrea McDowell have presented additional suggestions regarding the function and location of the ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr. One later contribution has been published by Christopher Eyre. He concludes that the ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr was a place for receiving provisions and not an administrative office or a guard post. He locates the ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr close to the village, a short distance north of the gate to the village wall, i.e. in the valley itself and not in the cultivated area. Eyre sees the ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr as a transition place between “inside” and “outside”, and he argues that with a location quite close to the village the contact with the outside world would have been regular and relatively close. A recent contribution to the discussion on the location of the ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr is by Andrew Koh. He has used GIS and cartographic data to reach the conclusion that the administrative outpost of Deir el-Medina was with a high degree of possibility situated at the northeast edge of Qurnet Murai facing the Ramesseum.

154 Burkard (2006, p. 41) agrees with Ventura about the location close to Ramesseum and the function as a guard post. McDowell argues that the function of the ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr was that of an administrative office. McDowell 1990, pp. 93–105.
157 Koh 2005–2006, p. 101. For another recent article relating to this subject, see Dorn 2009 on the location of the five walls/guard posts limiting the living area of the villagers.
1.4 The structure and aim of the research

In this study the concept of travelling and mobility encompass all forms of longer or shorter trips, journeys, and expeditions made by people living in Deir el-Medina, or by people from outside visiting the village. The purpose is to examine the going away and the coming back home as expressed in the written media and not the practical aspects of mobility. Therefore the length of the journey made is here of less importance. Documents from the Ramesside period demonstrate that the villagers were in regular contact with the outside world and that mobility in both directions (i.e. villagers staying outside and outsiders staying inside) was part of everyday life in the community.¹⁵⁸ However, for the common villager in Deir el-Medina a daytrip to the marketplace by the Nile was also a noteworthy disruption in the daily routine.

References to travelling and mobility in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts are diverse. For the purpose of this study, the most useful structure turned out to be division of references according to the specific action or direction of mobility they convey. Therefore, textual references with aspects of mobility and travelling of interest for this study, are treated according to the actions they indicate,¹⁵⁹ i.e. departing from, arriving at, or returning to.¹⁶⁰ This division is not based on an approach in the previous theory. It is based on my material while compiling the references to be included in the corpus. The division of references into these three groups might seem somewhat superficial and the groups may overlap to some extent and also cause some interpretative difficulties when applied to the Egyptian language. Nevertheless, a division of the references was necessary in order to be

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, McDowell 1994.
¹⁵⁹ One should, however, bear in mind that the differences in meaning are usually controlled by the context and are thereby subject to interpretation. For example, the verbs *ij* and *iw* are treated as signifying departing, arriving, and returning in subchapter 3.1, while their lexical translation in general would be ‘to arrive’.
¹⁶⁰ These are the main actions involved, but others are also taken into account where they occur, for example being away in a foreign place. People from outside Deir el-Medina will be discussed in connection with arriving at or departing from the necropolis area.
able to present the numerous textual references to be treated in this study in a structured way, and the current division turned out to be the most useful and logical for this purpose.

In order to understand the concept of travelling and mobility one has to be familiar with the terms used in non-literary texts to express these actions. After the first introductory part (Chapter 1) follows a main chapter dedicated to a presentation of the texts included in the corpus (Chapter 2). Thereafter the next two main chapters (Chapters 3 and 4) are dedicated to terminology relating to aspects of mobility in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. The discussion on terminology is divided into two main parts according to the nature of the terms discussed. Verbs are treated first (Chapter 3) and thereafter nominal elements (Chapter 4). The terms discussed are exemplified by textual references selected from the corpus.

In the fifth main chapter textual references to going away and coming back home are discussed. Thus, references in non-literary texts to villagers or other persons connected to the workmen’s community departing from, arriving at, or returning to somewhere are examined. In addition, a fourth group consisting of textual references to someone being away are discussed as an excursus in the last subchapter. The textual references dealt with in Chapter 5 include a wide range of aspects on travelling and mobility, and encompass, for example, references to someone going to the riverbank by the Nile to someone departing on a longer expedition/journey. The persons from outside entering the village area were mainly personnel belonging to the external administration, arriving at the necropolis area in order to undertake various administrative tasks.161 The fifth main chapter is divided into subchapters according to the chronology of the textual references to mobility and travelling discussed. The subchapters are further grouped into sections according to which type of action the references express. Within the sections the references are presented and examined from various points of views, for example, the text type in which they occur, the

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161 See also Janssen 1997b, pp. 147–173 for a discussion of dignitaries visiting the Theban necropolis.
person/s undertaking the action, and the destination of and reason for the action conveyed.

A major aim of this study has been the compiling and analysing of a text corpus of non-literary Deir el-Medina texts featuring different aspects of mobility and travelling. By using this textual material a further attempt has been made to present an image of how the villagers expressed going away and coming back home in writing, and based on this material look at the community’s conceptions of mobility and travelling. In a broader perspective the attitudes recorded in the written discourse give an insight into the villagers’ ideas of themselves, their families, and the society they lived in. I am well aware of the limitations of this kind of research, and a study based on a corpus of texts from an ancient culture and language can never give more than a fragmented image of the studied phenomena. Like so many other Deir el-Medina studies before, this study therefore represents only a small part of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina and is chronologically orientated to the early and late 20th dynasty. Therefore it should here be emphasised that this study does not strive to give a complete picture of mobility in New Kingdom Egypt, or even in Ramesside Deir el-Medina.

The study is based on a text corpus that was collected through a systematic survey of the available non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. The preserved private and administrative documents increase in number from the end of the 19th dynasty onwards and it is mainly in these texts that references to mobility among the villagers can be found. During the survey, documents including references consisting of verbs designating travelling or mobility, references to places and peoples outside Deir el-Medina, and references to selected nouns and prepositions offering perspectives on mobility were assembled into a corpus. The

162 O’Connor 1997, p. 15.
163 For a more thorough presentation of the chronology of the corpus for this study, see Chapter 2.
164 Of the non-literary texts about 4,500 have been examined by me. Of these, 322 texts included references to mobility and travelling and have been assembled into a corpus, see Chapter 2.
165 Haring 2003, p. 266.
aim of the study has been pursued through a careful and systematic examination of the sources included in the corpus; the words and word forms used for various actions related to mobility and foreign places and people has been examined philologically as well as the context they occur in.
2. PRESENTATION OF NON-LITERARY TEXTS INCLUDED IN THE CORPUS

In this second main chapter of the thesis, non-literary Deir el-Medina texts including textual references in various ways referring to mobility and travelling, and thereby selected and assembled into a corpus, are presented. When compiling the texts to be included in the corpus, I made the following general considerations and guidelines:

1. As the object for this research is the Deir el-Medina community at large, references to both people leaving or entering the village, as well as references to people leaving or entering surrounding areas within the necropolis area, are incorporated in the corpus. The length of the journey made is considered of less importance, not, however, disregarding the fact that attitudes regarding and reasons for leaving and returning might have been influenced by it.

2. Actions of mobility and travelling are defined in this study as functionally-bound forms of individual movement of varying distances in varying directions, for instance used in the sense of going from Deir el-Medina to the Valley of the Kings, to the marketplace by the Western riverbank, crossing the Nile and going to Eastern Thebes, travelling to foreign countries, etc.\footnote{See Köpp-Junk 2014, p. 19 for a more narrow definition of a journey (... wird unter „Reisen“ die Bewegung einer Person von einem Ort A zu einem Ort B verstanden, wobei der alltagsübliche Aktionsradius überschritten wird).}

3. Various verbs were used in order to express similar actions of the mobility and travelling\footnote{See, for example, Peust 2007 for a discussion of three verbs ($lm$, $hn$, and $nfy$) all referring to ‘to go’ in Late Egyptian.} of the inhabitants, or of people from outside visiting the village, in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. The same verbs were also used in other
contexts, to express forms of action that do not relate to mobility outside the village area. The textual content might provide the reader with a correct understanding of these verbs, but the non-specialised nature of the terminology still constitutes several problems.\textsuperscript{168}

4. Further, one and the same verb was used in order to express different directions of mobility. For example, the verb of motion $ij$\textsuperscript{169} was used for expressing persons departing from, arriving at, and returning to a place. Which direction of mobility a specific verb is referring to in a reference must therefore be established by examining the context within which it occurs.

5. Other references of interest for the topic of this study (in addition to references including verbs) are those which include nominal elements relating to mobility and travelling such as, for example, nouns, names of places outside of Deir el-Medina, and names used for expressing relations to people from the outside. When collecting references for the corpus I have, however, chosen to place the focus on the movement or action and thereby on the verbs. Nominal elements have only been included if they also relate to the aspect of mobility of interest here. In other words, the bare mention of someone being in the possession of a boat does not qualify for addition into the corpus, unless the person in question is mentioned as departing from, arriving at, or returning to somewhere in the boat.

Of the ca. 4,500 non-literary papyri and ostraca texts stemming from Deir el-Medina I have examined in total,\textsuperscript{170} 322 texts include references that are of interest for, and have been used in order to reach, the aim of this study. Of these 322 texts are 105 papyri texts and 217 are ostraca texts. The text types of these texts have been established according to the classification system used in the Deir

\textsuperscript{168} See, for example, Toivari-Viitala 2001, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{169} Wb I, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{170} The ca 4,500 texts include all papyri and ostraca texts from the Deir el-Medina Database and Deir el-Medina Online, and additionally the non-literary ostraca texts published in Abdel Samie 2009; Demarée 2010; Dorn 2011a; Fischer-Elfert 2012; Grandet 2010; Hagen 2011; and one unpublished text given to me by Robert J. Demarée (P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso) and one by Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert (P. München ÄS 818).
el-Medina Database and Deir el-Medina Online.¹⁷¹ The number of the corpus texts has also been established based on the Deir el-Medina Database, i.e. if the database categorises two texts as separate, even though written on the same document, I have also chosen to regard them as such.¹⁷² This has resulted in fifteen different categories of text types of papyri and ostraca texts. The text types are (in alphabetical order): account (a), deposition (d), event (e), inventory (i), journal (j), letter (l), list (li), literary (lit), memorandum (m), model letter (ml), note (n), oracle question (o), protocol (p), report (r), and unclassified (-).¹⁷³

Table 1. Papyri and ostraca: categories of text types in approximate number (uncertain classification included).¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ For the ostraca texts not yet included in the electronic databases I have followed the classification given by De marée 2010; Dorn 2011a; Fischer-Elfert 2012; Grandet 2010; Hagen 2011.

¹⁷² For example, P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto and P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso are treated as separate texts.

¹⁷³ Two ostraca texts are unclassified due to their fragmentary state: O. Berlin P 14155; O. Berlin P 14161. According to the Deir el-Medina Database, Remarks, a literary content for O. Berlin P 14155 cannot be excluded.

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix 2 for a table where the numbers of the texts are given in a more precise format as well as tables where the categories of text types of the papyri and ostraca texts are treated separately.
According to the statistics presented above four of the total of fifteen text types represented in the corpus stand out: account, journal, letter, and note. These four text types cover together 277 texts of the total 322 papyri and ostraca corpus texts. The text type deposition, list, oracle question, and protocol cover together thirty-four of all 322 corpus texts, which means that the remaining six text types (event, inventory, literary, memorandum, report, and unclassified) cover only a few texts each. When only taking the papyri texts into account, as many as sixty-four of the total 105 texts are letters. Of the 217 ostraca texts, journals form the largest text type group with seventy-three texts followed by notes with fifty-five texts.

Table 2. Papyri and ostraca: categories of text types in approximate percentage (uncertain classification included).  

![Bar chart showing percentages of text types]

175 See Appendix 1 for a more detailed table of the text type category and dating of each text included in the corpus.
176 I.e. 22 accounts, 97 journals, 96 letters, 4 model letters, and 58 notes.
177 See Appendix 2 for a table where the percentages are given in more precise numbers as well as tables where the categories of text types of the papyri and ostraca texts are treated separately.
When looking at the percentage of each text type represented in the corpus the following percentages are obtained for the four main groups of papyri and ostraca texts: accounts seven per cent, journals thirty per cent, letters thirty per cent (including all real letters and four model letters), and notes eighteen per cent. Thus, these four text types cover together eighty-five per cent of the whole corpus. The text group deposition, list, oracle, and protocol together cover ten per cent of the corpus, which leads us to the conclusion that the remaining six groups of text types (event, inventory, literary, memorandum, report, and unclassified) together cover only about five per cent. Of the papyri texts as much as sixty-one per cent are letters while journals constitute thirty-three per cent and notes twenty-five per cent of the ostraca texts.

As already mentioned above in 1.2.1, the Deir el-Medina written material is chronologically unevenly distributed over the approximate 400 years the village was inhabited by the necropolis workmen and their families. In general, documents from the second half of the 19th dynasty outnumber those preserved from the first half of the same dynasty, and texts dating from the early and late 20th dynasty are more numerous while texts dating from the mid-20th dynasty are scarce. The dating of the corpus texts presented in the tables below are according to the earliest reign or dynasty each text has been attributed in Helck 2002, the Deir el-Medina Database, or Deir el-Medina Online. A table with

178 All per cent numbers in this study are given without decimals and are therefore approximate numbers. Exceptions are per cent numbers less than 1%, which are given with two decimals.
179 Valbelle 1985a, pp. 51–54.
180 The dating of the texts have in this chapter been grouped into the following approximate dating periods: 18th dynasty, 19th dynasty, Seti I–Ramesses II, Merenptah–Siptah-Tausert, late 19th dynasty–early 20th dynasty, 19th or 20th dynasty, 20th dynasty, early 20th dynasty, Ramesses III–Ramesses VII, mid-20th dynasty, Ramesses IX, Ramesses X–Ramesses XI, late 20th dynasty, late 20 dynasty–early 21st dynasty, and undated. For the ostraca texts not yet included in the databases I have followed the attributed dates given by Dorn 2011a; Grandet 2010; Hagen 2011.

When establishing the attributed date of each corpus text (see Appendix 1), I have followed the most exact dating provided in the Deir el-Medina Database or Deir el-Medina Online. If the attributed date/s of a text in one of these databases gives more than one reign or dynasty, I have chosen to use the older when grouping the texts according to chronology. For example, O. Berlin P 14689 has an attributed date to year 29 of Ramesses II or Ramesses III, and I have
more specific attributed dates for all papyri and ostraca texts in the corpus can be found in Appendix 1.

When combining the fifteen text type categories of the corpus with the attributed date for each papyrus (Table 3) and ostracon text (Table 4), one obtains the numbers for the whole corpus shown below in Table 5. Texts with an uncertain text type classification are included in the tables.

Table 3. Papyri: categories of text types with approximate attributed dating in number of total 105 texts.\textsuperscript{181}

Of the total of 105 papyri texts of the corpus, as many as seventy-eight (19 + 48 + 11) have a date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IX, Ramesses X, Ramesses XI, or to the late 20th dynasty. Only three of the papyri texts have a date attributed to

\textsuperscript{181} See Appendix 3, Table 1 for a table where the numbers of the papyri texts are given in a more precise format.
the 19th dynasty – two letters\textsuperscript{182} and one journal\textsuperscript{183} – and additionally three unpublished letters lack an attributed date.\textsuperscript{184} Sixteen of the papyri texts have been attributed a date to the early and mid-20th dynasty; to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses VII. None of the papyri texts have been dated to the 18th dynasty.

Of the large group of seventy-eight papyri texts with a date attributed to the late 20th dynasty, as many as fifty-four texts are letters (three from the reign of Ramesses IX, forty-one from the reign of Ramesses X or Ramesses XI, and ten from the late 20th dynasty). This is due to the fact that a great majority of the Late Ramesside Letters are dated to the end of the 20th dynasty, even more precisely to the reign of Ramesses XI.\textsuperscript{185} Counted in percentage the letters written on papyrus with a date attributed to the late 20th dynasty forms fifty-one per cent (54/105) of all papyri texts of the corpus and seventeen per cent (54/322) of the whole corpus of this study.

\textsuperscript{182} P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V; P. Turin Cat. 1977.
\textsuperscript{183} P. UC 34336.
\textsuperscript{184} P. München ÄS 818; P. Turin [unnumbered 5]; P. Turin Cat. 1928 + 1963 + 2051.
\textsuperscript{185} Wente 1967, pp. 16–17.
Table 4. Ostraca: categories of text types with approximate attributed dating in number of total 217 texts.\textsuperscript{186}

\begin{table}[ht]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Category & 40 & 35 & 30 & 25 & 20 & 15 & 10 & 5 & 0 \\
\hline
A & & & & & & & & & \\
B & & & & & & & & & \\
C & & & & & & & & & \\
D & & & & & & & & & \\
E & & & & & & & & & \\
F & & & & & & & & & \\
G & & & & & & & & & \\
H & & & & & & & & & \\
I & & & & & & & & & \\
J & & & & & & & & & \\
K & & & & & & & & & \\
L & & & & & & & & & \\
M & & & & & & & & & \\
N & & & & & & & & & \\
O & & & & & & & & & \\
P & & & & & & & & & \\
Q & & & & & & & & & \\
R & & & & & & & & & \\
S & & & & & & & & & \\
T & & & & & & & & & \\
U & & & & & & & & & \\
V & & & & & & & & & \\
W & & & & & & & & & \\
X & & & & & & & & & \\
Y & & & & & & & & & \\
Z & & & & & & & & & \\
a & & & & & & & & & \\
b & & & & & & & & & \\
c & & & & & & & & & \\
d & & & & & & & & & \\
e & & & & & & & & & \\
f & & & & & & & & & \\
g & & & & & & & & & \\
h & & & & & & & & & \\
i & & & & & & & & & \\
j & & & & & & & & & \\
k & & & & & & & & & \\
l & & & & & & & & & \\
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v & & & & & & & & & \\
w & & & & & & & & & \\
x & & & & & & & & & \\
y & & & & & & & & & \\
z & & & & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Ostraca: categories of text types with approximate attributed dating in number of total 217 texts.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{186} See Appendix 3, Table 2 for a table where the numbers of the ostraca texts are given in a more precise format.
Of the 217 ostraca texts of the corpus the largest number by far (eighty-seven texts; 4 + 83) have a date attributed to the early 20th dynasty; to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV, and fifteen (13 + 2) to the mid-20th dynasty; to the reigns of Ramesses V–Ramesses VII. Only nine ostraca texts (5 + 2 + 2) have a date attributed to the late 20th dynasty; to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI, as opposed to the papyri texts as seen in Table 3. Three ostraca texts have been attributed a general date to the 18th dynasty, and fifty-four texts (6 + 13 + 35) to the 19th dynasty; of the latter, thirty-five belong to the reigns of Merenptah–Siptah–Tausert. Furthermore, seven ostraca texts have a date attributed to the late 19th or early 20th dynasty, six to the 19th or the 20th dynasty, eight to the 20th dynasty, and two to the late 20th or early 21st dynasty. As many as twenty-six ostraca texts lack an attributed date.

When looking at the attributed dates, the largest group of ostraca texts is the one belonging to the early 20th dynasty; to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV. Of these eighty-seven ostraca texts, thirty-six are journals and thirty are notes. Thus, forty-one per cent of all ostraca texts with a date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV are journals (36/87), and thirty-four per cent are notes (30/87). Of all ostraca corpus texts, journals with a date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV are seventeen per cent (36/217), and notes with a date attributed to the same reigns are fourteen per cent (30/217). Of the whole corpus, these ostraca journals take up eleven per cent (36/322) and the ostraca notes nine per cent (30/322).
Table 5. Papyri and ostraca: categories of text types with approximate attributed dating in number of total 322 texts.\textsuperscript{187}

\textsuperscript{187} See Appendix 3, Table 3 for a table where the numbers of the papyri and ostraca texts are given in a more precise format.
Combining both ostraca and papyri texts, the largest number of all texts in the corpus have a date attributed to the early 20th dynasty; to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV (ninety-four texts; 4 + 90). The second largest group is formed by texts with a date attributed to the late 20th dynasty; to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI (eighty-seven texts; 24 + 50 + 13). The third largest group consists of texts with a date attributed to the mid or late 19th dynasty; to the reigns of Merenptah–Tausert (thirty-eight texts). Twenty-nine of all corpus texts lack an attributed date and only three have a date attributed to the 18th dynasty. Turned into percentages and related to all corpus papyri and ostraca texts in the corpus, one gets the following results in numbers and percentages presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Papyri and ostraca: approximate attributed dating in number and percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Number of texts</th>
<th>Per cent of the whole corpus</th>
<th>Dating within the dynasty</th>
<th>Number of texts</th>
<th>Per cent of the whole corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 dyn.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 dyn.</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>22 %</td>
<td>19 dyn.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S I–R II</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M–Si-Ta</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>late 19–early 20 dyn.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19 or 20 dyn.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 dyn.</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>68 %</td>
<td>20 dyn.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>early 20 dyn.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R III–R IV</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R V–R VII</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mid-20 dyn.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0,5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

188 See Appendix 4 for tables where the approximate attributed dating of the corpus texts in numbers and percentages are treated separately for papyri and ostraca.
As seen in Table 6 the percentages for the whole corpus are one per cent for texts dated to the 18th dynasty, twenty-two per cent for texts dated to the 19th dynasty, sixty-eight per cent for texts dated to the 20th dynasty, and nine per cent for texts lacking an attributed date. Of the 219 texts dated to the 20th dynasty, ninety texts belong to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV, and fifty texts to the reign of Ramesses X or Ramesses XI. The second largest group of papyri and ostraca texts are those with dates attributed to the 19th dynasty. Of these seventy-one texts thirty-eight belong to the reigns of Merenptah–Tausert, and thirteen to the reigns of Seti I–Ramesses II.

To sum up this presentation on the text type categories of the corpus and their chronological distribution, one might state that the two main texts groups are journals and notes with a date attributed to the early 20th dynasty – or more precisely to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV – and letters with a date attributed to the late 20th dynasty – or more precisely to the reign of Ramesses XI. These journals and notes are in total seventy-two texts (2 + 39 + 31), which is twenty-two per cent of the whole corpus (72/322), while the letters consist of fifty-six texts (4 + 42 + 10), comprising seventeen per cent of the whole corpus (56/322). Finally, one group of texts worth mentioning here are journals with a date attributed to the second half of the 19th dynasty. This group consists of a total of twenty journals, which forms approximately half of all papyri and ostraca texts with a date attributed to the second half of the 19th dynasty (20/38), and six per cent of all corpus texts (20/322).

The dating of the corpus texts thereby follows the general outlines of the written material stemming from Deir el-Medina. Texts dating from the end of the 19th dynasty are more numerous than texts from the first half, and texts dating
from the early and late 20th dynasty are more frequent than texts from the mid-
20th dynasty. Of the 322 texts of the corpus almost one-third have a date
attributed to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV. The second largest group
is formed by the fifty-one texts with dates attributed to the reign of Ramesses X or
Ramesses XI, and the third largest group consists of the thirty-eight texts with a
date attributed to the reigns of Merenptah–Siptah-Tausert, i.e. the second half of
the 19th dynasty.
3. VERBS SIGNIFYING MOBILITY AND TRAVELLING IN THE CORPUS

Languages are in general verb-framed or satellite-framed according to whether the verb phrases expressing motion events describe the path of motion (verb-framing) or the manner of motion (satellite-framing).\textsuperscript{189} Semitic languages are generally verb-framed, and so also are ancient Egyptian languages.\textsuperscript{190} In ancient Egyptian the verb expresses the path of the motion, opposed to a prepositional phrase describing the manner of the motion in a satellite-framed language like, for example, English.

In Egyptian there might also exist exceptions, as the verbs \textit{hntj} and \textit{hdj} are believed to refer both to path (down- or upstream) and manner (by ship). The assumption that the journeying expressed with \textit{hntj} and \textit{hdj} took place on water is presumably due to the classifier (or determinative)\textsuperscript{191} in the form of a boat. However, according to Eliese-Sophia Lincke, these two verbs were also used for expressing travelling on land.\textsuperscript{192} On the whole, verb classification is a rather rare phenomenon in classifier languages – Egyptian being an exception.\textsuperscript{193} Verbs of motion in Egyptian are generally written with the classifier of a pair of walking legs.\textsuperscript{194}

From the corpus I have identified and selected twenty-one verbs\textsuperscript{195} that in various ways offer perspectives on mobility and travelling among the villagers of Deir el-Medina, or by someone connected to the workmen’s community. These twenty-one verbs by no means include all of the verbs that can be associated with

\begin{itemize}
\item See, for example, Slobin 1996; Talmy 1991; Talmy 2000.
\item Gracia Zamacona 2008, p. 1567; see, however, Lincke (2010, p. 39) for a suggestion that Egyptian possibly underwent a change from verb-framed to satellite-framed in Coptic.
\item On the terms classifier and determinative, see Goldwasser 2006, pp. 19 ff.
\item Lincke 2010, p. 39.
\item Lincke and Kammerzell 2012, p. 65.
\item Goldwasser and Grinewald 2012, pp. 28, 43.
\end{itemize}
mobility and travelling in the corpus. The group is rather formed by the verbs that in one way or another stand out in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts for expressing various forms of mobility.

The aim of this third main chapter is to present these twenty-one verbs and their usage in the corpus. The verbs have been arranged into nine groups. Thus verbs with similar grammatical and content qualities are treated together in one subchapter. As mentioned above, in subchapter 1.4, I have identified and selected three directions of mobility that I regard as relevant when analysing the references included in the corpus: departing from, arriving at, or returning to. These directions are within the subchapters of each group of verbs discussed separately from each other in their own sections. Each section gives the text type categories and the attributed dates of texts in which groups of verbs signifying departing from, arriving at, or returning to are found. Further, a few textual references for each of the various directions of mobility have been selected to serve as clarifying examples of the usage of the verbs in each group.

The references or examples are arranged alphabetically with papyri texts before the ostraca texts. The name and number of the text serve as headings for each example. One or several attributed dates are referred to in a footnote. In the examples taken from letters the sender and receiver are presented in the body text. The rendering of the various verbs and terms is given in English in simple quotation marks, as are the translations of the references.

The purpose of these examples is to give an overview, as broad as possible, of the various meanings and interpretations each group of verbs might be assigned in the corpus. The overview also aims to briefly present how the usage of the various verbs is distributed among the fifteen text type categories of the corpus over the 400 years Deir el-Medina was inhabited by the workmen’s community.

196 The nine groups are: 3.1 ūj and īw; 3.2 ph, mnj, and spr; 3.3 wdg, mš, and n;j; 3.4 ḥṣ and šm; 3.5 ḥntj and ḥdj; 3.6 ḥsb and ḫn; 3.7 ḥsj, šš/snj, ḫṣ and ḫfj; 3.8 ḫj and ḫz; 3.9 inj.

197 In this study I have preferred to use the word sender rather than writer since, as Sweeney has pointed out: “it is a moot point to what extent letters were dictated, rather than penned by the person in whose name they were sent.” Sweeney 2001, p. 6.

198 See “Notes on transliterations and translations”, p. 12.
To sum up, this third main chapter aims to present in which text type categories, from which chronological period, which verbs in which grammatical formations and in connection with which prepositions, give information on mobility and travelling. The textual references selected from the corpus serve as clarifying examples of how the verbs are used. In the fifth main chapter of the thesis all textual references included in the corpus are examined and discussed.

3.1 \( i^j \) and \( i^w \)

The two most frequently used verbs describing people from within or outside the village area departing from, arriving at, or returning to somewhere, are the intransitive and irregular verbs of motion \( i^j \) and \( i^w \). In this study the subject appearing in connection with \( i^j \) or \( i^w \) is a person connected to the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina. The verbs are generally paired with an adverbial phrase indicating where, when, how, or why the movement has taken place. \( i^j \) and \( i^w \) occur in the corpus references in combination with the following prepositions:

- \( m \) – signifying departing to, arriving at, returning from somewhere
- \( m-dj \) – signifying arriving to someone
- \( n \) – signifying departing to, arriving at somewhere/to someone
- \( r \) – signifying departing to, arriving at, returning from somewhere/someone or for a purpose
- \( hr \) – signifying departing to, arriving at somewhere or because of something

\[ \text{199 On the problems connected with identifying the basic meanings of Egyptian prepositions, see Werning 2012.} \]
\[ \text{200 Outside the corpus,} \ i^j \ \text{and} \ i^w \ \text{may also signify, for example, something that is going to happen in the future. Wb I, pp. 37, 44.} \]
\[ \text{201 Wb I, p. 37.} \]
\[ \text{202 Wb I, pp. 44–45.} \]
\[ \text{203 Outside the corpus, the subject may, in addition to a person, also be an item, a circumstance, an abstract phenomenon, or the time. Wb I, pp. 37, 44.} \]
\[ \text{204 In the corpus} \ m-dj \ \text{is only used when connected to} \ i^j . \]
\[ \text{205 Other prepositions} \ i^j \ \text{and} \ i^w \ \text{may be connected with outside the corpus are:} \ m-c, \ hr-sz, \ hr, \ irm, \ \text{and} \ r-hrj. \ Wb I, pp. 37, 44; \text{Hannig 1997, pp. 27–28.} \]
Outside the corpus, *i*j and *i*w can be found in connection with these same prepositions, but then taking on other significations than the ones mentioned above.206

3.1.1 *i*j and *i*w: departing

*i*j and *i*w signifying departing occur in seventeen of the corpus texts: nine letters, four journals, two notes, one protocol, and one oracle question. Of the nine letters one is dated to the reign of Ramesses II,207 seven to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI,208 and one to the 20th dynasty.209 Two of the journals are dated to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI210 and two to Seti II–Siptah.211 One note is dated to the reign of Ramesses III212 and one to Ramesses VI.213 The protocol is dated to the reign of Merenptah.214 The oracle question lacks an attributed date.215

Examples:

P. BM EA 10326216
This papyrus text is a letter sent to the necropolis scribe Butehamun217 in Western

206 The preposition *m*: coming into somewhere, coming as someone, or coming in a shape; the preposition *n*: coming in order to help, coming to an item, or coming from a voice; and the preposition *Hr*: coming out of somewhere (e.g. the desert), coming from a country, or coming on something (e.g. a road). Wb I, pp. 37, 44; Hannig 1997, p. 27.

207 O. DeM 114.


209 P. Florence 7125.


211 O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo JE 72452.

212 O. UC 39661.

213 O. Cairo CG 25264.

214 O. IFAO 1357.

215 O. IFAO 557.

216 Year 10 of *whm ms.wt* of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 9 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

Thebes by his father the necropolis scribe Djehutymose, who when the letter was written was in Nubia. The latter wrote:

(vso. 9) ḫḥ mdw=t mḏt ḫr-imn-pn=f r-ḏḏ imj īj=f n=i ‘And I have spoken as well with Heramenpenaf saying, “Send him to me”.’

The verbal formation in the subordinate clause imj īj=f n=i is the imperative followed by the non-initial prospective sḏm=f, with the preposition n indicating direction of motion. The clause is a form of request in late Egyptian letters. The person who is to depart and who is referred to in the letter is the policeman Hadnakht. With this sentence in the letter Djehutymose expressed his wish that Hadnakht would be sent from Thebes to Nubia. īj is here translated by Edward Wente as ‘to send’, but the action Hadnakht is requested to do, is to depart from Thebes and travel to Nubia.

O. IFAO 557

This short text is an oracle question consisting of only two lines of text.

(rto. 1–2) n iw(=i) n bnr224 ‘Will (I) go out?’225

The verbal formation in this main clause is the initial prospective sḏm=f after the interrogative particle in, and the direction-giving preposition is n. The oracle to whom the question was directed was probably the deified Amenhotep I, who was

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218 Thutmose (ii) in Davies 1999, chart 9.
219 Translation by Wente 1967, p. 38; see also Wente 1959, p. 160. This passage could be translated literally as ‘let him come to me’.
220 Junge 1999, p. 82.
221 For a discussion of the various forms of requests in the Late Ramesside Letters, see Sweneey 2001, pp. 45 ff.
222 For the policeman Hadnakht, see Černý 2004, p. 274.
223 No attributed date. The text is published in Černý 1935c, p. 46.
224 The adverbial phrase r bnr connected to a verb was used in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts to express ‘going outside’ or ‘throwing outside’, with the outside used figuratively for not connected to the workmen’s community. Wb I, p. 461. R bnr may also signify getting fired (from the workmen’s community), which is what the questioner of this oracle question is asking whether it is going to happen to him.
225 Translation by Černý 1935c, p. 46 (Est-ce que je sortirai).
226 Sweeney 2001, p. 104; for the initial prospective sḏm=f, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 333.
considered the founder of the village. The community is known to have consulted
the dead king as an oracle. The preserved oracle questions often deal with
disputes over property, but sometimes more personal matters are asked as well. In
the above presented text, the person presenting the question is probably inquiring
whether he is going to leave the village or not, or in other words whether he is
going to be unemployed and thereby forced to look for work outside of the
necropolis area.

3.1.2 ‘Ij and ‘iw: arriving

‘Ij and ‘iw signifying arriving occur in 150 of the corpus texts – i.e. in slightly less
than fifty per cent of all 322 texts included in the corpus. Of these 150 texts there
are thirty-five letters, fifty-five journals, thirty-eight notes, ten accounts,
seven protocols, one deposition, one event (uncertain classification), one
inventory, one model letter (uncertain classification), and one text is unclassified.
Nineteen of the letters are dated to the end of the 20th dynasty, to the reigns of
Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI, ten letters are dated within the 19th and five
within the 20th dynasty. One letter is lacking an attributed date. Twenty-five
journals, i.e. almost half of all journals where ‘Ij and ‘iw are found to signify

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227 See, for example, Černý 1927; Kruchten 2000; von Lieven 2001; McDowell 1990, p. 108;
Sweeney 2008; Weiss 2009.

228 The classification of two letters is uncertain: O. Cairo CG 25235; O. Turin N 57238.

229 The classification of four notes is uncertain: O. Cairo CG 25713; O. DeM 571; O. Turin N
57006; O. Turin N 57413.

230 O. Ashmolean Museum 197 has an uncertain classification as a protocol.

231 P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV;
P. BM EA 10100; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10417; P. BM EA 10418 + 10287; P. BM EA
75016; P. BM EA 75018; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. BM EA 75021; P. DeM 18; P.
Geneva D 192; P. Geneva D 407; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974; P. Turin Cat.
1972; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 1979; P. Turin CGT 54100.

232 P. Turin Cat. 1977; O. BM EA 65933a; O. Cairo CG 25831; O. DeM 114; O. DeM 969; O.
DeM 10061; O. Qurna 630/5; O. Qurna 644/3; O. Turin N. 57238; O. Turin N. 57559.

233 P. DeM 6; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. DeM 128; O. Qurna
620/2.

234 O. UC 39658.
arriving, are dated to the early and mid-20th dynasty, to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses VI.\textsuperscript{235} Twelve journals date to the reigns of Merenptah–Tausert\textsuperscript{236} and twelve to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI.\textsuperscript{237} Two journals dates to the mid-20th dynasty\textsuperscript{238} and four lack an attributed date.\textsuperscript{239} Twenty of the notes are dated to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV,\textsuperscript{240} four to the reigns of Ramesses V–Ramesses VII,\textsuperscript{241} three to within the 19th dynasty,\textsuperscript{242} three to the late 20th dynasty,\textsuperscript{243} and four to the 20th dynasty in general.\textsuperscript{244} Four notes lack an attributed date.\textsuperscript{245} Three of the accounts are dated to the 19th dynasty,\textsuperscript{246} five to

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{235}{P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 2044; O. Berlin P 14255; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. Cairo CG 25272; O. Cairo CG 25303; O. Cairo CG 25565; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 41; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 10176 (dating from Ramesses III uncertain); O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Louvre E 25325; O. Prague H. 14; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57153.}
\footnote{236}{P. UC 34336; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 118; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25537; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25560; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. MMA 14.6.217.}
\footnote{237}{P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin frgt. delta; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25535.}
\footnote{238}{O. BTdK 663 (year 4 of Ramesses IV or year 1 of Ramesses V or Ramesses VII); O. BTdK 664 (year 1 of Ramesses V or Ramesses VII).}
\footnote{239}{O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. DeM 897; O. DeM 10162.}
\footnote{240}{P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 11254; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25255; O. Cairo CG 25256; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25273; O. Cairo CG 25281; O. Cairo CG 25284 bis; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25713; O. DeM 1194 verso; O. Florence 2619 verso; O. Michaelides 6 verso; O. Turin N. 57006; O. Turin N. 57058.}
\footnote{241}{P. Turin Cat. 1923 + 2073 + 2082 + 2083; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. Cairo CG 25566; O. DeM 1176 verso 9.}
\footnote{242}{O. Cairo CG 25552; O. DeM 886; O. Turin N. 57413.}
\footnote{243}{O. Cairo CG 25653; O. DeM 571; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97 (dating from the reign of Ramesses IX uncertain).}
\footnote{244}{O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25630; O. DeM 341; O. Turin N. 57169.}
\footnote{245}{O. Ashmolean Museum 293; O. Cairo JE 49557; O. Černý 17; O. DeM 610.}
\footnote{246}{O. DeM 319; O. DeM 677; O. Cairo CG 25547.}
\end{footnotes}
the early and mid-20th dynasty,\textsuperscript{247} one to the reign of Ramesses XI,\textsuperscript{248} and one lacks an attributed date.\textsuperscript{249} Three protocols are dated within the 19th dynasty,\textsuperscript{250} three within the early or mid-20th dynasty,\textsuperscript{251} and one to the reign of Ramesses XI.\textsuperscript{252} The deposition is dated to Ramesses III,\textsuperscript{253} the inventory to Ramesses IX,\textsuperscript{254} the model letter to the 19th dynasty,\textsuperscript{255} the event\textsuperscript{256} and the unclassified text\textsuperscript{257} are both lacking an attributed date.

\textit{Examples:}

P. BM EA 75019 + P. BM EA 10302\textsuperscript{258}

This letter is badly damaged, and the upper part of the recto is lost. Therefore the names of the sender and the receiver are no longer legible. Based on the titles used in the letter, Robert Demarée suggested that the sender was general Paiankh\textsuperscript{259} and the receiver Djehutymose.\textsuperscript{260} In this passage the sender is letting the receiver know that he had sent a messenger to him:

\begin{quote}
(rto. 4–5) \textit{iw(-i) rdj iw n-k ky šmsw ink} ‘I caused to come to you another messenger of mine.’\textsuperscript{261}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{247} P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4.
\textsuperscript{248} P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso.
\textsuperscript{249} O. DeM 943.
\textsuperscript{250} O. Ashmolean Museum 197; O. Cairo CG 25237; O. DeM 918.
\textsuperscript{251} P. Turin Cat. 2065; O. Berlin P 12654; O. Geneva MAH 12550.
\textsuperscript{252} P. Berlin P 10460.
\textsuperscript{253} O. Turin N. 57068.
\textsuperscript{254} P. Turin Cat. 2002.
\textsuperscript{255} O. Glasgow D. 1925.84.
\textsuperscript{256} O. Cairo CG 25724.
\textsuperscript{257} O. Berlin P 14161.
\textsuperscript{258} Late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, pp. 14–19.
\textsuperscript{259} For general Paiankh and his relation to Djehutymose, see, for example, Pi’onkh in Černý 2004, pp. 371–381.
\textsuperscript{260} Demarée 2006a, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{261} Translation by Demarée 2006a, p. 14.
The verbal formation of the subordinate clause $iw(-i)\ rdj\ iw\ n-k$ is the non-initial prospective $sdm\cdot f$ following $rdj$,\textsuperscript{262} with the preposition $n$ indicating direction. As the letter is badly damaged, the context is difficult to establish with certainty. However, if the sender was Paiankh and the receiver Djehutymose, it seems that Paiankh has sent a messenger to Djehutymose. The latter was probably in Western Thebes while Paiankh was probably in Nubia.\textsuperscript{263} Thus the actual arriving referred to here was done by the anonymous messenger, travelling north from Nubia to Thebes.

O. Ashmolean Museum 1972\textsuperscript{264}

This ostracon is most likely a protocol noting various events in the village administration. During the events recorded in this protocol the scribe Qenhirkhopshef\textsuperscript{265} arrived at the riverbank:

\begin{quote}
(rto. 5) [...] $hr\ ir\ m\ rnpt\cdot sp\ 9\ iw\ s\ s\ kn-\ hr-\ hp\cdot s\cdot f\ ij\ hr\ mnyt\ m\cdot bsh\ [...]$
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
‘[...] But in year 9 came the scribe Qenhirkhopshef to the riverbank in front of [...]’\textsuperscript{266}
\end{quote}

In this non-initial main clause the verbal formation is the sequential $iw\cdot f\ (hr)\ sdm$,\textsuperscript{267} and the following preposition $hr$ indicates direction. In the text, mention is made of a number of unclear cases, including this passage describing how the scribe Qenhirkhopshef arrived at the riverbank in order to deliver some textiles to Amenemwia,\textsuperscript{268} and to receive some cloths to bring back to the village in return.

\begin{footnotes}

\textsuperscript{262} For the non-initial prospective $sdm\cdot f$, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 454–455, 457.
\textsuperscript{263} Demarée 2006a, p. 19; see also Thijs 2000, pp. 68–69.
\textsuperscript{264} Year 9 of Merenptah, see Helck 2002, p. 89; Kitchen 1982, p. 159.
\textsuperscript{265} Qenhirkhopshef (i) in Davies 1999, p. 283. For this Qenhirkhopshef, see also Černý 2004, pp. 329–337; Donker van Heel and Haring 2003, pp. 41–44; Vernus 2002, pp. 58–64.
\textsuperscript{266} Translation by Helck 2002, p. 89 (Aber im Jahr 9 kam der Schreiber Qn-\ hr-\ hp\cdot s\cdot f zum Hafen vor [...]).
\textsuperscript{267} For the sequential $iw\cdot f\ (hr)\ sdm$, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 423; see also Loprieno 1995, pp. 93, 225.
\textsuperscript{268} Amenemwia (ii) in Davies 1999, p. 208, n. 67.
\end{footnotes}
This text is a note reporting on various events, among others an arrival by the doorkeeper Khaemwaset. Doorkeepers were connected to the external administration of the workmen’s village:

\[ \text{(rto. 3) } hrw \, pn \, ij \, in \, irj-\text{f} \, h^\text{c}-m-w\text{st} \, n \, p\text{z} \, hr \, r-\text{q}d \, \text{‘On this day arrival by the doorkeeper Khaemwaset of the tomb to say:’} \]

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the infinitive. In administrative documents – for example, journals, accounts, notes, and protocols – in sentences introduced by the date + \( hrw \, pn \) ‘on this day’, the actor expression of the infinitive is often introduced by \( in \), ‘by’.

Similar expressions are quite common in the administrative non-literary Deir el-Medina texts, especially when expressing the arrival of someone from the external administration, of whom the most prominent was the vizier. The arriving, departing, or returning undertaken by someone connected to the workmen’s community was usually recorded in the beginning of administrative documents, after the dating of each day. This

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269 Year 28 or 29 of Ramesses III, see O. Berlin P 10663 in Deir el-Medina Online.
270 For Khaemwaset, see Černý 2004, p. 165.
272 Translation by Deir el-Medina Online (Es kam der Torhüter \( Hj-m-w\text{st} \, t \) von der Nekropole, um zu sagen:).
273 O. Berlin P 10663 in Deir el-Medina Online, Wortanalyse.
274 For the infinitive, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 182 ff.
275 See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (rto. II, 19–20); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. I, 7); P. Turin Cat. 2065 (rto. 2); O. Ashmolean Museum 188 (vso. 5); O. Ashmolean Museum 192 (rto. 1); O. Cairo CG 25272 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25274 (rto. 1–3); O. Cairo CG 25290 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25291 (rto. 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25303 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25565 (rto. 3); O. Turin N. 57047 (rto. 2). For a discussion of dignitaries (e.g. the vizier) visiting the necropolis area, see Janssen 1997b, pp. 147–173.
276 See sections 5.2.1.2, 5.2.2.4, and 5.2.3.
would indicate that events related to mobility had a high importance ranking in
the documentation system of the necropolis administration.

O. DeM 943

This ostracon is an account mentioning someone arriving at the riverbank:

(rto. 5) iw=f mryt ‘He came (to) the riverbank.’

This initial main clause is written in the perfect active sdm=f. The writing of the
preposition r is unclear in the text, but should be added to indicate the direction of
motion. The man arriving is unidentified, but the location mryt (‘riverbank’) occurs frequently in the Deir el-Medina texts, where mryt is written without the
definitive article t as a proper name. Villagers are mentioned going to and
coming back from the riverbank for various reasons. In this reference it seems
reasonable to suggest that the riverbank should be understood as the marketplace
by the Nile in Western Thebes.

O. Qurna 620/2

An almost complete letter sent by an unknown sender to an unknown receiver,
sharing information of the arrival of “a companion”:

(rto. 1) pū= k irj iw šsp=f irj nṣy=i smḥj ‘Your companion has come in
order to receive what my left side has produced.’

277 No date attributed. The ostracon is published in Grandet 2003, pp. 116, 381.
278 Translation by Grandet 2003, p. 116 (quand il vient à la rive); see also David 2010, p. 174.
279 For the perfect active sdm=f, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 215; Junge 1999, pp. 161–162.
281 See, however, for example O. Cairo CG 25264 (rto. 4) and O. Turin N. 57556 (vso. 2) for
exceptions where ‘riverbank’ is written t mryt.
282 For references to people going or being taken to the riverbank, see sections 4.2.1, 5.1.1.3,
and 5.1.2.6.
283 For the location of a marketplace by the Nile in Western Thebes, see, for example, Eyre
284 Presumably 20th dynasty, see Burkard 2001, p. 11; Deir el-Medina Online.
285 Translation by Deir el-Medina Online (Dein Gefährte ist gekommen, damit er in Empfang
nähme das, was meine “linke Seite” gemacht hat).
The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the first present written with a stative. Günter Burkard suggests that the sender and receiver of this letter were probably situated physically quite close to each other, within the necropolis area, since the tone of the letter is familiar. With this letter the sender was letting the receiver know that his companion had arrived. The “left side” referred to here is presumably the left side of the crew.

3.1.3 ‘i and ‘w: returning

The verbs ‘i and ‘w signifying returning occur in eleven corpus texts. Ten of these eleven texts are letters written on papyrus and dated to the late 20th dynasty, to the reign of Ramesses X or Ramesses XI, and one is a model letter dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

Examples:

P. Berlin P 10494

In a letter from the necropolis scribe Tjaroy, i.e. Djehutymose, and the army scribe Pentahutnakht to the deputy of the estate of Amun-Re, Hori, the senders wrote about a return:

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286 O. Qurna 620/2 in Deir el-Medina Online, Wortanalyse. Stative forms without ending were mainly used for 3rd singular masculine and 3rd plural, and from the end of the 20th dynasty also for other forms, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 194–196.


288 For the division of the crew of Deir el-Medina into a right and left side, see, for example, Černý 2004, pp. 101–103; Eyre 1987b, p. 173.


290 O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto.

291 Year 2 of ḫnms.ḥt of Ramesses XI or later, see letter no. 12 in Wente 1967, p. 16.


293 Pentahutnakht in Davies 1999, pp. 121–122.
We have heard that you have returned and have reached the town of Ne.

This initial main clause begins with the perfect active $sdm$-f, followed by a clause ($tw=k ij.ti$) written with the verbal formation of the initial first present constructed with a stative. The preposition $r$ is here indicating direction of the motion undertaken. This passage belongs to the so-called narrative section that senders of letters sometimes included in the Late Ramesside Letters when explaining what had been happening to them or how they had executed orders given to them in previous letters. Djehutymose and Pentahutnakht were both staying at Medinet Habu in Western Thebes when they sent this letter to Hori, who was in Eastern Thebes. It is not known from where Hori had returned to Eastern Thebes. The intention of the senders of the letter was to ask Hori to send nine workmen back to Western Thebes. They are all listed by name in the letter and were apparently at the time in Eastern Thebes.

P. BM EA 10412

This document is a letter sent by the necropolis scribe Nesamenope to

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294 Taking $tn$ for $n$, see Junge 1999, p. 156; Wente 1967, p. 44, n. c.
295 $tw=k ij.ti$ could also be translated as ‘you have arrived’. However, as the title of Hori indicates that he was from the Theban region, the action he is referred to as having undertaken in this reference is to return home.
297 For the perfect active $sdm$-f, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 215; see also Junge 1999, p. 165. For the $sdm$-f form of a verb of motion used as a perfect tense, see Wente 1959, pp. 145, 151.
298 For the initial first present constructed with a stative, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 288.
300 Davies 1999, p. 122.
301 $Njw$ (Ne) for ‘town’ or ‘city’ is one of the ancient place names for Eastern Thebes present in the Deir el-Medina texts. von Eberhard 1952, p. 9, n. 12; section 4.2.2. See also Redford 1997 for a discussion of various Egyptian terms for communal settlement.
302 Ca. year 2 of $whm ms. wt$ of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 36 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
303 Nesamenope (i) in Davies 1999, p. 284. Nesamenope is recorded as having been active as a senior scribe from year 12 to year 20 of Ramesses XI; see also Černý 2004, pp. 213–214.
Mutemopet, a chantress of Amun. The sender mentioned his own forthcoming return:

\[(vso. 4–5) \ i.\ rdjt=tn\ iw=i\ m\ p3\ tz\ rsj\ iw\ bn\ sw-m-stt\ hrt-s\ ‘It is when no\ brush^{304}\ will\ be\ on\ it,\ that\ you\ shall\ have\ me\ return\ from\ the\ south\ land.’^{305}\]

This main clause is written in the verbal formation of the second tense of the initial prospective $s\!d\!m=f$.\(^{306}\) The sentence represents a form of indirect request found in late Egyptian letter writing.\(^{307}\) The preposition $m$ establishes the direction of motion undertaken in this sentence. The scribe Nesamenope was away from the necropolis in a place somewhere south of Western Thebes (according to Edward Wente probably in Nubia\(^{308}\)) and wrote back home to Mutemopet, who might have been his wife.\(^{309}\) The intention of the letter was to let Mutemopet know that she should send a message for him to return to Western Thebes when various matters at home had been taken care of.

P. Geneva D 191\(^{310}\)

In a letter from Henuttawy,\(^{311}\) a chantress of Amun-Re, to the necropolis scribe Nesamenope, the sender wrote about an event the $w^b$-priest of the temple of Mut, Pawenesh, had told her about in a letter:

\[(vso. 15–16) [hr]\ qd=f\ n=i\ i.irj=i\ ij\ im\ iw=f\ wdj\ irm\ imj-r\ pr-hd\ imj-r\ šnwt\ mn-ms't-r'-nh$t\ [sš-]wḏhw\ hrt\ ‘[And]\ he\ has\ said\ to\ me,\ ‘It\ was\]

\(^{304}\) Wente points out that the translation of $sw-m-stt$ as brush is a guess. Wente 1967, p. 71, n. $i$.

\(^{305}\) Translation by Černý and Groll 1993, p. 382; see also Wente 1967, p. 70.

\(^{306}\) For the second tense of the initial prospective $s\!d\!m-f$, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 382. Only five verbs can take the form $i.s\!d\!m-f$, they are $q\!d$, $r\!dj$, $i\!w$, $i\!nj$, and $i\!rj$.


\(^{308}\) For $tz\ rsj$ as Nubia or a part thereof, see Wente 1967, p. 62, n. $k$.

\(^{309}\) P. BM EA 10412 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Contents.

\(^{310}\) Year 2 of $whm\ ms.wt$ of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 37 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

\(^{311}\) See Janssen 1986 for Henuttawy. According to Černý (2004, p. 214) and Valbelle (1985a, p. 240), from the content of this letter it seems likely this Henuttawy was probably the wife of Nesamenope.
after he went forth with the overseer of the treasury and overseer of the granaries\textsuperscript{312} Menmaarenakht and the [scribe] of the offering table that I returned there”.\textsuperscript{313}

The verbal formation of the initial main clause \textit{i.\textit{irj-i \textit{i j \textit{im}}}} is the emphatic formation,\textsuperscript{314} followed by the non-initial subordinate clause \textit{iw=f \textit{wdj}} written in the circumstantial first present.\textsuperscript{315} According to the discussion by Deborah Sweeney, this sentence represents a declaration of intent in the information part of late Egyptian letters.\textsuperscript{316} The person who had returned and therefore the subject of the main clause was Pawenesh, and the person who ‘had gone forth’ (subject of the subordinate clause) was most likely the father of Nesamenope who had won a case in court in the presence of the ruler.\textsuperscript{317}

\textbf{3.2 \textit{Ph}, \textit{mnj}, and \textit{spr}}

The next group of verbs selected from the corpus of this study to signify mobility and travelling, is formed by the transitive verbs \textit{ph},\textsuperscript{318} \textit{mnj},\textsuperscript{319} and \textit{spr}.\textsuperscript{320} These three verbs are in the corpus references used in order to signify people from within the village area arriving at a place somewhere outside the village area, or a person from outside arriving at the Theban necropolis. The subject in connection with predicates formed of \textit{ph}, \textit{mnj}, and \textit{spr} is usually a person or an item (for

\textsuperscript{312} For the position and duties of the \textit{imj-r pr-HD} during the reign of Ramesses III, see Higginbotham 2012, pp. 83–84.
\textsuperscript{313} Translation by Wente 1967, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{314} For the emphatic formation, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 367, 369–370.
\textsuperscript{315} For the circumstantial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 290–291.
\textsuperscript{316} Sweeney 2001, p. 156.
\textsuperscript{317} For the persons and the content of this letter, see P. Geneva D 191 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Contents.
\textsuperscript{318} Wb I, pp. 533–535.
\textsuperscript{319} Wb II, pp. 73–74. \textit{Mnj} also has a transitive use, but in the corpus of this study it is not found as such.
\textsuperscript{320} Wb IV, pp. 102–103.
example a letter or a boat) and the object or adverbial phrase is usually a person or a place. In the corpus \( ph \) and \( spr \) are found both in connection with a direct object or an adverbial phrase, whereas \( mnj \) is only found in connection with an adverbial phrase. Standing alone without an object or adverbial phrase, \( ph \) and \( spr \) may signify simply to arrive or to reach, and \( mnj \) to moor. In non-literary Deir el-Medina texts particularly \( spr \) is found in journals in the expression ‘on this day arrival by NN’.

\[ P_{h}, \; mnj, \; \text{and} \; spr \] occur in connection with the following prepositions:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \( m \) – signifying arriving at somewhere
  \item \( n \) – signifying arriving at somewhere/to someone
  \item \( r \) – signifying arriving at somewhere/to someone
\end{itemize}

Outside the corpus of this study, \( ph \), \( mnj \), and \( spr \) are found in connection with these same prepositions, but then they take on other significations than the ones mentioned above.

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321 Outside the corpus, the subject may also be, among other things, an animal or something abstract, for example a sound. Wb IV, p. 102.

322 In the corpus, the direct object connected to \( ph \) is a person or a place, but outside the corpus the direct object may also be something abstract signifying, for example, reaching old age. Wb I, pp. 533–534. For an example of the use of \( ph \) with a direct object, see O. Cairo CG 25831 (vso. 1) \( iw\-s \; ph\; is\; in\; bt\; [...] \) ‘she reached the wall/guard post [...]’.

323 Outside the corpus, \( mnj \) may also signify, for example, letting a boat or person moor, letting someone die, bringing a drowned person to land, leading a country, marrying, and dying. Wb II, p. 74; Hannig 1997, p. 337.

324 Wb IV, p. 103.

325 In the corpus, the preposition \( m \) is only used connected to \( ph \) and only on one occasion: P. Leiden I 369 (vso. 4) \( ph\-i\; m\; hdj\; ‘I arrived north’. Wb I, p. 534.

326 The preposition \( n \) is only used in connection with \( ph \). Wb I, p. 535.

327 Outside the corpus, \( mnj \) and \( ph \) may additionally stand together with the preposition \( hr \), see Wb I, p. 534; Wb II, p. 73; and \( spr \) with the prepositions \( hr\-m \) for an order reaching a subordinate, \( r\-hr\-n \) for turning to someone for business, \( m\-bs\; hr \) for standing before a god, and \( hr \) for reaching a god, see Wb IV, p. 102.

328 \( Ph \) with the preposition \( r \): reaching the West, i.e. to be buried, or reaching the sky, with the subject being a scent or a voice, or reaching dignity, i.e. old age, see Wb I, p. 535; \( spr \) with the preposition \( r \): the Nile reaching the fields, the dead reaching the gods, the priests arriving in front of the gods, or a sound reaching the sky. In medical texts to describe an illness reaching a phase, see Wb IV, p. 102; \( mnj \) with the preposition \( m \): arriving at somewhere or to someone, see Wb II, p. 73.
3.2.1 *Ph, mnj, and spr: arriving*

The verbs *ph, mnj*, and *spr* signifying arriving occur in fifty-seven corpus texts: twenty-eight letters,\(^{329}\) sixteen journals, seven notes, three accounts, two model letters (both uncertain classifications), and one deposition (uncertain classification). Seventeen of the letters are dated to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI\(^{330}\) and four to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses VII.\(^{331}\) The remaining letters are dated five within the 19th dynasty\(^{332}\) and one to the 20th dynasty in general.\(^{333}\) One letter is lacking an attributed date.\(^{334}\) Four of the journals are dated to the mid or late 19th dynasty,\(^ {335}\) five to the early or mid-20th dynasty,\(^ {336}\) five to the late 20th dynasty,\(^ {337}\) and one to the 20th dynasty in general.\(^ {338}\) One journal lacks an attributed date.\(^ {339}\) Five notes are dated to the early and mid-20th dynasty, to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses VII,\(^ {340}\) one to the reign of Ramesses IX,\(^ {341}\) and one is lacking an attributed date.\(^ {342}\) One of the three

\(^{329}\) Two of the letters have an uncertain classification: O. Cairo prov. no. 175; P. Florence 10057.

\(^{330}\) P. Berlin P 10487; P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV; P. BM EA 10100; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10412; P. BM EA 10430; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. BM EA 75025; P. DeM 8 verso; P. Leiden I 369; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1972; P. Turin Cat. 2026; P. Turin CGT 54100; O. Cairo prov. no. 175.

\(^{331}\) O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. DeM 418; O. DeM 10100.

\(^{332}\) O. BM EA 5631; O. Cairo CG 25831; O. DeM 440; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 10061.

\(^{333}\) P. Florence 10057.

\(^{334}\) O. DeM 10256.

\(^{335}\) O. Cairo CG 25560; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25794.

\(^{336}\) P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237; P. Turin Cat. 2044; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 46.

\(^{337}\) P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; O. Cairo CG 25648.

\(^{338}\) P. Florence 10063.

\(^{339}\) O. Ashmolean Museum 270.

\(^{340}\) O. Cairo CG 25254; O. Cairo CG 25289; O. DeM 98; O. DeM 956; O. Edgerton 14.

\(^{341}\) O. Nicholson Museum R. 97.

\(^{342}\) O. Černý 17.
accounts is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV \(^{343}\) and to the reign of Ramesses IX, \(^{344}\) and one to the reign of Ramesses XI. \(^{345}\) The model letters are both dated within the 19th dynasty\(^{346}\) and the deposition to the reign of Ramesses III. \(^{347}\)

**Examples:**

P. Turin Cat. 1972\(^{348}\)

This document is a letter sent by Djehutymose to Butehamun and Shedemdua, \(^{349}\) the chantress of Amun, where Djehutymose is letting them know that he has arrived at his destination:

\[(\text{rto. 4}) \text{r-ntj tw=i spr.k(wi) r pAy=i Hrj} \text{ ‘I have reached my superior.’} \]

This is the first sentence of what Deborah Sweeney names a narrative chain in the letter. \(^{350}\) The verbal formation in this main clause is the first present in which the second position is filled by the stative of a verb of motion expressing the past tense, \(^{352}\) and the preposition \(r\) indicating direction. The superior mentioned here is general Paiankh, \(^{353}\) who at the time was in Elephantine on his way south to Nubia. \(^{354}\) The subject in this passage is Djehutymose himself, who had travelled southwards from Thebes and in this letter let his family know that he had caught

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\(^{343}\) O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4.

\(^{344}\) P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061.

\(^{345}\) P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso.

\(^{346}\) O. Berlin P 12367; O. Michaelides 66 recto.

\(^{347}\) O. DeM 917.

\(^{348}\) Year 10 of \(wHm\ ms.wt\) of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 4 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

\(^{349}\) Shedemdua’s position in the family of Djehutymose and Butiamun is unclear, but it has been suggested that she was either the wife of Butiamun (e.g. Černý 2004, p. 367; Davies 1997, p. 57) or possibly his sister (Jansen-Winkeln 1994, p. 38).

\(^{350}\) Translation by Wente 1959, p. 24.


\(^{352}\) For the initial first present composed with the stative of a verb of motion, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 283; see also Wente 1959, p. 63.

\(^{353}\) See, for example, Häggman 2002, pp. 214–215, n. 1432; Thijs 2000, p. 65. For other references to general Paiankh as \(pAy=i Hrj\), see, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 4); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV (rto. 4).

\(^{354}\) See, for example, Černý 2004, p. 368; Sweeney 2001, p. 12; Wente 1967, p. 16.
up with his superior Paiankh, presumably somewhere in the region of Elephantine.

P. Turin Cat. 2026\textsuperscript{355}

The next passage discussed also originates from a papyrus letter sent by Djehutymose to Butehamun and Shedemdua, the chantress of Amun. Djehutymose was now in Nubia and wrote back home to his family in Western Thebes. In the letter he asked his family to go to the gods and ask them to let him come back home to Egypt:

\begin{quote}
(\textit{rto. 10–11} [\ldots inj \textit{wij} \textit{iw}=i \textit{wdj.k(wl)} \textit{imj tw ph}=i \textit{r hrj (r)} \textit{kmt m ps tz}

\textit{wzj ntj tw}=i \textit{[im=f]} ‘[Bring] him\textsuperscript{356} back prospering and let him reach home\textsuperscript{357} down (to) Egypt from the far-off land [in] which he is.’\textsuperscript{358}
\end{quote}

The verbal formation of this sentence is the imperative ($imj \textit{tw}$) followed by the non-initial prospective $sd\textit{m}=f$.\textsuperscript{359} The prepositions $r$ (‘to’) and $m$ (‘from’) indicate the direction of the wished for actions. This passage is a quote inside the letter, and the person (‘him’) referred to in the quotation is Djehutymose, who asks his family to pray to the gods for his return.\textsuperscript{360}

O. DeM 917\textsuperscript{361}

This ostracon text is probably a deposition regarding some thefts and the giving of grain. It is written by an unknown person, but according to the text a man named Ruta\textsuperscript{362} had arrived somewhere:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{355} Year 10 of $w\textit{Hm ms.wt}$ of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 50 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
\item \textsuperscript{356} Lit. ‘me’.
\item \textsuperscript{357} For the translation of $ph$ as ‘to reach home’, see Wente 1967, p. 84, n. e.
\item \textsuperscript{358} Translation by Wente 1967, p. 83.
\item \textsuperscript{359} For the imperative, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 349.
\item \textsuperscript{360} For intercessory prayer in letters between Djehutymose and his family, see Baines 2002, pp. 15–18; Sweeney 1985, pp. 213–216.
\item \textsuperscript{361} The attributed date is, in view of the personal names in the texts, year 24–31 of Ramesses III, see Grandet 2003, p. 95.
\item \textsuperscript{362} One might perhaps, based on the dating, suggest a connection between this Ruta and Ruta (i) in Davies 1999, pp. 245–246.
\end{itemize}
(rto. 3) [...] dd[t n rwti spr[-i ...] ‘[... Said] by Ruta: [I] reached (?) [...].’

The later part of the line might also be interpreted as spr [n=i N] ‘N reached me’. If the passage is read as spr[-i], as in the example, the verbal formation in this main clause is the perfect active sdm=f. In comparison with the two examples above (P. Turin Cat. 1972 and P. Turin Cat. 2026) the mobility expressed in this passage is of quite a different character. Presumably the action undertaken here refers to arriving at a location within the necropolis area.

O. Edgerton 14

This text is a note concerning the overseer of the treasury visiting the necropolis area, bringing some alabaster and wages for the crew. The first lines of the text are:

(rto. 1–2) rnpt-sp 4 sbd 2 prt sw 17 hrw pn mnj (in) imj-r pr-hd ḫr-m-tr r p3 'd n njwt ‘Year 4, second month of prt day 17. On this day the overseer of the treasury Khaemtir moored at the outskirts of the desert of the settlement.’

The sentence is similar to the reference discussed in section 3.1.2 from O. Berlin P 10663. It begins with a date followed by the expression hrw pn (‘on this day’) and an infinitive of the verb mnj. The in that should introduce the actor expression is missing in writing. The preposition r indicates the direction of motion.

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363 Translation by Grandet 2003, p. 94 (Ce qu’a [dit] Routi: [J’ai atteint (?) [...]]).
364 Grandet 2003, p. 95.
365 For the perfect active sdm=f, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 212.
366 Year 4 of Ramesses V, see Helck 2002, p. 433.
368 Translation by Helck 2002, p. 433 (Es landete der Schatzhausvorsteher ḫr-m-tir am Wüstenrand der Siedlung).
369 See example O. Berlin P 10663 on p. 63.
370 For the infinitive, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 189.
3.3 \textit{Wd\textbf{j}, m\textit{s}c}, and \textit{n\textit{c}j}

The third group of verbs signifying mobility and travelling selected from the corpus, is formed by the intransitive\textsuperscript{371} verbs of motion\textsuperscript{372} \textit{wdj},\textsuperscript{373} \textit{msc},\textsuperscript{374} and \textit{n\textit{c}j}.\textsuperscript{375} These verbs are in the corpus references used for expressing someone or something departing from somewhere or someone.\textsuperscript{376} The subject is most often a person or a boat departing. In the corpus of this study these verbs are both represented in connection with an adverbial phrase (for example, departing from a village), and standing alone without an adverbial phrase (for example, departure on a certain day by someone).\textsuperscript{377} When standing together with an adverbial phrase the phrase usually refers to a person or a boat.\textsuperscript{378}

\textit{Wd\textbf{j}, m\textit{s}c}, and \textit{n\textit{c}j} may stand alone or together with a preposition indicating in which direction the departure or travel is being undertaken to or from. \textit{Wd\textbf{j}} and \textit{n\textit{c}j} are found in connection with the following prepositions, while \textit{msc} as a verb of motion only occurs once and then without any preposition:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{m} – signifying departing to somewhere/someone
\item \textit{r} – signifying departing to somewhere/someone
\item \textit{hr} – signifying departing on a journey
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{371} \textit{N\textit{c}j} also has a transitive use signifying sailing a sea or entering an area (Wb II, p. 206), but is not found as such in the corpus.

\textsuperscript{372} \textit{Wd\textbf{j}} and \textit{m\textit{s}c} have, in addition to being verbs of motion, a nominal form signifying ‘a travel’ or ‘a journey’. A selection of nouns signifying a journey or an expedition are discussed below in section 4.1.2.

\textsuperscript{373} Wb I, pp. 397–398.

\textsuperscript{374} Wb II, p. 156.

\textsuperscript{375} Wb II, p. 206.

\textsuperscript{376} Outside the corpus, \textit{wd\textbf{j}} may additionally signify sending, for example, troops on an expedition, sending protective gods against evil creatures, or in rituals sending priests to see the god, see Wb I, p. 397; \textit{n\textit{c}j} may signify entering a place, see Wb II, p. 206; and \textit{m\textit{s}c} may signify soldiers marching or the motion of feet or the flood, see Wb II, p. 156.

\textsuperscript{377} Outside the corpus, \textit{n\textit{c}j} without an adverbial phrase may, for example, signify a person or boat travelling, someone moving, or someone escaping, see Wb II, p. 206; and \textit{wd\textbf{j}} without an adverbial phrase may, for example, signify a person leaving, see Wb II, p. 397.

\textsuperscript{378} Wb I, p. 397; Wb II, pp. 156, 206.
3.3.1 \textit{Wdj, mšr,} and \textit{nśj:} departing

The verbs \textit{wdj, mšr,} and \textit{nśj} signifying departing occur in twenty-eight of the texts included in the corpus. Of these twenty-six texts there are seventeen letters, three journals, one note, two accounts, one deposition, one memorandum, and one model letter. Fourteen of the letters are dated to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI, one is dated to the reign of Merenptah, and one to the reign of Siptah-Tausert. One letter has a date attributed to the 20th dynasty. Of the four journals two are dated to the early 20th dynasty and three to the late 20th dynasty. The note is dated to the reign of Ramesses III, one account to the reign of Ramesses IX and the other to the reign of Ramesses XI, the deposition to the reign of Ramesses III, the memorandum to the reign of Ramesses XI, and the model letter to the reign of Merenptah or Seti II.

\textit{Examples:}

\cite{379} O. Cairo prov. no. 175 has an uncertain classification as a letter.
\cite{380} P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10412; P. BM EA 75015; P. BM EA 75018; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. DeM 12; P. Geneva D 191; P. Turin Cat. 1979; P. Turin Cat. 2069; O. Cairo prov. no. 175.
\cite{381} P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V.
\cite{382} O. DeM 613.
\cite{383} P. Florence 7125.
\cite{384} O. DeM 320; O. Turin N. 57055.
\cite{385} P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094.
\cite{386} O. DeM 98.
\cite{387} P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006.
\cite{388} P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso.
\cite{389} O. DeM 569.
\cite{390} O. Cairo CG 25236.
\cite{391} O. Michaelides 66 recto.
This papyrus letter was sent by Butehamun to the prophet of Hathor and troop commander, Shedsehur. This Shedsehur was probably not part of the workmen’s community, but apparently knew Butehamun and his family well and was assisting Butehamun’s father, the necropolis scribe Djehutymose, on his journey south to Nubia, as part of the campaign undertaken by general Paiankh.

\[ (rto. 10) jz \ tw-k \ mšr \ […] \ ‘Indeed, you are journeying […]’. \]

The verbal formation of this initial main sentence is the first present. The receiver of the letter, Shedsehur, was in the company of Djehutymose in Nubia, or on their way there, at the time and the letter was sent by Butehamun from Western Thebes.

This text is a copy of a letter sent by the well-known scribe Qenhirkhopshef to the vizier Panehsy. The content of the letter concerns construction work, supplies and wages, and a boat departing:

\[ \]

---

392 Year 10 of \textit{whm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 29 in Wente 1967, p. 17.
393 I use ‘prophet’ as a translation for \textit{hm-ntr} even though the tasks of the \textit{hm-ntr} probably correspond better with that of a priest. Higginbotham 2012, pp. 84–85.
395 Shedsehur is mentioned in at least four of the Late Ramesside Letters: P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV; P. BM EA 10100; P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 75020.
396 The campaign was in year 10 of \textit{whm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI and probably against the former viceroy Panesh. See, for example, Černý 2004, pp. 364–365; Demarée 2006a, pp. 18–19; Häggman 2002, p. 218.
397 Translation by Parkinson 1999b, p. 160; see also Wente 1967, p. 65.
398 For the initial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 282; Wente 1959, p. 65.
399 The reign of Merenptah, see Kitchen 1982, p. 85.
400 For the history of the papyrus roll (P. Chester Beatty III) this copy of a letter is written on, see Gardiner 1935, pp. 7–8; Pestman 1982, p. 159; see also Černý 2004, p. 330.
401 A visit by this same vizier Panehsy to the workmen’s community in the reign of Merenptah has been commemorated on a graffito, no. 764 in Spiegelberg 1921, p. 62.
Now as soon as the boat sets sail, I will bring you your articles of joinery [...]."\(^{402}\)

The initial main clause begins with \(\text{hr} + \text{wnn}\) followed by the verbal formation of the circumstantial first present.\(^{403}\) This sentence begins the last preserved part of the letter, where Qenhirkhopshef assures the vizier Panehsy that he will send him some joinery he has asked for by the next boat. A few lines later in the text (vso. V, 11) \(\text{hdj}\) for ‘to go downstream/north’ is mentioned. The text is unfortunately too fragmentary to say anything certain, but one might nevertheless carefully suggest that the boat in question was going to sail from the south, where presumably Qenhirkhopshef was, to the administrative centre in the north,\(^{404}\) where presumably the vizier Panehsy was.

P. Turin Cat. 1979\(^{405}\)

This papyrus letter was sent by the scribe of the treasury of the temple of Amun-Re, Paynefernefer, to Djehutymose. The letter concerns a dispute between the brother of Paynefernefer, a prophet of Sobek, and a person named Kasa. The prophet had apparently left Thebes:

\[
(\text{rto. 5–7}) \text{hn'-dd r-ntj i.irj p3 hm-ntr sbk wdj dj r ñm r sht iw irj-k w}^r \text{irm-f hr ts mdwt n kṣ-ṣṣ} \quad \text{‘Thus, the prophet of Sobek left here to go to the countryside when you had come to an agreement with him concerning the matter of Kassu.’}^{406}
\]

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\(^{402}\) Translation by Wente 1990, p. 49. Gardiner translated the sentence as: ‘And when the boat shall go, I will bring to thee thy produce of the carpenter(?).’ See Gardiner 1935, p. 25.

\(^{403}\) For \(\text{hr} + \text{wnn}\) followed by the circumstantial first present, see Baer 1965, pp. 137–138; Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 295, 515–516; Junge 1999, pp. 288 ff.

\(^{404}\) During the Ramesside period the administrative centre was in the north of the country. Häggman 2002, p. 121.

\(^{405}\) Early \(\text{wḥmr ms.wt}\) of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 27 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

\(^{406}\) Translation by the author; see also Černý and Groll 1993, p. 367; Wente 1967, p. 59, n. a.
The verbal formation of the initial main clause is the emphatic formation,\( ^{407} \) with the adverb \( dj \) also indicating the direction of motion, i.e. ‘from here’.\( ^{408} \) Djehutymose and the prophet of Sobek had, according to Paynefernefer, come to an agreement about the business with Kasa, but Djehutymose had failed to live up to his part of the arrangements.

O. DeM 98\( ^{409} \)

The content of this short note written on an ostracon describes the doorkeeper Khaemwaset leaving the necropolis (and subsequently returning home):

\[
\text{(rto. 1–2) } rnpt-sp 30 \, sbd \, 4 \, sht \, sw \, 27 \, hrw \, pn \, wdj \, n \, \textit{irj}-\z s \, h^c-m-w3st \, iw=f \, spr \, m \, sbd \, 4 \, sht \, sw \, 27 \, ‘\text{Year 30 fourth month of } sht \, \text{day 27. On this day departure by the doorkeeper Khaemwaset, he arrived on the fourth month of } sht \, \text{day 27.}}\]  

\( ^{410} \)

The verbal formation of the initial main clause is the infinitive,\( ^{411} \) followed by a non-initial clause written in the first present (\( iw=f \, spr \)). The actor expression is introduced by \( n \) (for \( in \)). The geographical point of reference for this departure was presumably the village.

O. DeM 569\( ^{412} \)

This deposition relates how an anonymous person went to the riverbank with baskets filled with loaves and gave them to a man named Penniut:\( ^{413} \)

\( ^{407} \) For the emphatic formation, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 367; see also Wente 1967, p. 59, n. a.

\( ^{408} \) Černý and Groll 1993, p. 133; see also Wente 1967, p. 59, n. b.

\( ^{409} \) Year 30 of Ramesses III, see Černý 1935a, p. 26; Kitchen 1983a, p. 541.

\( ^{410} \) Translation by the author. For a similar reference, see example O. Berlin P 10663 on p. 63. Černý points out in his transcription of the ostracon (1935a, pl. 57) that the dates are wrongly written, presumably as the day for both the departure and the return is 27. However, it might also be possible that the departure and the return did indeed take place on the same day.

\( ^{411} \) For the infinitive, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 189.


\( ^{413} \) Possibly the water carrier Penniut known from several other texts from this period, see “Penne” in Janssen 2005, pp. 11, I 19; 25, III 4; 30, IV 3; 52, VI 10. See also Davies 1999, p. 262 for a discussion of at least three different Penniut active in Western Thebes during the time around the reign of Ramesses III.
The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the first present, which when preceded by ĥr ir indicates the past tense. The preposition r indicates the direction of motion. The end of the text is not preserved, but after mentioning taking the loaves to the riverbank there follows a complaint against the same Penniut for taking a donkey from the writer and his wife.

3.4 ĥs′ and šm

The next group of verbs selected from the corpus for signifying mobility and travelling, consists of the transitive verb ĥs′ and the intransitive verb šm. ĥs′ and šm are in the corpus references used to describe someone departing from somewhere, in most cases a person connected to the workmen’s community departing from the village area. The subjects in the passages with ĥs′ and šm signifying someone departing are persons. šm with a person as a subject is particularly often used together with (or in contrast to) iw or ij, signifying

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414 For ň-[n]-tbw ‘box’, see Janssen 1975, p. 203, n. 22.
416 For the initial first present preceded by ĥr ir, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 282; see also Wente 1959, pp. 57–58.
418 Wb III, pp. 227–228.
419 Wb IV, pp. 462–465.
420 Outside the corpus, šm is also used in specific sayings, for example, going with one’s head down, going forth to die, going out to fight, and spreading out (in processions). Further, šm may signify water moving in a particular direction, past time (yesterday) passing by, the mouth moving (i.e. being talkative), see Wb IV, pp. 463–465; and ĥs′ may signify throwing something on the ground, in the water, or away. It may also be used for expressions like throwing water or a weapon, bringing someone by force, placing something somewhere, or turning a body part (e.g. the back). Figuratively, ĥs′ may additionally signify someone leaving his wife or a battle, the dead leaving their family, leaving a job undone, leaving someone alone, or not taking something into consideration, see Wb III, pp. 227–228.
421 Outside the corpus, the subject in connection with šm might also be items, for example boats, wagons, or animals. Wb IV, p. 465.
someone coming and going. In this study šm is most often found by itself and without an adverbial phrase, but it can also be connected to one. Hs is used in connection with a direct object, for example for expressing a person abandoning another person in a foreign country or sending a person away. Thus, the component being left or abandoned is in general also a person.

Hs and šm may stand alone or together with a preposition indicating in which direction the departure is being undertaken from. Hs and šm are found in connection with the following prepositions:

- m – signifying departing to somewhere/someone
- n – signifying departing to somewhere/someone
- r – signifying departing to somewhere/someone

### 3.4.1 Hs and šm: departing

The verbs hš and šm signifying departing occur in forty-two of the texts included in the corpus: thirteen letters, ten journals, eight notes, one account, three depositions, two protocols, two lists, two oracle questions, and one model letter. Ten of the letters are dated to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI (or the late 20th dynasty), two letters to the reign of Ramesses II, and one letter lacks an

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422 Wb IV, p. 432; Depuydt 1986, p. 22.
423 In addition, šm can be found connected to a direct object, but on these occasions the preposition has wrongly been left out. Wb IV, p. 464.
424 Outside the corpus, the object in connection with hš may also be, for example, a place, a situation (e.g. a fight), a profession, or a position. Wb III, p. 228.
425 Outside the corpus, šm is additionally used in connection with the following prepositions: ḫr for going against the enemy or on a road, ḫr for going to someone (also for Amun going to the queen to conceive, and the dead going to Osiris), mšš for going behind someone or following someone, r-ḫżt for going before someone or leading someone, ḫft for standing before someone, and ḫmr or īrm for going together with someone.
426 O. DeM 756; O. Qurna 2/82 have an uncertain classification as notes.
427 O. DeM 363; O. DeM 917 have an uncertain classification as a deposition.
429 O. DeM 114; O. DeM 10061.
attributed date. Of the ten journals, where $\text{hsr}$ and $\text{sm}$ are found to signify departing, six are dated to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI, one to the reign of Ramesses V, one to the reign of Ramesses III, one to the reign of Siptah, and one is lacking an attributed date. Four of the notes are dated to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV, two to the 20th dynasty, one to the reign of Seti II, and one to the 19th or the 20th dynasty. The account is dated to the reign of Ramesses III. One deposition is dated to the reign of Seti I, one to Ramesses III, and the third deposition to the mid-20th dynasty. The protocols are dated one to the reign of Merenptah and one to Ramesses VII; the lists one to Siptah and one to Ramesses VII. Both oracle questions are lacking an attributed date. The model letter is dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

430 P. Turin [unnumbered 5].
431 P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2087 verso.
432 P. Turin Cat. 2044.
433 P. Turin Cat. 1880.
434 O. Cairo CG 25518.
435 O. Cairo CG 25302.
436 O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. DeM 756; O. Florence 2619 verso.
437 O. DeM 341; O. Qurna 2/82.
438 O. DeM 595.
439 O. Turin N. 57460.
440 O. DeM 187.
441 O. DeM 636.
442 O. DeM 917.
443 O. BM EA 5637.
444 O. IFAO 1357.
445 O. UC 39619.
446 O. Cairo CG 25746.
447 O. DeM 10269.
448 O. IFAO 562; O. IFAO 851.
449 O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto.
Examples:

P. Geneva D 407\textsuperscript{450}

This letter\textsuperscript{451} was sent by Butehamun in Western Thebes to his father Djehutymose, who was in Nubia at the time.\textsuperscript{452} Butehamun mentions some messengers coming and going:

\begin{quote}
(vso. 6–7) j3 n3 wpwtj.w […] m-dj=k m mnt iw=w šm ij ‘Indeed the messengers [...] with you daily, going and coming.’\textsuperscript{453}
\end{quote}

The verbal formation of the non-initial subordinate clause is the circumstantial first present,\textsuperscript{454} and the people referred to as ‘going and coming’ are messengers bringing correspondence between Thebes and the campaign of general Paiankh in Nubia. These, on this occasion, anonymous messengers therefore travelled from the north to the south, and vice versa. The content of the letter concerns everyday matters in the village.

P. Turin Cat. 1973\textsuperscript{455}

This document is a letter sent by Djehutymose to Butehamun and Shedemdua, the chantress of Amun. After the introductory formula of the letter,\textsuperscript{456} Djehutymose wrote about what had happened as he was away from home, taking part in the Nubian campaign by general Paiankh:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{450} Year 10 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 8 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{451} At the top of recto is written a separate note. It is an account of the delivery and payment of 17 spears, see Černý 1939b, p. 16. For a translation of the note, see Wente 1967, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{452} See letter no. 8 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{453} Translation by Wente 1967, pp. 34, 36, n. p.
\textsuperscript{454} For the circumstantial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 290–291; see also Wente 1957, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{455} Year 10 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 2 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{456} For introductory formulas in Egyptian letter writing, see, for example, Baines 2002, pp. 5–12; Bakir 1970, pp. 41–54; Sweeney 2001, pp. 16–18.
The verbal formation of the non-initial subordinate clause is the circumstantial first present,\textsuperscript{459} with the preposition \textit{m} indicating direction. The letter is fragmented, and the context not clear, but prior to this passage there is a mention of (rto. 5) \textit{psw}=i \textit{hrj} ‘my superior’, and thus one might suggest that the person (‘\textit{he}’) in the reference being left in Elephantine was general Paiankh.\textsuperscript{460} The person subject to departing in this passage was Djehutymose, who was presumably continuing the journey (southwards?) without the general.\textsuperscript{461}

O. BM EA 5637\textsuperscript{462}

This text is an undated oracle question\textsuperscript{463} to the oracle of Amenhotep I written by the workman Nekhemmut\textsuperscript{464} about someone going to the riverbank:

\begin{quote}
(rto. 6) \textit{iw}=\textit{w} \textit{śm} \textit{r} \textit{t} \textit{nt} \textit{mryt} ‘They went to the ‘\textit{t} of/on the riverbank.’\textsuperscript{465}
\end{quote}

The verbal formation of this non-initial subordinate clause is the circumstantial first present,\textsuperscript{466} with the preposition \textit{r} indicating direction of motion. The text

\textsuperscript{457} Herere was probably either the wife or the mother-in-law of Paiankh and apparently a lady of importance since she, according to this letter, was visiting the frontier town even though there was hostile action going on in the region. See, for example, Taylor 1998, pp. 1143–1155; see also James and Morkot 2010, pp. 238 ff.

\textsuperscript{458} Translation by Wente 1967, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{459} For the circumstantial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 290–291. For the negative element \textit{mn}, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 399–403.

\textsuperscript{460} See, for example, Häggman 2002, p. 215; Thijs 2000, p. 65. For other references in the corpus to general Paiankh as \textit{psw}=i \textit{hrj}, see, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 4); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV (rto. 4).

\textsuperscript{461} Černý 2004, p. 377.

\textsuperscript{462} Mid-20th dynasty, see Demarée 2002, p. 18. For other attributed dates, see Allam 1973, pp. 50–51 (20th dynasty); Blackman 1926, pp. 183–185 (before year 4 of Ramesses IV); Kitchen 1983a, p. 577 (Ramesses III).

\textsuperscript{463} O. BM EA 5637 is a palimpsest, with the original text being a memorandum written upside down in relation to the later text, see Demarée 2002, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{464} Blackman (1926, p. 183, n. 3) suggests that this workman was probably the same man that later became foreman (year 11–15 of Ramesses III, see Davies 1999, p. 279). If so, see Nekhemmut (i) in Davies 1999, chart 7.

\textsuperscript{465} Translation by Demarée 2006b, p. 60. Demarée (2006b, p. 66) discusses the translation of the word ‘\textit{t}, and suggests either ‘hut’ or ‘workplace’, depending on the context.
concerns thefts from the workman Nekhe mmut carried out by persons unknown. One of the complaints by Nekhemmut is that some people went to his hut by the riverbank, apparently without permission, stole some bread and poured out the oil.467

O. DeM 114468

In a letter469 from the vizier Khay470 to the foreman Nebnefer471 the vizier told Nebnefer that he will be going north:

(rto. 8) ḫr iw=ḫ r šmt m ḫdj r p3 ntj tw=tw im ‘Now I shall be travelling downstream to the place where One (the king) is.’472

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the third future proceeded by the non-enclitic particle ḫr,473 and with the preposition m indicating direction of motion. In this passage the vizier Khay was the one intending to travel downstream, i.e. north, and according to the text he was going to the place where the king was (r p3 ntj tw=tw im ‘to the place where One is’). Since the attributed date of the ostracon is the reign of Ramesses II, one might perhaps suggest that the place he was going to was Pi-Ramesses in the Delta area.474 The content of the letter concerns, among other things, the workmen’s payment and shows the

466 For the circumstantial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 290–291.
467 See, for example, Černý 2004, p. 95.
468 The reign of Ramesses II, see Kitchen 1983a, p. 45; Wente 1990, p. 47. Černý and Allam have attributed the letter to the 19th dynasty, see Černý 1937a, p. 1; Allam 1973, p. 91.
469 In Černý (2004, pp. 72, 319, n. 4) this text is marked as a fictitious letter.
470 For the vizier Khay, see, for example, Černý 2004, pp. 287, 329; Davies 1999, p. 110, n. 357.
471 Nebnefer (i) in Davies 1999, p. 279.
472 Translation by Wente 1990, p. 48; see also McDowell 1999, p. 219.
473 For the third future, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 248.
474 For different estimations of the length of the journey from Thebes to Pi-Ramesses, see, for example, Černý 1936, p. 112; Krauss 1984, p. 222; Schneider 2003c, pp. 145–146. See also, for example, the ship’s log in P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016, dating from year 7 of Ramesses VII and published in Janssen 1961.
engagement of the vizier in this matter, even though he was not involved in the actual distribution of the wages.\textsuperscript{475}

O. DeM 595\textsuperscript{476}

This ostracon text is a short note concerning the vizier Paraemheb\textsuperscript{477} and some other persons referred to as ‘us’ (=\textit{n}) departing from the village area:

\begin{quote}
(rto. 1–3) \textit{sbd 3 sḥt sw 24 hrw šmt irj n imj-r njwt ṭstj prz-r'-m-ḥb dj m- dj=n ‘Third month of sḥt day 24. That day the city governor and vizier Paraemheb went there with us.’\textsuperscript{478}
\end{quote}

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the infinitive,\textsuperscript{479} and ‘there’ refers probably to the Valley of the Kings. This visit might refer to a regular inspection of the royal tomb, as no specific reason for the visit is mentioned in the text.\textsuperscript{480}

3.5 \textit{ḥntj} and \textit{ḥdj}

Two intransitive verbs used in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts when indicating a person travelling south- or northwards are \textit{ḥntj}\textsuperscript{481} and \textit{ḥdj}.\textsuperscript{482} In the corpus \textit{ḥntj} signifies departing to the south or upstream,\textsuperscript{483} and \textit{ḥdj} signifies departing to the

\textsuperscript{475} Häggman 2002, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{476} Year 5 of Seti II, see Helck 2002, p. 136.
\textsuperscript{477} For the vizier, see, for example, Prā’emḥab in Černý 2004, p. 303.
\textsuperscript{478} Translation by the author, see also Janssen 1997b, p. 153. Note that Helck (2002, p. 136) translates this reference as an arrival by the vizier (Es kam der Bürgermeister und Vezir Pz'-r'-m-hb hierher zu uns).
\textsuperscript{479} For the infinitive, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 183; for other usages of šmt, see Wb IV, p. 466.
\textsuperscript{480} Janssen 1997b, p. 153.
\textsuperscript{481} Wb III, p. 309.
\textsuperscript{482} Wb III, pp. 354–355. \textit{Ḥdj} has an alternative spelling as \textit{ḥṭj}. In the corpus the verb is spelled \textit{ḥṭj} on three occasions: P. Leiden I 369 (vso. 3); P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105 (rto. 7); P. Turin Cat. 2098 (vso. 3).
\textsuperscript{483} Outside the corpus, \textit{ḥntj} may additionally signify, for example, the northern wind blowing south, or water flowing uphill. In connection with \textit{ḥdj} the two verbs may be used to signify, for example, Upper and Lower Egypt, the double crown of the ruler, or a pain that comes and
north or downstream.\textsuperscript{484} The subject undertaking the departure is a person connected to the workmen’s community. The two verbs are often used together – in a similar way as \textit{ij/iw} and \textit{šm} (see above pp. 79–80) – to signify travelling down- and upstream, or travelling back and forth. On these occasions \textit{ḥdj} stands prior to \textit{ḥntj} in the clause.\textsuperscript{485}

\textit{Ḥntj} and \textit{ḥdj} may stand alone or together with a preposition indicating in which direction the departure is being undertaken to. \textit{Ḥntj} and \textit{ḥdj} are found in connection with the following prepositions:

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{n} – signifying departing to somewhere
    \item \textit{r} – signifying departing to somewhere
\end{itemize}

3.5.1 \textit{Ḥntj} and \textit{ḥdj}: departing

The verbs \textit{ḥntj} and \textit{ḥdj} signifying departing occur in twenty-seven corpus texts. Of these there are eight letters,\textsuperscript{486} eight journals, two notes, three accounts, two protocols, two oracle questions, one report (uncertain classification), and one possibly literary text. Four letters are dated to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI,\textsuperscript{487} one to the reign of Ramesses II,\textsuperscript{488} one to the late 19th dynasty,\textsuperscript{489} one letter to the 20th dynasty,\textsuperscript{490} and one lacks an attributed date.\textsuperscript{491} Four of the goes. In Middle Kingdom texts \textit{ḥntj} is also used with a personal object, signifying travelling further than someone else. Wb III, p. 309.

\textsuperscript{484} Outside the corpus, \textit{ḥdj} may also signify, for example, water flowing downstream (also of the River Euphrates flowing downstream to the south, not north like the River Nile in Egypt) and transporting someone (e.g. pulling someone in a boat). Connected to an object, \textit{ḥdj} may express, for example, travelling a stretch of water. Wb III, p. 354.

\textsuperscript{485} Wb III, p. 309.

\textsuperscript{486} O. Cairo prov. no. 175 has an uncertain classification as a letter.

\textsuperscript{487} P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. Leiden I 369; O. Cairo prov. no. 175.

\textsuperscript{488} O. DeM 446.

\textsuperscript{489} O. Berlin P 9409.

\textsuperscript{490} P. Florence 7125.

\textsuperscript{491} P. München ÄS 818.
journals are dated to the reign of Ramesses IX\textsuperscript{492} and four to the reigns of Merenptah–Tausert.\textsuperscript{493} Both notes are dated to the reign of Ramesses IV.\textsuperscript{494} Of the accounts one is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV,\textsuperscript{495} one to the reign of Ramesses IX,\textsuperscript{496} and one to the reign of Ramesses XI.\textsuperscript{497} One protocol is dated to the reign of Ramesses III\textsuperscript{498} and one to Ramesses VI,\textsuperscript{499} both oracle questions are lacking an attributed date.\textsuperscript{500} The report is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV\textsuperscript{501} and the possibly literary text to the 19th dynasty.\textsuperscript{502}

\textit{Examples:}

P. BM EA 10375\textsuperscript{503}

This letter was sent from Western Thebes by, among others, the two foremen (not mentioned by name), Butehamun and the guardian Kar\textsuperscript{504} to general Paiankh, at the time in Nubia. The intention of the letter was to let the general know that the workmen’s community had received a letter from him and that they would see to it that the orders were carried out according to the general’s wish. Of the issues the general had addressed in his previous letter there had been a mention of him going south:

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\textsuperscript{492} P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2099 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091.
\textsuperscript{493} O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25794.
\textsuperscript{494} O. Cairo CG 25283; O. Cairo CG 25291.
\textsuperscript{495} P. Turin PN 109.
\textsuperscript{496} P. Turin Cat. 2024 + 2052 + 2077.
\textsuperscript{497} P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105.
\textsuperscript{498} O. Louvre E 27677.
\textsuperscript{499} O. Berlin P 12654.
\textsuperscript{500} O. IFAO 562; O. IFAO 1555.
\textsuperscript{501} O. Berlin P 14286.
\textsuperscript{502} O. Glasgow D. 1925.85.
\textsuperscript{503} Year 10 of \textit{whm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 28 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{504} For this guardian Kar (present in the textual material from the end of the 20th dynasty to the beginning of the 21st dynasty), see Černý 2004, pp. 159–160.
(rto. 21) [ih m p3 sh]r n hsb i.irj(=i) n-tn hrj-hst iw-i m hntj ‘[How is the state of this message] which I sent to you previously when I was going south.’

The verbal formation of the non-initial subordinate clause iw-i m hntj is the circumstantial first present, and the sentence represents a so-called indirect request in the form of a question type present in late Ramesside letter writing.

P. Leiden I 369

In a letter sent by Djehutymose to the two foremen, Bakenmut and Amenhotep and the rest of the crew, someone journeying north is referred to:

(vso. 1–3) kj ḏd n ṅḥ n njwt ts-ngmt nsns ḫnw-tṣt ḫrj-mwt zst bsk-mwt kr-nfr ts-ngmt ts-spt p3 rmṯ n ḫtj n3 rmṯ.w r ḏr.w ‘Another matter for the citizeness Tanuteme, Nene, Henuaa, Irymut, Ese, Bakemut, Kerinufe, Tanuteme, Tasepa, the man journeying north, and all the men.’

The verbal formation of the clause p3 rmṯ n ḫtj (if the n is taken for an m) is the first present. Djehutymose was away on a journey to an unspecified place in

505 Translation by Sweeney 2001, p. 56. Sweeney refers to a translation of the same sentence in Wente 1990, p. 194, but she points out that Wente interprets this remark as a parenthesis in a longer quotation from a previous letter. See also Wente 1967, pp. 60, 62, n. o.

506 For the circumstantial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 290–291; see also Wente 1959, pp. 134–135.


508 Year 6 of ḫm ms.wt of Ramesses XI or later, see letter no. 1 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

509 Amenhotep (i) in Davies 1999, chart 7.

510 Amenhotep (iii) in Davies 1999, chart 16, 18. The name in this letter is partly destroyed, see Černý (2004, p. 311, n. 4) for the reading of this name as Amenhotep.

511 For the alternative spelling of the verb ḫḏj as ḫtj, see Wb III, p. 354.

512 Wente (1967, p. 19, n. m) points out that in his translation (p. 18: ‘the man who goes north’) he is taking the n of n ḫtj as the genitive n (lit. ‘of ferrying north’), but that it is possible that the n should be taken for a m (i.e. ‘the man journeying north’). I have here chosen the second option. See also Wente 1990, p. 179 for an alternative translation of this passage as ‘the barge man’.

513 Translation by Wente 1967, p. 18, see also the previous note.

514 For the initial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 282.
Middle Egypt,\textsuperscript{515} which earlier in the letter he named Yar of Namekhay.\textsuperscript{516} The passage above is included in the part of the letter where Djehutymose was requesting several persons, among whom this unknown man travelling north (probably a messenger going to the place where Djehutymose was), to pray to Amun to bring him back. This whole sentence proceeds an indirect request \textit{id dd-tu n imm} (‘tell Amun’) written in the \textit{id sm-k} formation.\textsuperscript{517}

O. Cairo CG 25283\textsuperscript{518}

The content of this short note concerns the departure of the royal butler Setekkherwenmenef.\textsuperscript{519}

\begin{align*}
\text{(rto. 1) } & \text{\textit{rnt-sp} 6 sbd 4 sht sw } 21 \text{ hdj i[n wbs-nsww] sht-[hr-]wnmj-f} \\
& \text{‘Year 6 fourth month of sht day 21. Travelling north by [the royal butler] } \\
& \text{Setek[h]erwenmenef.’} \textsuperscript{520}
\end{align*}

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the infinitive,\textsuperscript{521} with the actor expression introduced by \textit{in}. The ostracon is only partly preserved and the circumstances of this departure are thus unclear, but apparently the royal butler had been visiting Deir el-Medina and thereafter left to go back north.\textsuperscript{522} The royal
butlers functioned as representatives for the king and visited the necropolis area when needed.  

O. DeM 446

In a letter sent by a certain Amek to his mother Hemnetjer, the sender wrote about a departure:

\[(rto. 7–8) hr wsḫ pth sw ḫdj m pž grḥ 'Now by Ptah, he is sailing north tonight.\]

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the first present constructed with a pronominal subject. The content of the letter concerns a pair of sandals the sender Amek had planned to give to a soldier in exchange for some vegetables. The soldier was departing to the north and Amek was in a hurry to finish the business with the sandals before the same evening.

### 3.6 ḥšb and ḫn

The next group of verbs selected from the corpus to signify mobility and travelling is compounded by the verbs of motion ḥšb and ḫn. These two transitive verbs are in the corpus references used to signify sending someone away.

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Deir el-Medina are often mentioned as having arrived from the north and subsequently returned there, see Häggsman 2002, p. 121.


525 An ‘ṣ n ‘ Amek (i) is attested in the workmen’s community during the reign of Seti I, but since the title of this man is missing in O. DeM 446 (rto. 1), it is not possible to determine whether Amek (i) is also the sender of this letter. For Amek (i), see Davies 1999, pp. 206–207.

526 Translation by Wente 1990, p. 154; see also Černý and Groll 1993, p. 70.

527 For the initial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 282; see also Wente 1959, pp. 109–110.

528 Wb II, pp. 479–481.

529 Wb III, p. 103.
or someone going\textsuperscript{530} (i.e. departing).\textsuperscript{531} The subject is a person or a group of persons. The direct object or adverbial phrase connected to them may be either another person (e.g. a messenger), a place (e.g. another village), or an item (e.g. a letter).\textsuperscript{532}

\textit{Hsb} and \textit{hn} may stand alone or together with a preposition indicating in which direction the departure is being undertaken to. \textit{Hsb} and \textit{hn} are found in connection with the following prepositions:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{n} – signifying departing to somewhere/someone
  \item \textit{r} – signifying departing to somewhere\textsuperscript{533}
  \item \textit{r-Šz} – signifying departing to somewhere\textsuperscript{534}
\end{itemize}

### 3.6.1 \textit{Hsb} and \textit{hn}: departing

The verbs \textit{hsb} and \textit{hn} signifying departing occur in fourteen of the corpus texts: nine letters,\textsuperscript{535} one journal, one note, one protocol, one report, and one model letter. Five of the letters are dated to the late 20th dynasty,\textsuperscript{536} two to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses V,\textsuperscript{537} one to the reign of Ramesses II,\textsuperscript{538} and one to the

\textsuperscript{530} Wente (1959, p. 84) states that \textit{hn} is used instead of \textit{šm} as the perfective predicate in the first present to express the concept of ‘to go’, but \textit{hn} does not generally appear in the first present construction \textit{iw-f ḫr sḏm} where, on the other hand, \textit{šm} is normally used.

\textsuperscript{531} Outside the corpus and preceded by \textit{rdj} the verb \textit{hn} may also signify sending a ship or troops, see Wb III, p. 103; other usages for \textit{hsb} are, for example, writing a letter (often in introductory formulas in letters), sending an expedition or troops, or sending arrows against someone (with the ruler as subject), see Wb II, pp. 479–480.

\textsuperscript{532} Wb II, p. 479–480; Wb III, p. 103. Outside the corpus, the object or adverbial phrase in connection with \textit{hsb} may also be an abstract (e.g. one’s whereabouts). Wb II, p. 480.

\textsuperscript{533} \textit{Hn} with the preposition \textit{r} was also in later periods used to express priests entering the temple and the Nile flowing into the fields. Wb III, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{534} Other prepositions \textit{hn} and \textit{hsb} may stand together with outside the corpus are: \textit{hn} with the preposition \textit{m} for coming from a place, and with \textit{irm} and \textit{hn} for going together with someone, see Wb III, p. 103; and \textit{hsb} with the prepositions \textit{ḥr} for writing about something, see Wb II, p. 480.

\textsuperscript{535} The classification of O. Cairo prov. no. 175 as a letter is uncertain.

\textsuperscript{536} P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. Geneva D 191; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin CGT 54100; O. Cairo prov. no. 175.

\textsuperscript{537} O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Vienna H. 9.
20th dynasty. Of the remaining texts is the journal dated to the reign of Ramesses III and the note to the 20th dynasty. The protocol is dated to the reign of Ramesses VI, the report to Ramesses III, and the model letter to the reign of Ramesses II.

**Examples:**

O. Berlin P 12629

In a journal recording, among other things, guard duties and deliveries of food to the village, a note is also made that the vizier has sent someone:

\[
\text{(rto. 6–7) [...] sbd 4 sḥt sw 9 [...] m wrš iw ṭṣīḥ ḫšb r ṭḥṣ [...] ‘[...] fourth month of sḥt day 9 [...] on guard duty. The vizier sent to look for [...]}.\]

The verbal formation of this non-initial subordinate clause is the circumstantial first present. Ḫšb in connection with the preposition \( r \) and another infinitive signifies sending in order to do something (here: to look for or find something or someone). The departure here referred to was most likely undertaken by a messenger, who was sent by the vizier in order to look for something or someone. The document is unfortunately fragmentary and the end of recto 7 is damaged.

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538 O. DeM 114.
539 O. DeM 227.
540 O. Berlin P 12629.
541 O. BM EA 68518.
542 O. Berlin P 12654.
543 O. Berlin P 10633.
544 O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto.
545 Year 26 of Ramesses III, see O. Berlin P 12629 in Deir el-Medina Online.
546 For the vizierate during the reign of Ramesses III, see Higginbotham 2012, pp. 75–78.
547 Translation by Deir el-Medina Online ([...] 4. sḥ.t Tag 9 [...] im Wachdienst. Der Wesir sandte, um zu suchen [...]).
548 For the circumstantial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 290–291.
549 Wb II, p. 480.
This ostracon contains a complete but short letter, sent by an unknown sender to an unknown receiver. It starts with the sentence "imj ḫr-k n-i ‘pay attention to me’", followed by some instructions, a mention of the god Amun and the departure by the vizier:

\[(rto. 3–4) \text{imj} \text{ ḫr-k n-i} \text{ ḫn n-f ts wnw ‘The vizier will depart to him immediately.’}\]

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the third future. The direction of the departure is not possible to determine, but one might suggest he was leaving from Western Thebes to go either to Eastern Thebes, or north to the administrative centre and royal residence.

### 3.7 ḫṣj, sš/snj, ṭṣj, and ḏṣj

The group of verbs presented in this subchapter is formed by the transitive verbs of motion ḫṣj, sš/snj, ṭṣj, and ḏṣj. These four verbs are used to signify someone connected to the workmen’s community departing to somewhere outside the village. In addition, ḫṣj is also used to describe someone from outside Deir...
el-Medina arriving at the Theban necropolis. for each verb is ‘descending’ for h\textit{h}j, ‘passing’ for s\textit{s}/snj, ‘going up’ for tsj, and ‘crossing’ for dsj. Each of these four verbs is generally used in the Deir el-Medina non-literary texts to describe someone departing in a specific direction: h\textit{h}j for descending to the riverbank by the Nile, s\textit{s}/snj for passing the walls/guard posts in connection with the village, tsj for going up the mountains that surround the village area, and dsj for ferrying across the Nile to Eastern Thebes.

\textit{Hs}j, tsj, and dsj are generally found in connection with an adverbial phrase while s\textit{s}/snj – expressing passing the walls/guard posts of the village – usually takes a direct object. The subject is a person or a group of persons. \textit{Hs}j, s\textit{s}/snj, tsj, and dsj may stand alone or together with a preposition. In the corpus they are found in connection with the following prepositions:

\textit{m} – signifying departing from somewhere
\textit{r} – signifying departing to somewhere

Outside the corpus of this study, \textit{h}s\textit{j}, s\textit{s}/snj, tsj, and dsj are found in connection with these same prepositions, but then they take on other significations than the ones mentioned above.

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560 For a discussion of the people referred to as descending (i.e. arriving) at Western Thebes, see section 4.3.2.
561 For the translation of \textit{ts inbt} as ‘wall/guard post’, see Dorn 2009.
562 Outside the corpus, the subject may also be, for example, an item (e.g. a boat or an offering), an animal, the dead, or a god. Wb II, p. 473; Wb V, pp. 406, 513.
563 Outside the corpus, these four verbs are also found in connection with other prepositions: \textit{hs}j with the preposition \textit{hr} for descending onto somewhere (e.g. a water), and with \textit{n} for descending to someone, see Wb II, p. 472; s\textit{s}/snj with the preposition \textit{hr} for passing a person, a place, or that what has been spoken passing the lips, and with \textit{nht} for passing the two countries, see Wb III, p. 456; tsj with the preposition \textit{hr} for going up, for example, a staircase, see Wb V, p. 407; and dsj with the preposition \textit{hr} for crossing water, and with \textit{n} or \textit{hr} for crossing to a person, see Wb V, p. 512.
564 For example, \textit{h}s\textit{j} with the preposition \textit{r} to express descending into a boat or water, see Wb II, p. 472; s\textit{s}/snj with the preposition \textit{m} to express passing the evil, see Wb III, p. 456; tsj with the preposition \textit{r} to express entering a wagon or a boat, the dead or a god going up into the
3.7.1 *Hšj*, *sš/snjb*, *tsjb*, and *dšj*: departing

The verbs *hšj*, *sš/snjb*, *tsjb*, and *dšj* signifying departing occur in sixty-three of the corpus texts: six letters,\(^{565}\) thirty-four journals, eleven notes,\(^{566}\) five accounts, one deposition, one memorandum, two protocols, two lists, and one unclassified text. Of the letters four are dated within the 19th dynasty\(^{567}\) and two within the 20th dynasty.\(^{568}\) Fifteen of the journals are dated to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses V,\(^{569}\) seven to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI,\(^{570}\) five to the reigns of Merenptah–Siptah,\(^{571}\) one to the reign of Ramesses VII,\(^{572}\) one to the early 20th dynasty,\(^{573}\) two to the mid-20th dynasty,\(^{574}\) and three lack an attributed date.\(^{575}\) Six of the notes are dated to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses VI,\(^{576}\) two to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI,\(^{577}\) one to the late 19th dynasty,\(^{578}\)

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\(^{565}\) Two of these texts (O. DeM 692; O. Qurna 691//17/82) have an uncertain classification as letters.

\(^{566}\) The classification of O. DeM 571 as a note is uncertain.

\(^{567}\) O. DeM 324; O. DeM 692; O. Prague 1826; O. Qurna 691//17/82.

\(^{568}\) P. BM EA 10375; O. BM EA 50734 + 50742.

\(^{569}\) P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2044; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 14689 (either Ramesses II or Ramesses III); O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. DeM 36; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 10177; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57156.

\(^{570}\) P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso.

\(^{571}\) O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. Michaelides 71.

\(^{572}\) P. Turin Cat. 1885.

\(^{573}\) O. DeM 320.

\(^{574}\) O. BTdK 659 (year 1 of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII); O. BTdK 665 (year 5 of Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI).

\(^{575}\) O. Cairo CG 25298; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. DeM 10023.

\(^{576}\) O. Berlin P 10663; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis (the reading of *sš/snjb* is uncertain); O. Cairo CG 25292; O. DeM 759.

\(^{577}\) O. DeM 571; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97.

\(^{578}\) O. IFAO 288.
one to the 19th or the 20th dynasty,\textsuperscript{579} and one to the 20th dynasty.\textsuperscript{580} One account is dated to the reign of Ramesses II\textsuperscript{581} and four to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses VII.\textsuperscript{582} The deposition is dated to the reign of Amenmesse,\textsuperscript{583} the memorandum to the 19th dynasty,\textsuperscript{584} and both protocols to the reign of Merenptah.\textsuperscript{585} One of the two lists is dated to the reign of Ramesses VII\textsuperscript{586} and the other to the late 20th dynasty.\textsuperscript{587} The unclassified text is dated to the reign of Merenptah.\textsuperscript{588}

\textit{Examples:}

P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085\textsuperscript{589}

This necropolis journal records various administrative events, for instance some craftsmen crossing the Nile and going to Eastern Thebes:

\begin{verbatim}
(rto. II, 14) rmpt-sp 18 sbd 4 šmw sw 2[8] dsj r njwt in pž 6 hmw.w r pž
ntj ĭštj im ‘Year 18 fourth month of šmw day 2[8]. Crossing over to
Thebes by the 6 craftsmen to where the vizier is.’\textsuperscript{590}
\end{verbatim}

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the infinitive with the actor expression introduced by \textit{in},\textsuperscript{591} and the preposition \textit{r} indicating direction of motion. The craftsmen were crossing the Nile presumably on the orders of the

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{579} O. Turin N. 57460.
\item \textsuperscript{580} O. Cairo CG 25636.
\item \textsuperscript{581} O. Cairo CG 25803.
\item \textsuperscript{582} P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E.
\item \textsuperscript{583} O. DeM 10195.
\item \textsuperscript{584} O. Berlin P 14251.
\item \textsuperscript{585} O. Ashmolean Museum 64; O. IFAO 1357.
\item \textsuperscript{586} O. DeM 10269.
\item \textsuperscript{587} O. Cairo CG 25575.
\item \textsuperscript{588} P. Berlin P 23300b recto.
\item \textsuperscript{589} Year 17 and 18 of Ramesses XI, see Gardiner 1948, p. 64; Helck 2002, pp. 565–566.
\item \textsuperscript{590} Translation by Helck 2002, p. 566 (Überfahrt nach Theben durch die 6 Handwerker dorthin, wo der Vezir ist).
\item \textsuperscript{591} For the infinitive, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 189.
\end{enumerate}
vizier and going to Eastern Thebes to work on sections of the boat of Amun (rto. II, 14: $b₃kw\ p³\ s₃\ n\ p₃\ ħr\ n\ imn-ps⁻ipw$). The vizier seems to have been positioned mostly in the northern part of Egypt during the late 20th dynasty, but he had an office in Eastern Thebes, which was probably where these craftsmen were heading. ⁵⁹²

P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 ⁵⁹³
This papyrus text is a journal covering a period from day 24 of the second month of $prt$ until the second day of the second month of $ṣḥt$. On the third day of the first month of $šmw$, the crew were recorded going to work:

(r. II, 16) [ṣbd 1 šmw] sw 3 ṭṣj in ᵗᵉ ⁱˢᵗ ʿ[First month of šmw] day 3.
Going up by the crew. ⁵⁹⁴

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the infinitive, with in introducing the actor expression. ⁵⁹⁵ This passage is a rather typical example of similar references, found in administrative texts to express the workmen going up the hill in order to work on the royal tomb. ⁵⁹⁶

O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39 ⁵⁹⁷
This is a personal account of various favours and services done by the workman Khnummose ⁵⁹⁸ for the workman Ruta. ⁵⁹⁹ The account also mentions a third party coming to Khnummose’s house and taking some items:

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⁵⁹³ Year 3 of Ramesses X, see Helck 2002, p. 541; Kitchen 1983b, p. 687.
⁵⁹⁴ Translation by Helek 2002, p. 545 (Heraufsteigen durch die Arbeiterchaft).
⁵⁹⁵ For the infinitive, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 189.
⁵⁹⁶ See, for example, Janssen 1997b, p. 87, n. 7.
⁵⁹⁷ The reign of Ramesses III, see Kitchen 1983a, p. 587.
⁵⁹⁸ Khnummose (i) in Davies 1999, chart 5.
⁵⁹⁹ Possibly Ruta (i) in Davies 1999, pp. 245–246; see also Davies for a discussion of how many workmen Ruta were active in the workmen’s community.
When Nebwenef passed the wall/guard post, he came to (my) house. [He] took: 1 knife, making 3 dbn.

The verbal formation of the initial main clause ss/snj nb-wn=f is the perfect active sdm=f introduced by hr ir. The verbal formation of the following non-initial subordinate clause iw=f ij is the sequential iw=f (hr) sdm. The ts inbt Nebwenef passed is the much discussed walls/guard posts in the vicinity of the village.

O. Qurna 691//17/82

The text is a letter sent by an unknown sender to an unknown receiver. The sender complains that he cannot pass the walls of Pharaoh (rto. 5 n3 inb.wt n pr-?) in order to go to the riverbank:

(nn iw=î rî s/s snj st r (?) hʒjt r in[w mw hr] mryt ‘I cannot pass them to(?) go down to [the water carrier on] the riverbank!’

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the negative third future, with the preposition r indicating direction of motion. The purpose of this letter is thus to persuade the receiver, probably a person belonging to the external staff (smdt n

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601 For the perfect active sdm=f, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 221.
602 For the sequential im=f (hr) sdm following the perfect active sdm=f, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 216–217.
603 Perhaps this is the fisherman Nebwenef also referred to in, for example, the undated O. UC 39670. Janssen 1997b, p. 48, n. 81.
604 See, for example, Burkard 2013; Dorn 2009; Frandsen 1989.
605 Late 19th dynasty or early 20th dynasty, see Burkard 2000, pp. 55–56; Deir el-Medina Online.
606 This text is probably a real letter, but see Burkard (2000, pp. 61–64) for a discussion of the nature of this letter as a real or model one.
608 Translation by Burkard 2000, p. 58 (Ich kann sie nicht passieren, um(?) hinabzusteigen zum [Wasserträger(?)] ans Ufer!).
609 For the negative third future, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 265; Junge 1999, p. 131.
to bring water to the village. As already mentioned, the verb *h3j* was, in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts, used to describe going from Deir el-Medina to the riverbank, in other words one descended there, as the riverbank was geographically situated lower than the village higher up in the desert.

### 3.7.2 *H3j*: arriving

The verb *h3j* signifying arriving occurs in four of the corpus texts. These four texts are all necropolis journals of which two are dated to the reign of Ramesses III and two to the reign of Ramesses XI. The arriving undertaken in these texts are by people from the outside entering the necropolis area.

**Example:**

P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091

This necropolis journal records various events, among others inactivity among the workmen due to the presence of desert people (*h3stjw*), also referred to as foreigners, as well as the arrival of these people in Thebes. The papyrus is fragmented and the beginning of recto 9–12 damaged. Therefore the date for this entry is not included in this textual reference, but it is most likely year 10 of Ramesses IX, fourth month of *šmtw*, epagomenal day 1.

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610 Bukhard 2000, p. 61.
611 Černý 2004, p. 95.
612 O. DeM 35; O. DeM 153.
613 P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091.
614 For the workmen’s community’s relation to persons not connected to the administration of the Theban necropolis, see section 4.3.2.
615 Year 10 and 11 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, p. 503.
616 For a more extensive presentation of the Deir el-Medina non-literary texts, where the presence of *h3stjw* in the necropolis area is mentioned, see 4.3.2.
617 For the dating, see, for example, Helck 2002, p. 503; the Deir el-Medina Database.
100

(rto. 11) [...] hsj ns h3stjw r imnnt[-njw|] ‘[...] The desert people descending to Western [Thebes].’

3.8 *itj* and *it3*

The second last group of verbs signifying mobility is formed by the two transitive verbs *itj*\(^{619}\) and *it3*\(^{620}\) (also written *tsw*). These two verbs occur in the corpus references when referring to someone accompanying or taking another person to somewhere (i.e. departing). Thus they include a perspective of being summoned and not going on one’s own accord.\(^{621}\) In the textual passages included in the corpus of this study *itj* and *it3* are usually found in connection with a direct object.\(^{622}\) The subject is a person\(^{623}\) and the object is a person or an item.\(^{624}\) Thus *itj* and *it3* are used to describe a person taking another person to somewhere or someone.

*itj* and *it3* may stand alone or together with a preposition indicating in which direction the departure is being undertaken to. *itj* and *it3* are found in connection with the following prepositions:

- *m* – signifying departing to somewhere
- *n* – signifying departing to someone

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\(^{618}\) Translation by Helck 2002, p. 503 (Herabsteigen der Beduinen nach dem Westen [...]).  
\(^{619}\) Wb I, p. 149.  
\(^{620}\) Wb I, p. 150.  
\(^{621}\) Janssen 1994b, p. 92, n. a. Both *itj* and *it3* may also be used with an indication of violence, for example, grabbing or dragging someone to somewhere by force. Wb I, pp. 149–150.  
\(^{622}\) Outside the corpus, *itj* and *it3* may also stand alone without an object signifying, for example, robbing, hunting, conquering, or stealing. In addition, *itj* is used in the following expressions: *itj tswj* ‘conquering the two lands’ (Upper and Lower Egypt); *itj inj* ‘taking away and bringing back’; and *itj hpt* ‘taking offerings’. Wb I, pp. 149–150.  
\(^{623}\) Outside the corpus, the subject may also be, for example, an animal (e.g. a hunting crocodile). Wb I, p. 149.  
\(^{624}\) Outside the corpus, the object may also be, for example, an animal (being hunted), a city or a country (being conquered), the time (spending a period of time). Wb I, pp. 149–150.
$r$ – signifying departing to somewhere\(^\text{625}\)

### 3.8.1 ʼIṯ$j$ and ʼiṯ$j$: departing

ʼIṯ$j$ and ʼiṯ$j$ signifying departing occur in seventeen of the corpus texts: six letters, four journals, two notes, one account, two oracle questions, and two protocols. Four of the letters are dated to the reign of Ramesses XI,\(^\text{626}\) one to the reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV,\(^\text{627}\) and the last one to the reign of Ramesses II.\(^\text{628}\) All four journals are dated to the reign of Ramesses III.\(^\text{629}\) One of the notes is dated to the reign of Ramesses III\(^\text{630}\) and the other to the reign of Ramesses VI.\(^\text{631}\) The account is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV.\(^\text{632}\) One of the oracle questions is dated to the early 20th dynasty\(^\text{633}\) and the other lacks an attributed date.\(^\text{634}\) Of the protocols, one is dated to the reign of Seti II\(^\text{635}\) and one to Ramesses III.\(^\text{636}\)

**Examples:**

O. DeM 427\(^\text{637}\)

This text is a journal recording various events, among others the vizier taking the crew to the riverbank:

\(^\text{625}\) In addition to these prepositions ʼiṯ$j$ may, outside the corpus, be connected with the preposition ʻm-b$h$ for taking someone in front of someone. Wb I, p. 150.
\(^\text{627}\) O. Ashmolean Museum 188.
\(^\text{628}\) O. DeM 10061.
\(^\text{629}\) O. Berlin P 12629; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 284; O. DeM 427.
\(^\text{630}\) O. Turin N. 57556.
\(^\text{631}\) P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso.
\(^\text{632}\) O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82.
\(^\text{633}\) O. IFAO 693.
\(^\text{634}\) O. IFAO 883.
\(^\text{635}\) O. BM EA 65930.
\(^\text{636}\) O. Geneva MAH 12550.
(vso. 11) [...] sw 5 ws w s r n h t i r m 3 s w m r n m s r m r y t [...] ‘[...]' day
5. Inactivity. The vizier arrived at the h t m and took the crew to the riverbank [...].’

The verbal formation of i t s in this sentence is the infinitive, with the preposition r indicating direction of motion. The reason for the vizier arriving in order to accompany the men to the riverbank is in this case unknown. This same text also mentions the men carrying torches, which was an indication of protests among the workmen. One might therefore tentatively suggest that the vizier taking the crew to the riverbank had something to do with interrogating them about the discontent or protesting among them, possibly regarding provisions that had not been handed out.

O. DeM 10061

This ostracon text is a letter mentioning several persons connected to the workmen’s community, among whom a man named Nefer(em)senut. The letter discusses various matters and mentions someone being taken by the city governor to Eastern Thebes to work:

638 Translation by Helck 2002, p. 295 (Es kam der Vezir zur Festung und holte die Arbeiterchaft zum Hafen).
639 For the infinitive, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 183.
640 In another journal (O. DeM 148) dated to year 26 of Ramesses III, and thus only two years earlier than the event described in the passage above, the vizier took the crew to the riverbank in order to interrogate them. Černý 2004, p. 96; McDowell 1990, pp. 219–223.
641 See, for example, Janssen 1995.
642 For a study on the fluctuation of provisions of fish, wood, and grain at Deir el-Medina corresponding to the River Nile’s level variations, see Antoine 2009.
643 The early reign of Ramesses II (or more precisely before year 39 of Ramesses II), see Grandet 2006a, p. 64; Grandet 2006b, p. 103.
644 The Deir el-Medina Database classifies this text as a letter, but in Grandet (2006a, p. 64) the text is classified as a fragment of a note (Fragment de déposition).
645 Nefer(em)senut (i) in Davies 1999, chart 28.
When the city governor Haynefer had taken me to work to Ne.\textsuperscript{646}

The verbal formation is the perfect active $sdm=f$,\textsuperscript{647} with the preposition $m$ indicating direction of motion. The name of the city governor is written $h3j-nfr$ for $h3w-nfr(\sim w)$.

\subsection*{3.9 $\textit{Inj}$}

One verb used in the corpus to describe someone or something being brought to somewhere (i.e. departing),\textsuperscript{649} is the transitive $\textit{inj}$. $\textit{Inj}$ is usually connected to a direct object, with the subject being a person and the object another person or an item.\textsuperscript{650} $\textit{Inj}$ appearing after the causative agent $rdj$ signifies ‘to cause to be brought’ and in these cases the person undertaking the action is not the subject, but another person being sent by the subject in order to bring someone or something.\textsuperscript{651}

In this discussion I have included a selection of textual references where $\textit{inj}$ signifies someone (or something, for example, boats) connected to the workmen’s

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[646]{Translation by Grandet 2006a, p. 65 (Et lorsque le gouverneur de No (Thèbes), Hainofré, m’eut emmené pour travailler à No).}
\footnotetext[647]{Grandet (2006a, p. 66, n. 1.13) writes that he knows of no other examples of $ir \ m-\check{s}r'-m-dj$ (for $m-dr$) + $sdm=f$ perfect active, but sees it as a synonym of the construction $(r)-\check{d}j-m-dr$ $sdm=f$ discussed in Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 412–413.}
\footnotetext[648]{Outside the vizier Hauneferu, see Gardiner 1948, pp. xx and 60a, n. 10a–b; Grandet 2006a, p. 66, n. 1.13.}
\footnotetext[649]{Outside the corpus, $\textit{inj}$ may also signify, for example, offering gifts, bringing forward a country to a god (a symbolic action by the ruler), stealing something, taking away a prey, bringing knowledge, spreading the word, and reaching a place. Wb I, pp. 90–91.}
\footnotetext[650]{Outside the corpus, $\textit{inj}$ with a person as object may signify, for example, introducing someone to a post or an office, bringing refugees back, and fetching someone in order to accuse him/her of something. Additionally, $\textit{inj}$ may stand, for example, in connection with an animal as object. Wb I, s. 90.}
\footnotetext[651]{Wente (1967) regularly translates $rdj \ \textit{inj}$ with the imperative ‘send’ instead of ‘cause to be brought’, which might cause some confusion as to what form of action is expressed. I have, however, here chosen to treat all references as ‘to bring’.}
\end{footnotes}
community being brought outside the usual radius of action.\textsuperscript{652} The reason for limiting the discussion to \textit{inj} in this way is an attempt to try to stay within the focus of this thesis. The discussion here does not therefore include all textual references to someone connected to the workmen’s community bringing someone or something, but rather a small selection of references in order to exemplify and broaden the discussion on mobility of interest here.

\textit{Inj} may stand alone or together with a preposition indicating in which direction the departing is being undertaken to or from. In the selection from the corpus \textit{inj} is found in connection with the following prepositions:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{m} – signifying departing in something
  \item \textit{n} – signifying departing to someone
  \item \textit{r} – signifying departing to somewhere
  \item \textit{ḥr} – signifying departing from somewhere
\end{itemize}

3.9.1 \textit{Inj}: departing

\textit{Inj} signifying bringing someone or something (i.e. departing) occurs, for example, in twenty-two of the corpus texts: eleven letters, five journals, one note, three accounts, one protocol, and one list. Nine of the letters are dated to the reign of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI,\textsuperscript{653} one to the 20th dynasty,\textsuperscript{654} and one to the reign of Ramesses II.\textsuperscript{655} Of the five journals three are dated to the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses V,\textsuperscript{656} one to the reign of Ramesses IX,\textsuperscript{657} and one to the reign of

\textsuperscript{652} Additionally, see section 3.11.3 for references from the Late Ramesside Letters where \textit{inj} occurs in the introductory formula in the clause “tell NN to bring me back alive”, with NN referring to a god, most often Amun.

\textsuperscript{653} P. Berlin P 10487; P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10430; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. Geneva D 187; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 2026.

\textsuperscript{654} P. Turin Cat. 1978.

\textsuperscript{655} O. DeM 324.

\textsuperscript{656} P. Turin Cat. 2044; O. Berlin P 12631; O. DeM 148.

\textsuperscript{657} P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto.
Siptah. The note is dated to the reign of Ramesses VI. Of the accounts, one is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV and two to Ramesses XI. The protocol is dated to the reign of Ramesses III and the list to Ramesses II.

**Examples:**

P. Geneva D 187

This papyrus letter was sent by an unidentified city governor of Thebes to the scribe Djehutymose in Western Thebes. The letter concerns a conflict between a retainer and a workman, and the sender wrote about a man Djehutymose had sent to somewhere:

(rto. 7) iw-k rdjt inj-tw psy rmT m ps [...] ‘You caused this man to be brought in the [...].’

The verbal formation of this initial main clause is the non-initial prospective $sdm=f$ following $rdj$. It seems, the city governor was asking Djehutymose to cause “this man” (i.e. the workman) to be brought from Western Thebes back to Eastern Thebes to sort out the conflict.

O. DeM 324

On this ostracon is a letter sent by the scribe Ankhau to his daughter Nubemshaes. The letter includes a quotation from a previous letter:

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658 P. UC 34336.
659 P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso.
660 P. Turin PN 109.
661 P. Geneva D 407 (the account is written at the top of the recto of the letter); P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006.
662 P. Turin Cat. 2065.
663 O. Cairo CG 25581.
664 Early $wlm ms.wt$ of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 26 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
665 Translation by the author.
666 For the non-initial prospective $sdm=f$, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 454–455.
668 Ankhau (i) in Davies 1999, chart 24; see also Černý 2004, p. 199.
669 Nubemshaes (ii) in Davies 1999, chart 24.
The verbal formation of the non-initial subordinate clause *inj-tw(=w) n=i m ḥdj* is the passive non-initial prospective *sqm=f,* with the preposition *n* indicating direction of motion. With this sentence Ankhau was letting his daughter know that a messenger had been sent to him saying that Ankhau should load a boat and bring some bread and vegetables (‘they’) downstream to the place where someone (‘me’) was. On this occasion the transportation of these commodities also indicates an act of motion by the person bringing them in the boat.

### 3.10 Concluding remarks

The verbs selected from the corpus signifying mobility and travelling are mainly verbs of motion. Eight of the twenty-one verbs selected and discussed in this chapter have an intransitive use and thirteen a transitive use. The subject is usually a person. Textual passages indicating mobility by someone connected to the workmen’s community are in their grammatical form generally represented by the following verbal formations: infinitive, first present, perfect active *sqm=f*, initial and non-initial prospective *sqm=f*, third future, and emphatic formation. The first present was in general used in letters and the infinitive in journal and notes. Among the examples written in the first present, eight from a total of thirteen clauses were written in the non-initial subordinate circumstantial first present.

When connected to a direct object or an adverbial phrase the object or the adverbial phrase usually refers to another person, an item, or a place. The verbs signifying mobility and travelling may stand together with a preposition indicating direction of motion or without one, the only exception being *šš/snḥ*, which can

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670 Translation by Wente 1990, p. 156.
671 For the passive non-initial prospective *sqm=f*, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 462.
672 Additionally, the following forms are, for example, also represented in the corpus: the imperative and the sequential *iwn= (ḥr) sqm*.
only be found with a direct object. In these passages, where a preposition indicates the direction, the most commonly used prepositions, within the textual passages included in the corpus, are \( m \), \( n \), and \( r \).

In administrative texts, the functionally-bound forms of individual movement by someone connected to the workmen’s community was relatively often reported in the first line of the text and written in the following formula: date + \( hrw \) \( pn \) + infinitive of a verb of motion + \( in \). This would indicate that mobility had a high priority in the necropolis administration when recording various tasks and events related to everyday life.

Of the twenty-one verbs discussed in this third main chapter, the verbs \( ij \) and \( iw \) were the ones most frequently used to describe someone arriving at somewhere or someone (in 150 of the 322 texts of the corpus, see section 3.1.2). \( ij \) and \( iw \) were used to describe someone arriving in all four main texts types of the corpus (letter, journal, note, and account), and in texts chronologically distributed throughout the Ramesside period. \( ij \) and \( iw \) were further used to describe someone returning in eleven texts (see section 3.1.3). These eleven texts are all letters dated to the late 20th dynasty, except for one model letter dated to the reign of Ramesses II. The group formed by the verbs \( ph \), \( mnj \), and \( spr \) are the second largest group used to describe someone arriving at somewhere or someone (in 57 texts, see section 3.2.1). These three verbs signifying arriving are most often found in letters dated to the late 20th dynasty, but they also occur in some journals, notes, and accounts chronologically distributed throughout the Ramesside period.

When describing someone departing on a general level, i.e. not to a specific place or location, \( hs^r \) and \( sm \) are the verbs most frequently used (in 42 texts, see section 3.4.1). \( hs^r \) is exclusively used in letters dated to the late 20th dynasty, while \( sm \) may be found to signify departure in various text type categories from both the 19th and the 20th dynasty. \( hs^j \), \( ss/snj \), \( tsj \), and \( dsj \) are the verbs most frequently used to describe someone departing to a specific place or in a specific direction (in 63 texts, see section 3.7.1). They mainly occur in journals dated to
the 20th dynasty, but are also occasionally represented in other text type categories from throughout the Ramesside period.

3.11 Excursus: Selection of formulaic expressions in the Late Ramesside Letters offering perspectives on mobility

Letters written on papyrus and dated to late 20th-dynasty Deir el-Medina tend to include various forms of formulas in the beginning and end of the letter.\textsuperscript{673} \textsuperscript{673} 'Abd el-Moḥsen Bakir was the first to study these formulas. According to him, a real letter should – as opposed to a model letter – include the following parts: introductory formula, complimentary preamble, subject matter, terminal formula, and address.\textsuperscript{674}\textsuperscript{674} These formulas generally include wishes regarding the physical well-being of the receiver, but as John Baines has pointed out the expression of concern in letter formulas is in part a pretext.\textsuperscript{675}\textsuperscript{675}

From the letters dated to the late Ramesside period, I have selected four formulaic expressions that I consider to offer additional perspectives on mobility and travelling. These four expressions are:

- \textit{\textit{iw}=i \textit{ij.ti}} ‘when I have returned’
- \textit{\textit{imj iw}=i} ‘let me return’
- \textit{\textit{inj wj} or \textit{imj inj}=i} ‘bring me back’ or ‘let me be brought back’
- \textit{\textit{ntj tw}=i sʃ/snʃ hrr=w} ‘by whom I pass’

My argument for specifically selecting these four formulaic expressions is that they include a verb of motion (\textit{ij}, \textit{iw}, \textit{inj}, and \textit{sʃ/snʃ}\textsuperscript{676})),\textsuperscript{677} and thereby include an aspect of mobility. The subject in these formulaic expressions varies between

\textsuperscript{673} For formulas in Egyptian letters in general, see, for example, Baines 2002, pp. 5–12; Bakir 1970, pp. 41–54; Sweeney 2001, pp. 16–18. For a table on the various forms of introductory formulas and how they are chronologically distributed among letters from the Theban Necropolis, see Haring 2009, p. 191.

\textsuperscript{674} Bakir 1970, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{675} Baines 2002, pp. 11–12.

\textsuperscript{676} For the use of \textit{sʃ/snʃ} in letter formulas, see Wb III, p. 456.

\textsuperscript{677} For the use of \textit{ij}, \textit{iw}, \textit{inj}, and \textit{sʃ/snʃ}, see above subchapters 3.1, 3.7, and 3.9.
first, second, or third person singular, but in the transliterations given in this excursus I have for clarity’s sake chosen to use the first person singular.

As stated above in Chapter 2, ninety-six of the 322 corpus texts are letters.\textsuperscript{678} Of these letters, ninety-two are dated to the 19th or 20th dynasty\textsuperscript{679} and fifty-five to the late 20th dynasty; to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI.\textsuperscript{680} A total of fifty-four of the letters dated to the late Ramesside period are written on papyrus, and thus only one of these letters is written on an ostracon.\textsuperscript{681} To sum up, the corpus includes fifty-four letters written on papyrus and dated to the late Ramesside period. Fifty of these are incorporated in the Late Ramesside Letters.\textsuperscript{682}

The formulaic expressions selected and discussed in this excursus are only represented among letters written on papyrus and dated to the late 20th dynasty – the four expressions are together represented in twenty-seven letters.\textsuperscript{683} In this excursus I will discuss the usage of these four formulaic expressions shortly and in a general manner by presenting a few examples.

\textsuperscript{678} Four of these letters are classified as possibly model letters (O. Berlin P 12367; O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto; O. Glasgow D. 1925.84; O. Michaelides 66 recto) and six texts have uncertain classifications as letters (P. Florence 10057; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. DeM 692; O. Qurna 691/17/82; O. Turin N. 57238).

\textsuperscript{679} Five of the letters are lacking an attributed date: P. München ÅS 818; P. Turin [unnumbered 5]; P. Turin Cat. 1928 + 1963 + 2051; O. DeM 10256; O. UC 39658.

\textsuperscript{680} For tables with more detailed information on the corpus texts, see Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{681} O. Cairo prov. no. 175.

\textsuperscript{682} Černý 1939b; Demarée 2006a; Janssen 1991a.

\textsuperscript{683} P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.93; P. Berlin P 10489; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, II; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. BM EA 10190; P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 10300; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10412; P. BM EA 10417; P. BM EA 75020; P. BM EA 75025; P. Geneva D 192; P. Geneva D 407; P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.AL.46 no. 1; P. Leiden I 369; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1972; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 2026.
3.11.1 \( \texttw\) \( \textit{l}\)j.\( \textit{t}\)l ‘when I have returned’

The expression \( \textit{iw}\texttw\ \textit{ij.ti} \) ‘when I have returned’ occurs in four of the Late Ramesside Letters in the corpus. Three of these letters were written by a person back home to someone away on a journey,\(^{684}\) and one letter was written by someone away on a journey to a person back home.\(^{685}\) Thus, with this expression the sender of the letter was wishing someone a safe return, the subject being either a person away on a journey (‘you’), or the sender himself (‘I’). The verbal formation of this non-initial subordinate clause is the circumstantial first present constructed with a stative of a verb of motion.\(^{686}\) The expression is usually followed by \( \textit{\textsc{mnh}} \) (‘alive’), and in addition occasionally \( \textit{wds\ snb} \) (‘prospering and healthy’).

*Examples:*

P. BM EA 10411\(^{687}\)

This letter begins with an introductory formula following the pattern NN to (n) NN,\(^{688}\) and thereafter blessings introduced by:

\[(rto. 2) \textit{m \textit{\textsc{mnh}} wds snb m hswt} \textit{‘In life, prosperity, and health, and in the favour of.’}\]

This type of introductory formula was the predominant type in the Late Ramesside Letters.\(^{689}\) Incorporated in the following blessings is the sentence:

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\(^{684}\) P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. Geneva D 407.

\(^{685}\) P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974.

\(^{686}\) For the circumstantial first present, see Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 290–291; see also, for example, Janssen 1991a, p. 13, n. 6.

\(^{687}\) Year 10 of \( \textit{\textsc{wjm ms.wt} \textit{Ramesses XI, see Janssen 1991a, p. 15.}\)

\(^{688}\) For this type of introductory formula, see Bakir 1970, pp. 51–54; Haring 2009, pp. 184–186, 191.

\(^{689}\) For an overview of different types of introductory formulas and their chronological distribution in letters from the Theban Necropolis, see Haring 2009, p. 191.
(rto. 6) mtw= i mh knj(-i) im-k iw= k ij ‘nh wḏs snb ‘May I fill (my) embrace with you when you have returned alive, prospering, and healthy.’

This formulaic expression is thus part of a prayer by the sender, in this case Butehamun, to the gods to let the receiver of the letter, here Djehutymose who is in the south, return back home safely.

P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974

This letter was sent by Heqanefer, the second prophet of Amun-Re, to Djehutymose, who was home in Western Thebes. The letter begins with the same introductory formula as in the passage presented above, i.e. NN n NN ‘nh wḏs snb m ḫswt, followed by additional blessings ending with:

(rto. 5) mtw= i ptr= i iw= i ij. ti iw= i ‘nh. kwi mtw= i mh knj= i im-k ‘Let me see you when I have returned alive and fill my embrace with you.’

Here the sender Heqanefer was wishing for his own safe return, presumably from a journey to somewhere in Middle Egypt.

3.11.2 ḫm ḫw-l ‘let me return’

In Wente’s translation of the Late Ramesside Letters ḫm ḫw-l is translated as ‘let me return.’ This formulaic expression occurs in three of the Late Ramesside Letters in the corpus. Two of the letters are written by someone away on a journey wishing for a safe return, and one letter is written by someone back home to a person away on a journey. The verbal formation is the imperative which, when

691 Year 7 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI or later, see letter no. 24 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
692 This Heqanefer was a son of general Paiankh, see Hekanufe in Černý 2004, p. 382.
693 Translation by Wente 1967, p. 56.
694 Wente 1967, pp. 7–8, 16.
697 P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, II.
signifying ‘to let’ or ‘to cause’, is followed by the non-initial prospective $sdm\text{-}f$.

The subject of the clause is either someone other than the sender (‘you’ or ‘we’), or the sender of the letter himself (‘I’).

**Example:**

P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, II

This letter from the necropolis administrator Heramunpenaf to Djehutymose begins with the introductory formula $NN\, n\, NN$ with the addressee’s name first, followed by blessings introduced with: $m\, \djo\, w\text{d}s\, snb$ ‘in life, prosperity, and health’. The blessings end with the request:

\[(rto. \ 4–5)\ imj\ iw-k\ iw-k\ \djo\, tw\ w\text{d}s\, t\, snb[.\ tw\ mtw=i\ mh]\ knj(-i)\ \imj=k\]

‘Let you return alive, prosperous, and healthy [and I fill] (my) embrace with you.’

The letter was sent to Djehutymose when he was away on a mission, and thus Heramunpenaf was back home in Western Thebes, and with this prayer expressed his wish for Djehutymose’s safe return.

### 3.11.3 *Imj wj* or *imj inj=i* ‘bring me back’ or ‘let me be brought back’

The most predominant formulaic expression offering a perspective on mobility in the Late Ramesside Letters of the corpus is *imj wj* ‘bring me back’ or *imj inj=i* ‘let me be brought back’. This expression is often preceded by $wnn\ tzy=i\ št\ spr\ r-k\ ġd\ n\ imn$ ‘when my letter reaches you, tell Amun’. *Imj wj* or *imj inj=i* occur in twenty-one of the Late Ramesside Letters included in the corpus. In eleven of the

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698 For the imperative, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 349.
699 The $\text{wHm\ ms.wt}$ of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 11 in Wente 1967, p. 17.
701 Translation by Wente 1967, p. 43.
702 See, for example, Bakir 1970, pp. 80, 92. For the sentence $wnn\ tzy=i\ št\ spr\ r-k$, see Baer 1965; Goldwasser 1985. For indirect speech in Late Egyptian, see Peust 1996.
letters the subject in the clause is the sender of the letter himself (‘I’), and in ten of the letters the subject is the receiver (‘you’). The verbal formation is either the imperative with a dependent pronoun or the ‘direct object’ pronoun as direct object (inj wij/tw=i), or the imperative followed by the non-initial prospective sdm=f (imj inj=i).

Examples:

P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.93

This letter sent by Djehutymose to Butehamun begins with the introductory formula NN n NN, followed by m ‘nh w’d3 snb ‘in life, prosperity, and health’, and then:

(rto. 6–7) wnn (tsy=i) ʾṣʾ t spr (r=)k iw=ʾk ḏd n imn inj wij iw=i ʾnh.kwi

‘When (my) letter reaches you, you shall tell Amun to bring me back alive.’

This sentence is included in the blessings following the introductory formula, in what Abd el-Moḥsen Bakir names the complimentary preamble of the letter. Deborah Sweeney classifies a sentence introduced by wnn tṣy=i ʾṣʾ t (ḥr) spr r=k as an indirect request in the form of an explicit statement about some actions the sender would like the receiver to perform, in this case to tell Amun to bring the sender of the letter back alive. In this letter it is Djehutymose (away on a travel),

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703 P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.93; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV; P. BM EA 10190; P. BM EA 10300; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 75025; P. Leiden I 369; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974; P. Turin Cat. 1972; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 2026.
705 For the imperative with a dependent pronoun or the ‘direct object’ pronoun, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 343.
706 For the imperative followed by the non-initial prospective sdm=f, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 349.
707 Year 2 of whmn ms.wt of Ramesses XI or later, see letter no. 6 in Wente 1967, p. 17.
708 Translation by the author.
710 Sweeney 2001, p. 50.
who reassures Butehamun (back home in Western Thebes) that he is well,\textsuperscript{711} and asks the people back home to pray to Amun for his safe return.

P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I\textsuperscript{712}

Unfortunately, the first two lines of this letter are lost, but the letter was sent from Western Thebes by a functionary of the funerary temple of Ramesses III, most likely to Djehutymose in Nubia.\textsuperscript{713} The introductory formula and blessings in the beginning of the letter are rather extensive, and end with a prayer:

\begin{quote}
\texttt{mtw imn-\textit{r} nsw ntr.\textit{w inj tw=k iw=k wds iw=k \textit{mh tw mtw}(-i) mh knj(-i) im=k} ‘May Amun-Re, king of the gods, bring you back prospering and alive and may (I) fill (my) embrace with you.’\textsuperscript{714}
\end{quote}

Here it was the unknown functionary of the funerary temple of Ramesses III who wrote to Djehutymose and wished for his safe return to Western Thebes.

\textbf{3.11.4 N\textit{tj tw=\textit{i s}s\textit{snj hrr=\textit{w ‘by whom I pass’}}}}

The last formulaic expression discussed in this excursus is \textit{n tj tw=\textit{i s}s\textit{snj hrr=\textit{w ‘by whom I pass’}}.} It constitutes the end of a prayer or invocation to the gods and the ‘whom’ here referred to are specified gods followed by ‘every god and goddess’ (\textit{ntr nb ntrt nb}).\textsuperscript{715} This formulaic expression is found in eight of the Late Ramesside Letters of the corpus.\textsuperscript{716} The verb \textit{s}s\textit{snj} is generally used in this letter formula.\textsuperscript{717} In all eight letters the subject in this clause is the sender (‘I’).

\begin{footnotes}
\item 711 For some of the formulas used in letters for expressing reassurance, see Bakir 1970, pp. 77–79.
\item 712 Year 10 of \textit{whm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 45 in Wente 1967, p. 17.
\item 713 Wente 1967, p. 17.
\item 714 Translation by the author.
\item 715 Bakir 1970, p. 82.
\item 716 P. Berlin P 10489; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV; P. BM EA 10300; P. BM EA 10412; P. Geneva D 192; P. Leiden I 369; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974.
\item 717 Wb III, p. 456.
\end{footnotes}
The clause is a subordinate relative clause introduced by *ntj* and constructed with the verbal formation of the first present.\(^{718}\)

**Example:**

P. Leiden I 370\(^{719}\)

The sender of this letter was Djehutymose, who was away on a journey to the north of Thebes, and wrote back home to Buteshamun and Shedemdua in Western Thebes. The introductory formula *NN n NN* is followed by *m ʿnhḥ wdḥ snb* ‘in life, prosperity, and health’. The blessings end with:

\[(rto. 2–3) \ tw=i \ dd \ n \ imn-rˁ-hr-zḥtj \ hrj-šḥft \ ntr \ ʿs \ dlwṭj \ nb \ ḫmnw \ ntr \ nb \ ntrt \ nb \ ntj \ tw=i \ ṣṣ/ṣnḥj \ ḫrr-ḥw \ ‘I tell Amun-Re-Harakhte, Herischef, the great god, Thot, lord of Hermopolis, and every god and goddess by whom I pass.’\(^{720}\)

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\(^{718}\) For the relative clause introduced by *ntj*, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 496.

\(^{719}\) Year 6 of *wḥm ms.wt* of Ramesses XI or later, see letter no. 5 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

\(^{720}\) Translation by the author.
4. SELECTION OF NOMINAL ELEMENTS INCORPORATED IN EXPRESSIONS OF MOBILITY AND TRAVELLING IN THE CORPUS

In this main chapter a selection of nominal elements (and as a by-product a preposition) incorporated in expressions of mobility and travelling in the corpus is discussed. Since the aim of this study is to look at expressions of going away and coming back home, I have chosen to focus the main part of the terminology discussion on verbs of motion (Chapter 3). The discussion below should therefore be considered as a short overview of a selection of nominal elements forming part of expressions of mobility and travelling in the corpus.

The selection of nominal elements is divided into three groups. The first subchapter deals with nouns rendering perspectives of mobility, such as various words used for means of transport or words used for expressing a journey (4.1). Thereafter follows an overview of nouns used for places outside Deir el-Medina (4.2). The intention is to briefly discuss where the members of the workmen’s community went when leaving the village, and from where people from the outside came when visiting the necropolis area. And lastly, nouns used for expressing relations with persons or a group of persons from outside Deir el-Medina are discussed (4.3). Related to this last chapter is the usage of the preposition *m-dj* (‘through’), to express something being delivered by or with the help of someone. Of special interest here are passages selected from non-literary Deir el-Medina texts where *m-dj* was used to express a document being brought by a named person, but without referring to this person specifically as a messenger.

4.1 Nouns

In this subchapter three groups of nouns are discussed: words for transport means (in the form of ships and boats), words for journeys and expeditions, and words
used to describe a person who is ill or in danger while away from the home environment.

### 4.1.1 Ships and boats

I have selected seven nouns used for describing various ships, boats, and barges which occur in textual passages expressing an aspect of motion.\(^{721}\) The seven nouns signifying various ships and boats are, in alphabetical order, *imw*,\(^{722}\) *ḥ*,\(^{723}\) *ḥšj*,\(^{724}\) *wšt*,\(^{725}\) *rš-ḥd*,\(^{726}\) *kr*,\(^{727}\) and *tsm*.\(^{728}\) These are found in twenty-nine corpus texts: seventeen letters, six journals, five accounts, and one list. Thirteen of the letters are dated to the late 20th dynasty, to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI,\(^{729}\) one letter is dated to the reign of Ramesses II,\(^{730}\) one to the reign of Merenptah,\(^{731}\) one to the 20th dynasty,\(^{732}\) and one letter lacks an attributed date.\(^{733}\)

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\(^{721}\) As a result, passages describing, for example, a person in possession of a boat are not included in this discussion.

Other means of transporting humans, for example wagons and chariots, are rarely represented in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. Animals were used for transporting cargo, while the villagers in general either went on foot or by water when leaving the village area. For a brief but informative discussion of the various means of transport available in Egypt, see Köpp 2013, pp. 6–9. For discussions and illustrations of ships and boats from New Kingdom Egypt, see Landström 1973, pp. 98–139; Wachsmann 2009, pp. 18–32; see also Merriman 2011.

\(^{722}\) Wb I, p. 78.

\(^{723}\) Wb I, p. 222.

\(^{724}\) Wb I, p. 234.

\(^{725}\) Wb I, p. 366.

\(^{726}\) Wb II, p. 398.

\(^{727}\) Wb V, p. 134.

\(^{728}\) Wb V, p. 328.

\(^{729}\) P. Berlin P 10487; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10440; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. Geneva D 191; P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.Al.46 no. 1; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1972; P. Turin Cat. 2026; O. Cairo prov. no. 175.

\(^{730}\) O. DeM 324.

\(^{731}\) O. DeM 10683 verso IV and V.

\(^{732}\) P. Turin Cat. 1978.

\(^{733}\) O. DeM 10256.
Four of the six journals are dated to the reigns of Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI,\textsuperscript{734} one to the reign of Siptah,\textsuperscript{735} and one to the reign of Ramesses V.\textsuperscript{736} The five accounts are dated to the reign of Ramesses IV,\textsuperscript{737} Ramesses VII,\textsuperscript{738} Ramesses IX,\textsuperscript{739} and Ramesses XI,\textsuperscript{740} and the list to the reign of Siptah.\textsuperscript{741}

\textit{Imw}\textsuperscript{742} is the most frequently used noun in the corpus to describe a ship or a vessel transporting someone or something on the Nile.\textsuperscript{743} Other nouns, used more sporadically to describe ships transporting cargo on the Nile are \textit{ḥr},\textsuperscript{744} \textit{kṣj},\textsuperscript{745} and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2072.
\item O. Cairo 25515 is actually dated to year 5 of Seti II and to year 1 of Siptah, but the passage (vso. IV, 5) where a ship is mentioned is from year 1 of Siptah.
\item P. Turin Cat. 2044.
\item P. Turin Cat. 197 + 1909.
\item P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061.
\item P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso.
\item O. Cairo CG 25523.
\item For the reading of the boat hieroglyph as \textit{imw}, see Janssen 1991a, p. 23, n. 13. In the corpus, \textit{imw} is written with the ideogram for a boat sometimes followed by a stroke, and another possible reading would be \textit{dpt}. For \textit{dpt}, see Wb V, pp. 446–447.
\item \textit{Imw} appears in 19 corpus texts: P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 10440; P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.AL.46 no. 1; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2026; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin PN 109; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25523; O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. DeM 324; O. DeM 10256.
\item \textit{Imw} may also be used for expressing, for example, foreign ships or battleships, see Wb I, p. 78. Vinson (1994, p. 36) discusses the measurements of \textit{imw} vessels built in the dockyards of Senusret I, and concludes that the accounts do not mention any sizes, but on one occasion it is mentioned that the crew consisted of 30 persons. However, it is uncertain whether these 30 persons were the crew of one or several vessels.
\item The noun \textit{ḥr} appears in two corpus texts: P. Turin Cat. 1978; P. Turin Cat. 2072. See Vinson (1998a, p. 152) for an example from P. Leiden I 348 of the use of \textit{ḥr} for a transport vessel. According to Vinson (1994, p. 44), the name \textit{ḥr} stems from the Egyptian root \textit{kṣj} ‘to fight’, and one could therefore presume that this type of vessel was also used in battle. \textit{Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprachen} (I, p. 222) mentions only transportation, travelling, and fishing as usages of \textit{ḥr} vessels.
\item The noun \textit{kṣj} appears in three corpus texts: P. BM EA 10375; P. Geneva D 191; P. Leiden I 370. See Vinson (1998a, p. 24) for a table with types of listed cargo for \textit{kṣj} boats.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Steve Vinson gives a list of Ramesside boat types and their listed cargo, but the boat types *imw* and *‘h* are not included in that list. Kr and *tsm* were used to describe smaller boats. They were used, for example, for boats transporting smaller cargos shorter distances on the Nile and for fishing boats. In the corpus *rs-hd* is only used on one occasion. According to *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, *rs-hd* was a form of ship used by the taxation administration. Thus one might tentatively suggest that the boat referred to as arriving in P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 arrived with the purpose of collecting taxes.

**Examples:**

P. Geneva D 191

This document is a letter sent by Henuttawy, the chantress of Amun-Re, to her husband, the necropolis scribe Nesamenope. Henuttawy quotes her husband from a previous letter, where he had given her orders to receive grain that was being brought in a ship by a fisherman:

\[(rto. 13) iw=k hAb n=i [fem.] r-dd i.śsp ps 80 ḫsr n it.w m tśy ‘kṣṣ j n wh‘ it=f-nfr ‘You wrote to me saying, “Receive the 80 khar of grain from this transport ship of the fisherman Itefnefer”‘.\]

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746 In the corpus *wsht* appears in P. Berlin P 10487. *Wsht* was in the 19th dynasty and the Greece period also used to describe a barge for a god. Wb I, p. 366.


748 *Kr* is only present in texts written in Late Egyptian and stands together with the article *ps*, see Wb V, p. 134. *Kr* appears in four corpus texts: P. Geneva D 191; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109. In addition, *kr* is used to describe a ship transporting cattle (O. DeM 563) in at least one non-literary Deir el-Medina text outside the corpus. Vinson 1998a, p. 25.

749 In the corpus the noun *tsm* appears in P. Turin Cat. 1972.

750 P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 (rto. III, 23).

751 Wb II, p. 398.

752 For other Deir el-Medina texts relating to taxation, see Gardiner 1941; Janssen 2004.

753 Year 2 of *whmn ms.wt* of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 17 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

754 Translation by Wente 1967, p. 72; see also Janssen 1994a, p. 42.
Apparently the fisherman was transporting grain to the village, and on this occasion did so by using an ‘ṣṣj boat. According to the letter, Henyttawy had received too little grain and was informing her husband about this.

P. Turin PN 109

In this account various deliveries and distributions and transportations by boats are recorded. A mention is made of bringing cargo from the south in boats:

(rto. II, 2–3) injt m ns kr.w hr rsj in ps ss 2 n ps ḥr ps imw n whc ḥrt

‘What was brought in boats from the south by the two scribes of the tomb; the boat of the fisherman Hori and the fisherman Pentaweret of the tomb.’

In this passage the writer distinguished between two different kinds of boats, kr and imw. The first kr seems to be a more general word for boats, while imw here refers to specific boats of the named fishermen.

4.1.2 Journeys and expeditions

Four nouns have been selected to give a brief overview of words signifying a journey or an expedition in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts: ḟḏj, ṣmṣ, ḫdj, and ḫmt. These four nouns are mentioned in seven corpus texts. Five

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756 Year 6 and 7 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 404.
758 ḟḏj is only used as a noun for ‘a journey’ in Late Egyptian. Wb I, p. 398.
759 ṣmṣ, Wb II, p. 156.
761 ḥmt, Wb III, p. 375.
762 One may here also mention the map of the quarries of Wadi Hammamat, drawn on the recto of P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969. On verso of this papyrus are written administrative texts connecting the papyrus to Deir el-Medina. In the quarries in Wadi Hammamat are at least four inscriptions dated to year 3 of Ramesses IV which mention expeditions being sent there in order to bring stone to st ṣmṣ’t (‘the place of truth’, Černý 2004, pp. 29 ff.).
of these texts are letters; four of the letters are dated to the reign of Ramesses XI\textsuperscript{763} and one to the 20th dynasty.\textsuperscript{764} Two texts are journals\textsuperscript{765} and one is a memorandum.\textsuperscript{766} The journals and the memorandum are dated to the late 20th dynasty.

The number of texts including these nouns is rather low, and both the chronological period and the text types they occur in are rather narrow – with the emphasis being on letters dating from the late 20th dynasty. The two most frequently used words for expressing a journey or an expedition in the corpus are \textit{wDj}\textsuperscript{767} and \textit{mSa}\textsuperscript{768}, while \textit{hnt}\textsuperscript{769} and \textit{hdj}\textsuperscript{770} only occur once each. \textit{Wdj}, \textit{mS\textsuperscript{e}}, and \textit{hnt} were used to generally refer to, for example, someone undertaking a journey, someone being away on a journey, or someone participating in an expedition. \textit{Hdj} was specifically used to express a journey to the north.

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\textsuperscript{763} P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. BM EA 10284; P. Geneva D 407.
\textsuperscript{764} P. Florence 7125.
\textsuperscript{765} P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso.
\textsuperscript{766} O. Cairo CG 25236.
\textsuperscript{767} The noun \textit{wDj} appears in three corpus texts: P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Florence 7125; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085.
\textsuperscript{768} The noun \textit{mS\textsuperscript{e}} appears in three corpus texts: P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V; P. BM EA 10284; P. Geneva D 407. \textit{M\textsuperscript{S\textsuperscript{e}}} was also used to express a march. Wb II, p. 156.

In P. Geneva D 407 the reading of \textit{mS\textsuperscript{e}} is uncertain, and could to my understanding possibly also be \textit{hns}, the visible hieratic signs being \textit{m}, \textit{c}, \textit{h}, and \textit{n}, see Černý 1939b, pp. 16–16a. Wente suggests the reading \textit{mS\textsuperscript{e}}, see Wente 1967, p. 37, n. v.
\textsuperscript{769} O. Cairo CG 25236. Outside the corpus, \textit{hnt} was mostly used to describe a journey in connection with a feast, for example, by a god. Wb III, p. 375.
\textsuperscript{770} P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso.

In the corpus, \textit{hdj} is generally represented as a verb of motion expressing travelling north (see subchapter 3.5). Two exceptions are: P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. I, 7) \textit{i\textit{j in ts\textit{iq n hdj m-dj hnt}} ‘Arrival by the vizier to go on his journey north’, translation by Helck 2002, p. 504 (Es kam der Vezir, um bei seiner Reise nach Norden zu fahren). See Wb III, p. 355 for the use of \textit{hdj} as a supplement to a verb of motion.
Examples:

P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V

This letter was sent by general Paiankh to the necropolis scribe Djehutymose. The letter is short and concerns some clothes the general wishes to have sent to him since he is going on an expedition:

(vso. 2–3): \( tw=k \ r^{h}.t \ w \ psy \ m\check{s} \ n\check{f} \ tw=i \ m \ n\check{f} \ r \ irj=f \) ‘You know about this journey which I am going to make.’

The verbal formation of the initial main clause is the first present written with a stative and followed by the first future. In this case \( m\check{s} \) might also be translated ‘campaign’ or ‘expedition’ since it is well known that Paiankh was on his way on a campaign south when he wrote this letter to Djehutymose, who was back home in Western Thebes at the time.

P. Florence 7125

This text is a fragment of a letter by an unknown sender to an unknown receiver concerning some deliveries and their payment. The sender of the letter also mentions a journey of his:

(vso. 4) \( i.\ irj(=i) \ ij \ wDj=i \) […] ‘That I came, my journey […]’

The verbal formation of \( i.\ irj(=i) \ ij \) is the subordinate relative clause, given that the suffix pronoun \( i \) is indeed to be added to \( i.\ irj \). \( Wdj \) is here used as a noun signifying the journey to be undertaken.

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771 Year 10 (?) of \( wHm\ ms.wt \) of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 20 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
772 The sender is \( ps \ imj-r \ m\check{s} \ n \ pr-rz \) ‘the general of Pharaoh’, but the title most likely refers to general Paiankh. Gregory 2013, p. 8.
773 For the use of \( n\check{f} \) here, see Wente 1967, p. 53, n. d.
775 For the first future, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 339; see also Loprieno 1995, p. 94.
776 For the location of the sender and the receiver of this letter, see Wente 1967, p. 16.
777 20th dynasty, see Botti 1964, p. 223.
778 Translation by the author.
779 Another possibility would be the emphatic form, taken that an adverbial phrase is to be added in the lacuna after \( wdj-i \). For the emphatic form, see Černý and Groll 1993, p. 366.
4.1.3 Illness and danger

The physical aspects of travelling were considered dangerous in ancient Egypt, with cataracts and deserts to be crossed, and the fear of diseases and bad weather always present.\textsuperscript{780} I have from the corpus selected two words for this discussion on illness and danger: mr\textsuperscript{781} and htj.\textsuperscript{782}

*Mr* both has a verbal function signifying to be ill and a nominal function signifying illness. In the corpus of this study, *mr* is used both as a verb and as a noun. It is the word most often used in non-literate Deir el-Medina texts to record someone being absent from work due to illness.\textsuperscript{783} According to Jac. J. Janssen, it occurs nearly a hundred times.\textsuperscript{784} It is also used to express someone being ill while away on a journey. *Mr*, with this later signification, is attested in four corpus texts.\textsuperscript{785} These four letters were all sent by Djehutymose or Butehamun and one might therefore tentatively suggest that the references to illness should maybe be regarded as a feature of their letter writing, i.e. functioning as expressions for being worried or anxious, rather than descriptions of an actual physical illness.\textsuperscript{786}

*Htj* is here discussed in its usage to express fear of someone away from the home environment being in danger.\textsuperscript{787} It is as such found in four of the corpus

\begin{footnotes}
\item[780] Köpp 2013, p. 10.
\item[781] Wb II, pp. 95–96.
\item[782] In Wb (III, p. 182) the sense ‘danger’ for *htj* is not recognized, but see Gardiner 1956, p. 20; Hannig 1997, p. 566.
\item[783] Other nouns used in non-literate Deir el-Medina texts signifying illness are, for example, *psH* (Wb II, p. 550) and *šnw* (Wb III, p. 495). According to Janssen (1980a, pp. 136–137), non-literate Deir el-Medina texts include several references to persons being absent from work due to an accident when someone was stung (*psH*) by a scorpion. *Šnw* was, for example, used when expressing absence from work due to a specific illness, in Janssen (1980a, p. 136) because of an eye disease (*šn i rt-f*) in O. BM EA 5634 (vso. 1; vso. 19).
\item[784] Janssen 1980a, p. 135. The Deir el-Medina Database gives 99 hits with the keyword “illness”.
\item[785] P. BM EA 10326; P. Geneva D 407; P. Leiden I 369; P. Leiden I 370.
\item[786] See Sweeney (1998) for other examples of affectionate correspondence in Egyptian, especially pp. 358–360 for the correspondence between Djehutymose and his family.
\item[787] For the translation of *htj* as danger, see Gardiner 1956, p. 20; see also Wente 1967, p. 47, n. b.
\end{footnotes}
texts. In this use *ḥtj* is found in formulaic expressions in letters. More specifically, *ḥtj* is found in formulaic expressions that are part of prayers addressed to one or several gods, where the god/s was asked to save the person away from home from all dangers in the foreign lands where the recipient of the letter was travelling.

In these above-specified contexts, *mr* and *ḥtj* occur together in eight corpus texts. All eight texts are letters written on papyrus and dated to the reign of Ramesses XI, and they are all part of the Late Ramesside Letters. In order to exemplify the usage of *mr* signifying illness or being ill while away from home, and *ḥtj* signifying danger while away on a journey, two examples extracted from the corpus are presented below. The second example is a response to the first example and the texts are therefore on this occasion not in alphabetical order.

**Examples:**

P. Leiden I 3697

This letter was sent by Djehutymose while away on a journey to Middle Egypt, to the two foremen Bakenmut and Amenhotep, and to other members of the crew back home at Deir el-Medina. After the introductory formula and blessing at the beginning of the letter, the actual message or core of the letter follows. In this particular letter the main message is a request for the people back home to pray to

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788 P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10417; P. Turin Cat. 1971.
789 See subchapter 3.11 for a short introduction to formulaic expressions in letters, and a selection of formulaic expressions offering perspectives on mobility of interest for this study.
790 These blessings and petitions to the gods are part of what Bakir names the complimentary preamble in New Kingdom letters. Bakir 1970, p. 55.
791 *ḥtj nb nj j mp z ḥtj nj tj tw-k* ‘all danger which is in the land above in which you are’. See, for example, Wente 1967, pp. 50, 76; Janssen 1991a, p. 12; see also Hannig 1997, p. 566.
792 Year 6 of *wḥm ms.wt* of Ramesses XI or later, see letter no. 1 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
793 See, for example, Wente 1967, p. 6.
794 Bakenmut (i) in Davies 1999, chart 7.
795 Amenhotep (iii) in Davies 1999, charts 16 and 18. The name in this letter is partly destroyed. See Černý (2004, p. 311, n. 4) for the reading of this name as Amenhotep.
Amun for Djehutymose’s safe return, since he has been ill\(^796\) while travelling to the north:\(^797\)

\[
\text{(vso. 3) } j\text{s } \text{wn(=i) } m\text{r=k(wi) m-dj } \text{ph-i m } \text{hdj} \text{ ‘Indeed I have been ill since I went to the north.’}^{798}
\]

P. BM EA 10417\(^799\)

This letter is a response to the letter above (P. Leiden I 369) and it was sent by Amenhotep,\(^800\) the prophet of Amun, to Djehutymose, who was still away on his journey to Middle Egypt.\(^801\) Amenhotep was letting Djehutymose know that he had been praying to the god Amun, and that Amun would save Djehutymose from the dangers of the journey:

\[
\text{(vso. 2) } [\text{htj] stn iw } \text{šdī imn nst-tswj ‘[Danger] removed, Amun of the } \text{thrones of the two lands having saved (you).’}^{802}
\]

### 4.2 Geographical places outside Deir el-Medina

When studying non-literary texts stemming from Deir el-Medina one is confronted with a large variety of place names. These place names refer to locations from a vast geographical area, spanning from places outside Egypt to buildings and constructions in the nearby surroundings of the village.\(^803\) In this

\(^{796}\) See, for example, Černý 2004, p. 378.

\(^{797}\) In this sentence Djehutymose used the information (i.e. that he had been ill) to explain his reason for making a certain request (i.e. asking the people back home to pray to Amun for his safe return). Sweeney 2001, p. 163.

\(^{798}\) Translation by Černý and Groll 1993, p. 301; see also Wente 1967, p. 18.

\(^{799}\) Year 6 of \text{wHm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI or later, see letter no. 14 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

\(^{800}\) For the sender of this letter as the prophet Amenhotep (possibly in collaboration with Butehamun), see Sweeney 1994, pp. 306–308.

\(^{801}\) Wente 1967, p. 6.

\(^{802}\) Translation by Wente 1967, pp. 46–47. On p. 47, n. c Wente points out that the translation of \text{stn} as ‘removed’ is purely conjectural; see also Černý and Groll 1993, p. 328.

\(^{803}\) Ancient names for temples and other areas in Thebes were studied by Otto (1952), and his work was reviewed by Nims (1955). See Haring (1997, pp. 20–29) for the royal memorial temples in Western Thebes, and Thomas (1966) for the royal necropolis of Thebes. Further, both Ventura (1986) and Černý (2004) discuss several of the place names connected to the
chapter on geographical places outside Deir el-Medina I will give a brief overview of the names used for places of interest for this study. The intention is to have a look at where the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina went when leaving the village area, and from where people from the outside came when visiting the village. This short overview is thereby by no means a full discussion of all place names mentioned in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts.804

4.2.1 Western Thebes

When leaving the village area and going to a place in the close vicinity within the Theban necropolis or on the West Bank of Thebes, the workmen went, for example, to the royal memorial temples,805 to the Valley of the Kings (\textit{spt} ‘great field’, or abbreviated \textit{spt} ‘field’),806 to the Valley of the Queens (\textit{st nfr}

workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina and Černý (1973) the Valley of the Kings; see also Burkard 2010.

804 For example, references to places from where grain was sent to the necropolis are omitted in this discussion (unless the text specifically mentions someone connected to the workmen’s community going to collect the grain), as are place names included in personal titles, names of buildings, and in epithets of gods and goddesses.

Sari Nieminen (University of Helsinki) is preparing a doctoral thesis on the place names of Western Thebes, as they occur in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. I refer to her upcoming work for a more detailed discussion.

805 The Egyptian term for the royal memorial temples in Western Thebes was in non-literary texts \textit{hwt nt hh m rnp.wt} ‘temple of millions of years’. These memorial temples were, even in their shortened name form, also referred to as \textit{hwt}. Haring 1997, pp. 21, 29.

References to someone from the village departing to Ramesseum are few in the Deir el-Medina administrative material. One might tentatively suggest that someone going to Ramesseum was such a frequent event that it was not considered important enough to be recorded in the administrative documentation of the necropolis.

806 See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto: O. Ashmolean Museum 221; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + Vienna H. 4; O. Berlin P 14251; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25630; O. Cairo CG 25803; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 148; O. IFAO 883; O. IFAO 1357; O. Turin N. 57031. Additionally, several other non-literary Deir el-Medina texts mention the Valley of the Kings, but without including an aspect of mobility, see the Deir-el-Medina Database.

The abbreviated form \textit{spt} was also used when referring to the countryside. With countryside was supposedly meant the cultivated area where some of the villagers kept animals and farmed land, see, for example, McDowell 1992. The reader of non-literary Deir el-Medina
‘place of beauty’), or to Deir el-Bahri (dsrt ‘desert’). The Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens were located in valleys and non-literary Deir el-Medina texts also include references to ts int (‘the valley’) and rš n ts int (‘the entrance of the valley’). However, since the Valley of the Kings was the main and most important workplace for the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, one may presume that ts int generally referred to the Valley of the Kings. The places listed above were, as well as the village itself (wht, dmjt), part of the Theban necropolis. The wider Theban necropolis as a unity was generally referred to as imntt njwt (‘West of the city’) or imntt wṣst (‘West of Waset’) in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. When describing someone leaving or arriving at the village, the walls/guard posts (ts inbt, pl. ns ḫm.št) surrounding the village area were occasionally used as a point of reference. The areas and buildings included in texts must therefore determine which place is meant from the context of the text, see Černý 2004, pp. 90–91. For an example extracted from the corpus of the use of sḥt for ‘countryside’, see pp. 77–78, example P. Turin Cat. 1979.

See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1923 + 2073 + 2082 + 2083; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; O. Berlin P 14251; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067. In addition, several other non-literary Deir el-Medina texts mention the Valley of the Queens, but without including an aspect of mobility, see the Deir el-Medina Database.

See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1971; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 221; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25746; O. IFAO 1357; O. Turin N. 57006; O. UC 39661. Additionally, several other non-literary Deir el-Medina texts mention Deir el-Bahri, but without including an aspect of mobility, see the Deir el-Medina Database.

Černý 2004, pp. 92–94. See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1923 + 2073 + 2082 + 2083; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. IFAO 1357.

Černý 2004, p. 87; Hannig 1997, p. 1304. See, for example, (references with imntt njwt and wṣst incorporated in titles and names of temples are not included) P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto (the reading of imntt is uncertain); P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091 (the reading of njwt is uncertain); P. UC 34336; O. Cairo CG 25254.

See, for example, P. Berlin P 23300b recto; P. Turin 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; O. Ashmolean Museum 64; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25831; O. DeM 36; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 571; O. IFAO 288; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Qurna 49171/17/82.

Contrary to the information given in the Deir el-Medina Database, the passing undertaken in O. Cairo CG 25302 (rto. I, 4) was not by the walls/guard posts.

O. KVO 16/O Cairo JE 71482 (Abdel Samie 2009, pp. 74–76) has one line of text: [ṣḥt] m ḫm ‘[from] the enclosure on’, but it is not possible to state what kind of enclosure was here
the Theban necropolis were well known to the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, and visiting them was generally work-related.

When moving from the workmen’s village further east on the West Bank, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina went, for example, to the riverbank (mryt) by the Nile. A marketplace was probably situated there and some texts also mention the workmen having “huts” by the riverbank. Furthermore, people from Deir el-Medina were taken to the riverbank to be interrogated. On these occasions the verb itš (‘take’) was usually used, indicating that the people brought for interrogation did not necessarily go to the riverbank voluntarily.

referred to. Since the text stems from the Valley of the Kings one might suggest that it is not the walls/guard posts usually connected to the village of Deir el-Medina itself. See, however, Dorn (2009) for a recent suggestion of the location of the 5 walls/guard posts. P. Berlin P 23300a recto mentions some chief of police inspecting the walls/guard posts. The papyrus is dated to the reign of Merenptah and it thus includes one of the first references to the walls/guard posts. Fischer-Elfert 2012, pp. 51–55, Tafel 1.

The expression sš/snj ts inbt (‘passing the wall/guard post’) was also used to express the workmen striking or demonstrating. On these occasions they left the village in order to demonstrate at the administrative centre of the necropolis. For strikes among the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Eyre 2012, pp. 120–122; Häggman 2002, pp. 160–175; Vernus 2003, pp. 50–69. For examples of someone passing the walls/guard posts and leaving the village, see sections 3.7.1, 5.1.1.4, and 5.1.2.7.

See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2044; O. Ashmolean Museum 197; O. BM EA 5637; O. BM EA 65930; O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E; O. Cairo CG 25237; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 284; O. DeM 324; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 569; O. DeM 571; O. DeM 943; O. DeM 10195; O. Geneva MAH 12550; O. Qurna 691//17/82; O. Turin N. 57556. Additionally, several other non-literary Deir el-Medina texts mention the riverbank, but without including an aspect of mobility, see the Deir el-Medina Database.

Černý 2004, pp. 94–97; Eyre 1998, p. 177; Janssen 1980b. Ventura (1980, pp. 79–82) proposes that the term mryt was used for the whole cultivated area on the West Bank of Thebes, including the area where the mortuary temples were located, and that mryt became almost synonymous with bnr. But in view of the discussions by Černý and Janssen it seems more probable that mryt was in general used in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts when referring to the marketplace by the Nile.

Demarée 2006b.

McDowell 1990, pp. 219–223. A st smtr (‘place of examination’) was in all likelihood located on the riverbank and presumably the interrogation took place in that building. McDowell 1990, p. 220.

See, for example, O. BM EA 65930; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 284; O. DeM 427; O. Geneva MAH 12550; O. Turin N. 57556.

For examples extracted from the corpus of someone arriving at or going/being taken to the riverbank, see section 3.1.2, examples O. Ashmolean Museum 197 and O. DeM 943; section
When looking from the village of Deir el-Medina to the west people were confronted by the large mountains stretching along the Nile valley. In non-literary Deir el-Medina texts these mountains were generally referred to as $p\partial \text{ dw}$ (‘mountain’, pl. $n\partial \text{ dw}.w$).\footnote{Černý 2004, p. 97. In addition $\text{ dw}$ was also used in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts in the clause $n\partial \text{ dw}.w \ t\text{ nj tw-k}$ ‘the hills in which you are’. This clause is preceded by a mention of gods or/goddesses referred to as having made the mountains where the person away from home is. The clause is part of the introductory formula in the Late Ramesside Letters. In the corpus the clause $n\partial \text{ dw}.w \ t\text{ nj tw-k}$ occurs in three letters: P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.AJ.46 no. 1; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1973.}

\subsection*{4.2.2 Eastern Thebes}

From the riverbank on the West Bank of Thebes the next step when going further east was crossing the Nile and going to Eastern Thebes, where the city ($n\text{jwt}$) was located.\footnote{See, for example, P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237; P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 10300; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 75015; P. BM EA 75018; P. BM EA 75020; P. BM EA 75025; P. Geneva D 407; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 recto; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (the reading of $n\text{jwt}$ is uncertain due to the text being damaged); P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1950 + 4017; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2065; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2087 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. Cairo CG 25236; O. Cairo CG 25766 (possibly literary; on a royal butler (?) named Bay visiting Thebes, see Černý 1966, p. 37; Schneider 2003c, p. 137); O. DeM 114; O. DeM 440; O. DeM 10061; O. Edgerton 14. Additionally, the reading of $\text{inm}t\text{t njwt}$ on P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 (rto. V, 6) is uncertain and a reading of the passage without $\text{inm}t\text{t}$ as just $n\text{jwt}$ is also possible, see the Deir el-Medina Database.} Thebes is additionally on at least one occasion referred to in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts as the southern city ($n\text{jwt rsj}$).\footnote{O. Cairo CG 25560. For $n\text{jwt rsj}$ as Thebes, see Hannig 1997, p. 1352.} References to people crossing the Nile and going to the East Bank were in the Deir el-Medina
non-literary texts in general constructed by using the verb *ḍāj* (‘to cross’).  

During the Ramesside period the office of the vizier of Upper Egypt was, at least most of the time, stationed in Eastern Thebes, while some documents seem to indicate that the office of the vizier of Upper Egypt during the 18th dynasty was located in Western Thebes. The reasons for people going from Deir el-Medina to Eastern Thebes, as given in the corpus references, are generally work-related. The person/s went there in order to undertake work for the office of the vizier, for example woodwork or other forms of smaller construction work.

### 4.2.3 Outside Thebes

When travelling south- or northwards from Thebes, geographical places named in the non-literary Deir el-Medina texts in the corpus include places as far south as Kush (*kš, kšš*) and as far north as Memphis (*ḥwt-kš-pth, mn-nfr*). The general directions *rṣj* (‘south’) and *ḥdj* (‘north’) are perhaps the most frequently used.

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821 For an example of someone crossing the Nile and going to Eastern Thebes, see section 3.7.1, example P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085.

822 During at least some periods of the New Kingdom the vizierate was divided into one vizier for Lower and one for Upper Egypt. The first was stationed at Memphis and the latter at Thebes. van den Boorn 1988, p. 335.

823 Häggman 2002, pp. 120–121.

824 See, for example, P. Berlin P 10494; P. BM EA 10375; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105; O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. DeM 114; O. DeM 10061.

825 For the Egyptian place names and their modern equivalents I have followed the terms used in Hannig 1997, Toponyme.

826 Hannig 1997, p. 1397. See, for example, P. DeM 27 for someone being sent to Kush; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto for a soldier from Kush; O. Cairo CG 25289 for the vice-king of Kush arriving.

827 Hannig 1997, pp. 1345, 1368. See, for example, P. München ÄS 818 for a woman travelling to Memphis (*mn-nfr*); O. DeM 418 for the carpenter *ms3.n.i-nht-f* arriving at Memphis (*ḥwt*); O. BM EA 5631 for someone being in Memphis (*ḥwt-kš-pth*).
words for indicating the direction of someone travelling to a place south\textsuperscript{828} alternatively north\textsuperscript{829} of Thebes. \textit{Rsj} and \textit{hdj} were, however, also used when referring to a journey made by someone from Thebes who was returning back home\textsuperscript{830} or when referring to someone from the outside travelling to Thebes. For example, references to the vizier arriving at Western Thebes and subsequently going back north are found in several texts.\textsuperscript{831} One must therefore bear in mind that the geographical point of reference when referring to the north or to the south was the location of the writer or sender of the text.

When going southwards from Thebes the following places are, for example, mentioned in the corpus texts: \textit{sbw} (Elephantine),\textsuperscript{832} \textit{jwnj} (Armant),\textsuperscript{833} \textit{jwnyt}\textsuperscript{828} References to someone going to, arriving at, or returning from the south using the noun \textit{rsj} are found in, for example, P. BM EA 10100; P. BM EA 10417; P. Geneva D 407; P. Rifaud D; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1978; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin CGT 54100; P. Turin PN 109. In addition, references to ts \textit{rsj} (‘south land’, for Nubia) are found in P. BM EA 10375 and P. BM EA 10412.

\textsuperscript{829} References to someone going to, arriving at, or returning from the north using \textit{xdj} (for the verb of motion \textit{xdj}, see subchapter 3.5) are found in, for example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Florence 7125; P. Leiden I 369; P. Turin [unnumbered 5]; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974; P. Turin Cat. 1978; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin CGT 54100; O. DeM 114; O. DeM 324. O. Ashmolean Museum 70 (vso. 9) refers to nz šw.w n pr-\textit{rsj} ‘the shades of Pharaoh which are in the north’.

Further, references to \textit{m Hawth} or \textit{tp mHtj} (‘northern region’) are in P. Geneva D 191; P. Leiden I 370; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; and one reference to ts-m\textit{hw} (‘lower Egypt’ or ‘northern country’, Černý 1966, p. 37) is in O. Cairo CG 25766 (possibly literary).

\textsuperscript{830} See, for example, P. BM EA 75015; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071.

\textsuperscript{831} See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; O. Berlin P 12654; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Louvre E 27677; O. Turin 57055.

\textsuperscript{832} Hannig 1997, p. 1293. P. DeM 27 (vso. 10) mentions someone being afraid of being sent to the quarry in Elephantine. On P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 6; rto. 8) the necropolis scribe Djehutymose mentioned that he had arrived in Elephantine, and on P. Turin Cat. 1973 he told the receiver of the letter that he had left Elephantine (rto. 7) and about men who will come from Elephantine (rto. 13). In addition, on O. Cairo prov. no. 175 (rto. 3) an arrival at a place named pr-\textit{sb} is referred to, possibly also pointing to Elephantine.

\textsuperscript{833} Hannig 1997, p. 1301. P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. I, 12) mentions people from Deir el-Medina bringing poles from Armant.

Katary (2000, p. 177) discusses textual references in O. Strasbourg H. 106 indicating that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina possessed arable land in Armant; see also McDowell 1992, p. 197.
When going from Thebes to the north the following places, among others, are found in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts: *jwnw* (Heliopolis), *pr-dsdš* (Abu Tisht), *hwt-ks-pth* and *mn-nfr* (Memphis), *špt* (Wadi Natrun), and *dw-dšr* (Gebel al-Ahmar). Among the corpus texts there are only a few references to places beyond the homeland *kmt*, but at least one example is

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834 Hannig 1997, p. 1301. P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (rto. III, 10; rto. II, 11; rto. IV, 2) has references to the necropolis scribe Djehutymose going to Esna in order to collect grain for the necropolis administration.

835 Hannig 1997, p. 1307. P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (rto. II, 13) mentions the *smdt* staff going to Gebelein (written *iw-jtw*) in order to bring some wood, and P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 has several references to the necropolis scribe Djehutymose going to Gebelein in order to collect grain for the necropolis administration.

836 Hannig 1997, p. 1322. P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (rto. II, 8) mentions the necropolis scribe Djehutymose going to the town of Ogeni in order to collect grain.

837 For examples of references to Kush, see above n. 826.


839 In addition, accounts stemming from Deir el-Medina occasionally include lists of places from where grain and other necessities have been delivered. See, for example, O. DeM 585 + 830, where the following readable toponyms are listed: *črrnw* (Oren; Hannig 1997, p. 1321), *hmw-nfrw* (Chenu-nefer; Hannig 1997, p. 1374), *shndt-ts* (Shendet-ta; Hannig 1997, p. 1389), *tš wštt ktrj* (the village Keri; Hannig 1997, p. 1328), and *qbn* (Qebehu; Hannig 1997, p. 1391).

840 Hannig 1997, p. 1301. O. Berlin P 12284 (rto. 4) includes a reference to someone or something in Heliopolis.

841 Hannig 1997, p. 1340. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, II is a list of named men who have been appointed cultivators of the new land of *pr-dsdš*.

842 For examples of references to Memphis, see above n. 827.

843 Hannig 1997, p. 1390. P. Turin [unnumbered 5] (rto. 10) mentions an anonymous *irj n mhdw* who is in *špt*.

844 Hannig 1997, p. 1409. The accounts O. Ashmolean Museum 42 and O. DeM 10022 refer to Gebel al-Ahmar as a place where work has been done and provisions have been brought from.

845 Hannig 1997, p. 1395. For references to *kmt* see, for example, P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 10411; P. Turin Cat. 1928 + 1963 + 2051; P. Turin Cat. 2026; O. IFAO 858; O. Prague 1826.

As P. Turin Cat. 1928 + 1963 + 2051 is unpublished, its inclusion in this group of texts is solely based on the information given in the Deir el-Medina Database.
found in the letter O. Vienna H. 9 (rto. 1), where a goat from $t\text{n}k$ (Tell Taanak)\textsuperscript{846} in Syro-Palestine is mentioned.

In addition to these geographical place names, the corpus also includes references to more unfamiliar place names\textsuperscript{847} and place names used figuratively for presumably fictional places.\textsuperscript{848}

### 4.3 Relations with persons from outside Deir el-Medina

In this subchapter a selected group of persons from outside Deir el-Medina entering or visiting the workmen’s community is discussed. The terminology used to describe relations with persons with administrative functions visiting the necropolis, as well as relations with various groups of people not connected to the administration are discussed in a brief and general manner. The first section (4.3.1) focuses on titles used when referring to relations with people connected to the administration of the Theban necropolis. These persons presumably entered the necropolis due to work-related issues. In the second section (4.3.2) nouns used when referring to people not connected to the administration of the Theban necropolis are discussed. Reasons for the latter group to enter the necropolis area are varied – from hostile raids to trade. Generally, persons belonging to the group of administrators were referred to by their personal name in connection with a title. Persons belonging to the second group were referred to in a similar manner, but in addition also anonymously as a group without the personal names being written out.

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\textsuperscript{846} Hannig 1997, p. 1401.

\textsuperscript{847} For example, $p3\text{-hs-dz-}[-\text{mhtj}]$ (Pahadja[... mehcy]) in P. Turin Cat. 2026 (rto. 19); $pr\text{-nbt}$ (Per-nebyt) in P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. II, 9; vso. II, 11; maybe Kom Ombo, see Hannig 1997, p. 1353 for $Nbyt$); $ns\text{-pr-jmw}$ (Na-imu) in P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (rto. IV, 9; rto. V, 2, see Hannig 1997, p. 1351); $ts\text{ jst sswe}$ (country of shashu-nomads) in O. Glasgow D. 1925.84 (vso. 3); $swmnw$ (Sumenu) in P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (vso. III, 1) and P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091 (rto. 1); $k\text{ht tb-nfr}$ (land of Tjebnefer) in P. Florence 7125 (vso. 3–4).

\textsuperscript{848} Wente (1967, p. 19, n. i) suggests that $y\text{r}$ in P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV (rto. 6); P. BM EA 10326 (rto. 5); P. Turin Cat. 1973 (vso. 2), and $y\text{r nsmhj}$ in P. Leiden I 369 (rto. 10) were used figuratively to mean “a hellhole”.

133
4.3.1 Relations with persons connected to the administration

In order to discuss expressions for relations with persons regularly visiting the necropolis area for administrative or work-related reasons, I have selected seven titles from the corpus of this study: 849 wb (‘butler’ or wb-nswt ‘royal butler’), 850 wpwtj (‘messenger’), 851 mdšj (‘police’, and hrj-mdšj ‘chief of police’), 852 rwḏw (‘administrator’), 853 sr (‘official’), 854 imj-r njwt ẓstj (‘city governor and vizier’) or only ẓstj (‘vizier’), 855 and šmsw (‘messenger’). 856

849 I have selected these seven titles specifically as they give a representative overview of persons from different hierarchical levels within the administration more or less regularly entering the village area. Other titles of persons referred to as visiting due to administrative or work-related reasons, but not discussed here, are, for example, ṣpv (‘official’); imj-r pr-hd (‘overseer of the treasury’); imj-r msʾ (‘army officer’); wḥ n msʾt (‘wḥ-priest of Maat’); hm-ntr (‘prophet’ or ‘priest’, and hm-ntr tpj ‘high priest’); hrj-qdw n pr imn (‘chief builder of the House of Amun’); swnw (‘doctor’); šš-wḏhw (‘altar scribe’); šš n tmš (‘scribe of mat’, see Haring 2000); šš-nswt (‘royal scribe’); šš-spt (‘scribe of the province’). In addition, there is at least one reference to a visit by the king to Western Thebes (O. Cairo CG 25560), and one by the viceroy of Kush (O. Cairo CG 25289).

Visits by the smdt staff are also not included in this discussion. For a study on the smdt staff, see, for example, Häggman 2002, pp. 94–106; Černý 2004, pp. 183–190. As examples of references to persons from the smdt staff having entered the village area, see, for example, the arrival by a fisherman (wHa) in O. Turin N. 57169; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085.

850 For wb, see Wb I, p. 292; for nswt, see Wb II, p. 326. For the duties of the wb-nswt during the reign of Ramesses III, see Higginbotham 2012, pp. 80–81.

851 Wpwtj may be used to describe messengers within Egypt, to foreign countries or from foreign countries. Wb I, p. 304. Here are, however, only included references where wpwtj is used for messengers delivering messages within Egypt.

852 Mdšj was used for a person undertaking the tasks of the police and security guards in the Theban necropolis. Wb II, p. 186; Eyre 2012, p. 116. Some of the policemen are also known to have been delivering messages and administrative documents to and from the workmen’s community. For the tasks of the mdšj of the Theban necropolis, see Černý 2004, pp. 277–280. For hrj (‘chief’), see Wb III, pp. 141–142.

853 Wb II, p. 413; see also Černý 2004, pp. 255–259. For the rwḏw.w n bnr, most likely from the vizier’s office in Eastern Thebes, regularly visiting the necropolis area, see Häggenman 2002, pp. 69–70.

854 Wb IV, pp. 188–189.

855 For ẓstj, see Wb V, p. 343. Imj-r njwt (‘city governor’) is a twin-title of ẓstj going back to the Old Kingdom. van der Boorn 1988, p. 17.

856 Wb IV, pp. 485–486 translates šmsw as servant (‘Diener’) or follower (‘Gefolgsmann’). During the Ramesside period, however, šmsw was also used to describe persons delivering documents, i.e. a messenger. See, for example, Černý 1947, p. 57.
Wpwtj, mḥṣj, and šmsw occur in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts, for instance when stating the status of a person bringing documents (and at times also other deliveries) to the Theban necropolis. In the corpus, these three nouns occur mainly in papyri texts from the mid or late 20th dynasty, and in ostraca texts from throughout the Ramesside period.

A commonly used preposition when describing a document being brought by a person functioning as a messenger is the preposition m-dj ('through'). Occasionally, it is thus possible to conclude that a messenger had arrived at the necropolis area, merely by examining the use of this preposition in connection with a personal name in the textual material. An example of the usage of m-dj

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857 References to a wpwtj, mḥṣj, or šmsw delivering a document or entering or leaving the necropolis area for various other reasons occur, for example, in P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. BM EA 75020; P. BM EA 75021; P. DeM 8 verso; P. Geneva D 187; P. Geneva D 192; P. Geneva D 407; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091; P. Turin CGT 54100 (the reading of wpwtj is uncertain); O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 293; O. Cairo CG 25237; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25713; O. Cairo CG 25724; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 677; O. DeM 10023; O. Turin N. 57058.

858 With two exceptions: P. Turin Cat. 1880 (year 29–30 of Ramesses III); P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949 (year 32 of Ramesses III and year 1 of Ramesses IV).

859 However, note that four texts are lacking an attributed date: O. Ashmolean Museum 293; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25724; O. DeM 10023.

860 Written either m-dj or m-dr. Wb II, pp. 176–177.

861 References to a personal name connected to the preposition m-dj delivering a document occur, for example, in P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10417; P. BM EA 75020; P. Geneva D 192; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974.

862 For example, documents are said to having been brought through the šrḏn ḫr (‘Sherden Hori’) in, for example, P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375. Šrḏn was a name for a Mediterranean people (Wb IV, p. 529), but Wente (1967, pp. 38, 60, 83) translates šrḏn as ‘Sherden’. For a recent discussion on ‘Sherden’ in Egypt, see Emanuel 2013.

Further, at least two of the Late Ramesside Letters are referred to as having been sent through a person named Akhmenu: P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. BM EA 10411.
to describe someone bringing a document to the necropolis is found in P. BM EA 75020.

Example:

P. BM EA 75020

This letter was probably sent by the prophet Amenhotep but written by Butehamun, and the receiver was the necropolis scribe Djehutymose. On the last line it is stated:

(vso. 8–9) iw=i hzb r rdjt ḍmz-tm m-dj mḏsj ḫd-nḥt n pż ḫr ‘I am writing to let you know through the policeman Hadnakhte of the necropolis.’

This policeman Hadnakhte is known to have acted as a messenger delivering several of the letters sent between Djehutymose and Butehamun, but also letters by other persons. Even though Hadnakhte was not explicitly referred to as a messenger (wpwtj or šmsw) he was referred to as undertaking the task of a messenger through the use of the preposition m-dj.

The title imḏ-r ṣjṯj (or ṣṭj) occurs in both papyri and ostraca texts from throughout the Ramesside period when referring to the vizier arriving at the necropolis for various work-related reasons. The most common reason for the visit was to inspect the progress of the construction work on the royal tombs.

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863 Late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, p. 21.
864 Butehamun is referred to by name on recto 7 and 12 and was thus probably not the sender, but the handwriting and the style of the letter indicate that he wrote the letter. Since two other letters belonging to the corpus of the Late Ramesside Letters (P. BM EA 10417; P. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 83.Al.46 no. 1) were written by Butehamun, but sent by the prophet Amenhotep, Demarée suggests that this would also be the case with P. BM EA 75020. Demarée 2006a, p. 21. See Sweeney 1994 for a discussion of the authorship of P. BM EA 10417 and P. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 83.Al.46 no. 1.
865 Translation by Demarée 2006a, p. 20.
866 Demarée 2006a, pp. 23–24.
867 See n. 861.
868 See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2002; P. Turin Cat. 2065; P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105 (the reading of ṣṭj is uncertain); O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 118; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O.
Another known reason for the vizier to visit the necropolis was the celebration of festivities.\textsuperscript{869} Visits by the vizier were important events and as a result thereof conscientiously noted in the administrative records of the necropolis.\textsuperscript{870} The arrival and departure of the vizier was generally noted first in the document, directly after the dating of the entry in the necropolis journal.\textsuperscript{871}

Other administrative personnel regularly visiting the necropolis area for work-related reasons were \textit{wb\textbar s(-nswt)}, \textit{rw\textbar dw},\textsuperscript{872} and \textit{sr}.\textsuperscript{873} These three forms of functionaries or administrators are mentioned in corpus texts dating from throughout the Ramesside period. Since both \textit{rw\textbar dw} and \textit{sr} were in general used to refer to a group of people, they were most often written in their plural form \textit{rw\textbar dw.w} and \textit{sr.w}. The royal butler (\textit{wb\textbar s-nswt}), who occasionally visited the necropolis, represented the ruler,\textsuperscript{874} as did the vizier. An example of the royal butler visiting the necropolis is found in O. DeM 46.
In this journal a wide range of various events are recorded, such as deliveries of commodities and extra rations of meat for the offerings for the festival of Opet. A visit to the necropolis by the royal butler is also recorded:

\[(\text{rto. II, 21–vso. 1}) \ [...] \ iw [spr] n-w pś wbḥ [Stḥj(\text{?})] \ ‘[...] then [came] to them the butler [Stḥj(\text{?})].\]\n
The reason for the visit by this butler\(^876\) was a letter written by the scribe Amennakht\(^878\) concerning a division of a group of people, presumably the crew.\(^879\)

4.3.2 Relations with persons not connected to the administration

The terminology used for designating a person or groups of people not connected to the administration of the Theban necropolis entering the necropolis area is rather diverse. From this group I have selected nine nouns that I regard as giving a good overview.\(^880\) They are here presented listed in alphabetical order and in the singular:\(^881\) s\(\text{r}\) (‘foreigner’),\(^882\) m\(\text{sωw}\) (‘Meshwesh’),\(^883\) rb (‘Libyan’),\(^884\) ḫ\(\text{r}\)
Persons occasionally visiting the workmen’s community for trade-related reasons were, for example, persons referred to as šwj (‘business agent’ or ‘merchant’). Some šwj were ambulatory and among business agents known to have been present in Thebes during the New Kingdom were persons from, for example, Faiyum and Elephantine. In non-literary Deir el-Medina texts a šwj is referred to in two letters dated to the late 20th dynasty, in one journal dated to the reign of Ramesses IX, and in one account dated to the reign of Ramesses IX.

The noun ‘foreigner’) is used to describe a person who, while not explicitly connected to the administration of the Theban necropolis, was interacting with the inhabitants of the workmen’s community. In non-literary texts these persons are most often found in expressions related to exchange or possession of some sort, for instance grain or land. Among the corpus texts the

883 Ms was the name of a Libyan tribe. Wb II, p. 157.
884 Wb II, p. 414.
885 Wb III, p. 232.
886 According to Wb (III, p. 236), there are also examples of the term hstjw being used for foreigners working in the necropolis. I have, however, not found any such reference in the corpus of this study.
887 Wb III, p. 325. Note, however, that the 19th-dynasty ruler Amenmesse was possibly also referred to as pš hrwj (‘the enemy’). Krauss 1976, pp. 184–187. See Osing 1979 for a reply to the article by Krauss.
888 Wb IV, p. 434. For the translation of šwj as ‘business agent’, see, for example, Demarée 2006a, p. 8. On merchants in ancient Egypt, see, for example, Allam 1998a; Allam 1998b; Bickel 1998; Römer 1992; Zingarelli 2003, pp. 600–601.
889 Wb V, p. 109.
890 Wb V, p. 604.
892 P. Berlin P 10460; P. BM EA 75015.
893 P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto.
894 P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 verso.
noun $\text{Aaa}$ only occur in papyri texts dated to the end of the 20th dynasty; in three letters,\(^{896}\) one account,\(^{897}\) and one list.\(^{898}\)

The third noun to be mentioned here is $\text{drdr}$ (‘stranger’). It is only used once in the corpus, in the undated oracle question O. IFAO 999:\(^{899}\) $\text{n rmt drdr}$ ‘Is it a stranger?’\(^{900}\)

In addition to $\text{Aaa}$, another noun for foreigner (or lit. ‘those of the desert’ or ‘desert people’) in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts is $\text{hstjw}$. Ben Haring has suggested that the people referred to as $\text{hstjw}$ did pose some form of threat or liability to the workmen’s community.\(^{901}\) He also regards it as likely that $\text{hstjw}$ was an earlier term for the Libyans that would later be called Meshwesh and Rebu.\(^{902}\) The Meshwesh were, however, mentioned in the Egyptian textual material as early in the New Kingdom as during the reign of Amenhotep III.\(^{903}\)

Among the corpus texts $\text{hstjw}$ only occurs in necropolis journals written on papyrus and dated to the reign of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI.\(^{904}\) Especially during the years 10–14 of Ramesses IX the presence of $\text{hstjw}$ was recorded in the necropolis journals. There are only a few known necropolis journals from the reign of Ramesses X and Ramesses XI,\(^{905}\) which might explain why fewer

\(^{896}\) P. BM EA 10326 (a letter given to the foreigner Seti has not been delivered); P. BM EA 75016 (someone is going to take the supply(?) of the foreigner); P. Bournemouth 17/1931 (the sender of this letter is ordering the receiver to look after the matter of the foreigner).

\(^{897}\) P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (listing foreign cultivators delivering grain to the necropolis).

\(^{898}\) P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, II (a landowner is referred to as being a foreigner).

\(^{899}\) The text is published in Černý 1972, p. 57.

\(^{900}\) Translation by Černý 1972, p. 57 (Est-ce un étranger?).

\(^{901}\) See, for example, Haring 1993, pp. 160 ff.

\(^{902}\) Haring 1992a, pp. 72, 78–79.

\(^{903}\) See, for example, Kitchen 1990, p. 16.

\(^{904}\) P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091.

The reason for $\text{hstjw}$ only occurring in texts dated to the late 20th dynasty has its natural reason in the growing presence of Libyans in Egypt at the end of the 20th dynasty. For Libyans in Egypt during the New Kingdom, see, for example, Kitchen 1990; for Libyans in Egypt in general, see, for example, Ritner 2009; Snape 2003; Vittmann 2003, pp. 1–20.

\(^{905}\) Haring 1992a, p. 72.
references to the presence of Astjw can be found from the last reigns of the 20th dynasty.

In, for example, the necropolis journal P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 inactivity among the crew is recorded due to the presence of Astjw.\(^906\) According to Ben Haring this could indicate that the workmen preferred to stay in the village instead of going to the construction site of the royal tomb when Astjw were reported to be in the vicinity.\(^907\) Just as the presence of Astjw was recorded, also the absence\(^908\) or the arrival\(^909\) of them was recorded in necropolis journals. Sofia Häggman, on the other hand, argues that there is no substantial evidence in the necropolis records indicating a hostile interaction between the Astjw and the workmen’s community.\(^910\) Häggman sees the presence of Astjw in Western Thebes rather as the result of a trade collaboration going back to the 18th dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III.\(^911\) Ben Haring also states that there does not seem to have been any conflict as a result of the presence of Astjw, and no reaction to it by the Egyptian authorities.\(^912\)

Pejorative references to persons not connected to the administration entering the necropolis area are, for example, made by using the noun hrwj (‘enemy’).\(^913\)

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\(^908\) iw mn Astjw. See, for example, P. Turin [unnumbered 1] (rto. 1; rto. 3); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vs. I, 2; vs. I, 6; vs. I, 8; vs. I, 9; vs. I, 10 (iw bn n3 Astjw); vs. I, 14).

\(^909\) The verb hAj ‘descend’ is used in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts to describe Astjw arriving at Western Thebes. See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091 (rto. 1; rto. 2; rto. 3; rto. 4; rto. 7; rto. 11; vs. F, 1).


\(^911\) Häggman 2002, pp. 295–300. A textual passage that possibly strengthens the argument made by Häggman of a collaboration relationship is found in P. Turin CGT 54021 (rto. I, 12) where the Astjw are given wheat together with other persons connected to the workmen’s community.

\(^912\) Haring 1992a, p. 77.

\(^913\) See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 2044 (inactivity because of the enemy and mentions of the arrival of the enemy); O. DeM 35 (mentions that the enemy has descended); O. DeM 153 (mentions that the enemy has descended, though the reading of hrwj is uncertain); O. DeM 319 (mentions the arrival of the enemy).
In a similar manner as in the discussion above on $\text{hstjw}$, inactivity among the workmen is recorded in necropolis journals due to the presence of $\text{hrwj}$, and $\text{hrwj}$ is referred to as having descended and arrived. As opposed to $\text{hstjw}$, which seems mainly to have been used for groups of people coming from Libya or the Western desert, the noun $\text{hrwj}$ does not seem to refer to persons from a certain geographical area. Rather, $\text{hrwj}$ was used for a broad range of people, who in one way or another were considered to be hostile or a threat.

The last group of nouns to be discussed in this section consists of names referring to groups of people stemming from specific tribes or geographical areas. The nouns are, in alphabetical order, $m\text{sws}$ for Meshwesh, $rb$ for Rebu, $\text{yr}$ for Syrian, and $k\text{s}$ for Kushites. Nubia, Syria, and Libya were the most important actors in Egypt’s contact with the outside world during the New Kingdom.

Meshwesh and Rebu were names of Libyan tribes. Additionally, in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts these two names, as well as $\text{hstjw}$, seem to have

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914 $\text{wsf r-hst p3 hrwj}$. See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. II, 4; vso. II, 8), a necropolis journal dated to the reign of Ramesses V or Ramesses VI.

915 $p3 hrwj hsj$. See, for example, O. DeM 35 (rto. 9–10); O. DeM 153 (rto. 17). Note, however, that the reading of $\text{hrwj}$ is uncertain in O. DeM 153. Both texts are necropolis journals dated to the reign of Ramesses III.

Haring suggests that the verb $\text{hsj}$ should possibly be read as ‘to approach’ rather than ‘to descend’. Haring 1992a, p. 74.

916 $p3 hrwj ij$. See, for example, O. DeM 319 (rto. 5), an account dated to the reign of Seti II.

917 Haring 1992a, pp. 71, 74.

918 See, however, Kitchen’s (1985) argument for also identifying $\text{hrwj}$ as Libyans.

919 See, for example, P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.Al.46 no. 1 (rto. 11), where the sender of the letter assures the receiver that he is not considered to be an enemy; P. Turin Cat. 1972 (vso. 4), where the sender of the letter is requesting to be brought back home alive from the enemy; O. DeM 886 (rto. 3), where the ruler of Egypt is said to have killed the great enemy Bay. O. DeM 886 is dated to year 5 of Siptah. During the reign of Siptah there was a chancellor named Bay (Černý 1966, p. 39; Schneider 2003c). KV 13 was constructed for him and the tomb is one of the rare non-royal tombs that was cut in the Valley of the Kings during the 19th dynasty. Černý 1973, p. 4. There seems to have been a conflict leading to the execution of Bay in year 5. Schneider 2003c, pp. 143–146.

920 Snape 2003, p. 93.

921 As these names for Libyans appeared during the New Kingdom, the traditional term used for Libyans in the Egyptian textual material ($\text{thnw}$) is, presumably as a result thereof, not
been used when referring to Libyans in general, as Ben Haring has shown.\textsuperscript{922} Meshwesh or Rebu are mentioned in nine of the texts included in the corpus. These texts are all letters or journals written on papyrus, with the letters dated to the reign of Ramesses XI\textsuperscript{923} and the necropolis journals to years 8–15 of Ramesses IX.\textsuperscript{924} The necropolis journals include records of inactivity among the workmen due to the presence of Rebu or Meshwesh.\textsuperscript{925} Additionally, the Meshwesh are reported as having descended and arrived\textsuperscript{926} and the absence of Rebu in Thebes is also recorded in one journal.\textsuperscript{927}

Meshwesh are mentioned in three of the Late Ramesside Letters. In a letter sent by Djehutynose from Western Thebes to the deputy Hori in Eastern Thebes, Djehutynose wrote that an arrival of the Meshwesh here (i.e. in Western Thebes) is not yet known.\textsuperscript{928} In another letter sent by general Paiankh to Djehutynose, the sender gives an order that the bread rations of the Meshwesh for some unknown reason shall not be handed out.\textsuperscript{929} The last of the Late Ramesside Letters where Meshwesh are mentioned was probably also sent by general Paiankh.\textsuperscript{930} In the

\begin{itemize}
\item present in Deir el-Medina non-literary texts. See, for example, Haring 1992a, p. 71. For \textit{štsw} in the Late New Kingdom, see O’Connor 1990.
\item Haring 1992a, p. 80.
\item P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, I; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302.
\item P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 recto; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091.
\item As already stated above in the discussion of \textit{ḫstjw}, the frequent references to Libyans in necropolis journals during the reign of Ramesses IX in contrast with the lack of references to Libyans during the reigns of his successors, Ramesses X and Ramesses XI, can be explained by the few known journals from the very end of the 20th dynasty.
\item P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (vso. I, 13; vso. I, 14; vso. I, 15); P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091 (vso. I).
\item P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 (rto. II, 9); P. Turin [unnumbered 1] (rto. 4); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (vso. I, 16 \textit{mšwšt njwt}); P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091.
\item P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. I, 16; vso. I, 17).
\item \textit{bw ḫstjw} pḫ n ns mšwšt.w r mšš. P. Berlin P 10494 (vso. 4).
\item P. Bibliotheque Nationale 196, I (rto. 3–4; rto. 7–vso. 1). Haring (1992a, p. 77) incorrectly refers to this letter as P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, I.
\item Demarée 2006a, p. 18.
\end{itemize}
letter he states that he is being guarded daily by the great ones of the Meshwesh.931

Kushites are mentioned in three of the corpus texts.932 P. Turin [unnumbered 1] is a journal dated to year 10 of Ramesses IX. Within what seems to be a period of eight days,933 there are mentions of the absence of ḫṣṣṭjw (rto. 1; rto. 3; vso. 5), Meshwesh descending (rto. 5), and Kushites being in Thebes (vso. 6). The second text, P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto, is a necropolis journal dated to year 17 of Ramesses IX. A soldier from Kush named bsk-wnnr is mentioned on two occasions (rto. V, 7; rto. VI, 11) as having received rations. The last text where kš is mentioned is a note (O. Cairo CG 25289) dated to year 6 of Ramesses IV. After the date of the note it is stated that the viceroy of Kush (ps sz-nswt n kš) has arrived.934

Persons from Syria are only referred to in two of the texts included in the corpus. P. DeM 11 is a letter dated to the reign of Ramesses V. The sender Maaninakhtuf935 wrote to the receiver, the scribe Amennakht, about a ḫr n immtt (‘Syrian of the West’, vso. 1),936 and about three ḫr (‘Syrian’, vso. 5), which he urged Amennakht to bring to him. The second text is O. Berlin P 11255, a note dated to the 18th dynasty. On the first line of recto seven slaves from Syria (ḥm. w ḥ[s]rw s 7) are mentioned.937

931 tw=k ṟḥ.tw n3 mšwš.w ḫr-ḥr r=i m mnt. P. BM EA 75019 + 10302 (vso. 9). For ḫr-ḥr r=i as hḥṛṛ ṭ to guard’, see Demarée 2006a, p. 17.
932 P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; O. Cairo CG 25289.
933 The beginning of all lines on recto and verso are lost, and thus also the dates except for verso 3 and 4, where sw 21 and sw 23 are readable. See P. Turin [unnumbered 1] in the Deir el-Medina Database, Description.
934 For the administration of Nubia and the role of the viceroy of Kush during the reign of Ramesses III, see Higginbotham 2012, pp. 92–94.
935 Maaninakhtuf (ii) in Davies 1999, chart 11; for Maaninaktuf, see also Dorn 2006.
936 Alternatively ḫr can here be taken for a personal name, see Kitchen 2012, p. 205.
937 For ḫṣrw ‘Syria’, see Wb III, p. 232.
4.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter a selection of nominal elements associated with the concept of mobility and travelling has been presented. These are mainly to be found in texts dated to the end of the 20th dynasty, and especially in the Late Ramesside Letters. The general purpose was to give a varied and diverse but still brief and general overview of the terminology-related nominal elements relevant for this study.

One may conclude that several nouns were used to express various types of boats and ships in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. The words most frequently used to express a boat travelling the Nile is *imw*, whereas several other words were used to signify boats and ships of a certain type, a certain size, or to be used for a certain purpose.

Four nouns selected to signify a journey or an expedition were found in seven corpus texts. Based on the references it seems the inhabitants used *wdj*, *mšt*, and *hnt* to express someone undertaking a journey or participating in an expedition generally, while *ḥdj* was used to signify a journey specifically to the north.

Regarding the two words signifying illness or danger, featuring in eight texts of the corpus, one may conclude that *mr* was used when expressing someone being ill while away on a journey, and *ḥtj* when expressing someone being in danger while away on a journey. In these usages *mr* and *ḥtj* are found in letters written on papyrus and dated to the late Ramesside period. *ḥtj* is only found in formulaic expressions used in some of the prayers addressed to a god/s in the letters.

Mentions of geographical places outside Deir el-Medina in association with mobility indicates that the inhabitants of the workmen’s community did indeed

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938 19 of the 28 corpus texts including references to various types of boats are dated to the reign of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI; at least 7 of the 8 texts including references to journeys or expeditions are dated to the reign of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI; all 8 texts including references to illness or danger while away on a journey are dated to the reign of Ramesses XI.
move around outside the village area. The corpus includes numerous references to
the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina going to various areas on the West Bank of
Thebes, such as mryt (‘riverbank’). The reason for going to the riverbank varied,
but the main reason was presumably a marketplace situated on the Nile.

The villagers also went across the Nile to the East Bank of Thebes. The
reason for these visits was generally work-related since the office of the vizier
was situated there, at least during most of the Ramesside period. The general
directions “south” or “north” feature as the travel destinations most frequently
used when expressing going to places outside Thebes. In addition, names referring
to specific villages or cities are occasionally found in the texts, covering a large
geographical range from Memphis in the north to Kush in the south (and one text
a goat from as far as Tell Taanak in Palestine).

Relations with persons connected to the administration of the necropolis
were regular throughout the Ramesside period. Persons of various hierarchical
ranks, from messengers to the vizier, visited the workmen’s community for work-
related reasons. One group of people standing out in the corpus texts is formed by
persons functioning as messengers, delivering letters and documents to and from
the necropolis area. These messengers were often referred to by their personal
name in addition to their title in the texts (for example, wpwtj, mdśj, or šmsw).

Names used for persons not connected to the administration of the
necropolis include both nouns referring to foreigners or enemies in general as well
as nouns for people coming from a certain geographic location. Relations with
people referred to as sfr (‘foreigner’) were, it seems, generally connected to
exchange or possession of some sort, while relations with persons referred to as
ḥrwj (‘enemy’) and possibly ḫṣṣfw (‘foreigner’, ‘desert people’) were connected
to a threat or hostile action of some sort.

Among the names used to refer to a group of people who originated from
specific geographical areas, the most frequently mentioned in the corpus texts are
words for people from Libya (mšwš and rb)\textsuperscript{939} and Nubia (kš). The relation to these foreign people varied in nature. Several necropolis journals dated to the late 20th dynasty include records of inactivity among the workmen due to the presence of mšwš, rb, or hšstjw, and the Libyans have generally been regarded as having formed some form of threat to the workmen’s community. However, based on the textual material included in this study, it is not possible to verify that the reason for this inactivity would have been hostile actions by the Libyans.

\textsuperscript{939} Note, however, that also hšstjw (lit. ‘desert people’) might have been just another term for Libyans.
5. TEXTUAL REFERENCES TO MOBILITY AND TRAVELLING IN THE CORPUS

The purpose of this main chapter is to examine and discuss the textual references in the corpus associated with mobility and travelling in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts from various points of view. During the process of assembling the corpus, the most useful structure proved to be the division of references according to the specific action or direction of mobility they convey. As a result, the textual references are divided into subchapters according to the actions they indicate – i.e. departing from, arriving at, or returning to. In addition, a fourth group is discussed, which consists of references to someone being away. One may here point out that the departing from, arriving at, or returning to do not necessarily have Deir el-Medina as a geographical point of reference. Thus, the references discussed in this chapter may also refer, for example, to departing from Eastern Thebes or arriving at Elephantine, even though Deir el-Medina is usually the geographical point of reference.

The main division of the textual references within the subchapters (departing, arriving, returning, and being away) is according to their chronology, i.e. their dating from the 18th, 19th, or 20th dynasty of the New Kingdom. Textual references lacking an attributed date are discussed last in each subchapter. The discussion is divided into sections and proceeds from a broader perspective to the more specific – starting with more general references to mobility and travelling and ending with references to someone departing from, arriving at, returning to, or being at a particular place, for example, a location within the Theban necropolis. Within the sections a more precise chronology of the references, combined with the text type classification of the texts they occur in, is examined. Furthermore, the subject undertaking the departure is reflected upon (for example, the hierarchical rang within the workmen’s community, gender, whether the subject undertaking the action was from within or outside the workmen’s community), as well as the destination of the mobility or travelling undertaken.
The social and historical context of the textual references will also, when possible, be presented and discussed.

In other words, the purpose of this fifth main chapter is to give as broad as possible an understanding of how mobility and travelling is expressed and related to in non-literary texts stemming from the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina; and to discuss references to mobility and travelling based on which chronological period they represent, in which text types they occur, and who the person/s undertaking the action was. Translations of the textual references as well as the attributed date of the texts are, when possible, either provided in the body text or in the footnote.940

5.1 Textual references to departing

Textual references to a person connected to the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina departing occur in 172 non-literary ostraca and papyri texts of the corpus. The texts including textual references to departing therefore compose little more than half of all 322 non-literary ostraca and papyri texts in the corpus.941 The classification of these 172 texts into text types is as follows: fifty-five letters,942

940 The attributed date is only mentioned the first time each text is referred to within the subchapters. See Appendix 1 for a complete list of all corpus texts, as well as their text type and attributed date.
941 For a presentation of the texts included in the corpus, see Chapter 2.
942 Three of the letters have an uncertain classification: O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. DeM 692; O. Qurna 691/17/82. These texts will hereafter be regarded as letters, without separately referring to the uncertainty of their classification. The remaining letters are: P. Berlin P 10487; P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, III; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV; P. BM EA 10284; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10412; P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V; P. BM EA 75015; P. BM EA 75018; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. BM EA 75020; P. BM EA 75021; P. DeM 12; P. Florence 7125; P. Geneva D 187; P. Geneva D 191; P. Geneva D 407; P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.Al.46 no. 1; P. Leiden I 369; P. Leiden I 370; P. München ÄS 818; P. Rifaud D; P. Turin [unnumbered 5]; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1972; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 1979; P. Turin Cat. 2026; P. Turin Cat. 2069; P. Turin CGT 54100; O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. Berlin P 9409; O. BM EA 50734 + 50742; O. DeM 114; O. DeM 227; O. DeM 324; O. DeM 446; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 10061; O. Prague 1826; O. Vienna H. 9; O. Wente.
fifty-one journals, twelve accounts, twenty-five notes, seven protocols, six oracle questions, three lists, five depositions, two memoranda, two model letters, two reports, one unclassified text, and one possibly literary.

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943 P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40127 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1885; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2087 verso; O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 14689; O. BTdK 659; O. BTdK 665; O. Cairo CG 25298; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 36; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 320; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. DeM 10023; O. DeM 10177; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Michaelides 71; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57055; O. Turin N. 57156.

944 P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2024 + 2052 + 2077; P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E; O. Cairo CG 25803; O. DeM 187.

945 Three notes have an uncertain classification: O. DeM 571; O. DeM 756; O. Qurna 2/82. They will hereafter be regarded as notes. The remaining notes are: P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso; O. Berlin P 10663; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25283; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. DeM 98; O. DeM 341; O. DeM 595; O. DeM 759; O. Florence 2619 verso; O. IFAO 288; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97; O. Turin N. 57460; O. Turin N. 57556; O. UC 39661.

946 O. Ashmolean Museum 64; O. Berlin P 12654; O. BM EA 65930; O. Geneva MAH 12550; O. IFAO 1357; O. Louvre E 27677; O. UC 39619.

947 O. IFAO 557; O. IFAO 562; O. IFAO 693; O. IFAO 851; O. IFAO 883; O. IFAO 1555.

948 O. Cairo CG 25575; O. Cairo CG 25746; O. DeM 10269.

949 Two depositions have an uncertain classification: O. DeM 636; O. DeM 917. They will hereafter be regarded as depositions. The remaining three depositions are: O. BM EA 5637; O. DeM 569; O. DeM 10195.

950 O. Berlin P 14251; O. Cairo CG 25236.

951 O. Michaelides 66 recto is either a real or a model letter, but in this study the text is classified as a model letter. The other model letter, O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto, is by Hagen (2011, p. 28) classified as a model letter based on the presence of verse points. These two texts will hereafter be regarded as model letters.

952 O. Berlin P 14286 has an uncertain classification as a report. It will hereafter be regarded as a report, without separately referring to the uncertainty of its classification. The other report is O. Berlin P 10633.

953 P. Berlin P 23300b recto.
text. In other words, textual references to departing are found in thirteen of the total of fifteen corpus text type categories.

When one looks at how the textual references to departing are divided between the papyri and ostraca texts of the corpus one gets the following numbers: sixty-four of the total 105 papyri texts in the corpus include references to departing; of these, thirty-nine are letters, seventeen are journals, six are accounts, one is a note, and one text is unclassified. Of the total 217 ostraca texts included in the corpus, references to various forms of departures made by someone connected to the workmen’s community are found in 108 texts. Of these 108 texts are sixteen letters, thirty-four journals, six accounts.

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954 O. Glasgow D. 1925.85.
955 For these fifteen text type categories and their overall distribution, see p. 43.
957 P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1885; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2087 verso.
958 P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2024 + 2052 + 2077; P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109.
959 P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso.
960 P. Berlin P 23300b recto.
961 O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. Berlin P 9409; O. BM EA 50734 + 50742; O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. DeM 114; O. DeM 227; O. DeM 324; O. DeM 446; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 692; O. DeM 10061; O. Prague 1826; O. Qurna 691//17/82; O. Vienna H. 9; O. Wente.
962 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 14689; O. BTdK 659; O. BTdK 665; O. Cairo CG 25298; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG
twenty-four notes, seven protocols, six oracle questions, three lists, five depositions, two memoranda, two reports, two model letters, and one is possibly a literary text.

On the chronological distribution of textual references to departing one may generally state the following. Texts dated to the 18th dynasty form only one per cent of the whole corpus. It seems therefore quite reasonable that among the 172 texts with textual references to departing none is dated to the 18th dynasty. Of the texts with textual references to departing, thirty-eight are papyri and ostraca texts dated to the 19th dynasty. All but two of these thirty-eight texts are

25538; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 36; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 284; O. DeM 320; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. DeM 10023; O. DeM 10177; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Michaelides 71; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57055; O. Turin N. 57156.

963 O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E; O. Cairo CG 25803; O. DeM 187.

964 O. Berlin P 10663; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25283; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. DeM 98; O. DeM 341; O. DeM 571; O. DeM 595; O. DeM 756; O. DeM 759; O. Florence 2619 verso; O. IFAO 288; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97; O. Qurna 2/82; O. Turin N. 57460; O. Turin N. 57556; O. UC 39661.

965 O. Ashmolean Museum 64; O. Berlin P 12654; O. BM EA 65930; O. Geneva MAH 12550; O. IFAO 1357; O. Louvre E 27677; O. UC 39619.

966 O. IFAO 557; O. IFAO 562; O. IFAO 693; O. IFAO 851; O. IFAO 883; O. IFAO 1555.

967 O. Cairo CG 25575; O. Cairo CG 25746; O. DeM 10269.

968 O. BM EA 5637; O. DeM 569; O. DeM 636; O. DeM 917; O. DeM 10195.

969 O. Berlin P 14251; O. Cairo CG 25236.

970 O. DeM 10633; O. Berlin P 14286.

971 O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto; O. Michaelides 66 recto.

972 O. Glasgow D. 1925.85.

973 See, however, Demarée 1999 for the letter P. Leiden F 1996/1.1 dating from the 18th dynasty and including references to departing. This letter has no provenance, but Demarée regards Thebes as the probable findspot.

974 P. Berlin P 23300b recto; P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V; O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Ashmolean Museum 64; O. Berlin P 9409; O. Berlin P 14251; O. Berlin P 14689; O. BM EA 65930; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25746; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo CG 25803; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 114; O. DeM 324; O. DeM 446; O. DeM 595; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 636; O. DeM 692; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto; O. DeM 10061; O. DeM 10061; O. DeM 10195; O. Glasgow D. 1925.85; O. IFAO
written on ostraca since of all papyri texts including a textual reference to departing, only P. Berlin P 23300b recto and P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V are dated to the 19th dynasty. Textual references to departing in the 20th-dynasty corpus texts are found in 124 ostraca and papyri texts. The distribution between papyri and ostraca within these 124 texts is sixty papyri to sixty-four ostraca texts. Ten of the corpus texts with textual references to departing lack an attributed date.
An overview of the chronological distribution between the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasty of all texts in the corpus of this study gives the following percentages: texts dated to the 18th dynasty ca. one per cent, texts dated to the 19th dynasty ca. twenty per cent, texts dated to the 20th dynasty ca. seventy per cent, and texts lacking an attributed date circa ten per cent of all corpus texts. This distribution of the corpus texts within the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasty thus corresponds almost perfectly with the chronological distribution of textual references to departing within these same dynasties. Of all 172 corpus texts including references to departing, texts dated to the 19th dynasty constitute ca. twenty per cent (38/172); texts dated to the 20th dynasty ca. seventy per cent (124/17); and texts lacking an attributed date ca. eight per cent (10/172). As an introductory remark to this discussion on textual references to departing, one can therefore state that the chronological distribution of the references to departing is compatible with the chronological distribution of the corpus as a whole.

5.1.1 19th dynasty

Thirty-eight ostraca and papyri texts dated to the 19th dynasty contain textual references to departing: eleven letters, twelve journals, one account, three notes, three protocols, one list, two depositions, one memorandum,

977 For a more detailed discussion and a list of all corpus texts and their chronological distribution, see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1.
978 P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V; O. Berlin P 9409; O. DeM 114; O. DeM 324; O. DeM 446; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 692; O. DeM 10061; O. Prague 1826; O. Qurna 691/17/82; O. Wente.
979 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Berlin P 14689; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. Michaelides 71.
980 O. Cairo CG 25803.
981 O. DeM 595; O. IFAO 288; O. Turin N. 57460.
982 O. Ashmolean Museum 64; O. BM EA 65930; O. IFAO 1357.
983 O. Cairo CG 25746.
984 O. DeM 636; O. DeM 10195.
985 O. Berlin P 14251.
two model letters, one unclassified text, and one possibly literary text. In other words, textual references to departing dating from the 19th dynasty are found in eleven of the total of fifteen corpus text categories represented in the corpus.

5.1.1.1 Departing to the north or to the south

Three letters dated to the reign of Ramesses II – O. DeM 114, O. DeM 324, and O. DeM 446 – include textual references to a person travelling north (ḥdj). In addition, a departure north is referred to in the letter O. Berlin P 9409, which is dated to the late 19th dynasty. This document is damaged and most of the lines are incomplete, therefore the content of the letter also remains unclear: (rto. 2) [...] m ḥdj m-s3 [...] ‘[...] go north beyond [...].’

The person undertaking the journey north in O. DeM 114 was the sender of the letter, the vizier Khay. In O. DeM 324 the departure to the north was done in connection with vegetables and bread being brought north in a boat, and the persons themselves undertaking the journey are not mentioned by name. In O. DeM 446 the subject undertaking the journey north is a soldier, in the reference

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987 P. Berlin P 23300b recto.
988 O. Glasgow D. 1925.85.
989 For these fifteen text type categories and their overall distribution, see p. 43.
990 A general reference to “the north” in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts usually points at the administrative centre in the Delta, opposed to Thebes as the New Kingdom religious centre in the south.
991 O. Berlin P 9409 in Deir el-Medina Online, Beschreibung.
992 Translation by Deir el-Medina Online ([…] fährt/fahren hinab hinten/nach de[mt?] ...]).
993 The reign of Ramesses II, see Kitchen 1980, p. 45. The sender of O. DeM 114 is the vizier Khay and the receiver the foreman Nebnefer; see also p. 84. O. DeM 114 (rto. 8) ḫr iw=i r šmt m ḥdj r ps njj tw-tw sm ‘Now, I will go north to the place where One is.’ Translation by McDowell 1999, p. 219. See O. Cairo CG 25291 (rto. 3–4) for a similar reference dating from the reign of Ramesses IV.
994 Year 2 of Ramesses II, see Kitchen 1980, p. 538. The sender of O. DeM 324 is Ankhau and the receiver his daughter Nubemshaes; see also pp. 105–106. O. DeM 324 (rto. 8–vso. 1) m-dd[in] ps imw r stp njj-tw njj-tw njj-tw ‘Saying: “[Bring] the boat to be loaded in order that (they) may be brought downstream to me.”’ Translation by Wente 1990, p. 156. The “they” being brought north were vegetables and bread.
referred to as ‘he’ (ṣf), and in O. Berlin P 9409 the subject is unknown due to the fragmentary state of the text.

Four of the journals dated to the 19th dynasty – O. Cairo CG 25504, O. Cairo CG 25538, O. Cairo CG 25788, and O. Cairo CG 25794 – include references to someone travelling north (ḥdj). In O. Cairo CG 25504, O. Cairo CG 25538, O. Cairo CG 25788, and O. Cairo CG 25794 the subject undertaking the journey is the vizier, and in O. Cairo CG 25788 it is a person referred to as ‘he’ (ṣf). The travelling north is of a more official character in the journals, compared with references to departing to the north in the 19th-dynasty letters discussed above. In the letters the subject undertaking the journey north is in most cases the sender or another person referred to by the sender of the letter, while in the journals the subject is in most cases specifically referred to as the vizier (occasionally in connection with other dignitaries or officials).

995 The reign of Ramesses II, see Kitchen 1979, p. 383. The sender of O. DeM 446 is Amek and the receiver his mother Hemnetjer; see also p. 90 in this study. O. DeM 446 (rto. 7–8) ḫṛ ḹwḥ ṭḥ ṣw ḫḥ ḫḥ mṣ ṭḥ r ḫṛ ‘Now by Ptah, he is sailing north tonight.’ Translation by Černý and Groll 1993, p. 70; see also Wente 1959, p. 110; O. DeM 446 (vso. 6–7) dmṯ njhm n ṣfjst js ṣw ḫḥ ḫḥ r ṭḥ ḫḥ ṣb-d ṣw ṭḥ ‘A (whole) town can be thankful if you get going(?) since he is sailing north to the royal jubilee.’ Translation by Wente 1990, p. 154; see also Wente 1959, p. 109.


997 Year 6 of Seti II, see Kitchen 1982, p. 315. O. Cairo CG 25538 (rto. 4) ṭṣ j ṭḥ ṭḥ ṭḥ ‘The vizier travelled north.’ Translation by the author.

998 Year 4 of Siptah-Tauser, see Helck 2002, p. 182; see Janssen 1997b, p. 155, n. 49 for a possible dating of this text to year 4 of Ramesses III. O. Cairo CG 25794 (rto. 2) sbd 3 ṣw 16 ḫṛ ṭḥ ḫḥ ṭḥ ṭḥ ṭḥ ṭḥ-hṣj 16 ḫṛ ṭḥ ṭḥ-hṣj ‘Third month of ṣw day 16. On this day departure by the fan-bearer (on the right side) of the king and the city governor and vizier Hori to the north.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 182 (Abfahrt des Wedelträgers zur Rechten des Königs und Vezirs ḫṛ nach Norden).

999 Year 6 of Merenptah (?), see Helck 2002, p. 87. O. Cairo CG 25788 (vso. 2–3) sbd 1 ṭḥ ṭḥ ṭḥ-nṣj ṭḥ ‘First month of ṭḥ day 4. He went north.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 87 (Er fuhr stromab). Presumably a ‘to him’ from the nṣj should be added in the translation at the end of the sentence.
And lastly, the probably literary text on the verso of O. Glasgow D 1925.85 includes a reference to someone, on the next line (vso. 2) referred to as ‘he’ (=f), going north/downstream.\textsuperscript{1000}

5.1.1.2 Being sent or taken away

In the references to departing to the north discussed above, the subject was actively taking part in the departure. There are, however, also references in the 19th-dynasty texts to someone being dispatched or taken away by another person. The letter O. DeM 114 has a reference to the vizier Khay sending (\textit{iw}) the chief scribe Paser with a commission to Thebes.\textsuperscript{1001} At the end of the same letter the vizier gives instructions to the receiver of the letter, the foreman Nebnefer, to meet Paser at the \textit{ps htm n} and thereafter send (\textit{hsb}) him back to where the vizier was with news from the workmen’s community.\textsuperscript{1002}

P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V is a copy of a letter sent by the scribe Qenhirkhopshef to the vizier Panehsy.\textsuperscript{1003} The letter is a report on various matters, among others, regarding some items Qenhirkhopshef was going to bring (\textit{inj}) to the vizier as soon as a boat left (\textit{nj}).\textsuperscript{1004} As noted above, bringing the items also included sending a person to bring the items. However, in this case it remains uncertain whether Qenhirkhopshef was going to bring the items himself or send

\textsuperscript{1000} Probably 19th dynasty, see McDowell 1993, p. 26. O. Glasgow D. 1925.85 (vso. 1–2) [...] \textit{hdj hr} [...] ‘[...] fares downstream [...].’ McDowell (1993, p. 27) interprets the text on verso of O. Glasgow D. 1925.85 as a hymn to the inundation and thus one may suggest that the subject fairing downstream is probably the flood.

\textsuperscript{1001} O. DeM 114 (rto. 9–vso. 1) \textit{ptr iw-i r rdjt iw sš wr ps-sr m ipwt r njwt} ‘Now I shall cause the scribe Paser to come on business to Thebes.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1002} O. DeM 114 (vso. 1–2) \textit{wnn-f hr ij n-tn r ps htm n} \textit{ps htm n} \textit{ij n-f m-im mtw-tn hsb-f n-n hr r-tn} ‘When he comes to you at the \textit{htm} you will come to him there and send him back to us with word about your condition.’ Translation by Wente 1990, p. 48; see also \v{C}erný and Groll 1993, p. 435.

\textsuperscript{1003} P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V is dated to the reign of Merenptah (Kitchen 1982, p. 85) and is, as stated above, the only 19th-dynasty papyrus text in the corpus with textual references to departing.

\textsuperscript{1004} P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V (vso. V, 5) \textit{hr wnn ps imw nj-fj iw-i hr inj n-k [n]}\textit{ry-k bskw hmt n} [...] ‘Now as soon as the boat set sail, I will bring you your articles of joinery [...]’ Translation by Wente 1990, p. 49. Gardiner (1935, p. 25) translates $[n]$\textit{ry-k bskw hmt} as: ‘thy produce of the carpenter(?).’
someone else to do it. Yet another reference to departing, by expressing someone sending another person away in order to bring a product of some sort, is found in the letter O. DeM 613. The sender of this letter asked the two receivers, the foreman Hay and the scribe Pashed, to send (wḏj) a man named Patenen\(^{1005}\) with some grain.\(^{1006}\)

O. Prague 1826 is a letter written by a woman named Takhentyshepse to her sister Iye. Takhentyshepse wrote about her arguments with her husband. Included in a quote of her husband is a threat by him to send (hṣj) her back to “the Black Land” (\(kmt\)).\(^{1007}\) According to Edward Wente, the Black Land refers here to the flood plain or the cultivated land of the Nile valley, as opposed to the desert where Deir el-Medina is situated.\(^{1008}\)

The sender of the letter O. DeM 10061 first wrote about him being taken (\(iTj\)) to work in Eastern Thebes by the city governor, and thereafter not being able to leave (\(šm\)), presumably from Eastern Thebes, in order to go back home.\(^{1009}\)

5.1.1.3 Going to Eastern Thebes

A possible reference to someone going to Eastern Thebes is found in O. DeM 692, a short fragmentary text consisting of three lines, beginning with (rto. 1–2) hḏ bin ḫṣj pꜣ \(imj\) n\(wn\) ‘It is bad money which has crossed the sea.’\(^{1010}\) The verb ḫṣj is, at

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\(^{1005}\) According to the Deir el-Medina Database (see O. DeM 613, Remarks), the name Patenen should probably rather be read as Patener or Pater.

\(^{1006}\) The reign of Siptah-Tausert, see Kitchen 1982, p. 416. O. DeM 613 (rto. 2) wḏj-\(tn\) pꜣ-\(tn\)\( (?)) \(zs\) \(sp\) \(sn\) \(m\) \(t\) \(sn\) \(w\) \(wn\) \(w\) \(ḏj\) \(it\).w ‘You shall send Patenen(\(?\)) quickly this very moment and send grain.’ Translation by the author.

\(^{1007}\) 19th dynasty, see Wente 1990, p. 147. O. Prague 1826 (rto. 11) \(iw\) \(t\) \(hṣj\) \(r\) \(kmt\) ‘You will go down to the Black Land.’ Translation by McDowell 1999, p. 42; see also Wente 1990, p. 148.

\(^{1008}\) Wente 1990, p. 170, n. 8.

\(^{1009}\) The early reign of Ramesses II, see Grandet 2006a, p. 64. O. DeM 10061 (rto. 13–14) \(hr\) \(ir\) \(m\)-\(šs\)\(m\)-\(ḏ\) \(i\) \(w\) \(hṣ\) \(hr\) \(n\) \(n\) \(f\) \(r\) \(n\) \(w\) \(t\) \(b\) \(k\) \(w\) \(m\) \(n\) \(w\) \(t\) \(w\) \(i\) \(g\) \(s\) \(f\) \(b\) \(k\) \(w\) \(m\) \(w\) \(t\) \(b\) \(k\) \(w\) \(m\) \(w\) \(t\) \(w\) \(i\) ‘And when the city governor of Ne Hṣj-nf(fr\(w\)) had taken me to work in Thebes, while I lacked everything, I did not know how to go home.’ Translation by Grandet 2006b, p. 104 (Et lorsque le gouverneur de No (Thèbes), Hṣj-nf(fr\(w\)), m’a emmené pour travailler à No, alors que je manquais de tout, je ne pouvais plus découvrir la manière d’aller à la maison (?)).

\(^{1010}\) 19th or 20th dynasty, see Wente 1990, p. 164. Translation by Wente 1990, p. 164, see also p. 170, n. 15.
least in the 20th-dynasty non-literary Deir el-Medina texts, in general used to describe someone crossing the Nile and going to Eastern Thebes, or alternatively returning to Western Thebes.¹⁰¹¹ However, in this case, the context of the crossing remains obscure. Another reference to someone going to Eastern Thebes is included in the model letter O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto.¹⁰¹²

5.1.1.4 Departing to the riverbank

When departing to a location on the West Bank of Thebes, the riverbank (mryt) is on several occasions referred to as the point of destination.¹⁰¹³ The sender of the letter O. DeM 324 complained that no bread had been sent (hṣjt) to the riverbank,¹⁰¹⁴ thereby indicating that bread was, at least during this period of time, more or less regularly sent to the riverbank from the village. A similar reference is found in the letter O. Wente, where the anonymous sender wrote that he had caused some nḥḥ-oil to be brought (inj) to the riverbank.¹⁰¹⁵ The action of sending bread or oil required someone departing from the village area and going down to the riverbank.

¹⁰¹¹ See section 5.1.2.5.
¹⁰¹² The reign of Ramesses II (the account written on verso of this ostracon), see Kitchen 1989, p. 191. The model letter written on recto is by Wente (1990, p. 146) attributed to the 19th dynasty. O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 (rto. 5) ḫnšt ḏd r-nty tw-tw ḫṣb r-ššt isḥt [...] ṭṣṭ ‘Now furthermore, one sends (me?) as far as the east [side on behalf of the] vizier.’ Translation by Hagen 2011, p. 28.
¹⁰¹³ The mryt refers in general in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts to the riverbank in Western Thebes, where in all likelihood a marketplace was situated. For a discussion of and additional references to mryt, see sections 4.2.1, 5.1.2.3, and 5.1.3.6. Mryt was in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts used as a proper name and written without the definite article tḥ (Černý 2004, p. 94). For two exceptions, see O. Turin N. 57556 (vso. 1–2) and O. Cairo CG 25264 (rto. 4).
¹⁰¹⁴ O. DeM 324 (rto. 2) [r-nty ḫw] ḫr ḫṣjt ḫṣjt ḫkw r mryt ‘No bread is being sent (litt. caused to go down) to the riverbank.’ Translation by the author; see also Wente 1990, p. 156 (who translates mryt as ‘marketplace’). For a discussion of the usage of hṣjt in the corpus and references including hṣjt, see section 3.7.1.
¹⁰¹⁵ The addressee of this letter was the chief of police Montumes whose career is known to have lasted from year 6 of Seti II to year 1 of Ramesses V. The dating of the letter is therefore within this time-span, see Wente 1996, p. 855. O. Wente (rto. 1–3) ḫṣ ḫw ḫr ḫṣjt ḫṣjt ḫkw ḫḥ ḫḥ ḫḥ r mryt ‘What is the point of me causing that ḫḥ-measure of nḥḥ-oil to be brought to the riverbank?’ Translation by the author; see also Wente 1996, p. 860.
Another letter dated to the 19th dynasty,\textsuperscript{1016} O. Qurna 691/17/82, includes a reference where the sender of the letter complains about not being able to go down (\textit{h}j\textit{y}) to the water carrier on the riverbank.\textsuperscript{1017} The purpose of the departure is here evidently to bring water.

The 19th-dynasty deposition O. DeM 10195 refers to someone going down (\textit{h}j\textit{y}) to the riverbank. The text is unfortunately damaged and the subject undertaking the departure as well as the purpose of the action remains unclear.\textsuperscript{1018}

And lastly, one of the 19th-dynasty protocols included in the corpus, O. BM EA 65930, includes a reference to a woman being taken (\textit{i}t\textit{s}) to the riverbank.\textsuperscript{1019} As has been discussed above in section 4.2.1 (on \textit{m}r\textit{y}t), several reasons existed for a person connected to the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina to be taken to the riverbank, among the foremost was in order to be interrogated by the authorities.

5.1.1.5 Passing the walls/guard posts

One letter, one journal, one note, one protocol, and one unclassified text dated to the 19th dynasty include references to someone passing (\textit{s}s/\textit{snj}) or approaching (\textit{hn}) the walls/guard posts (\textit{ts \textit{in}bt, pl. \textit{ns \textit{in}b.wt}) and thereby departing from the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1016} Late 19th dynasty, see Burkard 2000, p. 56: “Auch diese Indizien weisen somit eher in die (späte) 19. Dynastie, also in die gleiche Zeit wie die paläographischen Kriterien. Die Datierung dieses Ostrakon steht somit auf recht sicheren Füßen.” In the Deir el-Medina Database the attributed date for O. Qurna 691/17/82 is late 19th dynasty or early 20th dynasty.
  \item \textsuperscript{1017} O. Qurna 691/17/82 (rto. 5–6) \textit{mn \textit{iw}l \textit{rh s}s/\textit{snj st r (?)} h\textit{jyt r in[\textit{w mw hr} m\textit{y}t ‘I cannot pass them to(?) go down to [the water carrier on] the riverbank.’ Translation by Burkard 2000, p. 58 (Ich kann sie nicht passieren, um(?) hinabzusteigen zum [Wasserträger(?)] ans Ufer!); see also pp. 98–99 in this study.
  \item \textsuperscript{1018} The reign of Amenmesse (?), see Grandet 2010, p. 80. O. DeM 10195 (rto. 4) […] \textit{hr h}j\textit{y} r \textit{m}r\textit{y}t[ […] ‘[.] go down to the riverbank […]’ Translation by Grandet 2010, p. 80 ([…] descendit à la rive […]).
  \item \textsuperscript{1019} Year 6 of Seti II, see Demarée 2002, p. 40. O. BM EA 65930 (vso. 11) \textit{lwf hr \textit{rdjt it}s t\textit{w-st r m}r\textit{y}t ‘He caused her to be taken to the market (lit. riverbank).’ Translation by Groll 1973, p. 68.
\end{itemize}
village area. The letter is O. Qurna 691/17/82, the journal is O. Berlin P 14689, the note is O. IFAO 288, the protocol is O. Ashmolean Museum 64, and the unclassified text is P. Berlin P 23300b recto. Passing the walls/guard posts was used as an expression for leaving the village of Deir el-Medina for various reasons, and especially in later 20th-dynasty texts for expressing protest and strike among the workmen. In the four 19th-dynasty references presented above it is, however, uncertain whether a connection to a strike can be seen. Even though passing the walls/guard posts did not necessarily mean leaving the Theban necropolis, the action included an aspect of mobility and was among the inhabitants of the workmen’s community considered important enough to be recorded in the administrative documentation.

1020 For the walls/guard posts known to have been standing in the vicinity of Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Burkard 2013; Dorn 2009; Frandsen 1989.
1021 O. Qurna 691/17/82 (vso. 2) js t(w)-n ḫn n ṭs ḫḥt ‘Now we are approaching the wall/guard post.’ Translation by Burkard 2000, p. 58 (Nun nähern wir uns(?) der Mauer).
1022 Year 29 of Ramesses II or Ramesses III, see O. Berlin P 14689 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Berlin P 14689 (vso. 1) sbsd 3 ṣḥt sw 1 sš/snj ḫpr ‘Third month of ṣḥt day 1. Passing Kheper.’ Translation by Deir el-Medina Online (3. ṣḥ.t Tag 1. Vorbeigehen des(?) an(?)) Chepri(?)). In the Deir el-Medina Database ḫpr has been interpreted as referring to the walls/guard posts (O. Berlin P 14689, Contents), but see also O. Berlin P 14689 in Deir el-Medina Online, Anmerkungen (‘Die Stelle ist wegen der unsicheren Lesung sehr unklar, die Übersetzung fraglich. Ein Fest dieses Namens ist bisher nicht belegt.’); Burkard 2013, p. 93.
1023 Late 19th dynasty, see O. IFAO 288 in the Deir el-Medina Database. O. IFAO 288 (rto. 2) iw-f ḫr sš/snj ṭs ḫḥt ‘He passed the wall/guard post.’ Translation by the author.
1024 The reign of Merenptah, see Kitchen 1982, p. 161. O. Ashmolean Museum 64 (rto. 2) [sš/snj(?)] ḫrj n ṭs ḫḥt iw-f ḫm r […] ‘[Passing] the wall/guard post, he went to […]’ Translation by the author.
1025 The reign of Merenptah, see Fischer-Elfert 2012, p. 55. P. Berlin P 23300b (rto. 4) [sš/snj] ḫn ḫn nb.w(t) […] ‘[… passing those gu[ardposts/walls].’ Translation by Fischer-Elfert 2012, p. 54.
1026 Of the later 20th-dynasty texts, see, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1880 (The Turin Strike Papyrus) dated to the reign of Ramesses III. P. Turin Cat. 1880 includes several references to the gang passing the walls/guard posts in order to strike, see Edgerton 1951; Frandsen 1990. For the textual references in P. Turin Cat. 1880, see n. 1169 in this study. See Wente 1961 for the letter O. OIM 16991 sent by the scribe Neferhetep to the vizier Ta relating to the events recorded in P. Turin Cat. 1880.
1027 See Fischer-Elfert (2012, pp. 54–55) for a discussion on P. Berlin P 23300b recto as a possible source to a strike in the reign of Merenptah.
5.1.1.6 Going up the mountains

Another group of references, in nature rather similar to the ones presented above on passing the walls/guard posts, are references to someone going up (tšj) – in other words, leaving the village to go over the mountains to the Valley of the Kings or the Valley of the Queens. The verb tšj was generally in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts used specifically to describe someone going up the mountains to one of the royal valleys for work-related reasons. On some occasions the destination is not referred to in the textual reference. It therefore seems the use of the verb tšj in Deir el-Medina administrative and work-related texts was in some circumstances enough to also indicate the destination of the action of going up.

Among the journals dated to the 19th dynasty, O. Ashmolean Museum 37, O. DeM 898, O. DeM 900, and O. Michaelides 71 have textual references to a person or the crew going up (tšj), presumably to the Valley of the Kings. In addition, the journal O. Cairo JE 72452 includes a reference to

1028 For 19th-dynasty references, see, for example, O. DeM 898 (vso. 4); O. DeM 900 (vso. 2); for 20th-dynasty references, see, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (rto. II, 16); P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. III, 3; vso. III, 4); O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a (rto. 9, see also Dorn 2011b); O. BTdK 659 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25636 (rto. 1).

1029 The early or mid-reign of Siptah, see Collier 2004, p. 154. O. Ashmolean Museum 37 (rto. 5) hrw pn tšj [...] ‘On this day going up [...]’ Translation by the author.

1030 The reign of Amenmesse, see Grandet 2003, p. 70. O. DeM 898 (vso. 4) sḥd 3 šmw sw 12 hrw pn n tšj irj n nḥw-m-mwt ‘Third month of šmw day 12. On this day Nekhemmut went up.’ Translation by Grandet 2003, p. 70 (Troisième mois de chémou, le 12 – Jour où Nekhemmut est monté).

1031 The reign of Amenmesse, Seti II, or Siptah, see Grandet 2003, p. 73. O. DeM 900 (vso. 2) sḥd 4 prt sw 20 tšj n tš ist ‘Fourth month of prt day 20. Going up by the crew.’ Translation by the author.

1032 The late reign of Seti II to Siptah, see Collier 2004, p. 160. For other attributed dates, see Helck 2002, p. 176; Kitchen 1982, p. 424. O. Michaelides 71 (vso. 4–6) sḥd 2 sḥt sw 13 ‘ḥr n tš ist m wsf tšj n ’s n inst r ḫr ḫṣjt [...] tšj s 18 ḫr nnm snḥj ‘Second month of sḥt day 13. The crew was not working. The chief workman went up to the tomb. Descending [...] going up 18 men for right, left.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 178 (Die Arbeiterchaft arbeitete nicht. Hinaufsteigen des VA zur Nekropole. Hinab- und Hinaufsteigen 18 Mann für rechts, links).

1033 In addition, the 19th-dynasty journal O. Cairo CG 25504 mentions a commission headed by the vizier arriving at the necropolis area and telling (presumably) the crew to go up: (rto.
‘them’ (±w) going to the Valley of the Kings, but here expressed by using the verb *ij* 1034 and in the journal O. Cairo CG 25515 by using the verb *iw*.1035 Further, the note O. DeM 595 includes a reference on the vizier going (šmt) ‘there’ (*dj*), by ‘there’ most likely referring to the Valley of the Kings.1036 Another note dating from the 19th dynasty, O. Turin N. 57460, refers to someone going up (*tsj*).1037 O. Turin N. 57460, however, is damaged and the ends (and possibly beginnings) of all lines are lost. It is not therefore possible to state the subject or the destination of the action here referred to.

The one 19th-dynasty account with a textual reference to departing, O. Cairo CG 25803, has a reference to the crew going up (*tsj*) to the Valley of the Kings.1038 And lastly, the memorandum O. Berlin P 14251 has two references to presumably members of the crew going up to the Valley of the Kings,1039 and the

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1034 Year 2 of Seti II, see Helck 2002, p. 131. For an attributed date to year 2 of Siptah, see Kitchen 1982, p. 404. O. Cairo JE 72452 (rto. 4) *iw+w ij r sḥt* ‘They went to the valley.’ Translation by the author.

Note also O. Cairo JE 72452 (rto. 6) *[iw]-w ij* ‘They went (to the valley).’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 132 (Sie gingen (zum Feld)); O. Cairo JE 72452 (rto. 6–7) 11 9 *[iw+w ij]* ‘11 and 9 (men) went.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 132 (11 und 9 (Mann) gingen).

1035 Year 6 of Seti II—year 1 of Siptah, see Helck 2002, pp. 141, 160. O. Cairo CG 25515 (vso. III, 7–8) *iw tṣ ist hr iw r sḥt* ‘The crew went to the valley.’ Translation by the author.

1036 Year 5 of Seti II, see Helck 2002, p. 136. O. DeM 595 (rto. 1–3) *sbd 3 sḥt sw 24 hrv šmt irjj n imj-r njwtx tṣjt ps-r' m-hb dj m-dj-n* ‘Third month of sḥt day 24. Day of departing by the city governor and vizier Praraemheb there with us.’ Translation by the author; see also Janssen 1997b, p. 153.

1037 19th or 20th dynasty, see López 1984, p. 12.

1038 Year 24 of Ramesses II, see Helck 2002, p. 55. O. Cairo CG 25803 (rto. 1–2) *rnpt-sp 24 sbd 2 šmːw sw 22 tṣj irjj n ts ist r sḥt* ‘Year 24 second month of šmːw day 22. The crew went up to the valley.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 39 (Es stieg die Arbeitschaft hinauf zum Feld).

1039 19th dynasty, see O. Berlin P 14251 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Berlin P 14251 (vso. 2) [*hr*] tṣj r st mtj ns-n [rmq] ‘... when] going up to the place where [the workers] are;’ O. Berlin P 14251 (vso. 3) [*tṣj] r hrj r st st pr-r’s ‘... going] up to the Valley of the Kings.’ Translations by Deir el-Medina Online (vso. 2 [bei]m(?) Hinaufsteigen zu dem Ort, an dem die Arbeiter(?) sind; vso. 3 [steig]en hinauf zum Tal der Könige (oder Königsgrab)).
protocol O. IFAO 1357 mentions first the crew going up\textsuperscript{1040} and thereafter a person referred to as ‘he’ (\textit{cf}) going to the valley.\textsuperscript{1041}

5.1.1.7 Departing to other destinations in Western Thebes

A last group of references presented here is to someone going to a variety of destinations, some in the close vicinity of the village area. These references are found in four texts dated to the 19th dynasty. In the journal O. Cairo CG 25518,\textsuperscript{1042} the protocol O. IFAO 1357,\textsuperscript{1043} and the list O. Cairo CG 25746\textsuperscript{1044} the departing (\textit{šm}) in question was to Deir el-Bahri and was undertaken by one or several member/s of the crew, while in the deposition O. DeM 636 an anonymous subject was going to depart (\textit{šm}) to presumably the mortuary temple of Seti I.\textsuperscript{1045}

As with references to someone passing the walls/guard posts or going up the mountains to the Valley of the Kings, references to going to Deir el-Bahri do not include the notion of departing from the necropolis area. However, I regard these references as interesting since they provide an insight into the written expressions the inhabitants of the workmen’s community chose when describing departing

\textsuperscript{1040} The reign of Merenptah, see Helck 2002, p. 92. O. IFAO 1357 (rto. 5–6) \textit{ḫr ir ṭs ist \textit{ḫr} tšj r \textit{ḥskw} ‘The crew went up to work.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 92 (Die Arbeiterschaft aber stieg zur Arbeit hinauf).

\textsuperscript{1041} O. IFAO 1357 (rto. 7–8) \textit{šdb 4 šm\textit{w sw} 3 \textit{sw} 4 \textit{i\textit{w}-f ḫr ꜜi r \{ḥskw\} r ṣḥt ‘Fourth month of \textit{šm\textit{w} day} 3, day 4. He went to [work] in the valley.’; O. IFAO 1357 (rto. 9) \textit{ṣw} 11 [\textit{sic}] \textit{i\textit{w}-f ìj \ldots] ‘Day 11 [\textit{sic}]. He went […]’ Translations by Helck 2002, p. 92 (rto. 7–8 Er ging zur [Arbeit] aufs Feld; rto. 9 Er ging […]).

\textsuperscript{1042} Year 1 of Siptah, see Collier 2004, p. 155. O. Cairo CG 25518 (rto. 3) […] \textit{ḥrw p\textit{ln} šm ɪ\textit{rj n r}‘-\textit{ḥtp ḫr ḩsr} ‘… 10. On this] day Rahotep went to Deir el-Bahri.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1043} O. IFAO 1357 (vso. 2–3) \textit{i\textit{w}-l ḫr šm […] ḩsr ‘I went […] to Deir el-Bahri.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 92 (Ich aber ging nach Deir el-Bahri).

\textsuperscript{1044} The mid or late reign of Siptah, see Collier 2004, p. 157. O. Cairo CG 25746 (rto 1–2) \textit{mjtt ns ṭm\textit{w r šm ḫr ḩsr m-\textit{dr mt.\textit{tw} nfrt}} ‘Also the crew went to Deir el-Bahri, when \textit{nfrt} had died.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 194 (Ebenso gingen die Arbeiter nach ḩsr, als die \textit{nfrt} gestorben war).

\textsuperscript{1045} The reign of Seti I, see Kitchen 1975, p. 369. See O. DeM 636 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Remarks, stating that based on the personal name Parahotep in the text, the dating should rather be the 20th dynasty, Ramesses III(?). For the dating, see also Dorn 2011c, p. 34, n. 20. O. DeM 636 (rto. 1–2) \textit{i\textit{w}-ṣst ḥd […] n\textit{f šm r ts ḫw t stḥj ‘They said […] to him, go to the temple of Seti I.’ Translation by the author.
towards a specific destination, even if – or maybe rather because – the destination was located within their immediate environment.

And lastly, the model letter O. Michaelides 66 recto includes a reference to departing in general.1046

5.1.2 20th dynasty

In total 124 papyri and ostraca texts corpus texts dating from the 20th dynasty include textual references to departing. Of these are forty-two letters,1047 thirty-four journals,1048 eleven accounts,1049 twenty-two notes,1050 four protocols,1051 one

1046 The reign of Merenptah, see Kitchen 1982, p. 178. For an attributed date to the reign of Seti II, see Goedicke and Wente 1962, p. 16. O. Michaelides 66 (rto. 5) ḥḏ r-nṯjt ḫḏ ṣš […] ‘And further, departure (by) the scribe […]’ Translation by the author.
1048 P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1885; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2087 verso; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. DeM 36; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 284; O. DeM 320; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 10177; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57055; O. Turin N. 57156.
1049 P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2024 + 2052 + 2077; P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E; O. DeM 187.
1050 P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso; O. Berlin P 10663; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25283; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. DeM 98; O. DeM 341; O. DeM 571; O. DeM 756; O.
oracle question,\textsuperscript{1052} two lists,\textsuperscript{1053} three depositions,\textsuperscript{1054} one memorandum,\textsuperscript{1055} and two reports.\textsuperscript{1056} Textual references to departing in corpus texts from the 20th dynasty thus occur in ten of the total of fifteen corpus text types.\textsuperscript{1057}

5.1.2.1 Travelling

References to someone departing (\textit{wDj}, \textit{mSa}) specifically on a journey (\textit{mSsr}, \textit{htn}) are, for example, found in the letter P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V, the letter P. BM EA 10284, the letter O. Cairo prov. no. 175, and in the memorandum O. Cairo CG 25236.\textsuperscript{1058} The sender of P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V was general Paiankh and the receiver the necropolis scribe Djehutymose. The journey referred to in the letter was presumably the campaign Paiankh was about to depart on to Nubia.\textsuperscript{1059} The sender of P. BM EA 10284 was the scribe Butehamun writing to one Shedshuor, who was travelling in the company of Butehamun's father Djehutymose. The purpose of this journey was to take part in the campaign to Nubia by general Paiankh. The person referred to as travelling in this textual reference was in all likelihood Shedshuor, due to the use of the suffix pronoun \textit{k} (‘you’).\textsuperscript{1060} In O. Cairo CG 25236, the subject undertaking the journey is referred

\textsuperscript{1051} O. Berlin P 12654; O. Geneva MAH 12550; O. Louvre E 27677; O. UC 39619.
\textsuperscript{1052} O. IFAO 693.
\textsuperscript{1053} O. Cairo CG 25575; O. DeM 10269.
\textsuperscript{1054} O. BM EA 5637; O. DeM 569; O. DeM 917.
\textsuperscript{1055} O. Cairo CG 25236.
\textsuperscript{1056} O. Berlin P 10633; O. Berlin P 14286.
\textsuperscript{1057} For these fifteen text type categories and their overall distribution, see p. 43.
\textsuperscript{1058} Year 10(?) of \textit{wHm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 20 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V (vso. 2–3) \textit{tw-k rh-tw psy mSsr nti tw-i m nSj r irj-f} ‘You know about this journey which I am going to make.’ Translation by Černý and Groll 1993, p. 339; see also Wente 1967, pp. 52–53, n. d.
\textsuperscript{1059} Year 10 of \textit{wHm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 29 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. BM EA 10284 (rto. 10) \textit{jS tw-k mSsr} [...] ‘Indeed, you are journeying [...]’ Translation by Parkinson 1999b, p. 160; see also Wente 1967, p. 65; p. 76 in this study.
to as ‘he’ (ṣf),¹⁰⁶¹ as is the subject in O. Cairo prov. no. 175 where a ‘he’ (ṣf) is referred to as being about to depart.¹⁰⁶²

Other references to someone travelling or going forth (wḏj), but without specifically referring to it as a journey, are found in, for instance, six letters dating from the late Ramesside period and one letter dating from the 20th dynasty in general.¹⁰⁶³ Both the sender and the receiver of P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV are unknown and the person here departing is referred to as ‘you’ (ṣk). However, the point of departure (ṣjwt ‘Thebes’) is mentioned in the reference.¹⁰⁶⁴ The sender of P. BM EA 75015 was a builder (ḥd) named Wenemun and the receiver a business agent (šwṯj) named Amenkhau,¹⁰⁶⁵ both of the temple of Amun-Ra. Amenkhau had departed from Thebes,¹⁰⁶⁶ apparently to a location in the north, as Wenemun at the end of the letter (vso. 4–5) wrote that Amenkhau was to bring some servants with him when he returned south (rsj). A similar reference is found in the letter P. Rifaud D. The sender was the army scribe from Medinet Habu, Pentahutnakht, and the receiver the scribe Djehutymose.


¹⁰⁶² The reign of Ramesses IX, see Kitchen 1989, p. 381. O. Cairo prov. no. 175 (vso. 5) iw-f ḥsb mtw-f wḏj ‘He is departing and will go forth.’ Translation by the author.

¹⁰⁶³ In addition, the Late Ramesside Letter P. BM EA 75021 (late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, p. 24) includes an unclear reference to two named men going somewhere. The beginnings of all lines in the letter are damaged. P. BM EA 75021 (rto. 7) iw-w šm w r pzz 2 i ḏ ṅ n […] ‘And they shall go, either of the two, to(? say to […]’ Translation by Demarée 2006a, p. 22.

¹⁰⁶⁴ The ḫlḥm ṵs.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 49 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV (rto. 2) […] i.iṛj-k wḏj ḏ ṃ ṣjw […] ‘[…] that you went forth thither from Ne […]’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 83.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For the identification of this Amenkhau, see Demarée 2006a, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, p. 9. P. BM EA 75015 (rto. 4) ḏ ṃ ṱr ṭj i.iṛj-k wḏjt ṃ ṣjw ‘And further: You only left here from Ne/Thebes.’ Translation by Demarée 2006a, p. 7.
Pentahutnakht was somewhere south when he sent the letter and he wrote about his own departure.\footnote{Late 20th dynasty, see Koenig 1988, p. 57. P. Rifaud D (rto. 6) r-ntj i.\textit{irj}(si) šm dj r rsj iw hn n-i n\textit{rj}k rmt.w 'And further: (I) went to the south when your men came to me.' Translation by the author.}

Both the sender and the receiver of the letter P. Florence 7125 are unknown, but in it a person named Khonsu is referred to as having gone forth to a place named \textit{k\textsuperscript{q}ht-tb-nfr}.\footnote{20th dynasty, see Botti 1964, p. 225. P. Florence 7125 (vso. 3–4) iw \textit{hwsw} wdj šṣ\textsuperscript{r} m k\textit{q\textsuperscript{q}ht-tb-nfr} 'Khonsu will go forth until in \textit{k\textsuperscript{q}ht-tb-nfr}.' Translation by the author.} In the letter P. Geneva D 191, sent by Henuttawy, the chantress of Amun-Re, to her husband the necropolis scribe Nesamenope, the textual reference to departing is included in a quotation. The subject undertaking the departure is referred to as ‘he’ (\textit{ṣf}),\footnote{Year 2 of \textit{wHm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 37 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Geneva D 191 (vso. 15–16) [hr] dd-f n-i i.\textit{irj}-i i ḫm iw-f wdj imj-r pr-ḥḥt imj-r šnw.t mn-ms\textsuperscript{r}-\textit{r}\textsuperscript{nht} [ṣṣ]-wδbw hr ' [And] he has said to me, “It was after he went forth with the overseer of the treasury and overseer of the granaries Mennaarenakht and the [scribe] of the offering table that I returned there.”’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 72; see also pp. 67–68 in this study.} this is presumably the father of Nesamenope, who is mentioned some lines earlier in the text (\textit{ps\textit{ṣy-k it}, vso. 11–12). In P. Turin Cat. 1973 the sender Djehutymose wrote to the receiver Butehamun that he had left (\textit{ḥṣ\textsuperscript{r}}) ‘him’\footnote{Probably general Paiankh; this assumption is based on the fact that \textit{ps\textit{ṣy-i hrj} (‘my superior’) is referred to on recto 5. For other references to general Paiankh as \textit{ps\textit{ṣy-i hrj}, see, for example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV (rto. 4). P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 4).} } in Elephantine, thereby also indicating that he himself had departed.\footnote{Year 10 of \textit{wHm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 2 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Turin Cat. 1973 (rto. 7) iw-i ḥṣ\textsuperscript{r}-f m sbw ‘I left him in Elephantine.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 20.}

The last 19th-dynasty letter including a reference to someone travelling or going forth is P. Turin Cat. 1979. The sender of P. Turin Cat. 1979 was a person named Paynefernefer and the receiver the scribe Djehutymose. The reason for Paynefernefer sending the letter was a quarrel between his brother, a prophet of Sobek, and another man. The person referred to as going forth in P. Turin Cat. 1979 is the prophet of Sobek. The geographical point of departure was most likely
Eastern Thebes, as Paynefernefer was scribe of the treasury of the temple of Amun-Re.  

And lastly, the unpublished account P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso has several references to departing without specifying the subject or the direction.  

5.1.2.2 Departing to the north or to the south

Textual references to someone departing to the north or to the south are found in several of the 20th-dynasty corpus texts. The letter P. BM EA 10375 includes one reference to general Paiankh going south (ḥmtj) and two other references to this same departure (wdj), but on these later occasions without specifying the direction. The first two references are from within quotations from a previous letter by Paiankh and are thereby written in the first person singular (=i), while the third reference is written in the second person singular (=k). In the letter P. BM EA 10411 the sender Butemhamun wrote about a similar situation when the receiver

1072 Early wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 27 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Turin Cat. 1979 (rto. 5) ḫnt ḫd r-njt i.irj ḫs ḥm-nṯr sbk wḏj ḥḏ r šm r ṣḥt ‘Thus, the prophet of Sobek left here to go to the countryside.’; P. Turin Cat. 1979 (rto. 10) i.js i.irj-f wḏj ‘Indeed he has gone forth.’ Translations by the author; see also Wente 1967, p. 59; p. 77 in this study.

1073 A copy of the transcript of the unpublished text P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso has kindly been provided me by Robert J. Demarée. According to the content of this account the provenance is Deir el-Medina and the dating is year 9 of Ramesses XI. Whether it is before or after the beginning of the wḥm ms.wt is uncertain. The account was written by the necropolis scribe Djehutymose (vso. 17).


1074 Year 10 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 28 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 21) ḫw-i ḫ ḥmtj ‘I was going south.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 60; see also pp. 87–88 in this study.

1075 P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 22) i.irj-n ḫḏt ḫw-s ṣḥt sw 2 i.irj ḫḏj(k) ‘It is after I have departed that you shall send them after me.’; P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 24–25) ṭw-k wḏj ḫw i.irj-n ḫḏr ḫy-i ḫ ḥmt ‘You had departed before we reached our mistress.’ Translations by Wente 1967, pp. 60, 62, n. v.

1076 The same letter also includes a reference questioning why the scribe Djehutymose is not departing in order to bring some clothes (‘them’) to the general: P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 26) n bn tw-k m nṯj irm-w ‘Are you not going with them.’ Translation by Wente 1967, pp. 60–61.
of the letter, the scribe Djehutymose, travelled to the south (ḥntj).\(^{1077}\) The point of
departure in these two letters was Thebes and the destination of the journey south
was a location within or on the border to Nubia, as these letters are both connected
to general Paiankh’s campaign to Nubia.

The unknown sender of the letter P. Florence 7125 mentioned a journey to
the north (ḥdj) on several occasions. This journey was evidently undertaken by
himself and another person referred to as ‘he’ (ṣf).\(^{1078}\) At least on one occasion the
travelling to the north was in order to bring some grain.\(^{1079}\) An additional
reference can be found in the letter P. Leiden I 369, where the sender
Djehutymose listed several persons, among others an unknown man who was
travelling north (ḥdj).\(^{1080}\) Based on the context, one may tentatively suggest that
the subject referred to as departing here was a messenger who was travelling from
Thebes to the place where Djehutymose was at the time.\(^{1081}\) A similar reference to
the previous one is in the letter P. Turin CGT 54100, where the sender, the
workman Amenemopetnakht, tells Djehutymose about some servants going north
(ḥdj),\(^{1082}\) presumably from the south (Nubia) where Djehutymose was. The last
20th-dynasty letter with a reference to a departure north (ḥdj) is O. Cairo prov. no.
175, the person undertaking the departure here is unknown.\(^{1083}\)

\(^{1077}\) Year 10 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see Janssen 1991a, p. 15. P. BM EA 10411 (vso.
3) ūw rdj-i n-k ūw-k m ḥntj ‘I gave (it) to you when you were going south.’ Translation by

\(^{1078}\) P. Florence 7125 (rto. 3) ijs i. ijr(ṣ) i j n ḥdj ‘Indeed, that I went north.’; P. Florence 7125
(vso. 5) wnṣf i j n ḥdj ‘When he travels north.’ Translations by the author.

\(^{1079}\) P. Florence 7125 (rto. 4) tw=i m ḥdj r inj.tw it.w ‘I am travelling north to bring grain.’
Translation by the author.

\(^{1080}\) Year 6 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 1 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Leiden I
369 (vso. 3) ps rmṯ n ḥṯj ‘The man who goes north.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 18; see
also p. 88 in this study.

\(^{1081}\) Wente suggests that Djehutymose, when he sent this letter, was on a journey to
somewhere in Middle Egypt, see Wente 1967, pp. 16, 19, n. j.

\(^{1082}\) Year 10 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 13 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. Turin
CGT 54100 (rto. 7–8) ūw-i hsb […] wṯ bṣk nṣ nj j ḥdj ‘I am send[ing] … a servant (to) those

\(^{1083}\) O. Cairo prov. no. 175 (vso. 3–4) nj j r-hṣt-f [šm?] n-f m ḥdj ‘Who before him [went]
with him.’ Translation by the author.
In addition to the letters discussed above, several necropolis journals dated to the 20th dynasty (mainly to the reign of Ramesses IX and Ramesses XI) include references to a departure to the north or south. P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso has a reference to three men departing to the south (wdj r rsj) to look for some oil. Demarée suggests that the south mentioned in this journal possibly refers to the necropolis administration in Medinet Habu. In P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 first a fisherman and a plaster worker and thereafter the entire crew are referred to as having gone to the south (wdj r rsj) in order to bring some wood.

The journals P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso and O. Turin N. 57055 mentions the vizier having departed to the north (ḥdj, wdj). The journal P. Turin Cat. 2072 begins with an entry regarding a letter arriving from the vizier saying that the scribe Horisheri shall go (ḥm) and look after some fishing boats. Then

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1084 Year 8 and 9 of Ramesses IX, see Demarée 2010, pp. 64–65. P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 (vso. I, 7–8) sbd 1 sḥt sw 7 bškw wDJ pš 3 rmt r rsj r wšs sgmn m-ḏr-f sm ns-imn ‘First month of sḥt day 7. Working. Sending the three men to the south to search for them oil from (litt. through his[sic] hand of) the sm-priest Nesamun.’ Translation by Demarée 2010, p. 63.

1085 Demarée 2010, p. 65.


1088 Year 24 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 263; Lópeze 1978, p. 34. O. Turin N. 57055 (rto. 1–2) rmpt-sp 24 sbd 1 ŠMw sw 18 wDJ n ṭṣjt m ḫdj ‘Year 24 first month of ŠMw day 18. Departure by the vizier to the north.’ Translation by the author.

1089 Year 9 and 10 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, pp. 497, 499. P. Turin Cat. 2072 (rto. I, 2) […] ḫn-k Mntw-k ṭḏjt ṭnj rḏ ṭnj ns ‘ḥf.wt n ḫm’ n […] ‘[...] You will go and prepare the supply of the fishing boats of [...]’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 497 (Du wirst gehen und die Versorgung der Fischerboote des [...] machen).
follows a sentence referring to unknown persons not departing to the north, but instead the scribe Horisheri departing ($sm$) to receive a box of the vizier.\textsuperscript{1090} In addition, two other journals include references to unknown persons departing to the north ($hdj$): P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto\textsuperscript{1091} and P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091.\textsuperscript{1092}

The unpublished account P. Turin Cat. 2024 + 2052 + 2077 includes a reference to an official of the royal treasury departing to the north ($hdj$) ‘[to] Pharaoh’ ([r] $pr$-$\Hat$j).\textsuperscript{1093} Due to the fragmentary state of the accounts P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105\textsuperscript{1094} and P. Turin PN 109\textsuperscript{1095} the subject in the textual references to departing to the north ($hdj$) is not legible. However, Wolfgang Helck suggests for both references that it was the vizier departing,\textsuperscript{1096} presumably due to the official character of the accounts. Similar references to a high-ranking official departing or planning to depart to the north ($hdj$) are found in the notes O. Cairo CG

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1090] P. Turin Cat. 2072 (rto. I, 3–4) $iw$ $bw$ $irj$ $hdj$ $r$ $ssp$ $n$ $hrst$ $n$ $[\Hat{t}j]j$ $pr$-$w$ $r$ $hrj$ $iw$ $s$s $hr$-$\Hat{r}$ $\Hat{r}$ $sm$ $r$ $ssp$ $pz$ $k$s$r$ $n$ $\Hat{t}j$ $'N$ot going north to receive before [the vizier, my] superior. But the scribe Hor[sheri went] to receive the box of the vizier.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 497 (Nicht wird nach Norden gefahren, um den [Vezir] zu empfangen, [meinen] Vorgesetzten. Der Schreiber H$r$-$\Hat{r}$-$\Hat{r}$ aber ging, um] den Kasten des Vezirs entgegenzunehmen).
\item[1093] Probably the reign of Ramesses IX (in view of personal names), see P. Turin Cat. 2024 + 2052 + 2077 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Remarks. P. Turin Cat. 2024 + 2052 + 2077 (vso. 8) [$imj$-$r$] $pr$-$\Hat{hd}$ $n$ $pr$-$\Hat{r}$-$s$ $\Hat{m}$ $w$ $\Hat{d}$ $s$ $n$ $n$ $nj$ $iw$-$f$ $m$ $hdj$ $[r]$ $pr$-$\Hat{r}$-$s$ ‘[The overseer] of the royal treasure of Pharaoh who is going north [to] Pharaoh.’ Translation by the author.
\item[1094] Year 2 of $whm$ $ms$.$wt$ of Ramesses XI, see Helck 2002, p. 569. For an attributed date to year 2 of Ramesses X, see Demaré 1993, p. 50. P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2015 (vso. 7) $\Hat{t}j$ $n$ $[\Hat{t}j]$ ‘Travelling north by [the vizier(?)].’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 569 (Nordwärtsfahren des [Vezirs ?]).
\item[1095] Year 7 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 404. P. Turin PN 109 (rto. II, 1) $rnp$-$sp$ 7 […] $\Hat{sm}$ $sw$ 26 $hdj$ $n$ $[\Hat{t}j]$ ‘Year 7 […] $\Hat{sm}$ day 26. Travelling north by [the vizier(?)].’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 404 (Nach Norden fahren des [Vezirs …]).
\item[1096] Helck 2002, pp. 404, 569.
\end{footnotes}
25283 and O. Cairo CG 25291, in the protocols O. Berlin P 12654 and O. Louvre E 27677, and (possibly) in the report O. Berlin P 14286. On the third line of the account P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso a departure (wdj) from Thebes to the north is mentioned and about one week later the turning back to the south (mš, wdj). The account is written by the scribe Djehutymose.


1098 Year 6 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 398. O. Cairo CG 25291 (rto. 3–4) iw=f m xdj r pA ntj tw=tw im ‘He went north to the place where One is.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 398 (Er fuhrt stromab dorthin, wo man ist).

1099 Year 2 of Ramesses VI, see Janssen 1982, p. 140. O. Berlin P 12654 (vso. 8) iw ūštîj m hdt psy hrw ‘The vizier went north on that day.’ Translation by Janssen 1982, p. 134.

1100 Year 16 and 17 of Ramesses III, see Grandet 2008, p. 166. O. Louvre E 27677 (rto. 4) i.irj=i rdjt xdj TAtj tA ‘I will not let the vizier Ta travel north.’ Translation by Grandet 2008, p. 167 (je ne laisserai le vizir To descendre le courant). For the vizier Ta being in office until year 32 of Ramesses III, see Peden 2000.

1101 The reign of Ramesses IV, see O. Berlin P 14286 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Berlin P 14286 (vso. 1) [ ... ] iw=w hr xdj(? ‘[ ... ] as they went north.’ Translation by Deir el-Medina Online ([ ... ] indem sie stromab gefahren sind). Several high authorities are mentioned in the report, but whether it was these officials departing to the north in this reference or not remains unclear.

1102 Year 9 of Ramesses XI, see n. 1073. P. Turin Cat. 2098 (vso. 3) sbd 4 sht sw 1 wdj m ūtj m ps kr nr s š ‘Fourth month of sht day 1. Going forth to the north in the boat of the scribe.’ Translation by the author.

5.1.2.3 Departing without specifying the direction

Textual references to departing without specifying the direction are found in several of the 20th-dynasty corpus texts. The letter P. Geneva D 407 has a reference to messengers departing (šm),\(^{1104}\) apparently from Nubia where the receiver of the letter, Djehutymose, was at the time. The letter P. BM EA 10375 includes a reference to Butehamun departing from Eastern Thebes.\(^{1105}\) He was probably going back to Western Thebes as he mentioned bringing back some men. The receiver of the letter O. Ashmolean Museum 5 was the guardian Khay, while the sender remains anonymous. The letter ends with the sentence (rto. 8) \(tw=i\ hm.kwi\ r\ \ ph.k(wi)\ r-šš\ pšy-k\ dmjt\) ‘I went as far as your town to reach you.’\(^{1106}\) The town mentioned in this reference might possibly refer to Deir el-Medina.\(^{1107}\) Thus the destination of the departure undertaken here might have been within the necropolis area, in which case the geographical point of departure would have been a location outside the workmen’s community.

In the letter P. Geneva D 187 the sender is pleading with the receiver not to let a person referred to as ‘him’ (\(\text{zf}\)) depart (\(rwj\)).\(^{1108}\) The sender of P. Geneva D 187 was an unidentified city governor of Thebes and the receiver was Djehutymose. Based on the general content of the letter, this ‘him’ may either refer to general Paiankh, since ‘your superior’ (\(pšy-k\ hrj\)) is mentioned in the previous line (rto. 6), or to a messenger, since ‘this man’ (\(pšy\ rmf\)) is referred to

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\(^{1104}\) Year 10 of \(w\ h\ m\ ms.wt\) of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 8 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Geneva D 407 (vso. 6–7) \(j\ s\ \ wpw\ t\ \ w\ \ [\ldots]\ m-dj-k\ m\ mnt\ \ iw-w\ \ šm\ \ ij\) ‘Indeed the messengers [...] with you daily, going and coming.’ Translation by Wente 1967, pp. 34, 36, n. p; see also p. 82 in this study.

\(^{1105}\) P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 14–15) \(hr\ \ w\ m\ tw-i\ n\ j\ m\ njw\ t\ in\ j\ ns\ \ rm\ t\ .w\ \ r-nt\ \ hms\ \ im\) ‘Now as I was going from Ne (to) bring back the men who had been dwelling there.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 60.

\(^{1106}\) The reign of Ramesses IV or Ramesses V. For the attributed date and translation, see Wente 1990, p. 140.

\(^{1107}\) O. Ashmolean Museum 5 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Contents.

\(^{1108}\) Early \(w\ h\ m\ ms.wt\) of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 26 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Geneva D 187 (rto. 6–7) \(m-dj\) \(rwj-f\ sw\ \ hrr-k\) ‘[Do not let] him depart from you.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 57, see also p. 58, n. e. For \(rwj\ ‘\text{to go forth}',\) see Wb II, p. 406.
on the same line (rto. 7). Unfortunately, the letter is damaged, making the end of every line unreadable.  

References to the vizier departing from the Theban necropolis, but without specifying the direction as to the north, are, among others, found in the letter O. DeM 227, the journal O. DeM 320, and the note O. Florence 2619 verso. The short letter on O. DeM 227 ends with a statement about the vizier being about to depart (ḥn), as does the note on O. Florence 2619 verso (šm). The first entry in the journal O. DeM 320 is on the vizier departing (wḏj).  

In the journal P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso an entry mentions a group of persons referred to as nṯ ḫwtnj.ḏw (‘the captains’) being about to depart (šm) to inform the vizier, but they were prevented by the scribe Pabes. In the account P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 the person departing (wḏj) is the scribe Djehutymose, who left in order to collect grain for the Theban necropolis from several places in Upper Egypt. Based on the context, this departure was thereby to the south. Additionally, the journal P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 includes a few references to

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1109 P. Geneva D 187 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Description.

1110 O. Florence 2619 verso has a classification as a note, but in Wolterman (1996, p. 159) the text is considered an oracle question.

1111 20th dynasty, see Černý 1937b, p. 9. O. DeM 227 (rto. 3–4) ḫt ḫmj ḫn n-f ṭw ḫnw ‘The vizier will depart to him immediately.’ Translation by the author; see also Wente 1990, p. 136.

1112 Year 15 of Ramesses III, see Wolterman 1996, p. 159. O. Florence 2619 (vso. 11) s(t ḫr) šmnt ḫmj pw ḫrwr-n-f […] ‘He went away, this vizier Hewernef […].’ Translation by Wolterman 1996, p. 151.

1113 Early 20th dynasty, see Černý 1939a, p. 21. O. DeM 320 (rto. 1–2) ṣbd 4 šnw sw 19 ḫrw n wḏj n ḫmj ‘Fourth month of šnw day 19. Day of departure by the vizier.’ Translation by the author.

1114 P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. I, 11) šm in nṯ ḫwtnj.ḏw n ḫr ḫr ṭw ṭmj n ḫmj ḫw sš ṭw ṭmj ‘The captains of the necropolis departed saying: We will report to the vizier, but the scribe Pabes prevented them.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 505 (Es gingen die Vorgesetzten der Nekropole und sagten: Wir melden es dem Vezir, aber der Schreiber Pš-Bš hinderte sie).


For other Ramesside texts relating to collecting and transporting grain, see Gardiner 1941; Janssen 2004.
persons connected to the workmen’s community departing from the village area for work-related reasons.\textsuperscript{1116}

Short entries on someone departing without indicating the direction or context of the departure – in some cases due to the fragmentary state of the text – are found in a few of the 20th-dynasty ostraca texts. Some of these references might even refer to a person simply going somewhere within a short distance, and thus not necessarily departing. I have, however, chosen to mention them here for the sake of completeness. The account O. DeM 187 ends with an entry consisting of only the date and śm m-im (‘going there’).\textsuperscript{1117} On the first lines of the note O. DeM 98 the doorkeeper Khaemwaset is referred to as departing (wḏj),\textsuperscript{1118} and in the note O. DeM 756 the person departing (śm) is a man named Khaemnun.\textsuperscript{1119} The note O. Qurna 2/82 consists of only two lines mentioning the name of the scribe Hori and śm (‘going’).\textsuperscript{1120} In addition, the note O. DeM 341 has a reference to an unknown person departing (śm),\textsuperscript{1121} in the deposition O. DeM 917 the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Year 30 of Ramesses III, see Černý 1935a, p. 26. O. DeM 98 (rto. 1–2) ṣḥt-sp 30 sbd 4 śht sw 27 ḫřw pn wḏj n īrj-ʿs ḫm-wnst ‘Year 30 fourth month of śḥt day 27. On this day departure by the doorkeeper Khaemwaset.’ Translation by the author; see also p. 78 in this study.
\item The reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV, see Grandet 2000, p. 44. O. DeM 756 (rto. 3) ḫřw pn n śmt īrj n ḫm-wnst ‘On this day departure by Khaemnun.’ Translation by Grandet 2000, p. 44 ([...]) jour où Khâemnou est allé [...]).
\item Probably 20th dynasty, see O. Qurna 2/82 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Qurna 2/82 (rto. 1–2) sš ḥř n pš [hhr] [...] śm [... ‘The scribe Hori of the [tomb ...] going [...].’ Translation by the author.
\item 20th dynasty, see Černý 1951, p. 1. O. DeM 341 (vso. 1–2) śm n-f m sbd 4 śmw sw 19 ‘Departure to him on the fourth month of śmw day 19.’ Translation by the author.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
person departing (šm) is a certain Djehutymose, and in the list O. DeM 10269 the departure (šm) is undertaken by an unnamed brother.

5.1.2.4 Being sent or taken away

In the references to departing discussed above, the person departing was himself actively taking part in the action. There are also, however, references to someone being sent, dispatched, or taken away in the 20th-dynasty non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. For example, several of the 20th-dynasty letters have references to men being sent or taken somewhere. In P. Berlin P 10494 men of the crew who were in Eastern Thebes were requested to be brought (inj) back to Western Thebes, and in P. Turin Cat. 2069 a reference to someone going to be dispatched (wDj) to ‘this side’ (tAy rwt) is found. In P. Geneva D 187 the sender of the letter, an unknown city governor of Thebes, tells the receiver, the scribe Djehutymose, (in Western Thebes) that Djehutymose shall send (inj) ‘this man’ (psy rmṯ), presumably to Eastern Thebes to where the city governor was.

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1122 The reign of Ramesses III, see Grandet 2003, p. 94. O. DeM 917 (rto. 2) [...] ḏhwṭj-ṃs ḥr šm [...] ‘[...] Djehutymose went […].’ Translation by Grandet 2003, p. 94 ([...]) Djéhutymosé alla […]). This Djehutymose is most likely the ṣḏṣj or ḥrj-ṃḏṣj Djehutymose mentioned later in the text (rto. 6).

1123 Year 5 of Ramesses VII (?), see Grandet 2010, p. 148. O. DeM 10269 (rto. 2) sn šm r pršy (?) … ‘Brother (?) went to […].’ Translation by Grandet 2010, p. 149 (le frère (?) est allé au […]).

1124 In addition to the letters, see, for example, the account O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82 (rto. 5) for the arrival by a high priest to take a scribe to where Pharaoh is (r ps pr-šəm); the note P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 (vso. II, 7) for the scribe Hori being taken (iṭš) to the ps ḥr; and the oracle question O. IFAO 693 (rto. 1–2) asking whether the vizier will take away (iṭš) 5 young boys (presumably in order to work in another place).

1125 Year 2 of ṣm ṭm.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 12 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Berlin P 10494 (rto. 9–10) ḫy ṣḏ-k twt-tw ns ṭmṯ w n ps ḥr ntj m-im m njwlastic k ṣḏj twt=tw n-i r tAy rwt ‘Let the men of the Necropolis who are there in Thebes be assembled and cause them to be brought to me to this side.’; P. Berlin P 10494 (vso. 3) iṯw ṣḏ-k ṣḏj ḫj ṭm ṭmḏ j ṣḏj irm-n ‘Whom you will send to dwell here with us.’ Translations by the author; see also Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 454, 505; Wente 1967, p. 44.

1126 Year 10 of ṣm ṭm.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 39 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. Turin Cat. 2069 (rto. 9–vso. 1) iṯw-i ṭmḏ[t] [. . .] ṣḏj twt=tw n-i r tAy rwt ‘I shall dispatch […] see […] this side.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 75.

1127 P. Geneva D 187 (rto. 7) ṣḏj twt=tw ṭmṯ m ps [. . .] ‘You shall cause this man to be brought in the […].’ Translation by the author; see also Wente 1967, p. 57.
A similar reference is in the note O. BM EA 68518, where a man named Khonsu is being sent (ḥszb) to Thebes.\(^{1128}\)

The sender of P. BM EA 10375 pleaded with the receiver, general Paiankh, to dispatch (wḏj) the scribe Djehutymose and cause him to come back to Western Thebes, presumably from Nubia where both Paiankh and Djehutymose were.\(^{1129}\)

The scribe Nesamenope wrote in P. BM EA 10412 to the receiver Mutenope, the chantress of Amun, that the latter shall dispatch (wḏj) one Sobeksankh to the place where the prophet of Montu is.\(^{1130}\) In P. BM EA 75018 the sender Henunetjeru told her sister about a man named Patjauemdimeh(em)hab whom she had sent (wḏj).\(^{1131}\) The destination of this departure might have been Thebes as njwt is mentioned on recto 9 and the purpose was presumably related to registering a field, as mentioned in the reference. In P. DeM 12 the unknown sender wrote about people he had dispatched (wḏj) to the place where the receiver of the letter, the carpenter Maaninakhtuf, was.\(^{1132}\) In P. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 83.Al.46 no. 1 the sender, the prophet Amenhotep, wrote to the receiver Djehutymose that Djehutymose had been taken (iTA) so that advice may be sought from him.\(^{1133}\) By this expression Amenhotep was most likely referring to the

\(^{1128}\) 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2002, p. 46. O. BM EA 68518 (rto. 6) iw sš pn-is-wrt hszb n ḫnsrw r njwt ‘The scribe Pentaweret sent Khonsu to Thebes.’ Translation by the author.

\(^{1129}\) P. BM EA 10375 (vso. 12) mṭw=k wḏj sš tšrj n ḫr r rḏjt iw=f ‘You are to dispatch the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy [i.e., Djehutymose] to cause him to come.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 61.

\(^{1130}\) Year 2 of ḫm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 36 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. BM EA 10412 (rto. 8–9) iw=i wḏj sbks-*nḥ r pš nṯj pš ḫm-nṯr n mnṯw im ‘You shall dispatch Sobeksankh to the place where the prophet of Montu is.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 70.

\(^{1131}\) Late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, p. 13. P. BM EA 75018 (rto. 3–5) ḫm‘ dd wḏj pš[...][tšw-m-dj-mḥi-m-hb rḏjt iw[... ] sḥmr psḥ sḥt nṯj pš[... ] ‘And further: I(?) have sent (to you?) P[al]tiuauemdimemy(em)hab. I(?) caused to come (?) [ ...] to register(?) this field where the [...]’ Translation by Demarée 2006a, p. 11.

\(^{1132}\) The reign of Ramesses IX, see Wente 1990, p. 169. P. DeM 12 (rto. 4–5) ḫm‘ dd r-nṯj wḏj=i nṯ rḏj w ink rḏjt=i iw-w r pš nṯj [tšw-k im] ‘And further, I have dispatched those people of mine. I have caused them to come to the place [where you are].’ Translation by the author; see also Wente 1990, p. 169.

\(^{1133}\) Year 10 of ḫm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 15 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 83.Al.46 no. 1 (rto. 12) tšw-k r nḏḥḏ mdw m-dj=k ‘You have been taken in order that advice may be sought of you.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 48; see also Černý and Groll 1993, p. 390.
reason why Djehutymose was taking part in general Paiankh’s campaign to Nubia, and urged Djehutymose to be careful as he was not in Nubia as a soldier or messenger, but as an advisor.

Additionally, fifteen letters and notes from the 20th dynasty have references to a messenger being sent or a letter being sent ‘through’ (m-dj) or ‘taken’ (i’ts) by a messenger. The person being sent is not always referred to as a messenger (e.g. wpwtj or šmsw), but occasionally only by a personal name. Among the Late Ramesside Letters there are also three references to a boat being sent (rdj, hn, iw), one reference to a boat not being sent (rdj), and one reference to some spears being brought south (inj). Bringing these boats or spears also required sending some people with them, and thus I consider these references also worth mentioning.

5.1.2.5 Crossing the River Nile to Eastern Thebes

20th-dynasty textual references to someone connected to the workmen’s community departing or, more precisely, crossing over to Eastern Thebes are mainly found in necropolis journals, and additionally in some letters and notes. In the Late Ramesside Letter P. BM EA 10375 the sender described how the scribe

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1134 P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, III (vso. 4–5); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV (rto. 4); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI (rto. 5; vso. 1); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I (vso. 6); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III (vso. 8–9); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV (vso. 8); P. BM EA 10326 (rto. 6; rto. 9; vso. 7–8; vso. 9); P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 11; rto. 16–17; vso. 15); P. BM EA 10411 (rto. 14–15; vso. 1); P. BM EA 75019 + 10302 (rto. 4–6); P. BM EA 75020 (vso. 8); P. Leiden I 370 (rto. 5); P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 (vso. II, 11); P. Turin Cat. 1971 (rto. 11); P. Turin Cat. 1973 (rto. 12).

1135 P. Berlin P 10487 (vso. 2) i.irj=i rdjt wsxt ‘I have sent a barge’; P. Berlin P 10487 (vso. 4–5) mtw-k rdjt inj-f n-i m wsxt ‘And you shall cause him to be brought to me in a barge.’; P. Geneva D 191 (vso. 13) ps kr i.rdjt=1 hn n-f ‘The kr ship which I have caused to depart to him.’; P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 4–6) js i.irj=i gmj iw rdj-f iw w’ tsm r tsu=i iw+w gmj-i m-bsh n dbs ‘Indeed I found that he had sent a tsm boat to take me. They found me in the midst of Edfu.’ Translations by the author; see also Černý and Groll 1993, p. 378; Wente 1967, pp. 24, 53–54, n. i, 72.

1136 P. Turin Cat. 2026 (rto. 15) iw bw irj-k rdj=f p[is imw] ‘You have not sent the [boat].’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 83.

1137 P. Geneva D 407, note at the top of recto (rto. 1) psj=1 i.šp ps 17 n niwj i.rdj ssw kry inj.tw rsj ‘My receipt of the 17 spears which the guardian Karoy caused to be brought south.’ Translation by the author; see also Wente 1967, pp. 34, 37, n. w.
Butehamun was ferried across (.ascii(123)zj) to Eastern Thebes in order to receive a letter (‘it’, st) sent by general Paiankh.\footnote{1138} In the note P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 verso it is described how some named men of the workmen’s community collected and took (ASCII 123iC) copper tools (‘them’, \(w\)) to Eastern Thebes.\footnote{1139} On the first line of the account P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso is mentioned a departure from Western Thebes and an arrival at Eastern Thebes.\footnote{1140}

Thirteen of the 20th-dynasty necropolis journals have entries on someone connected to the workmen’s community going (ASCII 123sm, iC) or crossing over (ascii 123zj) to Eastern Thebes. These journals are all dated to the reign of Ramesses III, Ramesses IX, Ramesses X, or Ramesses XI: P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso,\footnote{1141} P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 recto,\footnote{1142} P. Turin Cat. 1880,\footnote{1143} P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105,\footnote{1144} P. Turin Cat. 1888 +

\footnote{1138} P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 11–12) iw sš bw-\(thz\)-imn \(dšj\) iw-f šsp st n\(sf\) ‘The scribe Butehamun ferried across and received it from him.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 60.

\footnote{1139} Year 6 of Ramesses VI, see Janssen 1994b, p. 92. P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 (vso. II, 14) iw-w \(sd\)-w iw-w \(iš\)-w r njwt ‘They collected them and took them to the City.’ Translation by Janssen 1994b, p. 92.

\footnote{1140} Year 9 of Ramesses XI, see n. 1073. P. Turin Cat. 2098 (vso. 1) \(wḏj\) in\(mttf\)-njwt […] iC r njwt in […] ‘Going forth from Western [Thebes …] arrival in Thebes by […].’ Translation by the author.

\footnote{1141} Year 8 and 9 of Ramesses IX, see Demarée 2010, pp. 64–65. P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 (vso. I, 2) sbd 1 \(šḥ\) sw 3 \(šm\) r njwt in \(ns\) \(ḥw\) \(ţ\)-w ‘First month of \(šḥ\) day 3. Going to Thebes by the captains.’; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 (vso. II, 12–13) \(šm\) r njwt in \(šš\) \(ḥr\) n ps \(ḥr\) ps \(wṛ\) ps \(ntj\) sš n t\(ns\) \(ḥr\) n njwt ‘Going to Thebes by the scribe of the necropolis Hori and the watchman (to) the place where the scribe of mat of Thebes Hori is.’; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 (vso. III, 6) sbd 2 \(šḥ\) sw 24 wsf n ts ist \(šm\) r njwt in \(ns\) \(ḥw\) \(ţ\)-w n ps \(ḥr\) ‘Second month of \(šḥ\) day 24. Inactivity of the gang. Going to Thebes by the captains of the necropolis’. Translations by Demarée 2010, pp. 62–64.

\footnote{1142} Year 8 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, p. 488. P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 (rto. II, 11) \(dšj\) r njwt in ps \(ḥm\) \(tj\) 2 sš-k\(d\) \(im\)-\(ht\) […] ‘Crossing over to Thebes by the 2 craftsmen and the draftsman Amenhotep […].’ Translation by the author.

\footnote{1143} Year 29 and 30 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, pp. 304, 315. P. Turin Cat. 1880 (rto. I, 9) […] \(ḥrj\)-\(md\(šj\)\) m\(ntw\)-\(ms\) r njwt ‘[…] The chief of police Montumose [went] to No.’; P. Turin Cat. 1880 (vso. VII, 4) \(gd-f\) n-sn iw-i \(šm\) [r] njwt ‘He said to them: I will go [to] No.’ Translations by Edgerton 1951, pp. 139, 144.

\footnote{1144} Year 15 and 16 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, pp. 511–512. P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 (rto. I, 16) \(dšj\) r njwt in \(šš\) \(ḥrj\)-\(š\) ‘Crossing over to Thebes by the scribe Horisheri.’; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 (rto. I, 17) \(dšj\) r njwt in \(šš\) \(ḥrj\)-\(š\) ‘Crossing over to Thebes by the scribe Horisheri.’ Translations by Helck 2002, p. 512 (rto. I,
16 Der Schreiber Hřr-srj fuhr zur Stadt über; rto. I, 17 Überfahrt zur Stadt durch Schreiber Hřr-srj).

1145 Year 17 and 18 of Ramesses XI, see Helck 2002, p. 565. P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (rto. II, 5) sdb 1 šmw sw 28 dj r njwt in [p]s 4 hmw.w ‘First month of šmw day 28. Crossing over to Thebes by the 4 craftsmen.’; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (rto. II, 14) røpt-sp 18 sdb 4 šmw sw [2][8] dj r njwt in ps 6 hmw.w r ps nj tjš im ‘Year 18 fourth month of šmw day 2[8]. Crossing over to Thebes by the 6 craftsmen to where the vizier is.’ Translations by the author.


1147 Year 17 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, p. 523. P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. II, 26–27) røpt-sp 17 sdb 3 prt sw 14 dj r njwt in ts ist ‘Year 17 third month of prt day 14. Crossing over to Thebes by the crew of the necropolis.’ Translation by the author.


1150 Year 17 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, p. 521. P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 (rto. A6, 5) ḫr ḫr […] i ḫr m pr imm-r ‘Now […] I went to the temple of Amun-Ra.’ Translation by the author. Due to the use of the verb ḫr this reference could also be interpreted as an arrival. The assumption that the departing undertaken here was specifically to Eastern Thebes is based on the destination being pr imm-r.

1151 Year 13 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, p. 504. P. Turin Cat. 2087 (vso. 1–2) røpt-sp 13 sdb 3 prt sw 9 ḥrw pn šm r njwt in ts-hm-m-ḥb [fem.] ‘Year 13 third month of prt day 9. On this day going to Thebes by Tahemneh heb.’ Translation by the author.

1152 Year 22 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 244. O. Turin N. 57034 (rto. 7) sw 12 ps djš ‘Day 12. The crossing.’ Translation by the author.

In, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso, O. Turin N. 57034, and O. Turin N. 57044 the destination \((nj\text{wt})\) of the crossing is not mentioned in the reference. It therefore seems the usage of the verb \(d\text{s}\j\) in itself in some cases was enough to also indicate the direction. In non-literary Deir el-Medina texts \(d\text{s}\j\), signifying crossing over to Eastern Thebes, is only found in texts dated to the 20th dynasty. This might indicate a shift in the usage of this verb into specifically referring to crossing the Nile and going to Eastern Thebes in the 20th dynasty. Based on the references discussed here above, the reasons for crossing and going to Eastern Thebes were work-related or connected to the administration of the necropolis.

Also worth mentioning in this connection is a reference in the account P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 to someone referred to as ‘he’ \((=f\); probably the vizier) who arrived in Eastern Thebes, went up \((t\text{s}\j)\) and thereafter ‘one’ \((=tw)\) took the office of the vizier. The going up here is presumably referring to going up from the riverbank of the Nile to the city, just as one descended \((h\text{s}\j)\) when going from the necropolis to the riverbank.

5.1.2.6 Departing to the riverbank

References in non-literary texts from Deir el-Medina dated to the 20th dynasty to someone going to the riverbank \((m\text{ryt})\) are quite frequent. As with references to crossing over to Eastern Thebes, references to departing to the riverbank are mainly found in necropolis journals, and additionally in, for example, some notes and depositions. Three ostraca journals include references to the crew being taken \((i\text{t}\text{s})\) to the riverbank. In O. DeM 148 the person taking the crew to the riverbank is not mentioned. In O. DeM 427, on the other hand, it is stated that the vizier

\[\text{References:}]

1154 Year 8 of Ramesses VII, see Helck 2002, p. 461. P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (vso. I, 1) [...] \(tw-f\ r\ [nj\text{wt}()]\) \(t\text{s}\j\) \(i\text{w}-f\ t\text{zw}\ t\text{s} \(i\text{sw}\ t\text{tj}\) \(t\text{tj}\) ‘He (came) to [Thebes (?)] and went up. He took the office of the vizier.’ Translation by the author.

1155 Černý 2004, p. 95.

1156 Year 26 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 277. O. DeM 148 (vso. 5) \(sbd\) 3 \(s\text{h}\t\) \(s\text{w}\) 29 \(i\text{rw}-\text{sw}\) \(i\text{w}-\text{tw}\) \(i\text{t}\text{s}\) 3 \(i\text{st}\) \(r\) \(m\text{ryt}\) ‘Third month of \(s\text{h}\t\) day 29. Irsu. The crew was taken to the
took the crew to the riverbank.\textsuperscript{1157} The person/s being taken to the riverbank in O. DeM 284 is unfortunately not written out, but based on the similar references in O. DeM 148 and O. DeM 427 one may suggest that it was the crew on this occasion as well.\textsuperscript{1158} Two other ostraca texts, the protocol O. Geneva MAH 12550 and the note O. Turin N. 57556 include references to a named person being taken to the riverbank. In O. Geneva MAH 12550 it is a person named Kha\textsuperscript{1159} and in O. Turin N. 57556 probably a woman named Aset.\textsuperscript{1160} The assumption that the person being taken to the riverbank in O. Turin N. 57556 (vso. 1–2) is Aset is based on the fact that on the recto of this same text she is mentioned as being at the ‘place of examination’ (\textit{st smtr}).\textsuperscript{1161}

The journals P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto\textsuperscript{1162} and P. Turin Cat. 2044\textsuperscript{1163} have entries on persons going (\textit{šm}) of their own accord to riverbank.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 277 (\textit{lrw-sw}. Man führte die Arbeiterschaft zum Hafen fort).

\textsuperscript{1157} Year 28 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 293. O. DeM 427 (vso. 11) […] \textit{sw} 5 \textit{wṣf ḫn n ṭṣj pst hmt ṭṣ nṣ r mṛṭ \[…\] \textit{mryt} \[…\] ‘\[…\] day 5. Inactivity. Arrival by the vizier at the \textit{ḥtm} and took the crew to the riverbank […]’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 295 (Es kam der \textit{Vezir} zur Festung und holte die Arbeiterschaft zum Hafen).

\textsuperscript{1158} Year 29 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 303. O. DeM 284 (rto. 2–3) \textit{sw} 24 \textit{ḥw’tś ṭṣ r mṛṭ} ‘Day 24. One took (the crew (?)) to the riverbank.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1159} Year 11 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 227. O. Geneva MAH 12550 (rto. 4) \textit{ḥw’ṭś ḫn ḫr ṭṣ r mṛṭ} ‘When Kha was taken to the riverbank.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 228 (Als man aber \textit{Ḥw} zum Hafen abführte).

\textsuperscript{1160} Year 25 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 270. O. Turin N. 57556 (vso. 1–2) \textit{[rnpt-sp] 25} \textit{ṣbd} 1 \textit{ḥw’tś} \textit{m ṭṣ mṛṭ} ‘\[Year 2\]5 first month of \textit{ḥw’tś} day 15. Taken to the riverbank.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 270 (Zum Hafen geführt).

\textsuperscript{1161} For the probable location of this ‘place of examination’ at the riverbank, see McDowell 1990, p. 220.

\textsuperscript{1162} P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. II, 30) \textit{ḥw’ṭś ṭṣ iḥw ṭṣ ṭṣ r mṛṭ} \textit{p̱ṭr wṣw} \[…\] \textit{ḥw’tś ṭṣ m ṭṣ r mṛṭ} ‘He said to them: Go to the shore of the river [and get in] my boat.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 529 (Er sagte zu ihnen: Geht zum Ufer des Flusses [und steigt in] mein Schiff).

\textsuperscript{1163} Year 1 of Ramesses V, see Helck 2002, p. 417. For an attributed date to year 1 of Ramesses VI, see Kitchen 1983b, p. 340. P. Turin Cat. 2044 (rto. 1–2) \textit{[rnpt-sp]} 1 \textit{ḥw’tś sw} 2[4 \[…\] ḫr ṭṣ ḫr \[…\] ṭṣ ṭṣ r mṛṭ \[…\] ‘\[Year 1\] first month of \textit{ḥw’tś} day 2[4. The crew went] to carry […] and reached the riverbank […]; P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. II, 5) \[…\] \textit{ḥw’tś ṭṣ r mṛṭ} \[\textit{t r ṣḥp nṣ} \textit{ṣgmn.w ḫn ṭṣ ṭṣ bṣ.w ṭṣf} […] ‘\[…\] went to the riverbank [to receive the] \textit{ṣgmn}-oil and the copper, which […].’ Translations by Helck 2002, pp. 417, 420 (rto. 1–2 [Die Arbeiterschaft ging] zum Tragen […] und erreicht[е] den Hafen […]; vso. II, 5 […] ging zum Hafen, um das \textit{ṣgmn}-Öl und das Kupfer [entgegenzunehmen], welches […]').
the riverbank, as opposed to being taken as in the references discussed above. In addition, the account O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E has a reference to the anonymous writer ‘I’ (śi) going down (ḥṣj) to the riverbank,\(^{1164}\) and the deposition O. DeM 569 starts with the writer telling how he went (nꜣ) loaded with baskets to the riverbank.\(^{1165}\) In the deposition O. BM EA 5637\(^{1166}\) and in the note O. DeM 571\(^{1167}\) the anonymous persons going to the riverbank are referred to as ‘they’ (św). And the last text to be presented in this section is the note O. Cairo CG 25264 including a request to go to the riverbank.\(^{1168}\)

5.1.2.7 Passing the walls/guard posts

References to someone passing the walls/guard posts (nꜣ inb.wt, sing. ts inb) and thereby leaving the village area, are in the 20th-dynasty corpus texts mainly found in necropolis journals dated to the reign of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.\(^{1169}\)

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\(^{1164}\) The reign of Ramesses III, see Kitchen 1989, p. 310. For an attributed date to the late 19th dynasty, see Janssen 1975, p. 30. O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E (vso. 4) ĭw=ḥṣj r mryt ĭw[śi] ṣḏj ṣnj ‘I went down to the riverbank and sent for it.’ Translation by McDowell 1999, p. 85.

\(^{1165}\) The reign of Ramesses III, see Kitchen 1983a, p. 568. O. DeM 569 (rto. 1) ĭr ĭnkr ṣw[śi] nꜣ ṣṯp m ṣṣy ‘[n-]ḥbw r mryt ‘As for me, I went loaded with these boxes to the riverbank.’ Translation by Allam 1973, p. 134 (Was mich anbetrifft – ich zog, beladen mit diesem Paar Behälter, zum Hafen). For ṣ[n-]ḥbw ‘box’, see Janssen 1975, p. 203, n. 22.

\(^{1166}\) The reign of Ramesses III, see Demarée 2006b, p. 60. O. BM EA 5637 (rto. 6) ĭw=ṣw ṣm ṣn ṣ nj ‘t mryt ‘They went to the ṣ ṣm ṣn.’ Translation by Demarée 2006b, p. 60.

\(^{1167}\) Year 9 of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI, see Helck 2002, p. 497. O. DeM 571 (rto. 5) ĭw=ṣw ḥṣj ṣnj mryt ‘They went down to the riverbank.’ Translation by the author; see also Frandsen 1989, p. 122.

\(^{1168}\) Year 3 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 388. O. Cairo CG 25264 (rto. 4) mé-n ṣ nj t mryt ‘Come to the riverbank!’ Translation by Černý and Groll 1993, p. 348.

\(^{1169}\) P. Turin Cat. 1880 (vso. III, 1; rto. I, 1; rto. I, 6; rto. II, 7; rto. II, 11; rto. III, 11; rto. III, 14); P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 (unpublished, see Černý 2004, p. 344, n. 5; Valbelle 1985a, p. 34, n. 6); O. Berlin P 12631 (rto. 15); O. Cairo CG 25530 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25533 (vso. 10); O. DeM 36 (rto. 9); O. DeM 38 (rto. II, 22); O. DeM 10177 (rto. 1; rto. 2; rto. 3; rto. 4); O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39 (rto. 10 [O. Varille 39]; rto. 1 [O. IFAO 1255]; rto. 3 [O. IFAO 1255]).

All of these, except O. DeM 10177, have inbt/inb.wt as a point of reference for the passing. In O. DeM 10177 the verb sš/snj stands without inbt, however on recto 4 the direction of passing is specified as bnj ‘to the outside’. A similar reference to passing to the outside can be found in the note O. Nicholson Museum R. 97, see n. 1171.
Additionally, references to someone passing the walls/guard posts are found in three notes – one dated to the reign of Ramesses IV\(^{1170}\) and two to the reign of Ramesses IX\(^{1171}\) – and in one account dated to the reign of Ramesses III.\(^{1172}\) In the 20th-dynasty corpus texts, passing the walls/guard posts is generally written \(s\dot{s}/s\dot{n}j\) \(i\mathit{nb}.\mathit{wt}\) (with minor variations). In comparison with references for passing the walls/guard posts in the 19th-dynasty corpus texts,\(^{1173}\) it seems expressions for passing the walls/guard posts were in the 20th-dynasty corpus texts to a higher degree associated with striking and protesting.\(^{1174}\) Of the 20th-dynasty corpus texts including references to passing the walls/guard posts, only the reference in O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39 differs from the rest in that here one named person passed the walls/guard posts. The purpose of the passing does not seem to have been related to a protest or strike:

\[
\text{(rto. 17–19) } h\dot{r} \ i\mathit{r} \ m-q\dot{r} \ s\dot{s}/s\dot{n}j \ nb-\mathit{wn}=f \ ts \ in\mathit{bt} \ i\mathit{w}=f \ ij \ r \ p\mathit{sy}(\sim i) \ q\dot{z} \ i\mathit{w}=f
\]

\[
[t]w \ s\mathbb{f} \ t \ i\mathit{rj} \ n \ dbn \ 3 \ '\text{When Nebwenef passed the wall/guard post, he came to (my) house. He took: 1 knife, makes 3 } dbn.'^{1175}
\]

5.1.2.8 Going up the mountains

References in the 20th-dynasty corpus texts to the crew going to the Valley of the Kings or the Valley of the Queens are generally written \(t\mathit{s}j \ r\) (‘going up to’), \(t\mathit{s}j \ in\) \(t\mathit{s} \ ist \ r\) (‘the crew going up to’), or \(b\mathit{skw} \ t\mathit{s}j\) (‘going up to work’), with minor variations. These kinds of references are found in, for example, necropolis

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\(^{1170}\) O. Cairo CG 25290 bis (rto. II, 1: \([s\dot{s}/s\dot{n}j]\)).

\(^{1171}\) O. DeM 571 (rto. 3: \(s\dot{s}/s\dot{n}j \ j\mathit{rj} \ n \ 4 \ in\mathit{b}.\mathit{wt}\), dated to Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI); O. Nicholson Museum R. 97 (vso. 1; vso. 2: \(s\dot{s}/s\dot{n}j \ b\mathit{nr}\)).

\(^{1172}\) O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39.

\(^{1173}\) See section 5.1.1.4.

\(^{1174}\) See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97.

\(^{1175}\) Translation by Allam 1973, p. 25 (Als \(Nb-\mathit{wn}=f\) die Mauer passierte, kam er in (mein) Vorratshaus. [Er nahm]: Messer: 1 – macht 3 } dbn); see also Burkard 2003b, p. 13; p. 98 in this study.
journals dated to the mid and late 20th dynasty. Additionally, the journal O. DeM 320 includes a reference to some young men going up, and the journal O. Berlin P 12629 contains a reference to the crew having been taken (išt) to the valley.

In addition to journals, several 20th-dynasty letters and notes include references to the crew or named persons going up to the Valley of the Kings. These letters and notes are dated to the early and mid-20th dynasty – to the reign of Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, and Ramesses VI – and one to the 20th dynasty in general. References to presumably the crew going up to one of the royal valleys are found in the account O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O.

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1176 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1885 (rto. 5); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (rto. II, 16); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. VII, 5; rto. VIII, 3); O. Turin N. 57031 (vso. 2); O. Turin N. 57156 (rto. I, 5; rto. II, 1; rto. II, 7).
1177 O. DeM 320 (rto. 3–4) sḥm w sw 24 hrw n tšj ns ḫḏ.w r ps [...] ‘Fourth month of ṣḥm day 24. Day of the young men going up to the [...].’ Translation by the author.
1178 Year 26 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 278. O. Berlin P 12629 (rto. 2) iṭz tš ist r sḥt [...] ‘Taking the crew to the valley [...].’ Translation by the author.
1179 Mid-20th dynasty, see Demarée 2002, p. 35. O. BM EA 50734 + 50742 (rto. 13) tšj [...] ‘Going up [...]’ Translation by the author.
1180 Year 28 or 29 of Ramesses III, see O. Berlin P 10663 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Berlin P 10663 (rto. 1–2) ṛḥpt-sp 28 ṣbd 1 sḥt sw 17 hrw pn tšj n tš ist r tš st tšt ‘Year 28 first month of sḥt day 17. On this day the crew went up to the great place.’ Translation by the author.
1181 Year 4 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 391. O. Cairo CG 25270 (rto. 1–2) hrw pn tšj in tš ist r sḥt tšt ‘On this day the crew went up to the great field.’
1182 Year 6 (?) of Ramesses IV, see Grandet 2000, p. 45. O. DeM 759 (rto. 1–2) ṛḥpt-sp 6 (?) ṣbd 1 sḥt sw 16 tšj [...] ‘Sixth month of sḥt day 16. Going up [...]’ by Bakenamun and [his] son Tjer.’ Translations by the author.
1183 Year 1 of Ramesses IV, see O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a in the Deir el-Medina Database, Remarks. O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a (rto. 7–8) lw-f ḫḏ ḫḏ n sḥt tšj tšj tš ist tš ‘He said: let the crew go up.’ Translation by the author.
1184 20th dynasty, see Černý 1935b, p. 45. O. Cairo CG 25636 (rto. 1) [...] ṣbd 1 sḥt sw 5 hrw pn tšj in tš ist [...] ‘First month of sḥt day 6. On this day the crew went up.’ Translation by the author.
Vienna H. 4 dated to the reign of Ramesses IV,\textsuperscript{187} the list O. Cairo CG 25575
dated to the late 20th or early 21st dynasty,\textsuperscript{188} and the list O. DeM 10269
probably dated to year 5 of Ramesses VII.\textsuperscript{189}

The vizier or other dignitaries are mentioned going to the Valley of the
Kings in, for example, the journals P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 +
2083 recto\textsuperscript{187} and O. BTdK 659,\textsuperscript{188} while the journal P. Turin Cat. 2044 includes
an entry where the chief of police tells the crew not to go up before he has
returned to tell them to do so.\textsuperscript{189}

5.1.2.9 Departing to other destinations in Western Thebes

A last group of 20th-dynasty references discussed here are a sample of references
to someone leaving the village area and going to various locations within the near

\textsuperscript{187} Helck 2002, p. 370. O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4 (rto. 16) sw 18
\textit{iw+w šdj r sḥt} [… ‘Day 18. They went up to the valley […]’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{188} Černý 1935b, p. 27. O. Cairo CG 25575 (rto. 1–2) \textit{rnpt-sp} 7 šbd 2 sḥt sw 1 šdj r mḥ bškw
\textit{m st tn in ts ist} ‘Year 7 second month of sḥt day 1. Going up to work in this place by the
crew.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{189} Grandet 2010, p. 148. O. DeM 10269 (rto. 4) šdj […] ‘Going up […]’ Translation by the
author.

\textsuperscript{187} P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. I, 1–2) \textit{rnpt-sp} 17 šbd 2 prt sw 6
\textit{wsf n tς ist šn r sjp tς st pr-rς ‘nh wds nb n ṣw rtww n ṣw ṣḥr […] sš hj-m-hdt ssw ḫς-drt
idrw imn-nht šς ḫj ‘[Year 17 second month of prt day 6.] Inactivity of the gang.
The inspectors of the tomb […] the scribe Khaemhedjet, the guardian Qadjeret, the deputy
Amennakht, son of Hay, went to inspect the place of Pharaoh.’; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 +
2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. IX, 6–7) \textit{rnpt-sp} 17 šbd 3 prt sw 23 hrw pn šdj r šḥt ‘st in ṭςτj ṣς
ḥm-nḥr ṭςj wbz-nswt imj-r pr-hd ‘Year 17 third month of prt day 23. On this day going up to
the great field by the vizier, the head priest, the royal butler, and the overseer of the treasury.’
Translations by the author.

\textsuperscript{188} Year 1 of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII, see Dorn 2011a, p. 411. O. BTdK 659 (rto. 1–2)
\textit{rnpt-sp} 1 šbd 2 sḥt sw 22 hrw pn šdj in wbz-nswt nb-nṣf-rṣ wbz-nswt ḫς-r ‘Year 1 second
month of sḥt day 22. On this day going up by the royal butler Nebmaatra and the royal butler
Kar.’ Translation by the author; see also Dorn 2011a, I, p. 410.

\textsuperscript{189} Year 1 of Ramesses V, see Helck 2002, p. 417. For an attributed date to year 1 of
Ramesses VI, see Kitchen 1983b, p. 340. P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. III, 3) \textit{hrw pn} […] \textit{ṭm irj-w}
šjṭ ‘Do not go up today.’; P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. III, 4–5) \textit{ink i.irj(ai)} ḫj r-qd n-tn šjṭ ‘I
myself will then come and say to you: go up.’ Translations by Helck 2002, p. 421 (vso. III, 3
Steigt heute nicht hinauf; vso. III, 4–5 Ich selbst komme dann, um euch zu sagen: Steigt
hinauf).
vicinity in Western Thebes. The journal O. BTdK 665\textsuperscript{1190} and the notes O. Cairo CG 25291,\textsuperscript{1191} O. Cairo CG 25309,\textsuperscript{1192} and O. UC 39661\textsuperscript{1193} mention people going to Deir el-Bahri. In the journal P. Turin Cat. 1880 the policeman Montumose tells the workmen that he will go before them to the temple of Seti I.\textsuperscript{1194} As this text is the well-known Turin Strike Papyrus, the reason for leaving the village was on this occasion presumably the workmen striking due to provisions not being handed out. In the journal P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso the scribe Hori wrote about how he went to the mortuary temple of Pharaoh.\textsuperscript{1195} The journal P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 includes two references to stonemasons departing to the temple of Hathor,\textsuperscript{1196} and the protocol O. Berlin P 10633 has one reference (rto. 3) to someone referred to as ‘he’ (*f) who went (*h*n) to the temple of Horemheb.

\textsuperscript{1190} Year 5 of Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI, see Dorn 2011a, p. 416. O. BTdK 665 (rto. 2) *iw sš imn-nht pš stw 2 hšj r ḫrj ḫr ḫrṣrt* ‘The scribe Amennakht and the 2 stw-officials went down to Deir el-Bahri.’ Translation by the author; see also Dorn 2011a, I, p. 415.

\textsuperscript{1191} Year 6 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 398. O. Cairo CG 25291 (rto. 5) *iw shr ḫy šm hř ḫr ḫrṣrt* ‘The guardian Khay went to Deir el-Bahri.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1192} Year 6 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 400. O. Cairo CG 25309 (rto. 3–4) *iw sš imn-nht šm hř ḫrṣrt* ‘The scribe Amennakht went to Deir el-Bahri.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1193} Year 30 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, p. 318. O. UC 39661 (rto. 2–3) *iw-w iw hr ḫrṣrt r ḫrj* ‘They went up to Deir el-Bahri.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1194} Year 29 and 30 of Ramesses III, see Helck 2002, pp. 304, 315. P. Turin Cat. 1880 (rto. IV, 18–17) *mtw-i šm r-hṣrt-tn r tš ḫw-t mn-msw’t-r’ ‘I will go before you to the temple of mn-msw’t-r’.* Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1195} Year 15–17 of Ramesses IX, see Helck 2002, pp. 510, 516, 518. P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (vso. IX, 24) *iw-i šmt n-f r tš wšḫ ’št n tš ḫw-t pr-r’ ‘I went to him to the great hall of the temple of Pharaoh.’ Translation by the author.

\textsuperscript{1196} Year 17 and 18 of Ramesses XI, see Helck 2002, p. 565. P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (rto. II, 3) *sbēd 1 šmaw sw 20 ḫḏj pš 3 ḫrḥr-jnṛ [r] šš’d ḫḏ m pr ḫw-t-hr ‘First month of šmaw day 20. The 3 stonemasons went to cut plaster in the temple of Hathor.’; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (rto. II, 6) *sbēd 1 šmaw sw 29 ḫḏj pš 4 ḫrḥr-jnṛ r pr ḫw-t-hṛt r šš’d ḫḏ ‘First month of šmaw day 29. The 4 stonemasons went to the temple of Hathor to cut plaster.’ Translations by Helck 2002, p. 566 (rto. II, 3 Es gingen die 3 Steinmetzen zum Gippschneiden im Tempel der Hathor; rto. II, 6 Es gingen die 4 Steinmetzen zum Tempel der Hathor, um Gips zu schneiden).
In the protocol O. UC 39619 a workman complains that his wife went to the field when he was ill. In view of it being a woman going to the field in this reference, it seems more plausible that r sḥt here should be regarded as the countryside and not as the Valley of the Kings.

And lastly, two curious references related to this discussion on departing can be found in the letters O. Vienna H. 9, where the sender is urging the receiver to go to a man named Seti and fetch a goat from Palestine, and O. Ashmolean Museum 188, where the scribe Hori is said to be taking some vessels to the mountains.

5.1.3 Texts lacking an attributed date

Of all papyri and ostraca texts included in the corpus with references to departing, ten texts lack an attributed date: two letters, three journals, and five oracle questions. The references to departing in the letters and the journals

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1197 The reign of Ramesses IV, see David 2010, p. 111. For an attributed date to year 7 of Ramesses IV, see Helck 2002, p. 404. O. UC 39619 (rto. 4) iw-smt n=s r sḥt iw-i irt sbd 1 iw-i hms.k(wi) ‘And she went for it to (the) field, while I spent one month sitting alone.’ Translation by David 2010, p. 113.

1198 Toivari-Viitala (2001, p. 81, n. 488) suggests that this reference might be an expression for the woman leaving the relationship, as the information on the departure is provided in connection with a dispute. The verb šm was used to express a woman ending a marriage and ‘going away’. Toivari-Viitala 2001, pp. 90–93; Toivari-Viitala 2013.

1199 The reign of Ramesses III, see Kitchen 1983a, p. 563. O. Vienna H. 9 (rto. 2–5) ih hn-k n sṭḥ ntw-nk inj pꜣ nḥ m ts-tnk ‘May you go to Seti, and fetch the goat (that is) from Ta’anak.’ Translation by Kitchen 2008, p. 438.

1200 The reign of Ramesses III or Ramesses IV, see O. Ashmolean Museum 188 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Remarks. O. Ashmolean Museum 188 (rto. 4–5) prt pꜣ sḥr iṣ-f nꜣ hn.w r pꜣ ḫw ‘See, the scribe Hori is taking the vessels to the mountain.’ Translation by the author.

1201 P. München ÄS 818; P. Turin [unnumbered 5].

1202 O. Cairo CG 25298; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. DeM 10023.

1203 O. IFAO 557; O. IFAO 562; O. IFAO 851; O. IFAO 883; O. IFAO 1555.


1205 O. Cairo CG 25298 (rto. 1) [...] iw ḥṣj in [...] ‘[...] going up by [...]’; O. Cairo CG 25302 (rto. 1, 1–2) ḫrw pn šm r mryt m št ‘On this day going to (the) dyke (?) of the valley.’ (see
without an attributed date are similar to references to departing found in the 19th-
and 20th-dynasty corpus texts discussed in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2.

The five oracle texts lacking an attributed date provide a slightly different
aspect on mobility and departing. Three of the oracle texts consist of a question
whether someone will leave the village or not: O. IFAO 557 (rto. 1–2) n iw(=i) n
bnr ‘Will (I) go out?’,\(^\text{1206}\) O. IFAO 562 (rto. 1–2) in ḫdj=i mtw=i šm ‘Will I travel
north? Will I go away?’,\(^\text{1207}\) and O. IFAO 1555 (rto. 1) n iw=f ḫdj ‘Will he go
north?’\(^\text{1208}\) In the oracle question O. IFAO 851 (rto. 1–2) it is asked whether ‘I’
(=i) will not have to go to where ‘he’ (sw) is: in tm=i šm r p3 ntj sw im,\(^\text{1209}\) and in
O. IFAO 883 (rto. 1–2) whether the petitioner caused ‘him’ (ṣf) to take ‘me’ (=-i)
to the valley: ṛḏjt ḫṣ=f r tš slḥ.\(^\text{1210}\) Presumably these questions were asked by
villagers wanting to know whether they (or someone else) would be able to get
work/continue working and living within the Theban necropolis or would be
forced to leave the workmen’s community.

5.1.4 Concluding remarks

Textual references to someone connected to the workmen’s community of Deir el-
Medina departing are numerous and diverse in the non-literary texts. Expressions
of functionally-bound forms of individual departures to a large range of
destinations are found dating from throughout the New Kingdom. Textual
references to departing specifically on a journey (wḏj, mš’, ḫnt) are quite few in
number and generally found in letters dated to the late 20th dynasty. In addition,
some of the Late Ramesside Letters include references to someone departing or
going forth (wḏj) without explicitly referring to departing on a journey.

\(^{\text{1206}}\) Translation by Černý 1935c, p. 46 (Est-ce que je sortirai?).
\(^{\text{1207}}\) Translation by Černý 1935c, p. 47 (Est-ce que j’irai au nord? Est-ce que je partirai?).
\(^{\text{1208}}\) Translation by the author; see also Černý 1972, pp. 68–69.
\(^{\text{1209}}\) Translation by Černý 1972, p. 57 (Est-ce que je ne dois pas aller à l’endroit où il est?).
\(^{\text{1210}}\) Translation by Černý 1972, p. 61 (J’ai fait qu’il (me) prenne à la campagne?).
References to someone connected to the workmen’s community departing to the north (ḥdj) or to the south (ḥmtj, rṣj) are found in a large variety of the corpus texts. In addition to some of the Late Ramesside Letters, also, for example, letters dated to the reign of Ramesses II, journals dated to the reign of Merenptah and the late 20th dynasty, accounts dated to the late 20th dynasty, notes dated to the reign of Ramesses IV, and protocols dated to the mid-20th dynasty, include references to departures to the north or to the south. In the letters the departing is generally of a private character, with the person undertaking the departure being either the sender or the receiver of the letter (‘I’, *i* or ‘you’, *k*), or alternatively a third party (usually ‘he’, *f*) referred to in the letter. An example worth mentioning here is the letter P. München ÄS 818. The person referred to as undertaking a journey north is a woman and she is also the sender of the letter. In the necropolis journals, on the other hand, the person undertaking the departure north is more often referred to with a title, for example a vizier (ṭṣṭj), a royal butler (wḥ3-ḥswt), or a scribe (ṣṣ).

In addition to references where the subject is actively taking part in the departure, the corpus also includes references to someone being sent or brought (*iw, inj, ḡdj, ḡṣj, ḡṣb, ḡn*) or taken (*ḥtɔ, ḡṭj, ḡtɔw*) away. The reason for these departures is usually work-related or connected to bringing items or provisions to somewhere, and the point of departure is in general the Theban necropolis. A special group are references to someone being taken to the riverbank, presumably in order to be interrogated. References to a person being sent or taken away are mainly found in letters dated to the late 20th dynasty, but also in some letters dated to the 19th dynasty. A group of references also worth mentioning in this connection consists of references to letters being sent through (*ḥ-mdj*) a person thereby functioning as a messenger. These types of references are mainly found in the Late Ramesside Letters.

People connected to the workmen’s community being sent or going of their own accord to Eastern Thebes are found in some of the 19th- and 20th-dynasty letters included in the corpus, but above all in necropolis journals dated to the reign of Ramesses III, Ramesses IX, or Ramesses XI. The reason for going to
Eastern Thebes was presumably mainly to undertake various work-related tasks, for example in the office of the vizier. The journal P. Turin Cat. 2087 verso includes an entry where a woman is recorded as having departed (šm) to Eastern Thebes. Otherwise, the departing in these references is generally expressed as crossing over (dšf), as people were crossing the River Nile in order to reach the East Bank.

Similar references, where a certain verb is used to express departing to a certain place, can be found in references expressing, for example, going to the riverbank, passing the walls/guard posts of Deir el-Medina, and going up the mountain to one of the royal valleys. Going to the riverbank included a notion of descending from the village area located in the desert to the riverbank by the Nile, and thus the verb used in these references was in general hšj for ‘to descend’ or ‘to go down’. Leaving the village included, at least in some cases, passing the walls/guard posts, and therefore the verb šš/snj for ‘to pass’ was occasionally used to express departing from the village area. Going to one of the royal valleys meant climbing the mountains surrounding the valleys, and the verb tsj for ‘to go up’ was generally used to express these departures.

References to going to the riverbank, passing the walls/guard posts, or going up the mountains are mainly found in necropolis journals dated to the 19th and the 20th dynasty, but also at times in, for example, letters, accounts, notes, protocols, and depositions. In some of these references the destination itself (for example, Eastern Thebes or the Valley of the Kings) is not named at all. It therefore seems the mere usage of verbs such as dšf and tsj was enough to also indicate the direction, as these verbs were specifically related to crossing the Nile and going to Eastern Thebes (at least in 20th-dynasty Deir el-Medina administrative texts) or going up the mountains to one of the royal valleys.

References to someone going (iw, hn, šm) to Deir el-Bahri or another royal mortuary temple in the Western Theban area are mainly found in necropolis journals and notes from the 20th dynasty, but in addition also in a few protocols, lists, and depositions from both the 19th and the 20th dynasty. And lastly, a group of undated oracle questions include questions as to whether someone is going to
leave the village area or not, supposedly due to the lack of work opportunities within the necropolis.

5.2 Textual references to arriving

Textual references to a person connected to the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina arriving to various destinations occur in 195 non-literary ostraca and papyri texts included in the corpus. The texts including textual references to arriving therefore compose about two-thirds of all 322 non-literary ostraca and papyri texts included in the corpus. The classification of these 195 texts into text types is as follows: fifty-five letters, sixteen-eight journals, thirteen

\[1211\] Four of the letters have an uncertain classification: P. Florence 10057; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. Turin N. 57238. These texts will hereafter be regarded as letters, without separately referring to the uncertainty of their classification. The remaining letters are: P. Berlin P 10487; P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV; P. BM EA 10100; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10412; P. BM EA 10417; P. BM EA 10418 + 10287; P. BM EA 10430; P. BM EA 75016; P. BM EA 75018; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. BM EA 75021; P. DeM 6; P. DeM 8 verso; P. DeM 18; P. Geneva D 192; P. Geneva D 407; P. Leiden I 369; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1972; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 1977; P. Turin Cat. 1978; P. Turin Cat. 1979; P. Turin C GT 54100; O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. BM EA 5631; O. BM EA 65933a; O. Cairo CG 25831; O. DeM 128; O. DeM 418; O. DeM 440; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 969; O. DeM 10061; O. DeM 10100; O. DeM 10256; O. Qurna 620/2; O. Qurna 630/5; O. Qurna 644/3; O. Turin N. 57559; O. UC 39658.

\[1212\] P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237; P. Florence 10063; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091; P. Turin frgt. delta; P. UC 34336; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 118; O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 270; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 14255; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. BTdK 663; O. BTdK 664; O. Cairo CG 25272; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25303; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25535; O. Cairo CG 25537; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25560; O. Cairo CG 25565; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. Cairo CG 25648; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 41; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 897; O. DeM 10162; O. DeM 10176; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Louvre
accounts, forty-three notes, seven protocols, two depositions, one event, one list, one inventory, three model letters, and one unclassified text. In other words, references to arriving occur in ten of the total fifteen corpus text types.

An overview of how the textual references to arriving are divided between the papyri and ostraca texts gives the following numbers. Of the 105 papyri texts of the corpus, textual references to arriving are found in sixty-four papyri texts:

E 25325; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Prague H. 14; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57153.

P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Cairo CG 25547; O. DeM 319; O. DeM 943; O. DeM 677.

Four notes have an uncertain classification: O. Cairo CG 25713; O. DeM 571; O. Turin N. 57006; O. Turin N. 57413. These texts will hereafter be regarded as notes, without separately referring to the uncertainty of their classification. The remaining notes are: P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063; P. Turin Cat. 1923 + 2073 + 2082 + 2083; O. Ashmolean Museum 293; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 11254; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. BM EA 50744; O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25254; O. Cairo CG 25255; O. Cairo CG 25256; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25273; O. Cairo CG 25274; O. Cairo CG 25281; O. Cairo CG 25284 bis; O. Cairo CG 25289; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25552; O. Cairo CG 25566; O. Cairo CG 25630; O. Cairo CG 25653; O. Cairo JE 49557; O. Černý 17; O. DeM 98; O. DeM 341; O. DeM 610; O. DeM 886; O. DeM 956; O. DeM 1176 verso 9; O. DeM 1194 verso; O. Edgerton 14; O. Florence 2619 verso; O. Michaelides 6 verso; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97; O. Turin N. 57058; O. Turin N. 57169.

O. Ashmolean Museum 197 has an uncertain classification. It will hereafter be regarded as a protocol. The remaining protocols are: P. Berlin P 10460; P. Turin Cat. 2065; O. Berlin P 12654; O. Cairo CG 25237; O. DeM 918; O. Geneva MAH 12550.

The classification of O. DeM 917 as a deposition is uncertain, it will hereafter be regarded as such without separately referring to the uncertainty of its classification. The other deposition is O. Turin N. 57068.

The classification of O. Cairo CG 25724 is uncertain. It will hereafter be regarded as an event without separately referring to the uncertainty of its classification.

O. Cairo CG 25581.

P. Turin Cat. 2002.

The classification of all three model letters is uncertain. They will hereafter be regarded as model letters: O. Berlin P 12367; O. Glasgow D. 1925.84; O. Michaelides 66 recto.

O. Berlin P 14161.

For these fifteen text type categories and their overall distribution, see p. 43.
thirty-four are letters, nineteen are journals, six are accounts, two are notes, two are protocols, and one is an inventory. Of the 217 ostraca texts of the corpus, textual references to various forms of arrivals are found in 131 texts: twenty-one letters, forty-nine journals, seven accounts, forty-one


1224 P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237; P. Florence 10063; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091; P. Turin frgt. delta; P. UC 34336.

1225 P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109.

1226 P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063; P. Turin Cat. 1923 + 2073 + 2082 + 2083.

1227 P. Berlin P 10460; P. Turin Cat. 2065.

1228 P. Turin Cat. 2002.

1229 O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. BM EA 5631; O. BM EA 65933a; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. Cairo CG 25831; O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. DeM 128; O. DeM 418; O. DeM 440; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 969; O. DeM 10061; O. DeM 10100; O. DeM 10256; O. Qurna 620/2; O. Qurna 630/5; O. Qurna 644/3; O. Turin N. 57238; O. Turin N. 57559; O. UC 39658.

1230 O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 118; O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 270; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 14255; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. BTdK 663; O. BTdK 664; O. Cairo CG 25272; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25303; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25535; O. Cairo CG 25537; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25560; O. Cairo CG 25565; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. Cairo CG 25648; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 41; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 48; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 897; O. DeM 10162; O. DeM 10176; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Louvre E 25325; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Prague H. 14; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57153.

1231 O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Cairo CG 25547; O. DeM 319; O. DeM 677; O. DeM 943.
notes,\textsuperscript{1232} five protocols,\textsuperscript{1233} two depositions,\textsuperscript{1234} one event,\textsuperscript{1235} one list,\textsuperscript{1236} three model letters,\textsuperscript{1237} and one unclassified text.\textsuperscript{1238}

An examination of the chronological distribution of textual references to arriving lends to the conclusion that none of the 18th-dynasty corpus texts have references to arriving. Of the total 195 texts with textual references to arriving, thirty-nine papyri and ostraca texts are dated to the 19th dynasty.\textsuperscript{1239} All but two of these thirty-nine texts are written on ostraca since, of the papyri texts including a textual reference to arriving, only the letter P. Turin Cat. 1977 and the journal P. UC 34336 are dated to the 19th dynasty. Textual references to arriving in 20th-dynasty corpus texts are found in 142 ostraca and papyri texts.\textsuperscript{1240} The distribution

\textsuperscript{1232} O. Ashmolean Museum 293; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 11254; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. BM EA 50744; O. BM EA 68518; O. Cairo CG 25254; O. Cairo CG 25255; O. Cairo CG 25256; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25273; O. Cairo CG 25274; O. Cairo CG 25281; O. Cairo CG 25284 bis; O. Cairo CG 25289; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25552; O. Cairo CG 25566; O. Cairo CG 25630; O. Cairo CG 25653; O. Cairo CG 25713; O. Cairo JE 49557; O. Černý 17; O. DeM 98; O. DeM 341; O. DeM 571; O. DeM 610; O. DeM 886; O. DeM 956; O. DeM 1176 verso 9; O. DeM 1194 verso; O. Edgerton 14; O. Florence 2619 verso; O. Michaelides 6 verso; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97; O. Turin N. 57006; O. Turin N. 57058; O. Turin N. 57169; O. Turin N. 57413.

\textsuperscript{1233} O. Ashmolean Museum 197; O. Berlin P 12654; O. Cairo CG 25237; O. DeM 918; O. Geneva MAH 12550.

\textsuperscript{1234} O. DeM 917; O. Turin N. 57068.

\textsuperscript{1235} O. Cairo CG 25724.

\textsuperscript{1236} O. Cairo CG 25581.

\textsuperscript{1237} O. Berlin P 12367; O. Glasgow D. 1925.84; O. Michaelides 66 recto.

\textsuperscript{1238} O. Berlin P 14161.

\textsuperscript{1239} P. Turin Cat. 1977; P. UC 34336; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 118; O. Ashmolean Museum 197; O. Berlin P 12367; O. BM EA 5631; O. BM EA 65933a; O. Cairo CG 25237; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25537; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25547; O. Cairo CG 25552; O. Cairo CG 25560; O. Cairo CG 25581; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo CG 25831; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 319; O. DeM 440; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 677; O. DeM 886; O. DeM 918; O. DeM 969; O. DeM 10061; O. Glasgow D. 1925.84; O. Michaelides 66 recto; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Qurna 630/5; O. Qurna 644/3; O. Turin N. 57238; O. Turin N. 57413; O. Turin N. 57559.

\textsuperscript{1240} P. Berlin P 10460; P. Berlin P 10487; P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237; P. BM EA 10100; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10412; P. BM EA 10417; P. BM EA 10418 + 10287; P. BM EA 10430; P. BM EA 75016; P. BM EA 75018; P. BM EA
of these 142 texts between papyri and ostraca is sixty-two papyri texts to eighty ostraca texts. Fourteen corpus texts lacking an attributed date include references to arriving. These thirteen texts are all ostraca texts.

When overviewing the chronological distribution between the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasty in the whole corpus of this study one gets the following percentages; texts dated to the 18th dynasty ca. one per cent, texts dated to the 19th dynasty ca. twenty per cent, texts dated to the 20th dynasty ca. seventy per cent, and texts lacking an attributed date about ten per cent of all corpus texts.\[1242\]

\[75019 + 10302; P. BM EA 75021; P. DeM 6; P. DeM 8 verso; P. DeM 18; P. Florence 10057; P. Florence 10063; P. Geneva D 192; P. Geneva D 407; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063; P. Leiden I 369; P. Leiden I 370; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; P. Turin Cat. 1923 + 2073 + 2082 + 2083; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1971; P. Turin Cat. 1972; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 1978; P. Turin Cat. 1979; P. Turin Cat. 1990 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2077 + 2077 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2002; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2065; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 209; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin CGT 54100; P. Turin frg. delta; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 11254; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Berlin P 12654; O. Berlin P 14255; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. BM EA 50744; O. BM EA 68518; O. BTdK 663; O. BTdK 664; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. Cairo CG 25254; O. Cairo CG 25255; O. Cairo CG 25256; O. Cairo CG 25264; O. Cairo CG 25272; O. Cairo CG 25273; O. Cairo CG 25274; O. Cairo CG 25281; O. Cairo CG 25284; O. Cairo CG 25289; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25303; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25330; O. Cairo CG 25335; O. Cairo CG 25565; O. Cairo CG 25566; O. Cairo CG 25569; O. Cairo CG 25564; O. Cairo CG 25568; O. Cairo CG 25656; O. Cairo CG 25653; O. Cairo CG 25713; O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 41; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 48; O. DeM 128; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 341; O. DeM 418; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 571; O. DeM 917; O. DeM 956; O. DeM 1176 verso 9; O. DeM 1194 verso; O. DeM 10100; O. DeM 10176; O. Edgerton 14; O. Florence 2619 verso; O. Geneva MAH 12550; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39; O. Louvre E 25325; O. Michaelides 6 verso; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97; O. Prague H. 14; O. Turin N. 57006; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57058; O. Turin N. 57068; O. Turin N. 57153; O. Turin N. 57169; O. Qurna 620/2; O. UC 39658.

1241 O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 270; O. Ashmolean Museum 293; O. Berlin P 14161; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. Cairo CG 25724; O. Cairo JE 49557; O. Černý 17; O. DeM 610; O. DeM 897; O. DeM 943; O. DeM 10162; O. DeM 10256; O. UC 39658.

1242 For a more detailed discussion of the corpus texts and their chronological distribution, see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1.
This distribution of all corpus texts within the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasty corresponds almost completely with the chronological distribution of textual references to arriving within these three dynasties. Of all 195 corpus texts including references to arriving, texts dated to the 19th dynasty constitute ca. twenty per cent (39/195); texts dated to the 20th dynasty ca. seventy-three per cent (142/195); and texts lacking an attributed date ca. seven per cent (14/195). As an introductory remark to this discussion on textual references to arriving, one may therefore state that the chronological distribution of the corpus texts including references to arriving is representative in comparison to the corpus as a whole.

5.2.1 19th dynasty

Of the thirty-nine texts dated to the 19th dynasty including textual references to arriving twelve are letters,\textsuperscript{1243} fourteen are journals,\textsuperscript{1244} three are accounts,\textsuperscript{1245} three are notes,\textsuperscript{1246} three are protocols,\textsuperscript{1247} one is a list,\textsuperscript{1248} and three are model letters.\textsuperscript{1249} Textual references to arriving dating from the 19th dynasty are thereby found in seven of the total fifteen corpus text type categories.\textsuperscript{1250}

5.2.1.1 Arriving at Memphis or at Thebes

Generally, most of the 19th-dynasty references to arriving in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts refer to arriving particularly at the Theban necropolis. However, a

\textsuperscript{1243} P. Turin Cat. 1977; O. BM EA 5631; O. BM EA 65933a; O. Cairo CG 25831; O. DeM 440; O. DeM 613; O. DeM 969; O. DeM 10061; O. Qurna 630/5; O. Qurna 644/3; O. Turin N. 57238; O. Turin N. 57559.
\textsuperscript{1244} P. UC 34336; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 118; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25537; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25560; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. MMA 14.6.217.
\textsuperscript{1245} O. Cairo CG 25547; O. DeM 319; O. DeM 677.
\textsuperscript{1246} O. Cairo CG 25552; O. DeM 886; O. Turin N. 57413.
\textsuperscript{1247} O. Ashmolean Museum 197; O. Cairo CG 25237; O. DeM 918.
\textsuperscript{1248} O. Cairo CG 25581.
\textsuperscript{1249} O. Berlin P 12367; O. Glasgow D. 1925.84; O. Michaelides 66 recto.
\textsuperscript{1250} For these fifteen text type categories and their overall distribution, see p. 43.
few letters also include references that might be interpreted as referring to someone arriving at Memphis or at Thebes. On the recto of O. BM EA 5631 is written a letter by an unknown sender. The upper edge is flaked off and thus the beginning lost, but thereafter follows a sentence concerning someone being in Memphis and being reached (spr) by another person.\textsuperscript{1251} The sender of another letter, P. Turin Cat. 1977, is unknown but the receiver was probably a necropolis workman. The sender was apparently somewhere north of Western Thebes and wrote about coming south (ij r rsj) and bringing a policeman that had been sentenced for assault.\textsuperscript{1252} The unknown sender of O. DeM 440 wrote to the receiver, the scribe Ramose, that he has reached (spr) the overseer of the treasury in Thebes,\textsuperscript{1253} in other words he has reached Eastern Thebes, but from where remains unclear.

5.2.1.2 Dignitaries arriving at the Theban necropolis

19th-dynasty references to the city governor and vizier (imj-r njwt tstj or tstj) or other dignitaries, for example the royal butler (wbz-nswt), arriving at the necropolis, are mainly found in necropolis journals.\textsuperscript{1254} In addition, in the journal O. Cairo CG 25560 dated to the reign of Seti II the king is reported as having arrived, first at Eastern Thebes and from there two days later at Western Thebes.\textsuperscript{1255}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{1251} 19th or 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2002, p. 17. O. BM EA 5631 (rto. 1–2) [...] m ḫwt-kꜣ-\textit{pḥt} [...] spr r-i ‘[... in] Hikuptah [...] reached me.’ Translation by Wente 1990, p. 146. For Hikuptah as Memphis or the temple of Ptah in Memphis, see Hannig 1997, p. 1368.
\textsuperscript{1252} 19th dynasty, see P. Turin Cat. 1977 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Dates attributed. P. Turin Cat. 1977 (r. 3–4) wmn imm hr rdj³ ‘nh r i j r rsj iw=i hr inj tw-f ‘If Amun allows me to live to come south, I will bring him.’ Translation by McDowell 1999, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{1253} The reign of Ramesses II, see Wente 1990, p. 153. O. DeM 440 (r. 3–4) r-nty tw-i spr.\textit{kwi} r pꜣ imj-r pr-hd iw-f hr dd n psy-f idnw nꜣj dj m pr-hd m njwt ‘I reached the overseer of the treasury, and he said to his deputy who is there in the treasury in Ne (Thebes).’ Translation by Wente 1959, p. 59; see also Wente 1990, p. 153.
\textsuperscript{1254} See also Janssen (1997b, pp. 148–156) for a chronological discussion of visits to the necropolis by dignitaries during the 19th dynasty.
\textsuperscript{1255} For the dating, see Helck 2002, p. 129. O. Cairo CG 25560 (rto. 1–3) rnpt-sp 1 sbd 2 sḥt sw 10 hrw mnj n pr-ꜣ-s ‘nh wḏs snb [r] njwt rsj ... iw-f [i]j r imnt ‘Year 1 second month of sḥt day 10. Day of mooring by the king [in] the southern city ... as he arrived in the West.’
\end{footnotes}
Among the 19th-dynasty corpus texts, arrivals by dignitaries are found in eight necropolis journals. The journals are dated to the reign of Merenptah, Seti II, Siptah, or Siptah-Tausert. Entries expressing arrivals in these journals are written \( ij \, irj \, n \) or \( spr \, irj \, n \).

The place of the arrival, i.e. the Theban necropolis, is in some references not mentioned at all (occasionally due to a damaged text). In one reference the destination is referred to as \( st \, pr-\, s' \) (‘the place of Pharaoh’), and in a handful of other references as \( r \, sht \) (‘the field’) or \( r \, ts \, int \) (‘the valley’). The dignitaries arriving are usually referred to by title and name and occasionally the reason for visiting the necropolis is also mentioned. The reasons are various; for example, giving information or instructions to the crew (\( m \, gd, \, r \, mdwt \)), receiving work from the crew (\( r \, sp \, bskw \)), taking care of various matters, and inspecting work on the royal tomb.

Translation by Helck 2002, p. 129 (Tag des Landens Pharaos bei der südlichen Stadt ... indem er zum Westen kam).

1256 O. Ashmolean Museum 115 (rto. 2; rto. 3); O. Cairo CG 25504 (rto. II, 7; rto. II, 9–10; vso. II, 1).
1257 O. Cairo CG 25515 (rto. I, 2–3); O. Cairo CG 25538 (rto. 1–2).
1258 O. Ashmolean Museum 118 (vso. 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25537 (rto. 1).
1259 O. Cairo CG 25792 (rto. 5–6); O. Cairo CG 25794 (rto. 1; dating from the reign of Siptah-Tausert or Ramesses III).
1260 Note the difference to 20th-dynasty texts, where the arrival in general is expressed \( ij/iw/spr \, in \), see section 5.2.2.4.
1261 For example, O. Ashmolean Museum 115 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25504 (rto. II, 7 (damaged text); vso. II, 1); O. Cairo CG 25537 (rto. 1); O. Cairo CG 25794 (rto. 1).
1262 For example, O. Ashmolean Museum 115 (rto. 3).
1263 For example, O. Cairo CG 25504 (rto. II, 9–10); O. Cairo CG 25515 (rto. I, 2–3); O. Cairo CG 25538 (rto. 1–2).
1264 For example, O. Cairo CG 25792 (rto. 5–6).
1265 For a discussion of some selected titles of persons connected to the administration visiting the Theban necropolis, see section 4.3.1.
1266 For example, O. Cairo CG 25504 (vso. II, 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25515 (rto. I, 2–4); Cairo CG 25792 (rto. 5–6).
1267 For example, O. Ashmolean Museum 118 (vso. 2–3); O. Cairo CG 25537 (rto. 1).
1268 For example, O. Ashmolean Museum 115 (rto. 2).
1269 For example, O. Cairo CG 25504 (rto. II, 10).
In addition to *ij irj n* and *spr irj n*, arrivals to the necropolis by dignitaries are also expressed in other ways in the 19th-dynasty corpus texts. For example, three letters include references related to the vizier arriving or being about to arrive. In O. BM EA 65933a the sender of the letter, the foreman Hay, wrote that the receiver, an unknown vizier, was about to arrive (*ij*) in order to ‘cause Amun to appear’.\(^1\) The sender of O. DeM 10061 mentions how the vizier is going to come (*ij*) this year,\(^2\) while O. Turin N. 57238 includes a reference to an upcoming arrival (*ij*) by the vizier.\(^3\) And lastly, the journal O. Cairo CG 25504 has several entries on the vizier and other dignitaries arriving at the necropolis.\(^4\) During the record period of this journal the tomb of Merenptah was equipped, which would explain the frequent visits to the necropolis by the vizier and other dignitaries.\(^5\)

5.2.1.3 Scribes, administrators, etc. arriving at the Theban necropolis

The expressions *ij irj n* and *spr irj n* were also used in the 19th-dynasty corpus texts to refer to other persons connected to the workman’s community than

\(^1\) 19th or 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2002, p. 41. O. BM EA 65933a (vso. 2–3) *psy-n nb r sh3 t n-n m psy-f ij r rdjt h3t inn ‘Our lord will boast of us when he comes to cause Amun to appear.’* Translation by Wente 1990, p. 50.

\(^2\) The early reign of Ramesses II, see Grandet 2006a, p. 64. O. DeM 10061 (rto. 17–18) *hr irj tsjt ij m ts rnt ‘The vizier will come this year.’* Translation by Grandet 2006a, p. 65 (Or le vizir viendra cette année).

\(^3\) 19th or 20th dynasty, see López 1980, p. 51. O. Turin N. 57238 (rto. 1–2) *wnn tsjt h3t ‘...’* *hr ij ‘When the vizier Kha-[...–...--] arrives.’* Translation by the author.

\(^4\) Year 7 and 8 of Merenptah, see Helck 2002, pp. 87–88. O. Cairo CG 25504 (rto. II, 8) *iwf hr ij r p3 hr iw-f hr dq tsj r sht [...] ‘He came to the necropolis, and he said: go up to the valley [...]’; O. Cairo CG 25504 (rto. II, 9) *dd-f rdjt iw sr.w hmr=t ‘He said: Let the officials come with me.’; O. Cairo CG 25504 (vso. II, 2) *md dd imj-r hmw.w rm spr r p3 htm n p3 hr ‘Saying: The overseer of carpenters Roma is arriving at the enclosure of the necropolis.’; O. Cairo CG 25504 (vso. II, 4) *iw-f hmr ij r r3 ts int hrj ps mjtj n pr-cz ‘They (the high officials) came to the mouth of the valley bearing the document of Pharaoh.’; O. Cairo CG 25504 (vso. II, 6) *iw-f hrj ij ‘He (the vizier?) came.’; O. Cairo CG 25504 (vso. II, 7) *iw p3 imj-r [hmw.w] hr ij r sht ‘And the overseer of craftsmen came to the valley.’; O. Cairo CG 25504 (vso. II, 8) *iw-f hrj ij r [ps htm] n p3 hr ‘And he came to the enclosure of the necropolis.’* Translations by McDowell 1999, p. 224. The ‘he’ here referred to on several occasions was probably the vizier Panhsy, who on recto II, 7 was reported as having arrived.

\(^5\) See, for example, McDowell 1999, p. 223.
dignitaries arriving. These expressions are not restricted to necropolis journals to as high a degree as references to dignitaries arriving. In addition to journals, *ij irj n* and *spr irj n* expressing an arrival are also found in, for example, notes, accounts, and protocols. The journal P. UC 34336 includes an entry on the workman Qenhirkhopshef having arrived on a road (*tš wšt (?)*), but without specifying the reason due to a lacuna at the end of the line.\(^{1275}\) Additionally, at least one journal,\(^{1276}\) two notes,\(^{1277}\) and one protocol\(^{1278}\) have references to various named scribes having arrived, usually to inform or provide the crew in work-related matters. The journal O. Cairo JE 72452 includes an entry on administrators (*rwDw.w*) arriving with a letter from the vizier,\(^{1279}\) and the account O. DeM 677 has an entry on a policeman arriving in order to inform the crew.\(^{1280}\) Lastly, the journal O. Cairo CG 25515 includes several entries on various persons connected to the workmen’s community arriving.\(^{1281}\) In all references listed above the destination is generally not mentioned, but one may assume that it is a location within the necropolis area.

In addition to *ij irj n* and *spr irj n*, arrivals to the necropolis are also expressed in other ways in the 19th-dynasty corpus texts. For example, several 19th-dynasty letters include references to various persons arriving at the

\(^{1275}\) Year 7 of Siptah, see Janssen 1997b, p. 116. P. UC 34336 (vso. C, 10).

\(^{1276}\) Year 1 of Seti II, see Helck 2002, p. 130. O. MMA 14.6.217 (rto. 1–2) arrival by the scribe Paser. See also the journal O. Cairo CG 25509 (rto. I, 1) *hrw n ij [...] ‘Day of arrival [...]’*.

\(^{1277}\) Year 5 of Siptah, see Collier 2004, p. 158. O. DeM 886 (rto. 1–2) arrival by the scribe Paser.

End of the 19th dynasty or beginning of the 20th dynasty, see López 1982, p. 36. O. Turin N. 57413 (rto. 2) arrival by the scribe Minmose.

\(^{1278}\) Year 66 of Ramesses II, see Helck 2002, p. 79. O. Cairo CG 25237 (rto. 1–3) arrival by the scribe Inpuemheb and some other named men.

\(^{1279}\) Year 2 of Seti II, see Helck 2002, p. 131. For a dating from year 2 of Siptah, see Kitchen 1982, p. 404. O. Cairo JE 72452 (rto. 1).

\(^{1280}\) 19th dynasty, see O. DeM 677 in the Deir el-Medina Database, Dates attributed. O. DeM 677 (rto. 1–4) arrival by the policeman Seti.

\(^{1281}\) Year 6 of Seti II to year 1 of Siptah, see Helck 2002, pp. 140, 160. O. Cairo CG 25515 (rto. V, 4–5) arrival by draughtsmen and chisellers; (vso. II, 22–23; vso. IV, 2) arrival by the chief of police to inform; (vso. IV, 4) arrival by a man named Khonsuemheb bringing a letter from the vizier; (vso. V, 3) arrival by an unknown person (damaged text).
necropolis. O. Cairo CG 25831 was sent by a guardian to the vizier Hori. On the verso the sender mentioned a female person who had reached \((ph)\) the wall/guard post \((ts\ inbt)\), and the sender asked the vizier to let the administrators \((rw\ dw\ w)\) come \((iw)\) to hear her testimony.\(^{1282}\) As \(ts\ inbt\) is mentioned, one may suggest that the woman was in Western Thebes and the administrators were supposed to arrive there. Shorter 19th-dynasty letters with incomplete references where both the subject arriving and the circumstances of the arrival remain unclear are, for example, O. DeM 613,\(^{1283}\) O. DeM 969,\(^{1284}\) O. Qurna 630/5,\(^{1285}\) O. Qurna 644/3,\(^{1286}\) and O. Turin N. 57559.\(^{1287}\)

The four last texts to be discussed in this section as including references to someone arriving are: O. Cairo CG 25547, O. Cairo CG 25552, O. DeM 319, and O. DeM 918. The account O. Cairo CG 25547 has a reference to someone arriving with lamps,\(^{1288}\) the note O. Cairo CG 25552 refers to someone arriving with rewards from the king,\(^{1289}\) and the protocol O. DeM 918 to a man named Kasa.

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\(^{1282}\) Year 1 of Siptah-Tausert or later, see Kitchen 1982, p. 361. O. Cairo CG 25831 (rto. 1–3) \(iw-st\ ph ts inbt […] irj\ psl[-i\ nb]\ r rdjt\ iw\ usy-f\ rw\ dw\ w.[w …] sdm\ rs-st\ ‘She reached the wall […] May my lord act to cause his \(rw\ dw\ w\) to come […] hear her testimony.’ Translation by McDowell 1990, p. 206.

\(^{1283}\) The reign of Siptah-Tausert, see Kitchen 1982, p. 416. O. DeM 613 (rto. 3) \(m-djt\ \(hr\)\(f\) m psl-f\ spr\ r=tn\ ‘Do not let him delay when he reaches you.’ Translation by the author. The person reaching might be the same Patenen(?) referred to as being sent earlier in the letter, see p. 158.

\(^{1284}\) End of the reign of Ramesses II (?), see Grandet 2003, p. 140. O. DeM 969 (rto. 2) \(iw-i\ hr\ ij\ ‘I arrived.’ Translation by the author.

\(^{1285}\) Late 19th dynasty (?), see O. Qurna 630/5 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Qurna 630/5 (rto. 3) \(prt-i\ sw\ ij\ […] ‘I saw him come’ or ‘See, he has come.’ Translation by Deir el-Medina Online (Ich sah(?) ihn kommen(?) / Siehe, er ist gekommen).

\(^{1286}\) 19th dynasty, see O. Qurna 644/3 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Qurna 644/3 (vso. 2) \(hr\ i\ r\ iw-k\ ij\ […] ‘And when you arrive [...]’ Translation by Deir el-Medina Online (Und wenn du kommst).

\(^{1287}\) 19th or 20th dynasty, see López 1984, p. 43. O. Turin N. 57559 (rto. 3) \(s\(ss\)\( p-r^r\)-hr-wm-mj-f\ sw\ ij\ r […] ‘The scribe Paraherwenmyef. He arrived at […]’ Translation by the author.

\(^{1288}\) Year 6 of Siptah to Tausert (?), see Kitchen 1982, p. 407. O. Cairo CG 25547 (rto. 1–2) \(r-npt-sp\ 6\ s\(bd\) 3\( s\(h\)t\ sw\ 27\ hrw\ i\ r容貌\)\ hs\ bns\ ini\ ps\ w\(df\) \‘Year 6 third month of \(s\(h\)t\) day 27. Day of arrival with lamps brought from the storehouse.’ Translation by the author.

\(^{1289}\) Year 3 of Merenptah, see Kitchen 1982, p. 154. For an attributed date to Ramesses II, see Helck 2002, p. 54. O. Cairo CG 25552 (rto. 1–2) \(r-npt-sp\ 3\ s\(bd\) 1\( prt\ sw\ 17\ hrw\ n\ ij\ ps\ [sic]\ ps\)
arriving. In the account O. DeM 319 something being taken when the enemy arrived is mentioned.

5.2.1.4 Being brought to the Theban necropolis

In the references above the person/s arriving were taking an active part in the arriving, but there is also at least one 19th-dynasty reference to people being brought by someone: O. Cairo CG 25581 is a list of persons who will be brought to the settlement of the tomb (i.e. Deir el-Medina). In other words, it is in all likelihood a list of people who will arrive at the necropolis in order to become new inhabitants of the workmen’s community.

5.2.1.5 Arriving at other destinations in Western Thebes

Two texts including references to persons arriving at other locations in Western Thebes are the journal O. Cairo CG 25518 and the protocol O. Ashmolean Museum 197. O. Cairo CG 25518 includes a reference where two young men connected to the workmen’s community are said to have arrived in Deir el-Bahri. O. Ashmolean Museum 197 has first a reference to an unknown person
(due to the damaged document) arriving and later another reference to the scribe Qenhirkhopshef arriving at the riverbank.1294

And lastly, three model letters dated to the 19th dynasty have unclear and fragmented references to an unknown person reaching or arriving.1295

5.2.2 20th dynasty

Of the 195 papyri and ostraca texts including references to an arrival by someone connected to the workmen’s community in the corpus, 142 are texts dated to the 20th dynasty. Of these 142 texts are forty-one letters,1296 forty-nine journals,1297

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1294 Year 9 of Merenptah, see Helck 2002, p. 89. O. Ashmolean Museum 197 (rto. 1) rnu-t-sp 9 sbd 4 [śmn sw 10 hru] pn n [jry jry n ...] ‘Year 9 fourth month of [smy day 10. On this] day arrival [by ...];’ O. Ashmolean Museum 197 (rto. 5) [...] hr jr m rnu-t-sp 9 i w s ś kn-hr- ḥps-f ij hr mrt m-bšh [...] ‘[...] But in year 9 came the scribe Qenhirkhopshef to the riverbank in front of [...].’ Translations by the author; see also p. 62 in this study.

1295 End of 19th dynasty, see O. Berlin P 12367 in Deir el-Medina Online. O. Berlin P 12367 (rto. 3) spr-f [...] ‘He reached.’ Translation by the author.

19th dynasty, see McDowell 1993, p. 25. O. Glasgow D. 1925.84 (vso. 6) [...] ij n-f r ps dmjt nij tw-n [...] ‘[...] come to him to the town [where] we [...]’ Translation by McDowell 1993, p. 26.

The reign of Merenptah, see Kitchen 1982, p. 178. O. Michaelides 66 (rto. 7) wnn-f hr spr r-m ‘When he reaches you.’ Translation by the author.

1296 P. Berlin P 10487; P. Berlin P 10494; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV; P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV; P. BM EA 10100; P. BM EA 10326; P. BM EA 10375; P. BM EA 10411; P. BM EA 10412; P. BM EA 10417; P. BM EA 10418 + 10287; P. BM EA 10430; P. BM EA 75016; P. BM EA 75018; P. BM EA 75019 + 10302; P. BM EA 75021; P. DeM 6; P. DeM 8 verso; P. DeM 18; P. Florence 10057; P. Geneva D 192; P. Geneva D 407; P. Leiden I 369; P. Leiden I 370; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974; P. Turin Cat. 1973; P. Turin Cat. 1978; P. Turin Cat. 1979; P. Turin CGT 54100; O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. Cairo CG 25235; O. Cairo prov. no. 175; O. DeM 128; O. DeM 418; O. DeM 10100; O. Qurna 620/2.

1297 P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237; P. Florence 10063; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 160 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091; P. Turin frtg. delta; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Berlin P 12631; O. Berlin P 14255; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. BTdK 663; O. BTdK 664; O. Cairo CG 25272; O. Cairo CG 25303; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25530; O. Cairo CG 25535; O. Cairo CG 25565; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. Cairo CG 25648; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 41; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 148; O. DeM
nine accounts,\textsuperscript{1298} thirty-six notes,\textsuperscript{1299} four protocols,\textsuperscript{1300} two depositions,\textsuperscript{1301} and one an inventory.\textsuperscript{1302} Textual references to arriving dating from the 20th dynasty are found in seven of the total fifteen corpus text type categories.\textsuperscript{1303}

5.2.2.1 Arriving to the north or to the south

References to a person connected to the workmen’s community arriving at a place in the north or south are mainly found in letters dated to the late 20th dynasty. In P. Leiden I 369 the sender Djehutymose let the receiver, the scribe Butehamun, know that he had been ill when he arrived (\textit{ph}) north,\textsuperscript{1304} and in P. Leiden I 370 the same sender wrote that he had found (\textit{gmi}), and thereby indicating that he had reached, a person named Paturaa in the north.\textsuperscript{1305} In P. BM EA 75021 Djehutymose mentioned two persons having arrived (\textit{iw}) to the place where he

\textsuperscript{1298} P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4.

\textsuperscript{1299} P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4.

\textsuperscript{1300} P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4.

\textsuperscript{1301} P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095; P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908; P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061; P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso; P. Turin PN 109; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4.

\textsuperscript{1302} For these fifteen text type categories and their overall distribution, see p. 43.

\textsuperscript{1303} Year 6 of \textit{wlm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 1 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Leiden I 369 (vso. 3–4) j3 wn(-i) mr.k(wi) m-dj ph-i m hdj ‘Indeed I was ill when I arrived north.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{1304} Year 6 of \textit{wlm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 5 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Leiden I 370 (vso. 12–13) mtw-k \textit{gd n ts-ps-s gmi=i ps-tr} m ts-dhnt-mhft ‘And you shall say to Tapeses that I have found Paturaa on the northern promotory.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 28.

\textsuperscript{1305} O. DeM 917; O. Turin N. 57068.

\textsuperscript{1306} P. Turin Cat. 2002.
was. As these three letters are all from the same journey Djehutymose made in year 6 of \(\text{wHm ms.wt}\) of Ramesses XI, the two persons referred to in P. BM EA 75021 had presumably arrived at the same place in the north where Djehutymose had arrived earlier, as expressed in the references in P. Leiden I 369 and P. Leiden I 370. Edward Wente suggests that the destination for this journey quite possibly might have been el-Hibe.

Another reference to someone having arrived in the north is found in the letter O. DeM 418. The sender, the carpenter Maaninakhtuf, wrote to the scribe Qenhirkhopeshaf and told him that he had arrived (\(\text{spr}\)) in Hut. Wente suggests that Hut is short for Hut-Sechem, i.e. modern Hiw (Diospolis Parva) close to Nag Hammadi in the seventh province of Upper Egypt.

Djehutymose mentioned an arrival in the south in at least two of the letters sent during his journey to Nubia in year 10 of \(\text{wHm ms.wt}\) of Ramesses XI as part of general Paiankh’s campaign. In both P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV and P. Turin Cat. 1972 Djehutymose told the scribe Butehamun back home in Western Thebes that he has reached (\(\text{spr}\)) his superior. In P. Turin Cat. 1972 Djehutymose named the destination of his arrival (\(\text{mnj}\)) as Elephantine, and it is quite possible that also in P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199,

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1306 Late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, p. 24. P. BM EA 75021 (rto. 2) [... \(\text{psj-pnt}\)w \(\text{w-n-mh-hb}\) iw r ps nty tw\(\text{i}\) ‘... Paypen[u] and Tjaumenhe(i)hab have(?) come to the place [where] I am.’ Translation by Demarée 2006a, p. 21.
1307 For the dating of these letters, see letter no. 1 and no. 5 in Wente 1967, p. 16; Demarée 2006a, p. 24.
1308 Wente 1967, p. 31, n. \(\text{ak}\).
1309 The reign of Ramesses V, see Wente 1990, p. 167. O. DeM 418 (rto. 2–3) \(\text{r-nty tw\(\text{i}\)} spr.tw hwt ‘I have reached Hu.’ Translation by Wente 1990, p. 167. Hwt could also be interpreted as ‘temple’, see Kitchen 2012, p. 195.
1311 Hannig 1997, p. 1368.
1312 See letter no. 3 and no. 4 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
1313 Year 10 of \(\text{wHm ms.wt}\) of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 4 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 4) \(\text{r-nty tw\(\text{i}\)} spr.k(wt) r \text{psj}\) h\(\text{rj}\) ‘I have reached my superior.’; P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 6) tw\(\text{i}\) ph-f r \text{dmtj} sbw ‘I met him at the town of Elephantine.’; P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 8) \(\text{hr} tw\(\text{n mnj} \text{.tw} r \text{sby} \) ‘Now we are moored at Elephantine.’ Translations by Wente 1967, p. 24.
V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV the arrival (spr) he referred to was indeed at Elephantine, or alternatively Edfu. However, due to the damaged state of P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV, the more precise location of this arrival remains uncertain. Similar references as in P. Turin Cat. 1972 to arriving and mooring (spr, mnj) can be found in the letter O. Cairo prov. no. 175, sent by an unknown person to a similarly unknown receiver. The destination mentioned in this letter is a village named pỉ-sb, which might possibly also refer to Elephantine.

Additionally, general Paiankh also sent letters from the campaign to Nubia in year 10 of ḭw m ms.wt of Ramesses XI. In at least two of these letters he mentioned possible arrivals to the south and the north. In P. Berlin P 10487 general Paiankh questioned how Pharaoh would be able to reach (ph) Nubia, and in P. BM EA 10100 he mentioned first that Djeuhutmose and Shedsuhor had reached (spr) him, and later in the same letter his own upcoming arrival (ij) from Nubia, presumably back to Thebes.

5.2.2.2 Messengers arriving

References to persons functioning as messengers arriving or reaching (ij, iw, spr), or letters reaching (spr) someone through (m-dj) a messenger, are mainly found in

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1315 The reign of Ramesses IX, see Kitchen 1989, p. 381. O. Cairo prov. no. 175 (rto. 2–3) r-ntj tw=i spr.k(wt) dmjt pỉ-sb ‘I reached the village pỉ-sb.’; O. Cairo prov. no. 175 (vso. 6) iw nỉ imw.w dj mnj ‘The boats moored here.’ Translations by the author.

1316 See letter no. 21 (year 10 uncertain) and letter no. 30 in Wente 1967, pp. 16–17.

1317 Year 10(?) of ḭw m ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 21 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Berlin P 10487 (rto. 8–9) ir pr-cṣ ‘nh wḏs snb i.irj=ḏ ph psy ts ‘As for Pharaoh, l.p.h., how shall he reach this land?’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 53; for psy ts as Nubia, see Wente 1967, p. 54, n. g.

1318 Year 10 of ḭw m ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 30 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. BM EA 10100 (rto. 9) psy=i ij ḫr rsj ‘My arrival from the south.’ Translations by Wente 1967, pp. 65–66, also p. 66, n. b.
letters dated to the late 20th dynasty and in journals dated to the reign of Ramesses IX. The destinations of these arrivals were presumably either Eastern or Western Thebes, or alternatively various locations in Nubia where the campaign of general Paiankh took place in year 10 of wHm ms.wt of Ramesses XI and required regular correspondence with Thebes.

5.2.2.3 Arriving at Eastern Thebes

References to someone arriving at Eastern Thebes are, for example, found in some of the Late Ramesside Letters. In the letter P. Berlin P 10494 the senders wrote to Hori, the deputy of the estate of Amun-Re, that they had heard about the deputy’s arrival (pH) in Eastern Thebes. In a letter to general Paiankh, P. BM EA 10375, the senders wrote about them having reached Thebes, but upon arrival (pH) found that the boat they were looking for had sunk, and in the letter P. Turin Cat. 1979 an arrival by the receiver of the letter, the scribe Djehutymose, to (probably) Eastern Thebes is commented upon.

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1319 See, for example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I (vso. 1); P. BM EA 10326 (rto. 6); P. BM EA 10411 (rto. 14–15); P. BM EA 10417 (vso. 6–7); P. BM EA 75019 + 10302 (rto. 4–5; rto. 7); P. BM EA 75021 (vso. 4); P. Geneva D 192 (rto. 8–9); P. Geneva D 407 (vso. 6–7); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974 (rto. 7; vso. 6); P. Turin Cat. 1971 (vso. 14); P. Turin Cat. 1973 (rto. 11; rto. 13); see also O. DeM 128 (rto. 7; dating from the reigns of Ramesses III–Ramesses VII, see Wente 1990, p. 150).

1320 See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091 (rto. 5); P. Turin Cat. 2072 (rto. I, 5); P. Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091 (rto. III, 9); P. Turin frgt. delta (rto. 4–5; the reading of messenger is uncertain: m-dj p3 […] ij r tzy rwt ‘through the [...] arrival to this side’).

1321 Additionally, see Allam 1994 for the letter P. Berlin P 8523 where the sender wrote about his arrival to Thebes. The provenance of this letter, however, does not seem to be Deir el-Medina and thus it is omitted from the corpus.

1322 For this letter and this reference, see pp. 65–66.

1323 Year 10 of wHm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 28 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 23–24) … ’ks iw-n tm gmj ss iw-f hpr m m-dj ph-n njwt ‘… transport boat and not having found it right away, for it had become sunk when we reached Ne.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 60.

1324 Early wHm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 27 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Turin Cat. 1979 (rto. 7–8) hpr ptr sdm r-dd tw-k ij twk.(wi) sw ‘Now see, (I) have heard that you have come in order that you might take him.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 59. The sender is a scribe of the estate of Amun-Re and thereby the arrival by Djehutymose was presumably to Eastern Thebes.
Other references to someone arriving at Eastern Thebes are found in, for example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237, Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095, P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085, P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso, and O. Edgerton 14. The journal P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237 includes an entry on the prophet of Amun arriving in the company of some other high officials, the account P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 on a person referred to as 'he' (ṣf; possibly the vizier) arriving, the journal P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 on a scribe of the vizier arriving. The account P. Turin Cat. 2098 verso mentions persons departing from Western Thebes and thereafter arriving at Eastern Thebes, and the note O. Edgerton 14 mentions the overseer of the treasury mooring at the outskirts of Thebes.

5.2.2.4 Dignitaries arriving at the Theban necropolis

20th-dynasty references to dignitaries arriving at the Theban necropolis are found in a proportionately large number of non-literary Deir el-Medina texts. Dignitaries other than the city governor and vizier (imj-r njwt ṣstj or ḥṣṭj) visiting the

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1325 Year 3 of Ramesses VI, see Helck 2002, p. 447. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 237 (rto. 15–16) iw ps hm-ntr tpj n inmr hr spr r njwt lm cr wb$m-nswt kdm njj$r pr-$hd mn$tw-m-tswj ‘The high priest of Amun reached Thebes together with the royal butler Qedren and the overseer of the treasury Montuemawy.’ Translation by the author.

1326 Year 8 of Ramesses VII, see Helck 2002, p. 461. P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (vso. 1, 1) [...] tw-f r [ṣnjt(?)] tpj iw-f ṣstw.tw tA in$ ṣstj ‘He (came) to [Thebes(?)] and went up. He took the office of the vizier.’ Translation by the author.


1328 Year 9 of Ramesses XI, see n. 1073. P. Turin Cat. 2098 (vso. 1) ṣn$ ṣmt[[-ṣnjt …] ij r njwt in […] ‘Going forth from Western [Thebes …] arrival in Thebes by [……].’ Translation by the author. As the text is a ship’s log from a grain expedition the persons arriving were presumably the persons taking part in this expedition.

1329 Year 4 of Ramesses V, see Helck 2002, p. 433. O. Edgerton 14 (rto. 1–2) rnt-st sp 4 sbd 2 prt sw 17 hrw pn mnj imj-nw pr-$hd h$t-r tr r ps ‘q n njwt ‘Year 4 second month of prt day 17. On this day the overseer of the treasury Khaemtir moored at the outskirts of the desert of the settlement.’ Translation by Helck 2002, p. 433 (see p. 73).

1330 For visits by the vizier, see, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2002; P. Turin Cat. 2065; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. Ashmolean Museum 192; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a; O. BM EA 50744; O. BTdK 663; O. BTdK 664 (damaged text; possibly the
necropolis include persons such as a king (ḥmꜣ=f), a viceroy of Kush (pꜣ st-nswt kꜣ), a royal butler (wʃš-ntswt), a priest or high priest (wꜣb n mꜣꜣt, ḫm-nṯr ḫpj), an official/s (sr/w, sr.w n ʿmhḥj, sš-ṣpꜣt), a royal scribe (sš-nswt), and an army officer (imj-r mšꜣ).

These arrivals by dignitaries in the 20th-dynasty administrative texts are generally expressed ʿiš in, ʿw in, or spr in (with minor variations). References to dignitaries arriving using these expressions are found in texts such as for example journals dating from the reign of Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, and Ramesses IX and in notes dating from the reign of Ramesses IV, Ramesses V, and Ramesses VII.

vizier Neferrenpet, see Dorn 2011a, I, p. 415); O. Cairo CG 25272; O. Cairo CG 25274; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25291; O. Cairo CG 25303; O. Cairo CG 25565; O. DeM 148; O. DeM 427; O. Florence 2619 verso; O. Louvre E 25325; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57153.

1331 O. DeM 956.
1332 O. Cairo CG 25289.
1333 For example, P. Turin Cat. 2002; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Cairo CG 25274; O. Cairo CG 25309; O. Cairo CG 25565; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 46; O. Nicholson Museum R. 97.
1335 For example, P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2002; O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4; O. Cairo CG 25255; O. Cairo CG 25256; O. Cairo CG 25284; O. Cairo CG 25566; O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42; O. DeM 44; O. Michaelides 6 verso.
1336 O. DeM 41.
1337 O. Ashmolean Museum 188; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39.
1338 The agent in is occasionally omitted and occasionally written as n. For the actor expression of the infinitive introduced by in, see, for example, Černý and Groll 1993, p. 189.
1339 O. DeM 427 (vso. 11); O. Louvre E 25325 (vso. 6); O. Turin N. 57032 (vso. 21); O. Turin N. 57047 (rto. 2); O. Turin N. 57153 (rto. 3).
1340 O. BTdK 663 (rto. 1, dating from Ramesses IV, Ramesses V, or Ramesses VII); O. Cairo CG 25272 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25303 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25565 (rto. 1–2; rto. 3); O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42 (rto. 4 [O. Strasbourg]); O. DeM 41 (vso. 10).
1341 P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. I, 7; vso. I, 18).
1342 O. BM EA 50744 (rto. 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25255 (rto. 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25256 (rto. 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25274 (rto. 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25284 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25290 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25291 (rto. 1–2); O. Cairo CG 25309 (rto. 1–2, dating from the reign of Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI); O. Michaelides 6 verso (vso. 8).
VI, and Ramesses IX. Additionally, these kinds of references are also found in accounts dating from the reign of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV, in a letter dating from the reign of Ramesses III (or Ramesses IV), in a protocol dated to the reign of Ramesses III (or later), and in an inventory dated to Ramesses IX. A few references in the 20th-dynasty corpus texts to dignitaries arriving at the necropolis are written \( ij \ irj \ n \) or \( spr \ irj \ n \), in a similar way as the arrivals in the 19th-dynasty texts discussed above (see section 5.2.1.2).

Furthermore, references to dignitaries arriving (\( ij \), \( iw \), and \( spr \)) by using other expressions than the ones discussed above are found in three journals, one account, and two notes dated to the mid and late 20th dynasty, among other texts.

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1343 O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 + O. BTdK 660a (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25566 (rto. 2).
1344 O. Nicholson Museum R. 97 (rto. 1, see also rto. 5 \( ij \ r \ (ps) \ htm \ n \ ps \ hr \) ‘arrival at (the) \( htm \ n \ ps \ hr \)’).
1345 O. Ashmolean Museum 192 (rto. 1).
1346 O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82 (rto. 5).
1347 O. Ashmolean Museum 188 (vso. 2–3; vso. 5).
1348 P. Turin Cat. 2065 (rto. 2).
1349 P. Turin Cat. 2002 (rto. 12–16).
1350 See, for example, the accounts O. Berlin P 12640 + O. DeM 161 + O. Strasbourg H. 82 (rto. 4) and O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4 (rto. 15–16); the notes O. Cairo CG 25289 (rto. 1–2) and O. DeM 956 (vso. 1); the journal O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42 (vso. 5 [O. DeM]) – all dated to the reign of Ramesses IV; the journal O. DeM 148 (rto. II, 10–11; rto. II, 16; vso. 6) and the note O. Florence 2619 (vso. 4) – both dated to the reign of Ramesses III.
1351 P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (vso. I, 15); O. DeM 44 (rto. 20); O. DeM 46 (rto. II, 21–vso. 1).
1352 O. Berlin P 12651 + O. DeM 45 + O. Vienna H. 4 (vso. 9).
1353 O. BM EA 68518 (rto. 4); O. DeM 571 (rto. 7).
1354 Two textual references also worth mentioning here, even though they do not specifically include references to dignitaries arriving, are one to the body of the dead Ramesses V “arriving” at Western Thebes (for his own funeral) and one mentioning the ship of the treasury arriving with provisions.

Year 2 of Ramesses VI, see Peden 2001b, p. 83. O. Cairo CG 25254 (rto. 1–2) \( hrw \ pn \ spr \ r \ ts \ imntt \ njwt \ in \ shpr-n-r电商平台 stabilization ‘On this day Sekheperenre arrived at the West of Thebes.’ Translation by Peden 2001b, p. 83.
The destination of these arrivals by dignitaries was presumably a location within the wider Theban necropolis, as they are for the most part recorded in the administrative documentation of the necropolis.\textsuperscript{1355} The reasons for these visits varied and included tasks such as: inspecting or supervising work in progress,\textsuperscript{1356} attending to various matters regarding rations, deliveries, and equipment (or the lack of them),\textsuperscript{1357} giving rewards,\textsuperscript{1358} commissioning work,\textsuperscript{1359} investigating complaints or accusations,\textsuperscript{1360} informing and instructing the crew,\textsuperscript{1361} taking away someone from the crew,\textsuperscript{1362} bringing or receiving a letter or a document,\textsuperscript{1363} having the crew take an oath,\textsuperscript{1364} making offerings,\textsuperscript{1365} and going to Deir el-Bahri.\textsuperscript{1366} In some of the references it is not possible to determine the reason for the dignitaries arriving, for example due to the damaged state of the text.\textsuperscript{1367}
5.2.2.5 Scribes, administrators, etc. arriving at the Theban necropolis

The expressions *ij in*, *iw in*, and *spr in* (with minor variations) were also used in 20th-dynasty non-literary Deir el-Medina texts for describing other persons than dignitaries arriving. These persons were mainly people who were part of the workmen’s community or persons otherwise closely connected to it. Using these expressions, for example, the crew as a group, various types of scribes (from both the internal and external administration of the necropolis), various types of chiefs, various types of administrators, various types of craftsmen, tradesmen, messengers and policemen, guardians and doorkeepers, fishermen and gardeners, and some anonymous persons are recorded as having arrived. These references are mainly found in the administrative documentation of the workmen’s community, in other words in text types like necropolis journals, notes, and accounts.

The expression *ij irj n*, when referring to someone arriving at the necropolis, is mainly found in protocol and notes in the 20th-dynasty texts. Among the

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1368 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso.
1369 For example, P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin Cat. 1880 (*ss n ps hpr*); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (*ss*); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (*ss n tms*); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso (*ss n ḫwj*); O. BTdK 663 (*ss*); O. Cairo CG 25235 (*ss*); O. Cairo CG 25273 (*ss*); O. Cairo CG 25281 (*ss*); O. Cairo CG 25305 (*ss-*wḫj n pr*); O. DeM 1176 verso 9 (*ss*); O. Prague H. 14 (*ss*); O. Turin N. 57058 (*ss*).
1371 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1880 (*idnw* and *ṣtw*).
1372 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (*ḥmnw, ḫrj-nṯr, and ḫdj*).
1373 For example, P. Berlin 10460 (*ṣwṭṯ*).
1374 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (*mdṣj*); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso (*ḥmsw n ḫṣj*).
1375 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (*ṣ*); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso (*ṣw*); O. Berlin P 10663 (*iṯj-ṣ*); O. Cairo CG 25264 (*ṣ ps ḥtm*).
1376 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (*wḥn*); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto (*wḥn*); P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061 (*wḥn*); O. Turin N. 57068 (*kṣrj*).
1377 For example, O. Berlin P 14255 (damaged text); O. DeM 341 (*ṣf*); O. DeM 10176 (damaged text).
persons described as having arrived by using this expression are scribes, a policeman, a fisherman, a guardian, officials and craftsmen, and named persons without a title.

Based on the textual references to arriving, the expressions *ij/iw/spr in or ij irj n* are those most commonly used in the 20th-dynasty Deir el-Medina administrative texts to express an arrival by someone. However, a large variety of other expressions were also occasionally used. For instance, in the 20th-dynasty necropolis journals there are several records of gardeners, doorkeepers, a messenger, a doctor, the captains, chiefs of police, named persons, and anonymous persons (occasionally due to the damaged state of the text) having arrived, written other than *ij/iw/spr in or ij irj n*. In addition to the necropolis journals at least six letters, one note, one protocol, and one

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1378 For example, O. Berlin P 12654 (ss); O. Geneva MAH 12550 (ss).
1379 For example, O. Cairo CG 25713 (mdj).
1380 For example, O. Turin N. 57169 (whr).
1381 For example, P. Berlin P 10460 (sw).
1382 For example, O. DeM 32 (rdw.w and hrtj-ntj).
1383 For example, O. Berlin P 11254 (Nh-w-m-t); O. DeM 1194 verso (Pn-pz-[ntj?]).
1384 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (kntj.w).
1385 For example, P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 (z 2).
1386 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto (šmsw Hri n ıtj).
1387 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (swrn).
1388 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (ns hwtj.w).
1389 For example, O. Cairo CG 25530 (htj-mdj); O. DeM 35 (htj-mdj); O. DeM 153 (htj-mdj).
1390 For example, O. Cairo CG 25643 (Hr-nfr); O. Cairo CG 25648 (…pz-mdw-šps, person or ship); O. DeM 38 (Ms).
1391 For example, P. Florence 10063 (damaged text); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (damaged text); P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 recto; P. Turin Cat. 2044 (+w).
1392 P. Bibliotheque Nationale 198, III (ns whr.w); P. BM EA 10418 + 10287 (ns rmt.w); P. DeM 6 (-st); P. DeM 18 (Njt-min); P. Florence 10057 (šn); O. DeM 10100 (irj-z).
1393 O. DeM 10100 (sf).
1394 O. Berlin P 12654 (sf).
deposition\textsuperscript{1395} of the 20th-dynasty corpus texts include references to someone arriving, expressed and written in various ways.

Furthermore, an arrival at Western Thebes might also be expressed as someone bringing (\textit{inj}) something, or someone being brought.\textsuperscript{1396} These references do not specifically refer to an arrival, but the notion of someone arriving is expressed through the action of a person or an item being brought by someone else.

The destinations of these arrivals were presumably locations within the Theban necropolis. The various reasons for arriving, as expressed in the texts or interpreted based on the context, include bringing something (e.g. rations or letters) or someone,\textsuperscript{1397} giving information or instructions,\textsuperscript{1398} working,\textsuperscript{1399} punishing,\textsuperscript{1400} consulting,\textsuperscript{1401} and appearing in court.\textsuperscript{1402} Some of the references to

\textsuperscript{1395} O. DeM 917 (\textit{Rwti}).
\textsuperscript{1396} For example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV (\textit{st}); P. BM EA 75019 + 10302 (\textit{imw}); P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (\textit{m p\textsuperscript{3} kr}); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 recto (\textit{wgyt}); P. Turin Cat. 1978 (\textit{m n\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Hf}.w}); P. Turin Cat. 2044 (\textit{md\textsuperscript{3}f}); P. Turin Cat. 2065 (\textit{in p\textsuperscript{3} 4 rw\textsuperscript{2}w.v.w}); P. Turin PN 109 (\textit{m n\textsuperscript{3} kr.w}).
\textsuperscript{1397} For example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III (rto. 10–11); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV (vso. 3); P. BM EA 75019 + 10302 (vso. 6); P. DeM 18 (vso. 1); P. Florence 10057 (rto. 3); P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 (vso. II, 1–6); P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 (rto. II, 8–9); P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (rto. IV, 1–2); P. Turin Cat. 1989 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (rto. II, 15; rto. III, 7); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. I, 12; rto. III, 9.2); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (rto. II, 9–10); P. Turin Cat. 1978 (rto. 4–5); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. II, 1–3; vso. III, 16–17); P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 (rto. A6, 10); P. Turin Cat. 2013 + 2050 + 2061 (rto. I, 3; rto. I, 9); P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. II, 11); P. Turin Cat. 2065 (rto. 6); P. Turin PN 109 (rto. II, 2–3); O. Berlin P 11254 (rto. 1–3); O. Berlin P 12631 (rto. 6; rto. 12); O. Cairo CG 25330 (rto. 4); O. Cairo CG 25713 (rto. 1–4); O. DeM 917 (rto. 3); O. DeM 10100 (rto. 1–3).
\textsuperscript{1398} For example, P. Turin Cat. 1880 (rto. I, 3–4); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. II, 27–28); P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949 (vso. I, 11); P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. II, 8–9); O. Berlin P T0663 (rto. 3); O. Cairo CG 25264 (rto. 2–3); O. Cairo CG 25273 (rto. 1–3); O. Cairo CG 25281 (rto. 2); O. DeM 35 (rto. 9–10); O. DeM 38 (rto. II, 2–3); O. DeM 153 (rto. 16); O. DeM 10176 (rto. 2–3); O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39 (rto. 11–13 [O. Varille 39]).
\textsuperscript{1399} For example, P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (rto. I, 18); P. Turin Cat. 1923 + 2073 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. 2); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. I, 12–13); O. Turin N. 57068 (rto. 2–3).
\textsuperscript{1400} For example, P. BM EA 10418 + 10287 (rto. 1); O. BTdK 663 (rto. 3–6); O. Turin N. 57058 (rto. 1–3).
\textsuperscript{1401} For example, P. DeM 6 (vso. 2).
\textsuperscript{1402} For example, P. Berlin 10460 (rto. 3–5).
a person from within the workmen’s village arriving (home) do not specify the reason for arriving, 1403 but on occasions the reason for having been away is stated instead. Usually the reason for a person from within the necropolis having been away was work-related. Additionally, a few of the references to someone from outside the workmen’s community arriving give no reason for the arrival. 1404 It therefore seems that occasionally the mere event of someone arriving was significant enough to be recorded in the administrative documentation. In some references the damaged state of the text makes it impossible to determine the reason for the arrival. 1405

5.2.2.6 Arriving at the royal valleys or at Deir el-Bahri

References to someone arriving (iṣ, iw, and spr) at the royal valleys or at Deir el-Bahri are found in a handful of the 20th-dynasty journals, 1406 letters, 1407 and notes 1408 included in the corpus. As already discussed above in sections 5.1.1.5 and 5.1.2.8, going to the workplace was generally expressed as a departure by using the verbs of motion ṭṣ j, ḥn, or šm. Thus references to someone arriving at the royal valleys or Deir el-Bahri are less frequent. The persons referred to as arriving at these places were in general people from within the workmen’s community, but at least on one occasion the vizier is recorded as having arrived at

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1403 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1888 + 2085 (rto. I, 11; rto. II, 4; rto. II, 7; rto. II, 10); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (rto. V, 14; rto. VII, 24); O. Berlin P 12654 (rto. 4–5); O. Cairo CG 25643 (rto. 4); O. DeM 341 (vso. 2); O. DeM 1176 (vso. 9); O. Geneva MAH 12550 (rto. 1); O. Prague H. 14 (rto. 15).

1404 For example, P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (rto. I, 16; rto. VII, 13); P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. I, 2); O. Berlin P 12654 (vso. 4); O. Cairo CG 25305 (rto. 6–7); O. DeM 32 (rto. II, 7); O. DeM 98 (rto. 2); O. Turin N. 57169 (rto. 1–2).

1405 For example, P. Florence 10063 (rto. 3–4); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 (rto. I, 20; rto. VI, 10); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (rto. II, 13; rto. II, 19–20); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. III, 3); P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. I, 6); O. Berlin P 14255 (rto. 4); O. Cairo CG 25235 (rto. 2); O. Cairo CG 25648 (rto. 2); O. DeM 1194 (vso. 6).

1406 O. Ashmolean Museum 11 (dsrt); O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067 (ṣh t ʿ st, see Janssen 1992b); O. Cairo CG 25535 (ṭ s ʿ st).

1407 P. DeM 8 verso (pr ḫwt-ḥr, based on the fact that the sender of the letter was the scribe of the temple of Hathor); O. Qurna 620/2 (based on the context, the destination was probably the Valley of the Kings).

1408 O. Cairo CG 25630 (ṣh t); O. Cairo CG 25653 (ps ʿ w); O. Turin N. 57006 (dsrt).
Deir el-Bahri.\textsuperscript{1409} The reason for an arrival at the royal valleys or at Deir el-Bahri was presumably work-related.

\subsection*{5.2.2.7 Arriving at cultivable land}

Three fragmentary letters written on papyrus and dated to the late 20th dynasty include textual references to someone arriving at cultivable land. In P. BM EA 10430 an unknown man that had been summoned by Pharaoh let the receiver know that he was going to see that some unknown persons would reach (\textit{ph}) the fields.\textsuperscript{1410} In P. BM EA 75016 the sender wrote about how a policeman came (\textit{iw}) and took the fields of the temple of Sobek. The location of this temple is not specified in the letter, but Robert Demarée suggests that the location is Sumenu or Imiotru, as both were important cult centres of this deity in the Theban region.\textsuperscript{1411} A reference in the letter P. BM EA 75018, already discussed above on the context of a man departing, mentions the same man arriving (\textit{iw}), presumably in order to register a field.\textsuperscript{1412}

\subsection*{5.2.2.8 Foreigners arriving at Thebes}

The last group of the 20th-dynasty references to arriving are to foreigners or enemies arriving at Thebes. These kinds of references are found in necropolis journals dated to the reign of Ramesses III,\textsuperscript{1413} Ramesses V (or Ramesses VI),\textsuperscript{1414}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1409} O. Ashmolean Museum 11 (vso. 5).
\textsuperscript{1410} Early \textit{whm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 42 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. BM EA 10430 (vso. 1) \textit{mtw-i rdjt ph-w p3 […] tw p3 sks n3 sht.w} ‘And I shall cause them to reach the [...] the cultivation of the fields.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{1411} Late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, p. 10. P. BM EA 75016 (rto. 2) […] \textit{mdsj [nht?]} \textit{iw [r nhm]} \textit{izy sh.wt n pr sbk} ‘[It was the] policeman Nakht(?) who came to take away this field of the temple of Sobek.’ Translation and commentary by Demarée 2006a, pp. 9–10.
\textsuperscript{1412} See above p. 178.
\textsuperscript{1413} O. DeM 153 (rto. 17: \textit{ps hrwj?} hsj).
\textsuperscript{1414} P. Turin Cat. 2044 (vso. II, 9: \textit{hrwj iw […] ph-w pr-nbyt}).
\end{flushleft}
The arrivals of enemies or foreigners were generally expressed using the verbs *hṣj*, *ij*, and *ph*.

### 5.2.3 Texts lacking an attributed date

Of the 195 texts including textual references to arriving in the corpus, fourteen are ostraca texts lacking an attributed date: two letters, five journals, four notes, one account, one event, and one unclassified text. Textual references to arriving in texts lacking an attributed date are found in six of the total of fifteen corpus text type categories.

The destination of the arrivals referred to in textual references lacking an attributed date is the necropolis area in Western Thebes, an exception being O. DeM 943 where the arrival is to the riverbank. As with the case of the references to arriving in the 19th- and 20th-dynasty corpus texts, the persons arriving are both from within the workmen’s community and persons connected to it. Two of the texts have references to dignitaries arriving. Some of these thirteen texts have references to a scribe, a doorkeeper, the chief of

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1415 P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 (rto. II, 9: *ns mšwš.w m ij r njwt*); P. Turin [unnumbered 1] (rto. 4: *hṣj n ns mšwš.w*); P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091 (rto. 1: *hṣj in ḫṣṣtjw*; rto. 11 *hṣj ns ḫṣṣtjw*).
1416 O. DeM 10256; O. UC 39658.
1417 O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 270; O. Cairo CG 25302; O. DeM 897; O. DeM 10162.
1418 O. Ashmolean Museum 293; O. Cairo JE 49557; O. Černý 17; O. DeM 610.
1419 O. DeM 943.
1420 O. Cairo CG 25724.
1421 O. Berlin P 14161.
1422 For these fifteen text type categories and their overall distribution, see p. 43.
1423 O. DeM 943 (rto. 5) *iwf mṛyr* ‘He came (to) the riverbank.’ Translation by the author; see also p. 64 in this study.
1424 O. Ashmolean Museum 270 (rto. 4: *spr irj n ṭṣṭj*); O. Cairo JE 49557 (rto. 1: *ij n wbs-nswt*).
1425 O. DeM 610 (rto. 2: *ij irj n ss*).
1426 O. Černý 17 (rto. 5–6: *irj-*ṣ, ḥr ḫt*).
police, and other named or anonymous persons arriving. In some references the text is too damaged and the subject arriving is impossible to determine.

5.2.4 Concluding remarks

Compared to textual references to departing, the references to arriving are less diverse in the sense that they are written using rather similar expressions. Additionally, most of the 19th- and 20th-dynasty references to someone arriving in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts refer to arriving at a location within the wider Theban necropolis. A few letters, mainly dated to the late 20th dynasty, also include references to a person arriving to the north or to the south. References to someone arriving to the north are, for example, found in the letters sent by the scribe Djehutymose during his journey in year 6 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI. References to arrivals to the south are, for example, found in several of the letters sent by Djehutymose and general Paiankh during the campaign to Nubia in year 10 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI.

References to persons functioning as messengers arriving (ij, iw, spr), or letters reaching (spr) someone through (m-dj) a messenger, are mainly found in letters and journals dated to the late 20th dynasty. The destinations of these arrivals were presumably Eastern or Western Thebes or a location in Nubia where Paiankh’s campaign took place. Additionally, references to various other persons than messengers arriving at Eastern Thebes are found in, for example, some of the Late Ramesside Letters.

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1427 O. Cairo CG 25724 (rto. 1: ij in ḫrj-[mḥdj?]).
1428 O. Cairo CG 25302 (rto. II, 3: ij in pḥ mḥdj 2).
1429 O. Ashmolean Museum 124 (vso. 2: ij ḫrj n inn-nḥt); O. Ashmolean Museum 293 (vso. 1–3: iw-k […] pḥ šmsw n tt smdt); O. Berlin P 14161 (rto. 1: m[h] f i.w); O. UC 39658 (rto. 3: iw-i ij).
1430 O. DeM 897 (rto. 4: ijt […]); O. DeM 10162 (vso. 1: pḥ ijt […]); O. DeM 10256 (rto. 4: wmn+w pḥ […]).
Dignitaries arriving at the Theban necropolis are mainly recorded in necropolis journals, especially in journals dated to the 20th dynasty. In the 19th-dynasty texts these arrivals were often expressed *ij irj n* or *spr irj n*, and in the 20th-dynasty texts *ij in*, *iw in*, or *spr in*. Some references in the 20th-dynasty corpus texts to dignitaries arriving at the necropolis are written *ij irj n* or *spr irj n*. The dignitaries arriving were usually referred to by title and name. The place of the arrival, i.e. the Theban necropolis, is not referred at all in some of the references. The reasons for arriving varied, but were in general connected to work on the royal tombs or the administration of the necropolis.

The expressions *ij irj n* and *spr irj n*, and *ij in*, *iw in*, and *spr in* were also used in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts to describe persons other than dignitaries arriving. These other persons were, for example, the crew, scribes, various types of chiefs, administrators, craftsmen, persons belonging to the *smdt* staff, policemen, messengers, and so on. In other words, persons either living within the workmen’s community or closely connected to it. These references are not so restricted to necropolis journals as references to dignitaries arriving, and are in addition found in, for example, notes, accounts, and protocols. They do not always specify the reason for the arrival, but on occasions the reason for having been away instead. This has its natural explanation in that the references are to people arriving home and thus there was no need to specify a purpose for the arrival. However, a few of the references to someone from outside the workmen’s community arriving give no reason for the arrival either. It therefore seems that sometimes the mere event of someone arriving at the village area was significant enough to be recorded in the administrative documentation of the necropolis.

In addition to *ij irj n* and *spr irj n*, and *ij in*, *iw in*, and *spr in*, other expressions were used less frequently and less systematically in non-literary Deir el-Medina texts to describe an arrival.
5.3 Textual references to returning

References to someone returning or wishing to return back home, are found in thirty-four of the 322 corpus texts. All these texts are letters and all but one are written on papyrus and dated to the late 20th dynasty, belonging to the Late Ramesside Letters. The one exception is an ostracon model letter dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

When overviewing the chronological distribution between the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasty in the whole corpus of this study one gets the following percentages; texts dated to the 18th dynasty ca. one per cent, texts dated to the 19th dynasty ca. twenty per cent, texts dated to the 20th dynasty ca. seventy per cent, and texts lacking an attributed date about ten per cent of all corpus texts.

An overview of the chronological distribution of textual references to returning gives the following conclusions. None of 18th-dynasty texts, one of the 19th-dynasty texts, and thirty-three of the 20th-dynasty texts included in the corpus contain references to someone returning or expressing a wish to return. Of the corpus texts including references to returning or expressing a wish to return, texts dated to the 19th dynasty form ca. three per cent (1/34) and texts dated to the 20th dynasty form ca. ninety-seven per cent (33/34). As an introductory remark to this discussion on textual references to returning one may therefore state that the chronological distribution of the corpus texts including references to returning is not representative in comparison to the corpus as a whole, but the focus is to a large extent on letters written on papyrus and dated to the late 20th dynasty.


1432 O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto.

1433 For a more detailed discussion of the corpus texts and their chronological distribution, see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1.
5.3.1 19th dynasty

The only 19th-dynasty corpus text including a reference to someone returning is the model letter written on recto of O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943. This letter was from a scribe named Turo to his mother, a chantress of Amun whose name is now lost. At the end of the letter the sender refers to his upcoming return from a mission:

(rto. 10) hr wnn hr ijt m ts ipwt ‘Now, when [I] return from the mission.’

5.3.2 20th dynasty

The 20th-dynasty references to returning in this subchapter are presented and discussed according to whether they refer to an actual/probable return or whether they express a wish to return by someone.

Ten of the Late Ramesside Letters include references to an actual or probable return by a person. According to Edward Wente, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III was sent from Ombos by the scribe Djehutymose to an unknown receiver. The letter includes a quotation by some fishermen saying that they will return to where the vizier is. As the same fishermen on recto 10–11 are said to have arrived at where the men of the necropolis were, one might suggest that the arrival was to the Theban necropolis and the returning to Eastern Thebes, where the vizier was. The letter P. Berlin P 10494 was sent by Djehutymose from Western Thebes to Hori, a deputy of the estate of Amun-Re, in

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1434 The reign of Ramesses II, see Wente 1990, p. 146.
1435 Translation by Hagen 2011, p. 28.
1436 See letter no. 47 in Wente 1967, p. 16. This suggestion is apparently based on the mention of the god nbwtj ‘the Ombite’ on recto 2; for the god nbwtj, see Hannig 1997, p. 1215.
1437 Year 12 of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 47 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III (vso. 2) mtw-tn ij r p $tj $tjj im m dws ‘And return to where the vizier is tomorrow.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 81; taking mtw-tn for mtw-n, see p. 82, n. h.
Eastern Thebes. The return of Hori to Thebes is reflected upon in the letter, as well as the return of some young men of the necropolis to Thebes.

P. Turin Cat. 1979 has already been discussed above in connection with textual references to departing and arriving (see pp. 169–169 and p. 209). In addition to these references, this letter also includes a reference to an upcoming return by a prophet of Sobek. P. Geneva D 187 was sent by an unknown city governor of Thebes to Djehutymose, and the return of Djehutymose’s superior is commented upon in the letter. It was probably general Paiankh who was returning, as p3y=k hṛj (‘your superior’) was used to refer to him on other occasions as well.

P. BM EA 10326 was sent by Djehutymose to his son Butehamun during the campaign by general Paiankh to Nubia. Djehutymose wrote that Butehamun should not worry about him even though the children that were with him have returned, and later in the text he refers to his own upcoming return. These two returns mentioned in P. BM EA 10326 were presumably from Nubia back home to Thebes.

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1438 Year 2 of ḫm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 12 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Berlin P 10494 (rto. 5) šd-m n. iḏ d t.w-k ija pḥ-k r njw t p3 dmjt ‘We have heard that you have returned and have reached the town of Ne.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 44; taking n.m for n, see p. 44, n. c.

1439 P. Berlin P 10494 (rto. 8) hṛ nṣ ms.w hṛ iwj st hms m njw t ‘Now the young (employees) of the Necropolis have returned. They are dwelling in Ne.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 44.

1440 Early ḫm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 27 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Turin Cat. 1979 (rto. 8–10) iwj kḥṣ p3 rmṯ iₜṛʿši p3 hₜₙ-gṬ stbk iḥ ‘You shall let this man go until the prophet of Sobek has returned.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 59.


1442 See, for example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, V–IX + 196, V + 198, IV (rto. 4); P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 4); P. Turin Cat. 1973 (rto. 5).

1443 See letter no. 9 in Wente 1967, p. 16.

1444 Year 10 of ḫm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 9 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. BM EA 10326 (rto. 12–13) m[fd] ḫṣṭj-tₙ m-s₂-i n-sbw pṣy iḥ iₜṛʿši nṣ ḫd.w iₜnst iₚ ‘Do [not] worry about me because of the fact that the children who were with me have returned.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 38; see also Junge 1999, p. 245.

1445 P. BM EA 10326 (vso. 4–5) iₜṛʿši iḥ ṭSY-f mḏ m-gṬ ‘When his affair is partly settled, I shall return.’ Translation by Černý and Groll 1993, p. 293.
In another letter (P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV) from this same campaign to Nubia, the sender, probably general Paiankh, wrote most likely to Djehutymose and some administrators (rwḏw.w) in Western Thebes about his own upcoming return, presumably also this one to Thebes. In the letter P. BM EA 10375 sent by several of the men of the necropolis to general Paiankh, again during the same campaign to Nubia, the senders commented upon the workmen Amunpanufe and Heramunpenaf having returned from Nubia to Eastern Thebes.

Henuttawy, the chantress of Amun, sent the letter P. Geneva D 191 from Western Thebes to the scribe Nesamenope, informing him on various matters concerning the workmen’s community. Henuttawy mentioned the upcoming return of Nesamenope, as well as Panesh, the ṯb-priest of the temple of Mut, having written to her saying that he had returned. Where Nesamenope was when he received this letter and subsequently from where he was about to return is not mentioned in the letter. However, in a letter (P. BM EA 10412) sent by him to Muteneope, the chantress of Amun, he mentions his return from ts ṭsj (‘the south land’) on several occasions. As both P. Geneva D 191 and P. BM EA 10412

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1446 Wente names Djehutymose as the sender of this letter, but the Deir el-Medina Database remarks that Djehutymose was more likely the receiver, see letter no. 25 in Wente 1967, p. 17; see also P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV in the Deir el-Medina Database, Remarks.

1447 Year 10 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 25 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV (rto. 6) m-dj iw mtw-i gmj [...] ‘Do not let (me) return and find [...]’. Translation by Wente 1967, p. 57, n. e.

1448 Year 10 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 28 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 15–16) iw-i gmj rmq-ist imm-ps-nfr ḫr-n-imn-pr’-n-f psy rmq 2 i.wn dj r kšiw psy+w nb m ps ts ṭsj iw+w r-dd n-i tw+n iš.ti ‘I found the workmen Amenpanufe and Heramenpenaf, these two men who used to be there in the company of their lord in the south land. They said to me, “We have returned.”’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 60, n. g–k.

1449 Year 2 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 37 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Geneva D 191 (rto. 16) iw-i [fem.] grt n-i m r’-r dd i.irj.tw-k iš ‘I became silent indeed thinking that until you shall have returned.’ Translation by Wente 1967, pp. 72–73, n. h.

1450 P. Geneva D 191 (vso. 15–16) ḫr dd-f n-i i.irj-i iš im iw-f wḏj irm imj-r pr-hḏn imj-r šnwt mn-mš’-r’-nht [sš-w]ḏḏw ḫr ‘[And] he has said to me, “It was after he went forth with the overseer of the treasury and overseer of the granaries Mennamarenakht and the [scribe] of the offering table that I returned there.”’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 72.

1451 Ca. year 2 of wḥm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 36 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. BM EA 10412 (vso. 4–5) i.rdjt-tn iw-i m ps ts ṭsj iw bn sw-m-stt ḫr=s ‘It is when there is no
were written around year 2 of \textit{whm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, one may suggest that both letters are referring to the same journey, and that Nesamenope was in a place somewhere south of Thebes when he received or sent the letters.

The last of the Late Ramesside Letters discussed here as including references to someone being about to return is P. BM EA 75015, sent by the builder Wenenaun in Thebes to the business agent (\textit{\textit{s\textit{wjtj}}}) Amenkhau somewhere north of Thebes. The letter concerned the abduction of a maidservant and her son, and Wenenaun requested Amenkhau to bring replacements for these on his return back south.\footnote{Late 20th dynasty, see Demarée 2006a, p. 9. P. BM EA 75015 (vso. 4–5) \textit{mtw=k inj tw=s w \textit{r rsj m psy=k ij} ‘And you will bring them south when you return.’ Translation by Demarée 2006a, p. 7.}

\textbf{5.3.2.1 Formulaic expressions for a wish to return}

References to someone expressing a wish to return are found in introductory formulas in the Late Ramesside Letters.\footnote{For a selection of these formulaic expressions, see subchapter 3.11.} The most frequently used formulaic expression for making a wish to return in the letters is in general written (with minor variations): \textit{\textit{Dd n imn inj wj}} ‘tell Amun to bring me back’. This expression is found in twenty-one of the corpus texts.\footnote{P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.93 (rto. 7; vso. 4); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV (rto. 6); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI (rto. 2); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I (rto. 10); P. BM EA 10190 (vso. 1); P. BM EA 10284 (rto. 4); P. BM EA 10300 (rto. 7; vso. 5); P. BM EA 10326 (rto. 4; rto. 16; rto. 17; vso. 3; vso. 17); P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 8); P. BM EA 10411 (rto. 5; rto. 7; rto. 13); P. BM EA 10417 (rto. 6; vso. 1; vso. 4); P. BM EA 75020 (rto. 5; vso. 3; vso. 7); P. BM EA 75025 (rto. 10); P. Geneva D 407 (rto. 6); P. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 83.Al.46 no. 1 (rto. 9; rto. 16; vso. 3; vso. 5); P. Leiden I 369 (rto. 9; vso. 3); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974 (rto. 7; vso. 5); P. Turin Cat. 1971 (vso. 10); P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 10; vso. 3); P. Turin Cat. 1973 (rto. 3; vso. 2; vso. 4; vso. 8); P. Turin Cat. 2026 (rto. 10).}

\begin{align*}
\text{(more) brush upon it that you shall have me (i.e., Nesamenope) return from the south land.';} & \\
P. BM EA 10412 (vso. 6) & \textbf{r-\textit{Dd imj snk ps bhs i.irj=i ij tsw tw=s n psy=f nb ‘Have the calf milk-fed until I (i.e., Nesamenope) return (to) take it to its owner.’;} & \\
P. BM EA 10412 (vso. 10–11) & \textbf{\textit{mtw}=i \textit{Dd n=f i.irj=k spr rdjt iw=i [fem.] m ps i rsj iw grh=k im=f ‘And you shall say to him, “It is when you have finished with them that you shall succeed in having me (i.e., Nesamenope) return from the south land.”’ Translations by Wente 1967, pp. 70–71, n. \textit{i–j, n–q}.}
\end{align*}
wish to return. The wish is on these occasions expressed as ‘And tell Amun to bring me back from Yar, the place where I am abandoned’ (with minor variations). Edward Wente suggests that Yar was used figuratively, corresponding to the English “a hellhole”, rather than a genuine geographic location. In the corpus Yar is only mentioned in letters sent by Djehutymose, in letters both from his journey to Middle Egypt (P. Leiden I 369) and to Nubia (P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV, P. BM EA 10326, and P. Turin Cat. 1973). Other, rather vague, indications of the location of the person wishing to return are given for instance in the clauses ps ts r-nty tw=k im ‘the land in which you are’ or nw dw.w r-nty tw=k ‘the hills in which you are’.

If the sender of the letter was the person away on a journey, the formulaic clause tw=i dd nb ntr nb ntrt ntj tw=i ss/snj hrr+w imj n-k ‘nh wdz snb ‘I tell every god and every goddess by whom I pass to give you life, prosperity, and health’ (with minor variations) is found in several letters, indicating that the person away travelling was passing by various geographical locations during the journey. One reference expressing a wish to return has the enemy as the point of departure. Additionally, the actual geographical destination of the wished return is mentioned on a few occasions, for example, Egypt or Thebes.

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1457 For example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI (rto. 3); P. BM EA 10284 (rto. 5); P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 7); P. BM EA 10411 (rto. 7); P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.Al.46 no. 1 (vso. 5); P. Turin Cat. 1971 (rto 9); P. Turin Cat. 2026 (rto. 10). In addition, in the letter P. Turin CGT 54100 (rto. 4) the sender mentions his location as tyy k’hut iht nty tw=i im ‘this tract of cultivable land on which I am’. Translation by Wente 1967, p. 45.
1458 For example, P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.Al.46 no. 1 (rto. 6); P. Turin Cat. 1971 (rto. 5); P. Turin Cat. 1973 (rto. 3).
1459 For example, P. Berlin P 10489 (rto. 2–3); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV (rto. 2); P. BM EA 10300 (rto. 2–3; vso. 1–2); P. BM EA 10412 (rto. 3–4).
1460 P. Turin Cat. 1972 (vso. 3–4) r-dd l’h dd-t’n n inm ns ntr.w n ts hwt inj wij iw=i ‘nh.k(wi) m ps kij hrrw ‘Please tell Amun and the gods of the Temple (of Medinet Habu) to bring me back alive from the enemy also.’ Translation by Wente 1967, pp. 25–26, n. q.
1461 For example, P. BM EA 10284 (rto. 4); P. BM EA 10411 (rto. 8); P. Turin Cat. 2026 (rto. 10).
1462 For example, P. BM EA 10284 (rto. 6); P. BM EA 10300 (rto. 7); P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 9); P. BM EA 75020 (vso. 7); P. BM EA 75025 (rto. 10).
Other formulaic expressions used to express a wish to return in the Late Ramesside Letters are, for instance, *imj iw-k* ‘let you return’\textsuperscript{1463} and *iw-k ij.ti* ‘when you have returned’\textsuperscript{1464} (both with minor variations).

### 5.3.3 Concluding remarks

In comparison with references to someone departing from or arriving at a location, the references to someone returning are less frequent in the corpus. This might be explained by the chosen method of dividing and dealing with the textual references in the thesis. In this study references to someone from Deir el-Medina returning back home are treated as arrivals, as in the corpus texts the persons are referred to as having arrived.

A large majority of the references to returning express a wish to return rather than an actual return. These wishes are in the general formulaic expressions part of the introductory formulas in the Late Ramesside Letters. However, a few references to actual returns or planned returns are also found in these same letters. The destination of these returns is Thebes, while the point of departure varies. The person undertaking the return is generally the sender or the receiver of the letter, or a person or group of persons referred to in the letter.

### 5.4 Excursus: Textual references to being away

In my discussion on references to mobility and travelling in the corpus I have chosen to focus on the action, and in this fifth main chapter I have presented and examined the references according to the direction of the mobility they convey (*departing from*, *arriving at*, or *returning to*). However, some of the references in the corpus do not convey an action, but are rather descriptions of the well-being of

\textsuperscript{1463} For example, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, II (rto. 4); P. Geneva D 192 (rto. 5–6); P. Turin Cat. 1972 (rto. 3).

\textsuperscript{1464} For example, P. Berlin P 10489 (rto. 3–4); P. BM EA 10375 (rto. 9); P. BM EA 10411 (rto. 6); P. Geneva D 407 (rto. 8–9); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 1974 (rto. 5); P. Turin Cat. 2026 (rto. 4).
the person being away, or statements of a person being away. In this last subchapter of the thesis a selection of references to someone being away are presented and examined in a similar manner as the references conveying an action.

References indicating a person from the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina being away from the home environment are found in twenty-one of the corpus texts, in ten letters, eight journals, two accounts, and in one list. One of the letters is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV,\(^{1465}\) and nine to the reign of Ramesses XI.\(^{1466}\) Seven of the journals are dated to the reign of Ramesses IX\(^{1467}\) and one to the reign of Amenmesse or Seti II.\(^{1468}\) Both accounts are dated to the reign of Ramesses XI\(^{1469}\) and the list to the 18th dynasty.\(^{1470}\)

An overview of the chronological distribution of textual references to being away gives the following general conclusions. One of the 18th-dynasty texts and twenty of the 20th-dynasty texts included in the corpus contain references to someone being away. In the whole corpus of this study the chronological distribution between the dynasties is as follows: texts dated to the 18th dynasty ca. one per cent, texts dated to the 19th dynasty ca. twenty per cent, and texts dated to the 20th dynasty ca. seventy per cent.\(^{1471}\) Of the corpus texts including references to being away, texts dated to the 18th dynasty forms ca. five per cent (1/21) and texts dated to the 20th dynasty ca. ninety-five per cent (20/21). As an introductory remark to this discussion on textual references to being away, it may therefore be

\(^{1465}\) O. Cairo CG 25235 (classification as a letter uncertain).
\(^{1467}\) P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 verso; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 verso; P. Turin Cat. 2072.
\(^{1468}\) O. DeM 209. For an attributed date to Amenmesse, see Helck 2002, p. 103. For an attributed date to Seti II, see Krauss 1997, pp. 165 ff.
\(^{1469}\) P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105.
\(^{1470}\) O. Berlin P 12284.
\(^{1471}\) For a more detailed discussion of the corpus texts and their chronological distribution, see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1.
stated that the chronological distribution of the corpus texts including references to being away is not representative in comparison to the corpus as a whole, but the focus is to a large extent on letters and journals written on papyrus and dated to the late 20th dynasty.

5.4.1 18th dynasty

The one 18th-dynasty corpus text which includes a reference to someone being away is the list O. Berlin P 12284. The text consists of five lines of which the first three list six personal names and on line four follows the words $m\ jwnw$ ‘in Heliopolis’. As the line ends with these words it seems the six men listed might possibly have been in Heliopolis. Unfortunately, the text on the fifth line is damaged.

5.4.2 20th dynasty

Some of the Late Ramesside Letters in the corpus contain references including various aspects of being away. P. Leiden I 370 was sent by Djehutymose to Butehamun during his journey in year 6 of $whm\ ms.wt$ of Ramesses XI. The destination of the journey was according to Edward Wente possibly el-Hibe. In the letter Djehutymose gave Butehamun instructions and ended the letter by telling Butehamun to tell Amun to remove the illness which was in him. The

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1472 The dating is based in the palaeography of the text, see O. Berlin P 12284 in Deir el-Medina Online, Beschreibung.
1473 Also worth mentioning here is the letter P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.112 dated to the reign of Ramesses IV. It was sent by the draughtsman Hormin to his father the scribe Hori. Hormin was apparently in the Valley of the Kings and he asked his father to send, among other things, a servant to help him paint the tomb, as his brother had fallen ill. For the publication of this letter, see Eyre 1984.
1474 See letter no. 5 in Wente 1967, p. 16.
1475 Wente 1967, p. 31, n. ak.
1476 Year 6 of $whm\ ms.wt$ of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 5 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Leiden I 370 (vso. 19) $mtw-k\ gd\ n\ inn\ i.rwj\ psy\ mr\ ntj\ im=i$ ‘And you shall tell Amun to remove this illness which is in me.’ Translation by Wente 1967, pp. 28, 31, n. ar.
illness referred to here is perhaps rather to be regarded as a state of worry and anxiety than a state of actual physical illness, as Djehutymose mentioned being in a similar state in the letter P. BM EA 70326 on his journey to Nubia some years later.

During Djehutymose’s journey to Nubia Butehamun sent two letters to Shedsuhor, the prophet of Hathor and troop commander.\footnote{1477} In both letters Butehamun gave instructions to Shedsuhor to help Djehutymose in the boat.\footnote{1478} Djehutymose was travelling in the company of Shedsuhor and Butehamun wanted to make sure his father would manage during the journey. In the first letter (P. BM EA 10284) Butehamun also pointed out that Djehutymose had never before made the journey on which he now was, as an explanation for why he needed assistance in the boat.\footnote{1479}

In addition to Shedsuhor, Butehamun also sent several letters to his father during this same journey to Nubia. In one of the letters to Djehutymose (P. Geneva D 407)\footnote{1480} Butehamun added at the very end a paragraph addressed to Heramunpenaf and Amunpanufe, who were apparently both at that time accompanying Djehutymose. In the paragraph Butehamun urged them to look after Djehutymose because, as he wrote, a person is “ill” who has not travelled before.\footnote{1481} Before P. Geneva D 407 reached Djehutymose in Nubia he had already sent the letter P. Turin Cat. 1973 to Butehamun in Western Thebes. In this letter

\footnote{1477}{See letter no. 29 (P. BM EA 10284) and letter no. 43 (P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI) in Wente 1967, p. 17.}

\footnote{1478}{Year 10 \textit{wHm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 43 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI (rto. 6) \textit{mtw-k rджt drt sš \textit{ṣrj m ps imw} ‘And assist Tjaroy in the boat.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 77, n.f.}}

\footnote{1479}{P. BM EA 10284 (rto. 9) \textit{imj \textit{drt-f m ps imw} ‘Assist him in the boat.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 65.}}

\footnote{1480}{Of the Late Ramesside Letters published in Černý 1939b, P. Geneva D 407 is, according to Wente, the first of the letters sent by Butehamun to his father. Wente 1967, pp. 9–10, 16.}

\footnote{1481}{Year 10 of \textit{wHm ms.wt} of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 8 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. BM EA 10284 (rto. 9) \textit{ḥr bwpwy-f \textit{ṣrj ns mšč}.w ntj sw im ‘For he has never before made the journeys on which he is.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 65.}}
Djehutymose asked why Butehamun had not written to him, saying he was anxious and worried about the people back home, but did not mention himself being sick. After having received P. Geneva D 407, Djehutymose wrote another letter (P. BM EA 10326), now saying that he had indeed been ill, but when he received Butehamun’s letter his sprits lifted. And in the reply by Butehamun to Djehutymose (P. Turin Cat. 1971), Butehamun assured that his father would be well-off as long as he was in the favour of the gods. As already mentioned above, the illness mentioned in these letters is perhaps to be regarded as anxiety and not a state of physical illness.

In addition to Butehamun, other persons from the necropolis also sent letters to Djehutymose, like for instance the prophet Amenhotep. In the letter P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.Al.46 no. 1 Amenhotep urged Djehutymose to stay in the boat and not endanger himself by taking part in the military aspect of the campaign. An anonymous functionary of Medinet Habu sent a letter to Djehutymose (P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I), stating that everything is alright at home in Western Thebes, but wondering why Djehutymose has not sent him a letter even though it was already Djehutymose’s second journey with general

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1483 Year 10 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 9 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. BM EA 10326 (rto. 7–8) ỉw ḫṣṣj-i ʿnḥ ỉw ḫr-[t]-i ʿnh ḫw-[i] ỉw-[i] ḫr jśḏšš-[i] ỉw ṭn-[i] ṭr ‘My heart became alive; my eye(s) opened, and I raised my head whereas I had been ill.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 37.

1484 Year 10 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 16 in Wente 1967, p. 16. P. Turin Cat. 1971 (rto. 8–9) ḫs ḫr-[f] hst m-ḏšw ỉw-[f] ḫpr m ṭs m ṭn nb ‘Indeed as long as he is favored with you (lit. them), he shall become well-off in whatever place.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 50.

1485 Year 10 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 15 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. J. Paul Getty Museum Malibu 83.Al.46 no. 1 (rto. 12–13) ḫmsj m ṭs ỉw-k ṭšw-k ṭr ʿḥṣw niwij […] ‘Stay in this boat. You shall protect yourself against arrow(s) and spear(s) […]’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 48.

1486 The sender of this letter remains unknown due to the damaged state of the beginning of the letter, see Černý 1939b, p. XIV.
Paiankh. Thijs has argued that there was indeed a second campaign to Nubia by Paiankh, but the material supporting this hypothesis is unfortunately rather scanty.

5.4.2.1 Being in Thebes

Similar to the 18th-dynasty reference to men being in Heliopolis discussed above are references to someone being in Eastern Thebes (m njwt); in the corpus these are mainly found in journals dated to the reign of Ramesses IX. These references state that someone connected to the workmen’s community was in Eastern Thebes, as opposed to the references discussed in sections 5.1.2.5, 5.2.2.3, and 5.3.2, which stated that someone was departing to, arriving at, or returning from Thebes. References to someone being in Eastern Thebes do not thereby indicate mobility by someone. Another similar type of reference is found in accounts listing what has been received in various geographical places outside Thebes.

5.4.3 Concluding remarks

With this last subchapter my aim has been to present a selection of textual references describing other aspects of mobility and travelling than the action

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1487 Year 10 of whm ms.wt of Ramesses XI, see letter no. 45 in Wente 1967, p. 17. P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I (r. 15–16) hr ptr r mH wDj 2 tw-k irm pry-k hrg iw bw irj.tw=k hsb n-i r-k ‘Now see, (it is now) the second expedition that you are with your superior, and you have not yet written me about your condition.’ Translation by Wente 1967, p. 78.


1489 See, for example, P. Turin [unnumbered 1] (vso. 1; vso. 2); P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 (rto. II, 7; rto. II, 8; rto. II, 9); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (rto. I, 10; rto. I, 17); P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083 (vso. B 2a, 4); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (rto. II, 2); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 (vso. I, 16); P. Turin Cat. 2072 (vso. I, 3); see also the journal O. Berlin P 12631 (rto. 7; rto. 14) dating from the reign of Ramesses IV; the journal O. DeM 209 (rto. 3) dating from the reign of Amenmesse or Seti II; the account P. Turin Cat. 2097 + 2105 (vso. 4) dating from the reign of Ramesses XI; the letter O. Cairo CG 25235 (rto. 4) dating from the reign of Ramesses IV.

1490 See, for example, P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (rto. II, 1; rto. II, 6; rto. II, 8; rto. II, 12; rto. III, 1; rto. III, 10; rto. IV, 9; rto. IV, 11; rto. V, 1; rto. V, 2; rto. V, 8; vso. III, 1; vso. III, 7), dated to the reign of Ramesses XI.
itself. Most of these references proved to be found in letters written on papyrus and dated to the late 20th dynasty, especially in letters sent or received by the scribe Djehutymose during his journeys, first to Middle Egypt and then to Nubia. This correspondence is quite unique and thus it is not possible to say whether mentioning illness and anxiety while away from home was a common letter-writing practice in the late 20th dynasty, or whether Djehutymose is an exception. Nevertheless, the references discussed in this chapter add a personal aspect to the otherwise rather pragmatic contents of the references included in the corpus of this study.

Another group of references dealing with someone being away are found in the administrative documentations of the Theban necropolis. Mainly necropolis journals written on papyrus and dated to the reign of Ramesses IX include records of someone being in Thebes. A similar reference is found on the 18th-dynasty list O. Berlin P 12284, where several listed men are said to be in Heliopolis. These references are official in character, as opposed to the references to illness and anxiety discussed above. As the records in general are found in necropolis journals they were presumably made for the purpose of recording the reason for men being absent from work.
6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main research question and focus of this dissertation has been to examine in which ways the inhabitants of the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina expressed various forms of mobility and travelling in their non-literary texts. In other words, I have examined in which ways the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina wrote about functionally-bound forms of individual movement, about going away and coming back.

The corpus, assembled and interpreted in order to be able to reach this goal, was presented in Chapter 2. Generally, texts dating from the end of the 19th dynasty are more numerous than texts from the first half of the 19th dynasty, and texts dating from the early and late 20th dynasty are more frequent than texts from the mid-20th dynasty. The two most notable groups of texts in the corpus are journals and notes with an attributed date to the early 20th dynasty and letters with an attributed date to the late 20th dynasty.

In Chapter 3 and 4 a selection of verbs and nominal elements associated with various aspects of mobility was presented and discussed. From the third main chapter one can conclude that the Egyptian language was verb-framed and thereby the verbs of motion describe the path of motion. The destination is in general expressed in an adverbial phrase.

Among the verbs discussed in Chapter 3 some were used to express various forms and directions of mobility – e.g. īj and īw for departing, arriving, and returning. Other verbs were used to express a more specific direction of mobility – e.g. wdpj, nṣj, hsb, and ḫm for departing and ḫp and spr for arriving – and others for expressing a specific direction of mobility to a certain place – e.g. ḫntj for departing to the south and ḫdj for departing to the north. Still other verbs were used to express an even more specific direction and form of mobility – sṣ/snj for passing, tsj for going up, and ḫṣj for crossing. It also seems that the usage of some verbs – e.g. sṣ/snj, tsj – changed during the New Kingdom into becoming in the 20th dynasty mainly connected with going to a certain place for a certain reason,
for instance, passing the walls/guard posts of the village in order to strike or protest, or going up the mountain to one of the royal valleys to work.

One approach of studying the relationship between people and the landscape or environment they live within is called a phenomenology of landscape. According to a phenomenology of landscape, all landscapes are embedded in the social and individual times of memory and there is a right way to move around in the familiar landscape and approach places and constructions. This was probably true for the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina when moving around on the Theban West Bank. Additionally, based on the textual references to mobility and travelling discussed in this study, one might argue that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina not only moved in the right way within the familiar landscape, but also wrote about moving within their close environment in a standardized manner, i.e. in the right way. In this connection the right way was, for example, the use of certain expressions and verbs to describe going to a well-known place.

On the text type categories where textual references to mobility or travelling are found, one can conclude that administrative texts tend to have the references at the very beginning of the text and that the references often follow the formula: date + hrw pn + infinitive of a verb of motion + in. Journals including records for a longer period of time tend to mention the arrival or departure by someone at the beginning of the record of that day. It thereby seems events related to persons leaving or entering the workmen’s community were of high priority when recording activities within the necropolis area. In letters, on the other hand, textual references to mobility and travelling are mainly found in the core of the letter, after the introductory formula and before the closing phrases. These references are rather often written in the verbal formation of the first present, and among these the majority are written in a subordinate clause.

In subchapter 1.1 I discussed, among other things, travelling as a motif in literary texts and how the sufferings of protagonists in literary texts have led to the presumption that the Egyptians did not feel very strongly about travelling and leaving their home environment. However, among the non-literary texts included in the corpus of this study there are very few references to someone suffering or
even expressing discontent while away from home. References expressing a
person being ill or in danger while away on a journey are only found in a few
letters written on papyrus and dating from the late Ramesside period. These letters
were all either sent or received by the scribe Djehutymose. One might therefore
suggest that as expressions of being ill or in danger while away on a journey are
only to be found in the correspondence between Djehutymose and his family,
these expressions are related especially to the communication between these
persons. Further, I consider it likely that the danger or illness expressed in the
letters probably refers to anxiety by Djehutymose while away from home, rather
than to an actual physical state. Nonetheless, one also has to take into account that
Djehutymose travelled to Nubia as part of a military campaign and thus the nature
of the journey might account for a certain amount of anxiety. Expressions for a
wish to return (section 5.3.2.1) are also only found in letters written on papyrus
and dated from the late Ramesside period. These expressions are included in the
introductory formula of letters and one might therefore argue that they were part
of the common letter-writing practice of the time, and cannot be regarded as
reflections on real life attitudes.

References including geographical place names in the corpus extend as far
as Nubia in the south and Memphis in the north, with one text even mentioning a
goat from Tell Taanak in Syro-Palestine. People from the outside visiting the
necropolis were in general persons attached to the external administration of the
village. Additionally, people referred to as foreigners (ṣr and ḥstjw) or Libyans
(mšwš and rb) are mentioned in letters dated to the reign of Ramesses XI and
journals dated to the reign of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI. The reason for these
references being grouped to the late 20th dynasty is the growing presence of
Libyans in Thebes during the end of the New Kingdom. Although the presence
and absence of these foreign peoples is dutifully recorded in necropolis journals
from this period, there is no conclusive evidence that they possessed some form of
threat to the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. An exception being references to
to persons referred to as hrwj (‘enemy’) found in non-literary texts dated to both the
19th and 20th dynasty.
Based on non-literary Deir el-Medina texts one can, with a relatively high
degree of certainty, state that the villagers did indeed interact with the outside
world and at least part of them on occasion left the village area. One might even
tentatively suggest that the nature of their work and the need to administrate the
necropolis and provide for the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina resulted in the
workmen moving around to a greater extent than the average Egyptian. In Chapter
5 the total of 322 texts included in the corpus and the textual references to
mobility and travelling found in these texts were presented and discussed
according to which direction they convey: departing from, arriving at, or
returning to. A general reflection is that mobility and travelling was mainly
expressed as departing or arriving, whereas expressions of returning were used
less frequently.

The chronological division of textual references to both departing and
arriving in the corpus is ca. twenty per cent for the 19th dynasty, ca. seventy per
cent for the 20th dynasty, and texts lacking an attributed date ca. ten per cent. A
considerable number of written expressions were used when referring to mobility
and travelling, but, as mentioned above, especially in administrative texts the
norm was to use a specific expression or verb when describing a movement to a
certain location.

When comparing 19th-dynasty references to departing with the equivalent
20th-dynasty references, the destinations, the subjects, and the reasons for
departing are quite similar. One exception is references to someone departing
specifically on a journey that are only found in letters (and one memorandum)
dating from the reign of Ramesses XI, and references to crossing the Nile and
going to Eastern Thebes, which are lacking in the 19th-dynasty texts. In addition
to persons departing on their own accord references to persons being sent or taken
away, or alternatively brought, are also found in the corpus. These expressions
were generally used to refer to someone being summoned by a higher authority or
sent away on a work-related mission.

More diverse expressions were used for describing departures, whereas
expressions for arrivals are in general more standardized. This probably has its
explanation in the text types within which they occur. The proportion between letters and administrative text (e.g. journals, accounts, and notes) including references to departing is more equal (55 letters to 51 journals, 12 accounts, 25 notes) than in texts with references to arriving (55 letters to 68 journals, 13 accounts, 43 notes). The more varied nature of references to departing thus has its logical explanation in that the senders of the more or less private letters chose to express mobility in a more diverse manner than the writers of, for example, necropolis journals and notes. Among the references to departing both men and women were recorded as subjects, whereas no women were recorded as having arrived. On the other hand, some 20th-dynasty journals include references to foreigners and enemies arriving at the Theban necropolis, but none of the texts relate to foreigners or enemies having departed.

In conclusion, one can state that mobility and contact with the outside world were part of regular life within the workmen’s community. Departures and arrivals were expressed in rather neutral terms in non-literary texts, one exception being some of the letters sent between the scribe Djehutymose and his family, where anxiety was occasionally referred to. As was stated in the beginning of this dissertation, cultural elements have an impact on how people move, but on the other hand mobility among people also has a strong influence on the culture. As seen in this study, this holds true for the workmen’s community of Deir el-Medina, where mobility and moving was part of administering the necropolis and the work of constructing the royal tombs.
### APPENDICES

**Appendix 1: Non-literary Deir el-Medina texts included in the corpus: number, text type, and dating.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Text type</th>
<th>Dating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.93</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td><em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Berlin P 10460</td>
<td>protocol</td>
<td>year 14 of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Berlin P 10487</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10(?) <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Berlin P 10489</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10(?) <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Berlin P 10494</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 2 <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Berlin P 23300b recto</td>
<td>unclassified</td>
<td>Merenptah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, I</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10(?) <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, III</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10 <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, IV</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td><em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, II</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td><em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, IV</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10 <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, V</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10(?) <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197, VI</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10 <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, I</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10 <em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 12 of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, II</td>
<td>list</td>
<td><em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199, IV</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td><em>whm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Year/Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bibliothèque Nationale 199.V–IX + 196.V + 198.IV</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>year 10 <em>wHm ms.wt</em> of Ramesses XI</td>
</tr>
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<td>journal</td>
<td>year 3 of Ramesses VI</td>
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<td>P. BM EA 10100</td>
<td>letter</td>
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<td>P. BM EA 10190</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>late 20th dynasty</td>
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<td>P. BM EA 10284</td>
<td>letter</td>
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| O. Berlin P 14689 | journal | year 29 of Ramesses II or Ramesses III |
| O. BM EA 5631 | letter | 19th or 20th dynasty |
| O. BM EA 5637 | deposition | mid-20th dynasty |
| O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726 | note | year 1 of Ramesses VI |
| O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067 | journal | year 2 (or 3) of Ramesses IV |
| O. BM EA 50734 + 50742 | letter | mid-20th dynasty |
| O. BM EA 50744 | note | year 5 of Ramesses IV |
| O. BM EA 65930 | protocol | year 6 of Seti II |
| O. BM EA 65933a | letter | 19th or 20th dynasty |
| O. BM EA 68518 | note | 20th dynasty |
| O. Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 37.1880E | account | Ramesses III |
| O. BTdK 659 | journal | Year 1 of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VII |
| O. BTdK 663 | journal | Year 4 of Ramesses IV (?) or year 1 of Ramesses V(?) or Ramesses VII(?) |
| O. BTdK 664 | journal | Year 1 of Ramesses V(?) or Ramesses VII(?) |
| O. BTdK 665 | journal | Year 5 of Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI |
| O. Cairo CG 25235 | letter(?) | Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25236 | memorandum | Ramesses XI |
| O. Cairo CG 25237 | protocol | year 66 of Ramesses II |
| O. Cairo CG 25254 | note | year 2 of Ramesses VI |
| O. Cairo CG 25255 | note | year 1 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25256 | note | year 2 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25264 | note | year 3 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25270 | note | year 4 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25272 | journal | Ramesses IV onwards |
| O. Cairo CG 25273 | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25274 | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25281 | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25283 | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25284 bis | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25289 | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25290 bis | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25290 | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV |
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| O. Cairo CG 25292 | note | year 7 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25298 | journal | no attributed date |
| O. Cairo CG 25302 | journal | no attributed date |
| O. Cairo CG 25303 | journal | Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25305 | journal | year 10 of Ramesses IX |
| O. Cairo CG 25309 | note | year 6 of Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI |
| O. Cairo CG 25504 | journal | year 7 of Merenptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25509 | journal | year 1 of Seti II |
| O. Cairo CG 25515 | journal | year 6 of Seti II–year 1 of Siptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25518 | journal | year 1 of Siptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25523 | list | after year 5 of Siptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25530 | journal | year 29 of Ramesses III |
| O. Cairo CG 25533 | journal | year 3 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25535 | journal | late 20th dynasty |
| O. Cairo CG 25537 | journal | year 1 of Siptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25538 | journal | year 6 of Seti II |
| O. Cairo CG 25547 | account | year 6 of Siptah-Tausret (?) |
| O. Cairo CG 25552 | note | year 3 of Ramesses II or Merenptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25560 | journal | Seti II |
| O. Cairo CG 25565 | journal | year 5 of Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25566 | note | year 4 of Ramesses VI |
| O. Cairo CG 25575 | list | late 20th–early 21st dynasty |
| O. Cairo CG 25581 | list | year 2 of Ramesses II or Merenptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25630 | note | 20th dynasty |
| O. Cairo CG 25636 | note | 20th dynasty |
| O. Cairo CG 25643 | journal | first half of the 20th dynasty |
| O. Cairo CG 25648 | journal | year 10 of Ramesses IX |
| O. Cairo CG 25653 | note | late 20th–early 21st dynasty |
| O. Cairo CG 25713 | note (?) | Ramesses IV |
| O. Cairo CG 25724 | event (?) | no attributed date |
| O. Cairo CG 25746 | list | mid–late Siptah |
| O. Cairo CG 25766 | literary(?) | Seti II |
| O. Cairo CG 25788 | journal | year 6 of Merenptah (?) |
| O. Cairo CG 25792 | journal | year 7 of Siptah-Tausret |
| O. Cairo CG 25794 | journal | year 4 of Siptah-Tausret or Ramesses III |
| O. Cairo CG 25803 | account | year 24 of Ramesses II |
| O. Cairo CG 25831 | letter | year 1 of Siptah-Tausret (or later) |
| O. Cairo JE 49557 | note | no attributed date |
| O. Cairo JE 72452 | journal | year 2 of Seti II or Siptah |
| O. Cairo prov. no. 175 | letter(?) | Ramesses IX |
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| O. DeM 32 | journal | year 25 of Ramesses III |
| O. DeM 35 | journal | year 28 of Ramesses III |
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| O. DeM 38 | journal | year 32 of Ramesses III |
| O. DeM 40 + O. Strasbourg H. 42 | journal | year 1 of Ramesses IV |
| O. DeM 41 | journal | year 1 of Ramesses IV |
| O. DeM 44 | journal | year 1 of Ramesses IV |
| O. DeM 46 | journal | year 2 of Ramesses IV |
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| O. DeM 128 | letter | first half of the 20th dynasty |
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| O. DeM 446 | letter | Ramesses II |
| O. DeM 569 | deposition | Ramesses III |
| O. DeM 571 | note(?) | year 9 of Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI |
| O. DeM 585 + 830 | account | second half of the 20th dynasty |
| O. DeM 595 | note | year 5 of Seti II |
| O. DeM 610 | note | no attributed date |
| O. DeM 613 | letter | Siptah-Tausret |
| O. DeM 636 | deposition(?) | Seti I |
| O. DeM 677 | account | 19th dynasty (?) |
| O. DeM 692 | letter(?) | 19th or 20th dynasty |
| O. DeM 756 | note(?) | Ramesses III or Ramesses IV |
| O. DeM 759 | note | year 6(?) of Ramesses IV |
| O. DeM 886 | note | year 5 of Siptah |
| O. DeM 897 | journal | no attributed date |
| O. DeM 898 | journal | Amenmesse |
| O. DeM 900 | journal | Amenmesse or Seti II or Siptah |
| O. DeM 917 | deposition(?) | Ramesses III |
| O. DeM 918 | protocol | Amenmesse or Seti II |
| O. DeM 943 | account | no attributed date |
| O. DeM 956 | note | Ramesses IV or Ramesses V |
| O. DeM 969 | letter | late Ramesses II (?) |
| O. DeM 1176 verso 9 | note | Ramesses VI |
| O. DeM 1194 verso | note | Ramesses III |
| O. DeM 1722 + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 recto | letter | Ramesses II |
| O. DeM 10022 | account | no attributed date |
| O. DeM 10023 | journal | no attributed date |
| O. DeM 10061 | letter | early Ramesses II |
| O. DeM 10100 | letter | Ramesses V |
| O. DeM 10162 | journal | no attributed date |
| O. DeM 10176 | journal | year 20 of Ramesses III (?) |
| O. DeM 10177 | journal | year 26 of Ramesses III–year 2 Ramesses V |
| O. DeM 10195 | deposition | Amenmesse (?) |</p>
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Appendix 2: Categories of text types in the corpus in number and percentage (uncertain classification included).

**Table 1. Papyri and ostraca texts**

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### Table 3. Ostraca Texts

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Appendix 3: Categories of text types with approximate attributed dating in number.

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**Table 2: Ostraca Texts (Total 217)**
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255
Appendix 4: Approximate attributed dating of the corpus texts in number and percentage.

**Table 1. Papyri Texts**

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<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Number of texts</th>
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<th>Dating within the dynasty</th>
<th>Number of texts</th>
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<td>93%</td>
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<td>R V–R VII</td>
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<td>R X–R XI</td>
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**Table 2. Ostraca Texts**

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