“DO NOT CELEBRATE YOUR FEAST WITHOUT YOUR NEIGHBOURS”

A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina

Heidi Jauhiainen

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be publicly discussed,
by due permission of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Helsinki,
in auditorium XII (Unioninkatu 34),
on the 30th of September 2009, at 12 o’clock.

Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies 10

ISBN 978-952-10-5722-9 (paperback)

ISBN 978-952-10-5723-6 (PDF)

ISSN 1458-5359

Helsinki University Print

Helsinki 2009

Table of Contents

List of Tables ..... **v**
Acknowledgements ..... **vi**

I Introduction **1**
1 Previous Research on Feasts in Ancient Egypt **4**
2 Various Methodological Approaches to Vernacular Religion and Feasts **12**
2.1 Vernacular Religion – Local Feasts 13
2.2 Functional Approach to Feasts 17
3 Primary Sources **20**
4 The Structure and the Methods of the Research **23**

II Features of Ancient Egyptian Feasts Associated with the Official Theology **25**
1 Temple Festival Calendars **26**
2 Processions During Temple Festivals **28**
3 Ritual Acts Featuring in Various Religious Festivals **34**

III Feasts at Deir el-Medina **37**
1 Deir el-Medina Festival Calendar – a Reconstruction **38**
1.1 Reconstructing the Festival Calendar of Deir el-Medina 39
1.1.1 The Source Material for the Festival Calendar 41
1.1.2 The Method of Reconstructing the Festival Calendar 60
1.2 Feasts Featuring in the Reconstructed Deir el-Medina Festival Calendar 66
1.2.1 Eponymous Feasts and Ancient Egyptian Month Names 67
1.2.1.1 The New Year Festival 74
1.2.1.2 The Feast of Thoth 85
1.2.1.3 The Opet Festival 92
1.2.1.4 The Feast of Hathor 104
1.2.1.5 Khoiak 112
1.2.1.6 The Feast of Mut 119
1.2.1.7 Mekhir 126
1.2.1.8 The Great Feast of Amenhotep I 131
1.2.1.9 The Feast of Renenutet 141
1.2.1.10 The Beautiful Feast of the Valley 147
1.2.1.11 Epiphi 153
1.2.2 Feasts of Various Divinities 158
1.2.2.1 The Feast of Amenhotep I on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30 159
1.2.2.2 The Feast of Sokar 162
1.2.2.3 The Feast of Ptah in III *prt* 168
1.2.2.4 The Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari 172
1.2.2.5 The Feast of Amenhotep I on III *šmw* 12–13 176
1.2.3 Feasts to Commemorate the Accession of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III 178
1.2.3.1 The Accession Day of Seti I 179
1.2.3.2 The Accession Day of Ramesses II 182
1.2.3.3 The Accession Day of Ramesses III 185
1.2.4 Other Possible Feasts Connected to the Official Theology 187
1.2.4.1 I *ꜣḫt* 8 188
1.2.4.2 IV *ꜣḫt* 5 190
1.2.4.3 I *prt* 7 192
1.2.4.4 *Msy* 194
1.2.4.5 The Epagomenal Days 196
1.3 Feasts and Seemingly Work-free Days Omitted from the Festival Calendar 199

2 Other Deir el-Medina References to Feasts and Festive Behaviour 224
2.1 The Source Material on Local and Personal Feasts 227
2.2 Miscellaneous References to *ḥb* and *wp* 237
2.3 Personal Feasts 247
2.3.1 *Ḥb=f* and *pꜣy=f ḥb* 248
2.3.2 Celebrations Associated with Birth 255
2.3.3 Other Possible References to Personal Feasts 257
2.4 Gift-Giving 258
2.5 Rituals Connected with Local Feasts 265
2.5.1 Processions 265
2.5.2 Offering Rituals 269
2.5.3 Ritual of Pouring Water 276
2.5.4 Drinking and Brewing Beer as Festive Actions 280
2.5.5 *Ḥsmn* and Purification 285
2.6 Additional Indications of Local Feasts and Feast Rituals 287
3 Further Considerations on Feasts at Deir el-Medina 291
3.1 Participants in the Festivities 291
3.2 Possible Locations of Festivities 294
3.3 Objects and Victuals Associated with Feasts 297
3.4 The Function of Deir el-Medina Feasts 300

IV Conclusions 303

Appendix 1: References to working, inactivity, and feasts listed within the frame of a reconstructed day-by-day festival calendar 307

Appendix 2: References to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions 333

Bibliography 352
Bibliographical Abbreviations 352
Editions, Monographs, Festschrifts, and Others 354

Index of Primary Sources 391

List of Tables

Table 1. The number of documents in the corpus of the festival calendar reconstruction and the number of references in these particular documents 49
Table 2. Comparison of references pertaining to each month and the epagomenal days 55
Table 3. The distribution of references to days 1–30 58
Table 4. A summary of the data presented in Appendix I regarding work-free days and feasts which may have occurred annually on the same civil calendar day 64
Table 5. Traditional ancient Egyptian month names compared with their Greek counterparts 67
Table 6. References to eponymous feasts in various sources from the Old to the New Kingdom 68
Table 7. References to month names in various sources from the New Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period 71
Table 8. Reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar during the Ramesside Period 222
Table 9. The number of documents in the corpus of feasts and feasting at Deir el-Medina and the number of references in these particular documents 229

Acknowledgements

I would like to express profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Jaana Toivari-Viitala, for her invaluable encouragement, supervision, and useful suggestions throughout this research work. Her moral support and continuous guidance enabled me to complete my work successfully. I am also highly grateful to Professor Tapani Harviainen for making it possible for me to do my graduate studies at the University of Helsinki. My thanks also go to Professor Juha Pentikäinen for inviting me to attend his graduate seminar at the Department of Comparative Religion and to the participants in that seminar, especially to Mari Pulkkinen, for their comments on the theory section of my work. I also thank the staff of the Institute for Asian and African Studies for the use of the department's facilities and all my colleagues at the Institute for their support.

I am grateful to Professor Joris F. Borghouts of Leiden University for welcoming me to spend ten months at the university. My time in Leiden was significant for the progress of this study. I also thank the staff and students of the Department of Egyptology and the staff of NINO for making it a memorable time.

I also wish to thank Dr. Margot Stout Whiting for correcting my English so meticulously. Dr. Irma-Riitta Järvinen also contributed some useful comments on the theory part of this study. All the remaining factual or grammatical errors are my own and I take full responsibility for them.

This study would not have been possible without the financial support of the following institutions: the Academy of Finland, the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, the Finnish Concordia Fund, the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation, the Research Funds of the University of Helsinki, and the Finnish Egyptological Society. To all of them I am grateful.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for supporting me in yet another unconventional undertaking and my dear husband Tommi for coming in to my life and for providing me with the best place in the world.

I Introduction

The title of this study, 'Do not celebrate your feast without your neighbours', features in O. UC 39614.[1] From this text, we learn that on the day of burial good friends 'surround you, grieving'.[2] O. UC 39614 is the best-preserved copy of a wisdom text that is only known from copies pertaining to Deir el-Medina.[3] Thousands of ostraca, i.e., fragments of limestone or pottery with inscriptions, and papyri containing both literary and non-literary texts have been preserved by the dry conditions in the village and in the surrounding mountains, i.e., in the desert away from the Nile Valley that was inundated by the yearly flood waters.[4] The literary texts,[5] which also include religious texts, refer occasionally to feasts. The references often resemble the one in the aforementioned O. UC 39614 in the sense that they are quite general by nature. For example, on the recto side of O. Ashmolean Museum 28,[6] which is a hymn to the inundation and to Ramesses II, it is mentioned that 'all the gods are at a feast'. Furthermore, according to the hymn to Nun recorded on O. Ashmolean Museum 301,[7] 'everyone organizes properly their feasts to the god for whom the feasts are celebrated'. Such references are very generic and they tell us

[1] *ỉm=k ỉrt ḥb=k nn sꜣḫw=k*; O. UC 39614, vs. 7; the text is also known as O. Petrie 11. For translations of this text, see Hagen, The Prohibitions: A New Kingdom Didactic Text, *JEA* 91 (2005), 143–145; McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (1999), 142–143.

[2] *Pḥrw=sn n=k nḫwy ḥrw ḳrs*; O. UC 39614, vs. 7.

[3] See Hagen, The Prohibitions, *JEA* 91 (2005), 125–164; see also Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina. Aspects of Eating and Drinking in an Ancient Egyptian Village, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 21. For the so-called wisdom or didactic texts, see, for example, Hornung & Keel (eds.), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (1979); Brunner, *Altägyptische Weisheit. Lehren für das Leben. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert* (1988); Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (1990); Lichtheim, Didactic Literature, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Form* (1996), 243–262; Lichtheim, *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt* (1997).

[4] Deir el-Medina is the name of the ruins of a village on the western bank of the Nile in Luxor, ancient Thebes. This particular village was, during the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BC), inhabited by the men (and their families) who constructed the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. Their job descriptions included the decoration of the tombs with religious imagery and texts. The royal artisans were, hence, probably more literate than the average Egyptians. For Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (1973); Valbelle, *'Les ouvriers de la tombe'. Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside* (1985). For a general introduction to Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Bierbrier, *The Royal artisans of the Pharaohs* (1989). For the literacy rate at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Janssen, Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina, in Demarée & Egberts (eds.), *Village voices. Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir El-Medîna and their Interpretation', Leiden, May 31 – June 1, 1991* (1992), 81–94; Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir el-Medina, *JESHO* 46 (2003), 250.

[5] For an introduction to the literary texts from ancient Egypt, see, for example, Simpson, Introduction, in Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (2003).

[6] *ỉw nṯrw nbw m ḥb*; O. Ashmolean Museum 28, rt. 4. The date of this text has been attributed to the reign of Ramesses II (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* II (1979), 378).

[7] *Bw-nbw smꜣꜥ ḥbw=sn n nṯr n-ỉm=w*; O. Ashmolean Museum 301, 10; see Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka der Ramessidenzeit in Übersetzung* (1986), 19–22. The date of this text has been attributed to the Ramesside Period (Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka* (1986)).

little about when and how the ancient Egyptians celebrated their feasts. The references to feasts in non-literary documents[1] originating from the royal artisans' community are different.[2] These pertain to the actual feasts celebrated by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. From such non-literary documents we can, for example, learn when the inhabitants celebrated feasts, to whom a particular feast was dedicated, what rituals were conducted during festivities, where feasts were celebrated, and who attended them.

The feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina generally appear to have been religious by nature.[3] Ashraf Iskander Sadek has employed the term 'state religion' to describe the temple cult administered by the king for the benefit of the Egyptian people.[4] In this state religion, the king alone, as the son of the gods, had the right to perform rituals. In practice, the priests of the numerous temples took care of the daily cult.[5] Sadek contrasts Egyptian state religion with 'popular religion' which he characterizes as 'the beliefs and practices of the Egyptian people themselves, outside of the endowed, state-run, secluded official temple-cults…attested for all classes and groups beyond the established priesthoods'.[6] There is, indeed, ample evidence, especially from the New Kingdom, for personal cults in homes, private chapels, and near the temples.[7] In Sadek's opinion, the two domains of Egyptian religion, i.e., the 'state' and the 'popular', are not entirely exclusive as they have mutual deities and rituals. Moreover, common people could also, to a certain degree, participate in the cult of the 'state religion'.[8]

Evidence of both 'state' and 'popular' religion is found in the Deir el-Medina source material. Thus, the religion practiced by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina seems, indeed, to have encompassed various types of national, regional, and local religious customs all intertwined into the social fabric of the community.[9] For example, the gods revered in the community are mostly known from other parts of Egypt as well.[10] However, the villagers

---

1 See Černý & Israelit-Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*[4] (1993), liv–lvi.

2 See, for example, Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (1987), 167–198.

3 See, for example, Helck, Feiertage und Arbeitstage in der Ramessidenzeit, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 165 (*religiöse Feiertage*).

4 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 1–2.

5 E.g., Assmann, Das ägyptische Prozessionsfest, in Assmann (ed.), *Das Fest und das Heilige. Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt* (1991); Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 839.

6 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 1; most of the material used by Sadek comes from Thebes, particularly from Deir el-Medina, although he has made use of material from other sites as well (*op. cit.*, 11).

7 E.g., Demarée, *The ꜣḫ iḳr n Rᶜ-stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (1983); Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987); Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt: A Study of the Chapels in the Workmen's Village at el Amarna with Special Reference to Deir el Medina and other Sites* (1991); Friedman, Aspects of Domestic Life and Religion, in Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers. The Villagers of Deir el-Medina* (1994), 95–117; Guglielmi, Die Funktion von Tempeleingang und Gegentempel als Gebetsort. Zur Deutung einiger Widder-und Gansstelen des Amun, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm* (1994), 55–68; Mostafa, Lieux saints populaires dans l'Egypte ancienne, *DE* 29 (1994); Spalinger, The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion, *JNES* 57 (1998), 242.

8 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 2; for an opposing view on popular participation in the official religion, see Spalinger, Limitations, *JNES* 57 (1998), 240–260.

9 E.g., Friedman, Aspects of Domestic Life (1994), 95–96; see also Keller, Some Thoughts on Religious Change at Deir el-Medina, in d'Auria (ed.), *Servants of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzani* (2008), 149–154.

10 See, for example, Noberasco, *Analisi statistica di alcuni documenti di carattere religioso provenienti da Deir el Medina* (1977); Noberasco, Gli dei a Deir el Medina (Studi su Deir el Medina, 2), *OrAnt* 20 (1981); Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 85–166.

seem also to have preferred to worship their own local forms of some gods; instead of Renenutet, for example, the royal artisans' community sometimes favoured Meretseger.[1] The processions of the statue of the deified, deceased King Amenhotep I seem likewise to have been local variants of the processions in the large temples of the state religion. Despite the fact that the large temples of Amon, the chief state god of New Kingdom Egypt, were located nearby, it was Amenhotep I who was the patron deity of the community.[2] The religion practised at Deir el-Medina has for the purposes of this study been defined as 'vernacular religion' observed within the local community and with local characteristics.[3] The feasts celebrated in the village include local feasts as well as national and regional feasts perhaps celebrated with indigenous rituals and customs. This study is an attempt to present the numerous references to feasts and feasting in non-literary texts pertaining to Deir el-Medina and to consider the form and function of the feasts and festivals celebrated in the village. In her work on feasting, Linda Brown distinguishes between the concepts 'feast', i.e., communal consumption of meals, and 'festival', i.e., the time period of a public celebration.[4] In the Deir el-Medina documents, the words *ḥb* and *wp*, both standing for feast,[5] were used for denoting the long temple festivals as well as local and private feasts. Therefore, the words 'feast' and 'festival' have been used interchangeably in this study. As the majority of the documents originating from Deir el-Medina have been dated to or attributed a date in the Ramesside Period[6] (c. 1295–1069 BC[7]), this era forms the time frame of my work.

1 See Stele Bordeaux (Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire de l'Époque Ramesside, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 72–77) where Renenutet and Meretseger are equated; see also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 118–123. For *mr.s-gr-rnn-wtt-nfrt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* III (2002), 344; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 66–87.

2 E.g., Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers de la necropole thébaine, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159–197.

3 See Chapter I 2.1.

4 Brown, Feasting on the Periphery. The Production of Ritual Feasting and Village Festivals at the Cerén Site, el Salvador, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power* (2001), 370.

5 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 304 (*wp, Fest (allgemeines Wort)*); idem, *WB* III (1929), 57–58 (*ḥb, das Fest*).

6 E.g., Haring, Scribes and Scribal Activity at Deir el-Medina, in Dorn & Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts* (2006), 107–112.

7 Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (2000), 481.

1 Previous Research on Feasts in Ancient Egypt

References pertaining to feasts and festivals in ancient Egypt are numerous and varied, and so, consequently, studying these feasts is an inexhaustible undertaking, which has so far produced a substantial number of monographs and articles. As an object of research, ancient Egyptian feasts have been considered from the view points of Religious studies, Archaeology, Anthropology, and Astronomy, to name but a few. The focus has generally been on various details concerning the feasts, but some overall presentations on festivals have been published as well. Furthermore, many discussions on various issues relating to topics such as religion in general, administration, and daily life have also been undertaken in association with the study of ancient Egyptian festivals. The following presentation of previous studies of ancient Egyptian feasts and festivals is not exhaustive; it is a selective overview of some of the important contributions from a variety of different approaches rather than providing the reader with a complete bibliography of research on ancient Egyptian feasts. The outline given below of previously published studies has been chosen in order to highlight aspects and questions which are central to this study on feasts and festivals at Deir el-Medina. The classification of subjects into categories is artificial and could, if so desired, be done in numerous other ways. Furthermore, many of the studies mentioned here cover a number of various issues and may, therefore, be listed under several of the subject classes differentiated below.

In ancient times, Egyptian festivals were already described in history books,[1] in descriptions of religion,[2] and in literature.[3] However, due to the vastness of the subject, comprehensive accounts of feasts and festivals in ancient Egypt are scarce,[4] and research

[1] Diodorus, *On Egypt*, I,14; I,20; Herodotus, *The History*, II,40; II,47–49; II,60–63; II,91; II,122; II,171.

[2] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*.

[3] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses, book XI*, chapters 8–12 and 16.

[4] See Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (1950); Drioton, *Pages d'égyptologie* (1957), 133–158 (Les fêtes égyptiennes); Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals. Enactment of Religious Renewal* (1967); Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 171–191.

has tended to focus on one Egyptian feast or festival at a time. The most intensively studied feasts seem to be the New Year Festival,[1] the Festival of Sokar,[2] the Opet Festival,[3] and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[4] Attention has also been given to other

[1] E.g., Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps de Ptolémées* (1949–1954), 303–433; Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens. Eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sog. 'Zaubermesser' des Mitteleren Reichs* (1965), 123–135; Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An* (1972); Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 194–274; Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar in het oude Egypte* (1986); Goyon, Le feu nouveau du jour de l'an a Dendera et Karnak, *Hommages à François Daumas* (1986), 331–344; Spalinger, Calendars: Real and Ideal, in Bryan & Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke* (1994), 297–308; idem, Parallelism of Thought, in Berger, Clerc & Grimal (eds.), *Hommage à Jean Leclant*, 4 (1994), 363–377; Derchain-Urtel, 'Der Himmel ist festlich...' in Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen* (1996), 34–41; Corthals, The Procession of the New Year in the Staircases at Edfu and Dendera, in Amenta (ed.), *L'Acqua nell'antico Egitto. Proceedings of the First International Conference for Young Egyptologists, Italy, Chainciano Terme, October 15–18, 2003* (2005), 211–219; Goyon, *Le rituel du sḥtp Sḫmt au changement de cycle annuel d'aprés les architraves du temple d'Edfou et textes paralléles, du Nouvel Empire à l'époque ptolémaque et romain* (2006).

[2] E.g., Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 69–90; Gaballa and Kitchen, The Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 1–76; Goyon, La fête de Sokaris à Edfou à la lumière d'un texte liturgique remontant au Nouvel Empire, *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 415–438; Mikhail, The Festival of Sokar. An Episode of the Osirian Khoiak Festival, *GM* 82 (1984), 25–44; Helck, Zu Ptah und Sokar, in Verhoeven (ed.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten* (1991), 169–164; Graindorge, Les oignon de Sokar, *Rd'É* 43 (1992), 87–105; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire I* (1994), 55–77, 169–310; Graindorge, La quête de la lumière au mois de Khoiak, *JEA* 82 (1996), 83–105; Eaton, The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak, *SAK* 35 (2006), 75–101.

[3] E.g., Wolf, *Das Schöne Fest von Opet. Die Festzugsdarstellung im Grossen Säulengange des Temples von Luksor* (1931); Murnane, Opetfest, *LÄ* IV (1982), 576; Kruchten, L'Année où la fête d'Opet n'eut pas lieu en Paophi, *JEA* 77 (1991), 182–184; Gabolde, L'Itineraire de la Procession d'Opet, in *Louqsor. Temple du Ka royal* (1992), 25–26; Murnane, La Grande Fete d'Opet, in *Louqsor. Temple du Ka royal* (1992), 20–23; The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (1994); Bell, The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor, in Shafer, *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (1998), 157–176; Cabrol, Les boeufs gras de la fête d'Opet, in *Sociétés urbaines en Égypte et au Soudan 20* (1999), 15–27.

[4] E.g., Foucart, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée ḥb nfr n ỉnt* (1930); Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentals* (1952); Marciniak, Encore sur la Belle Fête de la Vallée, *ÉT* 5 (1971), 54–64; Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin*, Part II. *Translation and Commentary* (1972), 11–16; Karkowski, The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley Representations in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari, in Reineke (ed.), *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology. Cairo October 2–10, 1976* (1979), 359–364; Wiebach, Die Begegnung von Lebenden und Verstorbene im Rahmen des thebanischen Talfestes, *SAK* 13 (1986), 263–291; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast of the Valley, in Skarsten, Kleppe & Finnestad (eds.), *Understanding and History in Arts and Sciences* (1991), 21–32; Manniche, Reflections on the Banquet Scene, in Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture égyptienne ancienne* (1997), 29–36; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE* (2004), 11–15, 91–97, 98–103.

feasts, such as *Wag*,[1] *Nehebkau*,[2] *Khoiak*,[3] the Feast of the first day of the decade,[4] the Festival of Min,[5] the Sed-festival,[6] the Feast of drunkenness,[7] the Feast of Thoth,[8] the Feast of Nepri and Renenutet,[9] the Feast of Behedet,[10] and the Feast of Ptah of Entering the Sky.[11] Various feasts pertaining to certain gods and goddesses have also been under scrutiny. These include gods, such as Horus[12] and Khnum,[13] and goddesses, such as Hathor,[14] Isis,[15] and Mut,[16] as well as various lion goddesses.[17] Royal Festivals have also

1 E.g., Luft, The Date of the *Wꜣgy* Feast, in Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time. Studies in the Ancient Egyptian Calendrics* (1994), 39–44; Krauss, Wenn und Aber: Das Wag-Fest und die Chronologie des Alten Reiches, *GM* 162 (1998), 53–63.

2 E.g., Spalinger, Calendars: Real and Ideal (1994), 297–308; idem, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377.

3 E.g., Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* I–II (1966–1968); Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischen Tempel. Ein Beitrag zur deutung sakraler Baukunst im alten Ägypten* (1983), 425–467; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 169–310; Tooley, Osiris Bricks, *JEA* 82 (1996), 167–179; Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 75–101; Minas, Die Ptolemäischen Sokar-Osiris-Mumien, *MDAIK* 62 (2006), 208–210.

4 E.g., Doresse, Le dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du debut de la décade, *Rd'É* 31 (1979), 36–65; Jansen-Winkels, Bezeichnung und Funktion einer Situla, *DE* 32 (1995), 57–62.

5 E.g., Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* (1931); Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes. Eine Studie über den ägyptischen Gott Min und sein Fest* (1956); Moens, The Procession of the God Min to the *ḫtjw*-garden, *SAK* 12 (1985), 61–73; Feder, Das Ritual *sʿḥʿ kꜣ sḫn.t* als Tempelfest des Gottes Min, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996* (1998), 31–54; Graindorge, Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope: Metamorphosen eines Ritus, in Metzner-Nebelsick *et al.* (eds.), *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart. Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* (2003), 37–45.

6 E.g., Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 96–123; Hornung & Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (1974).

7 E.g., Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an die Göttin Hathor und das Ritual 'Hathor das Trankopfer darbringen' nach den Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (1992); Waitkus, Eine Fahrt der Hathor von Dendera nach Edfu im Monat Paophi?, *GM* 135 (1993), 105–111; Spalinger, The Chronological Analysis of the Feast of *tḫy*, *SAK* 20 (1993), 289–303.

8 E.g., Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes. Untersuchungen zum Gott Thot bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (1991), 191–193.

9 E.g., Leibovitch, Gods of Agriculture and Welfare in Ancient Egypt, *JNES* 12 (1953), 73–113; Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (1971), 63–66.

10 E.g., Altenmüller, Die Fahrt der Hathor nach Edfu and die 'Heilige Hochzeit', in Clarysse, Schoors & Willems (eds.), *Egyptian religion: The last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur II* (1998), 753–765.

11 E.g., Berlandini, Ptah-demiurge et l'exaltation du ciel, *Rd'É* 46 (1995), 29–31.

12 E.g., Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus* (1949–1954); Fairman, Worship and Festival in an Egyptian Temple, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 165–203.

13 E.g., Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme* (1962).

14 E.g., Christophe, Les fêtes agraires de calendrier d'Hathor à Edfou, *CHÉ* 7/1 (1955), 35–42; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth. Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1973), 84–101; Kurth, Die Reise der Hathor von Dendera nach Edfu, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel* (1994), 211–216; Preyes, La fête de Paophi et le culte des ancêtres, *Rd'É* 58 (2007), 111–122; Darnell, Hathor Returns to Medamûd, *SAK* 22 (1995), 47–94.

15 E.g., Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischen Zeit. Daten und Riten* (1963).

16 E.g., Spalinger, A Religious Calendar Year in the Mut Temple at Karnak, *Rd'É* 44 (1993), 161–184.

17 E.g., Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 401–424; von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang – Rituale für die Gefärliche Göttin, in Metzner-Nebelsick *et al.* (eds.), *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart* (2003), 47–55.

been considered closely,[1] while the numerous feasts of the deified King Amenhotep I have been analysed separately,[2] as have feasts of the dead,[3] feasts of purification,[4] and feasts of circumcision.[5] Some studies have focused on feasts celebrated in a certain temple (e.g., the temple of Horus at Edfu,[6] the temple of Khnum at Esna,[7] the temple of Hathor at Dendera,[8] the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,[9] and the Kawa Temple[10]), whereas others have analysed the festivals of a specific site, for example, Thebes[11] or Deir el-Medina.[12] It has also proven fruitful to examine festivals during a particular time period of

1 E.g., Černý, Datum des Todes Ramses' III. und der Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV., *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109–118; Redford, On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, *JNES* 25 (1966), 115–124; Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 91–123; Hornung & Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (1974); Barta, Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche zeugnisse königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme, *SAK* 8 (1980), 33–51; Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205–212; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology in New Kingdom Egypt: Some Cases of Tradition, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 217–238; Gundlach, Tempelfeste und Etappen der Königsherrschaft in der 18. Dynastie, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel* (1998), 55–75; Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals in the Late Predynastic period and the First Dynasty* (2002); Sayed Mohamed, *Festvorbereitungen. Die administrativen und ökonomischen Grundlagen altägyptischer Feste* (2004); Roth, Der Herrscher im Fest. Zur rituellen Herrschaftslegimitation des ägyptischen Königs und ihrer Aussendarstellung im Rahmen von Festen, in Bröckelmann & Klug, *In Pharaos Staat. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 75 Geburtstag* (2006), 205–249.

2 E.g., Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159–203; Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I, in Helck (ed.), *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967* (1968), 71–72; Schmitz, *Amenophis I. Versuch einer Darstellung der Regierungszeit eines ägyptischen Herrschers der frühen 18. Dynastie* (1978), 20–37; Sadek, Glimpses of Popular Religion in New Kingdom Egypt I, *GM* 36 (1979), 51–56; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 135–138.

3 E.g., Erman, Zehn Verträge aus dem Mittleren Reich, *ZÄS* 20 (1880), 159–180; Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 124–140; Wiebach, Die Begegnung, *SAK* 13 (1986), 263–291; Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt* (1996).

4 E.g., Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony and the 'Place of Women' in ancient Egypt, in Teeter & Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise. Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (1999), 419–434; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina. A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's Community during the Ramesside Period* (2001), 162–168.

5 E.g., Stracmans, Les fêtes de la circoncision chez les anciens Égyptiens, *Cd'É 119-120* (1985), 293–297; Bailey, Circumcision in Ancient Egypt, *BACE 7* (1996), 15–28.

6 E.g., Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus* (1949–1954); Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 165–203; Christophe, Les fêtes agraires, *CHÉ* 7/1 (1955), 35–42; Goyon, Fête de Sokaris, *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 415–438; Kurth, Die Reise der Hathor (1994), 211–216.

7 E.g., Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962).

8 E.g., Kurth, Die Reise der Hathor (1994), 211–216.

9 E.g., Nelson, The Calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu, in Nelson & Hölscher (eds.), *Work in Western Thebes 1931–33* (1934), 1–63; The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu III, The Calendar, the 'Slaughter House,' and Minor Records of Ramses III* (1934); The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu IV: Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940).

10 E.g., Kormyscheva, Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel* (1998), 77–89.

11 E.g., Schott, The Feasts of Thebes, in Nelson & Hölscher (eds.), *Work in Western Thebes 1931–33* (1934), 63–90; Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles de Thèbes* (2001).

12 E.g., Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159–203; Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166; van Walsem, Month-Names and Feasts at Deir el-Medîna, in Demarée & Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (1982), 215–244; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 318–335; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 167–198 (the majority of his references are to Deir el-Medina); Wikgren, The Festival Calendar at Deir el-Medina, in Piquette & Love (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2003. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Symposium University College London* (2005), 179–200; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 6–31.

Egyptian history, such as the Late Predynastic period,[1] the New Kingdom,[2] or the Late Period.[3]

As many of the ancient Egyptian references to feasts and festivals are somewhat ambiguous, an important undertaking has been to investigate possible dates of various feasts.[4] Additionally, research on month names and on the dates of eponymous feasts has had an important role in the study of Egyptian festivals.[5] A great deal of the information on ancient Egyptian feasts comes from festival calendars.[6] These are found on temple

1 E.g., Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals* (2002).

2 E.g., Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 63–90; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987).

3 E.g., Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus* (1949–1954); Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 165–203; Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962); Merkelbach, *Isisfeste* (1963); Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992).

4 For a reference book on the subject, see Schott, *Festdaten* (1950); see also Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 171–191; Helck, Otto & Westendorf (eds.), Tageskalender, *LÄ* VII (1992), 735–740. Dates of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley have been reflected on separately (Krauss, Zur historischen Einordnung Amenmesse und zur Chronologie der 19./20. Dynastie, *GM* 45 (1981), 27–34; Krauss, Talfestdaten – eine Korrektur, *GM* 54 (1982), 53). The calendar days of various other feasts have also been considered (Drenkhahn, Zur Anwendung der 'Tagewählkalender', *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 85–94; Spalinger, A Remark on Renewal, *SAK* 17 (1990), 289–294; Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377; Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996); Egberts, Mythos und Fest. Überlegungen zur Dekoration der westlichen Innenseite der Umfassungsmauer im Tempel von Edfu, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel* (1998), 17–29.). Furthermore, the survey of feast dates during the reigns of various Egyptian kings has produced a great deal of literature (Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109–118; Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich, *Studia Biblica et Orientalia III, Oriens Antiquus* (1959), 113–129; Redford, On the Chronology, *JNES* 25 (1966), 115–124; Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 71–72; Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 20–37; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 33–51; Krauss, Korrekturen und Ergänzungen zur Chronologie der MR und NR, *GM* 70, 37–43; Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205–212). The dates of the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina have also been considered in several different studies (Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166; Janssen, Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes, *SAK* 8 (1980), 127–152; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḫnbt* used to Gather, in Demarée & Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (1982), 183–189; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 215–244; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 318–335); Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 167–198).

5 E.g., Erman, Monatsnamen aus dem neuen Reich, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 128–130; Gardiner, Mesore as the first month of the Egyptian year, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 136–144; Černý, The Origin of the Name of the Month Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181; Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (1950); Gardiner, The Problem of the Month Names, *Rd'É* 10 (1955), 9–31; Parker, The Problem of the Month Names: A reply, *Rd'É* 11 (1957), 85–107; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 215–244; Luft, Noch einmal zum Ebers-kalender, *GM* 92 (1986), 69–77; Spalinger, A Return to Papyrus Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144; Spalinger, Chronological Analysis, *SAK* 20 (1993), 289–303; Wells, Re and the Calendars, in Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time* (1994), 1–37; Spalinger, The Lunar System in Festival Calendars: From the New Kingdom onwards, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 25–40.

6 For an outline of these calendars, see el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (2000). See also Parker, *Calendars* (1950); Schott, *Festdaten* (1950). As it is unfeasible to cite here all the studies on Egyptian Festival Calendars, a selection of publications will have to suffice. For references to earlier works on Festival Calendars, see, for example, Spalinger, An Unexpected Source in a Festival Calendar, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 209 note 1.

walls where they list the feasts and festivals of the temple institution in question.[1] They are also found written on papyri.[2] In tombs, the Egyptians recorded lists of festivals in which they posthumously wished to participate.[3] In addition to providing useful information regarding feasts, the various festival calendars play an important role in determining the absolute chronology of Egypt.[4] Calendars of lucky and unlucky days, which mention various feast days, were mostly written on papyri and ostraca,[5] although during the Late Period, these hemerologies were also used on temple walls in conjunction with the aforementioned Festival Calendars.[6]

Various forms of festive activities have been given special attention by many scholars studying ancient Egyptian feasts since the possible perspectives on the framework of feasts are virtually endless. Processions, for example, appear to have had quite a central position in the structure of many temple festivals.[7] Another element of festivals is the oracle,[8] which often features in association with the processions. In addition to oracles,

1 E.g., Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 1–63; Christophe, Les fêtes agraires, *CHÉ* 7/1 (1955), 35–42; Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962); Grimm, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (1994); Haring, Die Opferprozessionsszenen in Medinet Habu und Abydos, in Waitkus & Woodhouse (eds.), *Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration* (1995), 73–89; Kormyscheva, Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel (1998).

2 E.g., Luft, Noch einmal Ebers, *GM* 92 (1986), 69–77; Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun* (1992); Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144; Demichelis, *Il calendario delle feste di Montu. Papiro ieratico CGT 54021, verso* (2002).

3 E.g., Manniche, The Beginning of the Festival Calendar in the Tomb of Neferhotep (No. 50) at Thebes, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II (1985), 105–108; Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996).

4 E.g., Krauss, Zur historischen Einordnung, *GM* 45 (1981), 27–34; idem, Korrekturen, *GM* 70 (1984), 37–43; idem, *Sothis- und Monddaten. Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie Altägyptens* (1985); Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992); Luft, The Date of *Wɜgy* (1994), 39–44; Krauss, Wenn und Aber, *GM* 162 (1998), 53–63.

5 E.g., Drenkhahn, Zur Anwendung Tagewählkalender, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 85–94; Bács, Two Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days, *SAK* 17 (1990), 41–64; Leitz, *Tagewählerei. Das buch ḥɜt nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏt und verwandte Texte* (1994). For a bibliography on discussions of these hemerologies, see Spalinger, Calendars: Real and Ideal (1994), 297 note 2.

6 E.g., Spalinger, Unexpected Source, *Rd'É* 42 (1991).

7 E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940); Barta, Das Götterkultbild als Mittelpunkt bei Prozessionsfesten, *MDAIK* 23 (1968), 75–78; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 105–122; Teeter, Popular Worship in ancient Egypt. Contrary to what is often written, Commoners had access to their deities, *K.M.T.* 4/2 (1993), 28–37; The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994); Spalinger, The Limitations, *JNES* 57 (1998), 240–260; Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles* (2001).

8 E.g., Černý, Egyptian Oracles, in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum* (1962), 35–48; Valbelle & Husson, Les Questions oraculaires d'Égypte: Histoire de la recherche, nouveautés et perspectives, in Clarysse (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* II (1985), 1055–1071; Kruchten, *Le grand text oraculaire de Djéhoutymose, intendant du domaine d'Amon sou le pontificat de Pinodjem II* (1986); Quaegebeur, L'appel au divin: le bonheur des hommes mis dans la main des dieux, in Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourgh 15-17 juin 1995* (1997), 15–34; von Lieven, Divination in Ägypten, *AoF* 26 (1999), 77–126; Shehab el-Din, Oracles in ancient Egypt, in Grimal, Kamel & May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), *Hommages á Fayza Haikal* (2003), 259–266.

scholars have studied the use of barks in festival processions.[1] There has also been lively discussion on the practices of eating and drinking in the so-called 'banquet scene', which was depicted in some tombs.[2] Drinking is also relevant when one is considering the festival program of religious 'brotherhoods' or 'associations'.[3] Other elements central to feasts were various rituals[4] and the 'act of seeing the god'.[5] Gifts were a component of the New Year Festival,[6] and they also seem to have been given during other feasts[7] and at the time of marriage.[8] Further themes that have been discussed are the preparation of festivals;[9] dancing[10] and playing music during feasts;[11] the mythical dimension of

1 E.g., Barta, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke im Neuen Reich, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 462–463; Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe und Schiffskulte im Altertum* (1992), 13–75.

2 E.g., Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne IV: Bas-reliefs et Peintures. Scènes de la vie quotidienne* (1964), 230–256; Assmann, Das Schöne Tag, in Haug & Warning (eds.), *Das Fest* (1989), 3–28; Manniche, Reflections on Banquet Scene (1997), 29–36; Green, Feasting with Tutankhamen. Fine Dining in the Late-18th Dynasty, *K.M.T.* 13/4 (2002–2003), 58–69; Manniche, The so-called scene of daily life in the private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in Taylor & Strudwick (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* (2003), 42–45; Green, Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets at the Court of Akhenaten and in the Ancient Near East, in Knoppers & Hirsch (eds.), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (2004), 203–222; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 98–103.

3 E.g., Muszynski, Les 'associations religieuses' en Égypte d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques, *OLP* 8 (1977), 145–178; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987); Helck, Ein früher Beleg für eine Kultgenossenschaft?, *SAK* 18 (1991), 233–240; Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of the Egyptian Term *wꜣḥ mw*, in Demarée & Egberts (eds.), *Village voices* (1992), 19–30; Muhs, Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis, *JESHO* 44 (2001), 1–21.

4 E.g., Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh* (1930), 85–102; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1931–1932* (1934), 56–63; Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal* (1972); Goyon, Sur une formule des rituels de conjuration des dangers de l'année, in *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 75–83; Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990), 41–64; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 69–76; Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19–30; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the* Meret*-chests and Driving the Calves* I: Texts (1995); Feder, Das Ritual *sʿḥʿ kꜣ sḫn.t* (1998), 31–54; Goyon, Jean-Claude. *Le rituel du sḥtp Sḫmt* (2006).

5 E.g., van der Plas, 'Voir' dieu. Quelques observations au sujet de la fonction des sens dans le culte et la dévotion de l'Égypte ancienne, *BSFÉ* 115 (1989), 4–35; Assmann, Ocular desire in a time of darkness, in Aharon & Assmann (eds.), *Ocular desire. Sehnsucht des Auges* (1994), 13–29.

6 E.g., Wessetzky, Les Problèmes des 'Amulettes de Nouvel An' Égyptiennes, *Bulletin du Musée des Beaux-Arts* 5 (1954), 8–10; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 134–135; Aldred, The 'New Year' Gifts to the Pharaoh, *JEA* 55 (1969), 73–81; Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 19; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 79–81.

7 E.g., Janssen, Gift-giving in ancient Egypt as an Economic Feature, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; Janssen, *Village varia. Ten studies on the history and administration of Deir el-Medina* (1997), 55–86; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 130–132; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 18–20.

8 E.g., Toivari, Marriage at Deir el-Medina, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995* (1998), 1157–1163; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 67–69.

9 E.g., Sayed Mohamed, *Festvorbereitungen* (2004).

10 E.g., Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz in Alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen* (1958); Spencer, Dance in ancient Egypt, *NEA* 66/3 (2003), 111–121.

11 E.g., Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (1991); Meyer, Festlieder zum Auszug Gottes, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel* (1998), 135–142; Kucharek, Die frühe Persönliche Frömmigkeit im Fest. Über ein Lied in Gebel es-Silsilah, *GM* 176 (2000), 77–80; Fantecchi & Zingarelli, Singers and Musicians in New Kingdom Egypt, *GM* 186 (2002), 27–35.

feasts;[1] the use of scent;[2] the use of Osiris bricks[3] and corn mummies;[4] the possible location of feasts;[5] and the pilgrimages.[6] In recent decades, the focus has increasingly been on private and local feasts,[7] on the social and economic aspects of feasting,[8] and on an interdisciplinary approach to feasts and festivals.[9]

1 E.g., Egberts, Mythos und Fest (1998), 17–29; Waitkus, Zur Deutung von zwei Besuchsfesten der Göttlichen Stätte (*iꜣt-nṯryt*) von Edfu, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel* (1998), 155–174.

2 Grimm, Festduft für Menschen und Götter, in Schoske (ed.), *Schönheit, Abglanz der Göttlichkeit* (1990), 32–39.

3 E.g., Tooley, Osiris Bricks, *JEA* 82 (1996), 167–179.

4 E.g., Raven, Corn-mummies, *OMRO* 63 (1982), 7–38; Assmann, Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg. Zum Typenwandel des Privat-Felsgrabes im Neuen Reich, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 277–290; Centrone, Behind the Corn-mummies, in Piquette & Love (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2003* (2005), 24–26; Quack, Saatprobe und Kornosiris, in Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie* (2007), 325–331.

5 E.g., Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 79–82; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 73–76; Favard-Meeks, Behbeit el-Hagara. Le 'temple de la fête' et la famille osirienne, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel* (1998), 123–133; Waitkus, Zur Deutung von Besuchsfesten (1998).

6 E.g., Yoyotte, Les pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne, in Esnoul *et al.* (eds.), *Les pèlerinages* (1960), 19–74; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 197–198.

7 E.g., Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166; Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 215–244; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 197–198; Helck, Ein früher Beleg, *SAK* 18 (1991), 233–240; Stracmans, Fêtes de la circoncision, *Cd'É* 60 (1985), 293–297; Sadek, Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire, in Sylvia Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985, Band* 3 (1988), 353–368; Sadek, Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire, in Godlewski (ed.), *Acts of the 3rd International Congress of Coptic Studies Warsaw* (1990), 405–412; Janssen, Carrying Torches (1995), 115–121; Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996); Assmann, Gottesbeherzigung. 'Persönliche Frömmigkeit' als religiöse Strömung der Ramessidenzeit, in Brancoli *et al.*, L'Impero Ramesside. Concegno Internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni (1997), 21–25; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86; Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony (1999), 419–434; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 6–31.

8 E.g., Derchain-Urtel, Die Festbesucher in Esna, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel* (1998), 3–15; Sayed Mohamed, *Festvorbereitungen* (2004); Sayed, Ökonomie der Altägyptischen Feste, in Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2007), 301–305.

9 E.g., Green, Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets (2004), 203–222; Rikala, Sacred Marriage in the New Kingdom of ancient Egypt: Circumstantial Evidence for a Ritual Interpretation, in Nissinen & Uro (eds.), *Sacred Marriages. The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (2008), 115–144.

2 Various Methodological Approaches to Vernacular Religion and Feasts

For the purposes of this study of feasts and feasting at Deir el-Medina, certain theoretical viewpoints from Comparative Religion and the Anthropology of Religion are used. These have been chosen partly in order to define certain points discussed in previous literature on the religion at Deir el-Medina,[1] partly in order to broaden the perspective of the present research. The intent here, thus, is not to give a complete account of all existing theoretical literature on the issues discussed. First, the question of the definition of the term 'vernacular religion' is examined. Second, a functional approach to the study of feasts is presented.

[1] Ashraf Iskander Sadek uses the concept 'popular religion' to discribe the ancient Egyptian religion outside the official temple cults (*Popular Religion* (1987), 1–2).

2.1 Vernacular Religion – Local Feasts

In religious studies, the terms 'folk religion/belief' and 'popular religion' were both originally used of peasant religion within Western culture and of primitive religions in the 'New World'.[1] Both terms have been given many definitions, which essentially do not differ much from each other. In fact, it appears that the choice of the term used depends on the field of study rather than on the type of religion studied.[2] The terms 'popular religion' and 'folk religion', are here used interchangeably. Nowadays, the term 'vernacular religion' is often preferred.[3]

The subject of 'folk religion' was first studied seriously by German scholars of *religiöse Volkskunde* at the beginning of the twentieth century. The issue has mainly interested folklorists but since the beginning of the 1970s, French and North American historians of early modern Europe have also dealt with 'popular religion' to quite an extent.[4] As a concept of analysis, 'popular/folk religion' is loaded with problems since the words 'popular' and 'folk' suggests an opposition between the elite and the mass and between the civilized and the primitive.[5] This 'two-tiered' model originated in the distinction that was made in the eighteenth century between the 'progressive' monotheism and the 'primitive' polytheism. The supposed opposition between the cultured and the uneducated has given a negative connotation to the concept of 'popular/folk religion', which has frequently been assumed to be a malfunction of the religion 'proper' when practiced by the 'uncivilized'.[6] For example, James Obelkevich,[7] in his 1976 study of religion and rural society in South Lindsey in England, classified 'popular religion' as 'the non-institutional religious beliefs and practices, including unorthodox conceptions of Christian doctrine and ritual, *prevalent in the lower ranks of rural society*...[which] can best be understood as an amalgam, a loose combination of unofficial Christianity and a rather larger measure of *pagan 'survivals''*. However, William A. Christian[8] has since

---

1 Christian, Folk Religion, in Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* V² (2005), 3150–3151; Long, Popular Religion, in Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* XI² (2005), 7324–7326; Mullen, Folklore, in Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* V² (2005), 3142–3143.

2 For example, folklorists appear to prefer the term 'folk religion' (e.g., Stark, *Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises. Ritual and the Supernatural in Orthodox Karelian Folk Religion* (2002), 30) while historians use the phrase 'popular religion' more often (e.g., Badone, Introduction, in Badone (ed.), *Religious Orthodoxy & Popular Faith in European Society* (1990), 3–23).

3 E.g., Primiano, Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife, *Western Folklore* 54 (1995), 37–56; Albanese, Religion and American Popular Culture: An Introductory Essay, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64 (1996), 735–736; Bowman, Vernacular Religion and Nature: The 'Bible of the Folk' Tradition in Newfoundland, *Folklore* 114 (2003), 286; Monteith, The Constructive Use of 'Vernacular Religion', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59 (2006), 413–426; see also Mullen, Belief and the American Folk, *The Journal of American Folklore* 113 (2000), 134–139.

4 Scribner, Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History 35* (1984), 47; for a bibliography of studies by historians, see Badone, Introduction (1990), 7–8.

5 Badone, Introduction (1990), 4; Scribner, Introduction, in Scribner & Johnson (eds.), *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe* (1996), 2.

6 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (1981), 12–19; Badone, Introduction (1990), 4.

7 Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825–1875* (1976), 261–262; my emphasis.

8 Christian, *Local Religion in the Sixteenth-Century Spain* (1981), 178.

established that, at least in sixteenth century Spain, 'popular religion' was practiced on all levels of society.

Nowadays, the concepts 'popular' and 'folk' religion are habitually defined in a fashion that attempts to avoid the dichotomy between the elite and the non-elite.[1] Peter Brown[2] suggests that we should look at 'popular religion' as something active and changing rather than as something homogeneous and static. Additionally, he proposes the examination of 'the religion of the masses' as part of the 'religion of the few' and as an interaction between these two sides, not as a 'failure' of the former in an attempt to be the latter.[3] Caroline B. Brettell's[4] definition of 'folk religion' is in accordance with Brown's proposition; she describes Folk Catholism as 'manifestations of religious practices [that] are neither totally of the orthodox institution nor totally of the people'. Ellen Badone,[5] in her study of 'popular religion' in European Society, characterizes the phenomenon in question as 'those informal, unofficial practices, beliefs and styles of religious expression that lack the formal sanction of established church structures.' She supports the use of the terms 'religion as practiced' and 'religion prescribed',[6] two concepts that were put forward by William A. Christian.[7] Badone further remarks that, contrary to fairly common belief, 'popular religion' is also interested in moral questions and is, hence, not entirely aimed at concrete objectives. According to her, 'popular religion' can be old-fashioned in relation to the 'religion prescribed'. Yet, 'religion as practiced' can also put pressure on 'official religion' in order to bring about improvements.[8] This latter point seems to be particularly essential in Central America. Writing about religious practices in that area, Lynn Stephen and James Dow[9] define 'popular religion' as 'religious or ritual activities consciously practiced outside of or in opposition to dominant institutionalised religion or those religious practices which…offer a critique of [the] framework [of institutionalized religion]'. According to them, religion can be practised by every one, not just by the professional priests.[10] 'Religion as practiced' is also discussed by Bob Scribner,[11] who remarks that the majority of the public comes into contact with religion through the rites of passage and during the rituals of annual religious festivals. In sixteenth-century Germany, he adds, local feasts were observed as earnestly as the obligatory feasts of the church, thus, adding to the festival calendar of the location.[12] According to Scribner, 'popular religion' is constantly evolving as new types of practices, which are either accepted or refused by the Church, are invented. In his opinion, ''popular religion'

1 E.g., Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (1981), 12–22; Christian, *Local Religion* (1981), 178; Scribner, Ritual and Popular Religion (1984), 74; Badone, Introduction (1990), 4–9; Brettell, The Priest and his People: The Contractual Basis for Religious Practice in Rural Portugal, in Badone (ed.), *Religious Orthodoxy & Popular Faith* (1990), 55–56; Stephen & Dow, Introduction: Popular Religion in Mexico and Central America, in Stephen & Dow (eds.), *Class, Politics, and Popular Religion in Mexico and Central America* (1990), 8–9; Stark, *Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises* (2002), 30.

2 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (1981), 18; see also Badone, Introduction (1990), 4.

3 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (1981), 19–22.

4 Brettell, The Priest and his People (1990), 55–56.

5 Badone, Introduction (1990), 4–6.

6 Badone, Introduction (1990), 4.

7 Christian, *Local Religion* (1981), 178.

8 Badone, Introduction (1990), 6–9.

9 Stephen & Dow, Introduction (1990), 8–9.

10 Stephen & Dow, Introduction (1990), 9.

11 Scribner, Ritual and Popular Religion (1984), 48.

12 Scribner, Ritual and Popular Religion (1984), 50–51.

encompasses both 'official' and 'non-official' religion' while priests and common people participate in each part to a different extent.[1]

Studies of Christian 'popular religion' treat this phenomenon as an ingredient of Christianity, whereas the scholars in the field of Comparative Religion are concerned with 'popular/folk religion' as part of culture, as an ingredient of popular life.[2] In addition to societies following Christianity, Comparative Religion examines 'popular/folk religion' in other cultures of the world.[3] It seems, however, that contrasting 'popular/folk religion' to 'official religion' is less fruitful in cultures where sacred texts and religious customs are more important than the institutions.[4] For example, there are no 'official religions' in African religions and, thus, 'all religion is 'popular' religion, in the sense of people's religion'.[5] Therefore, Pieter H. Vrijhof recommends talking about 'official religion' and 'popular religion' as different styles of the same religiosity.[6] C. J. M. Donders adds that we can talk about 'official religion' in reference to tradition, whereas 'popular religion' has to do with the practitioner in relation to the locality and to the other people of the community.[7]

Laura Stark[8] has also stressed the importance of locality in her definition of 'folk religion'. In her opinion, 'folk religion refers to practices and beliefs in which the sacred is defined by *the local community* rather than by a religious institution.'[9] William A. Christian[10] has gone even further. He prefers to talk about 'local religion' rather than about 'popular/folk religion'. He argues that 'religion as practiced' belongs to a particular place and that it is preoccupied with local concerns.[11] In sixteenth century Spain, 'local religion' was chiefly practised by the laity, rich and poor alike, although priests could take part as well.[12] Local communities had their own shrines, chapels, saints, and feasts that differed from the official Catholic ones.[13] Only later, as a result of the writings of Erasmus and others encouraging a more spiritual form of religion, the local forms of religious

---

1 Scribner, Ritual and Popular Religion (1984), 74. For an example of a society where official and non-official religion form the moral and religious framework of the people in varying degrees depending on the person, see Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (1978).

2 Long, Popular Religion (2005), 7329–7330; Bailey, Popular Religion, in Swatos (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Society* (1998), 370.

3 E.g., Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change* (1968); Dorson (ed.), *African Folklore* (1972); Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: dissenting sects in late traditional China* (1976); Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion* (1983); Johnson, Nathan & Rawski, *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* 4 (1985).

4 Vrijhof, Conclusion, in Vrijhof & Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion. Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (1979), 676–679.

5 Vrijhof, Conclusion (1979), 678.

6 Vrijhof, Conclusion (1979), 693.

7 Donders, Some Psychological Remarks on Official and Popular Religion, in Vrijhof & Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion* (1979), 304–308; see also Vrijhof, Conclusion (1979), 692–693.

8 Stark, *Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises* (2002), 30.

9 Stark, *Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises* (2002), 30; original emphasis. See also, for example, Stark, Popular religion in Southern Europe: a survey of recent anthropological research, *Suomen Antropologi* 4/1994, 34–50; Stark, The Folk Interpretation of Orthodox Religion in Karelia from an Anthropological Perspective, in Valk (ed.), *Studies in Folklore and Popular Religion* 1 (1996), 143–157.

10 Christian, *Local Religion* (1981), 178.

11 Christian, *Local Religion* (1981), 178.

12 Christian, *Local Religion* (1981), 147.

13 Christian, *Local Religion* (1981), 177.

practices became a problem for the Church. The subsequent Counter Reformation of the Catholic Church led to some bans on local customs but, on the whole, the reorganization had little effect on local saints and sacred locations.[1]

Leonard Norman Primiano[2] has suggested using the term 'vernacular religion' instead of 'folk religion' or 'popular religion'. Primiano uses the word 'vernacular' in a broad sense sometimes applied in studies of architecture and folklore and he defines 'vernacular religion' as 'religion as it is lived: as human beings encounter, understand, interpret, and practice it'.[3] In Primiano's opinion, the primary object of the research is the belief of an individual, its process, objective, and expressions.[4] Cathrine L. Albanese[5] feels that Primiano's viewpoint is too narrow and that 'vernacular religion seems most fruitfully read as the appropriated belief- and life-ways of a group of people. They 'speak' the same religious language. They are a religious discourse community because of strong elements of mutuality in their background and/or present situation.'

As already observed above, the religion practised in the village of Deir el-Medina seems to have been a combination of national and local customs.[6] For the purposes of this research, I therefore define 'vernacular religion' as *religious beliefs and practices observed by all people inside their own local communities, yet outside the official state cult*. I believe it is possible to reconstruct the framework on which the personal religion of the villagers of Deir el-Medina was based. The feasts celebrated in the village were one expression of this 'local religion'. This definition of 'vernacular religion' used for the purposes of investigation directs the attention to the relationship of the Deir el-Medina feasts to the festivals celebrated elsewhere. It is this approach that has resulted in the division of the research findings into two sections, i.e., references to feasts that were also observed outside the community (Chapter III 1) and other references to feasts and feasting from the village (Chapter III 2).

1 Christian, *Local Religion* (1981), 159–162.

2 Primiano, Vernacular Religion, *Western Folklore* 54 (1995), 41–52. Patrick B. Mullen feels that changing the term used does not solve the problems of 'hierarchical meanings and implied judgments' inherent in the opposition of folk and official religion (Mullen, Belief and the American Folk, *The Journal of American Folklore* 113 (2000), 134). He admits, though, that it is important to study how people express their belief to each other (*op. cit.*, 136).

3 Primiano, Vernacular Religion, *Western Folklore* 54 (1995), 41–44.

4 Primiano, Vernacular Religion, *Western Folklore* 54 (1995), 44, 51; see also Bowman, Vernacular Religion and Nature, *Folklore* 114 (2003), 286.

5 Albanese, Religion and American Popular Culture, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64 (1996), 735–736.

6 E.g., Friedman, Aspects of Domestic Life (1994), 95–96.

2.2 Functional Approach to Feasts

During the major part of the last century, 'festival' was defined by 'ritual'.[1] Rituals are, however, just one element of feasts and, thus, festivals should not be reduced to mere rites. Feasts serve a community, large or small, with important events in which all its members can take part.[2] According to Robert J. Smith,[3] the aim of a festival is to provide a community with circumstances where they can celebrate collectively. A festival gives people an opportunity to interact, thereby advancing the unity of a community.[4] Festivals may have other functions as well. They can be important scenes of exchange and provide means of social control for the community by offering an arena for jurisdiction and mockery. Additionally, festivals are, for example, means of organizing workforces.[5] In his study of feasts in Africa, Michael Dietler[6] feels, however, that in order to explore feasts accurately, one needs to go even deeper into how and why the festivals work and how they change the society.

Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, the editors of the volume *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power* (2001), define feasts as 'events essentially constituted by the communal consumption of food and/or drink'.[7] It is characteristic of these festive meals that they are clearly distinguished from daily mealtimes.[8] In Dietler's opinion, a festive meal is socially, economically, and politically significant 'ritual action'.[9] He further specifies that feasts are manifestations of an idealized order of the world, thus resembling other rituals. Additionally, feasts can be

---

1 Smith, The Art of the Festival as exemplified by the Fiesta to the Patroness of Otuzco: La Virgen de la Puerta (1975), 3; for rituals, see, for example, van Gennep, *Les rites de passage: etude systematique des rites de la porte et du seuil* (1969 [1909]); Goody, 'Against Ritual': Loosely Structured Thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic, in Moore & Myerhoff (eds.), *Secular Ritual* (1977), 25–35; Grimes, *Research in Ritual Studies: a programmatic essay and bibliography* (1985); Zuesse, Ritual, in Eliade *et al.* (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion 12* (1987), 405–422; Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (1992); Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (1997).

2 Smith, *The Art of the Festival* (1975), 3–5.

3 Smith, *The Art of the Festival* (1975), 9.

4 Smith, *The Art of the Festival* (1975), 9.

5 Dietler, Theorizing the Feast. Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 69.

6 Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 69; see also Hayden, Fabulous Feasts: A Prolegomenon to the Importance of Feasting, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 37–38. For another kind of approach to feasts, see, for example, Michael Maurer (ed.), *Das Fest* (2004).

7 Dietler & Hayden, Digesting the Feast—Good to Eat, Good to Drink, Good to Think: An Introduction, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 3.

8 Dietler & Hayden, Digesting the Feast (2001), 3.

9 Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 65; Dietler specifies that with ritual action he does not necessarily mean extremely complicated or automatically religious rituals (*op. cit.* 67); see also Dietler & Hayden, Digesting the Feast (2001), 3. Michael J. Clarke agrees with Dietler and he defines feasts 'as any ritualised meal that is consumed by two or more persons' (Akha Feasting, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 145). Hayden, however, explicitly excludes the occasions of gift exchanges, offerings, communions, and sacrifices from feasts (Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 28).

scenes of influencing a situation for various individual ends.[1] Even gift-giving and food sharing are, in Dietler's opinion, performed for self-seeking reasons.[2]

Brian Hayden sees a feast as one of the most central channels for exchanging excess production for various desired commodities and services.[3] Although he admits that most feasts have to do with 'the creation and maintenance of important social relationships', Hayden maintains that the enormous costs of organizing some of the feasts argue against mere desire to gain status. In his opinion, there must be more practical benefits, i.e., economic and material profit, motivating such lavish investments.[4] Michael Dietler, while acknowledging the economic aspect of feasting, subscribes to the political side of organizing feasts.[5] He uses the term 'political' in a wide sense to denote inequalities in all kinds of associations between people, be it domination by a leader or upholding standings between equals. Dietler maintains that feasts are politically ambiguous, i.e., they can simultaneously be festivities of communal identity and scenes of competition for authority.[6] From these different views of Dietler and Hayden, one can conclude that, depending on the point of view, feasts can be seen as means of either gaining economic profit or political advantage.[7]

Feasts can be classified by using different criteria depending on the objective of the research.[8] The decisive factor of classification can be the symbolic content of the feast, the practical benefits achieved, the size, the mode of social goals, the use of prestige materials, the units participating, the relationships between the participants, the kind of reciprocity involved, the degree of obligations, or the calendaric occurrences in relation to the conditions.[9] The authors of *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power* use principally form and function, i.e., practical benefits, as a norm of classifying feasts;[10] nevertheless, even with this approach, the categories of feasts can vary a great deal.[11] In order to give an impression of the possible types of functions of feasts, the categories introduced by James R. Perodie are presented here.[12] These various types of feasts are not exclusive; rather, a feast is frequently a mixture of several of these types. The purpose of *solidarity feasts* is to uphold the unity of a group by understating the

1 Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 71–72.
2 Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 74–75; for similar view by Catherine Bell, see *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (1992), 108.
3 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 27.
4 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 30–32.
5 Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 66.
6 Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 77–78.
7 Dietler & Hayden, Digesting the Feast (2001), 13.
8 Dietler & Hayden, Digesting the Feast (2001), 4.
9 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 35–38. For an example of classification according to symbolic content, see Maurer, Zur Systematik des Festes, in Maurer (ed.), *Das Fest. Beiträge zu seiner Theorie und Systematik* (2004), 55–80. For an example of participation being the criterion for classification, see Métraux, Editorial: Of Feasts and Carnivals…, in *Festivals and Carnivals: The Major Traditions* (1976), 8–10.
10 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 25–26.
11 E.g., Hayden, Feasting in Prehistoric and Traditional Societies, in Wiessner & Schiefelhövel (eds.), *Food and the Status Quest: an interdisciplinary perspective* (1996), 128–129, fig. 8.1; Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 75–88; Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 38, 54–58; Kirch, Polynesian Feasting in Ethnohistoric, Ethnographic, and Archaeological Contexts: A Comparison of Three Societies, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 171, 174.
12 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity: A Study of Southern Northwest Coast Feasting, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 189–209; see also Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 38 fig. 2.1.

differences within the unit in order to improve production and safety,[1] whereas *reciprocal feasts* are meant for creating and sustaining partnerships between different groups to facilitate safety, marriages, and profits.[2] In s*olicitation feasts*, the host entertains a more influential or wealthier person so as to seek assistance from him or her. The purpose of *promotional feasts* is to present the prosperity of a group in order to arouse the interest of a prospective workforce, partners, or advocates.[3] The extravagant handing out of food and property at *competitive feasts* acts as a gift that the guests have to return later, whereas the aim of *political support feasts* is to attain or maintain political backing.[4] A funeral is a good example of a *feast for acquisition of political positions* as the heir can officially take the place of the deceased during the proceedings.[5] At *work-party feasts*, labour is traded for festive action,[6] whereas at *child-growth feasts*, i.e., at various maturation feasts, the expenses are expected to be returned with the eventual marriage of the child.[7] One may also mention *tribute feasts*, a concept put forward by Brian Hayden.[8] Tribute feasts are large festivals celebrated at regular calendric intervals. The function of such feasts is to persuade the people of a society to support the privileges of the leaders so that the elite can accumulate as much surplus as possible.[9]

The functional approach to feasts is a valuable tool for analysing feasts at Deir el-Medina. This approach brings into the study many questions that otherwise would have been left out. The issue of the host's intentions, be it purposeful or not, does not surface from the material itself. However, it is important to consider these issues in addition to the outer forms and the symbolic meanings of the feasts celebrated in the village.

1 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 190–194.
2 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 201–205.
3 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 195–198.
4 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 205–209; for gift-giving, see Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1967 [1925]).
5 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 205–206.
6 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 194–195; for work-party feasts, see also Dietler & Herbich, Feast and Labor Mobilization: Dissecting a Fundamental Economic Practice, in Dietler & Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 240–264.
7 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 198–199.
8 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 58; Michael Dietler uses the word *patron-role feasts* to denote similar feasts (Theorizing the Feast (2001), 82–85). For tribute feasts in Sumer, see Schmandt-Basserat, Feasting in the Ancient Near East, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001), 391–403.
9 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 58.

3 Primary Sources

The primary source material on feasts and festivals at Deir el-Medina is varied and abundant. References to feasts and to rituals associated with feasts[1] are found, above all, in non-literary texts originating from the royal artisans' community. With regard to written records, the non-literary texts now in the *Museo Egizio di Torino*, which were collected by Bernardino Drovetti in the early 19th century and excavated by Ernesto Schiaparelli in 1903–1909 in the Deir el-Medina village area and in the Valley of the Queens,[2] form an important part of the textual source material used for this research.[3] The subsequent excavations conducted by Georg Möller in 1911 and 1913 and by the Egyptians in 1983 near the so-called *Deutsche Haus* in Western Thebes also produced many significant non-literary texts originating from Deir el-Medina.[4] These are now being published online by the *Institut für Ägyptologie* at *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* along with the collections of the yet unpublished Deir el-Medina ostraca in Berlin and Munich.[5] The majority of the non-literary textual sources used in this study originate, however, from the 1917–1951 excavations by the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* which were primarily led by Bernard Bruyère.[6] The numerous excavations conducted in the Valley of the Kings have additionally supplied a large number of non-literary texts pertaining to the royal artisans' community, many of which contain references to feasts and festivals celebrated by the villagers.[7]

---

1 For the importance of rituals during feasts, see, for example, Smith, The Art of the Festival (1975), 3. See also the references to offering, drinking, etc. in the lists of feasts and festivals in Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 171–175, 183–188.

2 López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 7.

3 Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* II*: Planches* (1876); López, *Ostraca ieratici* I–IV (1978–1984).

4 *Deir el Medine online*, http://www.lmu.de/dem-online (Burkard, Nichtliterarische Ostraka aus Deir el Medine. Teil 1: Qurna-Ostraka, Einleitung). See also Anthes, Die Deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913, *MDIK* 12 (1943), 1–68.

5 *Deir el Medine online*, http://www.lmu.de/dem-online. Part of the ostraca collection in the *Ägyptische Museum* in Berlin has been published previously (Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin III* (1911), pls. 26–42).

6 Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* I (1935); Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937); Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* III (1937); Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* IV (1939); Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951); Sauneron, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* [VI] (1959); Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* VII (1970); Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh* I (1978); Černý, *Papyrus Deir el-Médineh* II (1986); Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médînéh* VIII (2000); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* X (2006).

7 Daressy, *Ostraca Nos. 25001-25385. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (1901); Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques Nos. 25501–25832. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (1935). The Cairo ostraca originate mostly from the Valley of the Kings.

In addition to text publications,[1] the *Deir el-Medina Database* of the University of Leiden serves as a valuable search tool for non-literary Deir el-Medina texts.[2] Moreover, when discussing non-literary texts, one may also mention the numerous graffiti left by the royal artisans on the hills of Western Thebes which also give important information on the feasts of the community.[3]

In addition to non-literary documents, literary texts and archaeological remains, such as temples, chapels, houses, and various objects, are also taken into account in this study whenever they contain information on the practical side of celebrating feasts. A notable number of literary texts were found at Deir el-Medina and its surroundings, for example, during the excavations of the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.[4] Information on feasts can also occasionally be found on stelae and other monuments pertaining to the workmen's community.[5] Many of these are now in the collections of museums such as the British Museum[6] and the *Museo Egizio di Torino,*[7] as well as in various private collections around the world.[8] The chapels, temples, and tombs found during the excavations of the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* contain religious inscriptions that shed light on feasts and festivals.[9] They also serve as valuable archaeological sources, providing some tangible settings for feasts and feasting.[10] In a similar manner, the houses of the village

[1] Some further publications of collections of non-literary texts used in this study are Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (1939); Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957); Goedicke and Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962); Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit. Tafelteil – Transkriptionen aus dem Nachlass von J. Černý* (1973); Koenig, Nouveaux textes Hiératiques de la Vallée des Reines (I). *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 113–129; Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* (1991); Koenig, Les ostraca hiératiques du Musée du Louvre, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 95–116; McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow* (1993); Koenig, *Les ostraca hiératiques inédits de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (1997); Grandet, Ouvriers et 'esclaves' de Deir el-Medina. Quatre ostraca inédits de l'IFAO, in Demarée & Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium. A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen* (2000), 121–127; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002); Grandet, Travaux, grèves et personnages célèbres aux XIXe et XXe dynastie, in Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois* (2003), 214–215; see also Kitchen, *KRI* I–VII (1975–1989).

[2] Http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html.

[3] Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis* (1921); Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole Thébaine* (1956); Černý, Sadek & Shimy, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* III. *Fac-similés* (1970–1977). See also Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt. Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100–332 BC)* (2001), 134–265.

[4] Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* I–III (1938–1980); Gasse, *Cataloque des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir-el-Médina* IV–V (1990–2005). For religious texts among these non-literary texts, see, for example, Posener, La piété personelle avant l'âge amarnien, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 195–210; Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period. Papyrys Turin CG 54031* (1978).

[5] Bruyère, *Rapport 1923–1951* (1925–1953).

[6] *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum* V, VII–VIII, IX–X, XII (1914–1993).

[7] Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina n. 50001 – n. 50262* (1972).

[8] E.g., Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection* (1958).

[9] Bruyère, *Rapport 1923–1951* (1925–1953).

[10] Bruyère, *Rapport 1923–1951* (1925–1953); see also Baraize, Compte rendu des travaux exécutés à Deîr-el- Médinéh, *ASAE* 13 (1914), 19–42; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991).

provide us with information regarding the sites of personal religious activities.[1] Furthermore, also to be taken into consideration in this study are the figured ostraca that provide evidence for religious practices and festive behaviour which have been found in the village and the other regions frequented by the royal artisans.[2]

[1] Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935* (1925–1953). See also Demarée, *The ꜣḫ iḳr n Rʿ-stelae* (1983); Friedman, Aspects of Domestic Life (1994), 95–117.

[2] E.g., Vandier-d'Abbadie, *Cataloque des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Medineh* II (1937); Keimer, *Sur un certain nombre d'ostraca figurés, de plaquettées, etc., provenant de la nécropole thébaine et encore inédits* (1940); Brunner-Traut, Altägyptische Scherbenbilder (bildostraca) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen (1956); Vandier-d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurés DeM* IV (1959); Peterson, *Zeihnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt eimem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung* (1973); Brunner-Traut, *Egyptian Artists' Sketches. Figured Ostraca from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (1979).

4 The Structure and the Methods of the Research

References in documents pertaining to the community of the royal artisans at Deir el-Medina demonstrate that the members of this particular community celebrated many different types of festivals.[1] Generally, the feasts mentioned have been divided into two groups: 'general feasts' and 'personal feasts'.[2] As was stated above, the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina are all considered part of the local religion of the village in this study (Chapter I 2.1). Such local feasts are represented by local forms of feasts which were also observed outside this community and by feasts that appear to have been truly local. For the purposes of this study, it has therefore proven more fruitful to differentiate between feasts associated with the official theology of the so-called 'state religion'[3] and other feasts. Feasts connected to the official theology can been seen constituting a local festival calendar of annual feasts.[4] The reconstruction of this festival calendar forms an important part of this study.

In order to understand the context of the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina, one has to be familiar with feasts observed in the large temples of ancient Egypt. This study, therefore, has been divided into two major sections. The first section is a short overview of feasts associated with the official theology (Chapters II 1–3). The purpose is not to present all the numerous feasts celebrated in Egypt over the millennia, but instead the aim is to introduce three aspects of temple festivals which are particularly significant when talking about feasts. These aspects are (1) the festival calendars which list the names and dates of feasts celebrated at a particular temple, (2) festival processions of the deity in whose honour a feast is observed, and (3) rituals conducted during festivals. The second section of this study pertains to the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina (Chapters III 1–3.4). This section is divided into three parts. The first part consists of the aforementioned reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar (III 1–1.3). In the second part, the other references to feasts and festive behaviour are presented (III 2–2.6). In the third part, the following aspects of feasting at Deir el-Medina are considered: (1) the participants in

---

1 See, for example, Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159–203; Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166; Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 71–72; Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 22–33; Sadek, Glimpses, *GM* 36 (1979), 51–56; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 127–152; Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḫnbt* used to Gather (1982), 183–189; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 215–244; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 318–335; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 169–181; Sadek, Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire (1988), 353–368; Sadek, Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire (1990), 405–412; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86 (Chapter IV Women and Gifts); Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 130–132; Wikgren, The Festival Calendar (2005), 179–200; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 6–31.

2 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166; van Walsem (Month-Names (1982), 223–229; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 332–335; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 171–175, 183–190; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 6–31. Dominique Valbelle (*op. cit.*, 332–335) and Ashraf Iskander Sadek (*op. cit.*, 171–175, 183–190) have collated valuable reference lists on both types of feasts. Sadek further divides the general feasts into national and local festivals (Sadek, *op. cit.*, 167–169).

3 For a definition of the term 'state religion' in ancient Egypt, see Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 1–2.

4 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166; Wikgren, The Festival Calendar (2005), 179–200.

the feasts, (2) the locations of the festivities, (3) the objects and foodstuffs needed, and (4) the possible functions of the feasts (Chapters III 3.1–3.4).

The methods used are mainly Egyptological, i.e., references to feasts and feasting are considered philologically, that is considering the meaning of the references in light of what is known of Deir el-Medina, Thebes, and ancient Egypt. The reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar is, furthermore, based on statistical analysis. Nevertheless, it is the use of the methodological concept 'local vernacular religion', which was presented above (Chapter I 2.1), that has resulted in the division of the research findings into two sections, i.e., references to feasts celebrated both in and outside Deir el-Medina and the other references to feasts and feasting in the village. When considering the function of the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina, the functional approach to feasts introduced above (I 2.2) is utilized.

On the whole, the documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina do not contain many references to the function of a feast. The textual material on feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina, moreover, dates to the long duration of the Ramesside Period. Furthermore, it is not always easy to relate the numerous references to feasts to each other so as to form a consistent picture. In order to present this material in as coherent manner as possible, the discussion on the possible functions of the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina is restricted to one separate chapter at the end of the study (III 3.4).

It is hoped that this study might serve as a reference tool for anyone searching for information on a single feast or feast type celebrated at Deir el-Medina. In order to achieve this, all the information on a document, e.g., the transliteration, the date (attributed) and the sources used for dating a document, are repeated each time a document is mentioned. The repetition of the date of a document or the date attributed to it helps also to perceive the differences in the dates of various documents providing evidence for one single feast or a form of festive behaviour. The publication of a document referred to in the text is not mentioned in the footnotes; instead it is listed in the index of primary sources at the end of the study.

A few words about the method of referring to textual sources in this study is also in order here. Generally, the names of ostraca and papyri featuring in the Leiden University database of non-literary texts from Deir el-Medina are used.[1] An older name of a document has been mentioned in the footnotes in such cases when a newer name has not yet been widely used in Egyptological literature.

[1] *Deir el-Medina Database*. Some long names of documents have been shortened by not repeating the whole name of the document each time; e.g., instead of P. Turin Cat. 1884 + P. Turin Cat. 2067 + P. Turin Cat. 2071 + P. Turin Cat. 2105 the form P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 is used.

II Features of Ancient Egyptian Feasts Associated with the Official Theology

The ancient Egyptian festivals are known from temple inscriptions, stelae, statues, tomb inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca.[1] However, the festival calendars carved on the walls of various temples from the Old Kingdom through the Greco-Roman Period form one of the most important source categories when studying feasts. These calendars are lists of the feasts celebrated in the temple in question.[2] The festival procession was one of the most important rituals of a feast and it might proceed to a visit to the other sanctuaries of the temple, to the roof of the temple, or to the forecourt.[3] However, it was the processions that moved outside the temple which may have given the general public a chance to participate in the cult of a deity residing in a temple.[4] The cults observed in the ancient Egyptian temples, both divine and royal, were secluded.[5] The daily cult, which was directed at the cult statue of the god worshipped in the temple, may have been more or less identical in various temples around the country.[6] The ceremonies performed during the national, regional, and local festivals celebrated in the ancient Egyptian temples had more diverse characteristics than the daily cult.[7] Theoretically it was the king who presided over all the festivals in a temple; in practice, the festival leader appointed by the king took care of most feast rituals.[8] The main characteristics of the aforementioned three points, i.e., festival calendars, processions, and festival rituals, will be presented below.

---

1 See Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 114–118.

2 See, for example, Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 1–63; Parker, *Calendars* (1950); Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 63–67; Kitchen, Festkalender, *LÄ* II (1977), 191–192; Spalinger, Unexpected Source, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 209–222; Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994); Spalinger, Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17–32. Spalinger, The Festival Structure of Thutmose III's Buto Stela, *JARCE* 33 (1996), 69–76; Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 1–31; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000); Spalinger, Festival Calendars, in Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak. A Guide to Egyptian Religion* (2002), 124–125.

3 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 845–846.

4 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 846; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 108; Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 135; cf. Spalinger, Limitations, *JNES* 57 (1998), 241–260.

5 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 841; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 106, 108.

6 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 841. The daily ritual was performed three times per day for the care of the cult statues housed in most temples. The rituals were conducted in the morning, midday, and evening, the morning cult being the largest and most important of these three rituals. Episodes of the daily ritual could be repeated during festivals. For example, during the New Year Festival at the temple of Edfu, the beginning of the daily service opened the festivities. During the course of the festival, the purification and dressing episode of the morning ritual was repeated. (e.g., Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955),178–181; Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 839–848; Barta, Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult, *JEOL* VI/19 (1965–1966), 457–461). Part of the daily ritual seems also to have been repeated at the way stations during festival processions (Barta, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke, *JEOL* VI/19 (1965–1966), 462–463).

7 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 845–846.

8 Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals: An Overview, in Byron E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (1998), 27.

1 Temple Festival Calendars

The oldest known festival calendars are from the 5th Dynasty and they were carved in the valley temples of certain pyramids and sun temples.[1] No temple festival calendars from the Middle Kingdom have survived although they do appear to have existed.[2] Festival calendars dating to the New Kingdom have been found at Thebes, Abydos, Elephantine, and Tôd.[3] The best preserved of these is the Festival Calendar in the Temple of Millions of Years of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.[4] From the Old to the New Kingdom, one finds in these calendars festival dates and offerings associated with the monthly and the annually celebrated feasts.[5] Similar calendars were inscribed on the walls of many Greco-Roman temples.[6] However, these later records differ from the earlier ones: instead of listing offerings, the calendars describe the rituals conducted on the various feast days.[7]

Among the annually celebrated feasts (*ḥb tp-trw*)[8] listed in the festival calendars, there are also feasts whose beginning was dictated by the lunar cycle.[9] According to Anthony Spalinger, [10] by the New Kingdom, most of the annual feasts appear, nevertheless, to have been observed according to the civil calendar. Even the feasts dictated by the lunar cycle when mentioned in such calendars seem to have been celebrated according to the civil calendar instead of the lunar calendar, i.e., they started on a certain day of the moon cycle during a civil month.[11] However, the lunar calendar appears to have coexisted with the civil calendar in the so-called 'calendars of lucky and unlucky days' and, thus, one cannot exclude the possibility that the dates of many of the feasts featuring in both these calendars were to some degree determined by the cycle of the moon.[12]

With regard to temple festival calendars, one may also mention that segments of the Festival Calendar of Ramesses II from the Ramesseum were found in the Medinet Habu temple and that the Festival Calendar of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu seems to be a copy

---

1 Kitchen, Festkalender, *LÄ* II (1977), 191; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 1–8; Spalinger, Festival Calendars (2002), 124.

2 Kitchen, Festkalender, *LÄ* II (1977), 191; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 9–12; see also Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992).

3 See, for example, el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 13–153.

4 Kitchen, Festkalender, *LÄ* II (1977), 191–192; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 13–153; Spalinger, Festival Calendars (2002), 124–125; see also The Epigraphic Survey, *The Calendar of Ramses III* (1934); Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 1–63; Haring, *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes* (1997), 52–87.

5 Kitchen, Festkalender, *LÄ* II (1977), 192; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 186–189.

6 Kitchen, Festkalender, *LÄ* II (1977), 192; Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994); el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 154–185; Spalinger, Festival Calendars (2002), 125.

7 El-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 190; Spalinger, Festival Calendars (2002), 125; see also Spalinger, Unexpected Source, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 209–222.

8 For interpreting *ḥb tp-trw* to denote annually celebrated feasts, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 140; see also Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 1–31.

9 Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 28–29.

10 Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 29.

11 Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 32.

12 Porceddu, Jetsu, Markkanen & Toivari-Viitala, Evidence of Periodicity in Ancient Egyptian Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days, *CAJ* 18 (2008), 327–339.

of this Ramesseum calendar.[1] This latter fact may explain the discrepancy between the Opet Festival dates in the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[2] and in the Great Harris Papyrus[3] during the reign of Ramesses III.[4] It is, furthermore, plausible to assume that the festival dates in the Medinet Habu Calendar are valid for the reign of Ramesses II.[5] Ramesses III, however, did add some offering lists and feasts to the calendar when it was copied onto the walls of Medinet Habu, perhaps also including the list containing the offerings for the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[6]

1 Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

2 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 725–890 (lists 28–38); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 147–158.

3 P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)* II (1994), pl. 17). This papyrus has been dated to year 32 of Ramesses III (*rnpt-sp 32 III šmw 6 ḫr ḥm nsw-bỉty* (*wsr-mɜʿt-rʿ mry-ỉmn*) ʿ *w s sɜ rʿ* (*rʿ-mss ḥḳɜ-ỉwnw*) ʿ *w s*; pl. 1, 1)

4 See also Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226. In the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, the festival is said to have been celebrated from II *ɜḫt* 19 through III *ɜḫt* 12, thus lasting for 24 days. According to the Great Harris Papyrus, however, the festival continued through III *ɜḫt* 15, i.e., for 27 days, during the entire reign of Ramesses III.

5 Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

6 Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 67; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–54. The Beautiful Feast of the Valley is placed before the regular monthly feasts which precede the annual festivals in the Medinet Habu Calendar (Festival Calendar, 135–190 (lists 3–4)).

2 Processions During Temple Festivals

The culmination of many ancient Egyptian temple festivals was a procession where the statue of a god was carried around.[1] Early references to such processions can be found in festival calendars, temple inventory lists, and on tomb walls. River and sledge processions can be traced back as far as the Old Kingdom,[2] and depictions of processions also feature on numerous later temple walls, stelae, and figured ostraca.[3] They are also found described in papyri and ostraca.[4] One of the Egyptian designations for a procession is *prt*, 'setting forth',[5] or 'appearing'.[6] Another title for a procession is *ḫꜥ*, 'appearing',[7] which was used of a king's accession to the throne but also of gods 'appearing' during festivals. A third term for a procession is *ḫnt*, 'sailing'.[8] This word refers to river and lake processions.[9]

The best known processional festivals are certain Theban festivals, such as the Opet Festival and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, and various feasts celebrated in the Greco-Roman temples.[10] The walls of the New Kingdom temples contain reliefs showing festival processions, whereas written descriptions seem to have been preferred in the temples of the Greco-Roman Period.[11] During the New Kingdom, a festival and its procession occurred usually once a year,[12] but it appears that during the Third Intermediate Period, the procession of *Amenemopet*, Amon of Luxor, took place every ten days.[13] The central item of a procession was the statue of the particular god carried by *wꜥb*-priests.[14] The images of other deities of the temple in question could join in the procession in the court of the temple[15] or, alternatively, the principal deity of the festival could 'collect' the other gods from their sanctuaries or temples on his or her way out.[16] Musicians, singers, and dancers joined the god's 'entourage' while people were standing around and watching the progress of the parade. In many festival depictions, the king is shown leading the procession himself.[17]

---

1 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 171; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160; see also Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 105–122; Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte* (1957), 89–95.

2 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160.

3 See, for example, Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe* (1992), 13–75.

4 E.g., O. BM EA 5625 (year 21 of Ramesses III; e.g., Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925), 179); O. Cairo CG 25364 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 346–347); O. Cairo CG 25559 (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 104 (year 1 of Ramesses IV)).

5 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 525 (*Ausziehen*).

6 Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes* (1956), 70 (*Erscheinen*).

7 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 239–240 (*Erscheinen*).

8 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 374–375 (*Die Fahrt*).

9 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1161.

10 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1161–1162.

11 Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 64–65.

12 E.g., Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 106.

13 Doresse, Le dieu voilé, *MDAIK* 28 (1957), 36-65; van der Plas, The Veiled Image of Amenapet, in van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies Dei: essays on the history of religions* (1987), 1–12.

14 Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 107; for *wꜥb*-priests being the ones carrying the god, see Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998), 15.

15 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1161.

16 Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 160.

17 Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 107–108.

Processions were, indeed, the occasions for a statue of a god to come out for public display, thus, providing both the general public and the minor priests with an opportunity to see the god. This made a sharp contrast to the daily rituals which were conducted in the most sacred section of the temple, where only the king and the higher priests had access to the god's image.[1] Some of the processions seem to have taken place in the hypostyle halls in front of the sanctuaries of the temple.[2] During such temple processions, some minor priests and possibly also selected representatives of the nobility had the opportunity to face the god.[3] During certain Greco-Roman Period processions, particularly during the New Year's Festival, priests proceeded with the cult image to the roof of the temple.[4] The principal processions of other major festivals included parades that came to the outer parts of the temple and even out through the front gate, presenting themselves to the lay population.[5] Once in a while, the procession would stop at a way station where rituals would be conducted by senior priests, who were accompanying the god.[6] Certain processions crossed the river to the other river bank. An excellent example of this is the Beautiful Feast of the Valley during which Amon of Karnak crossed the river to visit the Hathor temple at Deir el-Bahri.[7] On other occasions, rather than crossing the river, a procession proceeded along the water to another temple. This was the case during the Opet Festival when Amon of Karnak visited the Luxor temple.[8] Some water processions led to another town altogether. Hathor, for example, journeyed from Dendera to Edfu during the Feast of the Beautiful Reunion.[9] Water processions could also take place on lakes such as the *ỉšrw*-lakes of the temples of various lion goddesses.[10] During certain festivals, the procession visited several temples on the way to its final destination; we know that festival processions tended to stop, for example, at the mortuary temples in Western Thebes on the

1 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 201–203; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 105–108; Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998), 6. For 'seeing the god' in a procession, see van der Plas, 'Voir' dieu, *BSFÉ* 115 (1989), 11–16; Assmann, Ocular desire (1994).

2 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160.

3 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 201–202; Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998), 5.

4 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 171; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160.

5 Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 107–108; for an example of a procession coming out of a temple, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994), pl. 16 where the temple pylon is in the background of the procession scene.

6 Sauneron, *Les prêtres* (1957), 91–93; Kitchen, Barke, *LÄ* I (1975), 624; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160; Gabolde, L'Itineraire de la Procession (1992), 25–26; see also Barta, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke, *JEOL* IV/19 (1967), 462–463. For processional routes, see Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles de Thèbes* (2001).

7 E.g., Foucart, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée* (1930); Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952); Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991). For Amon of Karnak, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 312.

8 E.g., Wolf, *Das Schöne Fest von Opet* (1931); Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 66–73; Murnane, Opetfest, *LÄ* IV (1982), 576; The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994); Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998) 157–176.

9 Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus* (1949–1954), 447–452; Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 196–200.

10 Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 423–424.

way to Deir el-Bahri during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley[1] and at the temples of the towns between Dendera and Edfu during the Beautiful Reunion.[2]

The god honoured in a procession could be represented by a standard, a portable statue, or a statue inside a portable bark shrine.[3] The standard[4] and the portable statue[5] were on display but the bark shrine concealed the statue of a god from the eyes of the spectators.[6] A standard often represented a geographical site and its local god(s), and it could proclaim the transient presence of those deities.[7] A symbol of the god was situated at the top of the carrying pole of a standard. This symbol could be an animal figure of the deity in question, his or her divine insignia, or the hieroglyph representing the god's/goddess's name.[8] Minor deities featuring on standards could be used to accompany a major god of a temple during processions of the latter.[9] Standards representing gods were also used during festivals of the king.[10] Portable seated statues of kings, such as Mentuhotep, Ramesses II, and Amenhotep I, and queens, such as Ahmose-Nefertari and Teje, featured in processions organized in honour of these particular royal persons.[11] Small ritual statues of the king's ancestors could be carried in processions of gods during, for example, the Festival of Min.[12] We know, furthermore, of statues of some gods being carried in full sight of the audience.[13] During the course of the Festival of Min, a standing statue of this particular god was carried both on the shoulders of the priests[14] and in the arms of one priest.[15] The concealing bark shrine was the most frequent means of processional transport for divinities.[16] The practice of using the boat motif for the shrine reflects the ancient Egyptian belief of gods travelling by boat across the sky and in the netherworld.[17] There were three kinds of sacred barks: the ones used for carrying the statue on the shoulders of the priests, the ones employed for water processions,[18] and the ones that were drawn on the ground on a sledge.[19] While a procession proceeded on water

1 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1161.
2 Finnestad, Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: Ancient Traditions in New Contexts, in Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (1998), 225; see also Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 67.
3 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 107.
4 E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 203, pl. 226.
5 For an example of this, see Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 187–189 fig. 13–14.
6 E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 231.
7 Curto, Standarte, *LÄ* V (1984), 1255–1256.
8 Wildung, Götterstandarte, *LÄ* II (1977), 713.
9 The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 203; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1161; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 107.
10 Curto, Standarte, *LÄ* V (1984), 1255; for a procession of Sokar with standards of various nomes, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 226.
11 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160 note 3. For examples of portable statues, see Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 187–189 fig. 13–14.
12 The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 213.
13 The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pls. 201–202; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160 note 3; Moens, The Procession of Min, *SAK* 12 (1985). This seems to have been a procession inside the temple, i.e., not many people saw the statue (Graindorge, Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope (2003), 37–45).
14 The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pls. 216–217.
15 The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 209.
16 Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160 note 2.
17 Kitchen, Barke, *LÄ* I (1975), 619.
18 Kitchen, Barke, *LÄ* I (1975), 619–620.
19 Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe* (1992), 45, fig. 24; sledge processions were typical at funerals (Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160).

in an actual boat, the portable bark rested in a cabin on the deck.[1] The best known barks are the *nšmt*-bark of Osiris, the *wsr-ḥɜt-ỉmn* used in the great processions of Amon of Karnak and the *ḥnw*-bark of Sokar.[2] The prow and the stern of processional barks were generally decorated with the head of the god in question.[3]

The statue of *Amenemopet*, which, from the Third Intermediate Period onwards, visited the small temple of Medinet Habu every ten days, was seated during his procession on a portable throne shrouded in a cloak all the way up to his neck[4] and, hence, only partly visible. An image of a god could, thus, be shrouded in a cloak of some sort when it was not inside a shrine. It is possible that the image of Sokar which, according to the depictions, seems to be inside a conical object during his processions is, in fact, veiled in the same manner.[5] Furthermore, the statue of Min seems to have been covered by a screen when rituals required it during his processions.[6]

The temple reliefs often show priests carrying the god and following the cortege wearing shining white clothes.[7] However, during the Festival of Min, the statue bearers seem to be covered with a piece of figured cloth.[8] Furthermore, although cleanly shaven priests are a familiar sight in procession depictions,[9] the priests carrying the god could occasionally be wearing masks as they did in the Coronation of the Sacred Falcon at Edfu during the Late Period.[10]

The temple reliefs of the New Kingdom show little audience at processions, but this may be just a question of artistic convention.[11] The owners of the 18th Dynasty elite tombs described the Beautiful Feast of the Valley on their tomb walls and, according to these inscriptions, 'following Amon in his procession' was one of the elements of this festival, which proceeded through the necropolis in Western Thebes.[12] Furthermore, it was often the wish of the Theban tomb owners of the New Kingdom to be able to participate posthumously in various festivals of the region; a desire that seems to have led to the custom of evoking the names of selected deceased members of the elite during certain processions.[13] Thus, it would seem that at least the high-ranking officials took part in the processions during various festivals. Lanny Bell[14] argues that some of the ordinary people

---

1 See, for example, The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994), pls. 77–78.

2 Kitchen, Barke, *LÄ* I (1975), 620–623.

3 Kitchen, Barke, *LÄ* I (1975), 622; for some examples, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940); Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe* (1992); The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994).

4 Doresse, Le dieu voilé, *MDAIK* 28 (1957), 36-65; van der Plas, The Veiled Image of Amenapet (1987), 1–12.

5 Van der Plas, The Veiled Image of Amenapet (1987), 7.

6 Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 178; see also The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pls. 201–202 & pl. 217.

7 Sauneron, *Les prêtres* (1957), 91.

8 The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 202 & pl. 216; Moens, The Procession of Min, *SAK* 12 (1985), 66.

9 E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), passim; The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994), passim.

10 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 189.

11 Baines, Practical Religion and Piety, *JEA* 73 (1987), 82.

12 Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952), 32–36.

13 Assmann, Geheimnis, Gedächtnis und Gottesnähe: zum Strukturwandel der Grabsemantik und der Diesseits-Jenseitsbeziehungen im Neuen Reich, in Assmann et al., *Thebanische Beamtennekropole. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung* (1995), 290–292.

14 Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 135–136; supporting views have been expressed by Jan Assmann (Prozessionsfest (1991), 107–109) and Emily Teeter (Popular Worship, *K.M.T.* 4/2 (1993), 33–34).

also had access to the outer courts of a temple during festivals and could, thus, be said to be part of the festival programme. Bell supports his view with evidence from the Luxor temple: the kingship rituals performed there needed an audience to be successful.[1] He argues, furthermore, that commoners must have been allowed into the courtyard built by Ramesses II since adoring people are depicted there both in human form and as lapwings signifying *rḫyt*-people.[2] However, John Baines[3] has noted that the *rḫyt* represent semi-mythical groups of people and might not indicate admission to any parts of the interior of the temple. Nevertheless, the graffiti left by scribes and minor priests in the area between the seventh and the tenth pylons at Karnak indicate the presence of these people in this part of the temple either during festivals or otherwise.[4] Nonetheless, common people seem to have had little chance of being part of, or even witnessing, the rituals conducted during temple festivals as late as during the Greco-Roman Period.[5] However, when the festival procession and the formal rituals were over in a Late Period temple, people seem to have participated in a banquet organized by the authorities.[6]

From the New Kingdom onwards, processions were major occasions for acquiring an oracle from a god.[7] Kings used oracles in political affairs of great importance, for example, in cases of irregular succession. The king might also consult Amon when selecting the new High Priest of this particular god.[8] The major deities of a town could only be consulted by the king, the high officials, and somepriests; other people had to make use of the deities of the minor sanctuaries and chapels in their neighbourhood[9] or

---

1 Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 135.

2 Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 164–167.

3 Baines, Egyptian Letters of the New Kingdom as Evidence for Religious Practice, *JANER* 1(2001), 31 note 86. Anthony Spalinger is also of the opinion that the participation of the commoners in festivals was minimal, except perhaps on the king's accession day (Limitations, *JNES* 57 (1998), 241–260).

4 Mostafa, Lieux saints populaires, *DE* 29 (1994), 92.

5 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 201–203.

6 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 191, 202; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 108–109; Finnestad, Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (1998), 220.

7 Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 35–36; Kákosy, Orakel, *LÄ* IV (1982), 600; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 108; Jansen-Winkeln, Ein politisches Orakel, *VA* 9, (1993), 7–14; von Lieven, Divination in Ägypten, *AoF 26* (1999), 77–126; see also, for example, Blackman, Oracles in ancient Egypt I. Papyrus B.M. 10335, *JEA* 11 (1925), 249–255; Vernus, Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 103–110; Valbelle & Husson, Les Questions oraculaires d'Égypte (1985); Kruchten, *Le grand text oraculaire* (1986); Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches. Ein religionsgeschichtliche Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen* (1994); Kruchten, La terminologie de la consultation de l'oracle de l'Amon thébain à la troisième période intermédiaire, in Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourgh 15-17 juin 1995* (1997), 55–64; Quaegebeur, L'appel au divin (1997), 15–34; Traunecker, L'appel au divin: La crainte des dieux et les serment de temple, in Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité* (1997), 35–54; Shehab el-Din, Oracles in ancient Egypt (2003), 259–266.

8 Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 35–38; for oracles at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Blackman, Oracles in ancient Egypt II, *JEA* 12 (1926), 176–185; Černý, Une expression désignant la réponse négative d'un oracle, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 491–496; Černý, Questions adressées aux oracles, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 41–58; Černý, Nouvelle série de questions adressées aux oracles, *BIFAO* 41 (1941), 13–24; Černý, Troisième série de questions adressées aux oracles, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 49–69; Kruchten, Un oracle d''Amenhotep du village' sous Ramsès III. Ostracon Gardiner 103, in Demarée & Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium* (2000), 209–216.

9 Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 40; cf. Jansen-Winkeln, Ein politisches Orakel, *VA* 9, (1993), 7–14.

send a message with those who had access to the temple and the god.[1] People could ‘stand before a god’ who was carried in procession and ‘call’ to him or her by issuing a statement about the matter in hand. The deity would then either agree or disagree with the assertion by moving forwards or backwards.[2] The god could also ‘choose the right answer’ from a list that was recited or read aloud.[3] Alternatively, it was possible to present the deity with two pieces of writing with opposite statements. The deity would ‘pick’ the one of these writings that better corresponded with his wish for or opinion on that specific question.[4]

1 See, for example, P. Nevill.
2 Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 43–45; for a skeptical view on Černý’s interpretation of the word *hn*, see, for example, Nims, Review of Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Pap. Brooklyn 47.2218.3), *JNES* 27 (1968), 77.
3 Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 41–43.
4 Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 45–46.

3 Ritual Acts Featuring in Various Religious Festivals

Within Egyptology, rituals have often been studied from their practical point of view.[1] Thus, the ancient Egyptian Rituals can be seen to have been based on the reciprocal relationship between the gods and the people. The people gave to the gods in order to get something in return or to 'pay' for blessings received.[2] The rituals, moreover, had a very close connection with myths.[3] However, according to a study by Carolyn Diane Routledge,[4] Egyptian rituals were also formalizing and performative. The formative nature of rituals is evident in their close connection with the king and the gods. The performativity of Egyptian rituals is manifest in the need for words and actions and the use of various objects in a prearranged way while executing various rites. Ancient Egyptian rites were often executed in the privacy of the temple and did not require public performances. Egyptian rituals, furthermore, appear to have had a tendency to rule-governance, traditionalism, and the use of sacral symbolism.[5] In the opinion of the Egyptians themselves, the rules for rituals were given by the gods.[6] The rituals were performed repeatedly according to the chronological sequence of festival calendars. The traditionalism and the sacral symbolism is seen, for example, in claims by the Egyptians that the basis of certain rituals is in a tradition which sometimes can be found as far back as primordial times. The use of traditional ritual texts meant that performing these rituals required educated priests. The sacred aspect of rituals, moreover, is evident in the fact that rituals were carried out in distinct sacred locations, such as temples, and that the possible actors of rituals were regulated. Through rituals, Maat was established and gods, people, the dead, and the world could be manipulated.[7]

Festival rituals constitute, with the rites of the daily cult, the ancient Egyptian temple rituals.[8] Some festival rituals have been depicted in New Kingdom temples, such as the Temple of Millions of Years of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.[9] Our main sources of information for rituals are, however, the Greco-Roman temple wall scenes where, in addition to the festival calendars, many rites were depicted and described. Festival rituals also feature in texts documented on papyri from different periods.[10] The source material shows that festival rituals differed from the daily temple cult by having distinctive local characteristics: the special nature of the god in question affected the features of the festival rituals.[11] It also seems that festival rituals were not only directed to the god in question but

1 Routledge, *Ancient Egyptian Ritual Practice: ỉr-ḫt and nt-ʿ* (2001), 14; for ancient Egyptian rituals, see also Helck, Rituale, *LÄ* V (1984), 271–285.
2 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 839–840.
3 Helck, Rituale, *LÄ* V (1984), 271–272.
4 Routledge, *Ancient Egyptian Ritual Practice* (2001), 371–372; see also Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (1997), 139–164; for another theoretical review of ancient Egyptian rituals, see Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998), 18–28.
5 Routledge, *Ancient Egyptian Ritual Practice* (2001), 371–372.
6 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 839.
7 Routledge, *Ancient Egyptian Ritual Practice* (2001), 372–376.
8 Finnestad, Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (1998), 204; Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998), 22.
9 See The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), passim.
10 Spalinger, Festivals, in Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak* (2002), 128.
11 Barta, Kult, *LÄ* III (1980), 845–846.

could also include several other kinds of rites.[1] In the following short presentation on festival rituals, individual rituals rather than ritual sequences within certain feasts will be described. The list is not exhaustive and the aim is to give a general idea of possible rituals performed during various festivals.

Ritual purification was an act that was frequently performed during religious feasts. This occurred, for example, before the beginning of the morning ritual and the presenting of offerings.[2] Both the Opening of the Mouth ceremony and the daily ritual commenced with the cleansing of the statues by pouring water, burning incense, and offering natron and incense for the purification of the gods' mouth.[3] In the ritual for the New Year's day recorded on the so-called 'Cairo Calendar',[4] purification took place after the great festival offering for Re-Horakhty. In this case, the ritual actor was supposed to cleanse himself in the rising inundation.[5] During the processions in the temple, the path of the god could be purified by burning incense and by libating.[6]

Presenting offerings is another act featuring in most religious feasts. An offering ritual could consist of presenting a god with food, drink, incense, flowers, clothes, and various objects.[7] During the New Year Festival, black ink was supposed to be offered to Nun and Nut.[8] The offerings could be piled in front of the god[9] or they could be presented to the deity by lifting them for him or her to see.[10] An offering might be transformed into more than its mere substance; hence, substitute offerings, such as incense figurines, could also be used.[11] Myrrh seems to have been, at least on certain occasions, a substitute for a food offering.[12] Food-offerings could also be replaced with libations[13] while meat offerings could be burned in front of the deity in question.[14] This latter practice comes from the notion that certain animals embodied chaos which had to be defeated.[15] For this same reason, hunting could be a ritual act.[16]

Playing music and singing hymns were rituals performed during various festivals. Singers chanted litanies and hymns for the protection of deities.[17] Music and singing were

---

1 See below.

2 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 178–179; for similar purification before the rituals of the New Year, see Goyon, Sur une formule, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 75.

3 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 173.

4 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XII, 1–6. For interpreting this passage as a New Year ritual, see Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990), 42–46; cf. Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 446–451. This text has been attributed a date in the beginning of the 19th Dynasty (Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8).

5 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XII, 3–4.

6 E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 226.

7 Altenmüller, Opfer, *LÄ* IV (1982), 581; for an example, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 229.

8 P. Cairo JE 86637 vs. XII, 1–2 (Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990), 42–46).

9 E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 229.

10 E.g., The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 219.

11 Altenmüller, Opfer, *LÄ* IV (1982), 580–581.

12 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 191; Altenmüller, Opfer, *LÄ* IV (1982), 580–581.

13 Borghouts, Libation, *LÄ* III (1980), 1014; see, for example, The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 241–242.

14 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 185; Altenmüller, Opfer, *LÄ* IV (1982), 580.

15 Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998), 25.

16 Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998), 25; see also Altenmüller, Jagdritual, *LÄ* III (1980), 231–233.

17 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 190–191.

also used for the appeasement of the furious Daughter of Re.[1] Singers and dancers partook in temple festival processions[2] and in Sed-festivals of the kings.[3] Another feature of a festival was the ritual banquet. Such a banquet often completed the festival. At the temple of Edfu, a banquet was celebrated at the end of the festival called the 'Coronation of the Sacred Falcon.' During this banquet, the king presented Horus with meat.[4] Feasting also occurred at the end of the New Year's ritual documented in the Cairo Calendar.[5]

Many rituals included four objects or animals that seem to have symbolized the four cardinal points. The consecration of the four meret-chests and the driving of the four calves are acts that were performed in association with various festivals.[6] The four geese sent out on the second day of the Feast of the Beautiful Reunion bore the message about Horus having assumed the White and Red Crowns.[7] This ritual was followed by a ceremony where a priest shot an arrow towards each of the four cardinal points.[8] These latter two rituals were also performed together during the Festival of Min.[9]

Certain rituals were intended for protection. For example, during the Festival of the Coronation of the Sacred Falcon at Edfu, certain charms were recited to protect Horus.[10] A special group is formed by the spells recited for the protection of the king from the goddesses Sekhmet and Bastet during the New Year Festival.[11] Protective rituals were also performed during the Beautiful Reunion at Edfu: the enemies of the king might, for example, be ritually destroyed by mutilating a hippopotamus made of red wax.[12]

Although the ancient Egyptian rituals were traditionalizing and drew upon old texts and sacred images, changes in certain rituals can occasionally be detected. Catherine Graindorge,[13] when studying the rituals of Min, came to the conclusion that the procession of the white ox during the Festival of Min developed into the procession of *Amenemopet* in the so-called 'Feast of the Decade' during the Third Intermediate Period. There were many changes in the rituals of this particular procession. The intimate temple procession became a great bark procession travelling from one temple to another and the ritual of cutting the corn was replaced by an offering of lotus flowers and papyri to the ancestral gods, just to mention a few of the changes that took place. However, the meaning of the rituals stayed the same; both the procession of the white ox and the offering presented to the ancestral gods can be understood as a dedication.[14]

---

1 Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992), 101–114; von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 50–51.
2 Manniche, *Music and Musician* (1991), 70–72; Meyer, Festlieder zum Auszug Gottes (1998), 135–142.
3 Manniche, *Music and Musician* (1991), 69–70.
4 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 191.
5 P. Cairo JE 86637 vs. XII, 5–6 (Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990), 42–46); date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty (Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8).
6 Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning* (1995), 388.
7 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 198.
8 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 198.
9 Graindorge, Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope (2003), 39; for a depiction of the ritual of sending out the birds during the Min Festival, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 205.
10 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 191.
11 Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 206–274; Goyon, Jean-Claude. *Le rituel du sḥtp Sḫmt* (2006).
12 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 198.
13 Graindorge, Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope (2003), 41–42.
14 Graindorge, Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope (2003), 41–42.

III Feasts at Deir el-Medina

In this section, the references to feasts at Deir el-Medina are presented. The annually celebrated feasts which are considered to form a sort of festival celendar of the community will be dealt with first. Subsequently, other feasts attested from the village will be considered. Participants in the festivities, possible locations for celebrating feasts, and the artefacts associated with feasts are also given some consideration. Finally, the function of Deir el-Medina feasts is discussed.

1 Deir el-Medina Festival Calendar – a Reconstruction

There are abundant allusions to general feasts in the primary sources from Deir el-Medina. In view of the numerous references, it seems as though the royal artisans would have feasted approximately once every ten days[1] (henceforth decade[2]). However, one seldom finds more than one or two references to one and the same feast and the references reveal little about the frequency or the length of the festivals mentioned. What is more, the references are spread over a time span of almost 250 years (the Ramesside Period), which to some degree hampers any in-depth analysis. Some groups of feasts referred to in the sources have been studied independently by various scholars in order to give more insight into their nature. The numerous feasts of the patron of the royal artisans community, Amenhotep I, have, for example, been dealt with as a specific category of feasts. Jaroslav Černý[3] identified seven different feasts of this deified king. Several scholars, such as Alan H. Gardiner,[4] Donald B. Redford,[5] Wolfgang Helck,[6] Franz-Jürgen Schmitz,[7] Ashraf Iskander Sadek,[8] Winfried Barta,[9] and Jürgen von Beckerath,[10] have, moreover, discussed the possibility of associating some of these feasts with certain noteworthy events of the life of Amenhotep I, i.e., his accession, coronation, death, and funeral. Another cluster of feasts, i.e., feasts associated with month names, form the scope of the study by René van Walsem,[11] whereas Sven Vleeming[12] has examined the possible connection between the general festivals and the *ḳnbt*-meetings at Deir el-Medina. One may also mention a study by Helck[13] compiling a festival calendar of Deir el-Medina naming most of the annual feasts of the community.

---

1 See, for example, the lists compiled by Asraf Iskander Sadek (*Popular Religion* (1987), 169–181). Moreover, according to John Romer 'sixty-five days of festivals [were] dotted throughout the calendar' (*Ancient Lives. The Story of the Pharaohs' Tombmakers* (1984), 48). One should, however, not lose sight of the fact that the source material covers a time span of several centuries with several annual lacunae 'calendar wise'.

2 See also Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 20.

3 Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 182–186. Černý enumerated 6 feasts but assumed, correctly it seems, that the feast called *pn ỉmn-ḥtp* in O. Queen's College 1115 (his number 4) should be identified with *ḥb ꜥꜣ n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) on III *prt* 29 – IV *prt* 2 (his number 3). In addition to the numbered feasts in his article, Černý mentioned two more feasts of Amenhotep I.

4 Gardiner, Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt, *JEA* 31 (1945), 25.

5 Redford, On the Chronology, *JNES* 25 (1966), 114–116.

6 Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 71–72; idem, Erneut das Angebliche Sothis-Datum des Pap. Ebers und die Chronologie der 18. Dynastie, *SAK* 15 (1988), 163–164.

7 Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 22–33.

8 Sadek, Glimpses, *GM* 36 (1979); Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 135–137.

9 Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 43–47.

10 Von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (1994), 109–110.

11 Van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 215–244.

12 Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 183–189.

13 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166.

1.1 Reconstructing the Festival Calendar of Deir el-Medina

No monumental festival calendars such as, for example, the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu,[1] have survived from Deir el-Medina. A reconstruction of a festival calendar of Deir el-Medina, however, has been compiled by Wolfgang Helck[2] by utilizing references to working and inactivity in the administrative documents pertaining to the royal artisans' community. This calendar, in fact, is a listing of work-free days within the frame of the civil calendar. Some of the work-free days also appear to have been days of feasts. For the reconstruction of his calendar of feasts, Helck[3] used several work journals[4] which record whether the royal artisans were working on specific days or not. In addition to these journals, he used lists of named men absent or working,[5] lamp accounts,[6] as well as other documents.[7] Helck[8] collated the references to working and inactivity into tables and, by analysing these, he was able to conclude that the ninth and tenth days of a decade were 'as a rule' work-free. Additionally, he deduced that the royal artisans were freed from work due to feasts on the following days of the ancient Egyptian civil year:[9]

I *ꜣḫt* 1–2/3	New Year Festival
I *ꜣḫt* 29 – II *ꜣḫt* 2	Feast of Amenhotep I
IV *ꜣḫt* 1–2	Feast of Hathor
IV *ꜣḫt* 5	Feast of Amon?
IV *ꜣḫt* 26	Feast of Sokar
I *prt* 29 – II *prt* 3/4	Feast of Mut
III *prt* 1–4	Feast of Ptah
III *prt* 19–23	Feast of Amenhotep I
IV *prt* 1	Feast of a queen?
IV *prt* 4	Bastet
I *šmw* 1–3	Feast of Renenutet
II *šmw* 15	Procession of Nefertari
II *šmw* 24	Beautiful Feast of the Valley?, year 22 of Ramesses III
II *šmw* 25	Beautiful Feast of the Valley, year 6 of Seti II and year 4 of Siptah
III *šmw* 24	Accession of Seti I

1 See Chapter II 1.
2 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166.
3 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 140.
4 Helck did not specify the sources used but I believe I can recognize at least the following work journals in his tables (*op. cit.*, 142–155): O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25609; O. DeM 427; O. Turin N. 57007; O. Turin N. 57031; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt.. I am, unfortunately, not able to pinpoint all the references in Helck's tables to specific documents.
5 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25506; O. Cairo CG 25510; O. Cairo CG 25512; O. Cairo CG 25514; O. Cairo CG 25517; O. Cairo CG 25519; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25783; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25785; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. DeM 398; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Turin N. 57028; O. Turin N. 57034.
6 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25511; O. Cairo CG 25516; O. Cairo CG 25536; O. Cairo CG 25539; O. Cairo CG 25540; O. Cairo CG 25541; O. Cairo CG 25542.
7 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11 (account of burning rock); O. Cairo CG 25529 (list of days of working and inactivity).
8 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141–156.
9 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156–159.

III *šmw* 27	Accession of Ramesses II
IV *šmw* 1–2	*Ipip*.

There was, additionally, a number of days regarding which Helck was uncertain.[1] He inferred, however, that I *ꜣḫt* 17 (Wag Feast), III *ꜣḫt* 1 (conclusion of the Opet festival), I *prt* 1–2 (*nḥb-kꜣw*), IV *prt* 10–14 (?), and IV *prt* 22 (?) may have been feast days which were celebrated annually. Moreover, the beginning of the Opet Festival may have been celebrated on II *ꜣḫt* 19, i.e., on a day that was generally work-free in any case as it was the ninth day of a decade.[2] Helck's study also suggests that the epagomenal days were work-free. However, this was, in his opinion, most likely due to their ominous nature rather than due to the epagomenal days being days of feasting.[3] Unfortunately, Helck only had a limited number of sources at his disposal as much of the textual material was still unpublished at the time.[4] Hence, it has been crucial to update the Deir el-Medina festival calendar.[5]

Any reconstruction of a civil festival calendar requires the study of references to feasts that have been dated to or which can, on account of the surrounding entries, be pinpointed to specific days in the ancient Egyptian civil calendar. Hence, the feasts which were observed according to the lunar calendar are not easily identified in the reconstruction. Anthony Spalinger[6] believes that most annually celebrated feasts, as opposed to the ones taking place every month, were, in fact, observed according to the civil calendar. The reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar by Helck demonstrated that many feasts were, indeed, celebrated annually on the same civil calendar day by the royal artisans' community. Additionally, many feasts observed according to the lunar calendar may have been observed at Deir el-Medina but there are no explicit references from Deir el-Medina to the celebration of such feasts. The updated reconstruction of the festival calendar presented below pertains, thus, almost exclusively to feasts observed according to the civil calendar.

---

1 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156–157.

2 E.g., Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115.

3 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156–159.

4 Since the publication of Wofgang Helck' article (Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166), at least the following publications of non-literary texts from Deir el-Medina have appeared: Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* VII (1970); Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973); Kitchen, *KRI* I (1975); Černý, *Papyrus Deir el-Médineh* I (1978); López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978); Kitchen, *KRI* II (1979); Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980); López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980); Allam, Einige hieratische Ostraca der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, *FuB* 22 (1982), 51–61; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982); López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983); Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983); López, *Ostraca ieratici* IV (1984); Černý, *Papyrus Deir el-Médineh* II (1986); Koenig, Nouveaux textes, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 113–129 ; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989); Janssen, *LRL* (1991); Koenig, Les ostraca hiératiques, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 95–116; McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca Glasgow* (1993); Koenig, *Les Ostraca Strasbourg* (1997); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* VIII (2000); Fischer-Elfert, Rest in Pieces. Fragments of Absence from Work in Deir el-Medina (Pap. Berlin P. 14485 A-C + 14449 C+G; I and 14448), in Demarée &Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium* (2000), 101–107; Grandet, Ouvriers et 'esclaves' de Deir el-Medina (2000), 121–127; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* X (2006); *Deir el Medine online*.

5 See also Wikgren, The Festival Calendar (2005), 179–200.

6 Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 28–29; cf. Porceddu *et al.*, Evidence of Periodicity, *CAJ* 18 (2008), 327–339.

1.1.1 The Source Material for the Festival Calendar

In order to reconstruct an annual festival roster of the royal artisans' community, the focus is on references to days of working, inactivity, and feasts of the entire crew in work-related documents dating to the Ramesside Period.[1] In the administrative documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, working or attendance at the work place is usually referred to by the words *bȝk* or *ỉw*. The fact that the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb could be expressed in several ways such as *wsf*, *ḥꜥ*(*.n*), and *n*.[2] It seems, furthermore, evident that, in general, when the royal artisans are said to have been in 'this place', (*m*) *st tn*, they were not working unless working was specifically indicated in the text. Jac. J. Janssen[3] has suggested that the phrase *st tn* may refer to the royal artisans being work-free in the huts where they stayed the nights when not in the village. Kathlyn Cooney has demonstrated that when the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb, they were working in semi-private workshops in the village.[4] Thus, when the royal artisans are said to be have been *wsf*, *ḥꜥ.n*, or *n*, it does not indicate that the royal artisans were idle. The words 'inactive' and 'inactivity', when used in this study, denote simply that the men were not working on the Royal Tomb.

1 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166. Some private documents and inscriptions have also been used.

2 E.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 127–152; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 33–55; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 87–98 (Chapter V Administrative Terms for Absences from the Workshop); Toivari-Viitala, Absence from Work at Deir el-Medina, in Dorn & Hofmann (eds.), Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine (2006), 155–159.

3 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 94–98.

4 Cooney, An Informal Workshop: Textual Evidence for Private Funerary Art Production in the Ramesside Period, in Dorn & Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine* (2006), 43–55; idem, *The Cost of Death. The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period* (2007), 131–175; idem, Profit or Exploitation? The Production of Private Ramesside Tombs Within the West Theban Funerary Economy, *JEH* 1 (2008), 79–115.

References to working and inactivity may be found, for example, in the work journals[1] which list day-by-day various work-related matters of the necropolis combined with notes on other significant affairs.[2] Occasionally, the reason for a work-free day is mentioned. In such cases one finds that inactivity occasionally was caused by a feast.[3] There are also texts stating only that a feast occurred on a specific day indicating implicitly that the crew had no work obligations on that day.[4] These references to feasts are taken into consideration when reconstructing the Deir el-Medina festival calendar. References to working, inactivity, and feasts may also be found in documents that list days of working and inactivity without additional information on necropolis affairs.[5] The

[1] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 113; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Ashmolean Museum 187; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12631; O. BM EA 5672 + O. Cairo CG 25649; O. Cairo CG 25245; O. Cairo CG 25247; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25266; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25297; O. Cairo CG 25298; O. Cairo CG 25299; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25508; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25536; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25609; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. Cairo CG 25647; O. Cairo CG 25648; O. Cairo CG 25680; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 339; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 604; O. DeM 633; O. DeM 655; O. DeM 894; O. DeM 899; O. DeM 10009; O. DeM 10019; O. DeM 10051; O. DeM 10052; O. Glasgow D.1925.76; O. IFAO 252; O. IFAO 1306; O. Michaelides 33; O. Michaelides 40; O. Michaelides 71; O. Turin N. 57007; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57043; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57055; O. Turin N. 57125; O. Turin N. 57153; O. UC 39625; O. UC 39626; O. Valley of Queens 6; O. Varille 26; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 2070; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. UC 34336.

[2] Janssen, Literacy and Letters (1992), 85; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* (2003), 70. In addition to the large late 20th Dynasty necropolis journals on papyri, I include in this text group the smaller excerpts of journals on ostraca (see also Janssen, *op. cit.*, 91–94). The entries where only part of the crew worked on the days recorded in the document have, in this study, been considered working days: when reconstructing the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina, any included official feast of the community could hardly be celebrated by only part of its members; see O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. V, 4–5, 16, 19–27 (*Ỉw gs n tɜ-ỉst wsf ỉw gs* (*n=st*) *ḥr bɜk*; year 6 of Seti II through year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Michaelides 71, vs. 4–6 (*ʿḥʿ.n tɜ ỉst m wsf ṯs.n ʿɜ-n-ỉst r pɜ ḥr hɜyt*[…] *ṯs s 18 ḥr wnmy smḥy*; date attributed to later years of Seti II through the reign of Siptah; e.g., Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 119–120.

[3] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 10051; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006.

[4] E.g., O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 401; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N 57044; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094.

[5] E.g., Graffito 1696; O. BM EA 66409; O. Cairo CG 25528; O. Cairo CG 25529; O. DeM 340; O. DeM 760; O. DeM 896.

Scribes of the Tomb also composed short notes[1] on specific events on particular days and these notes occasionally contain references to working, inactivity, and feasts. Some explicit references to working, inactivity, and feasts may, furthermore, be found in various accounts or lists[2] and in court protocols.[3] References to feasts that may be connected to a specific day of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar are, moreover, present in some tomb inscriptions,[4] oracle petitions,[5] accounts of transfers,[6] and letters.[7] In general, day 9 and day 10 of a decade were said to be work-free or they were omitted from the work journals and other documents with explicit references to working and inactivity.[8] Consequently, other days of a decade similarly omitted from the lists may be presumed to have been work-free, particularly if the entries continue after the omission.[9] Entries in the aforementioned kinds of texts stating that the crew was work-free because of hunger[10] or the threat of enemies[11] are discarded as possible references to inactivity due to a feast.[12] Likewise, occasions when the crew was rewarded for the work they had done may have

1 E.g., Graffito 2087; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 11254; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25234; O. Cairo CG 25261; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo CG 25803; O. DeM 253; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 759; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. Turin N. 57154. P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs. is a collection of such notes without being a work journal. For notes as a text type, see Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir el-Medina, *JESHO* 46 (2003), 254.

2 E.g., O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. IFAO 1262. For accounts and lists, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 104–108.

3 E.g., O. IFAO 1357. For court protocols as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 162–167; see also, for example, McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 143–179.

4 TT2; TT4; TT359.

5 E.g., O. BM EA 5637. For oracle petitions as a text type, see, for example, Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 175–178; see also, for example, Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 40–46; McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 107–114; von Lieven, Divination in Ägypten, *AoF* 26 (1999), 79–83.

6 E.g., O. Berlin P 12635. For the record of transfers or debt as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 148–153.

7 E.g., O. DeM 115.

8 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115.

9 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132–134; however, the days omitted in the lists of men absent or working should not automatically be taken to be work-free: they might have been days when everyone was at work with no one absent (*ibid.*, 132; cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141–155).

10 E.g., P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 rt. II, 3, 6–8; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 11, III, 23–28, V, 19–22; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082+ 2083 rt. passim.

11 E.g., P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 6, 9, 11, 14–15; P. Turin Cat. 2044 vs. II, 3 – III, 6; P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091, rt. 2 – vs. 1.

12 Likewise the references to a work-free day due to the distribution of rations have, as a rule, not been taken into account when reconstructing the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina; e.g., O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. I, 5; O. Cairo JE 72452, 5; O. DeM 427, vs. 9; O. Turin N. 57043, vs. 1; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 rt. II, 9; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 12, 27; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. III, 7; P. UC 34336 rt. C, x^{+} 9–10.

taken place on working days and need not indicate a holiday.[1] Nonetheless, there are some statements referring to rewards which may be considered in connection with certain feasts discussed below.[2]

Although the aforementioned kinds of texts mentioning explicitly whether the royal artisans were working on the Royal Tomb or not are taken into account in this study, the documentation of the day-by-day activities of the work crew is not complete. The work journals, for example, are often discontinuous with an insufficient number of entries to reconstruct one complete year.[3]

In order to fill some of the gaps in information in the work journals and the other documents containing references to working and inactivity, I have additionally studied entries that do not explicitly state whether the crew was working or free but which, nevertheless, appear to imply one or the other.

Lamp accounts,[4] i.e., accounts of the distribution of wicks (*ḫbs*) for lighting the Tomb under construction, suggest, for example, that the crew worked on the days listed.[5] Twisted wicks of linen greased with different sorts of fat were used for lighting inside the Royal Tomb, and the accounts give the number of wicks issued for each day as well as the number of wicks brought from storage. Some documents specify the use of wicks for each side of the crew, and sometimes the morning and afternoon sessions are mentioned separately.[6] It would seem that occasionally the crew only worked a half-day.[7] To a notable extent, the days of wick distribution coincide, indeed, with working days mentioned in the work journals and the lists of days of working and inactivity, whereas the days omitted in the lamp accounts agree with the days the crew was free.[8] Occasionally, explicit references to inactivity and feasts have been included in the lamp accounts.

---

1 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25552, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25565, 2; O. DeM 41 vs. 10; O. DeM 46, 10; O. DeM 353, vs. 1–2; O. DeM 10051, 1–4. Even the instances when the crew is specifically said to have been free to receive these extra provisions need not indicate any annually occurring feast days as the crew was rewarded for other purposes besides ones associated with feasts (see, for example, O. DeM 40, 18–19; O. Turin N. 57153, 3–4; see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 148, 151).

2 See, for example, Chapter III 1.2.1.3.

3 Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 49–55.

4 O. Cairo CG 25248; O. Cairo CG 25249; O. Cairo CG 25304; O. Cairo CG 25511; O. Cairo CG 25516, rt. 1 – vs. 2; O. Cairo CG 25524, vs.; O. Cairo CG 25539; O. Cairo CG 25540; O. Cairo CG 25541; O. Cairo CG 25542; O. Cairo CG 25543 vs.; O. Cairo CG 25544; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454; O. Cairo CG 25546; O. Cairo CG 25547; O. Cairo CG 25814; O. Cairo CG 25816; O. Cairo CG 25817; O. Cairo CG 25818; O. IFAO 1206 (older text); O. Strasbourg H. 136; O. Turin N. 57025.

5 Černý, *The Valley of the Kings*: *Fragments d'un manuscrit inachevé* (1973), 48; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 56–58.

6 Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* (1973), 41–54.

7 Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* (1973), 48–50; see, for example, O. Cairo CG 25542, rt. 6; the entries mentioned by Jaroslav Černý (*op. cit.*, 48) in lines 3 and 4 of this same ostracon refer to one and the same day before and after wicks were fetched from the warehouse and, thus, it seems the crew worked the whole day. See also O. Turin N 57033, where only 3 wicks were issued instead of the usual 6 on the day of the enigmatic 'ropes for the feast' (*II šmw 1* (*ḫbs*) *6 sw 2 ḫbs 3 nꜣ nwḥ m ḥb sw 3 . 6*; vs. 4; date attributed to years 24–25 of Ramesses II; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27).

8 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 56–58; see also, for example, Helck, Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 160–163.

Day-by-day lists of individual, named men absent from work on the Royal Tomb [1] indicate that the rest of the crew was working on those particular days.[2] The reason for absence is occasionally given, being, for example, a festive event such a personal feast or an occasion of presenting offerings to a deity.[3] Explicit references to the inactivity of the entire crew and to public feasts have also occasionally been included. Lists kept of days of inactivity of an individual workman indicate, furthermore, that most of the crew was at work on the days in question.[4] Sometimes accounts of work in the Royal Tomb[5] specify the work done on a specific day and, thus, denote working on that particular day.[6]

References which may be interpreted as indirectly indicating working or inactivity can be found in many kinds of documents. For instance, the days the crew is said to ascend (*ṯs*) to the Valley of the Kings[7] are here interpreted as working days since the men left the village in order to go to their place of work. The scribes appear to have often closed a 'book' at the end of a decade, month, or year and subsequently to have started a new one at the beginning of the next one.[8] The days omitted at the beginning and the end of a document might, thus, tentatively be considered work-free days if these days excluded are at the beginning or end of a week, month, or year. One may refer to O. Cairo CG 25636[9] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[10]), at the beginning of which we are told that the crew ascended to work on I *ꜣḫt* 5. Knowing that the royal artisans celebrated the New

---

1 E.g., O. BM EA 5634; O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Ashmolean Museum 148; O. Ashmolean Museum 167; O. Berlin P 11248; O. Brussels E 301; O. Cairo CG 25506; O. Cairo CG 25510; O. Cairo CG 25512; O. Cairo CG 25514; O. Cairo CG 25516, vs. 3–28; O. Cairo CG 25517; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25519; O. Cairo CG 25520; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25522; O. Cairo CG 25523; O. Cairo CG 25524, rt.; O. Cairo CG 25525; O. Cairo CG 25563; O. Cairo CG 25575; O. Cairo CG 25599; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25783; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25785; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25790; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text); O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 353; O. DeM 389; O. DeM 398; O. DeM 634; O. DeM 757; O. DeM 758; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. DeM 901; O. DeM 902; O. DeM 903; O. DeM 906; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 10053; O. IFAO 1077; O. IFAO 1105; O. Louvre E 13160; O. MMA 09.184.702; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Turin N. 57026; O. Turin N. 57028; O. Turin N. 57029; O. Turin N. 57039; O. Turin N. 57046; O. Turin N. 57056; O. Turin N. 57388; O. Turin N. 57432; O. Valle delle Regine fig. 126; O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 6; P. Berlin P 14485 b-c; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 27. For the lists of men absent or working as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 143–145.

2 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 140; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132.

3 See, for example, Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 163–164; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 127–152. The individual feasts and festive occasions will be dealt with later in Chapter III 2.3.

4 E.g., O. Berlin P 23404; O. BM EA 50730 + 50745; O. DeM 594; O. DeM 911; O. Turin N. 57020.

5 E.g., O. Berlin P 12295; O. Cairo CG 25581; O. IFAO 383.

6 For the account of work in the Royal Tomb as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 142–143.

7 E.g., O. Berlin P 10663, 1–2; O. Berlin P 12629, 2; O. Cairo CG 25270, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25292, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25575, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25636, 1; O. Cairo CG 25803, 1–2; O. DeM 45, 13; O. DeM 900, vs. 2; O. IFAO 1357, 6–7; P. Turin Cat. 1885, vs. III, 5; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094, rt. II, 16.

8 Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 67. A new journal was often also started when the vizier came to inspect the work – possibly because the scribes of the vizier were inspecting the old ones (*ibid.*, 53–55).

9 *Ṯsy ỉn tꜣ ỉst*[…; O. Cairo CG 25636, 1.

10 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 45.

Year Festival at the beginning of I *ꜣḫt*,[1] one might perhaps suggest that the festival had continued through I *ꜣḫt* 4 of the year this particular text was written and that the scribe opened the book on the first working day after the holiday. Such omitted days at the beginning and the end of a document are, nevertheless, not taken into account when reconstructing the Deir el-Medina festival calendar although some of them are considered in connection with specific feasts discussed below.

In order to reconstruct the Deir el-Medina festival calendar, explicit and implicit references to working, inactivity, and feasts which can be connected with a specific day of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar have been used. The source material utilized is presented in Appendix 1. References were found in 219 different documents from the period between the beginning of the 19th Dynasty and the end of the 20th Dynasty (see Table 1). Twenty-two per cent of these documents can be dated to a year or the reign of a specific king. With dated documents, I refer to documents that may, on account of at least one of the following facts present in the document itself, be attributed to a certain year or reign:[2] (1) date with the name of a king;[3] (2) king or another known royal person mentioned in such a way that it is clear during which reign the document was written;[4] (3) mention of a vizier, whose time in office is known;[5] (4) foreman, scribe, or deputy who ties, perhaps with a year date, the document to the reign of only one king;[6] (5) names of men in the duty roster;[7] (6) names of known royal artisans in connection with a date

[1] O. DeM 209, vs. 20 (*I ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 ꜥḥꜥ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf n wpt-rnpt*; date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; e.g., Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II)); see Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

[2] Although valuable work is being done to date documents by the men mentioned in them (e.g., Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983); Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 99–109; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* II (2002); Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004)) and on palaeographic grounds (e.g., Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I–II (1995); van den Berg & Donker van Heel, A Scribe's Cache (2000), 9–49; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 39–82), the results from these ongoing approaches are not used in this study.

[3] E.g., Graffito 1696, 1–2 (year 2 of Ramesses V).

[4] E.g., O. BM EA 50730 + 50745 (year 1 of Ramesses VI); O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067 (reign of Ramesses IV); O. Cairo CG 25297 (reign of Ramesses VII); O. Cairo CG 25504 (years 7–8 of Merenptah); O. Cairo CG 25515 (year 6 of Seti II through year 1 of Siptah); O. Cairo JE 72452 (Tausret > year 2 of Seti II); O. DeM 45 (year 2 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 55 (year 31 of Ramesses III); O. MMA 14.6.217 (year 1 of Seti II); O. Turin N. 57031 (year 25 of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57033 (change of regnal year > years 24–25 of Ramesses III); P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 (years 15–16 of Ramesses IX); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. (year 3 of Ramesses X); P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949 (year 32 of Ramesses III through year 1 of Ramesses IV).

[5] E.g., O. Berlin P 10663 (To > year 28 of Ramesses III); O. BM EA 50744 (Neferronpet > year 5 of Ramesses IV); O. Cairo CG 25290 (Neferronpet > year 6 of Ramesses IV); O. Cairo CG 25536 (Hori > year 1 of Siptah); O. Cairo CG 25538 (Paraemheb > year 6 of Seti II); O. DeM 10051 (Hori > year 4 of Siptah); O. Turin N. 57047 (To > year 22 of Ramesses III).

[6] O. Cairo CG 25517 (foreman Paneb > year 1 of Siptah); O. Cairo CG 25521 (foreman Paneb > years 1–2 of Siptah); O. Cairo CG 25542 (foreman Paneb > years 5–6 of Seti II); O. DeM 339 (scribe Wennefer > reign of Ramesses III); O. Louvre E 13160 (foreman Khons > reign of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57007 (foreman Anhurkhawy > years 28–29 of Ramesses III); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (scribe Harshire > years 14–15 of Ramesses IX).

[7] E.g., O. Berlin P 12629 (year 26 of Ramesses III); O. Berlin P 12631 (year 1 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 44 (years 1–2 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 46 (year 2 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 401 (year 2 of Ramesses IV); O. Glasgow D.1925.76 (year 25 of Ramesses III).

containing a high year number;[1] and (7) a date with a high year number that can only be connected with the reign of Ramesses II.[2] Seventy-four per cent of the documents in the corpus of the festival calendar reconstruction cannot be dated securely but have a date attributed to them.[3] Four per cent of the documents have had no date attributed.[4]

Forty-one per cent of the documents in the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction are work journals[5] while thirty per cent of them are lists of named workmen absent or working.[6] Ten per cent of the documents deal with lamps used for lighting the

---

1 E.g., O. BM EA 5672 + O. Cairo CG 25649 (year 14 of Ramesses IX); O. DeM 32 (year 25 of Ramesses III); O. DeM 38 (year 32 of Ramesses III); O. DeM 253 (year 15 of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57026 (year 23 of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57028 (year 24 of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57029 (year 24 of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57039 (year 24 of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57046 (yar 24 of Ramesses III); O. Turin N. 57056 (year 24 of Ramesss III); P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt. (year 17 of Ramesses IX); P. Turin Cat. 2072 (years 9–10 of Ramesses IX).

2 O. BM EA 5634 (years 39–40 of Ramesses II).

3 These documents have been listed below in connection with the part of the dynasty in which they have been attributed a date.

4 O. Berlin P 23404; O. Cairo CG 25245; O. Cairo CG 25248; O. Cairo CG 25261; O. Cairo CG 25298; O. DeM 757; O. DeM 760; O. DeM 896.

5 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 113; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Ashmolean Museum 187; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12631; O. BM EA 5672 + O. Cairo CG 25649; O. Cairo CG 25245; O. Cairo CG 25247; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25266; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25297; O. Cairo CG 25298; O. Cairo CG 25299; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25508; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25536; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25609; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. Cairo CG 25647; O. Cairo CG 25648; O. Cairo CG 25680; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 339; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 604; O. DeM 633; O. DeM 655; O. DeM 894; O. DeM 899; O. DeM 10009; O. DeM 10019; O. DeM 10051; O. DeM 10052; O. Glasgow D.1925.76; O. IFAO 252; O. IFAO 1306; O. Michaelides 33; O. Michaelides 40; O. Michaelides 71; O. Turin N. 57007; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57043; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57055; O. Turin N. 57125; O. Turin N. 57153; O. UC 39625; O. UC 39626; O. Valley of Queens 6; O. Varille 26; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 2070; P. Turin Cat. 2072; P. UC 34336.

6 E.g., O. BM EA 5634; O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Ashmolean Museum 148; O. Ashmolean Museum 167; O. Berlin P 11248; O. Brussels E 301; O. Cairo CG 25506; O. Cairo CG 25510; O. Cairo CG 25512; O. Cairo CG 25514; O. Cairo CG 25516, vs. 3–28; O. Cairo CG 25517; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25519; O. Cairo CG 25520; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25522; O. Cairo CG 25523; O. Cairo CG 25524, rt.; O. Cairo CG 25525; O. Cairo CG 25563; O. Cairo CG 25575; O. Cairo CG 25599; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25783; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25785; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25790; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text); O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 353; O. DeM 389; O. DeM 398; O. DeM 634; O. DeM 757; O. DeM 758; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. DeM 901; O. DeM 902; O. DeM 903; O. DeM 906; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 10053; O. IFAO 1077; O. IFAO 1105; O. Louvre E 13160; O. MMA 09.184.702; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Turin N. 57026; O. Turin N. 57028; O. Turin N. 57029; O. Turin N. 57039; O. Turin N. 57046; O. Turin N. 57056; O. Turin N. 57388; O. Turin N. 57432; O. Valle delle Regine fig. 126; O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 6; P. Berlin P 14485 b-c; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 27.

Tomb under construction,[1] nine per cent are notes,[2] and eleven per cent are other kinds of documents containing information on working, inactivity, and feasts on specific days.[3]

The 219 documents in the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction contain 2101 references to working, inactivity, and feasts that can be connected with a specific day in the ancient Egyptian civil calendar (see Table 1). Forty-five per cent of these references denote explicitly that the crew was working or freed from work or that a feast was celebrated on a specific day. Fifty-five per cent are implicit references to working, inactivity, and feasts. Sixty per cent of all the references designate working, thirty-eight per cent refer to the crew being work-free, and only three per cent denote feasts.[4] Some references to feasts additionally mention that the crew was work-free on the civil calendar day the feast was celebrated, i.e., one entry contains two different aspects that have been taken into account in this study.[5]

1 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25248; O. Cairo CG 25249; O. Cairo CG 25304; O. Cairo CG 25511; O. Cairo CG 25516, rt. 1 – vs. 2; O. Cairo CG 25524, vs.; O. Cairo CG 25539; O. Cairo CG 25540; O. Cairo CG 25541; O. Cairo CG 25542; O. Cairo CG 25543 vs.; O. Cairo CG 25544; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454; O. Cairo CG 25546; O. Cairo CG 25547; O. Cairo CG 25814; O. Cairo CG 25816; O. Cairo CG 25817; O. Cairo CG 25818; O. IFAO 1206 (older text); O. Strasbourg H. 136; O. Turin N. 57025.

2 E.g., Graffito 2087; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 11254; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25234; O. Cairo CG 25261; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. Cairo CG 25803; O. DeM 253; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 759; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. Turin N. 57154; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.

3 E.g., Graffito 1696 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. Berlin P 12295 (account of work in the Royal Tomb); O. Berlin P 12635 (account of transfers); O. Berlin P 23404 (list of absences of a workman); O. BM EA 5637 (oracle petition); O. BM EA 50730 + 50745 (list of absences of a workman); O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067 (account); O. BM EA 66409 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. Cairo CG 25528 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. Cairo CG 25529 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. Cairo CG 25581 (account of work in the Royal Tomb); O. DeM 115 (letter); O. DeM 340 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. DeM 594 (list of absences of a workman); O. DeM 760 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. DeM 896 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. DeM 911 (list of absences of a workman); O. IFAO 383 (account of work in the Royal Tomb); O. IFAO 1262 (account); O. IFAO 1357 (court protocol); O. Turin N. 57020 (list of absences of a workman); TT2 (tomb inscription); TT4 (tomb inscription); TT359 (tomb inscription).

4 See Appendix 1. Of all the references to working 73% are implicit while 30% of the references to inactivity are only implied in the sources. All the references to feasts are explicit references.

5 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9; O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 10–11; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 209, vs. 4, 20; O. DeM 10051, vs. 3–4; O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 14; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 6; O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 12, II, 26, III, 6, V, 1 V, 15, V 19; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. III, 5. These double aspects referring, thus, to both a feast and inactivity have been tallied as one when adding up all references.

Table 1. The number of documents in the corpus of the festival calendar reconstruction and the number of references in these particular documents

	Number of documents	Percentage of all documents	Number of references	Percentage of all references
Corpus of the reconstruction	**219**		**2101**	
19th Dynasty	**89**	**41 %**	**1213**	**58 %**
1st half	6	3 %	82	4 %
Ramesses I	0		0	
Seti I	0		0	
Ramesses II	4	2 %	76	4 %
2nd half	81	37 %	1093	52 %
Merenptah	12	5 %	90	4 %
Amenmesse	15	7 %	178	8 %
Seti II	10	5 %	228	11 %
Seti II/6 - Siptah/1	3	1 %	339	16 %
Siptah	19	9 %	176	8 %
Tausret	1	0,5 %	1	0,05 %
19th - 20th Dynasty	**2**	**0,9 %**	**2**	**0,1 %**
20th Dynasty	**120**	**55 %**	**854**	**41 %**
1st half	96	44 %	645	31 %
Sethnakht	0		0	
Ramesses III	44	20 %	437	21 %
Ramesses IV	29	13 %	91	4 %
Ramesses V	5	2 %	17	0,8 %
Ramesses VI	4	2 %	56	3 %
2nd half	18	8 %	196	9 %
Ramesses VII	1	0,5 %	5	0,2 %
Ramesses VIII	1	0,5 %	1	0,05 %
Ramesses IX	13	6 %	59	3 %
Ramesses X	1	0,5 %	130	6 %
Ramesses XI	0		0	
No date attributed	**8**	**4 %**	**32**	**2 %**

The number of documents and references (to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific civil calendar day) in the corpus of the festival calendar reconstruction have been tabulated. The number of documents that have been dated to or attributed a date in the 19th or the 20th Dynasty and the various reigns within the Ramesside Period have also been tabulated as well as the number of references in these documents. The number of documents that have no date attributed to them and the number of references in these documents have also been included. The percentages after the numbers indicate the percentage that particular number comprises of all the documents in the corpus or of all the references in these documents.

The explicit and implicit references to working and inactivity that remain uncertain due to a lacuna in the text,[1] the unclear meaning of the term (*m*) *st tn*,[2] or due to what might be an error made by the scribe[3] make up almost four per cent of all the references to working or inactivity on a specific day.[4] The documents containing uncertain references to working and inactivity have been dated to or attributed a date within the period that covers this study, i.e., the Ramesside Period from the beginning of the 19th Dynasty until the end of the 20th Dynasty. Moreover, the text passages which might refer to a feast include terminology with somewhat uncertain meanings[5] or passages with lacunae.[6] In fact, twenty-seven per cent of all the references to feasts are somewhat uncertain. These uncertain references to feasts occur in documents spanning a time period from the reign of Seti II through the reign of Ramesses X. All these particular aforementioned references, though uncertain, are included as source material for the reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar since their interpretation seems, nevertheless, reliable in view of the context.

Eighty-nine documents (41%) in the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction have been dated to or attributed a date within the 19th Dynasty.[7] Almost half (49%) of

1 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 12–13; O. Cairo CG 25503, vs. 2; O. Cairo CG 25515, passim; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. V, 2–4; O. Cairo CG 25523, rt. 1; O. Cairo CG 25533, vs. 13–14; O. Cairo CG 25540, rt. 21; O. Cairo CG 25546, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25648, 3; O. Cairo JE 72452, 9–10; O. DeM 340, rt. passim; O. DeM 339, rt. 17–18; O. DeM 427, rt. 17; O. DeM 901, rt. 1, 2; O. DeM 907, rt. 3–5; O. DeM 911, rt. 8; O. Turin N. 57026, vs. 1–6; O. Turin N. 57028, vs.; O. Turin N. 57432, rt. 8–9, vs. 10; O. UC 39626, rt. 7; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 8; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 21. In Graffito 1696, the sign used on line 9 (*sw 14*) is enigmatic but Wolfgang Helck has interpreted it as denoting *wsf* (*Die datierten* (2002), 426).

2 E.g., O. DeM 55, vs. 3–4; O. DeM 633, rt. 7; O. DeM 10009, vs. 2–3; O. Turin N. 57007, vs. 4, 7, 11; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2060 rt. III, 2–4. For the expression *st tn* in the administrative documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 95–98.

3 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25529 vs. II, 11; O. DeM 209, rt. 10; O. DeM 10051, rt. 4.

4 See also O. DeM 153, rt. 15a; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454 (Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 147). In Appendix 1, the uncertainty is indicated by a question mark.

5 O. BM EA 50744, rt. 1–3; O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 1–5; O. Cairo CG 25529 vs. I, 7; O. DeM 153, vs. 8; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 14; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 6; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs. III, 1–3; TT 359.

6 Graffito 2087, 1–3; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 7; O. Cairo CG 25794, 3; O. DeM 45, rt. 13; O. DeM 760, 2; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 rt. I, 4; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 17, 19; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 21; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs. I, 12. Wolfgang Helck has interpreted the sign in Graffito 1696, 9 (*sw 15*) as *ḥb* (*Die datierten* (2002), 426).

7 In addition to the documents mentioned below which have been dated to or attributed a date within the first or second half of the 19th Dynasty, there are two documents the date of which has been attributed generally to the 19th Dynasty; O. Cairo CG 25528; O. DeM 340. To compare the number of documents and references dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty with the number of them dated to or attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty, see Table 1.

these documents from the 19th Dynasty are lists of men absent or working[1] while twenty-one per cent of them are work journals[2] and nineteen per cent are lamp accounts.[3] In the eighty-nine documents from the 19th Dynasty, there are 1213 references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific civil calendar day (58% of all such references). The 19th Dynasty references to working form sixty-five per cent of all such references while only twenty-four per cent of all the references to feasts come from this particular period of time. Six documents (3% of all the documents) used for the reconstruction have been dated to[4] or attributed a date in[5] the first half of the 19th Dynasty.[6] The references in these particular documents form four per cent of all the references to working, inactivity, and feasts that can be connected to a specific day. There are no documents dated to or attributed a date in the reigns of Ramesses I or Seti I. Most of the documents[7] and references from the first half of the 19th Dynasty are from the reign of Ramesses II. Eighty-one documents (37%) in the corpus of the reconstruction have been dated to[8] or

1 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Ashmolean Museum 167; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25506; O. Cairo CG 25510; O. Cairo CG 25512; O. Cairo CG 25514; O. Cairo CG 25516; O. Cairo CG 25517; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25519; O. Cairo CG 25520; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25522; O. Cairo CG 25523; O. Cairo CG 25524; O. Cairo CG 25525; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25783; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25785; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25790; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text); O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 353; O. DeM 389; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 900; O. DeM 901; O. DeM 902; O. DeM 903; O. DeM 906; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 10053; O. IFAO 1077; O. IFAO 1105; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Turin N. 57388; P. Berlin P 14485 b-c.

2 O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25508; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25536; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25680; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 899; O. DeM 10051; O. DeM 10052; O. Michaelides 71; O. Varille 26; P. UC 34336.

3 O. Cairo CG 25249; O. Cairo CG 25511; O. Cairo CG 25516; O. Cairo CG 25524; O. Cairo CG 25539; O. Cairo CG 25540; O. Cairo CG 25541; O. Cairo CG 25542; O. Cairo CG 25543 vs.; O. Cairo CG 25544; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454; O. Cairo CG 25546; O. Cairo CG 25547; O. Cairo CG 25814; O. Cairo CG 25816; O. Cairo CG 25817; O. Cairo CG 25818.

4 O. BM EA 5634.

5 O. Cairo CG 25803; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. DeM 354; TT2; TT4.

6 From the reign of Ramesses I until the end of the reign of Ramesses II.

7 O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25803; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. DeM 354. TT2 and TT4 have been attributed a date at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty.

8 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25504; O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25517; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25536; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25542; O. Cairo JE 72452; O. DeM 10051; O. MMA 14.6.217.

attributed a date within[1] the second half of the 19th Dynasty.[2] These documents are fairly evenly distributed in the reigns of the kings who ruled during this particular period. The references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific civil calendar day in these documents from the second half of the 19th Dynasty make up fifty-two per cent of all such references. Seven per cent of of all the documents have been attributed a date in the reign of Amenmesse[3] while nine per cent has been dated to[4] or attributed a date in[5] the reign of Siptah. In the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction, there are, furthermore, three documents which continue from the sixth year of Seti II into the first year of Siptah.[6] These three documents comprise only one per cent of all the textual material used but the references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific day in these particular ostraca constitute no less than sixteen per cent of all such references.[7]

In the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction, there are two documents which have been attributed to the late 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty.[8] These two documents contain one reference to working[9] and one denoting a feast on a specific civil calendar day.[10]

Of all the documents in the corpus of my reconstruction, 120 (55%) have been dated to or attributed a date within the 20th Dynasty.[11] Fifty-seven per cent of these 20th

---

1 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Ashmolean Museum 115; O. Ashmolean Museum 167; O. BM EA 66409; O. Cairo CG 25249; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25506; O. Cairo CG 25508; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25510; O. Cairo CG 25511; O. Cairo CG 25512; O. Cairo CG 25514; O. Cairo CG 25516; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25519; O. Cairo CG 25520; O. Cairo CG 25522; O. Cairo CG 25523; O. Cairo CG 25524; O. Cairo CG 25525; O. Cairo CG 25529; O. Cairo CG 25539; O. Cairo CG 25540; O. Cairo CG 25541; O. Cairo CG 25543 vs.; O. Cairo CG 25544; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454; O. Cairo CG 25546; O. Cairo CG 25547; O. Cairo CG 25581; O. Cairo CG 25680; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25783; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25785; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25788; O. Cairo CG 25790; O. Cairo CG 25792; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Cairo CG 25814; O. Cairo CG 25816; O. Cairo CG 25817; O. Cairo CG 25818; O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text); O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 353; O. DeM 389; O. DeM 594; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 899; O. DeM 900; O. DeM 901; O. DeM 902; O. DeM 903; O. DeM 906; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 10052; O. DeM 10053; O. IFAO 1077; O. IFAO 1105; O. IFAO 1357; O. Michaelides 71; O. Turin N. 57388; O. Varille 26; P. Berlin P 14485 b-c; P. UC 34336.

2 From the reign of Merenptah until the end of reign of Tausret.

3 O. Ashmolean Museum 167; O. Cairo CG 25514; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25783; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25785; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 353; O. DeM 389; O. DeM 898; O. IFAO 1105; O. Varille 26.

4 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25517; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25536; O. DeM 10051.

5 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25508; O. Cairo CG 25509; O. Cairo CG 25510; O. Cairo CG 25518; O. Cairo CG 25519; O. Cairo CG 25522; O. Cairo CG 25525; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Cairo CG 25814; O. DeM 899; O. DeM 10052; O. IFAO 1077; P. Berlin P 14485 b-c; P. UC 34336.

6 O. Cairo CG 25515; O. Cairo CG 25516; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454. The references in these three documents have not been counted into the percentages concerning the individual reigns of these Pharaohs.

7 These three documents comprise three per cent of the 19th Dynasty texts but they contain twenty-eight per cent of all the references pertaining to this period.

8 O. Berlin P 11248; O. Cairo CG 25794.

9 O. Berlin P 11248, 3.

10 O. Cairo CG 25794, 3.

11 In addition to the documents mentioned below that have been dated to or attributed a date within the first or second half of the 20th Dynasty, there are five documents which are attributed generally to the 20th Dynasty; O. Ashmolean Museum 187; O. Cairo CG 25304; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. IFAO 252; O. Michaelides 40.

Dynasty documents are work journals,[1] seventeen per cent are lists of men absent or working,[2] and thirteen per cent are short notes.[3] All in all, the 120 documents pertaining to the 20th Dynasty contain 854 references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific day of the civil calendar (41% of all such references). Seventy-three per cent of all the dated references to feasts are in these documents pertaining to the 20th Dynasty. Ninety-six (44%) of the documents used for the reconstruction have been dated to[4] or attributed a

[1] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 113; O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Ashmolean Museum 187; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12631; O. BM EA 5672 + O. Cairo CG 25649; O. Cairo CG 25247; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25266; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25297; O. Cairo CG 25299; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25609; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. Cairo CG 25647; O. Cairo CG 25648; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 339; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 604; O. DeM 633; O. DeM 655; O. DeM 894; O. DeM 10009; O. DeM 10019; O. Glasgow D.1925.76; O. IFAO 252; O. IFAO 1306; O. Michaelides 33; O. Michaelides 40; O. Turin N. 57007; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57043; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57055; O. Turin N. 57125; O. Turin N. 57153; O. UC 39625; O. UC 39626; O. Valley of Queens 6; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 2070; P. Turin Cat. 2072.

[2] O. Ashmolean Museum 148; O. Brussels E 301; O. Cairo CG 25563; O. Cairo CG 25575; O. Cairo CG 25599; O. DeM 398; O. DeM 634; O. DeM 758; O. Louvre E 13160; O. MMA 09.184.702; O. Turin N. 57026; O. Turin N. 57028; O. Turin N. 57029; O. Turin N. 57039; O. Turin N. 57046; O. Turin N. 57056; O. Turin N. 57432; O. Valle delle Regine fig. 126; O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 6; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 27.

[3] Graffito 2087; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 11254; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25234; O. Cairo CG 25261; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. DeM 253; O. DeM 759; O. Louvre N 694,2; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.

[4] E.g., Graffito 1696; O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 12629; O. Berlin P 12631; O. BM EA 50730 + 50745; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 253; O. DeM 339; O. DeM 401; O. Glasgow D.1925.76; O. Louvre E 13160; O. Turin N. 57007; O. Turin N. 57026; O. Turin N. 57028; O. Turin N. 57029; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57039; O. Turin N. 57046; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57056; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949..

date in[1] the first half of the 20th Dynasty.[2] The references in the documents from this particular period form thirty-one per cent of all the references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific civil calendar day. There are no documents from the reign of Sethnakht. Twenty per cent of all the documents with references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific day have been dated to[3] or attributed a date in[4] the reign of Ramesses III. Twenty-one per cent of all such references are in documents pertaining to the reign of this particular king. Thirteen per cent of all the documents in the corpus of my reconstruction have been dated to[5] or attributed a date within[6] the reign of Ramesses IV. Eighteen (8%) of the documents used for the reconstruction have been dated to[7] or attributed a date within[8] the second half of the 20th Dynasty.[9] The references in these documents form nine per cent of all the references. Six per cent of all documents have

1 E.g., Graffito 2087; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 113; O. Ashmolean Museum 124; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Ashmolean Museum 148; O. Ashmolean Museum 187; O. Berlin P 11254; O. Berlin P 12295; O. Berlin P 12635; O. BM EA 5637; O. Brussels E 301; O. Cairo CG 25234; O. Cairo CG 25247; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25266; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25299; O. Cairo CG 25304; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. Cairo CG 25563; O. Cairo CG 25575; O. Cairo CG 25599; O. Cairo CG 25609; O. Cairo CG 25636; O. Cairo CG 25647; O. Cairo CG 25648; O. DeM 115; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 398; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 604; O. DeM 633; O. DeM 634; O. DeM 655; O. DeM 758; O. DeM 759; O. DeM 894; O. DeM 911; O. DeM 10009; O. DeM 10019; O. IFAO 252; O. IFAO 383; O. IFAO 1206; O. IFAO 1262; O. IFAO 1306; O. Louvre 694,2; O. Michaelides 33; O. Michaelides 40; O. MMA 09.184.702; O. Strasbourg H. 136; O. Turin N. 57020; O. Turin N. 57025; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57043; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57125; O. Turin N. 57153; O. Turin N. 57154; O. Turin N. 57432; O. UC 39625; O. UC 39626; O. Valle delle Regine fig. 126; O. Valley of Queens 6, O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 6; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 27; P. Geneva 15274; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2070; TT359.

2 From the reign of Sethnakht until the end of the reign of Ramesses VI.

3 E.g., O. Berlin P 10663; O. Berlin P 12629; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 253; O. DeM 339; O. Glasgow D.1925.76; O. Louvre E 13160; O. Turin N. 57007; O. Turin N. 57026; O. Turin N. 57028; O. Turin N. 57029; O. Turin N. 57031; O. Turin N. 57039; O. Turin N. 57046; O. Turin N. 57047; O. Turin N. 57056.

4 E.g., O. Berlin P 11254; O. Berlin P 12295; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 427; O. DeM 604; O. DeM 633; O. DeM 911; O. IFAO 1206; O. IFAO 1306; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. Strasbourg H. 136; O. Turin N. 57020; O. Turin N. 57025; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57043; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57055; O. Turin N. 57153; O. Turin N. 57432; O. UC 39625; O. UC 39626; O. Valle delle Regine fig. 126; O. Valley of Queens 6; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006.

5 E.g., O. Berlin P 12631; O. BM EA 50733 + O. UC 32067; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 401.

6 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 113; O. Ashmolean Museum 148; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25266; O. Cairo CG 25270; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25290 bis; O. Cairo CG 25292; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25563; O. Cairo CG 25599; O. DeM 634; O. DeM 759; O. IFAO 383; O. IFAO 1262; O. MMA 09.184.702; O. Turin N. 57154; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 27; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.; TT359.

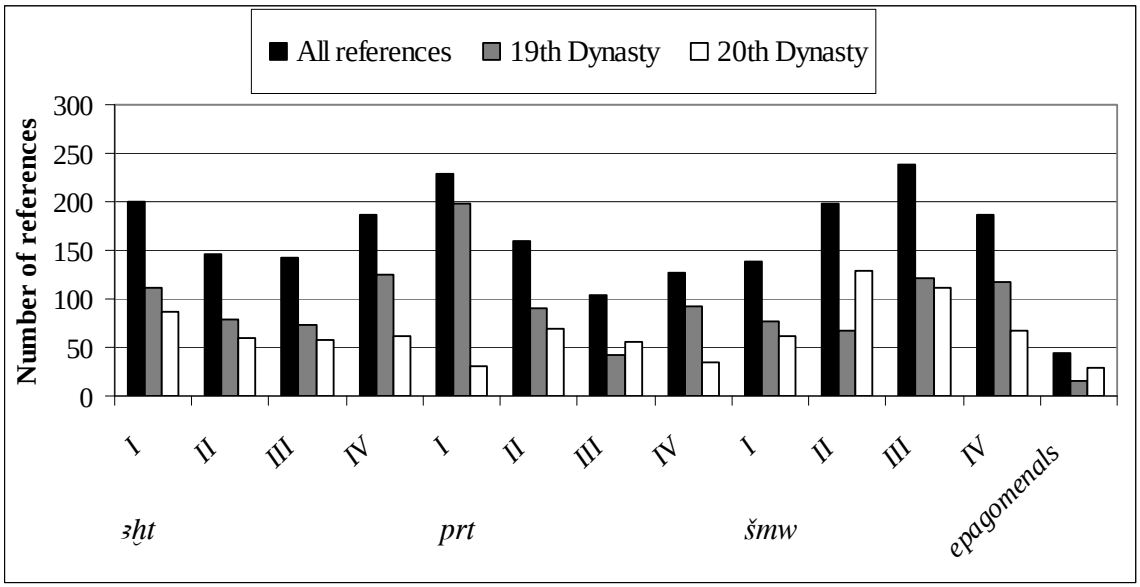
7 E.g., O. BM EA 5672 + O. Cairo CG 25649; O. Cairo CG 25297; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 2072.

8 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25247; O. Cairo CG 25299; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25575; O. Cairo CG 25647; O. Cairo CG 25648; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2070.

9 From the reign of Ramesses VII until the end of the reign of Ramesses XI.

been dated to[1] or attributed a date in[2] the reign of Ramesses IX while six per cent of all the references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific civil calendar day are in the one document of the corpus that has been dated to the reign of Ramesses X.[3] No documents in the corpus have been attributed a date in the reign of Ramesses XI.

Table 2. Comparison of references pertaining to each month and the epagomenal days



The number, in the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction, of references (to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific day) pertaining to each month of the ancient Egyptian civil year and the epagomenal days are represented by bars. The number of the 19th Dynasty and the 20th Dynasty references have been presented in separate bars.

Each day of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar is referred to in at least one of the documents in the corpus of my reconstruction. Six calendar days have only one reference but the average number of references per day is four and the maximum number of references per day is fourteen. Thirty-six per cent of all the references represent working, inactivity, or a feast in the season of *šmw* (see Table 2). Thirty-two per cent of the references denote the months of *ꜣḫt* while thirty per cent stand for the season of *prt*. The months with the most references are I *prt*[4] and III *šmw*, both with eleven per cent of all the references to working, inactivity, and feasts. III *prt* and IV *prt* have the least references, with five and six per cent respectively. The mentions of the epagomenal days in the documents used for the reconstruction represent a minor portion of all the references, i.e., two per cent.

The references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific civil calendar day in documents dated to or the date of which has been attributed to the 19th Dynasty fairly

1 E.g., O. BM 5672 + O. Cairo 25649; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 2072.

2 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25299; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo CG 25647; O. Cairo CG 25648; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2070.

3 P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.

4 Documents dated to or the date of which is attributed to the 19th Dynasty contain 87% of the references to I *prt*.

evenly cover the seasons of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar.[1] Sixteen per cent of the 19th Dynasty references are dated to the month of I *prt* while only four per cent mention working, inactivity, or feasts in the month of III *prt* (see Table 2). The 19th Dynasty references to the epagomenal days form only one per cent of the references from this period.

Forty-three per cent of all the references to working, inactivity, or a feasts on a specific civil calendar day in the documents dated to or attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty denote the season *šmw* while only twenty-two per cent of them give the date in the months of *prt*. I *prt* and IV *prt* have the least 20th Dynasty references of all the months with 3,5% and 4%, respectively (see Table 2). Fifteen per cent of all the 20th Dynasty references represent II *šmw* while III *šmw* received thirteen per cent. The epagomenal days at the end of the ancient Egyptian civil year form three per cent of all the 20th Dynasty references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific day. The epagomenal days are, however, well represented in documents dated to or attributed a date in the second half of the 20th Dynasty, comprising seven per cent of the references in these texts. This phenomenon is perhaps explained by individual scribal practices[2] or changes in the administrative system.[3] In the administrative documents giving information on working and inactivity from the time before the late 20th Dynasty, the information on working and inactivity seems not to have been recorded for the epagomenal days[4] or the days were omitted altogether.[5] However, in such cases the scribe, occasionally, counted the work-free days around the turn of the civil year.[6] The 'book' was, from time to time, also closed at the end of the year before the epagomenal days.[7] During the late 20th Dynasty, it seems, however, to have become a custom of the scribes to also include in the administrative documents the information about working and inactivity during the epagomenal days.[8]

---

1 *ꜣḫt* 32%, *prt* 35%, and *šmw* 32%.

2 For individual scribal practices at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, van den Berg & Donker van Heel, A Scribe's Cache (2000), 9–49; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 39–82.

3 For the formalization of text forms that was taking place at Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period, see Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record, *JESHO* 46 (2003), 249–272.

4 E.g., O. DeM 32 (year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 7–8). However, see O. DeM 209, vs. 19 (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II)); O. DeM 427, vs. 5–7 (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh V* (1951), 23).

5 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25266, vs. 9–10 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.54; date attributed to year 3 of Ramesses IV; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–385); O. Cairo CG 25529 vs. I, 6–7 (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135); O. Cairo CG 25539 I, 3–4 (date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172).

6 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25533, vs. 13–15 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177); O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. III, 24 – IV, 5 (year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7):, see also O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 11 (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI; e.g., Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136).

7 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25528, 5 (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 13); for the scribes closing the book at the end of the year, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 67–71.

8 E.g., P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 rt. I, 3 (year 16 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 644–650); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 5–7 (year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs. I, 4–10 (date attributed to year 13 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566); P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt. 5–9 (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 38); cf. P. Turin Cat. 2071 + 2091, rt. 11 (years 10–11 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 637–638).

The least 19th Dynasty references to working, inactivity, and feasts on specified civil calendar days can be pinpointed to the month of III *prt* (4%, see Table 2), which is the month in the ancient Egyptian civil calendar which correlates with January in the Gregorian calendar during this period.[1] During the 20th Dynasty, the Gregorian January fell approximately in the ancient Egyptian month of IV *prt*, a month with only four per cent of all the references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific day during this particular period.[2] Neither the heat of the summer in the Gregorian August (ancient Egyptian II *ꜣḫt* and III *ꜣḫt*)[3] nor the winds later known as Khamasin in the Gregorian April (II *šmw* and III *šmw*)[4] seem to have had quite the same effect on the work rhythm of the royal artisans. The phenomenon appears to have no obvious reason, but one might tentatively suggest that it could have something to do with the shorter hours of sunlight.[5] Alternatively, the low number of references pertaining to the months III and IV *prt* might result from the random survival of texts from Deir el-Medina.

As stated above, almost half of the documents that have been dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty are lists of men absent or working while more than half of the documents dated to or the date of which is attributed to the 20th Dynasty are work journals. The difference in the types of texts pertaining to each period may result from the random survival of documents. Alternatively, the administration of the Royal Tomb may have used distinctive systems of documentation for each period.[6] Individual reigns also show variation in the types of texts written during each particular reign. For example, almost half (46%) of the documents from the reign of Merenptah used for the reconstruction of the festival calendar are lamp accounts[7] while there are no lists of men absent or working from this period. Such differences are probably, at least partly, due to individual scribal practices.[8]

In order to see if any of the days (1–30) of a month received generally more references than others, the references to working, inactivity, and feasts on each day by the same day number in all of the twelve months were added up. This would clarify whether

---

1 See Demarée & Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (1982), xiii. This can also be corroborated with the evidence from the second half of the 19th Dynasty. The documents from this period also contain the least references to III *prt* (3%). The low number of documents (5) and references (81) from the first half of the 19th Dynasty prevents any conclusions pertaining to seasonal variations in the work rhythm during this period.

2 See Demarée & Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (1982), xiii. This was also the month which received the least references in the texts dated to or attributed a date in the first half of the 20th Dynasty (2%). The low number of documents (15) and references (189) from the second half of the 20th Dynasty prevents any conclusions pertaining to seasonal variations in the work rhythm during this period.

3 All references: II *ꜣḫt* 7%, III *ꜣḫt* 7%; 19th Dynasty: II *ꜣḫt* 6%; 20th Dynasty: III *ꜣḫt* 7%.

4 All references: II *šmw* 9%, III *šmw* 11 %; 19th Dynasty: II *šmw* 6%; 20th Dynasty: III *šmw* 15%.

5 See, for example, the Cairo Calendar where the length of the day is said to be 6 ‘hours’ in II *prt* while the duration of the night is 16 ‘hours’ (P. Cairo JE 86637 vs. XIV; date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty; Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8).

6 See Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record, *JESHO* 46 (2003), 249–272.

7 O. Cairo CG 25249; O. Cairo CG 25524; O. Cairo CG 25539; O. Cairo CG 25540; O. Cairo CG 25680; O. Cairo CG 25816; O. Cairo CG 25817; O. Cairo CG 25818.

8 For individual scribal practices at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, van den Berg & Donker van Heel, A Scribe’s Cache (2000), 9–49; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen’s Village* (2003), 39–82. Alternatively, the difference in the types of texts pertaining to each reign may have resulted from the random survival of documents.

the day number, irrespective of month, would be of significance with regard to feasting or not. The distribution of references according to days 1–30 are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. The distribution of references to days 1–30

Day	Working	Inactivity	Feasts	Total working / Total inactivity & feasts	Total
1	20	46	12	20 / 58	78
2	33	37	4	33 / 41	74
3	44	28	1	44 / 29	73
4	52	19	2	52 / 21	73
5	54	22	1	54 / 23	77
6	56	15	1	56 / 16	72
7	48	21	0	48 / 21	69
8	46	20	2	46 / 22	68
9	4	38	0	4 / 38	42
10	3	40	0	3 / 40	43
11	38	21	2	38 / 23	61
12	53	17	2	53 / 19	72
13	48	18	1	48 / 19	67
14	52	19	2	52 / 21	73
15	57	17	5	57 / 22	79
16	56	14	3	56 / 17	73
17	64	13	1	64 / 14	78
18	67	9	1	67 / 10	77
19	5	40	3	5 / 43	48
20	5	45	0	5 / 45	50
21	52	23	1	52 / 24	76
22	66	12	1	66 / 13	79
23	61	11	1	61 / 12	73
24	53	19	1	53 / 20	73
25	58	19	4	58 / 23	81
26	52	22	6	52 / 28	80
27	58	17	3	58 / 20	78
28	57	25	2	57 / 27	84
29	2	51	3	2 / 54	56
30	1	47	5	1 / 52	53

The distribution of references to working, inactivity, and feasts for each day of a month is tabulated on the left. In the middle column, the total number of references to working on each day number is compared with the total number of the inactivity and feasts together. The total number of all the references to working, inactivity, and feasts on each day number is presented in the column on the far right. The 9th and 10th days of each decade have been highlighted in grey.

This approach revealed that the references were distributed fairly evenly over the days of the months. There were, however, less references to the ‘weekends’ which can be explained by the type of certain documents, such as lists of men absent or working where the ninth and tenth days of a decade have been omitted and not taken into account in this

study. There are clearly more references to inactivity than to working on 'weekends', while on 'weekdays' there are generally more references to working than to inactivity. An exception to this latter rule is the beginning, i.e., the first two days, of a month. Day 1 of a month is indicated as a working day in only twenty cases while the day receives forty-six references to inactivity. Day 2 of a month has thirty-three references to working and thirty-seven to inactivity. Generally, the beginning of a decade receives fewer references to working than the end of a decade. Quite the reverse, more references to inactivity can be found at the beginning of a decade than at the end of it. It can perhaps, hence, be deduced that the royal artisans may have been in the habit of prolonging the 'weekend' but apparently they did not often get an early start on these 'weekends'.

The explicit references to feasts are not distributed evenly over the various days of a month (see Table 2). Seventeen per cent of all the references to feasts that can be tied to a specific civil calendar day denote feasting on day 1 of a month. Day 26 receives eight per cent of all the references to feasts while a feast on day 20 is indicated in seven per cent of the cases.

Similar results could be achieved when references to each day by the same day number were added up separately from the 19th and from the 20th Dynasty documents. On days 1 and 2 of a month, there are more references to inactivity than to working and day 1 receives more references to feasts than any other day in both the 19th Dynasty and in the 20th Dynasty documents.[1] Most other 'weekdays' seem predominantly to have been working days during both dynasties. Days 25 and 26 receive twelve per cent each of all the 19th Dynasty references to feasts. Ten per cent of the 20th Dynasty references to feasts are situated on day 15. Day 28 receives, moreover, fewer 20th Dynasty references to working than to inactivity.[2] It seem that during the 20th Dynasty, the 'weekend' of the turn of the month may occasionally have already started on day 28 of a month.

[1] Nineteenth Dynasty: day 1: 8 references to working, 23 references to inactivity, 4 references to feasts (24% of all the 19th Dynasty references to feasts); day 2: 17 references to working, 20 references to inactivity, 2 references to feasts (12%). Twentieth Dynasty: day 1: 10 references to working, 23 references to inactivity, 8 references to feasts (15% of all the 20th Dynasty references to feasts); day 2: 12 references to working, 21 references to inactivity, 3 references to feasts (6%).

[2] There are 16 references to working and 20 references to inactivity on day 28 of a month in the 20th Dynasty documents.

1.1.2 The Method of Reconstructing the Festival Calendar

The references to feasts, working, and inactivity of the entire Deir el-Medina crew were collated into tables chronologically arranged reign by reign. On the whole, the average number of references per day is too small to create a clear picture of any patterns regarding work or inactivity during any single reign investigated.[1] Generally, there are hardly any references to working on day 9 and 10 of any decade during the reigns under scrutiny. On the contrary, one finds explicit references to inactivity on many of these days during the reign of most Ramesside kings. The same situation can be detected on certain days that are well known to have been feast days in ancient Egypt, such as *wpt-rnpt* on I *ꜣḫt* 1.[2] The existence of references to inactivity rather than to working on such a feast day indicates a work-free day for the royal artisans. Many days, in addition to the known feast days, show a similar distribution of references to inactivity rather than to working. These days were supposedly work-free. However, they do not feature on constant, fixed dates through all distinct reigns.

To get a clearer picture of any patterns of working and inactivity at Deir el-Medina, the references were collated into tables denoting respective dynasties (19th and 20th).[3] In this way some patterns did, indeed, emerge. In addition to work-free 'weekends', it was possible to distinguish many 'weekdays' which appear to have been working days during the major part of a dynasty. Often, however, there were references to both working and inactivity on a single day. Furthermore, the number of references was, in most cases, too small to give a clear picture.

All the references from both tables (19th and 20th Dynasty) were jointly arranged by month (Appendix 1). In these latter month-tables, some patterns also emerged. Here, most of the 'weekends', i.e., days 9 and 10 of a decade, receive more references to inactivity than to working.[4] Nonetheless, the royal artisans could sometimes be ordered to work on their designated work-free days[5] and, hence, references to working on 'weekends' does, indeed, occasionally feature in the source material.[6] One may, for example, refer to O. Cairo CG 25792,[7] a work journal the date of which has been attributed to the reign of Tausret,[8] and according to which, the vizier came to talk to the crew on IV *ꜣḫt* 19.

---

1 At its highest, the average number of references per day in the documents dated to or attributed a date in a single reign is 1.2 (reign of Ramesses III); at its lowest it is 0.05 (reign of Ramesses VII). Most days, however, have no references when references are viewed reign by reign.

2 E.g., Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 79–80.

3 The references from the 19th Dynasty essentially represent references from the second half of the dynasty. Similarly, the references from the 20th Dynasty are mostly from the first half of this dynasty.

4 In some cases, however, when the number of references is low, there are as many references to working as to inactivity on a day of a 'weekend' (II *ꜣḫt* 19; III *šmw* 10).

5 For the work done in the village during the weekends and holidays, see, for example, Cooney, An Informal Workshop (2006), 43–55; idem, *The Cost of Death* (2007), 131–175; idem, Profit or Exploitation?, *JEH* 1 (2008), 79–115.

6 E.g., I *ꜣḫt* 10, II *ꜣḫt* 9, II *ꜣḫt* 19, II *ꜣḫt* 30, IV *ꜣḫt* 19–20, IV *ꜣḫt* 29, III *prt* 20, IV *prt* 1, IV *prt* 20, I *šmw* 19, II *šmw* 19, III *šmw* 9–10, III *šmw* 19–20, III *šmw* 29, IV *šmw* 9; see Appendix 1.

7 *IV ꜣḫt 19 ḥrw pn spr ỉr.n ṯꜣty…ḥrỉ r tꜣ ỉnt r mdt m-dỉt nꜣ ḥwtyw IV ꜣḫt 20 ỉw.tw ḥr bꜣk m pꜣ ỉst nty ḥtpw ỉm=f*; O. Cairo CG 25792, 5–8.

8 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 155.

Subsequently, they worked on day 20. The funeral of Siptah, it seems, took place on IV *ꜣḫt* 22.[1]

'Weekdays', on the whole, contain a greater number of references to working than to inactivity, yet there are more 'exceptions to this rule' than in connection with the 'weekends'. The more sources there are available for each individual day, the clearer the emerging overall picture. One may, for example, mention the month of I *prt*, which has the highest number of references to working, inactivity, and feasts. In this particular month, there are indications of inactivity for almost all the days, the clear majority of references to working, nevertheless, fall on the 'weekdays'.[2] To give an illustration of how the days of working may be viewed through contrasting the number of references to working and the references to inactivity, one may mention the ratios during the last decade of I *prt*. The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on these days are I *prt* 21: 7/1,[3] I *prt* 22: 5/1,[4] I *prt* 23: 8/0,[5] I *prt* 24: 7/1,[6] I *prt* 25: 9/1,[7] I *prt* 26: 10/0,[8] I *prt* 27:

[1] *ỉw.tw ḥr smꜣ-tꜣ*; O. Cairo CG 25792, 9. See also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 155. Altenmüller suggested that this was rather the funeral of Chancellor Bay (Das präsumptive Begräbnis des Siptah, *SAK* 23 (1996), 7). This supposition is now perhaps invalidated by O. DeM 886 (see Grandet, L'exécution du chancelier Bay. O. IFAO 1864, *BIFAO* 100 (2000), 339–345).

[2] See Appendix 1.

[3] I *prt* 21. Working: O. Cairo CG 25514, 8 (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 103); O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 10 (year 2 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11); O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 2–3 (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 310–311); O. Cairo CG 25818, 3 (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 173); O. Černý 7, vs. 1–3 (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 243); O. DeM 340, rt. 5 (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 1); O. DeM 901, rt. 2a (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 75 (Amenmesse – Siptah). Inactivity: O. Cairo JE 72452, 8 (year 2 of Seti II; e.g., Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 209–210).

[4] I *prt* 22. Working: O. Cairo CG 25514, 9; O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 3–4; O. Cairo CG 25818, 5; O. DeM 340, rt. 5; O. DeM 907, rt. 2–3 (date attributed to later years of Seti II or to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 80). Inactivity: O. Cairo JE 72452, 8.

[5] I *prt* 23. Working: O. Cairo CG 25514, 9; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 7–9 (year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25516, 4; O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 13; O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 4–5; O. Cairo JE 72452, 8; O. DeM 340, rt. 5. Probably working: O. DeM 907, rt. 3–4.

[6] I *prt* 24. Working: O. BM EA 5634, rt. 4, 15, 20, vs. 11 (year 39 of Ramesses III; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. Cairo CG 25514, 7–10; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 10; O. Cairo CG 25516; 5; O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 5–7; O. DeM 340, rt. 5. Probably working: O. DeM 907, rt. 4. Inactivity: O. Cairo JE 72452, 8.

[7] I *prt* 25. Working: O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 3–4 (date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447); O. BM EA 5634, rt. 4, 10, vs. 5, 7, 9, 19; O. Cairo CG 25514, 9; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 11; O. Cairo CG 25516, 5; O. Cairo CG 25536, vs. 13 (year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 402–404); O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 8; O. DeM 340, rt. 5; O. DeM 10009, vs. 1 (date attributed to the end of the reign of Ramesses III or the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 363). Inactivity: O. Cairo JE 72452, 8–9.

[8] I *prt* 26. Working: O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 4–6; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 12; O. Cairo CG 25516, 6; O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 15; O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 9; O. Cairo CG 25544, 1–2 (date attributed to the19th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 18); O. Turin N. 57028, rt. 1–4 (year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 25); O. Turin N. 57031, rt. 3 (year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 26). Probably working: O. DeM 340, rt. 5; O. DeM 10009, vs. 2.

12/0,[1] and I *prt* 28: 7/3[2]. The figures show that generally these days were working days. Many of the references to inactivity instead of working that fall within the aforementioned time period, I *prt* 21–22 and 24–25, stem from one single record, O. Cairo JE 72452,[3] which is a work journal from the second year of Seti II.[4] The reason for the work-free days in this particular year is not evident.[5] There are three references to inactivity on I *prt* 28 and they all date to the 20th Dynasty.[6] Perhaps the last 'weekend' of the month already started on the eighth day of the decade during the 20th Dynasty, as was suggested above.[7]

The connection between the ratios of references to working to references to inactivity and the various references to feasts in texts pertaining to Deir el-Medina was considered. Note, for example, a ceremony called *ḥryt* which, in the tomb of Khabekhenet (TT2,[8] reign of Ramesses II[9]), is said to take place on I *prt* 22. In the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[10] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[11]), this day is designated as a feast of Herit. The ratio of five references to working to one reference to inactivity on this

---

1 I *prt* 27. Working: O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 6–7; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 13; O. Cairo CG 25516, 6–10; O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 16, vs. 14; O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 10; O. Cairo CG 25544, 2; O. Cairo JE 72452, 9; O. Turin N. 57007, vs. 3 (year 28 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 19); O. Turin N. 57028, rt. 4–6; O. Turin N. 57031, rt. 4. Probably working: O. DeM 340, rt. 5; O. DeM 10009, vs. 3.

2 I *prt* 28. Working: O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 14; O. Cairo CG 25516, 10–11; O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 12; O. Cairo CG 25544, 3; O. Turin N. 57031, rt. 5. Probably working: O. Cairo JE 72452, 9–10; O. DeM 340, rt. 5. Inactivity: O. DeM 10009, vs. 3; O. Turin N. 57007, vs. 3; O. Turin N. 57028, rt. 7.

3 *ỉw=w wsf*; O. Cairo JE 72452, rt. 8–9. My reading of this document differs from that of Wolfgang Helck (*Die datierten* (2002), 131–132). I prefer to take all occurrences of *ỉw=w wsf* as referring to the subsequent dates. This way the 'weekends' are work-free as would be expected. For an example of an event connected to the following date with the preposition *m*, see O. IFAO 1357, rt. 6–7.

4 For the date of O. Cairo JE 72452, see Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 209–210; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 156; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 59 note 89.

5 According to O. Cairo CG 25515 (vs. II, 21 – III, 6), the men were told about the death of Seti II and the accession of Siptah on I *prt* 19 in year 1 of Siptah, after which they were rejoicing and work-free through I *prt* 22. These same days have been omitted in the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25516 (rt. 3–4) which is from the same period of time. The references to I *prt* 19–22 in these documents have been not been tallied when reconstructing the Deir el-Medina festival calendar as the reason for the inactivity is not an annually celebrated feast on the same civil calendar day.

6 O. DeM 10009, vs. 3 (*wsf*; date attributed to the end of the reign of Ramesses III or the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 363 (O. IFAO 1215)); O. Turin N. 57007, vs. 3 (*wsf*; year 29 of Ramesses III; e.g., Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 307); O. Turin N. 57028, rt. 7 (*wsf*; year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 25).

7 In year 31 of Ramesses III, the crew was, however, working on I *prt* 28 (O. Turin N. 57031, rt. 5).

8 *Hrw pn n ỉrt ḥryt*; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall C, 3rd register (Černý, *Repertoire Onomastique de Deir el-Médineh* (1949), 17). See also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 95. The same ritual is mentioned without a date in the tomb of Amenmose (TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st register; Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71).

9 Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

10 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1304 (list 57); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 177.

11 The Festival Calendar of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu seems to be a copy of the Festival Calendar of the Ramesseum (Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29) and, thus, the Medinet Habu Calendar probably provides evidence for the festivals in the Ramesseum during the reign of Ramesses II (Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55).

day points, however, to a feast that did not result in a work-free day fixed to a specific civil calendar day at Deir el-Medina.[1]

This particular method of reconstructing is not without limitations. In order to identify annually occurring work-free civil calendar days with the help of such a low number of surviving references to working and inactivity, one has to take into account that the Ramesside Period lasted well over 200 years. The festival calendar of the royal artisans' community may have changed during this long time period. Nevertheless, the date of certain feasts appears to have remained the same throughout this extensive period. Although all the references to working, inactivity, and feasts on a specific civil calendar day during the entire Ramesside Period are used, the majority of these references, nonetheless, stems from the second half of the 19th Dynasty and the first half of the 20th Dynasty. The type of source material from these two time periods, furthermore, is different in each case. Half of the documents dated to or attributed a date in the second half of the 19th Dynasty are lists of men absent or working, which seldom contain references to inactivity, whereas forty-eight per cent of the documents from the first half of the 20th Dynasty are work journals containing frequent references to both working and inactivity. As was already stated above, the feasts celebrated according to the lunar calendar do not show up in this reconstruction. Moreover, since days 9 and 10 of a decade were fixed work-free days for the royal artisans,[2] the possible annually occurring feasts on the same civil calendar day on any of the 'weekends' are impossible to detect unless the feast regularly started or continued on an adjoining 'weekday'. Only such feasts and feasts occurring annually on the same civil calendar 'weekday' are recognizable in the month-tables due to the presence of more references to working than to inactivity. The days that due to the ratios of references to working to references to inactivity[3] or due to other information on feasts, are considered possible feasts of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar are presented below in Table 4.

1 See also Chapter III 1.3 (I *prt* 22).

2 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115.

3 The days on which there is only one references to inactivity more than there is to working are not considered unless the day can be connected with a known feast or a longer period of what might be inactivity. In other cases the results would be inconclusive. See Appendix 1: III *ꜣḫt* 1, III *ꜣḫt* 6, III *prt* 8, I *šmw* 7, I *šmw* 21, II *šmw* 21, and II *šmw* 24.

Table 4. A summary of the data presented in Appendix I regarding work-free days and feasts which may have occurred annually on the same civil calendar day

	I *ꜣḫt*	II *ꜣḫt*	III *ꜣḫt*	IV *ꜣḫt*	I *prt*	II *prt*
1	*wpt rnpt*			*ḥᶜ hwt-ḥr*	*wp*	
2	*wpt rnpt*				*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	
3	*wpt rnpt*					
4						
5					*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ?*	
6		*pṯḥ*				
7						
8						*pr-ᶜꜣ*
9						
10						
11			*pn-ipt?*			
12						
13						
14						
15	*ḥb?*					
16		*ḥb n pṯḥ*[				
17	**(Wag)**					
18						
19	**(Thoth)**			*ḫᶜy* (*imn-ḥtp*)		
20						
21						
22					*hryt*	
23						
24						
25				*grḥ nṯrt*		
26				*ḥb skrt-wsir*		
27						
28						
29	*ḫᶜ* (*imn-ḥtp*)					*ḫᶜ* (*imn-ḥtp*)
30	*ḫᶜ* (*imn-ḥtp*)					

Potentially work-free days which may have occurred annually on a fixed date in the ancient Egyptian civil calendar are marked with dark-grey, whereas the feasts mentioned in the source material as having been celebrated on a specific day are indicated by their name. The ninth and tenth days of a decade have been highlighted with light-grey. RII = Ramesses II, RIII = Ramesses III.

Table 4. A summary of the data presented in Appendix I

III *prt*	IV *prt*	I *šmw*	II *šmw*	III *šmw*	IV *šmw*	*hrw* 5 *ḥry rnpt*
ḥb ptḥ	*ḥb* (*imn-ḥtp*)	(*pn-rnnwtt*)	*ḏ3y imn-rˁ*	*ḥb n imn*	*ḥb*	*msw wsir*
	ḥb (*imn-ḥtp*)				*ipip*	*msw ḥr*
						msw stḫ
ḥb ˁ3 n ptḥ	*b3st*					*msw 3st*
						msw nbt-ḥwt
			w3ḥ-mw			
				ḫˁ (*imn-ḥtp*)		
			p3 ḏ3	*ḫˁ* (*imn-ḥtp*)		
				ḫˁy (*imn-ḥtp*)		
		p3 nṯr ḫˁy	*ḫnt* (*nfrt-iry*)			
sšš ḥnkyt			*ḫnt* (*nfrt-iry*)	*ḫˁ nsw*		
				w3ḥ-mw		
		ḥb				
ḫnt [ ]	*ḥb*					
ṯs (*imn-ḥtp*)						
ḥb?						
				p3 ḫnw (*stḫ*)		
			ḏ3y n imn	(Amon?)		
	w3ḥ-mw	*ḫˁ-nsw* (RIII)				
		ḥb (*imn-ḥtp*)		*ḫˁ n* (RII)		
ḥb?			*ḥ3wy p3 ḏ3*			
ḥb (*imn-ḥtp*)						
ḥb (*imn-ḥtp*)					*msy*	

1.2 Feasts Featuring in the Reconstructed Deir el-Medina Festival Calendar

Many of the annually celebrated festive occasions at Deir el-Medina were eponymous feasts, i.e., feasts from which the names of the months originated.[1] In the corpus of this study, there are, furthermore, numerous references to the 'Crossing of Amon' taking place during the month of II *šmw*.[2] These references appear to denote the eponymous feast called the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[3] This festival started with the new moon[4] and, thus, occurred every year on a different civil calendar day. The days on which the feast is said to have been celebrated, therefore, do not feature as annually occurring feasts on fixed dates in the civil calendar. As the Valley Feast itself was also in all probability an annually celebrated festival at Deir el-Medina, it will be considered below.[5] In addition to the eponymous feasts, several other feasts seem to have been celebrated annually at Deir el-Medina. These include the feasts of such gods as Sokar and Ptah; certain feasts of the deified Pharaoh Amenhotep I and the Queen Ahmose Nefertari; and the accession days of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III. The length of many of the festivals seems, however, to vary somewhat from year to year. The evidence for these annually celebrated feasts and for their approximate length will be presented below. Further details of the feasts will also be presented whenever it has been possible to obtain information from various sources. First, the eponymous feasts will be discussed. To start with, these feasts are discussed in general, followed by each individual eponymous festival celebrated at Deir el-Medina in chronological order within the ancient Egyptian civil calendar year. Second, the other feasts celebrated in honour of various deities will be examined. Third, the celebrations of the accession day of certain kings in the royal artisans' community will be dealt with and finally some other possible feast days will be considered.

---

1 See Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 128–130; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 215–244; see also Chapter III 1.2.1.

2 *II šmw 1 ḏ3y ỉmn-rˁ* (O. Cairo CG 25265 II, 1–2; Černý, Notebooks, 101.23); *II šmw 12 p3 ḏ3* (O. Turin N 57034, 7); *II šmw 25 p3 ḏ3y* (O. Ashmolean Museum 11 rt. 11–12); *II šmw 25 ḏ3y n ỉmn r nỉwt* (O. Cairo CG 25538, 3); *I šmw 28(–29?) ḥ3wy p3 ḏ3* (O. Turin N. 57044 vs. 9)

3 See also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 174; cf. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 145–148.

4 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 135 (list 3); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 123.

5 See Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

1.2.1 Eponymous Feasts and Ancient Egyptian Month Names

The ancient Egyptian month names originated from feasts celebrated during the month in question or at the beginning of the subsequent month.[1] Generally, however, Egyptians used the phrase I *ꜣḫt*, II *ꜣḫt*, and so forth to indicate months when dating documents and the month names feature relatively seldom in written documentation.[2] From the Persian Period onwards, things changed. Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic documents found in Egypt contain written Egyptian month names instead of the numerical expressions (see Table 5).[3] Although such month names were not commonly used for dating written documents of earlier periods, they and the feasts that inspired their names feature from time to time in both religious inscriptions and in hieratic texts written in ancient Egyptian.[4]

Table 5. Traditional ancient Egyptian month names compared with their Greek counterparts

	Egyptian month names in religious inscriptions	**Egyptian month names in hieratic texts**	**Greek month names of Egyptian Calendar**
I *ꜣḫt*	*tḫy*	*ḏḥwty*	*Thouth*
II *ꜣḫt*	*mnḫt*	*pn-ỉpt*	*Phaophi*
III *ꜣḫt*	*ḥwt-ḥr*	*ḥwt-hr*	*Athyr*
IV *ꜣḫt*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*Khoiak*
I *prt*	*šf-bdt*	*tꜣ-ʿbt / ḫnw mwt*	*Tybi*
II *prt*	*rḳḥ wr*	*mḫr*	*Mechir*
III *prt*	*rḳḥ nḏs*	*pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)*	*Phamenoth*
IV *prt*	*rnn-wtt*	*pn-rnn-wtt*	*Pharnuti*
I *šmw*	*ḫnsw*	*pn-ḫnsw*	*Pachons*
II *šmw*	*ḫnt-ḫty*	*pn-ỉnt*	*Payni*
III *šmw*	*ỉpt-ḥmt*	*ỉpỉp*	*Epiphi*
IV *šmw*	*wpt-rnpt*	*wpt-rnpt*	*Mesore*

1 E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43–47, 57–60; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 173–174; Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 30–31; cf. Gardiner, Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 137. For the history of the study of the ancient Egyptian month names, see Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 18–22. On determining the beginning of a month, see Spalinger, Under the Moon of Earth, in Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time* (1994), 61–83.

2 E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45; Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17.

3 E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45; Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17; see also Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181.

4 It is possible that numerical expressions were faster to write but that, in actuality, month names were read instead of them in the same way one might, for example, in Germany write 02.08. but read ‘der Zweite August’ (Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17).

Table 6. References to eponymous feasts in various sources from the Old to the New Kingdom

	Old Kingdom tombs[1]	Middle Kingdom sources[2]	Astronomical ceiling of Senmut[3]	Hieratic sources from outside Deir el-Medina[4]	O. IFAO 1088[5] (from DeM)	Other Deir el-Medina sources[6]
I *ꜣḫt*	*ḏḥwtyt*	*tḫ(y)/ḏḥwtyt*	*tḫy*		*ḏḥwty*	*hrw ḏḥwty*
II *ꜣḫt*		*mnḫt*	*mnḫt*		*ḥb n ỉmn*	*pn-ỉpt / ḥb ỉpt*
III *ꜣḫt*	*ḥwt-ḥr*	*ḫnt ḥwt-ḥr*	*ḥwt-ḥr*		*ḥb ꜥḳ nw pt*	*ḥb/ḥꜥ n ḥwt-ḥr*
IV *ꜣḫt*			*kꜣ(-ḥr)-kꜣ*		*kꜣ-ḥr*]*-kꜣ*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*
I *prt*			*šf-bdt*	*tꜣ-ꜥbt / ḫn-mwt*	*ḫn mwt*	*pꜣ ḫnw mwt*
II *prt*	*rḳḥ*	*rḳḥ wr*	*rḳḥ*			*mḫr*
III *prt*	*rḳḥ*	*rḳḥ nḏs*	*rḳḥ*			*pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)*
IV *prt*			*rnn-wtt*		*pn-rnn-wtt*	
I *šmw*			*ḫnsw*			
II *šmw*			*ḫnt-ḫty*			*pn-ỉnt*
III *šmw*			*ỉpt-ḥmt*	*ỉpỉp*	*ỉpỉp*	*ỉpỉp*
IV *šmw*	*wpt-rnpt*	*wpt-rnpt*	*wpt-rnpt*		*wpt-rnpt*	*wpt-rnpt / pꜣ-šm-n-ḥr*

References to ancient Egyptian eponymous festivals are known from the Old Kingdom onwards (see table 6). In Old Kingdom tombs, the owners wished to be remembered during several festivals. Among the feasts mentioned are four festivals, *wpt-rnpt*, *ḏḥwtyt*,

[1] Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 110–169.

[2] P. Berlin P 10007 rt, 22 (*wpt-rnpt*); P. Berlin P 10018, rt. 1 (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10039 vs. II, 7 (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10052, vs. 13 (*tḫy*); P. Berlin P 10069 rt. I, 1 (*rḳḥ wr*), rt. V, 2 (*rḳḥ nḏs*); P. Berlin P 10092 b rt, 8 (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10130, Bc rt. (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10166, vs. (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10206 a rt. (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10218, b rt. (*wpt-rnpt*); P. Berlin P 10248 rt. II, 15 (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10282 rt. 1 (*mnḫt*), rt. 2 (*ḫnt ḥwt-ḥr*), rt. 3 (*tḫy*); P. Berlin P 10412 c rt. (*mnḫt*); P. Berlin P 10416 a rt. (*mnḫt*); P. UC 32191 (= P. London/Kahun XLI.1) rt. 1, 2 (*ḫnt ḥwt-ḥr*), rt. (*mnḫt*), rt, vs (*wpt-rnpt*); see Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 213–223. For the eponymous feasts mentioned in Middle Kingdom tombs (*wpt-rnpt, ḏḥwtyt, mnḫt, rḳḥ wr,* and *rḳḥ nḏs*), see Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 35–57.

[3] E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 42–43, pl. I; Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie* (1989), 35–48.

[4] O. Michaelides 52 (*tꜣ-ꜥbt*); P. Cairo CG 58096 (*ỉpỉp*); P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016 (*ḫnw mwt*).

[5] O. IFAO 1088 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.56); for the feasts mentioned in this document, see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088).

[6] Graffito 2087, 2 (*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*); O. Ashmolean Museum 141, 4–5 (*pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr*); O. Ashmolean Museum 362, 2–3, 6 (*ḥb ỉpt*); O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 3 (*pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)*), rt. 11, vs. 1 (*kꜣ-ḥr(-kꜣ)*); O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9 (*kꜣ-ḥr(-kꜣ)*); O. Cairo CG 25598, 1 (*pn-ỉnt*); O. DeM 46, rt. 10 (*pn-ỉpt*); O. DeM 297, rt. 3a (*pꜣ ḫnw mwt*), rt. 4a (*pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)*); O. DeM 603, 7 (*hrw ḏḥwty*); O. DeM 1059, rt. 7–8 (*kꜣy-ḥr-kꜣ*); O. Glasgow D.1925.71, rt. 3–4 (*wpt-rnpt*), rt. 3 (*pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)*); O. Glasgow D.1925.72, 5 (*pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)*); O. IFAO 290, 3 (*pꜣ ḫnw mwt*); O. IFAO 344, 3 (*mḫr*); O. IFAO 380, 3 (*pꜣ ḫnyt mw*t); O. Liverpool 13625, 3 (*ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*); O. Michaelides 12, vs. 1 (*mḫr*); O. Michaelides 48, rt. II, 14 (*ḥꜥ n ḥwt-ḥr*); O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 5 (*pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)*), 7 (*pn-ḫnsw*); P. DeM 2, rt. 4, 6, vs. 2 (*wpt-rnpt*), vs. 2, 6 (*pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr*); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094, rt. V, 19 (*ỉpỉp*).

ḥwt-ḥr, and *rkḥ*, the names of which can also be found in later lists of months.[1] Moreover, during the Middle Kingdom, several eponymous feasts, such as *wpt-rnpt, ḏḥwtyt, mnḫt, rkḥ wr,* and *rkḥ nḏs*, were likewise mentioned in tombs.[2] Additionally, feast lists in the papyrus archives of the Middle Kingdom town of Illahun[3] mention the eponymous feasts of *wpt-rnpt*,[4] *tḫ*(*y*),[5] *mnḫt*,[6] *ḫnt ḥwt-ḥr*,[7] *rkḥ wr*,[8] and *rkḥ nḏs*[9]. Furthermore, the 18th Dynasty tomb of Senmut (TT71) displays a so-called 'astronomical ceiling' with depictions of circles that represent the twelve eponymous feasts.[10]

References to eponymous feasts, which embody Late Egyptian counterparts to the month names in documents of the Persian and Greco-Roman Periods, are also to be found in various New Kingdom hieratic texts (see Table 6). Most of these hieratic texts originate from Deir el-Medina.[11] O. IFAO 1088[12] (no date attributed) is an account of transfers where feast names have been mentioned. Several of these feasts, such as *pn-rnn-wtt*, *ỉpỉp*, *wpt-rnpt*, *ḏḥwty*, and *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*, are known to have been eponymous feasts. One of the occasions mentioned is a 'Feast of Amon'.[13] As this feast of Amon follows Thoth,[14] the

---

1 See Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 110–169; see also Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 34–37. The Feast of Thoth, mentioned in Old Kingdom tombs, apparently only became the eponymous feast of I *ȝḫt* at a later date while *tḫy* was the older name of this particular month (e.g., Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 52–54). It has been suggested that these two feasts formed perhaps a longer festival on I *ȝḫt* 19–21 (Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 174–175; Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191) which might explain why, by the New Kingdom, the Feast of Thoth had replaced *tḫy* as the eponymous feast of the first month of the year (Spiess, *op. cit.*, 191).

2 Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 35–57.

3 Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 215–223; see also Luft, Noch einmal Ebers, *GM* 92 (1986), 71.

4 P. Berlin P 10007 rt, 22; P. Berlin P 10218 b rt.; P. UC 32191, passim.

5 P. Berlin P 10052, vs. 13; P. Berlin P 10282 rt. 3.

6 P. Berlin P 10018, rt. 1; P. Berlin P 10039 vs. II, 7; P. Berlin P 10092 b rt, 8; P. Berlin P 10130, Bc rt.; P. Berlin P 10166, vs.; P. Berlin P 10206 a rt.; P. Berlin P 10248 rt. II, 15; P. Berlin P 10282, rt. 1; P. Berlin P 10412 c rt.; P. Berlin P 10416 a rt.; P. UC 321911, passim

7 P. Berlin P 10282 rt. 2; P. UC 321911, rt. 1, 2.

8 P. Berlin P 10069 rt. I, 1.

9 P. Berlin P 10069 rt. V, 2.

10 E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 42–43, pl. I; Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 35–48; for the date of TT71, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 139–142.

11 Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 128–130; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 215–244; see also Černý, Philological and Etymological Notes III, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 441–442. René van Walsem refers to P. Bulaq 19 (= P. Cairo CG 58096) where the eponymous feast of *ỉpỉp* is mentioned (Month-Names (1982), 221); however, this document pertains to Saqqara, not Deir el-Medina (Ali, Das Verhältnis zwischen den Beiden Seiten des Papyrus Boulaq 19, in Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* (1994), 508). Moreover, O. Michaelides 52 (van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222), where *tȝ-ʿbt* is mentioned, is from Amarna (Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 22). Furthermore, P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016 (van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 224) mentioning *hrw n ḫnw mwt* on I *prt* 30 is a ship's log and it does not originate from Deir el-Medina (see also Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs: Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008* (1961), 55–57.

12 O. IFAO 1088 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088).

13 *Ḥb n ỉmn*; O. IFAO 1088, 4 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088).

14 *Ḏḥwty*; O. IFAO 1088, 3 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088).

eponymous feast of the month of I *ꜣḫt*, it is tempting to associate this feast with the Opet Festival, which is the eponymous feast of the subsequent month of II *ꜣḫt*. Another event called 'Entering the Sky' is positioned between the Feast of Amon, i.e., possibly the Opet Festival, and the eponymous feast *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*.[1] It seems, therefore, possible that the name 'Entering the Sky' in O. IFAO 1088 might refer to the Feast of Hathor, the eponymous feast of III *ꜣḫt*.[2] The references to feasts in O. IFAO 1088 may, thus, all designate eponymous feasts.[3] Additional references to individual eponymous feasts can be found in several other documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina.[4] One also finds some references to the eponymous feasts in New Kingdom administrative documents from outside Deir el-Medina[5]

Information on month names may be found in some religious inscriptions written in ancient Egyptian from the New Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period (see Table 7). The Ramesseum has an astronomical ceiling with deities representing the months.[6] The ancient Egyptian month names are additionally known from the Ptolemaic Temple of Edfu where a astronomical frieze presents personified months.[7] When such month names are found in religious inscriptions, they feature in somewhat different forms than the names used for months in documents written in Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic from the Persian Period onwards (see Table 5).[8] By comparing these traditional month names with the month names of the Persian and Greco-Roman Periods, it is possible to see that some designations, such as *ḥwt-ḥr – Athyr*, *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ – Khoiak*, *rnn-wtt – Pharnuti*, and *ḫnsw – Pakhons*, have to a certain extent remained unchanged.[9]

---

1 *Ḥb ʿḳ n pt*; O. IFAO 1088, 4–6 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088).

2 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 228 note 103. Note, however, that according to the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar, a feast of Amon Entering the Sky was celebrated on III *prt* 29 – IV *prt* 1, i.e., several months after the eponymous feast of Hathor (Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1370–1372 (list 61); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 179).

3 See van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 221–222; cf. Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174–175; Borghouts, The 'hot one' (*pꜣ šmw*) in ostracon Deir el-Médineh 1265, *GM* 38 (1980), 27 note 3.

4 Graffito 2087, 2 (*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*); O. Ashmolean Museum 141, 4–5 (*pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr*); O. Ashmolean Museum 362, 2–3, 6 (*ḥb ỉpt*); O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 3 (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)), rt. 11, vs. 1 (*kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*)); O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9 (*kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*)); O. Cairo CG 25598, 1 (*pn-ỉnt*); O. DeM 46, rt. 10 (*pn-ỉpt*); O. DeM 297, rt. 3a (*pꜣ ẖnw mwt*), rt. 4a (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. DeM 603, 7 (*hrw ḏḥwty*); O. DeM 1059, rt. 7–8 (*kꜣy-ḥr-kꜣ*); O. Glasgow D.1925.71, rt. 3–4 (*wpt-rnpt*), rt. 3 (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. Glasgow D.1925.72, 5 (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. IFAO 290, 3 (*pꜣ ẖnw mwt*); O. IFAO 344, 3 (*mḫr*); O. IFAO 380, 3 (*pꜣ ẖnyt mwt*); O. Liverpool 13625, 3 (*ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*); O. Michaelides 12, vs. 1 (*mḫr*); O. Michaelides 48, rt. II, 14 (*ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*); O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 5 (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)), 7 (*pn-ḫnsw*); P. DeM 2, rt. 4, 6, vs. 2 (*wpt-rnpt*), vs. 2, 6 (*pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr*); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094, rt. V, 19 (*ỉpip*).

5 O. Michaelides 52; P. Cairo CG 58096; P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016.

6 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43, 44 fig. 19, pls. II–III.

7 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43–45, pl. V.

8 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45–46; Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17–21.

9 See also Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45.

Table 7. References to month names in various sources from the New Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period

	Astronomical ceiling in the Ramesseum (deities)[1]	Astronomical frieze in Edfu (deities)[2]	P. Ebers[3]	Cairo Calendar[4]	O. DeM 1265[5] (Deir el-Medina)	O. BM EA 29560[6] (Deir el-Medina)	Other DeM sources[7]
I *ꜣḫt*	*tḫy*	*tḫ*(*y*)	*tḫy*		*ḥb n ḏḥwty*	*pn-ḏḥwty*	*ḏḥwty*
II *ꜣḫt*	*ptḥ*	*mnḫt*	*mnḫt*	*pn-ỉpt*	(*ḫnty r ỉpt*)	*pn-ỉpt*	
III *ꜣḫt*	*ḥwt-ḥr*		*ḥwt-ḥr*	*ḥwt-ḥr*	*pn ḥwt-ḥr*	*ḥwt-ḥr*	*ḥwt-ḥr*
IV *ꜣḫt*	*sḫmt*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*)	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*
I *prt*	*mnw*	*šf-bdt*	*šf-bdt*	*tꜣ-ʿbt*	*tꜣ-ʿbt*	*pꜣ ḫnw mwt*	
II *prt*	*rkḥ wr*	*rkḥ wr*	*rḳḥ*	[*pn*]*-pꜣ-mḫr*	*mḫr*	*pn-pꜣ-mḫy*	
III *prt*	*rkḥ nḏs*	*rkḥ nḏs*	*rḳḥ*		*pn-*(*ỉmn*[	*pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)	*pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)
IV *prt*	*rnn-wtt*	*rnn*	*rnn-wtt*	[*pn*]*-rnn-wtt*	(*ms nṯrw*)		*pn-rnn-wtt*
I *šmw*	*ḫnsw*	*ḫnsw*	*ḫnsw*	*pn-ḫn*[*sw*]			
II *šmw*	*ḫnt-ḫty*	*ḥr-ꜣḫty*	*ḫnt-ḫt*	*pn-ỉ*[*nt*]		*pn-ỉnt?*	*pn-ỉnt*
III *šmw*	*ỉpt*	*ỉpt*	*ỉpt-ḥmt*	*ỉp*[*ỉp*]			
IV *šmw*	*rʿ-ḥr-ʿḫty*	*rʿ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*	*wpt-rnpt*	*wpt-rnpt*		*pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr*	*wpt-rnpt*

The month names featuring in hieratic texts of the New Kingdom resemble more their later variants than the ones featuring in religious inscriptions (see Table 5). The oldest actual lists of month names are present in such hieratic texts dated to the New Kingdom (see Table 7). Of these, the so-called 'Ebers Calendar', included in the 18th Dynasty medical Ebers papyrus, lists the names of all twelve months of the year.[8] A list of month names is also recorded in the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637),[9] the date of which is attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty.[10] The calendar of good and bad days recorded on the verso side of this papyrus is followed by a list of month names and the hours of day and night. Abd el-Mohsen Bakir[11] suggested in his publication of this papyrus that the provenance of the document might be Deir el-Medina, but Christian

1 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43, 44 fig. 19, pls. II–III.
2 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43–45, pl. V.
3 P. Ebers vs. I, 1–13.
4 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XVI, 1–12.
5 O. DeM 1265 I, 1–28.
6 O. BM EA 29560, rt. 1 – vs. 16.
7 O. Berlin P 10655, 6 (*wpt-rnpt*); O. Berlin P 14214, 11 (*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*); O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000, 1 (*pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. DeM 35, 14 (*pn-rnn-wtt*); O. DeM 57, 3 (*ḏḥwty*); O. DeM 219, 1 (*ḥwt-ḥr*); O. DeM 434, vs. 2 (*pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. DeM 645, vs. 3 (*pn-ỉnt*); O. Louvre E 3263, rt. 9 (*pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. Turin N. 57458, vs. 3 (*ḥwt-ḥr*); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 218–220.
8 P. Ebers, vs. I 1–13; for the calendar, see, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 37–43, fig. 16; Luft, Noch einmal Ebers, *GM* 92 (1986), 69–77; Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144; Debuydt, Function and Significance of The Ebers Calendar's Lone Feast-Hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign-List W3), *JEH* 1 (2008), 117–138. For a bibliography on P. Ebers, see Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 28–34.
9 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 1–12; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 44; Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 22–34.
10 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.
11 Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 1.

Leitz[1] has demonstrated that the master text of this composition was either of Memphite or Heliopolitan origin. Month names, nevertheless, can also be found in documents pertaining to the royal artisans' community. For example, the literary text O. DeM 1265[2] (no date attributed), which has the title 'A [book] for seeing the beauty in the months of the year', gives the names of several months. Some of the other months can be identified by a named feast celebrated during the month in question.[3] The last four months of the year were not recorded by the scribe of this particular text, and these are impossible to identify.[4] The name for I *prt* in this document is *tȝ-ʿbt*,[5] which has so far not been attested in other texts from Deir el-Medina.[6] As O. DeM 1265 is a literary text and could be a reproduction of some kind of a master text written outside Deir el-Medina, it need not reflect customs of designating months typical of the royal artisans' community alone. In regard to the month names in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, one may also refer to O. BM EA 29560,[7] the date of which is attributed to the 20th Dynasty.[8] This document lists goods transferred during several months, the names of which seem to be indicated by feasts.[9] As only one feast is mentioned per month, it is possible that month names are meant here.[10] Additional references to individual month names can, possibly, be found in several documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina.[11]

Most of the eponymous festivals occurred at the beginning of a month and had at some point, probably before the date of the feast was fixed in the civil calendar, given its name to the month that in this particular calendar preceded it.[12] The following eponymous

---

1 Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8.

2 [*Ỉ͗ȝw*] *mȝȝ nfrw m nȝ ȝbd.w n tȝ rnpt* ; O. DeM 1265 I, 1. For the restoration of the beginning of the text, see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 217 note 3.

3 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 217. For an interpretation of the text, see Borghouts, The 'hot one', *GM* 38 (1980), 21–28.

4 See also Borghouts, The 'hot one', *GM* 38 (1980), 21.

5 …*t*]*ȝ-ʿbt*; O. DeM 1265 I, 15.

6 *Tȝ-ʿbt* is also present in P. Cairo JE 86637 (vs. XIV, 5), the provenance of which might be Deir el-Medina. The master text of this document is, however, not from Deir el-Medina (Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8). For *tȝ-ʿbt*, see Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181. I *prt* and the eponymous feast of this particular month were more commonly called *ḫnw mwt* at Deir el-Medina; see Chapter III 1.2.1.6.

7 O. BM EA 29560, rt. 1 – vs. 16.

8 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27. Documents, such as this, starting with the formula (*r rdỉt rḫ.tw*) *ỉḫt n NN nty m dỉ NN* seem to come from the first half of the 20th Dynasty (Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 147).

9 Thus René van Walsem (Month-Names (1982), 215) following Adolf Erman (Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 128–130) but recalling Alan H. Gardiner's hesitation to identify the festival names in this document as month names (Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 140 note 1).

10 An alternative interpretation might be that the occasions mentioned in the text are, in fact, festivals; e.g., Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 175; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 62 note 368, 131 note 238.

11 O. Berlin P 10655, 6 (*wpt-rnpt*); O. Berlin P 14214, 11 (*kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*); O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000, 1 (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. DeM 35, 14 (*pn-rnn-wtt*); O. DeM 57, 3 (*ḏḥwty*); O. DeM 219, 1 (*ḥwt-ḥr*); O. DeM 434, vs. 2 (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. DeM 645, vs. 3 (*pn-ỉnt*); O. Louvre E 3263, rt. 9 (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. Turin N. 57458, vs. 3 (*ḥwt-ḥr*); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 218–220.

12 Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 30–31; see also Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43–47, 57–60.

feasts are known to have taken place at the beginning of the subsequent month: *wpt-rnpt* (I *ꜣḫt* 1),[1] *ḥwt-ḥr* (IV *ꜣḫt* 1),[2] *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* (I *prt* 2),[3] *rḳḥ wr* (III *prt* 1),[4] *rḳḥ nḏs* (IV *prt* 1),[5] the Feast of Renenutet (I *šmw* 1),[6] and *ỉpỉp* (IV *šmw* 2).[7] The reason for celebrating these feasts at the beginning of the *subsequent* month after the one named after them appears to correlate with the transition from the lunar calendar to the civil calendar.[8] However, some eponymous feasts, such as the Feast of Thoth (I *ꜣḫt* 19),[9] *tḫy* (I *ꜣḫt* 20),[10] *mnḫt* (celebrated according to the moon within II *ꜣḫt*),[11] the Opet Festival (celebrated for 11–27 days starting in II *ꜣḫt*),[12] and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (started with the new moon within II *šmw*),[13] took place on a day other than the first of the month, and gave the name to the month in which the celebrations of the festival in question actually started. The exact dates of the Sailing of Mut, of *Mekhir*, and of the eponymous Feast of Amenhotep I in the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina are not readily apparent and will be discussed below. The date of the Opet Festival at Deir el-Medina is also open since the royal artisans were probably not freed from work for the entire duration of the long temple festival. The Feast of Khonsu might have been celebrated according to the lunar calendar.[14] There exists, as far as I am aware, only one undated reference from Deir el-Medina to this particular feast.[15] The eponymous festivals which appear to have been celebrated annually at Deir el-Medina will now be discussed in chronological order within the ancient Egyptian civil calendar.

---

1 Feast List of Amon of Elephantine (Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Historisch-biographische Urkunden* (1906–1909), 824 line 9); O. DeM 209, vs. 20; P. Berlin P 10007, rt. 22

2 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 917 (list 40); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 159; O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; P. Berlin P 10282 rt. 2

3 O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9.

4 P. Berlin P 10069 rt. I, 1.

5 P. Berlin P 10069, rt. V, 2.

6 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1402 (list 64) (Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 181); various Theban tombs (see Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 103).

7 P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 19; see also the Oracle Inscription of Nesamun (Nims, An Oracle Dated in 'the Repeating of Births', *JNES* 7 (1948), 157–162).

8 Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17–32; cf. Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 173; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 57; see also Spalinger, Chronological Analysis, *SAK* 20 (1993), 289–303; Wells, Re and the Calendars (1994), 24. For earlier studies and theories on the month names, see Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 18–22.

9 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 686 (list 26); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 146; see also, for example, Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191; Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 82.

10 P. Berlin P 10052, vs. 13; P. Berlin P 10282, rt. 3.

11 See, for example, Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 160–163.

12 Feast List of Amon of Elephantine (Sethe, *Urk.* IV (1906–1909), 824 line 10); Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 743–857 (list 29–35); P. BM EA 9999 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17); see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 84–87.

13 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 135 (list 3); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 123; see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 107.

14 For feasts in the lunar calendar, see, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950); Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985); Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 203–214; Spalinger, Chronological Analysis, *SAK* 20 (1993), 289–303; Luft, The Date of *Wꜣgy* (1994), 69–77; Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 45–60; Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 25–40; Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17–32; Krauss, Wenn und Aber, *GM* 162 (1998), 53–63.

15 *Wḥm dỉt* (*m*) *pn-ḫnsw*; O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 7; reign of Ramesses IV; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 167–168); see Chapter III 1.3 (I *šmw* 18). For the use of *pn-ḫnsw* as a month name, see P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 9 (date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty; Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8).

1.2.1.1 The New Year Festival

The New Year Festival, *wpt-rnpt*, was the first big celebration of the civil year all over Egypt.[1] The eponymous feast *wpt-rnpt*, 'Opener of the year'[2] was already mentioned in some Old Kingdom tombs[3] and in papyri from the Middle Kingdom[4]. The feast is also depicted on the astronomical ceiling of Senmut (TT71, 18th Dynasty).[5] *Wpt-rnpt* seems also to have been a designation of the New Year Festival in the royal artisans' community. The evidence in the list of men absent or working recorded on O. DeM 209[6] (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty[7]) is quite straightforward: at the beginning of the civil year, the crew is said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb due to *wpt-rnpt*. Moreover, among the eponymous feasts mentioned in O. IFAO 1088[8] (no date attributed), *wpt-rnpt* features between *ỉpỉp* and the Feast of Thoth. There are additional documents that appear to refer to the New Year Festival. The reference to *wpt-rnpt* in the tomb chapel of Amenmose (TT9,[9] reign of Ramesses II[10]) may denote the eponymous feast: the other events referred to in this particular tomb appear to be feasts.[11] According to P. DeM 2[12] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[13]), which is an account of transfers, food was provided on several occasions of *wpt-rnpt*. The other entries in this papyrus include such

---

1 E.g., Säve-Söderbergh, Några egyptiska nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel* 9 (1950), 1–19; Schott, *Festdaten* (1950) 81–82; Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 194; Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986); Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 367–371; Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 51. For the New Year Festival, see also, for example, Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus* (1949–1954), 302–433; Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 183–189; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 123–135; Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal* (1972); Goyon, Le feu nouveau (1986), 331–344; Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990), 41–46; Corthals, The Procession of the New Year (2005); Goyon, *Le rituel du sḥtp Sḫmt* (2006).

2 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 305 (*wp-rnpt 'Eröffner des Jahres' als Bez. des Neujahrtages (Oder wpt-rnpt 'Eröffnung des Jahres'?*)). The heliacal rising of Sothis as the original meaning of *wpt-rnpt* (Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 33–34) has been challenged by Anthony Spalinger (*Three Studies on Egyptian Feasts and their Chronological Implications* (1992), 44–50).

3 See Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 110–169.

4 E.g., P. Berlin P 10007, rt. 22; P. Berlin P 10218 b rt.; P. UC 32191, vs. column header.

5 Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 42–43, pl. I; Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 35–48; for the date of TT71, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 139–142.

6 *I ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 ꜥḥꜥ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf n wpt-rnpt*; O. DeM 209, vs. 20.

7 For the dates attributed, see Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 217–219 (Amenmesse); Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 130 (year 2 of Seti II); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 103–105 (year 2 of Amenmesse).

8 O. IFAO 1088, rt. 2 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088); for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

9 TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 72).

10 Amenmose is known to have lived during the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 2.

11 *Hrw pn n ỉrt hry…hrw pn n ỉrt msywy m IV šmw ꜥrḳy…hnhn rn=k dwꜣwt nḥb-kꜣ;* TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st and 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71–72).

12 P. DeM 2, rt. 4, 6, vs. 2.

13 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259–260.

festive events as 'her feast of Amenhotep I' and 'her feast of Taweret'.[1] It seems, thus, that the terminology applied in P. DeM 2 refers to feasts rather than to month names.[2] The reference to *wpt-rnpt* in O. Glasgow D.1925.71[3] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[4]), might also denote the New Year Festival. According to this document, Weskhet-nemtet provided his father-in-law[5] with sacks of grain for a period of ten months.[6] In addition to this, he gave his father-in-law bread and other items on various occasions, twice during *wpt-rnpt*.[7] As the monthly grain rations are listed separately in this document, *wpt-rnpt* may here refer to the New Year Festival rather than to the month of IV *šmw*.[8]

O. Ashmolean Museum 106[9] (year 27 of Ramesses III[10]) and O. DeM 59[11] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[12]) are records of oaths dealing with reimbursement. In the former, the stipulated deadline is *wp*[13] and in the latter *wpt*.[14] The basic meaning of *wp* in ancient Egyptian seems to have been 'feast' in general.[15] When swearing a solemn oath, one would expect the given deadline to be a specific date rather than an unspecified feast. It is, thus, reasonable to assume that instead of a feast in general, a particular feast, presumably *wpt-rnpt*, was meant by the writers of these texts and this is how both texts

---

1 *Pɜy=st ḥb n* (*imn*[*-ḥtp*])… *pɜy*[*=st ḥb n t*]*ɜ-wrt*; P. DeM 2, vs. 2–4. For the personal feasts, see Chapter III 2.3.

2 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 223, 225, 228; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 224–225.

3 O. Glasgow D.1925.71, rt. 3–4; the ostracon is also known as O. Colin Campbell 6.

4 For the dates attributed, see McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca Glasgow* (1993), 9; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 444 (Ramesses IV); Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 361–362 (Ramesses VI).

5 See Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 62–63.

6 *ʾIw=ỉ dỉt n=f bty m ḫɜr 2½ m dỉw r-ṯnw ɜbd m rnpt 1 nfryt r rnpt 2 II ɜḫt r III šmw ỉr.n ɜbd 10* [*wꜥ*] *nb ḫɜr 2¾ ỉr.n ḫɜr 27*; O. Glasgow D.1925.71, vs. 1–4.

7 *Wpt-rnpt ꜥḳw ꜥɜ 5…wpt-rnpt ꜥn ꜥḳw ꜥɜ 5 bty ḫɜr ½*; O. Glasgow D.1925.71, rt. 3–4.

8 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222 (O. Col. Campbell 6); Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 62 note 368.

9 O. Ashmolean Museum 106, rt. 1 – vs. 4.

10 For the date of O. Ashmolean Museum 106, see Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 18; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 515; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 283.

11 O. DeM 59, 1–6.

12 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 16.

13 *Mtw=ỉ dỉt ḫpr wp…*; O. Ashmolean Museum 106, rt. 4.

14 *ʾỈ.*[*dỉ=ỉ…*] *wpt…*; O. DeM 59, 4.

15 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 304 (*Fest (allgemeines Wort)*).

have been interpreted.[1] According to O. Berlin P 10655[2] dating to the reign of Ramesses V,[3] a water-carrier swore an oath to reimburse a person by the time *wpt-rnpt* had passed. This might be another reference to the eponymous feast *wpt-rnpt*.[4]

Both in the astronomical ceiling of the Ramesseum from the 19th Dynasty and the astronomical frieze in the Greco-Roman temple of Edfu, the deity of IV *šmw*, the month before the feast *wpt-rnpt*, is said to be Re-Horakhty.[5] The New Year Festival was, indeed, celebrated in honour of Re, commemorating the birth and the youth of the sun god and his fight against evil.[6] In temples, the New Year festivities commenced with the lighting up of torches in order to drive away darkness and demons. The theme of crushing the enemies is also reflected in the spells that were recited on the first day of the year while some kind of combat seems to have taken place during a water procession on the temple lake.[7] During the Middle Kingdom, the king might celebrate his coronation at the New Year Festival,[8] and the coronation was also commemorated and renewed during this feast during other periods of Egyptian history.[9] Many New Kingdom tombs contain scenes where the tomb-owner presents so-called 'new year gifts' to the king.[10] The themes and colours of these

---

1 O. Ashmolean Museum 106: Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 283; Janssen, *Donkeys at Deir el-Medîna* (2005), 24; Schafik Allam translates '*Lasse ich das Fest kommen*' but notes '*Ob das Fest des Neujahres gemeint ist?*' (*HOP* (1973), 174, note 1). O. DeM 59: Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 80. Alternatively, one might interpret *wp/wpt* to stand for IV *šmw*: such a reading has been favoured for feast names used as deadlines in three other recorded oaths (O. Berlin P 14214, rt. 11 (*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 38–39); O. DeM 645, vs. 3 (*pn-ỉnt*; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 144–145; Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 39); O. Turin N. 57458 (*ḥwt-ḥr*; Černý, Papyrus Salt 125 (Brit. Mus. 10055), *JEA* 15 (1929), 249 note 41; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 252)). One might perhaps also understand the *wp* in O. Ashmolean Museum 106 and O. DeM 59 to denote the *Khoiak* Festival: the Feast of *nḥb-kꜣw* on I *prt* 1, which seems to have been an extension of the *Khoiak* Festival, was associated with the New Year Festival (e.g., Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377). The work journal O. Ashmolean Museum 70, where I *prt* 1 is designated *wp*, might corroborate such a reading (*I prt 1 wsf wp*; rt. 9; date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Ashmolean Museum 0070, Remarks).

2 *ỉ.dỉ=ỉ ꜥḳ wpt-rnpt ỉw dỉ=ỉ pꜣ ḥḏ n pꜣy rmṯ n=f*; O. Berlin P 10655, 6–7. For *ꜥḳ* as meaning 'passing' of time, see Erman & Grapow, *WB* I, 230 (*vorübergehen (von der Zeit*); P. Turin B II, 8 (Gardiner, *LEM* (1937), 126); P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. I, 2 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (1968), 52); cf. *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14214, Anmerkung Ü3.

3 For the date of O. Berlin P 10655, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 573–574; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 302.

4 In several translations of O. Berlin P 10655, the term *wpt-rnpt* seems, indeed, to have been interpreted as standing for the beginning of the year; e.g., Allam, *HOP* (1973), 31 (*Jahresanfang*); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 302 (*Jahresanfang*).

5 E.g., Parker, *Calendars*, 43–45, pls. II–V.

6 Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 130–135. For *rʿ, see* Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IV (2002), 612–619; for *rʿ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*, see *ibid.*, 630–632.

7 Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 130–133. For the meaning of torches at the New Year Festival, see also Säve-Söderbergh, Nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel* 9 (1950), 11–14. For the ritual of lighting a torch in tombs during the New Year Feastival, see Haikal, Preliminary Studies on the Tomb of Thay in Thebes: the Hymn to the Light, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* I (1985), 361–372. For the water procession in Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III, see Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 158.

8 Säve-Söderbergh, Nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel* 9 (1950), 16; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 131–133; Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 14; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 79.

9 Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal* (1972), 23–28; Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 200–206; Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 14.

10 Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 134–135; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 79–80.

gifts contain solar symbolism and they seem to signify royal power and the deification of the king.[1] These gifts came probably from the various workshops of the temples rather than from these officials themselves.[2] Nevertheless, in return, the officials received royal favours from the king.[3] It further seems that, at least during the Saite Period, private people exchanged gifts during the celebration of the New Year Festival.[4] Various objects, such as faience rings, scarabs, and bottles, contain the wish 'Happy New Year' (*wpt-rnpt nfrt*).[5] It is, however, from Greco-Roman sources that we know most about the New Year Festival. For example, the days from the last day of the old civil year (IV *šmw* 30) through the epagomenal days into the new year appear to have been perilous.[6] The king, and through him the whole world, was protected during this period by goddess Sekhmet and a ritual called 'pacifying Sekhmet' (*sḥtp sḫmt*) was performed in order to insure the protection of this goddess.[7] According to the great calendar of Hathor of Dendera at the temple of Edfu, the New Year Festival was not celebrated only in honour of Re but also to pay tribute to all the goddesses.[8] The festival was, furthermore, observed to celebrate the return of the Eye of Re from Nubia.[9] During the New Year Festival, certain deities, such as Hathor and Horus, merged with the rays of Re.[10] To this end, the statues of these deities were carried in procession to the roofs of certain Greco-Roman temples.[11] The aim of this ceremony seems to have been to allow the deity to join with or 'inhabit' his or her statue.[12] Another theme for the New Year Festival was fecundity as the feast probably commemorated the beginning of the inundation.[13]

---

1 Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 79–80.

2 Davies, *The tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (1930), 24; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 134–135; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 79; cf. Aldred, The 'New Year' Gifts, *JEA* 55 (1969), 78–81.

3 Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), (2004), 79; see also Davies, *The tomb of Ken-Amun* (1930), 24–25.

4 Säve-Söderbergh, Nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel* 9 (1950), 17; Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 19.

5 Wiedemann, Notes on Some Egyptian Monuments VII, *PSBA* 36 (1914), 202–203; Wessetzky, 'Amulettes de Nouvel An', *Bulletin du Musée des Beaux-Arts* 5 (1954), 8–10; see also Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 19; Györi, Une amulette-ouadj surmontée d'une figure de chatte, in Pölöskei (ed.), *Studia in honorem L. Fóti* (1989), 129–138.

6 Stricker, Spreuken tot beveiliging gedurende de schrikkeldagen naar Pap. I. 346, *OMRO* 29 (1948), 55–70; Raven, Charms for Protection during the Epagomenal Days, in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (1997), 275–291.

7 Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 206–274; Goyon, *Le rituel du sḥtp Sḫmt* (2006); see also von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 47–49. For another protection ritual during the New Year Festival, see Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal* (1972), 29; Goyon, Sur une formule, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 75–83. For *sḫmt*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VI (2002), 556–559; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 654–659.

8 Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus* (1949–1954), 242.

9 Von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 47–49.

10 Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 196–199.

11 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 184–188; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973), 89–90; Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981) 197; see also Derchain-Urtel, 'Der Himmel ist festlich...' (1996), 34–41.

12 Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 199.

13 Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 183.

Re-Horakhty was a revered deity in the royal artisans' community[1] and many stelae were erected in his honour.[2] A recurrent theme in these inscriptions is the rising and setting of the sun, being the moments during which the sun-god was worshipped. As far as I am aware, nothing in the stelae themselves suggests that the veneration of the rising and setting sun disc would have taken place during the New Year Festival in particular. However, the description of New Year rituals in the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[3] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[4]) contains an offering to the rising and setting Re-Horakhty. Other rituals to be performed during this particular festival were throwing ink in water, purifying oneself, and painting one's eyes with green paint.[5] The Cairo Calendar is a copy of a text created outside the community[6] but, nevertheless, it seems that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina may have been aware of the rituals of the New Year Festival. In O. DeM 427[7] (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III[8]), the act of carrying torches is mentioned in connection with the end of the year (IV *šmw* 28) and the epagomenal days (*mswt wsḏr*). Considering that lighting torches had an important role in the temple rituals for warding off evil during the New Year Festival[9] and that the perilous time may already have started during the epagomenal days,[10] it is tempting to also connect this act with the New Year Festival at Deir el-Medina. In general, however, the act of carrying torches does not appear to have had a religious function at Deir el-Medina.[11]

During the New Year Festival at Deir el-Medina, gifts may have been presented to the vizier, who was the superior of the royal artisans.[12] According to O. DeM 908[13] (date

---

1 See, for example, Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 93–99. The god was also venerated in his form of Re and Re-Atum (*loc. cit.*).

2 E.g., Stela Bankes 1; Stela Bankes 5; Stela Bankes 13; Stela BM EA 266; Stela BM EA 268; Stela BM EA 271; Stela BM EA 320; Stela BM EA 332; Stela BM EA 1248; Stela Clère 1; Stela Griffith Institute (after rubbing iv.62); Stela Turin N. 50025; Stela Turin N. 50043; Stela Turin N. 50048; see also Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13–15.

3 *ꜥbt ꜥꜣt…m-bꜣḥ rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḫty wbn=f m ꜣḫt ỉꜣbtt nt pt ḥtp=f m ꜣḫt ỉmntt*; P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XII, 2–4. For interpreting the passage as referring to New Year rituals, see Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990), 42–46; cf. Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 446–451.

4 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

5 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XII, 1–6; Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 42; see also Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990), 42–46.

6 Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 1; for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

7 *Fꜣ mhd*; O. DeM 427, vs. 4–5.

8 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.

9 Säve-Söderbergh, Nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel* 9 (1950), 11–14; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 130.

10 Stricker, Spreuken tot beveiliging, *OMRO* 29 (1948), 55–70; Raven, Charms for Protection (1997), 275–291.

11 Janssen, Carrying Torches (1995), 119.

12 I am greatly indebted to Professor Joris F. Borghouts of Leiden University for pointing this out to me. See also Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 19 note 140. For gifts presented by the workmen of Deir el-Medina to the vizier and the king, see Janssen, The Mission of the Scribe Pesiur, in Demarée & Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (1982), 144–145.

13 *P*]*ꜣ twt n ṯꜣty…*] *šmw 25…ꜥḥꜥ.n [...]bꜣk m pꜣ twt n ṯꜣ*[*ty…m-ꜥ ḥry=f ḥr bꜣk m pꜣ*[…; O. DeM 908, rt. 3–4, 7, vs. 4.

attributed to late years of Seti II or to the reign of Siptah[1]), someone was making a statue of the vizier in a month of *šmw*. Pierre Grandet[2] equated this statue with the *ḳrf* of the vizier which, according to O. Cairo CG 25517[3] (year 1 of Siptah[4]), the crew was (still) working on in the month of II *ꜣḫt*. It is, however, possible that another statue was referred to in O. DeM 908[5] and that it was perhaps presented to the vizier during the New Year Festival. One may also mention P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009[6] (date attributed to year 13 of Ramesses IX[7]) which states that, when the scribe of the vizier and the *šmsw* of the vizier came on I *ꜣḫt* 1 to ask for two beds, the foreman Nekhemmut gave the dignitaries one bed from the right side of the gang, perhaps as a New Year gift. As it was the subordinates of the vizier who collected the bed, one might perhaps tentatively suggest that it may have been these dignitaries who gave this bed to the vizier as a present in much the same manner as the higher dignitaries gave workshop-made gifts to the king.

Wpt-rnpt was said to take place on I *ꜣḫt* 1 already during the Middle Kingdom.[8] The feast was, thus, celebrated at a time typical of an eponymous feast, i.e., at the beginning of the subsequent month after the month to which the feast gave its name. At the time of Thutmose III, the festival started on I *ꜣḫt* 1 and lasted for 3 days.[9] In Ptolemaic temples, however, the feast already began on IV *šmw* 30 and lasted up to 10 days, not taking the epagomenal days into account.[10]

At Deir el-Medina, the New Year Festival lasted generally for three days on I *ꜣḫt* 1–3,[11] so stated explicitly in O. DeM 209[12] (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty[13]), according to which the crew was work-free 'at the New Year Festival' on these days. Certain other documents also appear to indicate that a feast was celebrated at the beginning of I *ꜣḫt*. In P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009[14] (year 13 of Ramesses IX[15]) and P. Turin

---

1 For the date attributed, see Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 117. Pierre Grandet attributed this document a date in year 1 of Siptah due to the assumed connection with O. Cairo CG 25517 (*Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 81–84); see below.

2 Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 82–84.

3 *II ꜣḫt 15 ỉpwy ḫnsw ḥr ỉrt ḳrf n ṯ3ty…II ꜣḫt 25…ỉpwy ḥr ỉrt ḳrf n ṯ3ty*; O. Cairo CG 25517, rt. δ 3, vs. 13–15.

4 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25517, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 8–9; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 34–41.

5 For gifts prepared for the vizier and the king on other occasions during the year, see Janssen, The Mission of the Scribe Pesiur (1982), 144–145; O. Berlin P 12654, 6–8 (date attributed to year 3 of Ramesses IV; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 388); O. Cairo CG 25512, 8 (see also Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 9–10; date attributed to year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 313–315); O. Cairo CG 25676, 8–9 (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses II; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 29).

6 *Ỉiy ỉn sš ḥrỉ n ṯ3ty…ḥnᶜ šmsw nḫt-ỉmn n ṯ3ty r-ḏd ỉmỉ.tw ḥtỉ 2 ỉw.tw dỉt n=f wᶜ wmny m-drt ᶜ3-n-ỉst nḫ-m-mwt*; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs. I, 12–13.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 504–506.

8 E.g., P. Berlin P 10007, rt. 22.

9 Feast List of Amon of Elephantine; Sethe, *Urk.* IV (1906–1909), 824 line 9.

10 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 367–368.

11 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 319.

12 *I ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 ᶜḥᶜ.n tz ỉst m wsf n wpt-rnpt*; O. DeM 209, vs. 20.

13 For the dates attributed, see Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 217–219 (Amenmesse); Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 130 (year 2 of Seti II); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 103–105 (year 2 of Amenmesse).

14 *I ꜣḫt 1 mswt rᶜ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs. I, 12; probably also P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt. 14.

15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 504–506.

Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105[1] (year 15 of Ramesses IX[2]), I *ꜣḫt* 1 is referred to as the 'Birth of Re-Horakhty', i.e., the day may have been designated a feast day.[3] The first three days of the year seem, indeed, to have been work-free at Deir el-Medina.[4] The scribe of the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25539[5] (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah[6]), omitted the days IV *šmw* 29 – I *ꜣḫt* 3 indicating inactivity during this period. As stated in O. Cairo CG 25515[7] (year 6 of Seti II[8]), the work-free days already commenced on IV *šmw* 26 and lasted through I *ꜣḫt* 3, making '12 days of inactivity'. In O. Turin N. 57032[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[10]), the crew is said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on I *ꜣḫt* 1–4. As stated in O. DeM 427[11] (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III[12]), the work-free period commenced or had already started on IV *šmw* 25 and continued at least through I *ꜣḫt* 7.[13] In O. Cairo CG 25533[14] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[15]), the days between IV *šmw* 28 and I *ꜣḫt* 3 have been omitted and the latter date contains an entry: 'it makes 11 days'. It appears, thus, that in the year this particular document was written, the men were work-free from IV *šmw* 28 through I *ꜣḫt* 3.[16] In O. Cairo CG 25266,[17] a lamp account the date of which has been attributed to the

---

1 *M*]*swt nbt-ḥwt*…[…]*mswt rᶜ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*[…; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 rt. I, 4

2 For the date of this papyrus, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 644–650; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 511–514.

3 Furthermore, in O. Cairo CG 25529, I *ꜣḫt* 1 is marked with a red sign (vs. I, 7; date attributed to year 5 Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135) which in Jaroslav Černý's transcription resembles the hieroglyph for *ḥb*, 'feast' (*Ostraca Caire* (1935), pl. 29*). As far as I am aware, no photograph or facsimile of the verso has been published.

4 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on days I *ꜣḫt* 1–3 are 0/10, 1/9, and 1/9, respectively; see also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 319.

5 O. Cairo CG 25539 I, 3–4.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 41–44.

7 *ʿḥʿ IV šmw 26…I ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 hrw wsf 12*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. III, 24 – IV, 5.

8 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

9 *I ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 sw 4 m wsf*; O. Turin N. 57032, rt. 1.

10 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 620–621; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 255–257 (year 24).

11 *Wsf*; O. DeM 427, vs. 2–12; the beginning of the verso is lost. On I *ꜣḫt* 2 and 8, grain rations were distributed and, hence, the references to these two days have not been included in Appendix 1.

12 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.

13 Something out of the ordinary seems, however, to have taken place as 'carrying torches' is mentioned twice and, on I *ꜣḫt* 5, the vizier came to take some men to the riverbank; O. DeM 427, vs. 4–11; see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 158. For the meaning of carrying torches at Deir el-Medina, see Janssen, Carrying Torches (1995), 115–121; for a further example, in addition to the ones listed by Jac. J. Janssen, of a text where the act of carrying torches is mentioned, see O. DeM 890.

14 *Sw 28 ỉw=w* […]*…I ꜣḫt 3 ỉr hrw 11*[…; O. Cairo CG 25533, vs. 13–15.

15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–386.

16 The two days mentioned, i.e., IV *šmw* 28 and I *ꜣḫt* 3, must be included in the 11 days counted here. The entry for IV *šmw* 28 has a lacuna but could possibly be read *ỉw=w* [*wsf*] despite the fact that certain men are mentioned (O. Cairo CG 25533, vs. 13–14).

17 O. Cairo CG 25266, vs. 9–10 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.54); see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–385.

third year of Ramesses IV,[1] IV *šmw* 29 – I *ꜣḫt* 3 have been omitted indicating that the crew was work-free during this period. There are, furthermore, documents that may be interpreted as meaning that the royal artisans were work-free at the beginning of the new civil year. The scribe of the short journal O. Cairo CG 25636[2] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[3]) noted down that the crew ascended on I *ꜣḫt* 5. *Ṯs*, 'ascending',[4] in the administrative documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina signifies that the crew was going up to the Valley of the Kings.[5] O. Cairo CG 25636 may, thus, indicate the return to work after the New Year Festival which in the year of this document might have lasted through I *ꜣḫt* 4.[6] In O. Ashmolean Museum 11[7] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[8]), where the main work reported is burning rock,[9] the days IV *šmw* 29 – I *ꜣḫt* 2 have been left out. It is possible that some other work was done during the days omitted but, considering the other evidence for a work-free period during the epagomenal days and the New Year Festival, it seems probable that the omission of these days in O. Ashmolean Museum 11 indicates that the men were freed from work. According to P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009[10] (year 13 of Ramesses IX[11]), the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb from IV *šmw* 30 through I *ꜣḫt* 4 'although mountain people were not there'. Generally, entries concerning the Libyans stress that the crew was work-free *because of* the presence of these foreigners.[12] The scribe of P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 seems to have wanted to underline the fact that the crew was work-free for some other reason.[13] It is possible that the men were, in fact, on strike due to not receiving rations for the months III and IV *šmw*.[14] Alternatively, the reason for the work-free period from IV *šmw* 30 through I *ꜣḫt* 4 might have been the New Year Festival. In P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094,[15] the so-called *giornale* from the third year of Ramesses X,[16] the section concerning the turn of the

---

1 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–385.
2 *Hrw pn ṯsy ỉn tꜣ-ỉst*; O. Cairo CG 25636, 1.
3 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 45.
4 Erman & Grapow, *WB* V (1931), 405–407 (*hinaufsteigen*).
5 See Černý, *Community* (1973), 90; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 87 note 7.
6 Some scribes started new journals on the first working day of the year (see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 67). In O. Turin N. 57029, the first preserved date is I *ꜣḫt* 5 and, thus, O. Turin N. 57029 might indicate that the crew was work-free at the beginning of I *ꜣḫt*. There are, however, some indications that at least two men may have been working before the first date mentioned, perhaps on I *ꜣḫt* 4 (*nt*]*y m sḫt s 2 rnpt-sp 24 I ꜣḫt 5*…; lines 1–2; year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 26); cf. Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 255.
7 O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 11.
8 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446. Kenneth Kitchen attributed a date to this text in the reign of Ramesses V (*KRI* VI (1983), 248–249).
9 See *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Ashmolean Museum 0011, Contents. Jac. J. Janssen interpreted the brazier-signs in this text as referring to lamps issued by Nekhemmut (*Village varia* (1997), 94).
10 *Wsfw n tꜣ ỉst ỉw mn ḥꜣstyw / ỉw mn rbw dy*; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009, vs. I, 2, 6–17.
11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 504–506.
12 See Haring, Libyans in the Late Twentieth Dynasty, in Demarée & Egberts (eds.), *Village voices* (1992), 71–80.
13 Haring, Libyans (1992), 75.
14 P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009, vs. I, 9–10; Haring, Libyans (1992), 75; see also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 41. However, after receiving rations on I *ꜣḫt* 4 the men were still work-free (vs. I, 18 – II, 18).
15 P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 4–8.
16 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

civil year is very fragmentary. In all the surviving entries from IV *šmw* 30 through I *ꜣḫt* 2, the crew is, however, said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb.[1]

It would, thus, seem that generally the work-free days due to the New Year Festival at Deir el-Medina already started towards the end of IV *šmw* and comprised the five epagomenal days.[2] *Msy*(*t*), the 'Eve' of the New Year[3] on IV *šmw* 30, was closely associated with the New Year Festival,[4] but, at Deir el-Medina, the festival proper seems not to have started before I *ꜣḫt* 1. One may refer to the aforementioned O. DeM 209[5] (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty[6]) according to which the New Year Festival took place on I *ꜣḫt* 1–3 while, on days IV *šmw* 29–30 and during the epagomenal days, the crew was merely *m wsf*. From the examples above, we can, moreover, deduce that the feast was occasionally celebrated for four consecutive days.[7] From time to time, the crew also seems to have been working on one of the festival days.[8]

During the late 20th Dynasty, the name of the first day of the festival at Deir el-Medina appears to have been *mswt rʿ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*, 'Birth of Re-Horakhty'.[9] In P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009[10] (date attributed to years 13–14 of Ramesses IX[11]), I *ꜣḫt* 1 is entitled *mswt rʿ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*, whereas, in P. Turin 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105[12] (year 15 of Ramesses IX[13]), this phrase follows *mswt nbt-ḥwt*, i.e., the last epagomenal day. The 'Birth of Re-Horakhty' seems, therefore, in these two documents to be restricted to the first day of the year. The Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[14] date attributed to the beginning of the

---

1 *Wsf tꜣ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 4–8; the surviving entries are IV *šmw* 30, *msw stḫ*, *msw ꜣst*, I *ꜣḫt* 2, and possibly also I *ꜣḫt* 1.

2 For the epagomenal days, which were generally work-free, see Chapter III 1.2.4.4.

3 Erman & Grapow, *WB* II (1928), 142 (*Das Abendbrot (vor dem Neujahr (der dreissigste Mesore))*).

4 Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 10; see also Chapter III 1.2.4.4.

5 *IV šmw 29 sw 30 ḥʿ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf hrw 5 ḥry rnpt ḥʿ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf rnpt-sp 2 I ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 ḥʿ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf n wpt-rnpt*; O. DeM 209, vs. 18–20.

6 For the dates attributed, see Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 217–219 (Amenmesse); Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 130 (year 2 of Seti II); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 103–105 (year 2 of Amenmesse).

7 O. Cairo CG 25636, 1 (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 45; O. Turin N. 57032, rt. 1 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27).

8 O. Ashmolean Museum 11 (I *ꜣḫt* 3). In O. Cairo CG 25529, the date I *ꜣḫt* 2 is written in red ink, which in this document appears to indicate working. According to P. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082+ 2083 (vs. III, 1), the gypsum-makers were at work on I *ꜣḫt* 1; however, during the 20th Dynasty, these men belonged to the group of *smdt* (Černý, *Valley of the Kings* (1970), 38) and, hence, this reference does not enlighten us about the days of working and inactivity of the royal artisans.

9 See also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 322.

10 *I ꜣḫt 1 mswt rʿ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009, vs. I, 12.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 504–506.

12 *M*]*swt nbt-ḥwt…mswt rʿ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*[…; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105, rt. I, 3–4; the date is destroyed. The [*mswt rʿ-*]*ḥr-ꜣḫty* on I *ꜣḫt* 1 in P. Turin Cat. 2070 (rt. 14) is a restoration after P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 (Muszynski, P. Turin Cat. 2070/154, *OrAnt 16* (1977), 186).

13 For the date of this papyrus, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 644–650; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 511–514.

14 *I ꜣḫt 1 nfr nfr nfr mswt rʿ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*; P. Cairo JE 86637, rt III, 3; thus also the Festival Calendar at Edfu, where I *ꜣḫt* 1 is called the 'Feast of Harsomtus...in his beautiful feast of the birth of Re' (Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 21).

19th Dynasty[1]), where the first day of the civil year is referred to as the 'Birth of Re-Horakhty', seems to corroborate the existence of such a naming practice.[2] The reference to a 'feast of Pre' in O. Michaelides 48[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[4]) pertaining to Deir el-Medina may also stand for the first day of the civil year. Alternatively, this might be an unusual name for the New Year Festival itself, or perhaps an entirely different feast.

In P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047[5] (date attributed to years 7–8 of Ramesses IX[6]), there is an undated reference to *mswt rˁ*. The Greek name of IV *šmw*, *Mesore*, appears to stem from the ancient Egyptian phrase *mswt rˁ*.[7] The reference in this Turin papyrus, thus, may be to the last month of the civil year. Alternatively, *mswt rˁ* might be an abbreviated form of *mswt rˁ-ḥr-ꜣḫty* and indicates the first day of the New Year Festival.

The name of the feast discussed here, *wpt-rnpt*, was used as the name for IV *šmw*, the last month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, during the New Kingdom. The month name *wpt-rnpt* is mentioned in P. Ebers[8] (year 9 of Amenhotep I[9]) and in the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[10] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[11]). *Wpt-rnpt* may also have been used as the name of IV *šmw* at Deir el-Medina if the reference in the aforementioned record of oaths O. Berlin P 10655[12] (reign of Ramesses V[13]) represents the month instead of the eponymous feast.[14]

In O. BM EA 29560[15] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[16]), an event called *pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr* ('the Going Forth of Horus',[17]) is found in the place where one would expect to find the name of the month of IV *šmw*. However, in P. DeM 2[18] (date attributed to the reign of

---

1 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

2 See also Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 15.

3 *Ḥb n pꜣ rˁ*; O. Michaelides 48 rt. II, 5.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 556–557; the document was attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty by Hans Goedicke and Edward Wente (*Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 20).

5 P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047, vs. II, 9.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 624–630; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 494.

7 Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 47; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 126–129; see also Erman & Grapow, *WB* II (1928), 141 .

8 P. Ebers vs. I, 2; see Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 38 fig. 16; see also Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144; cf. Debuydt, Function and Significance, *JEH* 1 (2008), 117–138.

9 For the date, see P. Ebers vs. I, 1.

10 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 12; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

11 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

12 O. Berlin P 10655, 1–12.

13 For the date of O. Berlin P 10655, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 573–574; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 302.

14 Some feast names in records of oath have, indeed, been interpreted as meaning months; e.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 106, rt. 4 (*wp*; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 283; Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 24); O. Berlin P 14214, rt. 11 (*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 38–39); O. DeM 59, 4 (*wpt*; Janssen, *op. cit.*, 80); O. DeM 645, vs. 3 (*pn-ỉnt*; Allam, *op. cit.*, 144–145; Janssen, *op. cit.*, 39); O. Turin N. 57458 (*ḥwt-ḥr*; Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929), 249 note 41; Allam, *op. cit.*, 252).

15 O. BM EA 29560, rt. 4. For a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

16 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27.

17 See Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 47.

18 *Pꜣ šm-n-ḥr;* P. DeM 2, vs. 2, 6.

Ramesses V[1]), where the events mentioned appear to refer to feasts rather than to months,[2] *pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr* may have been used as a feast name. The event is, moreover, mentioned right after *wpt-rnpt*.[3] Are we, therefore, to understand that *wpt-rnpt* took place first? This might perhaps make *pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr* the name of one of the days of the New Year Festival rather than a designation of the festival as a whole.[4] It is also tempting to associate the reference to *pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr* in P. DeM 2 with I *ꜣḫt* 8.[5] This day, in several 20th Dynasty documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, is indicated as having been work-free[6] but, as far as I am aware, no feast is known on this day at Deir el-Medina or elsewhere in Egypt during the New Kingdom. At the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, the New Year Festival ended with a water procession of Horus celebrated on I *ꜣḫt* 8–9.[7]

1 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259–260.

2 *Wpt-rnpt…wḥm m wpt-rnpt…m wpt-rnpt…pꜣy=st ḥb n* (*ỉmn*[*-ḥtp*])*…pꜣy*[*=st ḥb n t*]*ꜣ-wrt…wḥm m pꜣy=st hb n*[…; P. DeM 2, rt. 4, 6, vs. 2–5.

3 *M wpt-rnpt ʿḳw šbn 8 pꜣ-šm-n-ḥr ʿḳw sbn 5 mnt 1*; P. DeM 2, vs. 2.

4 See the 'Birth of Re-Horakhty' above in this chapter.

5 The fact that both *wpt-rnpt* and *pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr* were perhaps used as the month name for IV *šmw* (O. Berlin P. 10655, 6–7 (*wpt-rpt*); O. BM EA 29560, rt. 4 (*pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr*)) does not, necessarily, mean that they must have been alternative names for one and the same festival. Compare *wpt-rnpt* and *pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr* with *tḫy* and *ḏḥwty* which were both used as the name of I *ꜣḫt* and which were separate feasts although perhaps part of the same festival cycle (see Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 174–175; Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191); see Chapter III 1.2.1.2.

6 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 8 is 2/4; Working: O. Cairo CG 25506, vs. 4–5 (men listed as absent; second half 19th Dynasty; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 425–426 (Siptah)); O. Cairo CG 25539 I, 8 (lamps used; year 3 of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172). Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25266, vs. 13–14 (lamp account omitting I *ꜣḫt* 8; date attributed to year 3 of Ramesses IV; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–385); O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 9 – V, 3 ([*ʿḥʿ*] *I ꜣḫt 7 wsf…II ꜣḫt 1 wsf hrw 25*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25529 vs. II, 3 (written in black ink which in this document indicates inactivity; date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135); P. Turin Cat. 2072 vs. II, 4 (*wsfw n tꜣ-ỉst*; year 9 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 630–633); see also Chapter III 1.2.4.1.

7 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 370. At the temple of Esna, I *ꜣḫt* 9 was called 'the Feast of Amun and Re, which the ancestors called *wpt-rnpt*' (*op. cit.*, 371).

1.2.1.2 The Feast of Thoth

Most ancient Egyptian month names originated from feasts celebrated at the beginning of the subsequent month.[1] However, the Feast of Thoth which gave its name to I *ꜣḫt* (Greek *Thouth*)[2] was observed within this particular month.[3] *Ḏḥwty*, the name of this eponymous feast, is mentioned in various tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[4] In the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[5] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[6]), the feast is called *ḥb ḏḥwty*. From Deir el-Medina, there is one reference that seems to be to the Feast of Thoth.[7] Among the eponymous feasts mentioned in O. IFAO 1088[8] (no date attributed), one finds *ḏḥwty* between *wpt-rnpt* and a feast of Amon. There is, furthermore, one document that might perhaps be interpreted as referring to the Feast of Thoth. The scribe of O. DeM 603[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[10]) mentions the 'day of Thoth' (*hrw dḥwty*).

Thoth, the god celebrated in the eponymous Feast of Thoth, was the principal deity of Hermopolis, the wise creator of, for example, culture, the spoken word, writing, and ritual.[11] In the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[12] date attributed to the beginning of the

---

1 E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43–47, 57–60; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 173–174; Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 30–31.

2 E.g., Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 129; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45–46; Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 20; for Thoth, see, for example, Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973), 106–160; Derchain-Urtel, *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine* (1981); Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982); Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 45–60; Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VII (2002), 639–645; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 715–729.

3 Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191; see also, for example, Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 82; Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 52–54; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 90–91.

4 See Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996), 35–57, 110–169.

5 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 686 (list 26); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 146.

6 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

7 See also the reference in O. DeM 57 to *ḥb ḏḥwty* (*ỉryw pn-tꜣ-wrt ꜥnḫ-n-nb ꜥ w s r ḏbꜣ ỉdnw ḥꜣy r-r-ꜥ ḥb ḏḥwty*; rt. 2–3) which might point to either the month of I *ꜣḫt* or its eponymous feast (see also Maline, Notes juridiques (À propos de l'ouvrage de E. Seidl), *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 108 note c).

8 O. IFAO 1088, rt. 3 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088); for a discussion on this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

9 *Mtw=k wḥꜣ* […] *n ry*(*t*) *m-mỉtt wꜥ n drt ꜥryw nty ỉw=ỉ mḥ nꜣy=ỉ gstỉ m-ỉm=sn hrw ḏḥwty*; O. DeM 603, 7. For a suggestion that this might be a reference to the eponymous feast of Thoth, see *Deir el-Medina Database,* O. DeM 00603, Remarks.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 568; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 165.

11 Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973), 151–152, 156; for further aspects of Thoth, see Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 54–72, 138–158. For *ḏḥwty*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VII (2002), 639–645.

12 *Psḏt ꜥꜣt m ḥb ꜥꜣ…pr ỉ*[*n ḏḥwty m*] *ḫrt-nṯr*; P. Cairo JE 86637 rt. V, 10–11; for the reconstruction of this passage, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei. Tafelband* (1994), pl. 5.

19th Dynasty[1]), the day of the Feast of Thoth was described as a day when the Ennead celebrated a great feast and when a procession of Thoth took place in the necropolis. The ways people celebrated the actual feast are still mostly unknown[2] apart from the presentation of the customary offerings as was done to any god honoured.[3]

At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty,[4] the family of Nebdjefa seems to have been particularly devoted to Thoth.[5] In addition to the members of the family of Nebdjefa, many other inhabitants of Deir el-Medina were devoted to Thoth.[6] Thoth was revered by the royal artisans' community in the form of an Ibis-headed god,[7] a moon,[8] and a baboon.[9] The most favoured epithets of Thoth[10] at Deir el-Medina were 'Lord of Hermopolis' (*nb ḫmnw*)[11] and the 'True Scribe of the Ennead' (*sš mꜣʿ n psḏt*).[12] It seems, thus, that the form venerated at Deir el-Medina was Thoth of Hermopolis, who enjoyed nationwide respect and was known as the inventor of writing, i.e., the same god who every year was honoured throughout the country during the Feast of Thoth. At Deir el-Medina, Thoth was,

1 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

2 Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973), 151; Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191.

3 Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191–192.

4 For the period of the family of Nebdjefa, see, for example, Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 86–90.

5 Nebdjefau named one of his sons Thuthirmaktef, 'Thoth is his protection'. In a letter to a woman called Hedjeret, Thuthirmaktef titled himself *wʿb ḳniw ḏḥwty*, 'wab-priest of the portable shrine of Thoth' (O. Cairo CG 25216, 1). On a stela dedicated to Re-Horakhty, Thuthirmaktef further called himself *ḫrty-nṯr n ḏḥwty nb ḫmnw*, 'stone mason of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis' (Stela BM EA 266). This kind of title with *ḫrty* and the name of a god was popular during the reign of Ramesses II and might indicate that the title-holder worked outside Deir el-Medina (Černý, *Community* (1973), 253–255). As far as I know, Thuthirmaktef, however, was the only one who adopted this title with the name of Thoth. On a stela dedicated to Thoth, a Huy called himself *bꜣk n iʿḥ*, 'servant of the Moon' (Stela Turin N. 50044). It is tempting to associate this Huy with Thuthirmaktef's son, who bore the same name (Huy). For Thuthirmaktef, see Andreu, La tombe de Thothermaktouf à Deir el-Medina (TT 357), *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 1–21; Negm, The Offering Table of Djehuty-her-mekat-ef in the Cairo Museum, *DE* 51 (2001), 47–52.

6 The inhabitants of the royal artisans' community erected stelae (e.g., Stela Bankes 4; Stela Bankes 6; Stela BM EA 807; Stela Turin N. 50044; Stela Turin N. 50045; Stela Turin N. 50046) and composed or copied hymns to Thoth (O. BM EA 65602; O. Cairo CG 25029; O. DeM 1080; O. DeM 1101; O. DeM 1180). The verso side of O. DeM 1265 contains a prayer directed to Thoth by someone at Deir el-Medina.

7 E.g., Stela Bankes 4; Stela BM EA 807; Stela Turin N. 50046; for Thoth at Deir el-Medina, see Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 110–114.

8 E.g., Stela Bankes 6; Stela Turin N. 50044; Stela Turin N. 50045.

9 E.g., Figured O. Leipzig 1659; Graffito 71; Stela Bankes 5; Stela Cairo JE 43571; Stela Swansea W 1326; Stela Turin N. 50047; Votive stela found by Bruyère in the area east of the Ptolemaic temple.

10 Noberasco, Gli dei, *OrAnt* 20 (1981), tavola [12]. For the various epithets of *ḏḥwty*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VII (2002), 639–645; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 715–729.

11 E.g., Stela BM EA 807; Stela Cairo JE 43571; Stela Turin N. 50047. Sometimes Thoth was also called *nb ỉwnw rsy*, 'Lord of Southern Heliopolis' (e.g., Stela Turin N. 50052).

12 E.g., Stela Bankes 8; Stela Cairo JE 43571. Occasionally, Thoth was also called *nb mdwt-nṯr*, 'Lord of the hieroglyphs' (e.g., Stela Turin N. 50047).

furthermore, known as a vengeful deity[1] who might inflict blindness[2] on those who wronged him.[3]

Bernard Bruyère[4] suggested that the chapel numbered 1216, a small chapel to the north-east of the village proper, was perhaps dedicated to Thoth and Seshat since two votive stelae offered to these deities were found in this chapel. However, finds from the chapel in question include objects dedicated to such gods as Amon-Re and to the deified Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.[5] There was also a lintel mentioning Amon, Horakhty, Atum, and the Eye of Re among the finds from chapel 1216.[6] As this lintel is a structured part of the chapel in question, the deities referred to may be gods to whom the chapel was dedicated. The proposal by Bruyère that Chapel 1216 was dedicated to Thoth and Seshat must, therefore, be viewed with caution.[7] In light of our present knowledge, chapel 1216 is, nevertheless, a possible location of the chapel of Thoth and of the site of the Feast of Thoth. Few objects or building fragments with the name or depiction of Thoth have been found *in situ* in and around the other religious buildings at Deir el-Medina.[8]

The Deir el-Medina material contains very little specific information on how the Feast of Thoth was celebrated. O. DeM 603[9] (date attributed the reign of Ramesses III[10]) may, nevertheless, contain a reference to a custom connected with this particular feast. The scribe Qensety wrote this letter to his brother Amenemope to ask for some ink and reed brushes 'with which he was going to fill his scribal palette on the day of Thoth'.[11] A ritual bearing a resemblance to Qensety's intention is depicted in the Valley of the Queens tomb of Nefertari (QV66[12]) dating to the reign of Ramesses II.[13] The queen is shown facing Thoth while an offering stand containing a bowl, a frog, and a scribal palette stands in between these two figures. Behind the queen is written chapter 94 of the Book of the Dead, which starts with the words: 'Spell for requesting a water bowl and a palette from

---

1 E.g., Stela Turin N. 50044. See also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 111–112.

2 E.g., Stela Bankes 6; Stela Turin N. 50046; Stela Turin N. 50052 (this stela was dedicated to Khonsu, but, in the upper register, the deity is called Thoth).

3 *ỉnk pɜ s ḏd wɜḥ m ʿḏɜ n ỉʿḥ…ỉw=f ḥr rdỉt mɜɜ=ỉ ʿɜwy pḥty=f*; Stela Turin N. 50044.

4 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 51–52. For chapel 1216, see idem, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 35–36, 50–70; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 690; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 42–43.

5 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 50–70.

6 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 64.

7 See also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 70.

8 See, for example, Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 17–70; idem, *Rapport 1931–1932* (1934), 56–72; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 12–24, 72–106, 117–126; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 96–152; idem, *Rapport 1945–1947* (1952), 17–27, 56–69; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 686–700, 706–709.

9 O. DeM 603, 1–10.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 568; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 165.

11 *Mtw=k wḫɜ* […] *n ry(t) m-mỉtt wʿ n drt ʿryw nty ỉw=ỉ mḥ nɜy=ỉ gstỉ m-ỉm=sn hrw ḏḥwty*; O. DeM 603, 7.

12 QV66, side chamber of the outer hall, north wall.

13 For the date of the QV 66, see, for example, Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 762–765.

Thoth'.[1] This spell is a transfiguration spell[2] which ensured the cosmic order and equipped the deceased with the magical powers of Thoth's writing.[3] The action referred to by Qensety, furthermore, brings to mind a Greco-Roman custom of offering a palette to Thoth.[4] In addition to a scribe's palette, the king in these offering scenes is often depicted presenting Thoth with some reed pens and a scribe's water bowl. The objective of the ritual in the Greco-Roman temples appears to have been to ensure the rebirth of the king.[5] Qensety's act of filling the scribal palette on the day of Thoth as described in O. DeM 603 might be such a ritual offering during the Feast of Thoth. The objective of Qensety in performing this ritual is not readily evident from the text. Qensety's aim might have been to ensure his own eventual journey to the hereafter which seems to have been the intention in the wall painting in the tomb of Nefertari and in the ritual scenes of the Greco-Roman temples. Alternatively, Qensety might have wished to pacify a deity who punishes or, simply, to revere a beloved god.

Since the Middle Kingdom, the date of the Feast of Thoth seems to have been fixed on I *ꜣḫt* 19.[6] In the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[8]), the feast is also said as taking place on I *ꜣḫt* 19. It has, however, been suggested that the feast may have formed a festival cycle with the Feast of *tḫy* on I *ꜣḫt* 20.[9] If the Feast of Thoth and the Feast of *tḫy* were, indeed, part of the same festival cycle, this might explain why, by the New Kingdom, the Feast of Thoth had replaced *tḫy* as the eponymous feast of the month of I *ꜣḫt*.[10] In the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, a similar festival cycle seems to have commenced on I *ꜣḫt* 18 and to have continued for four days through day 21.[11] Furthermore, both I *ꜣḫt* 19 and 21 were designated feasts of Thoth in the Festival Calendar of Esna.[12]

---

1 *R n dbḥ pꜣs gstỉ m-ˁ ḏḥwty*; QV66, side chamber of the outer hall, north wall, first column behind the queen. For the frog featuring in this wall scene, see Kaper, Queen Nefertari and the Frog. On an Amphibious Element in the Vignette to BD 94, *BACE* 13 (2002), 109–126.

2 Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Égyptiens* (1967), 97; see also Schmidt & Willeitner, *Nefertari. Gemahlin Ramses' II. Mit Aufnahmen aus dem Königinnengrab von Alberto Silotti.* (1994), 138–139.

3 Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Égyptiens* (1967), 98.

4 Derchain-Urtel, *Thot à travers* (1981), 1–26.

5 Derchain-Urtel, *Thot à travers* (1981), 24–26.

6 Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191; see also, for example, Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 82; Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 52–54; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 90–91.

7 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 686 (list 26); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 146.

8 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

9 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 174–175; Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191; see also Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 372–374; Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992), 101–102; however, Anthony Spalinger considered the Feast of Thoth and the Feast of *thy* (as well as the Feast of Wag) separate events (Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 54).

10 Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982), 191.

11 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 28–31, 181–182.

12 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 30–31, 243.

Falling on the ninth day of a decade, a day usually work-free at Deir el-Medina,[1] the Feast of Thoth on I *ꜣḫt* 19 is not mentioned in the administrative documents pertaining to this community.[2] There are, as stated above, some allusions that may be interpreted as referring to the Feast of Thoth having been celebrated by the villagers.[3] There are, furthermore, some indications that also at Deir el-Medina, the Feast of Thoth might have been part of a longer festival. The scribe of the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25539,[4] (date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah[5]) omitted I *ꜣḫt* 16–21 and, thus, the crew seems to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb during a period including the Eve of the Wag Feast, the Wag Feast proper,[6] the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of *tḫy*, and I *ꜣḫt* 21.[7] The scribe of O. DeM 633,[8] a short journal the date of which is attributed to later years of of Ramesses III,[9] said, furthermore, that on I *ꜣḫt* 19 and 21–23 the crew was in 'this place',

---

1 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 19 is 0/5; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 9 – V, 3 ([*ꜥḥꜥ*] *I ꜣḫt 7 wsf…II ꜣḫt 1 wsf hrw 25*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, Ostraca Caire (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25539, vs. 2–3 (lamp account omitting I *ꜣḫt* 16–21; date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172); O. DeM 633, rt. 3 (*st* [*tn*]; date attributed to later years of Ramesses III; e.g., Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 20 (*wsf tꜣ ỉst*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); P. UC 34336 rt. B, 16 (*ỉw nꜣ rmṯ-ỉst m wsf m hrw pn*; date attributed to year 5 of Siptah; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116).

2 Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 52; see also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156.

3 O. IFAO 1088, rt. 3 (no date attributed); O. DeM 603, 7 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 568).

4 O. Cairo CG 25539 II, 2–3. In O. Cairo CG 25515, the date is within an extended period of absence from I *ꜣḫt* 7 through II *ꜣḫt* 1. It is, therefore, impossible to say anything about the length of the festival in year 6 of Seti II.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 41–44.

6 For the Wag Feast at Deir el-Medina, see Chapter III 1.3 (I *ꜣḫt* 17).

7 I *ꜣḫt* 21 seems to have been part of the feast cycle of Thoth at least during the Ptolemaic Period (Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 374). The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity for I *ꜣḫt* 21 is 3/3 which points to a working day rather than to an annually occurring feast day. Working: O. Cairo CG 25541, 2 (lamps used; date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 303–304); P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III, 5 (*ṯs ỉn tꜣ ỉst* […; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses VIII; von Beckerath, Bemerkungen zu Papyrus Turin 1885 Verso II–III, in Demarée & Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium* (2000), 3–5); P. UC 34336 rt. B, 26 (*ỉw nꜣ rmṯw ỉst ḥr bꜣk m pꜣ r-ꜥ-bꜣk*; date attributed to year 5 of Siptah; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116). Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 9 – V, 3 (*ꜥḥꜥ*] *I ꜣḫt 7 wsf…II ꜣḫt 1 wsf hrw 25*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25539 I, 9 (lamps used; date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172); O. DeM 633, 4 (*st tn*; date attributed to later reign of Ramesses III; e.g., Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370).

8 *St tn*; O. DeM 633, rt. 3–4.

9 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 284.

i.e., probably work-free.[1] It seems, however, that the conceivably longer festival cycle of the Feast of Thoth was perhaps not an annually occurring event at Deir el-Medina. Individual men who were absent from work on I *ꜣḫt* 18 are listed in O. Cairo CG 25779[2] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[3]) and, thus, it appears that the rest of the crew was working on this particular day. According to O. Cairo CG 25541[4] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[5]), lamps were used for work in the Royal Tomb on I *ꜣḫt* 21 indicating that the crew went back to work right after the 'weekend'. The evidence in the journal P. UC 34336[6] (date attributed to year 5 of Siptah)[7] is also quite straightforward. The crew worked in the Tomb under construction on days I *ꜣḫt* 18 and 21[8] and they were freed from work only on I *ꜣḫt* 19–20.[9] Moreover, according to the third column on the verso side of P. Turin Cat. 1885[10] (date attributed to year 1 of Ramesses VIII[11]), the crew ascended on I *ꜣḫt* 21, indicating returning to work[12] right after the 'weekend'. To come to a conclusion on the date of the Feast of Thoth at Deir el-Medina, one might tentatively suggest that the feast may have been celebrated on I *ꜣḫt* 19 and that the actual work-free period might occasionally have been longer than the 'weekend' in question. However, in the aforementioned list of people absent or working O. Cairo CG 25779[13] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[14]), I *ꜣḫt* 18 is listed twice. It is possible that the second one of these is a scribal error for I *ꜣḫt* 19.[15] This would mean that, in the year this document was written, the men worked on the day of the Feast of Thoth.

---

1 For *st tn*, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 94–98). In O. Varille 26, the records seems to end around I *ꜣḫt* 16 (vs. 4; date attributed to year 2 of Amenmesse; e.g., Janssen, Two Personalities (1982) 112), although there still appears to be space left on the verso side of the ostracon (Kenneth Kitchen (*KRI* VII (1989), 237) does not comment on this and, as far as I know, no facsimile of this ostracon has been published). A festival period would seem a fitting place to end a journal while a new one could be started on the first day of work after the holidays (see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 67). In O. Cairo CG 25529, the entries also end on I *ꜣḫt* 16, leaving rest of the verso blank (vs. II, 11; see also Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 13; date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135).

2 O. Cairo CG 25779, 2–4.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–51.

4 O. Cairo CG 25541, 2.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 303–304; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 135–136.

6 P. UC 34336, rt. A, 1 – vs. C, 20. The papyrus is also known as P. Greg; for a translation and commentary of the text, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 111–138.

7 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116.

8 *ỉw nꜣ rmṯ-ỉst ḥr bꜣk m pꜣ r-ꜥ-bꜣk*; P. UC 34336 rt. B, 12, 26.

9 *ỉw nꜣ rmṯ-ỉst m wsf m hrw pn*; P. UC 34336 rt. B, 16–18.

10 *ṮS ỉn tꜣ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III, 5.

11 For the attribution of the date of P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III to year 1 of Ramesses VIII, see von Beckerath, Bemerkungen zu Papyrus Turin 1885 (2000), 3–5. According to another suggestion, the third column on the verso was written during the reign of Ramesses VII (Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 424; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 455).

12 For the word *ṯs* signifying 'going up to the Valley of the Kings', see Černý, *Community* (1973), 90; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 87 note 7.

13 O. Cairo CG 25779, 4.

14 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–51.

15 Thus Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; idem, *Die datierten* (2002), 100.

1.2.1.2 The Feast of Thoth

With regard to the month of I *ꜣḫt*, one may also mention that, in several 20th Dynasty documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, *ḏḥwty* and its variants appear to have been used as the name of this particular month. The first column of O. DeM 1265[1] (no date attributed), a literary texts listing the months, starts after the title by declaring that 'I *ꜣḫt*, *ḥb n ḏḥwty*, is the first of the months'.[2] Among the month names listed in O. BM EA 29560[3] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[4]) is *pn-ḏḥwty*. After the damaged beginning on the verso side of O. DeM 653[5] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[6]), *ḏḥwty* features before the date I *ꜣḫt* 4. As another feast, the New Year Festival, appears to have been celebrated at Deir el-Medina on I *ꜣḫt* 1–3,[7] the reference in O. DeM 653 is probably to the month of I *ꜣḫt*.[8] According to O. DeM 57[9] (year 31 of Ramesses III[10]), Pentaweret made an oath to reimburse the deputy Hay by *ḥb ḏḥwty*. This reference might be either to the month of I *ꜣḫt*[11] or to the actual Feast of Thoth.[12]

---

1 O. DeM 1265 I, 1–18; for a discussion on this text, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

2 *I ꜣḫt ḥb n ḏḥwty pꜣ tpy nꜣ ꜣbdw*; O. DeM 1265 I, 1–2.

3 O. BM EA 29560, rt. 4, 8, 12; for a discussion of this text, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

4 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27.

5 O. DeM 653, vs. 1.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 615; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 283–284.

7 *I ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 ꜥḥꜥ.n tꜣ-ỉst m wsf n wpt-rnpt*; O. DeM 209, vs. 20 (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 217–219 (Amenmesse); Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 130 (year 2 of Seti II); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 103–105 (year 2 of Amenmesse); see Chapter III 1.2.1.1. In the Temple Festival Calendar of Esna, a feast of Thoth, however, is mentioned as taking place on I *ꜣḫt* 4 (Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 25).

8 See also *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. DeM 0653, Names/Titles.

9 *ỉ'Iryw pn-tꜣ-wrt ꜥnḫ-n-nb ꜥ w s r ḏbꜣ ỉdnw ḥꜣy r-r-ꜥ ḥb ḏḥwty*; O. DeM 57, rt. 2–3.

10 For this dating of the document, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 16; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 554.

11 Many stipulated deadlines of oaths fall on the last day of the month, i.e., it appears to have been customary to set the date at the end of a month; e.g., O. Berlin P 10655, 3 (*mtw=ỉ dỉt ḳ ꜥrḳ n III šmw*; reign of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 573–574); O. DeM 433, 7 (*r-šꜣꜥ II šmw ꜥrḳ*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 130–131); O. OIM 12073, rt. 7 (*r-šꜣꜥ…III šmw ꜥrḳ*; year 3 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, HO (1957), 22); O. UC 39633, rt. 7 (*r-šꜣꜥ III šmw ꜥrḳ*; date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 299); see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 218.

12 See Maline, Notes juridiques, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 108 note c.

1.2.1.3 The Opet Festival

The Opet Festival, *pn-ỉpt*, was the eponymous feast of the month of II *ꜣḫt* (Greek *phaophi*).[1] Unlike most of the eponymous feasts, which were celebrated at the beginning of the subsequent month after the one named after them, the celebrations of *pn-ỉpt* already started during the month of II *ꜣḫt*. In the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[3]), the name of this particular eponymous feast is said to be *ḥb n ỉpt* and *ḥb ỉpt*. In the Great Harris Papyrus (P. BM EA 9999,[4] year 32 of Ramesses III[5]), this feast is called *ḥb ỉpt rst*. The ways one might refer to the eponymous feast of II *ꜣḫt* at Deir el-Medina appear to have been diverse. I am aware of one 18th Dynasty reference to the Opet Festival pertaining to Deir el-Medina. In his tomb (TT8),[6] the foreman Kha mentions in regard to Amon 'all [offerings] on his offering table in his Feast of Opet' (*ḥb=f n ỉpt*). In O. Ashmolean Museum 362,[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[8]), Ramose writes about preparations that are to be made for *ḥb ỉpt*.[9] According to O. DeM 46[10] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[11]), the crew received extra rations from the offerings of *pn-ỉpt*.[12] There are, furthermore, some documents that might be interpreted as containing references to the Opet Festival. A *ḥb n ỉmn* is mentioned in O. IFAO 1088[13] (no date attributed), which seems to list eponymous feasts. As this feast of Amon follows the Feast of Thoth in this document, it is tempting to take *ḥb n ỉmn* as referring to the Opet

---

1 E.g., Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 129; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45. For the Festival of Opet, see, for example, Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 66–73; Murnane, Opetfest, *LÄ* IV (1982), 574–579; The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994); Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 223–234; el-Sharkawy, *Der Amun-Tempel von Karnak. Die Funktion der Großen Säulenhalle, erschlossen aus der Dekoration ihrer Innenwände* (1997), 43–55, 115–118; Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 157–177.

2 *Ḥb=f n ỉpt* (Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 725–857 (passim) (lists 28–35)); *ḥb ỉpt* (Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 869, 876 (lists 37–38)); see also Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 147–158.

3 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

4 *Ḥb ỉpt-rst m II ꜣḫt 19 r III ꜣḫt 15 ỉr n hrw 27 šꜣᶜ rnpt-sp 1 r rnpt-sp 31 ỉr.n 31 n rnpt*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17).

5 *Rnpt-sp 32 III šmw 6 ḫr ḥm nsw-bỉty* (*wsr-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ mry-ỉmn*) ᶜ *w s sꜣ rᶜ* (*rᶜ-mss ḥḳꜣ-ỉwnw*) ᶜ *w s*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 1, 1.

6 …] *nbt ḥr wdḥw=f m ḥb=f n ỉpt*; TT8, arch (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 68). For the date of TT8, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 16.

7 O. Ashmolean Museum 362, 2–3, 6.

8 For the date attributed, see Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 93; Jaroslav Černý considered this text to be a model letter that was actually written by someone else (*Community* (1973), 322).

9 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 221.

10 *ỉw.tw ỉn tꜣ ỉst r mkw m dbḥ*[…*s*]*y n pn-ỉpt*; O. DeM 46, rt. 10.

11 For the date of this document, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12–13; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 121–124; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 372–374.

12 For this being a reference to the eponymous feast rather than to the month of II *ꜣḫt*, see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 220.

13 O. IFAO 1088, 4 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM. reg. no. 1088).

Festival.[1] On the edge of the account of payment recorded on O. Brunner[2] (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty[3]), there is a date 'year 2 III *ꜣḫt ḥb ỉmn*'. This *ḥb ỉmn* might also indicate the Opet festival which continued into the month of III *ꜣḫt*, at least during the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III.[4] With regard to the Opet Festival, one may also refer to the literary text O. DeM 1265[5] (no date attributed) where II *ꜣḫt* is described as a month in which 'one is in all the feasts of sailing to Opet'.

The Opet Festival was celebrated in Eastern Thebes in the temples of Karnak and Luxor. During the festival, the statue of Amon of Karnak, accompanied by the statues of Mut, Khonsu, and the reigning king, visited the temple of Luxor.[6] The purpose of the festival appears to have been to renew the divine kingship and to recrown the reigning king.[7]

The Amon of the Karnak temple (*ỉmn*(*-rˁ*) *m ỉpt-swt*)[8] is mentioned on several stelae and lintels erected by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.[9] In a stela in the British Museum (BM EA 444,[10] date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[11]), a procession of Amon of Karnak is depicted. The stela was dedicated by the workman in the Place of Truth Merwaset, and the hem-priests and the wab-priests in the scene appear to be from Deir el-

---

1 Van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 227 note 99.

2 *Rnpt-sp 2 III ꜣḫt ḥb ỉmn*; O. Brunner, right edge; see Helck, Eine Zahlungsquittung, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 7, 9. For the identification of O. Hasany Abdel-Galil as O. Brunner, see Haring, Hieratic Varia, *JEA* 90 (2004), 219. In the transcription by Kenneth Kitchen, this particular date is given as *III ꜣḫt* […]-*ḥr*(*-kꜣ*)[(*KRI* VII (1989), 414), but *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* was the name of IV *ꜣḫt* and the eponymous feast *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* was celebrated at Deir el-Medina at the beginning of I *prt* (*I prt 2 m kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9; date attributed to years 4–6 of Ramesses IV; see also Chapter III 1.2.1.5).

3 For the dates attributed, see Helck, Eine Zahlungsquittung, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 10 (year 2 of Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* VII, 414–415, 249–250 (year 2 of Siptah/Tausret).

4 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 725–890 (lists 28–38) (II *ꜣḫt* 19 – III *ꜣḫt* 12; see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 147–158; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II; Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29); P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (II *ꜣḫt* 19 – III *ꜣḫt* 15; see Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris* I (1994), pl. 17). The feast of Amon mentioned in O. Brunner as taking place in III *ꜣḫt*, might refer to another feast of Amon since both the Festival list of Thutmose III in Elefantine (Sethe, *Urk.* IV (1906–1909), 824 line 11) and the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu (902, list 39; see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 159) mention a feast of Amon in III *ꜣḫt*, after the Opet Festival.

5 *ỉw.tw m ḥb nbw m ḫnty r ỉpt*; O. DeM 1265 I, 4; see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 220 note 46; for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

6 Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 66–73; Murnane, Opetfest, *LÄ* IV (1982), 574–579; The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994); el-Sharkawy, *Der Amun-Tempel von Karnak* (1997), 43–55, 115–118; Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998), 157–177.

7 Bell, Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka, *JNES* 44 (1985), 251–294.

8 For *ỉmn*(*-rˁ*) *m ỉpt swt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 312, 323.

9 Lintel BM EA 153; Stela Bankes 4; Stela Bankes 5 (adored as Re); Stela Berlin 23077; Stela BM EA 332 (adored as Re); Stela BM EA 444; Stela Turin N. 50028 (*ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* formula on the back of the stela); Stela from the small shrines near the workmen's huts [4].

10 Stela BM EA 444; the occasion of the procession is not mentioned and, apart from the Opet Festival, the scene might depict the Beautiful Feast of the Valley or some other feast of Amon.

11 For the date attributed, see *Hieroglyphic Texts* X (1982), 29.

Medina.[1] In Graffito 1018[2] dating to the late 20th Dynasty,[3] the scribe Thutmose, furthermore, is called 'wab-priest of Amon in *ỉpt-swt*'. It remains unclear whether the residents of Deir el-Medina had their own Amon of *ỉpt-swt* or whether these references are to the Amon of the Karnak temple in Eastern Thebes. A procession of Amon is mentioned in O. BM EA 65933[a][4] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[5]), a letter from the foreman Hay to the vizier with a request to come and let Amon appear in a procession. This reference to a procession of Amon indicates perhaps that such parades could take place at Deir el-Medina. An Opet Festival procession might, thus, also have taken place at Deir el-Medina with a local statue of Amon.

In O. Ashmolean Museum 362[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[7]), Ramose writes to the royal scribe and overseer of cattle Hatia about the Opet Festival. He addresses the preparations for the approaching festival by mentioning, for example, barks from the temple of Amon and oxen for the offerings to the gods.[8] The oxen mentioned bring to mind the festival cow mentioned in P. BM EA 10401 (date attributed to the late 20th Dynasty[9]) to be delivered as part of taxes from the temple of Esna.[10] Moreover, oxen referred to in O. Ashmolean Museum 362 recall a painting in the pronaos of the chapel situated at the north-east corner of the village wall at Deir el-Medina (*la chapelle au nord-est de l'enceinte du village*) which depicts a procession of sacrificial bulls.[11] These bulls with garlands between their horns resemble, in turn, the animals led by priests in the Opet Festival depiction in the Luxor temple.[12] It may have been due to this resemblance that Dominique Valbelle took the chapel situated by the village wall to have been designed for the Opet Festival.[13]

---

1 Stela BM EA 444; hem-priest Ipuy, hem-priest Merwaset, wab-priest draughtsman Maaninakhtuf, wab-priest Pay, wab-priest Huy, wab-priest Ramose, wab-priest Bakenamun, wab-priest Bunakhtef. The provenance of the stela is not recorded (*Hieroglyphic Texts* X (1982), 29).

2 *Wʿb n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt*; Graffito 1018, 3. For *ỉmn-m-ỉpt-swt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 312.

3 For the scribe Thutmose and his time in office, see, for example, Černý, *Community* (1973), 383 (Dhutmose).

4 *ỉr pɜy=n nb r ṯwḥ n=n m pɜy=f ỉiỉy r dỉt ḫʿy ỉmn* [*m pɜ*…; O. BM EA 65933[a], vs. 2–3. This document is also known as O. Nash 11.

5 Kenneth Kitchen attributed a date to this text in the reign of Ramesses III (Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 583–584) but Robert Demarée attributed it to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty (*Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 41).

6 O. Ashmolean Museum 362, rt. 2–3.

7 For the date attributed, see Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 93.

8 *Ḥb ỉpt ḫn n* […]*n pɜ hrw ḫr b*(*w*) *ỉỉ n=n pɜ ḳɜwt n pr ỉmn m* […] *n ḥb ỉpt m-mỉtt nɜ n ỉḫ*(*w*) *n sšmw nɜ n wdnw nɜ n nṯrw nbw*; O. Ashmolean Museum 362, rt. 2–3.

9 Janssen, Requisitions from Upper Egyptian Temples (P. BM EA 10401), *JEA* 77 (1991), 81.

10 See Janssen, Requisitions, *JEA* 77 (1991), 79–92.

11 See Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935* III (1939), 36–39; see also Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 691 (Chapel north-east of Village enclosure).

12 See The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994), pls. 101, 104–107; for the sacrificial oxen of the Opet Festival, see also Cabrol, Les boeufs gras de la fête d'Opet, *CRIPEL* 20 (1999), 15–27.

13 See Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 319, 326; see also Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 69. Ann H. Bomann, who has studied the chapels in el-Amarna and Deir el-Medina, considers, however, this chapel a secular building, housing perhaps the meetings of the village *ḳnbt* (*op. cit.*, 51).

According to the Feast List of Amon of Elephantine,[1] the festivities of the Opet Festival lasted for eleven days on II *ꜣḫt* 15–25 during the reign of Thutmose III. In the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[3]), the Eve of the Festival is said to have been observed on II *ꜣḫt* 18 while the festival proper was celebrated for twenty-four days from II *ꜣḫt* 19 through III *ꜣḫt* 12. The return procession back to Karnak, according to this Festival Calendar, took place on III *ꜣḫt* 12, the last day of the festival.[4] According to the Great Harris Papyrus (P. BM EA 9999,[5] year 32 of Ramesses III[6]), the festival ended on III *ꜣḫt* 15, i.e., it lasted twenty-seven days, during the entire reign of Ramesses III. In Stela Cairo JE 91927[7] dated to the seventh year of Ramesses VI[8], a procession of Amon 'in his Beautiful Feast of Opet' is said to have taken place on III *ꜣḫt* 8. It is, however, unclear whether this text refers to the return of Amon to the Karnak temple at the end of the festival or not.[9] The procession mentioned in Stela Cairo JE 91927 might be some type of minor procession between the main processions to and from the Luxor temple.[10] The 25th Dynasty King Piy, in his Victory Inscription,[11] relates how the outward procession to the Luxor temple occurred on the Eve of the festival. According to this inscription,[12] the return of Amon to Karnak, i.e., the end of the festival, took place on III *ꜣḫt* 2. As far as processions of the Opet Festival during the New Kingdom are concerned, one may also refer to P. BM EA 10335[13] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV[14]). According to this text, a certain Amenemwia received an oracle

---

1 *II ꜣḫt 15 ḥb ỉmn m ỉpt rsy sw 11*; Sethe, *Urk.* IV (1906–1909), 824 line 10; see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 88; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 35; Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925), 250 note 3; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226–227.

2 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 725–890 (lists 28–38); see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 147–158.

3 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

4 *Sʿḳ ỉn ỉmn m ḥb=f n ỉpt*; Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 857 (list 35); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 156.

5 *Ḥb ỉpt-rst m II ꜣḫt 19 r III ꜣḫt 15 ỉr n hrw 27 šꜣʿ rnpt-sp 1 r rnpt-sp 31 ỉr.n 31 n rnpt*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17); see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 85.

6 *Rnpt-sp 32 III šmw 6 ḫr ḥm nsw-bỉty* (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ mry-ỉmn*) ʿ *w s sꜣ rʿ* (*rʿ-mss ḥḳꜣ-ỉwnw*) ʿ *w s*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 1, 1.

7 *Pr hrw pn…sḫʿʿ ḥm nṯr šps ỉmn-rʿ nsw nṯrw m ḥb=f nfr n ỉpt*; Stela Cairo JE 91927, 2; see Vernus, Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 103–110.

8 *Rnpt-sp* [*7*] *ḫr ḥm nsw-bỉty* (*nb-mꜣʿt-rʿ mry-ỉmn*) *sꜣ rʿ* (*rʿ-ms-sw ỉmn-ḥr-ḥpš=f nṯr-ḥḳꜣ-ỉwnw*); Stela Cairo JE 91927, 1; see Vernus, Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 107–108.

9 See also Murnane, Opetfest, *LÄ* IV (1982), 574–575.

10 At the Feast of the Beautiful Reunion in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, processions were organized on several days between the main processions at the beginning and the end of the festival (e.g., Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955), 196–199). Although this evidence is much later, there is a possibility that smaller processions were also organized during the New Kingdom throughout the Opet Festival and that the procession described in Stela Cairo JE 91927 is an example of such a procession.

11 *Sḫʿ=ỉ sw m sšm=f r ỉpt-rst m ḥb=f nfr n grḥ ḥb ỉpt*; Schäfer, *Urkunden der Älteren Äthiopienkönige* (1905), 14; for *grḥ ḥb ỉpt* denoting the Eve of the festival, see Murnane, Opetfest, *LÄ* IV (1982), 576.

12 *Hrw sʿḳ nṯr III ꜣḫt 2*; Victory Inscription of Piy (Schäfer, *Urk.* III (1905), 15); see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 86.

13 Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925), 249–255; Dawson, An Oracle Papyrus. B.M. 10335, *JEA* 11 (1925), 247–248, pls. 35–38.

14 For the date attributed, see Dawson, An Oracle Papyrus, *JEA* 11 (1925), 247. Warren Dawson was, however, not entirely sure about dating this document to the reign of Ramesses IV.

statement from Amon Pa-Khenty on III *ꜣḫt* 1 during the Opet Festival,[1] presumably in the course of a procession of the god.[2] As Amon Pa-Khenty was a statue of Amon in Western Thebes,[3] it is possible that the procession of this Amon took place on a day other than the outward or return journeys of Amon of Karnak.[4] In light of this document, it seems that, in addition to Amon of Karnak (*ỉmn m ỉpt-swt*),[5] other cult statues of Amon were carried in procession in connection with the Opet Festival.[6]

The date of the Opet Festival, thus, seems to have varied from reign to reign and dynasty to dynasty. One might, therefore, suggest that the festival may have been celebrated according to the lunar calendar.[7] Since the Opet Festival was, according to the Great Harris Papyrus (P. BM EA 9999),[8] celebrated on the same civil calendar days (II *ꜣḫt* 19 – III *ꜣḫt* 15) for thirty-one years in the reign of Ramesses III, I am not convinced that the date was always determined by the lunar calendar.[9] It is perhaps not entirely unthinkable that the Festival date may have been determined by some other means, perhaps through an oracle statement.

The Opet Festival seems to have had little impact on the work schedule of the royal artisans at Deir el-Medina.[10] Although there are many allusions to the Opet Festival,[11] there are no explicit references that date the celebration of this feast at Deir el-Medina to any specific date within the ancient Egyptian civil calendar.[12] In various documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there appears to be fewer references to working and

---

1 *III ꜣḫt 1 ꜥḥꜥ.n ꜥš.n sḏm-ꜥš ỉmn-m-wỉꜣ n ỉmn pꜣ ḫnty m ḥb=f nfr ḥb ỉpt*; P. BM EA 10335, rt. 1–2; see also Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925), 253.

2 E.g., Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925), 253.

3 Otto, *Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues* (1952), 59. An Amenhotep I of Pa-Khenty is also known but although this form of the deified king resembles Amenhotep I *pꜣ nb pꜣ dmỉt*, i.e., Amenhotep I of Deir el-Medina, it is impossible to delimit the area more accurately than to Western Thebes (Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 170). For *ỉmn pꜣ ḫnty*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 316.

4 Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925), 253; cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 157.

5 For *ỉmn*(*-rꜥ*) *m ỉpt swt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 312, 323.

6 See also Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925), 253.

7 The lunar calendar appears to have coexisted with the civil calendar in the calendars of lucky and unlucky days and, thus, one cannot exclude the possibility that the date of many feasts was to some degree determined by the cycle of the moon (Porceddu *et al.*, Evidence of Periodicity, *CAJ* 18 (2008), 327–339).

8 *Ḥb ỉpt-rst m II ꜣḫt 19 r III ꜣḫt 15 ỉr n hrw 27 šꜣꜥ rnpt-sp 1 r rnpt-sp 31 ỉr.n 31 n rnpt*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17); see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 85.

9 See also Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 224–225.

10 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 157.

11 O. Ashmolean Museum 362, 2–3, 6 (*ḥb ỉpt*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 93); O. BM EA 29560, rt. 12 (*pn ỉpt*; date attributed to the 20th Dynasty; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27); O. Brunner, right edge (*III ꜣḫt ḥb ỉmn*; date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Helck, Eine Zahlungsquittung, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 10 (year 2 of Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* VII, 414–415, 249–250 (year 2 of Siptah/Tausret)); O. DeM 46, rt. 10 (*ỉw.tw ỉn tꜣ ỉst r mkw m dbḥ*[*…s*]*y n pn-ỉpt*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh I* (1935), 12–13). There is, furthermore, one reference that might be interpreted as referring to a water procession during the Opet Festival. In P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071, Amon-Re is said to have crossed the river in the month of II *ꜣḫt* (*ḏꜣ*]*y n ỉmn rꜥ nsw nṯrw*[…; vs. I, 17; year 15 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 641–644).

12 However, according to O. DeM 46, the crew received extra rations from the offerings of *pn-ỉpt* on III *ꜣḫt* 11 (rt. 10; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12–13).

inactivity per day during most of the Opet Festival period (II *ꜣḫt* 18 – III *ꜣḫt* 15) than during the beginning of II *ꜣḫt* and the end of III *ꜣḫt*.[1] It is possible that the lower number of references during this period results from the random survival of documents from Deir el-Medina. All in all, there are too few references to be able to determine whether any of the 'weekdays' during the Opet Festival period were annually observed work-free days or not. The Deir el-Medina references to working and inactivity on the key days of the Opet Festival and the days of the processions of the feast known from the above-mentioned sources (II *ꜣḫt* 18,[2] II *ꜣḫt* 19,[3] III *ꜣḫt* 1,[4] III *ꜣḫt* 8,[5] III *ꜣḫt* 12[6], and III *ꜣḫt* 15[7]), nevertheless, will be presented below.

The Eve of the Opet Festival seems at some point in the reign of Ramesses II to have been observed on II *ꜣḫt* 18 (Medinet Habu Festival Calendar,[8] date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[9]). During the reign of Ramesses III, II *ꜣḫt* 18 was also the day before the Opet Festival (Great Harris Papyrus,[10] year 32 of Ramesses III[11]). A careful analysis of all the Deir el-Medina references to working and inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 18 reveals that, at least during the second half of the 19th Dynasty, the royal artisans may have worked on this day. In the corpus of this study, there are four references to working[12] and one reference to inactivity[13] on II *ꜣḫt* 18 during this particular period. From the 20th Dynasty, there is one document indicating working on II *ꜣḫt* 18[14] but this single reference is not enough to draw any conclusions on a possible day of working during this period. According to P.

---

1 The average number of references per day is 6.2 on II *ꜣḫt* 1–17, 3.6 on II *ꜣḫt* 18 – III *ꜣḫt* 15, and 5.7 on III *ꜣḫt* 16–30.

2 The Eve of the Opet Festival: Medinet Habu Festival Calendar (725 (list 28); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 147); Victory Stela of Piy (no date mentioned; Schäfer, *Urk.* III (1905), 14 lines 14–15).

3 First day of the Opet Festival: Medinet Habu Festival Calendar (743 (list 29); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 15148); P. BM EA 9999 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17).

4 Procession of Amon Pa-Khenty 'in his Beautiful Feast of Opet': P. BM EA 10335, rt. 1–2 (Dawson, An Oracle Papyrus, *JEA* 11 (1925), 247–248, pls. 35–38).

5 Procession of Amon 'in his Beautiful Feast of Opet': Stela Cairo JE 91927, 2 (Vernus, Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 103–110).

6 Procession back to the Karnak temple on the last day of the Opet Festival during the reign of Ramesses II: Medinet Habu Festival Calendar (857 (list 35); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 156).

7 Last day of the Festival during the reign of Ramesses III: P. BM EA 9999 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17).

8 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 725 (list 28); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 147.

9 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

10 P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17).

11 *Rnpt-sp 32 III šmw 6 ḫr ḥm nsw-bity* (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ mry-imn*) ʿ *w s sꜣ rʿ* (*rʿ-mss ḥḳꜣ-iwnw*) ʿ *w s*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 1, 1.

12 O. Ashmolean Museum 115, 4–5 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 9 of Merenptah; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 151); O. Cairo CG 25517 rt. δ, 10–12 (men listed as absent; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 8–9); O. Cairo CG 25779, vs. 3–5 (men listed as absent; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102).

13 O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. V, 28 (*iw tꜣ ist wsf*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7).

14 *ʾIw=w ṯs r sḫ*[*t*] *r gmgm sp sn st sdt ḫr n* (*wsr-mꜣʿt*[*-rʿ*] *stp-n-imn*[*n…*; O. DeM 45, rt. 16–17 (year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh I* (1935), 12).

Bibliotheque Nationale 237,[1] a work journal from the third year of Ramesses VI,[2] a procession of 'the god' (*pȝ nṯr*) took place on II *ȝḫt* 18. There is, in this papyrus, also a mention of the First High Priest of Amon arriving in Thebes that same day, II *ȝḫt* 18,[3] which might be taken as an implicit reference to the beginning of some important event, perhaps to the main procession of the Opet Festival. Alternatively, the above-mentioned reference to the procession of *pȝ nṯr* might designate a procession of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina,[4] organized perhaps to obtain an oracle statement from the deified king.[5] The phrase *pȝ nṯr* was, namely, often used of Amenhotep I, particularly in various oracle accounts dating to the 20th Dynasty.[6]

At some point in the reign of Ramesses II[7] (Medinet Habu Festival Calendar)[8] and during the entire reign of Ramesses III (Great Harris Papyrus),[9] the Opet Festival is known to have started on II *ȝḫt* 19. This particular civil calendar day, the ninth day of a decade, was generally work-free at Deir el-Medina.[10] There are some indications that II *ȝḫt* 19–20 might have been feast days at Deir el-Medina during the 19th Dynasty. The scribe of the work journal O. Cairo CG 25504[11] reported that, in the eighth year of Merenptah,[12]

---

1 *ỉw pȝ nṯr ḥr ḥꜥy*; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1, 17–18. The date written is I *ȝḫt* 18, but probably stands for II *ȝḫt* 18 (see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1, Dates mentioned).

2 For the date of this papyrus, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 339–340; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 447–448.

3 *ỉw pȝ ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn ḥr spr r nỉwt*; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1, 15–16.

4 See also Borghouts, Divine Intervention in ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bȝw*), in Demarée & Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (1982), 25.

5 See Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189.

6 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 4, vs. 4, 6 (date attributed to year 5 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 142); O. Ashmolean Museum 23, 4 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 663); O. Cairo CG 25555 + O. DeM 999, rt. 7, 8, vs. 3 (year 14 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 21); O. DeM 133, rt. 3, 6, vs. 2 (date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses V; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 433); O. Geneva MAH 12550, rt. 8–9 (year 11 of Ramesses III; e.g., Allam, *HOP* (1973), 193–195); O. UC 39622, rt. 6, vs. 1, 7 (= O. Petrie 21; year 27 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 5); P. DeM 26 A, rt. 19 (year 16 of Ramesses III; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 461–466). See also Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings in Deir el-Medina, in Preys (ed.), *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Structuring Religion* (2009) 158.

7 For the date attributed to the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

8 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 743 (list 29); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 148.

9 *Ḥb ỉpt-rst m II ȝḫt 19 r III ȝḫt 15 ỉr n hrw 27 šȝꜥ rnpt-sp 1 r rnpt-sp 31 ỉr.n 31 n rnpt*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17).

10 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratio of the 19th Dynasty references to working to references to inactivity on II *ȝḫt* 19 is 1/1. Working: O. Ashmolean Museum 115, 5–6 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 9 of Merenptah; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 151). Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. V, 30 (*ḫꜥ II ȝḫt 18 ỉw tȝ ỉst* [*wsf*]*…ỉw II ȝḫt 22 bȝk*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, Ostraca Caire (1935), 7).

11 [*I*]*w=f ḥr ỉỉy r* [*pȝ ḫtm*] *n pȝ ḫr r mkw* [*tȝ ỉs*]*t m II ȝḫt 20 ỉw=f ḥr mkw tȝ* [*ỉst*; O. Cairo CG 25504, vs. II, 8–9. As no festival is mentioned, the reward might have been a payment for the final work in the tomb of Merenptah (see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 151).

12 For the date of this document, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 2; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 155–158.

rewards were bestowed on the royal artisans on II *ꜣḫt* 20. According to O. Cairo CG 25779[1] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[2]), Kasa and Nebnefer were absent from work on II *ꜣḫt* 18 brewing beer. When brewing beer is mentioned in the administrative documents as a reason for an individual workman being absent from work, the beer appears to have been intended for festive use,[3] this time perhaps for the Opet Festival on II *ꜣḫt* 19.

A procession of the Western Theban statue Amon Pa-Khenty is known to have taken place on III *ꜣḫt* 1 in the second year of Ramesses IV[4] (P. BM EA 10335[5]). If this procession took place annually on a fixed civil calendar date, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina might also have participated in it on an annual basis. In the corpus of this study, there is one reference[6] to working on III *ꜣḫt* 1 while two references[7] note that the royal artisans were freed from work on this particular day.[8] The number of references is too low to make any conclusions about an annually occurring work-free day taking place at Deir el-Medina on III *ꜣḫt* 1.

A procession of Amon 'in his Beautiful Feast of Opet' is known to have taken place on III *ꜣḫt* 8 in the seventh year of Ramesses VI[9] (Stela Cairo JE 91927[10]). In O. Cairo CG 25515[11] (year 6 of Seti II[12]), the crew is said to have been work-free on III *ꜣḫt* 8 while the scribes of O. DeM 339[13] (reign of Ramesses III[14]) and O. Cairo CG 25248[15] (no date attributed[16]) mention working on this particular day. It is not possible to deduce from such a low number of references whether III *ꜣḫt* 8 was an annually occurring work-free day or not.

---

1 *ꜥtḥ*; O. Cairo CG 25779, vs. 4–5.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–51.

3 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 146–147.

4 For the date attributed, see Dawson, An Oracle Papyrus, *JEA* 11 (1925), 247.

5 P. BM EA 10335, rt. 1–2.

6 O. Cairo CG 25519, rt. 3–4 (absences of individual men; date attributed to year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 9–10).

7 O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 10 (*ꜥḥꜥ II ꜣḫt 27…III ꜣḫt 3 iw tꜣ ist r bꜣk*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Strasbourg H. 136, rt. 3–4 (lamp account omitting II *ꜣḫt* 29 – III *ꜣḫt* 1; date attributed to year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 291–291).

8 O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 10 (*ꜥḥꜥ II ꜣḫt 27…III ꜣḫt 3 iw tꜣ ist r bꜣk*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Strasbourg H. 136, rt. 3–4 (lamp account omitting II *ꜣḫt* 29 – III *ꜣḫt* 1; date attributed to year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 291–291).

9 *Rnpt-sp* [*7*] *ḥr ḥm nsw-bity* (*nb-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ mry-imn*) *sꜣ rꜥ* (*rꜥ-ms-sw imn-ḥr-ḫpš=f ntr-ḥḳꜣ-iwnw*); Stela Cairo JE 91927, 1; see Vernus, Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 107–108.

10 *Pr hrw pn…sḏꜥꜥ ḥm nṯr šps imn-rꜥ nsw nṯrw m ḥb=f nfr n ipt*; Stela Cairo JE 91927, 2; see Vernus, Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 103–110.

11 *ỉw=w wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 18.

12 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

13 Men listed as absent; O. DeM 339, rt. 2.

14 For the date of O. DeM 339, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 618–619; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 246–247.

15 Lamps used; O. Cairo CG 25248, 3 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.134).

16 The convention of writing the word *ḫbs*, 'wicks', with the sign Aa18 points perhaps to a late 19th or a 20th dynasty date (see Černý, *Valley of the Kings* (1970), 43–44).

At some point of the reign in Ramesses II,[1] the last day of the Opet Festival was III *ꜣḫt* 12 (Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[2]). An analysis of the 19th Dynasty references to working and inactivity on III *ꜣḫt* 12 reveals that there are two 19th Dynasty documents noting working and one reference to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 12. In O. Cairo CG 25779[3] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[4]), men absent from work on II *ꜣḫt* 12 are listed and, thus, most of the crew seems to have been working. According to O. MMA 14.6.217[5] (year 1 of Seti II[6]), the royal artisans were working on the Tomb of Seti II on II *ꜣḫt* 12. In O. Cairo CG 25515[7] (year 6 of Seti II[8]), the men are said to have been work-free. Such a low number of references over such a long period of time precludes any further conclusions on an annually occurring work-free day during the 19th Dynasty. During the 20th Dynasty, the royal artisans seem to have been working on this day.[9]

During the reign of Ramesses III, the last day of the Opet Festival was III *ꜣḫt* 15 (Great Harris papyrus,[10] year 32 of Ramesses III[11]). The scribe of the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25248[12] (no date attributed[13]) omitted III *ꜣḫt* 15 indicating, thus, that the crew

---

1 For the date attributed to the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

2 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 857 (list 35); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 156.

3 O. Cairo CG 25779, vs. 11–12.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–51.

5 *ỉw tꜣ ỉst bꜣk* (*m*) *tꜣ st* (*wsr-ḫprw-rᶜ stp-n-rᶜ*) ᶜ *w s*; O. MMA 14.6.217, rt. 3–4.

6 For the date of O. MMA 14.6.217, see Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 18; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 298–299; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 130.

7 *ỉw=w wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 23.

8 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

9 The ratio of the 20th Dynasty references to working to references to inactivity on III *ꜣḫt* 12 is 5/0; O. Berlin P 11254, 1–4 (delivery of beer to the Tomb of the Pharaoh; date attributed to year 19 of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 471); O. Cairo CG 25248, 4 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.134; lamps used; no date attributed); O. Cairo CG 25290 bis I, 1–2 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.99; men listed as absent; date attributed to year 6 of Ramesses IV; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 400–401, 403; O. DeM 911, rt. 8 (right piece; list of absences of an unidentified man; date attributed to years 26–27 of Ramesses III; e.g., Janssen, A Curious Error, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 306); O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 6, rt. 8 (Černý, Notebooks, 107.47; men listed as absent; date attributed to the beginning of the 20th Dynasty; *Deir el-Medina Database*).

10 *Ḥb ỉpt-rst m II ꜣḫt 19 r III ꜣḫt 15 ỉr n hrw 27 šꜣᶜ rnpt-sp 1 r rnpt-sp 31 ỉr.n 31 n rnpt*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 5 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17); see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 85.

11 *Rnpt-sp 32 III šmw 6 ḫr ḥm nsw-bỉty* (*wsr-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ mry-ỉmn*) ᶜ *w s sꜣ rᶜ* (*rᶜ-mss ḥḳꜣ-ỉwnw*) ᶜ *w s*; P. BM EA 9999 pl. 1, 1.

12 O. Cairo CG 25248, 6–7 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.134). According to O. Turin N. 57043, the men received their monthly rations on III *ꜣḫt* 15 (*dỉw*; vs. 1; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 30). As no wicks were used on III *ꜣḫt* 15, the royal artisans may have been work-free on this day.

13 The convention of writing the word *ḫbs*, 'wicks', with the sign Aa18 points perhaps to a late 19th or a 20th dynasty date (see Černý, *Valley of the Kings* (1970), 43–44).

was freed from work on the Royal Tomb.[1] The lack of 20th Dynasty references to working on III *ꜣḫt* 15 might indicate a work-free day during this period but, due to the low number of any references to working and inactivity on this day, it is impossible to draw any incontestable conclusions.

In the corpus of this study, there are five references to rewards bestowed upon the royal artisans during the Opet Festival period (II *ꜣḫt* 18 – III *ꜣḫt* 15). An event of rewarding the crew might, even in cases when no feast day is mentioned, indicate such a feast day and, therefore, the occasions of distributing extra rations that coincide with the Opet Festival are considered here. The first of these occasions of rewarding the royal artisans came about in the seventh year of Merenptah. In O. Cairo CG 25504,[2] a distribution of rewards is mentioned as having taken place on III *ꜣḫt* 11. There are only a few documents referring to working and inactivity on III *ꜣḫt* 11: in two texts,[3] the royal artisans are said to have been work-free on this day while one document[4] indicates that the crew was working. The second reference to rewards during the Opet Festival period comes from the subsequent year, the eighth year of Merenptah. Extra rations, according to the aforementioned O. Cairo CG 25504,[5] were given on II *ꜣḫt* 20. Being the tenth day of a decade, it is impossible to determine whether II *ꜣḫt* 20 was an annually occurring feast day fixed to the civil calendar.[6] The third reference to rewards during the Opet Festival is in O. DeM 353[7] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[8]), where it is said that the crew was rewarded in the Valley of the Kings on II *ꜣḫt* 26. An analysis of the references to working and inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 26 indicates, however, that the royal artisans may generally have

---

1 During the 19th Dynasty, the crew appears generally to have been working on III *ꜣḫt* 15 as the ratio of the 19th Dynasty references to working to references to inactivity is 2/1. Working: O. Cairo CG 25779, vs. 15–16 (men listed as absent; reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216); O. MMA 14.6.217, rt. 6–7 (men listed as absent; reign of Seti II; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 18). Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 15 – VII, 2 (*ꜥḥꜥ III ꜣḫt 19…iw III ꜣḫt 27*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7).

2 …]*ỉr.n ỉmy-r pr-ḥḏ* […] *r pꜣ ḫtm n p*[*ꜣ ḫr ỉw=f ḥr*] *mkw tꜣ ỉst*; O. Cairo CG 25504 rt. II, 1–4. For the date of this document, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 2; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 155–158.

3 O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI 21 (*ỉw=w wsf*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25248, 3–4 ((Černý, Notebooks, 101.134; lamp account omitting III *ꜣḫt* 11; no date attributed).

4 O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 6 (Černý, Notebooks, 107.47 (Varille 6)); see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 257–258. Wolfgang Helck dated O. Varille 6 to year 24 of Ramesses III (*loc. cit.*), but it seems that the *terminus ante quem* must be year 19 of Ramesses III (*Deir el-Medina Database*, O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 06, Remarks).

5 [*ỉ*]*w=f ḥr ỉỉy r* [*pꜣ ḫtm*] *n pꜣ ḫr r mkw* [*tꜣ ỉs*]*t m II ꜣḫt 20 ỉw=f ḥr mkw tꜣ* [*ỉst*…; O. Cairo CG 25504, vs. II, 8–9. For the date of this document, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 2; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 155–158.

6 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 20 is 0/1; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. V, 26 – VI, 1 (*ꜥḥꜥ II ꜣḫt 19 ỉw tꜣ ỉst* [*wsf*]*…ỉw II ꜣḫt 22 bꜣk*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7). There is, however, one additional indication that II *ꜣḫt* 19–20 might have been feast days at Deir el-Medina during the 19th Dynasty. According to O. Cairo CG 25779, Kasa and Nebnefer were not working on II *ꜣḫt* 18 in order to brew beer ((*ꜥtḥ*; vs. 4–5; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216). When brewing beer was mentioned in the administrative documents as a reason for the inactivity of individual workmen, the beer appears to have been intended for festive use (Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 146–147).

7 *ỉw tꜣ ỉst* (*m*) *sḫt ỉw.tw hꜣb*[…] *m pr-ꜥꜣ r mkw=sn*; O. DeM 353, vs. 1–2.

8 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 236–237; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 111.

been working on this day during the 19th Dynasty.[1] From the 20th Dynasty, there are two references to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 26.[2] The fourth reference to rewards during the Opet Festival period comes from the first year of Ramesses IV. Extra rations, according to O. DeM 41,[3] were received on II *ꜣḫt* 24 through the hand of the King's Scribe Hori. During the 19th Dynasty, the royal artisans may have been working on this day[4] while there is one 20th Dynasty document containing a reference to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 24.[5] The fifth occasion of distributing rewards took place in the second year of Ramesses IV. In O. DeM 46,[6] the crew is said to have received rewards from the offerings of the Opet Festival on III *ꜣḫt* 11.[7] This reference in O. DeM 46 is the second occasion of rewarding the royal artisans on III *ꜣḫt* 11, the first one being the one in O. Cairo CG 25504[8] (year 7 of Merenptah[9]). This particular day may have been a procession day of one of the statues of Amon in Western Thebes, i.e., a day when the inhabitants of Western Thebes, in particular, might have taken part in the festivities of the Opet Festival. All in all, however, there are too few references to be able to pinpoint these dates of distribution of rewards as dates of the Opet Festival celebration by the villagers.

To sum up: The evidence for the dates when the villagers of Deir el-Medina celebrated the Opet Festival during the over 200 years of the Ramesside Period is simply too sparse for any solid conclusions. The individual text references mentioning rewards

---

1 The ratio of the 19th Dynasty references to working to references to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 26 is 3/0; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 4–6 (*II ꜣḫt 25 ỉw=w bꜣk…ʿḥʿ II ꜣḫt 27*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, Ostraca Caire (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25517, vs. 16 (men listed as absent; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, Ostraca Caire (1935), 8–9); O. DeM 353, vs. 1 (*ỉw tꜣ ỉst* (*m*) *sḫt*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 236–237).

2 O. DeM 894, 3 (*wsf tꜣ ỉst*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV or V; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 67–68); O. UC 39626, rt. 6 (*m st tn*; date attributed to year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 10).

3 *ỉr sš-nsw ḥrỉ r mkw tꜣ ỉst*; O. DeM 41, vs. 10. For the date of this document, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 107–109; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 355–356. It may have been this event that prompted the foreman Anhurkhawy to erect a stela to testify to a donation he received from Ramesses IV via the royal scribe Hori (Stela BM EA 588; see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 161; for this particular stela, see Janssen, An Unusual Donation Stela of the Twentieth Dynasty, *JEA* 49 (1963), 64–70).

4 During the 19th Dynasty, the crew might generally have been working on II *ꜣḫt* 24 as the ratio of references to working to references to inactivity is 2/0; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI, 1–3 (*ỉw II ꜣḫt 22 bꜣk…II ꜣḫt 24*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25517, vs. 8–15 (men listed as absent; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 8–9).

5 *M st tn*; O. UC 39626, rt. 4–6 (date attributed to year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 10. For *st tn* see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98.

6 *ỉw.tw ỉn tꜣ ỉst r mkw m dbḥ*[…]*sy n pn-ỉpt*; O. DeM 46, rt. 10–11. For the date of this document, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12–13; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 121–124; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 372–374.

7 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *ꜣḫt* 11 is 1/2. Working: O. IFAO [unnumbered] + O. Varille 6 (Černý, Notebooks, 107.47; men listed as absent; date attributed to the beginning of 20th Dynasty; *Deir el-Medina Database*). Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VI 21 (*ỉw=w wsf*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25248, 3–4 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.134; lamp account omitting III *ꜣḫt* 11; no date attributed).

8 O. Cairo CG 25504 rt. II, 1–4.

9 For the date of this document, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 2; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 155–158.

may, even so, be taken as implicit evidence that II *ꜣḫt* 19–20[1] and III *ꜣḫt* 11[2] might, at some point, have been feast days of the Opet Festival in the royal artisans' community. It is quite plausible that the celebration of this feast was not dictated by the ancient Egyptian civil calendar. The result of such a state of affairs would have been that there were no annually occurring fixed Opet Festival days in the civil calendar. What would appear to be certain, even with the lack of hard evidence, is that the Opet Festival was celebrated at Deir el-Medina.

As regards the terminology of the eponymous feasts, one may refer to the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[3] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[4]) where the month name *pn-ỉpt* is mentioned. In the documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there appears to be one reference to this month name for II *ꜣḫt*. In the account of transfer O. BM EA 29560[5] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[6]), *pn-ỉpt* features among the other month names listed.[7]

[1] O. Cairo CG 25504, vs. II, 8–9 (rewards on II *ꜣḫt* 20; year 8 of Merenptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 2). II *ꜣḫt* 19 is known as the first day of the Opet Festival; Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 743 (list 29); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 148; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29). According to O. Cairo CG 25779, some men were brewing beer on II *ꜣḫt* 18 (vs. 4–5; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216).

[2] O. Cairo CG 25504 rt. II, 1–4 (year 8 of Merenptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 2); O. DeM 46, rt. 10–11 (year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., *Černý, Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12–13).

[3] P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 2; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

[4] For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

[5] O. BM EA 29560, rt. 12; for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

[6] For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27.

[7] In O. BM EA 29560, *pn-ỉpt* is mentioned for the second time in line 13 of the verso. This second reference to *pn-ỉpt* might be an error for *pn-ỉnt*, the eponymous feast of II *šmw*. In that case, the months IV *prt* and I *šmw* have been omitted. Alternatively, the second *pn-ỉpt* refers perhaps to an additional transfer during the month of II *ꜣḫt* already mentioned or to the month of II *ꜣḫt* in the following year (see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 233–234 note 23). Shafik Allam takes, however, the second *pn-ỉpt* to stand for *pn-rnn-wtt*, i.e., IV *prt* (*HOP* (1973), 52).

1.2.1.4 The Feast of Hathor

The name of the eponymous Feast of Hathor is known from the Middle Kingdom through the Greco-Roman Period. During the Middle Kingdom, the feast was called *ḫnt ḥwt-ḥr*, the Sailing of Hathor.[1] On the astronomical ceiling in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Senmut (TT71),[2] this eponymous feast was called *ḥwt-ḥr* and in the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[4]), the event was designated *ḥb ḥwt-ḥr*. The eponymous Feast of Hathor was also referred to in various ways in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina. In O. Michaelides 33[5] (date attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty[6]), the feast at the beginning of IV *ꜣḫt* was called *ḫˁ(w) nt ḥwt-ḥr*, 'Procession of Hathor'. Certain undated references to a feast of Hathor may also designate the eponymous feast of III *ꜣḫt*. In O. Michaelides 48[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[8]), *ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr* is mentioned among the occasions when supplies were transferred from one unidentified person to another. *Pꜣ ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr* is referred to in O. Liverpool 13625[9] (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah[10]), an account of transfers similar to that of O. Michaelides 48. In O. IFAO 1088[11] (no date attributed), a feast called *ḥb ˁḳ nw p(t)*, Entering the Sky, was introduced between the Opet Festival and the Feast of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*. I am inclined to agree with René van Walsem[12] that this may be another name for the eponymous feast of Hathor. One may perhaps also note O. Berlin P 10637,[13] the date of which is attributed to the thirteenth year of Ramesses III.[14] The Day of Doing Good, *hrw pꜣ ỉr nfr*,[15] mentioned in this account of transfers might perhaps stand for the

---

1 P. Berlin P 10282, rt. 2; P. UC 32191, rt. 1, 2; see Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 177.

2 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 42–43, pl. I; Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 35–48; for the date of TT71, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 139–142.

3 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 917 (list 40); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 159.

4 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

5 *IV ꜣḫt 1 ḫˁ(w) nt ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; for this reading of the signs after the date, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Michaelides 033, Remarks.

6 For the dates attributed, see Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 20 (Ramesses III); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 612–613 (Ramesses III); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 374–375 (year 2 of Ramesses IV).

7 O. Michaelides 48 rt. II, 15. The feast of Hathor is referred to in this text as the 'second feast of Hathor', *ky ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*, although no other feast of Hathor is mentioned in the surviving part of the ostracon. Perhaps a third column once existed to the right of the surviving columns. The feast of Pre mentioned in this document is also designated as 'the second feast' of this deity (rt. II, 5).

8 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 556–557; the document was attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty by Hans Goedicke and Edward Wente (*Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 20).

9 O. Liverpool 13625, rt. 3.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1982), 162–163.

11 O. IFAO 1088, 5; (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 221–222, 242 (O. DeM inv. no. 1088); for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

12 Van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 228 note 103.

13 O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 1 – vs. 2.

14 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 455.

15 O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 3.

eponymous Feast of Hathor.[1] The so-called 'do good' prayers left as graffiti at Deir el-Bahri are almost exclusively directed at Hathor.[2]

Hathor was venerated all over Egypt since the beginning of ancient Egyptian history.[3] She was the goddess of music, dance, love, and intoxication, just to mention a few examples of the domains of this deity, and, especially in Western Thebes, she was the goddess of the necropolis.[4] Which of the numerous aspects of Hathor was celebrated during the eponymous feast of III *ꜣḫt* is not readily apparent. In the Greco-Roman temple of Esna, the object of veneration during this particular feast seems to have been Hathor in her role as the daughter of Re, i.e., the Eye of the Sun.[5] In another Greco-Roman temple, that of Hathor at Dendera, the Feast of Hathor in III *ꜣḫt* was called the feast of the repetition of *tḫy*.[6] As the Feast of *tḫy* was one of the feasts commemorating the return of the Solar Eye from Nubia,[7] the eponymous feast of Hathor also seems to have been celebrated in honour of the Eye of Re in the temple of Dendera.[8]

The aspect of Hathor which was worshipped at Deir el-Medina during the eponymous feast of III *ꜣḫt* is not self-evident. Hathor was a popular deity in this community and the goddess was revered in her numerous aspects. One example is a stela in the collection of W. J. Bankes (Stela Bankes 7). In this stela dating to the reign of Ramesses II,[9] Bukhanef-Ptah, wife of Kasa, is shown with her family in front of the goddess Nebethotep.[10] Behind the goddess is a large sistrum with the head of Hathor which is also referred to as Nebethotep. The goddess in this stela seems to be a

---

1 See *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Berlin P 10637, Dates mentioned.

2 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 240; see also Marciniak, Quelques remarques sur la formule IR NFR, IF NFR, *ÉT* 2 (1968), 25–31. Elsewhere in Egypt, these prayers were directed to other deities such as Sekhmet and Ptah (see Sadek, *loc. cit.*) and, thus, it is also possible that this reference to the day of *ỉr nfr* indicates a feast of a deity other than Hathor.

3 E.g., Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973), 75–79.

4 For Hathor, see, for example, Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (1959), 14–28; Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (1963); Derchain, *Hathor Quatrifons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien* (1972); Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973), 22–105; Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* V (2002), 75–79; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 347–414.

5 Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962), 41–43. For *ỉrt-rˁ*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 426–429; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 104–106.

6 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 46–47.

7 E.g., von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 48–49; for the feast *tḫy*, see, for example, Spalinger, Chronological Analysis, *SAK* 20 (1993), 297–303; Waitkus, Eine Fahrt der Hathor, *GM* 135 (1993), 105–111; Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994), 54; Darnell, Hathor Returns to Medamûd, *SAK* 22 (1995), 47–94; Frandsen, On Fear of Death and the Three *Bwt*s connected with Hathor, in Teeter & Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (1999), 131–148.

8 Some other feasts where the Eye of the Sun was honoured were the New Year Festival (Von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 47–54), the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 69–70; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 21–32), and the Feast of *ỉpỉp* (P. Berlin P 3053, H 1–2; see Verhoeven & Derchain, *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque. Ein Text aus dem 'Mutritual' des Pap. Berlin 3053* (1985), 18, 43, 53).

9 For the date of this stela, see Černý, *Egyptian Stelae* (1958), 7.

10 Stela Bankes 7; for Nebethotep at Deir el-Medina, see Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 313, 317, 330.

form of Hathor, the Solar Eye.[1] The family of Bukhanef-Ptah is shown approaching (Hathor-)Nebethotep with musical instruments, such as tambourines and clappers, as well as with flowers and bags of food.[2] It seems, thus, that the members of this lady's family are taking part in a festive event, perhaps the eponymous Feast of Hathor, the Eye of Re. The act of playing the tambourine and other percussion instruments played an important part in placating the angry goddess on her return from Nubia.[3]

At Deir el-Bahri, just north of the village of Deir el-Medina, Hathor was venerated primarily as the goddess of the western mountain and the necropolis.[4] In addition to Hathor, the Deir el-Bahri cult was directed at Amon.[5] In the graffiti found in the ruins of Thutmose III's Hathor temple at Deir el-Bahri, the visitors to this shrine mention Hathor, Daughter of Re.[6] In the area surrounding Deir el-Medina, several small temples for the cult of Hathor were erected along the northern road.[7] Like the Hathor temple at Deir el-Bahri, the Hathor shrine built by Seti I to the area north of the present Ptolemaic precinct, in addition to Hathor, was also dedicated to Amon.[8] The sanctuary of Hathor founded by Ramesses II was, according to Bernard Bruyère,[9] a smaller version of the terrace temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. The temples build by Seti I and Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina thus appear to have been dedicated to a cult of Hathor similar to that of Deir el-Bahri. These small temples at Deir el-Medina, consequently, may have been the location of the Feast of Hathor, the Eye of Re.[10] Alternatively, the focal point of the celebration of the feast might have been the little chapel inside the present Ptolemaic precinct (Bruèyre's

---

1 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 114. A sistrum called Hathor-Nebethotep, the Eye of Re, is depicted on Stela Turin N. 50027 (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 60). However, see O. DeM 744 + 745 where both Hathor and Nebethotep are listed as recipients of grain rations (*ḥwt-ḥr ḥ3r 1/4…nbt-ḥtp ḥ*[*3r…*; (744) 2, (745) 5; date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* VIII (2000), 36–38 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 115–116 (late Seti II to Siptah)). For *ḥwt-ḥr nbt-ḥtp*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* V (2002), 83; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 414–415; for *nbt-ḥtpt*, see idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IV (2002), 111–112; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 292–293.

2 Stela Bankes 7.

3 Von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 50–51; see also Manniche, *Music and Musicians* (1991), 60–61.

4 Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 67; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973), 75.

5 Karkowski, Beautiful Feast of the Valley Representations (1976), 363–364.

6 Graffito from the Thutmose III Deir el-Bahri temple nr. 31 (see Sadek, An Attempt to Translate the Corpus of the Deir el-Bahri Hieratic Inscriptions, *GM* 71 (1984), 89); Graffito from the Thutmose III Deir el-Bahri temple nr. 80 (see Sadek, An Attempt to Translate the Corpus of the Deir el-Bahri Hieratic Inscriptions (Part Two), *GM* 72 (1984), 76).

7 The Hathor chapel of Seti I (Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 99–104; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1964), 694–695); the Sanctuary of Hathor build by Ramesses II (Bruyère, Deir el Medineh. Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, *Cd'É* 25–28 (1939), 269–271; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 19–20; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1964), 695–696); the temple attributed to Merenptah (Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 91; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 107–109 (no. 250), I, 143–144 (nos. 382–383), pl. 41; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1964), 695).

8 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 103; an altar dedicated by Seti I to Hathor and Amon was found in the chapel.

9 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 23.

10 In the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, Hathor is called the Eye of Re (de Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna* (2002), 203–205).

chapel 3).[1] In this chapel, the main deities seem to have been Hathor and Horus.[2] A stela dedicated to Mut of *Isheru*, i.e., another form of the Solar Eye, was also found in this particular chapel.[3]

As far as I am aware, no priests or priestesses of Hathor are known from the community of Deir el-Medina.[4] There is, however, one stela dating to the reign of Ramesses II[5] which was dedicated by Nebenmaat, the Servant (*bꜣk*) of Hathor.[6] Several wives of the royal artisans are known to have held the title Chantress (*šmʿyt*/*ḥsyt*) of Hathor.[7] If the Feast of Hathor was celebrated in honour of the Eye of Re, it was perhaps these women who pacified the enraged goddess by singing and playing music to her.[8]

The main ritual of the eponymous Feast of Hathor seems to have been a procession of the celebrated goddess. As stated above, the feast was called the Sailing of Hathor during the Middle Kingdom.[9] A water procession on the river or on a lake, thus, may have been part of the festivities. A procession of Hathor is also mentioned in a graffito from the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri.[10] In the Greco-Roman temple calendars, processions of Hathor are mentioned as having taken place during this feast.[11] During the Greco-Roman Period, the Feast of Hathor, furthermore, may have been part of a longer fertility festival in the month of III *ꜣḫt*.[12] Among the rituals of the Hathor Feast in her temple at Dendera, a fertility rite called the 'opening of the breasts of women' is mentioned.[13] The 'presentation of offerings' performed in honour of Nebetuu, a manifestation of Hathor in the Esna Temple, also seems to have been a fertility ritual.[14]

---

1 For Chapel 3, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 96–97.

2 Both a stela and a slab with the names of Hathor and Horus were found in the excavations of Chapel 3 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 105–106).

3 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 105.

4 For the priestesses of Hathor, see, for example, Gillam, Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 211–237.

5 For the date of Stela Turin N. 50188, see Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 169.

6 *Bꜣk n ḥwt-ḥrt ḥnwt mḥyt sḏm-ʿš m st mꜣʿt nb-n-mꜣʿt*; Stela Turin N. 50188.

7 E.g., TT2, entrance to offering chapel, wall A', 1st register; offering chapel, room 1, wall, 3rd register left (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 12, 15; reign of Ramesses II; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9); TT4, offering chapel, wall A (Černý, *op. cit.*, 44; reign of Ramesses II; Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, 11–12); TT6, offering chapel, room 2, wall B, 2nd register left (Černý, *op. cit.*, 59; date attributed from late in the 18th Dynasty into the reign of Ramesses II; Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, 14–15); TT211, offering chapel, wall C (Černý, *op. cit.*, 88; date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, 307–309); TT216, offering chapel, room 3, wall E, 1st register right (Černý, *op. cit.*, 107; date attributed to the mid-19th Dynasty; Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, 312–315). For *ḥsyt n ḥwt-ḥr* at Deir el-Medina, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 34–35; for Chantresses in ancient Egypt, see also Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress in Ancient Egypt* (2005).

8 For women playing music during the Feast of Hathor, see Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 96; for female musicians, see, for example, Manniche, *Music and Musicians* (1991); Fantecchi & Zingarelli, Singers and Musicians, *GM* 186 (2002), 27–35.

9 P. Berlin P 10282, rt. 2; P. UC 321911, rt. 1, 2; see Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 177.

10 Graffito from the Thutmose III Deir el-Bahri temple nr. 1; see Sadek, An Attempt to translate, *GM* 71 (1984), 71–73.

11 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 52–55.

12 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 175; cf. Daumas, Hathorfeste, *LÄ* II (1977), 1034–1035.

13 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 381.

14 Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962), 41.

As indicated in the aforementioned O. Michaelides 33[1] (date attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty[2]), a procession of Hathor also seems to have been part of the festivities during the Hathor feast at Deir el-Medina. The identification of any other activities associated with the Feast of Hathor is less clear. According to P. Turin Cat. 1881 + 2080 + 2092[3] (year 8 of Ramesses IX[4]), the royal artisans received extra provisions, *ḥsw*,[5] two days before the Feast of Hathor. Another delivery of offering loaves is known to have taken place right after the Feast of Hathor.[6]

The date of the eponymous feast of III *ꜣḫt* is given as IV *ꜣḫt* 1 in the Middle Kingdom sources.[7] In the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri, the procession of Hathor is said to have taken place on IV *ꜣḫt* 4,[8] whereas the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[10]) mentions IV *ꜣḫt* 1 as the date for the Feast of Hathor. During the Greco-Roman Period, the date of the eponymous Feast of Hathor varied from temple to temple. In the temple of Dendera, the eponymous feast was celebrated for the whole month of III *ꜣḫt* and, additionally, processions of Hathor occurred from III *ꜣḫt* 29 through IV *ꜣḫt* 1.[11] As the temple of Dendera was dedicated to Hathor, it is understandable that this ancient, eponymous feast of the goddess was celebrated for an extended period of time. In the temple of Kom Ombo, a feast of Hathor was celebrated from III *ꜣḫt* 28 through IV *ꜣḫt* 5,[12] whereas in the temple of Esna the feast was celebrated on one day only, on III *ꜣḫt* 29.[13]

Many references to a feast of Hathor at Deir el-Medina seem to indicate private feasts.[14] A communal feast of Hathor, nevertheless, appears to have been celebrated at the beginning of IV *ꜣḫt*. In the aforementioned O. Michaelides 33,[15] the crew is said to have

---

1 *Ḥꜥ(w) nt ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; for this reading of the signs after the date, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Michaelides 033, Remarks.

2 For the dates attributed, see Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 20 (Ramesses III); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 612–613 (Ramesses III); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 374–375 (year 2 of Ramesses IV).

3 *III ꜣḫt 29 m hrw pn šsp m-dt wdpw-nsw ns-ỉmn…krš šrỉ 500 ꜥḳw šbn 500 ps ḥtp-nṯr 350 ḏrwy dbn 50*; P. Turin Cat. 1881 + 2080 + 2092 rt. V, 4–10.

4 For the date of P. Turin Cat. 1881 + 2080 + 2092, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 613–614; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 489–490.

5 For the term *ḥsw*, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 1 notes 6, 10.

6 *IV ꜣḫt 3 hrw pn šsp m-dt wdpw-nsw ns-ỉmn pꜣ sš pr-ꜥꜣ t-nfr psn ḥtp-nṯr 400 šbn=st wnmy 200 smḥy 200*; P. Turin Cat. 1881 + 2080 + 2092 rt. VII, 1–2.

7 P. Berlin P 10282 rt. 2; for the reconstruction of the date, see Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 116 note d; see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 89.

8 Graffito from the Thutmose III Deir el-Bahri temple nr. 1; see Sadek, An Attempt to translate, *GM* 71 (1984), 71–73.

9 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 917 (list 40); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 159.

10 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

11 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 379–382.

12 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 380–381. This festival period is mentioned in Kom Ombo Festival Calendar A. In Calendar B, the feast is said to take place from III *ꜣḫt* 29 through IV *ꜣḫt* 2.

13 Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962) 15; Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 381. In the temple of Esna, the Feast of Hathor was celebrated in honour of her manifestation Nebetuu (Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962), 41–43).

14 See Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 323–335; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 192–196; see also Chapter III 2.4.

15 *Wsf ḥꜥ(w) nt ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; for this reading of the signs after the date, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Michaelides 033, Remarks.

been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *ꜣḫt* 1 due to a procession of Hathor. According to this document, the men were also work-free on the subsequent day, IV *ꜣḫt* 2.[1] The first and second day of IV *ꜣḫt* might, indeed, have been annually occurring work-free days at Deir el-Medina.[2] According to O. Cairo CG 25515[3] (year 6 of Seti II[4]) and O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454[5] (date attributed to year 6 of Seti II[6]), the crew was work-free from III *ꜣḫt* 29 through IV *ꜣḫt* 2. In O. Turin N. 57047[7] (year 22 of Ramesses III[8]), the men are said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb from III *ꜣḫt* 28 through IV *ꜣḫt* 6. In the lamp account O. Strasbourg H. 136[9] (date attributed to year 24 of Ramesses III[10]), the days III *ꜣḫt* 27 – IV *ꜣḫt* 3 dave been omitted indicating inactivity during this period. There are, however, some documents indicating that working took place during the days of the Feast of Hathor. In O. Cairo CG 25520[11] (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty[12]), individual men absent from work on IV *ꜣḫt* 2 are listed, indicating that the rest of the crew was working. In O. DeM 339[13] (reign of Ramesses III[14]), some men are listed as having been absent from work on IV *ꜣḫt* 1 and, thus, it seems that in this particular case, most of the crew worked on the first day of this eponymous feast. Note also the work journal O. Cairo CG 25299,[15] the date of which is attributed to the fourteenth year of Ramesses IX.[16] According to this document, gypsum was applied to the

---

1 *Wsf*; O. Michaelides 33, rt. 10.

2 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity is 2/5 for both IV *ꜣḫt* 1 and 2; see also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 157.

3 *ꜥḥꜥ…(ỉw=w) wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VII, 14–17.

4 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25515, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

5 Lamp account omitting III *ꜣḫt* 29 – IV *ꜣḫt* 2; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454; see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146.

6 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146–147; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 34.

7 (*III ꜣḫt*) *sw 28 wsf sw 29 ꜥrḳ wsf IV ꜣḫt 1 sw 2 sw 3 sw 4 sw 5 sw 6 wsf*; O. Turin N. 57047, rt. 6–7. According to O. Ashmolean Museum 4, Kaha and Amennakht received an oracle statement from Amenhotep I during a procession on III *ꜣḫt* 28 (rt. 1–2, vs. 1–3; date attributed to year 5 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 142). As most of the crew generally seems to have been present during oracle processions (*m-bꜣḥ…tꜣ ỉst r-ḏrw=s*; e.g., O. BM 5625, vs. 6–7; O. Cairo CG 25555 + O. DeM 999, vs. 4–7; O. DeM 133, rt. 6 – vs. 2; O. DeM 448, vs. 1–3; see also Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 188), one might perhaps assume that the men were work-free at least part of the day.

8 For the date of O. Turin N. 57047, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I, 32; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 483; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 246–247.

9 III *ꜣḫt* 27 – IV *ꜣḫt* 3 omitted; O. Strasbourg H. 136, vs. 7–8.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 291–291; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 257–258.

11 O. Cairo CG 25520, vs. 12.

12 For the dates attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10 (reign of Siptah); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 392–394 (reign of Siptah); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 106–107 (year 1 of Amenmesse).

13 O. DeM 339, rt. 3.

14 For the date of O. DeM 339, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 618–619; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 246–247.

15 O. Cairo CG 25299, 1–7.

16 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 666; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 507.

walls of a Royal Tomb on IV *ꜣḫt* 1–3,[1] i.e., the men appear to have been working during the Feast of Hathor. In spite of the above-mentioned references to working having taken place at the beginning of IV *ꜣḫt* in some regnal years, one might tentatively suggest that the royal artisans celebrated the Feast of Hathor on IV *ꜣḫt* 1–2[2] and that during the 20th Dynasty they tended to be already freed from work at the end of the month of III *ꜣḫt*.

With regard to terminology, one may additionally note that *ḥwt-ḥr* (Greek *Athyr*), the designation of III *ꜣḫt*, the third month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, derived its name from the Feast of Hathor which was celebrated at the beginning of the subsequent month.[3] In P. Ebers[4] (year 9 of Amenhotep I[5]), a month called *ḥwt-ḥr* is mentioned and in the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[6] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[7]), III *ꜣḫt* is called *ḥwt-ḥr*. The name *ḥwt-ḥr* seems also to have been used to designate the month of III *ꜣḫt* in several documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina.[8] The evidence in O. BM EA 29560[9] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[10]) is quite unambiguous: among the month names mentioned, *ḥwt-ḥr* features between *pn-ỉpt* and *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*. In some other cases, it is less apparent whether reference is made to the month of III *ꜣḫt* or to the eponymous Feast of Hathor. According to O. Turin N. 57458[11] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[12]), Amenkhau swore an oath to reimburse a certain Amenemone without letting *ḥwt-ḥr* pass by. *Ḥwt-ḥr* might here have been used as a reference to the month of III *ꜣḫt*[13] or to the Feast of Hathor. O. DeM 219[14] (date attributed

---

1 *IV ꜣḫt 1 dỉt ḳḏ IV ꜣḫt 2 dỉt ḳḏ IV ꜣḫt 3 bꜣk…dỉt ḳḏ*; O. Cairo CG 25299, 1–3. As *dỉt ḳḏ* refers to the actual applying of gypsum on the walls rather than to distributing it to the gang (Černý, *Valley of the Kings* (1970), 39), it seems that the crew was, indeed, working during the days mentioned.

2 In O. Turin N. 57047, the inactivity is said to have continued through IV *ꜣḫt* 6 (rt. 6–7; year 22 of Ramesses II; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I, 32). The lengthening of the work-free period is here perhaps connected to IV *ꜣḫt* 5, which appears to be have been an annually occurring work-free day (see Chapter III 1.2.4.2).

3 E.g., Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 128–129; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45.

4 P. Ebers vs. I, 5; see Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 38 fig. 16; see also Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144.

5 For the date, see P. Ebers vs. I, 1.

6 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 3; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

7 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

8 Van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 218.

9 O. BM EA 29560, rt. 15; for a discussion on this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

10 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27.

11 *Mtw=ỉ* (*dỉt*) *ʿḳ ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Turin N. 57458, vs. 2–3. For *ʿḳ* as meaning ‘passing’ of time, see Erman & Grapow, *WB* I, 230 (*vorübergehen (von der Zeit*); P. Turin B II, 8 (Gardiner, *LEM* (1937), 126); P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. I, 2 (Gardiner, *RAD* (1968), 52).

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 578.

13 Many stipulated deadlines pronounced in oaths fall on the last day of a month, i.e., it appears to have been customary to set the date to the end of a month; e.g., O. Berlin P 10655, 3 (*mtw=ỉ dỉt ʿḳ ʿrḳ n III šmw*; reign of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 573–574); O. DeM 433, 7 (*r-šꜣʿ II šmw ʿrḳ*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 130–131); O. OIM 12073, rt. 7 (*r-šꜣʿ…III šmw ʿrḳ*; year 3 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 22); O. UC 39633, rt. 7 (*r-šꜣʿ III šmw ʿrḳ*; date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 299); see also Allam, *HOP* (1973), 252; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 218.

14 *Ỉrt ḥsbt pꜣ…ḥwt-ḥr ỉw m-ʿ=f ḫꜣr…*; O. DeM 219, 1–2.

to the 20th Dynasty[1]) is a record of amounts of grain(?) for *ḥwt-ḥr*. 'Hathor' may also in this document be either the month of III *ꜣḫt* or the Feast of Hathor.[2] A third alternative might be that this latter document is a record of grain rations for offerings to the goddess Hathor.[3] In the literary text O. DeM 1265[4] listing the months (no date attributed), the reference seems, indeed, to be to the name of III *ꜣḫt* but the term used is slightly different from those featuring in the documents listed above. In O. DeM 1265, the month of III *ꜣḫt* is called *pn-ḥwt-ḥr*.[5]

1 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* III (1937), 7.

2 See van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 218 note 27.

3 For grain rations for offerings to various Deir el-Medina deities, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34–35; Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 156–157. For supplies of grain for the goddess Hathor, see O. DeM 661, 3 (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesses; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 232–233); O. DeM 743, 3 (date attributed to the Ramesside Period after the reign of Ramesses II; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* VIII (2000), 36–37); O. DeM 744 + 745, (744)2 (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; e.g., Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 115–116 (late Seti II to Siptah)).

4 O. DeM 1265 rt. I, 1–28.

5 *III ꜣḫt* […] *pn-ḥwt-ḥr*; O. DeM 1265 rt. I, 8–9.

1.2.1.5 Khoiak

The name of the fourth month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, IV *ꜣḫt*, was *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* (Greek *Khoiak*).[1] A mention of the eponymous feast *kꜣ-*(*ḥr-*)*kꜣ* dating to the 18th Dynasty is found on the astronomical ceiling in the Tomb of Senmut (TT71).[2] The Feast of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* is also mentioned in several documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina. The feast name [*kꜣ-ḥr-*]*kꜣ*, for example, is used in the list of eponymous feasts in the unpublished O. IFAO 1088[3] (no date attributed). According to O. Berlin P 12635[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[5]), food was transferred to an unidentified man on *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*. In this document, the event is said to have taken place on a certain day at the beginning of I *prt* and, thus, the reference seems to be to a feast. Furthermore, when Weskhet-nemtet made Isis his wife[6] in the mid-20th Dynasty,[7] he gave his father-in-law food during various events including three[8] occasions of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*:

O. Berlin P 12406[9]
(rt. 11) *Kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*) 2, each one 5 loaves, makes 10
(rt. 12) One *mnt*-jar beer.
(vs. 1) Again on *kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*)
(vs. 2) 15 loaves, 10 loaves of the Pharaoh l. p. h.
(vs. 3) 3 *mnt*-jars beer, 2 oipe emmer wheat.

The three occurrences of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* in this document could mean perhaps three different occasions or days within one and the same feast. Alternatively, the references could allude to separate feasts over three years.

---

1 E.g., Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 129; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43. For the *Khoaik* Festival, see, for example, Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris* (1966–1968); Daumas, Choiakfeste, *LÄ* I (1975), Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 169–437; Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 75–101; Minas, Die Ptolemäischen Sokar-Osiris-Mumien, *MDAIK* 62 (2006), 208–210; see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 89–92.

2 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 42–43, pl. I; Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 35–48; for the date of TT71, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 139–142.

3 O. IFAO 1088, 6 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088). For a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

4 *I prt 2 m kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9.

5 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355.

6 *R rdit rḫ.tw iḫt nb i.di wsḫt-nmtt n pꜣy=f it m-ḏr ir=f ꜣst m ḥmt* […; O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 1–2; for this text, see Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 62–63.

7 Weskhet-nemtet is known from the first year of Ramesses IV through year 1 of Ramesses V (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 262; see also Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 444).

8 Three times *pn-*(*imn-ḥtp*) was also mentioned in this document (*pn-*(*imn-ḥtp*) *3*; O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 3).

9 O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 11 – vs. 3
(rt. 11) *kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*) *2, wʿ nb ʿḳw 5 ir.n 10*
(rt. 12) *ḥnḳt mnt 1*
(vs. 1) *wḥm m kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*)
(vs. 2) *ʿḳw 15 ʿḳw n pr-ʿꜣ ʿ w s 10*
(vs. 3) *ḥnḳt mnt 3 bty ipt 2*.
For a translation of this text, see *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12406, Übersetzung.

The *Khoiak* Festival is known to have been celebrated in Abydos since the Middle Kingdom.[1] The main event of the feast was the procession of Osiris-Khentamentiu from the temple of Osiris to his tomb Peker at Umm el-Qaab.[2] For the purposes of this procession, two so-called 'corn mummies' of Osiris were constructed.[3] An 'Osiris Fetish', i.e., a wig (perhaps with face and plumes) on a standard, also had an important part to play in the festival procession.[4] The aim of the *Khoiak* Festival was to take part in the resurrection of Osiris and to gain eternal life.[5]

Osiris was a popular deity at Deir el-Medina,[6] especially in the funerary sphere.[7] A figured ostracon (DeM 2603,[8] no date attributed) depicts a procession, perhaps during the *Khoiak* Festival, of an Osiris Fetish. The cult of Osiris may have been carried out in the numerous tomb chapels of the community. There is also a possibility that Bruyère's Chapel 1221[9] was dedicated to this god. A head of a statue belonging to a group of Osiris and his son Horus was found in this particular chapel.[10] Depictions of Osiris, furthermore, are found in the rock sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger on the road from the village to the Valley of the Queens.[11]

It has been suggested that the Feast of Sokar was integrated into the *Khoiak* Festival.[12] According to Katherine Eaton,[13] the separate suites for Osiris and Sokar in the temple built by Seti I at Abydos demonstrate, however, that the two feasts may still have been unconnected during the early 19th Dynasty. By the Ptolemaic Period, the Feast of Sokar had been incorporated into the *Khoiak* Festival.[14]

The festival dates of *Khoiak* differ from one source to another.[15] The festival normally seems to have been celebrated during the month of IV *ꜣḫt* and to have

---

1 Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 75–76.

2 Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 75–76; for Peker being located at Umm el-Qaab, see Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos under König Sesostris III nach dem Denkstein des Oberschatzmeisters I-cher-nofret im Berliner Museum* (1904), 27–28. For *wsir*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* II (2002), 528–536; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 142–186.

3 Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 97; see also Daumas, Choiakfeste, *LÄ* I (1975), 958–959; for corn mummies, see Beinlich-Seeber, Kornosiris, *LÄ* III (1980), 744–746; Raven, Corn-mummies, *OMRO* 63 (1982), 7–38; Centrone, Behind the Corn-mummies (2005), 24–26; see also Tooley, Osiris Bricks, *JEA*, 82 (1996), 167–179; Quack, Saatprobe und Kornosiris (2007), 325–331.

4 Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 84–93.

5 Daumas, Choiakfeste, *LÄ* I (1975), 959; Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 76.

6 See, for example, Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977).

7 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 108.

8 Figured O. DeM 2603.

9 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 44–45; for Chapel 1221, see also Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 43.

10 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 44–45.

11 Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 149; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 108. For the rock sanctuary, see Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 5–48; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 706–709. A 'storehouse of Osiris' is mentioned in O. DeM 586, 3 (*wḏꜣ n wsir*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 583).

12 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 36; for the Feast of Sokar, see Chapter III 1.2.2.2.

13 Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 97–98.

14 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 33; Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 97.

15 Daumas, Choiakfeste, *LÄ* I (1975), 958.

culminated in the Feast of Lifting the *Djed*-pillar on IV *ꜣḫt* 30.[1] The *Khoiak* Festival, thus, is similar to such eponymous feasts as the Feast of Thoth, the Opet Festival, and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley which were celebrated within the month that was named after the feast in question.

At Deir el-Medina, *Khoiak* (*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*) seems to have been the name of a feast at the beginning of I *prt*. This follows the general custom of celebrating an eponymous feast at the beginning of the subsequent month after the one named after it. According to O. Berlin P 12635[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV)[3], *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* was celebrated on I *prt* 2. In Graffito 2087[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[5]), the crew is said to have brought *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* to Meretseger on I *prt* 5. Note also the work journal O. Ashmolean Museum 70[6] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[7]), where the crew is said to have been work-free on I *prt* 1 because of a *wp*, 'feast'[8]. An analysis of the references to working and inactivity at the beginning of I *prt* indicates that the royal artisans may, in general, have celebrated the Feast of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* for two days on I *prt* 1–2.[9] In O. Cairo CG 25542,[10] a lamp account dating to the fifth year of Seti II,[11] the days IV *ꜣḫt* 29 – I *prt* 3 have been omitted from the record indicating that the royal artisans were work-free during this period. According O. Cairo CG 25515[12] (year 6 of Seti II[13]), the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb from IV *ꜣḫt* 29 through I *prt* 4. O. DeM 340,[14] the date of which is attributed to the 19th Dynasty,[15] is a list of days of working and inactivity. According to this document, the crew went back to work on I *prt* 3 after having been work-free since IV *ꜣḫt* 27.[16] There are some additional documents that might be interpreted as indicating that the royal artisans were work-free at the end of IV *ꜣḫt* and at

---

1 Gardiner, Review of Frazer, The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 1914. *JEA* 2 (1915), 123; Daumas, Choiakfeste, *LÄ* I (1975), 958; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 176; Mikhail, Raising the Djed-pillar. The Last day of the Osirian *Khoiak* Festival, *GM* 83 (1984), 51–69; see also Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 85–87, figs. 41–43.

2 *I prt 2 m kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9.

3 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355.

4 *Ỉi ỉn tꜣ-ỉst r msy kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ n ḥnwt ꜥꜣt špsyt mrt-sgr*; Graffito 2087, 1–3. For *mr.s-gr*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 343–344; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 259.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 420.

6 *Wsf wp*; O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9.

7 According to the *Deir el-Medina Database*, the presence of four *ḫwtyw* in this text suggests a date in the reign of Ramesses VI (O. Ashmolean Museum 0070, Remarks).

8 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 304 (*Fest (allgemeines Wort)*).

9 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity is 2/5 on I *prt* 1 and 1/4 on I *prt* 2; cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 157.

10 O. Cairo CG 25542, rt. 10–11.

11 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25542, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 137–139.

12 *ḥꜥ*; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. II, 1–6.

13 For the date, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147.

14 O. DeM 340, rt. 1 – vs. 2.

15 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 1.

16 *Wsf*[…] *IV ꜣḫt 27 sw 28 sw 29 ꜥrḳ*[…] *ỉw I prt 3*; O. DeM 340, rt. 3. A great deal seems to be lost at the ends of all the lines but, nevertheless, it is possible to determine that the words *wsf* and *ỉw* have been inserted *before* the days they refer to: if these words would refer to the preceding days, the men would have been working on the 29th and the 30th days of the month.

the beginning of I *prt*. The scribe of the list of men absent or working O. Cairo CG 25521[1] (year 1 of Siptah[2]) omitted IV *ꜣḫt* 29 – I *prt* 3. As Pamerihu is said to have been ill both before and after the days omitted,[3] the exclusion of the dates from the record does not seem to have been the result of everyone being present. The entire crew may have been work-free during these days. The lamp account on the verso side of O. Cairo CG 25536[4] (year 1 of Siptah[5]) starts with I *prt* 4, a day when wicks were brought from storage. The scribe of this text may have opened the account on I *prt* 4 because it was perhaps the first working day of the month.[6] Thus, it appears that, at least during the 19th Dynasty, the work-free period due to the Feast of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* at Deir el-Medina may have started on IV *ꜣḫt* 29 and ended on I *prt* 2 or 3.[7] There is, however, one contradictory document. In O. Cairo CG 25514[8] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse)[9], individual men who were absent from work on I *prt* 1–8 are listed. In the year this particular document was written, the rest of the crew, thus, appears to have been working during the feast at the beginning of I *prt*.

In the magical literary text O. DeM 1059[10] (no date attributed), the 'seven days of *Khoiak*' are mentioned. According to the aforementioned Graffito 2087[11] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[12]), the royal artisans brought *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* to Meretseger on I *prt* 5. If one assumes that the festival had already started during the preceding 'weekend', I *prt* 5 would have been the seventh day of the feast. However, the fact that Graffito 2087 is situated in the Valley of the Kings[13] might indicate that the crew was working on that day despite the observance of the rituals related in this particular graffito. Moreover, as observed above, the feast seems generally to have lasted only through the second day of the month at Deir el-Medina. Despite the fact that the inactivity due to the *Khoiak* Festival does not seem to have lasted for seven days, the ritual related in Graffito 2087 may have been part of the rites during the festival period.

---

1 O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 4–5.

2 For the date, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 36–37, 155.

3 *IV ꜣḫt 28…ỉw pꜣ-mr-ỉḥw mr rnpt-sp 2 I prt 4…ỉw pꜣ-mr-ỉḥw mr*; O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 4–5. The scribe of another absentee list, O. DeM 339 from the reign of Ramesses III (e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 618–619), omitted IV *ꜣḫt* 29 – I *prt* 2 (rt. 12–13). The omission in this document, however, might be due to no one being absent on these days.

4 *ʾỉnyt* (*m*) *pꜣ wḏꜣ m hrw pn ḫbs hꜣw ỉryt ỉm=sn ḫb*[*s 8*]; O. Cairo CG 25536, vs. 1–2.

5 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25536, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 402–204; Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I (1995), 56–57; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 169, 171.

6 For the scribes at Deir el-Medina opening and closing the book, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 67.

7 All the references to the Feast of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* have been attributed a date in the mid-20th Dynasty; Graffito 2087, 1–3 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271); O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355).

8 O. Cairo CG 25514, 1–5.

9 For the attributed date, see Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I (1995), 47–48; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 103; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 107–108; cf. Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 333–334 (Seti II).

10 *Pꜣ 7 hrw n kꜣy-ḥr-kꜣ*; O. DeM 1059, rt. 7–8.

11 *ʾỉỉ ỉn tꜣ-ỉst r msy kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ n ḥnwt ʿꜣt špsyt mrt-sgr*; Graffito 2087, 1–3.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 420.

13 Valley of the Tomb of Seti II; Félix & Kurz, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine II: Plans de Position* (1970), pl. 43.

According to O. Demarée H 6[1] (date attributed to year 3 of Seti I[2]), the crew received deliveries of wood and pottery on IV *ꜣḫt* 30. Among the containers were 40 *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*-vessels,[3] the name of which seems to derive from the *Khoiak* Festival.[4] As the date of the delivery mentioned in O. Demarée H 6[5] is during the festival period of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*, it seems reasonable to assume that the containers were meant for some rituals performed during the festivities. The *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*, which according to Graffito 2087[6] was brought to Meretseger, may also have been such a ritual vessel.

According to various sources from the Middle and the New Kingdom, I *prt* 1 was, in fact, dedicated to a feast of the god *nḥb-kꜣw*.[7] *Nḥb-kꜣw* was a serpent deity of time and of the fate of the deceased.[8] *Nḥb-kꜣw* was, furthermore, one of the serpent demons represented on the thrones of the goddesses Sekhmet and Bastet, i.e., the Eye of Re.[9] Perhaps the Feast of *nḥb-kꜣw* was also celebrated in honour of these goddesses as the astronomical ceiling of the Ramesseum[10] might indicate: the deity representing IV *ꜣḫt* in this inscription is not Osiris but Sekhmet. The Feast of *nḥb-kꜣw*, which was celebrated at the beginning of a new season, was associated with the New Year.[11] The Feast of *nḥb-kꜣw* was also a feast of kingship, and Ramesses III seems to have chosen I *prt* 1 as his coronation day.[12] That the Feast of *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* was celebrated at the time of the Feast of *nḥb-kꜣw* at Deir el-Medina may be explained by the fact that this latter feast seems to have been an extension of the *Khoiak* Festival.[13] The *Khoiak* Festival ended in the resurrection of Osiris while the Feast of *nḥb-kꜣw* celebrated the accession of his son Horus as the king of Egypt.[14]

---

1 *IV ꜣḫt ʿrḳy ḫt…ḳrḥwt*; O. Demarée H 6, 1–2, 8.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 30.

3 *Kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ 40*; O. Demarée H 6, 8.

4 Černý, Some Coptic Etymologies III, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 207.

5 *IV ꜣḫt ʿrḳy*; O. Demarée H 6, 1.

6 *ỉi ỉn tꜣ-ỉst r msy kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ n ḥnwt ʿꜣt špsyt mrt-sgr*; Graffito 2087, 1–3.

7 Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 93–94; Barta, Nehebkau, *LÄ* IV (1982), 389. For the god *nḥb-kꜣw*, see Shorter, The God Neḥebkau, *JEA* 21 (1935), 41–48; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (1960), 98–100. For various interpretations of the name *nḥb-kꜣw*, see Gardiner, Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 139; Shorter, The God Neḥebkau, *JEA* 21 (1935), 41; Barta, Nehebkau, *LÄ* IV (1982), 388. See also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IV (2002), 273–276.

8 Barta, Nehebkau, *LÄ* IV (1982), 388–390; see also Shorter, The God Neḥebkau, *JEA* 21 (1935), 46–47.

9 Shorter, The God Neḥebkau, *JEA* 21 (1935), 47.

10 Astronomical ceiling in the Ramesseum; see for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 44 fig. 19, pls. 2–3. In the astronomical frieze in the Greco-Roman temple of Edfu, the deity representing IV *ꜣḫt* is *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* (see Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43–45, pl. V).

11 Gardiner, Review of Frazer, The Golden Bough, *JEA* 2 (1915), 124; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 279; Spalinger, Calendars: Real and Ideal (1994), 302–308; Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377.

12 Gardiner, Review of Frazer, The Golden Bough, *JEA* 2 (1915), 124; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 48; Barta, Nehebkau, *LÄ* IV (1982), 389.

13 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 176; Barta, Nehebkau, *LÄ* IV (1982), 389; see also Gardiner, Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 139; Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377.

14 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 74; see also Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 277.

As far as I am aware, the name of the Feast of *nḥb-kɜw* is only found once at Deir el-Medina. In an inscription of the tomb of Amenmose (TT9,[1] reign of Ramesses II[2]), the name of the deceased is said 'not to be forgotten in the morning of *nḥb-kɜw*'. The 'morning of *nḥb-kɜw'* might refer to I *prt* 2 since, in the tomb of the official Nakhtamon (TT341,[3] reign of Ramesses II[4]), I *prt* 2 is called the 'morning of *nḥb-kɜw*'. As all the known references to the Festival *kɜ-ḥr-kɜ* at Deir el-Medina have been attributed a date in the mid-20th Dynasty,[5] the name of the feast at the beginning of I *prt* may have changed sometime between the reign of Ramesses II and that of Ramesses IV.

Nḥb-kɜw was not a deity revered in the everyday life of the royal artisans' community at Deir el-Medina.[6] Another deity who also took the form of a snake was, however, mentioned in connection with the Feast of *kɜ-ḥr-kɜ*/*nḥb-kɜw*. According to the aforementioned Graffito 2087,[7] the crew performed a ritual to Meretseger at the beginning of I *prt*. This goddess of the nearby mountain top or slope[8] may in this case have been revered particularly as a snake-goddess. There are, furthermore, some indications of a Deir el-Medina cult of the goddess Sekhmet, who may also have been celebrated in the Feast of *kɜ-ḥr-kɜ*/*nḥb-kɜw*.[9] Sekhmet is mentioned in O. DeM 200,[10] the date of which is attributed to the reign of Ramesses III.[11] This document records the distribution of over 300 vessels to the men, the two door-keepers, 'the god', and Sekhmet.[12] Although the date of the event is not recorded, one might perhaps tentatively suggest that these extra rations may have been delivered in connection with a feast,[13] such as the Feast of *kɜ-ḥr-kɜ*.

---

1 *N*] *ḥnḥn rn=k dwɜwt nḥb-kɜ*; TT9, chapel, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 72).

2 Amenmose is known to have lived during the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 2.

3 Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 94.

4 For the date of TT341, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 408–409.

5 Graffito 2087, 1–3 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271); O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 9 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355).

6 See, for example, the deities listed in Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 85–151; Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13–15.

7 *ỉ prt 5 ỉỉ ỉn tɜ-ỉst r msy kɜ-ḥr-kɜ n ḥnwt ʿɜt špsyt mrt-sgr*; Graffito 2087, 1–3.

8 For this sense of the word *dhnt*, see Yoyotte, A propos de quelques idées reçues: Méresger, la Butte et les cobras, in Guillemette (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: La vie en Égypte au temps des pharaohs du nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002* (2003), 281-307; Adrom, Der Gipfel der Frömmigkeit? Überlegungen zur Semantik und religiösen Symbolik von *tɜ-dhn.t*, *LingAeg* 12 (2004), 1–20.

9 The deity representing IV *ɜḫt* on the astronomical ceiling of the Ramesseum is not Osiris but Sekhmet (Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 44 fig. 19, pls. 2–3).

10 O. DeM 200, 1–7.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 597.

12 *Ḳrḥt 328 s wʿ nb ḳrḥt 8* (*ỉry-*)ʿɜ *s 2 wʿ nb 3 ỉr.n 6 pɜ nṯr ḳrḥt 2 sḫmt ḳrḥt 3 1/2*; O. DeM 200, 1–5. For deliveries for offerings to the deities of the community, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34–35; Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 156–159. For Sekhmet, see, for example, Hoenes, *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet* (1976); Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VI (2002), 556–559; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 654–659. For Sekhmet at Deir el-Medina, see also Stela BM EA 810.

13 *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. DeM 0200, Contents.

In O. Ashmolean Museum 70[1] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[2]), the crew is said to have been at a *wp* on I *prt* 1, i.e., the first day of the Feast of *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ/nḥb-kȝw*. The basic meaning of *wp* in ancient Egyptian seems to have been 'feast' in general.[3] As *nḥb-kȝw* was associated with the New Year[4] and the word *wp* has been interpreted to stand for *wpt-rnpt* in certain Deir el-Medina records of oaths,[5] the use of *wp* instead of the customary *ḥb*, 'feast',[6] in O. Ashmolean Museum 70 might indicate awareness of this connection.

Regarding the name of the *Khoiak* Festival being used as a month name, one may draw attention to P. Ebers[7] (year 9 of Amenhotep I)[8] where the month name *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ* is mentioned. At Deir el-Medina, *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ* may have been used as the name of IV *ȝḫt*.[9] In O. BM EA 29560[10] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[11]), *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ* is among the month names listed. Moreover, according to the literary text on O. DeM 1265[12] (no date attributed), 'IV *ȝḫt* is called *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*'. See also O. Berlin P 14214[13] (date attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty)[14], which is a protocol of a court case against a woman who is said to have taken an oath to pay her debt before *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ* had passed. The reference in O. Berlin P 14214 might be either to the month of IV *ȝḫt* or to the *Khoiak* Festival.

---

1 *I prt 1 wsf wp*; O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9.

2 According to the *Deir el-Medina Database*, the presence of four *ḥwtyw* in this text suggests a date in the reign of Ramesses VI (O. Ashmolean Museum 0070, Remarks)..

3 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 304 (*Fest (allgemeines Wort)*).

4 Gardiner, Review of Frazer, The Golden Bough, *JEA* 2 (1915), 124; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 279; Spalinger, Calendars: Real and Ideal (1994), 302–308; Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377.

5 O. Ashmolean Museum 106, rt. 4 (*mtw=ỉ dỉt ḫpr wpw*; rt. 4; year 27 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 18): Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 283; Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 24; Schafik Allam translates '*Lasse ich das Fest kommen*' but notes '*Ob das Fest des Neujahres gemeint ist?*' (*HOP* (1973), 174, note 1). O. DeM 59, 4 (*ỉ.*[*dỉ=ỉ…*] *wpt*; date attributed to the 20th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 16): Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 80); see also Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

6 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 57 (*das Fest*); for the use of the word *ḥb* without a definition in the Deir el-Medina texts, see Chapter III 2.2.

7 P. Ebers vs. I, 6; see Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 38 fig. 16; see also Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144.

8 P. Ebers vs. I, 1.

9 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 219.

10 O. BM EA 29560, rt. 18.

11 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27; for a discussion on this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

12 *IV* [*ȝḫt*] *ḫr.tw kȝ-ḥb-kȝ*; O. DeM 1265 I, 11; for an interpretation of this text, see Borghouts, The 'hot one', *GM* 38 (1980), 21–28.

13 *Mtw=ỉ dỉt ʿḳ kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*; O. Berlin P 14214, rt. 11. For *ʿḳ* as meaning 'passing' of time, see Erman & Grapow, *WB* I, 230 (*vorübergehen (von der Zeit*); P. Turin B II, 8 (Gardiner, *LEM* (1937), 126); P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. I, 2 (Gardiner, *RAD* (1968), 52); cf. *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14214, Anmerkung Ü3.

14 For the dates attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 445 (year 29 of Ramesses III to the early reign of Ramesses IV); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 576–577 (Ramesses III).

1.2.1.6 The Feast of Mut

The specifics of the eponymous feast of I *prt* called *tɜ-ʿḥt*, the 'Great offering',[1] are still unknown.[2] There was also another way of referring to the eponymous feast of I *prt*, i.e., the 'Sailing of Mut' (*ḫnw mwt*).[3] The phrase used for designating 'Sailing of Mut' is found in an elaborate form in P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016,[4] a ship's log the date of which is attributed to the second half of the 20th Dynasty.[5] Here the feast is called the 'Sailing of Mut, the Great one, Lady of *Isheru'*.[6] *Isheru* was a horseshoe-shaped lake which was associated with the various goddesses who occasionally took the role of the Daughter of Re.[7] In the Theban temple of Karnak, Mut was, indeed, associated with Re as his daughter, the Eye of Re, in much the same fashion as Amon was integrated with the sun god Re. Mut was, hence, the Theban adaptation of the feline Solar Eye who elsewhere in the country was revered in the form of other feline goddesses such as Sekhmet and Bastet.[8] The various feasts of the Solar Eye were filled with great deal of singing, dancing, and drinking in order to pacify the furious Eye of Re.[9] It is, thus, probable that music and intoxication were also part of the 'Sailing of Mut' at Karnak.[10] For the 'sailing' of Mut,

---

1 See Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 167 (*Spende, Opfer, grosses Opfer, Hegatombe*).

2 Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 179–181.

3 For the name of the feast, see, for example, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181 (Navigation); Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961), 76 (periplus); Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 374–375 (*Die Fahrt*). For the goddess Mut, see, for example, te Velde, Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut, *JEOL* 26 (1979–1980), 3–9; te Velde, Mut, the Eye of Re, in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, Band 3 (1988), 395–403; Spalinger, Religious Calendar Year, *Rd'É* 44 (1993), 161–184; Troy, Mut Enthroned, in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (1997), 301–315; te Velde, The Goddess Mut and the Vulture, d'Auria (ed.), *Servants of Mut* (2008), 242–245.

4 *Ḫn mwt wr*(*t*) *nbt išrw*; P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016 rt. III, 1; see Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961), 60; for this papyrus, see also Peet, An ancient Egyptian Ship's Log, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 481–490.

5 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961), 55–57.

6 For an in-depth listing of the epithets of Mut, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 255–256; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 220–227; for *ỉrt-rʿ*, see idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 426–429.

7 Yoyotte, Études géographiques. II. Les localites méridionales de la région Memphite et le 'Pehou d'Héracléopolis', *Rd'É* 14 (1962), 101–110; Sauneron, Villes et légendes d'Égypte, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 50–57; Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 401–424.

8 Van Dijk, Hymnen uit het dagelijks tempelritueel voor de egyptische godin Moet, in K. R. Veenhof (ed.) *Schrijvend verleden. Documenten uit het oude nabije oosten vertaald en toegelicht* (1983), 239–240; te Velde, Mut, the Eye of Re (1988), 398; see also te Velde, The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut, in Heerma van Voss *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Egyptian Religion* (1982), 127–137; Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 417–418.

9 Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992), 101–114; von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 48–50; see also Brunner, Die theologische Bedeutung der Trunkenheit, *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 81–83. According to the so-called Voyage of the Libyan Goddess text (P. Berlin P 3053), the central feast of the return of the fierce goddess from Nubia back to Thebes would seem to have been celebrated at the Feast of *ỉpt-ḥmt=s* on IV *šmw* 1. The text, however, might be from a period when the cult of Mut had not yet been firmly established in Karnak, i.e., from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Verhoeven & Derchain, *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque* (1985), 53). For *ỉpt-ḥmt=s*, see Chapter III 1.2.1.11.

10 Te Velde, Mut, the Eye of Re (1988), 401–403.

one may refer to the so-called 'Amenhotep ritual' (P. BM EA 10689,[1] date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[2]), where the boat of Mut and the ritual of pouring water are mentioned. This part of the text might be a description of the 'Sailing of Mut'.[3]

Mut was a popular deity in the royal artisans' community[4] and her most favoured epithet among the villagers was 'lady of *Isheru'* (*nbt išrw*).[5] Mut is depicted on several stelae as the lady of *Isheru*.[6] For example, on a stela in the Bankes collection (Stela Bankes 3,[7] date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[8]) she is depicted alone, worshipped by the scribe Ramose, and she is called 'Lady of *Isheru*, Mistress of the house of Amon'. Mut was, furthermore, occasionally addressed as the Eye of Re (*irt rˁ*). In a stela in the British Museum (Stela BM EA 283,[9] date attributed to the 19th Dynasty[10]), Mutemwia and her children are shown presenting an ointment jar and flowers to 'Mut, Lady of the sky, Mistress of all gods, the Eye of Re'. A votive stela[11] (no date attributed) found in Chapel 1190 portrays Amenhotep I making an offering to Amon of the Luxor temple, to Mut, and to Khonsu. In the text on the reverse side of this wooden stela, Mut is called the Eye of Re.[12]

The eponymous feast 'Sailing of Mut' is referred to several times in documents originating from Deir el-Medina. In O. IFAO 1088[13] (no date attributed), the feast *ḫn mwt* is listed after the eponymous feast *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*. The 'Sailing of Mut' is, furthermore, mentioned in the unpublished documents[14] O. IFAO 290[15] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty after the reign of Ramesses III[16]) and O. IFAO 380[17] (date attributed to the

---

1 P. BM EA 10689 vs. I, 11 – II, 9; see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series, Chester Beatty Gift* Vol. I: Texts (1935), 100. For the Ritual of Amenhotep I, see, for example, Daressy, Rituel des offrantes à Amenhotep Ier, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 97–122; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* 1 (1935), 78–106; Bacchi, *Il rituale di Amenhotpe I* (1942); Nelson, Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I, *JNES* 8 (1949); 201–232, 310–345; Barta, Das Opferritual, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 457–461; Barta, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 462–463; Tacke, Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches, in Metzner-Nebelsick *et al.* (eds.), *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart* (2003), 27–35; Cooney & McClain, The Daily Offering Meal in the Ritual of Amenhotep I: An Instance of the Local Adaptation of Cult Liturgy, *JANER* 5 (2005), 41–78.

2 For the date attributed, see Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 27.

3 Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* I (1935), 100.

4 Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977).

5 Noberasco, Gli dei, *OrAnt* 20 (1981), 270.

6 E.g., Stela Bankes 3; Stela Bankes 9; Stela BM EA 153: Stela BM EA 278; Stela BM EA 279; Stela Turin N. 50135.

7 *Nbt išrw ḥnwt pr ỉmn*; Stela Bankes 3. A very similar stela dedicated by Ramose was found by Bernard Bruyére in the so-called 'Khenu-chapel'. Here Mut, however, is called *nbt pt* (Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 38, 79, fig. 158).

8 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Egyptian Stelae* (1958), 3–4.

9 *Mwt nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw ỉrt rˁ*; Stela BM EA 283.

10 For the date attributed, see *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX (1970), 52–53.

11 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 52, fig. 21.

12 …] *nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw ỉrt rˁ*; ex-voto from Chapel 1190, vs. 2. In Stela Bankes 2, Mut, however, is shown next to a lion-headed goddess who is designated the Daughter of Re.

13 *Ḫn mwt*; O. IFAO 1088, 7 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088). For a discussion on this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

14 See Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 175 note 2; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 224.

15 O. IFAO 290 (Černý, Notebooks, 103.120).

16 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Community* (1973), 271.

17 O. IFAO 380 (Černý, Notebooks, 103.26).

Ramessede Period[1]). One may also refer to the account of transfers O. DeM 297,[2] the date of which is attributed to the reign of Ramesses V.[3] One of the transfers recorded in the account took place on *pꜣ ḫn*(*w*) *mwt*.[4] The phrase *pꜣ ḫnw mwt* might also in this particular document refer to the eponymous feast of the month of I *prt*.[5]

A chapel of Mut is mentioned in one document originating from Deir el-Medina. According to O. DeM 297[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[7]), some objects were given to Bes in the chapel of Mut. The Deir el-Medina cult of Mut might also have had some personnel of its own. A fragmentary stela in the *Museo Egizio* in Turin (Turin N. 50135,[8] no date attributed) shows Mut and a male god venerated by the Servant of Mut Bunakhtef. On a door-jamb, also in the *Museo Egizio* (Turin N. 50219,[9] date attributed to the Ramesside Period[10]), the Chantress of Mut Iyi is shown kneeling and praising Renenutet.

In the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT2)[11] dating to the reign of Ramesses II,[12] the temple of Mut at Karnak has been portrayed. The illustration shows an alley of sphinxes leading to a temple which is situated in the middle of a horseshoe-shaped lake. Members of the family of Khabekhnet stand around the temple and the lake where the bark of Mut is sailing.[13] This depiction of the Mut temple in the tomb of Khabekhnet has been verified, by recent excavations, as illustrating the actual temple of Mut of *Isheru* at Karnak.[14] This demonstrates that, at least during the reign of Ramesses II, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina were aware of the design of the temple of Mut at Karnak and that they may have been familiar with the procession that took place in this particular temple during the 'Sailing of Mut'.

Concerning the time period when the eponymous feast 'Sailing of Mut' took place, one finds a number of revealing text references. In the ship's log P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016[15] (date attributed to the end of the 20th Dynasty[16]), the 'Sailing of Mut' is said to have taken place on I *prt* 30. As the Feast of Sailing was celebrated in honour of Mut in

---

1 *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. IFAO 00380, Dates attributed.

2 O. DeM 297, rt. 1 – vs. 3.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259.

4 *Nty n=f 3 m pꜣ ḫn mwt ḥt mꜣꜥw 1*; O. DeM 297, rt. 3a. The event was added afterwards between the lines (see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* IV (1939), 15).

5 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 224. Alternatively, one might suggest that *pꜣ ḫnw n mut* stands for the month of I *prt* in this document.

6 *M pꜣ ḫnw n mwt*; O. DeM 297, rt. 5.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259.

8 *Bꜣk n mwt*; Stela Turin N. 50135.

9 *Šmʿyt n mwt*; Door jamb Turin N. 50219. According to G. Jourdain, a *ḥsyt n mwt*, furthermore, is mentioned on a statue in the *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussamlung* in Berlin (*Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh II: La tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet* (1939), 48, pl. 29). For Chantresses in ancient Egypt, see Fantecchi & Zingarelli, Singers and Musicians, *GM* 186; Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress* (2005).

10 For the date attributed, see Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 187–188.

11 TT2, funerary chapel, room 1, wall B', 4th register; Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 25–27.

12 For the date of TT2, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

13 Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 414–415.

14 Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 412–415; see also, for example, Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II² (1972), plan 24.

15 *ỉ prt 30 ḫn mwt wr*(*t*) *nbt ỉšrw*; P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016 rt. III, 1; see Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961), 60; see also Peet, Ship's Log, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 481–490; Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 95.

16 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961), 55–57.

her aspect of the Eye of Re, the references in a much earlier stela of Thutmose III[1] to the 'Sailing of Bastet' on I *prt* 29 and the 'Sailing of Shesemtet' on I *prt* 30 have also been interpreted as pointing to the 'Sailing of Mut'.[2] The Eulogy of the Teacher in P. Lansing (P. BM EA 9994)[3] refers to the first day of the 'Sailing of Mut', indicating that the feast was celebrated for more than one day. Alan H. Gardiner[4] suggested, moreover, that the Feast of Mut continued from the end of I *prt* into the following month and occurred, thus, at the beginning of the subsequent month after the one named after this feast, i.e., at the typical time for an eponymous feast. In the Greco-Roman temples of Esna and Dendera, two feast cycles of sailing on the temple lake by the Eye of Re are attested in I *prt* 17–22 and I *prt* 28 – II *prt* 4.[5]

From Deir el-Medina, no dated references to the 'Sailing of Mut' or to *tꜣ-ꜥbt* have survived. Given that the 'Sailing of Mut' was mentioned in several documents pertaining to the royal artisans' community,[6] it would, however, seem justifiable to assume that the feast was observed at Deir el-Medina around the time it was celebrated elsewhere.[7] The date I *prt* 30, which in P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016[8] (date attributed to the end of the 20th Dynasty[9]) was referred to as the the 'Sailing of Mut', was evidently work-free at Deir el-Medina, being the tenth day of a decade.[10] In view of all the references to working and inactivity at the beginning of II *prt*, it appears that the royal artisans were generally freed from work on the Royal Tomb during the first few days of this particular month.[11] O. Cairo JE 72452,[12] a work journal dating to the second year of Seti II,[13] starts with the assignment of the work on the tomb of Queen Tausret on I *prt* 8. Days of working and inactivity are subsequently listed, and on II *prt* 1–2, the royal artisans are said to have been

---

1 Stela of Thutmose III from the Temple of Mut in Karnak; see Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 95.

2 Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 416; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 176; te Velde, Mut, the Eye of Re (1988), 400.

3 P. BM EA 9994, XIIIb, 7; see Gardiner, *LEM* (1937), 113 (P. Lansing).

4 Gardiner, Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 140.

5 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 392. A Feast of Sekhmet, the Eye of Horus, was, furthermore, celebrated in the temple of Esna on II *prt* 6 (*ibid.*, 393).

6 O. DeM 297 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesse V; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259); O. IFAO 290 (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty after the reign of Ramesses III; Černý, *Community* (1973), 271); O. IFAO 380 (date attributed to the Ramesside Period; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. IFAO 00380, Dates attributed); O. IFAO 1088, 7 (no date attributed).

7 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 157–158.

8 *ỉ prt 30 ḫn mwt wr*(*t*) *nbt ỉšrw*; P. Turin Cat. 2008 + 2016 rt. III, 1.

9 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961), 55–57.

10 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *prt* 30 is 0/6; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 16 (*ḥ*ꜥ; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, Ostraca Caire (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25516, rt. 10–11 (lamp account omitting I *prt* 29 – II *prt* 2; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, Ostraca Caire (1935), 7–8); O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 12–13 (lamp account omitting I *prt* 29 – II *prt* 5; date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 310–311); O. DeM 340, 6 (*wsf*; date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 1); O. Turin N. 57028, 1, 7 (*wsf*; year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, Ostraca *ieratici* I (1978), 25); O. Turin N. 57031, rt. 6 (*wsf*; year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, Ostraca *ieratici* I (1978), 26).

11 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on days II *prt* 1–5 are 1/8, 0/8, 0/7, 2/4, and 4/6, respectively.

12 *Šꜥt n* [*ṯꜣty*] *r ḏd šꜣꜥ pꜣ ḫr n ḥmt-nsw wr*[*t*] *tꜣ-wrt*; O. Cairo JE 72452, 1–2.

13 For the date, see Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 209–210; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 156; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 59 note 89.

work-free.[1] The preceding and subsequent days are unfortunately missing from the record. In O. Cairo CG 25543,[2] a lamp account the date of which is attributed to the fifth year of Seti II,[3] the days I *prt* 29 – II *prt* 5 have been omitted indicating that the crew was work-free during this period. As stated in the work journal O. Cairo CG 25515[4] and indicated by omission in the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25516,[5] in the first year of Siptah[6] the crew was freed from work from I *prt* 29 through II *prt* 3. In the twenty-fourth year of Ramesses III,[7] the royal artisans were work-free from I *prt* 28 through II *prt* 5, as stated in O. Turin N. 57028.[8] According to O. Turin N. 57031,[9] the men were freed from work on the Royal Tomb from I *prt* 29 through II *prt* 5 in the twenty-fifth year of Ramesses III.[10] O. Turin N. 57007[11] is a work journal dating to the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth years of Ramesses III.[12] In this document, the crew is said to have been *wsf* on I *prt* 28, II *prt* 1–2, and II *prt* 4, whereas on I *prt* 29, II *prt* 3 and II *prt* 5 they were in 'this place'.[13] Thus, it seems that the royal artisans were, in this case, work-free on I *prt* 28 – II *prt* 5 but that the feast in the village may have already ended on II *prt* 2.[14] According to the short unpublished work journal O. IFAO 252[15] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[16]), the crew seems to have been work-free on II *prt* 1–3, but on days II *prt* 2–3 they were perhaps not in the village as the crew is said to have been in 'this place'.[17]

One may deduce from the evidence presented above that during the 'Sailing of Mut', the royal artisans may generally have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb from I *prt* 29 through II *prt* 3.[18] At times, the work-free period may have continued through

---

1 …]*I* [*prt*] *ꜥrḳ ỉw=w wsf* (*m*) *II prt 1 _. sw 2*; O. Cairo JE 72452, 10. My reading of this document differs from that of Wolfgang Helck (*Die datierten* (2002), 131–132). I prefer to take all occurrences of *ỉw=w wsf* as referring to the subsequent dates. This way the 'weekends' are work-free as would be expected. For an example of an event connected to the following date with the preposition *m*, see O. IFAO 1357, rt. 6–7.

2 O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 12–13.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 310–311; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 138.

4 *ḥꜥ I prt 29…ḥꜥ ỉw rnpt-sp 1 II prt 1 wsf ḥꜥ II prt 2 ḥꜥ II prt 3*; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 15–19.

5 Lamp account omitting I *prt* 29 – II *prt* 3; O. Cairo CG 25516, rt. 10–11.

6 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25515 and O. Cairo CG 25516, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7–8.

7 For the date of O. Turin N. 57028, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 25; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 493–494; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 260.

8 *Sw 28 sw 29 II prt 1 sw 2 sw 3 sw 4 sw 5 wsf*; O. Turin N. 57028, rt. 7.

9 *Sw 29 sw 30 wsf II prt 1 sw 2 sw 3 sw 4 sw 5 wsf*; O. Turin N. 57031, rt. 6–7.

10 For dating O. Turin N. 57031 to year 25 of Ramesses III, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 26; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 502–503; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 270–271.

11 O. Turin N. 57007, rt. 1 – vs. 14.

12 For the date, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 19; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 533–534; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 299, 307.

13 (*I prt*) *sw 28 wsf…sw 29 st tn…II prt 1 wsf…sw 2 wsf…sw 3 st* [*tn*] *sw 4 wsf…sw 5* [*st tn*; O. Turin N. 57007, vs. 3–11. Only deliveries are mentioned on I *prt* 30 as if information on inactivity on the tenth day of the decade were superfluous (*ꜥrḳ wnmy ḫt m-drt bȝk-n-ḫnsw 600…*; vs. 4–6).

14 For *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98.

15 O. IFAO 252 (Černý, Notebooks, 103.114); see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 96 note 56; see also *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. IFAO 00252.

16 For the date attributed, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. IFAO 00252, Dates attributed.

17 For *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98.

18 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on days I *prt* 29 – II *prt* 3 are 0/8, 0/6, 1/8, 0/8, and 0/7, respectively.

I *prt* 5.[1] During the 20th Dynasty, the work-free days tended to already begin on I *prt* 28.[2] There are, moreover, notable number of 20th Dynasty references to the royal artisans being in 'this place', *st tn*, around the time of the Sailing of Mut.[3] As the men seem to have spent time in the Valley of the Kings during this eponymous feast, some of the feast rituals may have taken place there.[4] Mut of *Isheru*, the Eye of Re, seems to have had her own cult at Deir el-Medina[5] and, hence, the inhabitants may, indeed, have celebrated the Sailing of Mut with their own rituals. These feast rituals at Deir el-Medina may have included an offering of ointment and flowers, as Mutemwia and her children were shown doing in a stela in the British Museum (BM EA 283).[6] These rites would well serve to pacify the furious goddess returning from Nubia.[7]

With regard to terminology, during the New Kingdom, the name of I *prt*, the fifth month of the Egyptian civil calendar, was both *tꜣ ʿbt* (Greek *Tybi*)[8] and the 'Sailing of Mut' (*ḫnw mwt*).[9] The Feast *tꜣ ʿbt* is mentioned in one New Kingdom document from outside Deir el-Medina.[10] *Tꜣ ʿbt* is, furthermore, used as the name of I *prt* in two documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina: the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[11] date

[1] The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on days II *prt* 4–5 are 2/4 and 4/6, respectively.

[2] The ratio of the 20th Dynasty references to working to references to inactivity on I *prt* 28 is 1/3; Working: O. Turin N. 57031, rt. 5 (lamps issued; year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 26). Inactivity: O. DeM 10009, vs. 3 ([*wsf*]; date attributed to the reigns of Ramesses III and IV; e.g., Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 328, 330); O. Turin N. 57007, vs. 3 (*wsf*; date attributed to year 27 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 20); O. Turin N. 57028, rt. 7 (*wsf*; year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 25).

[3] O. DeM 10009, vs. 1–4 (*I prt 25 bꜣk sw 26 st tn…sw 27 st tn sw 28 wsf sw 29 wsf*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III or IV; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 328, 330 (year 31 of Ramesses III); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* X (2006), 15–16 (Ramesses III or IV); O. IFAO 252 (see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 96 note 56; date attributed to the 20th Dynasty; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. IFAO 00252, Dates attributed); O. Turin N. 57007, vs. 3–11 ((*I prt*) *sw 28 wsf…sw 29 st tn…II prt 1 wsf…sw 2 wsf…sw 3 st* [*tn*] *sw 4 wsf…sw 5* [*st tn*; year 29 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 19).

[4] For feast rituals taking place in the Valley of the Kings, see O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5 (*ḥrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ʿꜣt ỉn tꜣ ỉst*; year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125); see also Graffito 2087, 1–3 (*ỉỉ ỉn tꜣ-ỉst r msy kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ n ḫnwt ʿꜣt špsyt mrt-sgr*; year 2 of Ramesses V; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271; the graffito is situated in the Valley of the Kings; Félix & Kurz, *GMTh* II (1970), pl. 43).

[5] O. DeM 297 (*pꜣ ḫnw n mwt*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259); Door jamb Turin N. 50219 (*šmʿyt n mwt*; date attributed to the Ramesside Period; Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 187–188); Stela Turin N. 50135 (*bꜣk n mwt*; no date attributed). According to G. Jourdain, a *ḥsyt n mwt*, furthermore, is mentioned in a statue in the *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussamlung* in Berlin (*La tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet* (1939), 48, pl. 29).

[6] Stela BM EA 283; date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX (1970), 52–53.

[7] Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992), 101–114; von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 48–50.

[8] E.g., Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181 (Navigation); Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45.

[9] E.g., Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 175–176; see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 219.

[10] O. Michaelides 52; see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222. This document was found at Abydos (see Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 22).

[11] P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 5; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[1]) and the literary text O. DeM 1265[2] (no date attributed). Both these texts may be copies of texts composed outside of Deir el-Medina[3] and might not represent local customs of referring to months. The month name *ḫnw mwt* is only known from Deir el-Medina documents. In O. BM EA 29560[4] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty),[5] *pꜣ ḫnw mwt* features among the other month designations listed in this particular document. It is also possible that the reference to *pꜣ ḫnw mwt* in O. DeM 297[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[7]) stands for the month of I *prt*.[8]

[1] For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

[2] O. DeM 1265 I, 15; the month date is now missing, but the name is situated between IV *ꜣḫt* and II *prt*; see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 219, note 33.

[3] Christian Leitz has demonstrated that the master text of P. Cairo JE 86637 was either of Memphite or Heliopolitan origin (*Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8). O. DeM 1265 is a literary text and might also be a copy of a text originally composed outside Deir el-Medina.

[4] O. BM EA 29560, vs. 4. For a discussion on this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

[5] For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27.

[6] *Nty n=f 3 m pꜣ ḫn mwt ḫt mꜣỉw 1*; O. DeM 297, rt. 3a.

[7] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259.

[8] Cf. van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 224.

1.2.1.7 Mekhir

The older eponymous feast of II *prt*, the sixth month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, was *rkḥ wr*[1] (the 'Great Burning'[2]). From the New Kingdom on, the name of the eponymous feast was *mḫr* (Greek *Mekhir*).[3] This latter eponymous feast is mentioned in several documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina. O. Michaelides 12[4] (date attributed to the early 20th Dynasty[5]) is an account of transfers on various occasions, such as I *prt* 5 and a feast of Amon.[6] Among the occasions mentioned is also the Feast of *mḫrw*.[7] The 'day of *mḫy*', mentioned in the account of transfers O. Berlin P 10637[8] (date attributed to year 13 of Ramesses III[9]), is likely to be a variant writing for the Feast of *mḫr*.[10] The unpublished O. IFAO 344[11] (no date attributed) also seems to contain a reference to the Feast of *mḫr*.

No explicit evidence for the object of the eponymous feast *Mekhir* has been found, the name itself probably having something to do with a basket of the same name.[12] From Deir el-Medina, there are, likewise, few allusions as to the object and the ways of celebrating *mḫr*. Nevertheless, the writer of O. Berlin P 10637[13] (date attributed to year 13 of Ramesses III[14]) relates how food was given to a man on the 'day of *mḫy*(*r*) while he was sitting in his chapel'. However, sitting in a chapel during a feast does not have to be behaviour distinctive to the Feast of *mḫr*.[15]

The older eponymous feast of II *prt*, i.e., *rkḥ wr*, was celebrated on III *prt* 1 during the Middle Kingdom [16] but, as far as I am aware, there are no explicitly dated references to the Feast of *mḫr*. According to the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[17] (date attributed to

---

1 E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45–46; Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 19–21.

2 E.g., Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995), 17–18; see also Erman & Grapow, *WB* II (1928), 459 (*der grosse Brand*).

3 Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901) 128–130; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45.

4 O. Michaelides 12, rt. 1 – vs. 6.

5 For the date attributed, see Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 19.

6 *Rdyt n=f m I prt 5…ḥb n ỉmn*; O. Michaelides 12, rt. 6–7.

7 …] *nw mḫrw*; O. Michaelides 12, vs. 1; see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222. The beginning of the line is broken off, but the phrase might be the '[feasts] of *mḫr'*, the [days] of *mḫr*, or something similar.

8 *Hrw n mḫy*; O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 7.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 455.

10 See Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 320.

11 *Mḫr*; O. IFAO 344, 3 (Černý, Notebooks, 103.7); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222 (O. DeM inv. no. 344); see also Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174.

12 Černý, Some Coptic Etymologies III, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 206–207.

13 *Dỉ*(*t*) *n=f hrw n mḫy ỉw=f ḥms* (*m*) *pɜy=f ḫnw*; O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 7–8.

14 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 455.

15 See, for example, O. Ashmolean Museum 166, rt. 1–2 (*tw=ỉ ḥms m pɜy=ỉ ḫnw* (*m*) *pɜ ms n tɜ-wrt*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 550); O. BM EA 5637, rt. 8 – vs. 5 (*m ḥʿy nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)*…ỉw=ỉ m pɜ ḫnw n pɜy=ỉ ỉt*; date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 18); see also Chapter III 3.2.

16 P. Berlin P 10069 rt. I, 1; see Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 81–82, 168–169.

17 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1350–1369 (list 60); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 178–179.

the reign of Ramesses II[1]), a feast of Amon 'in his Feast of Lifting the Sky' (*ḥb=f n ʿḥy pt*) was celebrated from II *prt* 29 through III *prt* 1, i.e., at the turn of the month where one would expect to find an eponymous feast of II *prt*. This feast of Amon was the Theban variant of a Memphite Feast of Ptah.[2] It seems, thus, that a feast of Ptah had taken the place of the eponymous feast at the beginning of III *prt* by the New Kingdom. A Feast of Ptah was also observed in the Greco-Roman temples on III *prt* 1.[3] It is possible that *mḫr* was, in fact, another name for this Feast of Ptah.

An analysis of the references to working and inactivity in Deir el-Medina texts seems to indicate that generally the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb at the beginning of III *prt*.[4] The scribe of the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25542[5] (years 5–6 of Seti II[6]) omitted the days II *prt* 27 – III *prt* 5, thus indicating a long work-free 'weekend'. The scribe of O. Turin N. 57432[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[8]) wrote that the crew was work-free from II *prt* 24 through III *prt* 10. In P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006[9] (date attributed to year 29 of Ramesses III[10]), the men are said to have been work-free on III *prt* 2.[11] In P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[12] (year 3 of Ramesses X[13]), the crew is said to have been celebrating a feast of Ptah on III *prt* 1, work-free on day 2, and working on days 3 and 4. There is, furthermore, one document which might be interpreted as indicating that the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb at the beginning of III *prt*. In O. Ashmolean Museum 131,[14] (date attributed

---

1 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

2 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 177. For *ptḥ*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IIII (2002), 168–171; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 204–210.

3 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 397.

4 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on III *prt* 1–5 are 0/2, 0/4, 2/2, 1/2, and 2/3, respectively.

5 O. Cairo CG 25542 vs. II, 12–13. The work-free days at the beginning of III *prt* as indicated in this document might mark the celebration of the accession day of Seti II which fell between II *prt* 29 and III *prt* 6 (for the accession date of Seti II, see Krauss, Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse: Nachträge, *SAK* 24 (1997), 162). For possible references to the accession day of the ruling king, see O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 7–10; O. DeM 44, rt. 1. For the royal artisans celebrating the accession day of certain deified kings, see Chapter III 1.2.3.

6 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25542, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 137–139.

7 *M wsf*; O. Turin N. 57432, vs. 7–9. No reason for this long period of inactivity is given.

8 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982), 41–42; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 317–318; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 241–242.

9 *Wsf m pȝ ḫr*; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. II, 1. P. Turin Cat. 1961, with the date III *prt* 2, is unpublished but see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Turin Cat. 1961 + P. Turin Cat. 2006.

10 For the date attributed, see, for example, Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 34; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 311–314.

11 It is unclear whether the reference to the inactivity *m pȝ ḫr* indicates the crew being work-free at the Royal Tomb (compare this with *st tn* which seems to have been used to indicate being work-free at the huts where the men stayed the nights when not in the village; Janssen, Village varia (1997), 97–98) or in the area of the necropolis in general (compare with P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt. II, 4; see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 96).

12 *III prt 1 ḥb ptḥ III prt 2 w*[*sf tȝ ỉst III prt*] *3 bȝk III prt 4 bȝk*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 5.

13 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

14 *Sw 29 wsf…ʿrḳ _*.; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 4–5.

to year 2 of Ramesses VI[1]), only the 'weekend', II *prt* 29–30, is said to have been work-free. The subsequent day mentioned, however, is III *prt* 5,[2] indicating perhaps that the work-free period continued through II *prt* 4.[3]

In view of the above-presented evidence, III *prt* 1–2 may have been an annually occurring work-free period at Deir el-Medina.[4] Occasionally, the inactivity at the beginning of the month may have continued even longer.[5] Generally, however, the work-free period seems to have ended by III *prt* 5[6] or 6[7] at the latest, as is also indicated by several lists of men absent or working.

In documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there are references to a feast of Ptah being celebrated at the beginning of III *prt*. O. DeM 401,[8] dating to the second year of Ramesses IV,[9] illustrates how a feast of Ptah was celebrated on III *prt* 4 by offering to Ptah in the Valley of the Kings. In P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[10] from the third year of Ramesses X,[11] a feast of Ptah is, however, said to have taken place on III *prt* 1. The difference in dates of the feast of Ptah in O. DeM 401 and in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 might suggest that this particular feast was observed according to the lunar calendar. It is also possible that certain problems mentioned in the Turin Papyrus, such as irregularities with the payment of wages and the subsequent strikes,[12] led to changes in the festival calendar.[13] If this latter scenario, i.e., that the feast calendar of Deir el-Medina changed at the end of the 20th Dynasty, were true, during most of the Ramesside Period, the Feast of *mḫr* would have been celebrated on III *prt* 1–2 and the Feast of Ptah on III *prt* 4. By the end of the Ramesside Period, the two feasts at the beginning of the month, i.e., *mḫr* and the Feast of Ptah, had perhaps merged.

Wolfgang Helck[14] believed that only the Feast of Ptah was celebrated at the beginning of the month, on III *prt* 1–4. In view of references to working and inactivity at the beginning of III *prt* it seems that there is, indeed, a possibility that only one feast was

---

1 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 134–137.

2 *II prt 5 dỉt pȝ 3 ḥwtyw dỉw*; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 6.

3 Alternatively, the scribe had nothing to report on the days omitted.

4 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on III *prt* 1–2 are 0/2 and 0/4, respectively.

5 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on III *prt* 3–5 are 2/2, 1/2, and 2/3, respectively.

6 O. DeM 594, 1–4 (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 407–408 (year 8 of Tausret); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 88 (year 8 of Merenptah)); O. DeM 911, rt. 3 (date attributed to year 26 of Ramesses III; e.g., Janssen, A Curious Error, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 306; for reading III *prt* 5 instead of IV *prt* 5, see Janssen, *op. cit.*, pl. 59; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. DeM 00911, Dates mentioned).

7 O. BM EA 5634, vs. 2 (year 39 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); P. Bibliotheque Nationale 27 (date attributed to year 3 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 388).

8 *Hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ꜥȝt ỉn tȝ ỉst r-gs pȝ r-ꜥ-bȝk* [*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ꜥȝ m-bȝḥ pȝ r-ꜥ-bȝk*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5. René van Walsem restored the beginning *hrw n 2* (Month-Names (1982), 224). *Hrw pn*, however, seems more probable; see also *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. DeM 00401, Terminology.

9 For the date of O. DeM 401, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

10 *III prt 1 ḥb ptḥ*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 5.

11 For the date, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

12 See Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 43–44.

13 See also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 324.

14 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158; see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 224 note 76.

celebrated at Deir el-Medina at the beginning of III *prt*. This feast was designated the Feast of Ptah. Perhaps the reference to the Great Feast of Ptah on III *prt* 4 in the second year of Ramesses IV[1] (O. DeM 401)[2] indicates the fourth day of the festival. The fact that the rituals for this specific day took place in the Valley of the Kings, i.e., in a location where the men were customarily working, may have prompted the scribe of this document to write an account of the festivities. The question remains whether *mḫr* was an alternative name for this Feast of Ptah at the beginning of the subsequent month after the month *mḫr* or whether the eponymous feast of II *prt* was celebrated during the month named after it in the manner of such feasts as the Feast of Thoth, the Opet Festival, and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[3]

In her work on the royal artisans' community, Dominique Valbelle placed the references to the Feast of *mḫr* on II *prt* 9.[4] As stated above, none of these references bears a date tying it to the ancient Egyptian civil calendar. Valbelle, however, referred to O. BM EA 5634[5] from the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of Ramesses II.[6] On II *prt* 8, several men are reported as having been absent from work in order to brew beer.[7] No reason for the brewing is given but when mentioned as a reason for an individual workman being absent from work this activity generally seems to have been done in preparation for an approaching feast.[8] There is also O. Ashmolean Museum 131[9] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[10]), according to which a delivery was brought from the granary of the Pharaoh on II *prt* 8. However, this particular delivery of grain may have been brought to the royal artisans because of the accession day of Ramesses VI on that very day.[11] Being the ninth day of a decade, II *prt* 9 was generally work-free at Deir el-Medina.[12] Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to conclude whether the Feast of *mḫr* was celebrated at Deir el-Medina on II *prt* 9 or not.

---

1 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

2 *Hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḏt ꜥɜt ỉn tɜ ỉst r-gs pɜ r-ꜥ-bɜk* [*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ꜥɜ m bɜḥ pɜ r-ꜥ-bɜk*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5.

3 See Chapters III 1.2.1.2, 1.2.1.3, and 1.2.1.10.

4 Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 320, 333. Dominique Valbelle quotes O. Ashmolean Museum 37 (date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447) as evidence of preparations for the approaching feast. According to this journal, Nebsmen was absent on II *prt* 7 or 8 to cut an ox (*II prt* [...*ꜥḥꜥ.n nb-s*]*mn r sft pɜ kɜ n ḥwy-nfr*; vs. 3–4). However, this slaughter is said to have been done for another man, i.e., not for the community as a whole. A Harnefer, furthermore, is said to have been absent to brew beer for 'his (personal) feast' and Apehty was 'at his feast' (*ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥr-nfr r ꜥtḫ*[…] *pɜy=f ḥb ꜥɜ-pḥty m pɜy=f ḥb*; vs. 3–5). The personal feasts of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina generally seem not to have been connected with the official feasts of the community (see Chapter III 2.4; see also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 193–195).

5 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1 – vs. 21.

6 For the date of O. BM EA 5634, see, for example, Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

7 *ꜥtḫ*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 5, 14, 20, vs. 2, 12.

8 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 147; see also Chapter III 2.7.

9 *II prt 8 pr-ꜥɜ rdyt n=sn ḥr pɜ ḫtm n pɜ ḫr ỉn ỉdnw mry-ptḥ n tɜ šnwt pr-ꜥɜ ḥɜr 79 ¼*; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 7–10.

10 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 134–137.

11 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 137.

12 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *prt* 9 is 0/1; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. III, 24 (*ꜥḥꜥ*; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, Ostraca Caire (1935), 7).

According to O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39[1] from the twenty-ninth year of Ramesses III,[2] the crew was carrying torches (*fꜣ mhd*) on II *prt* 16. This act of carrying torches seems to have been a protest[3] rather than a ritual of the feast *rkḥ wr* or its possible later variant *mḫr*. Furthermore, II *prt* 16 appears generally to have been a working day.[4] After an analysis of the references to working and inactivity, it seems that there were no annually occurring work-free 'weekdays' in the month of II *prt* after the Feast of 'Sailing of Mut' was celebrated at the beginning of the month.[5] Unless one assumes that the Feast of *mḫr* was celebrated on a 'weekend'[6] during the month of II *prt*, one can, based on the present evidence, only conclude that the eponymous feast *mḫr* might have been the same as the Feast of Ptah at the beginning of III *prt*. For the purposes of this study, however, the Feast of Ptah is treated as a separate event.[7]

With reference to the eponymous feast of the month of II *prt*, one may refer to the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[8] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[9]), where the month name [*pn-*]*pꜣ-mḫr* is mentioned. The month name of II *prt* is also mentioned in a few documents from Deir el-Medina. Among the month designations in O. BM EA 29560[10] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty)[11] is *pn-pꜣ-mḫr*. The month name *mḫr* is mentioned in the literary text O. DeM 1265[12] (no date attributed).

---

1 *Sš ꜥn m rwhꜣ ḫpr ỉw=w fꜣ mhdw*; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39, rt. 10–11.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 300–302.

3 Janssen, Carrying Torches (1995), 116–117; in addition to the examples of the act of carrying torches that were presented by Jac. J. Janssen, see now also O. DeM 890.

4 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *prt* 16 is 8/0; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 3, vs. 2 (men listed as absent; year 39 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. IVa, 3 (*ỉw*; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25516, rt. 25 (lamps used; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7–8); O. Cairo CG 25542 vs. II, 5 (lamps used; year 5 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309); O. Turin N. 57028, vs. 7–8 (men listed as absent; year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 25); O. Turin N. 57031, vs. 1–3 (*II prt 12 ṯs r sḫt ꜥꜣt r ỉrt tꜣ mỉt mḥ m sw 18 ỉr.n hrw 7*; year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 26); O. Turin N. 57388, rt. 6–7 (men listed as absent; date attributed to late years reign of Seti II through early years of Siptah; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 52–53); O. Turin N. 57432, rt. 3–4, vs. 3–4 (men listed as absent; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982), 41–42).

5 See Appendix 1, II *prt*.

6 See Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 320, 333.

7 See Chapter III 1.2.2.3.

8 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 6; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

9 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

10 O. BM EA 29560, vs. 6. For a discussion on this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

11 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27.

12 *II p*]*rt mḫr*; O. DeM 1265 I, 18. For a discussion on this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

1.2.1.8 The Great Feast of Amenhotep I

The name of III *prt*, the seventh month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, was *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) (Greek *Phamenoth*).[1] The deity revered in the eponymous Feast of III *prt* was the deified Amenhotep I, the second king of the 18th Dynasty.[2] In the funerary chapel of the early 19th Dynasty[3] tomb of Amenmose, high priest of Amenhotep I of the Forecourt, in Dra Abu el-Naga (TT19),[4] is a scene depicting a Feast of Amenhotep I. This festival scene might portray the eponymous feast of III *prt*. The evidence for the feasts of Amenhotep I, however, primarily originates from Deir el-Medina[5] and, therefore, in order to find out about the ways of celebrating and the date of the eponymous feast of Amenhotep I, one has to look directly at the references from the royal artisans' community.

The phrase *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*), at Deir el-Medina, appears to have been used as the name of the eponymous feast, at least during the 20th Dynasty. According to O. Glasgow D.1925.72[6] (date attributed to year 19 of Ramesses III[7]), supplies were handed over on the occasion of appointing a man to the work crew and on *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*). As *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) was paralleled with promotion to the work crew, i.e., a brief event, the phrase might refer to a feast in this document.[8] O. Queen's College 1115[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[10]) is an account of transfers made to a woman. In this document, the events mentioned include several feast days such as 'my feast for Amon *ṯḥn-nfr*', the Feast of Khonsu, and 'my feast for Hathor'.[11] Transfers were, moreover, made during *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*).[12] In view of all the feasts listed in this document, the phrase *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) may stand

---

1 E.g., Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 128–130; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 174; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45–46; see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 219.

2 For Amenhotep I outside of Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Redford, On the Chronology, *JNES* 25 (1966), 114–117; Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume* (1975), 18–20, 63; Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978); von Lieven, Kleine Beiträge zur Amenophis' I. I. Amenophis I auf Schildförmigen Mumienamuletten, *Rd'É* 51 (2000), 103–114; von Lieven, Kleine Beiträge zur Amenophis' I. II. Der Amenophis-Kult nach dem Ende des Neuen Reiches, *ZÄS* 12 (2001), 41–64; see also Daressy, Rituel des offrantes, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 97–122; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* 1 (1935), 78–106; Bacchi, *Il rituale di Amenhotpe I* (1942); Nelson, Certain Reliefs at Karnak, *JNES* 8 (1949); 201–232, 310–345; Barta, Das Opferritual, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 457–461; Barta, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 462–463; Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 27–35; for the name and epithets of the deified king, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 333–334; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 92–93.

3 For the date of TT19, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 32–34.

4 See Foucart, *Tombes thébaines. Nécropole de Dirâ' Abû'n-Naga IV. Le Tombeau d'Amonmos* (1935), pls. 9–14.

5 See, for example, the sources used in Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 22–33; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 135–137.

6 *Ṯs=f r tȝ ỉst…wḥm rdyt n=f m pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ˁ *w s*; O. Glasgow D.1925.72, rt. 2–5.

7 For the date attributed, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Glasgow D.1925.72, Remarks; see also Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 285.

8 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222 (O. Col. Campbell 7).

9 O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 1 – vs. II, 7.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 167–168.

11 *Pȝy=ỉ ḥb n ỉmn ṯḥn-nfr…wḥm dỉt* (*m*) *pn-ḫnsw…wḥm dỉt n=s* (*m*) *pȝy=ỉ ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 2, 7, vs. I, 6–7.

12 *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 5.

for a feast.[1] The recto of O. DeM 297[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[3]) is another account of transfers to various individuals. Between the lines of the list, the scribe of this document added in smaller characters 'what is for him at *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)'.[4] The phrase *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) in O. DeM 297 might also refer to the eponymous feast.[5] O. Berlin P 12406[6] and O. Glasgow D.1925.71[7] are accounts of items Weskhet-nemtet gave to his father(-in-law) over several years in mid-20th Dynasty.[8] Among the occasions mentioned, three times, is *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) in O. Berlin P 12406[9] and twice in O. Glasgow D.1925.71.[10] As monthly grain rations are listed separately in the Glasgow ostracon,[11] it seems that *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) in this particular document may refer to the Feast of Amenhotep I rather than to III *prt*.[12] Since O. Berlin P 12406 probably deals with gifts between the same persons,[13] we may perhaps assume that *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) also indicates a feast.[14] The second column on the verso side of P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047[15] (date attributed to year 8 of Ramesses IX[16]) appears to be a record of commodities given to Mose on various occasions as payment for the days of work he had performed.[17] One of these events is *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*).[18] All the other occasions when Mose received goods appear to have been specific days rather than months.[19] *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*), thus, may have been used as a reference to the Feast of Amenhotep I also in this Turin papyrus. In addition to the aforementioned texts, there is one document that may refer to the feast *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) although this particular

---

1 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222.

2 O. DeM 297, rt. 1–9.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259.

4 *Nty n=f m pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ḳrḥt 1*; O. DeM 297, rt. 4a.

5 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222.

6 O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 1 – vs. 13; for a discussion of this document, see Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 62–63.

7 O. Glasgow D. 1925.71, rt. 1 – vs. 9; for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

8 For the dates attributed, see *Deir el-Medina online*, Berlin P 12406, Beschreibung; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 361–362 (O. Glasgow D. 1925.71).

9 *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *3*; O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 3.

10 *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *2*; O. Glasgow D. 1925.71, rt. 3.

11 *Ỉw=ỉ dỉt n=f bty m ḫ3r 2½ m dỉw r-ṯnw 3bd m rnpt 1 nfryt r rnpt 2 II 3ḫt r III šmw ỉr.n 3bd 10* [*w*ˁ] *nb ḫ3r 2¾ ỉr.n ḫ3r 27*; O. Glasgow D.1925.71, vs. 1–4.

12 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222 (O. Col. Campbell 6).

13 I wonder if O. Berlin P 12406 and O. Glasgow D.1925.71, in fact, refer to the same occasions. In the Berlin ostracon, 5 assorted loaves are said to have been given for each of the three occasions of *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) 3 *w*ˁ *nb* ˁ*ḳw šbn* 5; O. Berlin P 12406, rt. 3) while according to the Glasgow text, the father(-in-law) received 10 assorted loaves for two *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) (*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) 2 ˁ*ḳw šbn* 10; O. Glasgow D. 1925.71, rt. 3–4).

14 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 62.

15 *Ỉry ms 3 hrw r* […] *b3k m t3 ḏb3t…ỉry ms w*ˁ *hrw n f3 ỉnr rdy n=f…*; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 6–8 (– III 14).

16 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 624–630; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 494.

17 See *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Turin Cat. 1906 + P. Turin Cat. 1939 + P. Turin Cat. 2047, Contents; Kathlyn M. Cooney is of the opinion that the commodities listed are not to be connected with Mose (An Informal Workshop (2006), 54).

18 *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*); P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 22.

19 *Mswt r*ˁ*…II 3ḫt 9…IV 3ḫt 12…I prt 7…I prt 15…I prt 1/2*[*x…II prt 10…II prt 2*[*x…*]*ḫ*ˁ *n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)*…I 3ḫt 1…II 3ḫt 20…III 3ḫt* […]*…IV 3ḫt* […]*…IV 3ḫt 30*; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 9, 11, 16–21; III, 4, 6, 9, 12, 14.

phrase is not used. The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25234[1] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[2]) relates the events of a feast called *ḥb ꜥ3 n n*[*sw*] (*imn-ḥtp*), the 'Great Feast of King Amenhotep I'.[3] This feast took place at the end of III *prt* and the beginning of IV *prt*,[4] i.e., at the time one would expect to find the eponymous feast of III *prt*, and, thus, it is feasible to assume that the 'Great Feast of King Amenhotep I' referred to in O. Cairo CG 25234 is the feast known otherwise as *pn*-(*imn-ḥtp*).[5]

The deified Pharaoh Amenhotep I was the patron of the royal artisans' community.[6] Several feasts of Amenhotep I are known from documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina,[7] but the eponymous feast of III *prt* may have been the principal feast of this king. Two other feasts of Amenhotep I, nevertheless, appear to have also been part of the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina. On I *3ḫt* 29–30, a processional feast of Amenhotep I, perhaps the anniversary of the king's coronation, was celebrated while it may have been the commemoration of his accession that was observed on III *šmw* 12–13.[8] Amenhotep I was a notably popular deity at Deir el-Medina[9] and, thus, to find several, unconnected, annually celebrated feasts of this revered king celebrated at Deir el-Medina is not surprising.

The aforementioned O. Cairo CG 25234 (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty)[10] is one of the few texts actually describing feasts at Deir el-Medina.[11] The scribe of this document wrote:

---

1 *ỉw.tw m p3 ḥb ꜥ3 n n*[*sw*] (*imn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s p3 nb p3 dmỉt*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–2.

2 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

3 In O. DeM 97 commodities for a *ḥb n* (*imn-ḥtp*) are mentioned (*p3 ḥb n* (*imn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s*; vs. 7–8; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557–558). P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 where a *ḥb nsw* (*imn-ḥtp*) is said to have taken place on I *šmw* 27 (rt. II, 27; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699) demonstrates, however, that not all references to *ḥb n* (*imn-ḥtp*) stand for the eponymous feast of Amenhotep I.

4 *III prt 29 ỉw.tw m p3 ḥb ꜥ3 n n*[*sw*] (*imn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s… ỉw t3 ỉst m ḥꜥwy m-b3ḥ=f m 4 hrw ḏrỉw*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–3.

5 See also Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 182–183; Gardiner, Regnal Years, *JEA* 31 (1945), 25; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 321.

6 Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159–203; for Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina, see also, for example, Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 71–72; Sadek, Glimpses, *GM* 36 (1979), 51–56; Vandersleyen, La Statue d'Amenophis I (Turin 1372), *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 133–137; Ventura, Snefru in Sinai and Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina, in Israelit-Groll, *Pharaonic Egypt* (1985), 278–288; Altenmüller, Amenophis I. als Mittler, in *Festschrift für Labid Habachi* (1981), 1–7; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 131–139; Kruchten, Une stèle signée dédiée à Amenophis Ier et Ahmès Néfertari, in Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology* (1990), 646–652; McDowell, Awareness of the Past (1992), 95–109; Cooney & McClain, The Daily Offering Meal, *JANER* 5 (2005), 41–78; Teeter, A Family of Priests of the Deified Amenhotep I (Chicago OIM 11107), in d'Auria (ed.), *Servants of Mut* (2008), 235–241.

7 See Chapter III 1.3 (II prt 29, III prt 15, III prt 21, IV prt 19) .

8 Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 43–47; see also Chapters III 1.2.2.1 and III 1.2.2.5.

9 Giorgio Noberasco counted 47 stelae dedicated to Amenhotep I (*Analisi statistica* (1977), 13). This number, in his calculations, was surpassed only by Meretseger (53), Ptah (52), and Hathor (48).

10 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

11 See also O. Cairo CG 25559; Chapter III 1.3 (III *prt* 21).

O. Cairo CG 25234[1]

(l. 1) Year 7, III *prt* 29, one was in the great feast of k[ing]
(l. 2) Amenhotep l. p. h., lord of the village. The crew
(l. 3) was rejoicing in front of him for 4 whole days
(l. 4) by drinking with their children (and) also
(l. 5) their wives. There were 60 (people) from inside the <village>[2]
(l. 6) (and) 60 from outside.

Thus, it seems that in the seventh year of an unnamed king,[3] the Great Feast of Amenhotep I lasted for four days. According to this Cairo ostracon, the main elements of the festivities were to rejoice and to drink. The beverage consumed is not mentioned but the royal artisans are known to have associated beer with feasts and deities.[4] In O. Cairo CG 25234, the festivities are said to have taken place in front of King Amenhotep I. This is probably a reference to a statue of Amenhotep I. There is ample evidence in the stelae pertaining to Deir el-Medina for the royal artisans and their families presenting offerings to the various statues of deities in the village.[5] At least one of the stelae illustrates festive behaviour in

---

1 O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–6
(l. 1) *Rnpt-sp 7 III prt 29 ỉw.tw m pȝ ḥb ꜥȝ n n*[*sw*]
(l. 2) (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s pȝ nb pȝ dmỉt ỉw tȝ ỉst*
(l. 3) *m ḥꜥꜥwy m-bȝḥ=f m 4 hrw ḏrỉw ỉw=w*
(l. 4) *n swrỉ ḥnꜥ nȝy=w ḫrdw m-mỉtt*
(l. 5) *nȝy=w ḥmwt ỉw 60 n ḫny* <*d*>*mỉt*
(l. 6) *60 n bnr.*
For a revised transcription of this text, see Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 183–184; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370–371; for translations of this text, see, for example, Černý, *loc. cit.*; Ventura, *Living in the City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis* (1986), 177, 179; McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 96 (66B); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406.

2 For correcting *myt* to *dmỉt*, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (1975), 459 note 25; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 note 16a; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136 note 16; followed by McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 96 (66B); cf. Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 184; Ventura, *Living in the City of the Dead* (1986), 177.

3 For the dates attributed to O. Cairo CG 25234, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

4 O. Ashmolean Museum 37, vs. 4–5 (*ꜥḥꜥ n ḥr-nfr r ꜥtḫ pȝy=f ḥb*; date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447); O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 9, 16 (…]*ꜥtḫ pȝy=f ḥb*; year 2 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11); O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 4 (*ỉmn-m-ỉpt ꜥtḫ n ḥwt-ḥr*; date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223); O. DeM 898, vs. 1 (*nȝḫy ḥr ꜥtḫ n pr-ꜥȝ* ꜥ *w s*; possibly reign of Siptah; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 71–73); O. DeM 10051, vs. 1–2 (*ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥꜥ-m-sbȝw ꜥtḫ n pȝy=f nṯr*; year 4 of Siptah; Grandet, Travaux, grèves et personnages (2003), 214–215); O. Turin N. 57062, 6–7 (*ỉnk ꜥtḫ n ꜥnḳt m hrw nbt n swrỉ*; year 47 of Ramesses II; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 36); see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 147; see also Chapter III 2.5.4.

5 See, for example, *Hieroglyphic Texts* V (1914); *Hieroglyphic Texts* VI (1922); Bruyère, Quelques stèles trouvées par M. É. Baraize à Deir el Médineh, *ASAE* 25 (1925), 76–96; *Hieroglyphic Texts* VII (1925); Clère, Monuments inédits des serviteurs dans la place de vérité, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 173–201; Černý, *Egyptian Stelae* (1958); *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX (1970); Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972); Steward, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection I. The New Kingdom* (1976); *Hieroglyphic Texts* X (1982); Erman, Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt, *Akademieschriften 2 (1911–1928)* (1986), 36–60; *Hieroglyphic Texts* XII (1993).

the presence of a divine statue.[1] The statue of Amenhotep I mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25234 was probably positioned in a chapel or a temple. Both a *ḫnw*,[2] 'chapel',[3] and a *pr*,[4] 'temple',[5] of Amenhotep I are mentioned in texts pertaining to Deir el-Medina. To find two types of religious buildings dedicated to this king at Deir el-Medina is perhaps not unexpected since Amenhotep I was the patron of the community. In Deir el-Medina documents, there is also mention of both a *ḫnw*[6] and a *pr*[7] of Ramesses II. These references to religious buildings of Ramesses II, however, might stand for the same building[8] and, thus, it is possible that there was also only one actual temple or chapel of Amenhotep I[9] and the varied references were just individual scribal conventions naming buildings or institutions in different ways according to the local vernacular.[10] Bernard Bruyère,[11] in the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* excavations in 1940, found that the chapel designated D, which is situated to the north-west of the present Ptolemaic precinct, contained wall paintings depicting Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari. Ernesto Schiaparelli, years before, found a wooden statue of Ahmose-Nefertari (Turin Supp. no. 6128) in this building.[12] It was perhaps also here that Bernardino Drovetti found the statue of Amenhotep I which is now housed in the *Museo Egizio* in Turin (Inv.

---

1 See Stela Bankes 7 where the family of Bukhanef-Ptah, with various musical instruments, is shown in front of the goddess Nebethotep.

2 O. Ashmolean Museum 152, 4 (*pꜣ ḫnw n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); year 23 of Ramesses III; e.g., Allam, *HOP* (1973), 181–182); O. DeM 248, rt. 3 (*pꜣ ḫnw n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ꜥ w s*; date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 597 (reign of Ramesses III)); P. DeM 16, rt. 3 (*pꜣ ḫnw n* (*ỉmn-ḥt*[*p*) *ꜥ w s*…; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1982), 267–268).

3 At Deir el Medina, buildings called *ḫnw* seem to have been chapels of private persons, referring perhaps to tomb chapels or the courtyards in front of them (Janssen and Pestman, Burial and Inheritance in the Community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 162). However, when used at Deir el-Medina together with a name of a deity, the word *ḫnw* should be understood as signifying a 'chapel' (Janssen & Pestman, Burial and Inheritance, *JESHO 11* (1968), 161; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 119–121) or 'temple' (Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 288) dedicated to the god mentioned.

4 *Pr* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. BM EA 65938, vs. 6 (year 20 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 16; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 471–472; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 239–240).

5 In connection with deities, the word *pr* often appears to mean 'temple' (Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 513).

6 *Ḫnw* (*mry-ỉmn rꜥ-mss*); Relief in the so-called 'Khenu' of Ramesses II (Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 63–65 + pl. 30).

7 *Pr* (*wsr-mɜꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*); P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969, vs. I, 9 (year 6 of Ramesses VI; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 335–339; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 449).

8 Both the *ḫnw* and the *pr* of Ramesses II are said to be next to the temple of Hathor; *ḫnw* (*mry-ỉmn rꜥ-mss*) *dỉ ꜥnḫ bkyt špst r-gs pr mwt=f ḥwt-ḥr ḥryt-tp ỉmnt* (the relief in the 'Khenu' of Ramesses II; see Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 63–65 + pl. 30; Kitchen, *KRI* II (1979), 705); *m pr* (*wsr-mɜꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*) *pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ* [*m pr ḥwt-ḥr*] *ḫnwt ỉmnt* (P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I, 9–10; see Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King Relating to the Foundation of a Statue (P. Turin 1879 vso.), *LingAeg* 5 (1997), 108).

9 Note, however that Michel Gitton allocates Amenhotep I chapels numbered 1193, 1194 and 1220 based on finds in these structures (*L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 58), whereas Ashraf Iskander Sadek considers it possible that chapel 1190 was dedicated to Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, and Amon (*Popular Religion* (1987), 83).

10 Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 154–156.

11 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 97–106; see also Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 693–694.

12 Statue Turin Supp. no. 6128; see Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 105; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 693.

Cat. 1372).[1] Chapel D, thus, may have been the chapel of Amenhotep I referred to in the texts pertaining to the royal artisans' community.[2] It may have been in this chapel, and possibly in front of the chapel, that the Great Feast of Amenhotep I was celebrated. However, it was not just the royal artisans who attended these festivities. According to the aforementioned O. Cairo CG 25234, the wives and children of these men were also present.[3] The reference at the end of this document to the 'sixty from inside *myt*' and the 'sixty from outside' is disputed.[4] Jaroslav Černý did not consider it possible to read *myt* as 'village' and translated the passage in question: '*il étaient soixante de Ḫni-mỉt* (?)'.[5] Raphael Ventura proposed taking the word *myt* as a reference to the path to the Valley of the Kings and understanding *n ḫny myt* as a reference to the crew (using the path) while *n bnr* (*myt*) would indicate the wives and children mentioned in the text.[6] Jac. J. Janssen, however, preferred to correct *myt* to *dmỉt*.[7] Furthermore, he suggested that the sixty people from outside the village were the 'extra' people hired to the crew during the period from the second year of Ramesses IV through the second year of Ramesses V, or perhaps the *smdt*-servants who did not live in the village.[8] Whether the hundred and twenty people at the festivities were all from the village or equally from the village and from outside does not change the fact that there seems to have been a good deal of people attending the feast.

No procession of the deified king is mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25234[9] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[10]). Since this text is not overly generous with details, the fact that the scribe omitted to mention a procession does not exclude the possibility that a procession of the statue of Amenhotep I took place during the four days of the festivities. During the various feasts of Amenhotep I, and occasionally also at other times, processions of Amenhotep I were organized at Deir el-Medina[11] and oracle statements

---

1 Statue Turin Inv. Cat. 1372; see Vandersleyen, La Statue d'Amenophis I, *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 133; see also Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 693.

2 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 105–106.

3 *ỉ'w=w n swrỉ ḥnᶜ nȝy=w ḫrdw m-mỉtt nȝy=w ḥmwt*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 4–5.

4 *ỉ'w 60 n ḫny myt 60 n bnr*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 5–6. Alan H. Gardiner chose to follow Georges Daressy's transcription (*Ostraca Caire* (1901), 58), understanding *pn n ḫnw/bnr* as meaning that 'the whole town turned out' (Gardiner, Regnal Years, *JEA* 31 (1945), 25). The transcription by Daressy was, however, corrected by Jaroslav Černý (Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 184–185).

5 Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 184.

6 Ventura, *Living in the City of the Dead* (1986), 177.

7 Janssen, *Commodity Prices* (1975), 459 note 25; see also Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 note 16a; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136 note 16; followed by McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 96 (66B). Wolfgang Helck also preferred to understand *myt* as standing for *dmỉt* but he translated the passage as '*60 drinnen in der Siedlung und 60 draussen*' (*Die datierten* (2002), 406).

8 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136 note 16.

9 O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–6.

10 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

11 Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 183–196. Certain feasts of Amenhotep I were, in fact, called or described *ḫᶜ n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*), 'Appearance of Amenhotep I'; see Chapters III 1.2.2.1 and 1.2.2.5. For oracle processions organized at Deir el-Medina at times other than feasts, see Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–188.

were received from the deified king.[1] The men of the village carrying the processional statue of Amenhotep I are mentioned in various oracle accounts surviving from the community.[2] Processions of Amenhotep I are also depicted in the tomb of Khabekhenet (TT2,[3] reign of Ramesses II[4]) and on certain stelae.[5] A portable statue of Amenhotep I is depicted on a stela housed in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (No. 3356, [6] date attributed to the 19th Dynasty[7]).

In reference to Amenhotep I, also note the Ritual of Amenhotep I in the Cairo-Turin papyrus (P. Cairo CG 58030 + P. Turin CG 54041,[8] date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[9]), the Turin half of which was found by Ernesto Schiaparelli at Deir el-Medina.[10] This ritual text is a composition of liturgies and offerings to Amon, Amenhotep I, and Ramesses II, the last of whom is also making offerings.[11] This offering ritual text was probably adapted for Amenhotep I from a general ritual of Amon-Re compiled in the Karnak temple:[12] the hypostyle hall of this temple contains scenes that are closely related

1 For the oracle procedure at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Blackman, Oracles II, *JEA* 12 (1926), 176–185; Černý, Une expression négative d'un oracle, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 491–496; Černý, Questions adressées, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 41–58; Černý, Nouvelle série de questions, *BIFAO* 41 (1941), 13–24; Černý, Troisième série de questions, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 49–69; Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 35–48; McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 107–141; Kruchten, Un oracle d'Amenhotep du village (2000), 209–216; for oracles in ancient Egypt in general, see Chapter II 2.

2 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 23, 4 (*ḫry pꜣ nṯr wʿb nfr-rnpt*…; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 663); O. BM EA 5625, vs. 7 (*tꜣ fꜣy n pꜣ nṯr*; date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses V; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 252–253); O. Cairo CG 25364, rt. 2 (*fꜣyw wnw ḫry pꜣ nṯr*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 346–347); O. DeM 133, rt. 6 (*m-bꜣḥ nꜣ wʿbw n pꜣ nṯr*; date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses V; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 433); see also Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 188–195. For priests of Amenhotep I, see also Teeter, A Family of Priests (2008), 235–241.

3 TT2, funerary chapel, 1st room (Lepsius, *Denkmäler Textband* III (1897–1913), 292; idem, *Denkmäler Tafelband III* (1849–1859), 2 fig. b, fig. c; Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 186–188, fig. 13, fig. 14; idem, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 18).

4 For the date of TT2, see, for example, Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

5 Stela Clère 9 (reign of Ramesses II; Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 190–192; Stela Louvre 338 (reign of Ramesses III or IV; Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO 27* (1927), 192).

6 Stela National Archaeological Museum Greece 3356; see also Hollender, Eine Votivstele für Amenophis I. im Nationalmuseum Athen, in Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel: ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung aus seinem Schülerkreis* (1998), 85–91.

7 For the date attributed, see Tzachou-Alexandri, *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum* (1995), 126.

8 P. Cairo CG 58030 + P. Turin CG 54041; Daressy, Rituel des offrantes, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 97–122; Bacchi, *Il rituale di Amenhotpe I* (1942); see also Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 27–35. For the Ritual of Amenhotep I, see also, for example, Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* 1 (1935), 78–106; Nelson, Certain Reliefs at Karnak, *JNES* 8 (1949); 201–232, 310–345; Barta, Das Opferritual, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 457–461; Barta, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 462–463; Cooney & McClain, The Daily Offering Meal, *JANER* 5 (2005), 41–78.

9 For the date attributed, see Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 27.

10 P. Turin CG 54041; see Bacchi, *Il rituale di Amenhotpe I* (1942), 13; Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 27.

11 Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 27.

12 Barta, Das Opferritual, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967), 458; Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 31–32.

to the rituals described in the papyrus.[1] The Cairo-Turin papyrus contains liturgies for the daily cult at the temple as well as for festivals.[2] Sections of this offering ritual text, moreover, have been found on various ostraca pertaining to the royal artisans' community.[3] The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, therefore, may have been familiar with the ritual sequence and the Great Festival of Amenhotep I might have been an occasion for performing some of those rituals.

As far as I am aware, no dated references to the feast *pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) have survived from Deir el-Medina or elsewhere in Egypt. As *pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) was the name of III *prt*, one would expect to find the eponymous Feast of Amenhotep I either within the month of III *prt* or at the beginning of the subsequent month. It has been suggested that the 'Great Feast of Amenhotep I' mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25234[4] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty)[5] was the eponymous feast of III *prt*: the feast was celebrated at the end of III *prt* and at the beginning of IV *prt*.[6] In view of the references to working and inactivity on IV *prt* 1, the day might have been an annually observed work-free day.[7] According to O.

---

1 Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 28; see also Nelson, Certain Reliefs at Karnak, *JNES* 8 (1949); 201–232, 310–345. Chester Beatty papyrus IX is another version of this offering ritual text (P. BM EA 10689; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* 1 (1935), 78–106; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II; Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 27) pertaining to Deir el-Medina (Pestman, Who were the Owners, in the 'Community of Workmen', of the Chester Beatty Papyri, in Demarée & Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna* (1982), 155–172). In this particular edition, Amenhotep I is found presenting offerings to Amon-Re alongside Ramesses II but not receiving rituals himself (Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 28; see also Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* 1 (1935), 78–106). The prominent position of Amenhotep I in both these versions of the ritual text can be explained by his general popularity in Thebes and by his extensive building programme in the temple of Karnak (Tacke, *op. cit.*, 32).

2 Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003), 31.

3 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 307 (no date attributed); O. Ashmolean Museum 315 (no date attributed); O. DeM 204 rt.; O. DeM 10119 (no date attributed); O. LACMA M. 80. 203.192 + M. 80. 203.211 (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Cooney & McClain, The Daily Offering Meal, *JANER* 5 (2005), 47); O. Michaelides 72 (no date attributed).

4 *ỉw.tw m pȝ ḥb ʿȝ n n*[*sw*] (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ʿ *w s*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–3.

5 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

6 Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 182–183; Gardiner, Regnal Years, *JEA* 31 (1945), 25; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 321. Wolfgang Helck suggested that the date III *prt* 29 in O. Cairo CG 25234 was a scribal error for III *prt* 19 (Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158; cf. idem, *Die datierten* (2002), 406). His reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar suggested that the crew might have been work-free on an annual basis on III *prt* 19–23. Two other potential eponymous feasts of III *prt* took place *during* the month *pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*). O. Cairo CG 25559, rt. 1–4 (*III prt 21 hrw pn ṯs ỉn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ʿ *w s ỉw=f pḥy tȝ ỉnt ỉw tȝ ỉst m sḫsḫ r-ḥȝt=f ỉw=f dỉt wn.tw pȝ wḏȝ ỉw=f dỉt šd.tw 4 ʿy smỉ*; (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 104 (year 1 of Ramesses IV)); P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. III, 5 (*III prt 15* w*sf sšš ḥnkyt nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); date attributed to year 29 of Ramesses III; e.g., Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 34). Even after a careful analysis of the references to working and inactivity on III *prt* 15 and 21, however, it is impossible to conclude whether either of these days was an annually occurring work-free day. These feasts, nevertheless, might have been part of a festival cycle of mourning for Amenhotep I during the second half of III *prt*. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to corroborate this hypothesis (see Chapter III 1.3).

7 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on IV *prt* 1 is 0/3.

Cairo CG 25509[1] (year 1 of Siptah[2]), the royal artisans were work-free on III *prt* 29 – IV *prt* 4.[3] In the third year of Ramesses X,[4] the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb from III *prt* 28 through at least IV *prt* 2, as stated in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094.[5] On III *prt* 28 and IV *prt* 1, the men, in this particular document, are said to have been work-free because of something that is lost in lacunae.[6] The lacunae might have contained a reference to the Feast of Amenhotep I.[7] Since there are no references to working on IV *prt* 1 but, instead, there is at least one reference to a feast of Amenhotep I,[8] one can perhaps suggest that a feast of this king might have been celebrated annually on IV *prt* 1.[9] Two references to working[10] and two references to inactivity[11] on IV *prt* 2, however, indicate that the festival did not always continue through the second day of the month as the scribe of the aforementioned O. Cairo CG 25234[12] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty)[13] seems to say. In O. Cairo CG 25786[14] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[15]), an enigmatic (*ỉmn*[…]) *ꜥnḫ.tỉ* is mentioned right before the date IV *prt* 2. As the previous, preserved date is III *prt* 28,[16] it is impossible to determine whether the mysterious reference is to one of the days of the preceding 'weekend' or to IV *prt* 1. Nevertheless, in view of the aforementioned evidence for a feast at the end of III *prt* and

---

1 *ỉw=w wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. I, 8–13.

2 For dating O. Cairo CG 25509 to year 1 of Siptah instead of Seti II, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64.

3 In O. Cairo CG 25515 from the same year (e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7), III *prt* 29 – IV *prt* 1 are said to have been work-free (*ꜥḥꜥ*; vs. V, 7–9), whereas the evidence for IV *prt* 2–5 is missing in a lacuna (vs. V, 10–13). For the date of O. Cairo CG 25515, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

4 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

5 *Wsf tȝ-ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 17–20; the entry for III *prt* 30 is in a lacuna (rt. I, 19).

6 *Wsf tȝ-ỉst ḥr pȝ*[…; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 17, 19.

7 I know of no other examples from Deir el-Medina of *ḥr pȝ* + a feast, but the preposition *ḥr* might here have been used as a way of denoting the reason for the inactivity; see Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 192 (VIII *wegen, für*).

8 O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–6; date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

9 As the scribe of O. Cairo CG 25780 commenced the list of men absent or working on IV *prt* 2 (lines 1a–1; date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 220–221), we may perhaps deduce that IV *prt* 1 may also have been work-free in the year of this particular document (for scribes opening a journal at the beginning of a month, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 67).

10 O. Cairo CG 25780, 1a–1 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 220–221); O. Cairo CG 25786, rt. 3 (men listed as absent; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 235).

11 O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. I, 11 (*ỉw=w wsf*; year 1 of Siptah; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 20 (*wsf tȝ ỉst*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699).

12 III *prt 29 ỉw.tw m pȝ ḥb ꜥȝ n n*[*sw*] (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ꜥ w s…m* 4 *hrw ḏrỉw*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–3.

13 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

14 …] (*ỉmn*[…]) *ꜥnḫ.tỉ IV prt 2*; O. Cairo CG 25786, rt. 3.

15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 235; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 108.

16 O. Cairo CG 25786, rt. 1.

the beginning of IV *prt*, this reference in O. Cairo CG 25786 might perhaps be taken as an incorrectly formulated allusion to the Feast of Amenhotep I.[1]

With reference to the eponymous feast of Amenhotep I, one may also mention that the month name *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) was frequently used by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. O. Louvre E 3263[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[3]) is a list of goods prepared by Pennub for Qenna. Pennub received compensation for his efforts, including the work done during *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*).[4] The phrase here appears to have been used as a month designation.[5] The verso side of O. DeM 434[6] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[7]) contains the end of a letter. The writer of this text had, evidently, asked the recipient to come, but, when *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) was finished, the addressee still failed to turn up.[8] The writer appears to refer to the month of III *prt*[9] but, as *km* ('to be completed'[10]), the verb used by the writer, could be used in connection with both days and months, this interpretation is not infallible. O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000,[11] the date of which is attributed to the 20th Dynasty,[12] is an account of grain for *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*). *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) might also here have been used as a reference to III *prt*.[13] *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*), furthermore, features in the literary document O. DeM 1265[14] (no date attributed) and among the month names listed in O. BM EA 29560[15] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[16]).

---

1 See also *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Cairo CG 25786, Remarks. Wolfgang Helck suggested that this reference was perhaps to a local feast of a deified queen (Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158).

2 O. Louvre E 3263, rt. 1 – vs. 8.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 555–556.

4 *Ḏbȝ=f ỉw ỉrt ỉr=f m pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. Louvre E 3263, rt. 9.

5 See van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 219, note 38. Alternatively, the work was done during the feast called *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*); for the royal artisans working on semi-private commissions during their time off from the work in the Royal Tombs, see Cooney, An Informal Workshop (2006), 43–55.

6 O. DeM 434 vs. 1–3. The beginning of the letter on the recto has been erased and replaced with a list of objects (Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 25).

7 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 25.

8 *Km* [*pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)] *ỉw=k tm ỉỉ*; O. DeM 434, vs. 1–3.

9 *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. DeM 00434 reverse, Dates mentioned.

10 Erman & Grapow, *WB* V (1931), 129–130 (*Monate, Tage, Stunden vollenden*).

11 [*Pn-ỉm*]*n-ḥtp ꜥw s bty*[…; O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000, 1. For O. DeM 1000 joining this Cairo ostracon, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 155–156.

12 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 60.

13 See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 219, note 39. If *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) is here used as a month designation, all the occasions of grain deliveries mentioned in this document occurred during the month in question (*wḥm* (*šd*) *bty*; O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000, 2, 3, 4, 5). Alternatively, *pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) only alludes to the first delivery of grain and perhaps stands for a feast of the same name (See Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 155–156).

14 *III prt pn*-(*ỉmn*[…; O. DeM 1265 I, 21–22.

15 *Pn*-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. BM EA 29560, vs. 8.

16 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27.

1.2.1.9 The Feast of Renenutet

From the New Kingdom on, IV *prt*, the eighth month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, was called *pn-rnn-wtt* (Greek *Pharmuthi*) after the Feast of Renenutet celebrated at the beginning of the subsequent month.[1] In the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Senmut (TT71, 18th Dynasty),[2] the eponymous feast of IV *prt* was entitled *rnn-wtt*. According to the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[4]), this particular feast was called *ḥb rnn-wtt*. In the documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there also appear to be references to the eponymous feast of IV *prt*. In O. IFAO 1088[5] (no date attributed), *pn-rnn-wtt* is mentioned in the first line before the Feast of *Ipip*. The occasions in this document seem to be eponymous feasts and, hence, we may have here a reference to the Feast of Renenutet.[6] In the upper parts of the Valley of the Kings wadi with the tomb of Merenptah[7] is Graffito 265[8] (no date attributed) which gives only the name *pn-rnn-wtt*. As the name is written with the determinatives for a goddess,[9] this is probably a reference to the eponymous Feast of Renenutet or to the month of IV *prt* rather than to a man with the same name.[10]

Renenutet was a nourishing fertility goddess, a nurse who sometimes was shown suckling Nepri, the personification of grain.[11] The eponymous feast *pn-rnn-wtt* was a harvest festival also commemorating the birth of Nepri.[12] In the Greco-Roman temples,

---

1 Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 175; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45–46; Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (1971), 64.

2 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 42–43, pl. I; Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 35–48; for the date of TT71, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 139–142.

3 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1402 (list 64); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 181.

4 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55..

5 *Pn-rnn-wtt*; O. IFAO 1088, 1 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088).

6 See van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 222; for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

7 Félix & Kurz, *GMTh* II (1970), pl. 11.

8 *Pn-rnn-wtt*; Graffito 265, 1.

9 X1 and H8 in Gardiner's Sign List.

10 A Penrennut, son of Nakhtmin, is known from the reign of Ramesses IV (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 212–213).

11 Beinlich-Seeber, Renenutet, *LÄ* V (1984), 232; see also Hermann, Das Kind und seine Hüterin, *MDIK* 8 (1939), 171–176; Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (1971), 67–85, 96–98; for Renenutet, see Broekhuis, *op. cit.*; Derchain, Review of Broekhuis, De godin Renenwete, *Cd'É* 47 (1972), 134–138; Wildung, Review of Broekhuis, De godin Renenwete, *BiOr 29* (1972), 291–293; Collombert, Renenoutet et Renenet, *BSÉG* 27 (2005–2007), 21–32. For scenes where Renenutet is suckling Nepri, see, for example, Leibovitch, Gods of Agriculture, *JNES* 12 (1953), 82 figs. 1–2; see also the scene in the tomb of Amenemhat, called Sunero, (TT48) where Renenutet is suckling the king (e.g., Davies, The Graphic work of the Expedition 2. The King as Priest of the Harvest, *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum of Art. Supplement: The Egyptian Expedition 1928–1929* (1929), 46–48; Säve-Söderbergh, *Private Tombs at Thebes I: Four Eighteen Dynasty Tombs* (1957), pl. 42). For the name and epithets of *rnn-wtt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IV (2002), 686–689; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 338–340.

12 Leibovitch, Gods of Agriculture, *JNES* 12 (1953), 73–74; te Velde, Erntezeremonien, *LÄ* II (1977), 3. For *npr*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IV (2002), 202–203.

the Feast of Renenutet was part of a festival cycle ending with the birth of the child of the respective god of the temple.[1]

Renenutet was a well-known deity at Deir el-Medina and she was portrayed on several objects pertaining to the royal artisans' community. In a stela in the *Museo Egizio* in Turin (N. 50035,[2] date attributed to the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th Dynasty[3]), two women, Mutnofret and Iyinofreti, kneel before Renenutet who is depicted in human form with a snake's head. In Turin there is also a door jamb of a naos[4] (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty[5]) dedicated by Anhurkhawy and his wife Henutdjuu to Ptah, Sobek, and the serpent Renenutet. Renenutet is depicted as a serpent in a votive figure now in the British Museum (BM EA 12247,[6] date attributed to the Ramesside Period[7]). Renenuet is also mentioned in the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* formula on a door jamb of a naos in the *Museo Egizio* (Turin N. 50219,[8] date attributed to the Ramesside Period[9]). On many of these objects, Renenutet is called 'lady of sustenance',[10] i.e., she was worshipped in her principal aspect of a fertility goddess.[11] This feature of Renenutet is highlighted in O. Ashmolean Museum 49[12] (no date attributed). This particular ostracon contains a magical texts and a picture of Renenutet suckling the young Nepri while a man is making an offering to her.

In the *Musée des Beaux-Arts* in Bordeaux, there is a double-faced stela[13] (no inv. No.) dedicated to Renenutet by the sculptor Qen and his family during the reign of Ramesses II.[14] On the recto side of the stela, Renenutet is depicted as a coiled serpent with a human head while on the verso side she is sitting on a throne in human form. The goddess on the verso side is called Renenutet, the Beautiful, Meretseger.[15] Renenutet here appears to have been equated with the local snake goddess Meretseger,[16] who was the

---

1 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 403–404.
2 Stela Turin N. 50035.
3 For the date attributed, see Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 71.
4 Naos BM EA 597 + Turin N. 50220; see *Hieroglyphic Texts* X (1982), 28.
5 For the date attributed, see *Hieroglyphic Texts* X (1982), 28
6 Votive figure BM EA 12247. The upper, separately fashioned, part of the figure is lost but from the base, it can deduced that the goddess was here portrayed as a coiled serpent (*Hieroglyphic Texts* XII (1993), 16).
7 For the date attributed, see *Hieroglyphic Texts* XII (1993), 16.
8 Door jamb Turin N. 50219.
9 For the date attributed, see Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 187–188.
10 *Nbt kɜw*; Naos BM EA 597 + Turin N. 50220; Door jamb Turin N. 50219; Votive figure BM 12247.
11 Beinlich-Seeber, Renenutet, *LÄ* V (1984), 232; see also Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (1971), 67–85, 96–98.
12 O. Ashmolean Museum 49.
13 Stela Bordeaux; see Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 70–77.
14 For the date of this stela, see Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 70.
15 *Rnn-wtt nfrt mrt-sgr*; Stela Bordeaux, vs. In the hymn on the verso, Qen urges people to bring a jar of beer to Renenutet on I *prt* 20 (*iry=k pɜ ds n ḥnḳt n* (*t*)*ɜ rnn-wtt m tpy prt 20*). This day was celebrated in honour of another serpent goddess, Wadjet, in the Mut temple in Karnak (Stela of Thutmosis III; see Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 94; see also Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 76). For *mr.s-gr-rnn-wtt-nfrt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 344; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 66–87.
16 For Meretseger, see, for example, Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930); Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 118–121; Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 343–344; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 259.

goddess of the mountain top or slope[1] near the village of Deir el-Medina and who was extremely popular in the royal artisans' community.[2]

A *ḥwt*, 'temple',[3] of Renenutet is mentioned in O. DeM 908[4] (date attributed to the later years of Seti II or to the reign of Siptah[5]). The text is incomplete and it remains unclear whether a temple at Deir el-Medina is meant or not. Generally, the religious buildings near the village were called *ḫnw*, 'chapel', or *pr*, 'temple'.[6] The cult of Meretseger was primarily conducted in the rock chapels on the route from the village to the Valley of the Queens.[7] As far as I am aware, no mention of Renenutet has been found in this series of small chapels. Considering Renenutet's close connection with Meretseger, it is nevertheless possible that the eponymous Feast of Renenutet, or at least some of the rituals conducted during this feast, may have taken place in the rock sanctuary.

In the literary text O. DeM 1265[8] (no date attributed), the month of IV *prt* is described as the 'one where all the gods are born'. The ostracon is too damaged to see what was meant by this statement. However, the birth of Renenutet is also mentioned in this connection.[9] In addition to O. DeM 1265, there is another ambiguous reference to gods, birth, and a month. O. Qurna 633,[10] the date of which is attributed to the late 19th Dynasty,[11] is a letter concerning the situation with rations at Deir el-Medina. Günter Burkard[12] translated the passage in question[13] as '*ihre Götter gebären in diesem Monat*'. The scribe of this letter, however, does not indicate to which month he is referring. In O. Cairo CG 25535[14] (date attributed to the end of the 20th Dynasty[15]), a 'Birth of Meretseger' is mentioned as having taken place sometime towards the end of IV *prt* but before I *šmw* 4. 'Birth of Meretseger' may have been an alternative name of the Feast of

---

1 For this sense of the word *dhnt*, see Yoyotte, A propos Méresger (2003), 281-307; Adrom, Der Gipfel der Frömmigkeit?, *LingAeg* 12 (2004), 1–20.

2 Giorgio Noberasco found 53 stelae dedicated to Meretseger, a number surpassing the number of stelae dedicated to any other deity of the community (*Analisi statistica* (1977), 13).

3 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 2 (*Haus eines Gottes, Tempel, mit folg. Genetiv a) einer Gottheit: Tempel des Gottes*).

4 …] *ḥwt rnnyt*; O. DeM 908, rt. 1.

5 For the date attributed, see Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 117.

6 See Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 154–156.

7 Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 5–48; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 706–709. For the position of these chapels, see, for example, Černý, Desroches Noblecourt & Kurz, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine I: Cartographie et étude topographique illustrée* (1969–1970), pl. 6.

8 *IV prt tw.tw* […]*ms nṯrw nbw ỉm=f*; O. DeM 1265 I, 24–25.

9 …] *nbw ptḥ ḫˁ msw rnn-wtt mwt ḥr ỉ*[…; O. DeM 1265 I, 25–26.

10 O. Qurna 633, 1–8; see Burkard, 'Die Götter gebären', *GM* 169 (1999), 6–11; Burkard, 'Du kennst doch die Situation der Stadt!' *Alma Mater Philippina* (1995), 11–15. O. DeM 611 records that the rations for I *prt* were delivered on III *šmw* 19 (lines 1–2; date attributed to year 1 of Siptah; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 25–27), which might indicate problems with deliveries (*Deir el Medine online*, Qurna 633, Anmerkung B3; see also Janssen, *Commodity Prices* (1975), 464). A second delivery of rations for I *prt* in year 1 of Siptah took place on IV *šmw* 9 (O. Cairo CG 25517 γ, 1; see Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 26).

11 For the date attributed, see Burkard, 'Die Götter gebären', *GM* 169 (1999), 7.

12 Burkard, 'Die Götter gebären', *GM* 169 (1999), 10.

13 *Nɜy=sn nṯrw ḥr ms m pɜy ɜbd*; O. Qurna 633, 3–4.

14 *Ms*(*wt*) *n mrt-sgr I šmw 4*[...; O. Cairo CG 25535, rt. 5. The previous surviving date is IV *prt* 20+ (line 2).

15 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 15.

Renenutet since the two goddesses seem to have been associated with each other.[1] Alternatively, 'Birth of Meretseger' might stand for one of the days of the festival just as 'Birth of Re-Horakhty' seems to have been the first day of the New Year Festival.[2] From the Greco-Roman temple of Esna there is a reference to the birth of Renenutet. In a hymn called 'Revealing the face', Khnum is said to give birth to Renenutet in the first (month) of summer, i.e., in I *šmw*.[3]

From the New Kingdom on, the Feast of Renenutet occurred at the beginning of I *šmw*,[4] i.e., at the time one would expect to find the eponymous feast of IV *prt*.[5] In the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[7]) and in various Theban tombs,[8] the feast is said to have taken place on I *šmw* 1. In the Festival Calendar of the Greco-Roman temple of Esna, I *šmw* 1 is said to be a Feast of Khnum. The feast day, however, is also here said to be called the Feast of Renenutet.[9] In this temple, the Feast of Renenutet was, furthermore, part of a festival cycle starting on IV *prt* 30 and ending with the birth of Heka-the-child on I *šmw* 25. In the temple of Kom Ombo, the festival cycle of the birth of *pꜣ-nb-tꜣwy* already commenced on IV *prt* 10, ending with the birth on I *šmw* 1.[10]

As far as I am aware, there are no dated references to the Feast of Renenutet from Deir el-Medina. As this eponymous feast was celebrated in Thebes on I *šmw* 1,[11] it is reasonable to assume that the feast was simultaneously celebrated at Deir el-Medina.[12] O. Cairo CG 25815a[13] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[14]) seems, indeed, to contain a reference to a feast celebrated at the beginning of I *šmw*. On the first, partly eroded, line on the verso side of this document, the word *ḥb* features, namely, before the date I *šmw* 6.[15] There are, additionally, some indications that the beginning of I *šmw* might have been an annually occurring work-free period at Deir el-Medina.[16] The scribe of O. Cairo CG

---

1 E.g., Stela Bordeaux, vs. (reign of Ramesses II; Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 70); see above in this chapter.

2 See Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

3 Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962), 159.

4 Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (1971), 64–66; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977); see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 103; Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158

5 E.g., Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 43–47, 57–60; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 173–174; Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995), 30–31.

6 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1402 (list 64); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 181.

7 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

8 See, for example, Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 103; Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (1971), 64–66; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977).

9 Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962), 21; Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 101, 403.

10 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 403–404.

11 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1402 (list 64) (e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 181); various Theban tombs (see, for example, Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 103; Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (1971), 64–66; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 178.

12 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158.

13 O. Cairo CG 25815a, rt. 1 – vs. 6.

14 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 567.

15 …*Ḥ*]*b* [*I šmw*] *6*; O. Cairo CG 25815a, vs. 1–2.

16 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on days I *šmw* 1–3 are 1/1, 0/1, and 1/1, respectively.

25509[1] (date attributed to year 1 of Siptah[2]) noted down that the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb from IV *prt* 29 through I *šmw* 3. Certain documents may also be interpreted as indicating that the royal artisans were work-free at the beginning of I *šmw*. In O. Cairo CG 25782,[3] the date of which is attributed to the third year of Amenmesse,[4] the days IV *prt* 29 – I *šmw* 3 are omitted. As this document is a list of men absent or working, the days not included might have been days when no one was absent. In this case, however, Nebnefer is said to have been ill both before the 'weekend' and on I *šmw* 4.[5] It is, thus, possible that the royal artisans were work-free from IV *prt* 29 through I *šmw* 3. The scribe of the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25511[6] (date attributed to year 6 of Seti II[7]) started the records on I *šmw* 5, a day when wicks were fetched from the warehouse. As the scribes of the Tomb occasionally closed the records at the end of a week, month, or year to open a new one at the beginning of the subsequent time period,[8] one might tentatively suggest that the men may have gone back to work on I *šmw* 5 after having celebrated a feast at the beginning of the month in the year O. Cairo CG 25511 was written. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[9] (year 3 of Ramesses X[10]), the crew ascended to the Valley of the Kings on I *šmw* 3 after having been work-free for most of IV *prt* and receiving rations on IV *prt* 29. According to O. Cairo CG 25245[11] (no date attributed), the royal artisans were working on I *šmw* 1. One might, nevertheless, tentatively, suggest that the Feast of Renenutet may have been celebrated at Deir el-Medina on I *šmw* 1–2.

With regard to the terminology attached to the eponymous feast of Renenutet, note also P. Ebers[12] (year 9 of Amenhotep I[13]) where a month called *rn-wtt* is mentioned. In the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[14] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[15]), the month of IV *prt* is called *pn-rnn-wtt*. In documents pertaining to Deir el-

---

1 *ỉw=w wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 24–28.

2 For attributing O. Cairo CG 25509 a date in year 1 of Siptah instead of Seti II, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64.

3 O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 5–9.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 116–119; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–52.

5 *IV prt 28…nb-nfr 2 mr…I šmw 4…nb-nfr sꜣ wꜣḏ-ms mr*; O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 5–11.

6 *ỉnyt* (*m*) *pꜣ wḏꜣ ḥbs 125…hn ḥbsw…*; O. Cairo CG 25511, rt. 3–6.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 311–313.

8 For scribes opening the book at the beginning of the week or month, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 67.

9 *IV prt 2 wsf tꜣ ỉst…IV prt 29 wsf tꜣ ỉst dỉt dỉw…*[*I šmw*] *3 ṯs ỉn tꜣ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 20, II, 12–16. Medjay Nesamun stopped the men from starting to work, citing a letter which had been received the previous day from the high priest of Amon (rt. II, 15–17). Notwithstanding this incident, the crew seems to have had the intension to start working on I *šmw* 3, perhaps after celebrating the Feast of Renenutet on I *šmw* 1–2.

10 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

11 …] *šmw 1 bꜣk*; O. Cairo CG 25245, 11 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.3). As the subsequent date preserved is I *šmw* 5 (line 13), the month of the partly preserved date must be I *šmw*.

12 P. Ebers vs. I, 10; see Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 38 fig. 16; see also Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144.

13 For the date, see P. Ebers, vs. I, 1.

14 [*Pn-*]*rnn-wtt*; P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 8; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

15 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

Medina, there are also references to the month name of IV *prt*.[1] The scribe of O. DeM 35[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[3]) added *pn-rnn-wtt* after the date IV *prt* 1. This might be one of the early examples of referring to months by their name in a date.[4] A clearer case of using the name of the month in a date can be found in O. Berlin P 14263[5] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[6]), where grain rations delivered on '*pn-rnn-wtt* day 1' have been listed.

1 Shafik Allam takes the second occurrance of *pn-ỉpt* in O. BM EA 29560 (rt. 12; date attributed to the 20th Dynasty; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 27) to stand for the month *pn-rnn-wtt*, i.e., IV *prt* (*HOP* (1973), 52).

2 *IV prt 1 pn-rnn-wtt*; O. DeM 35, 14. As the eponymous feast *pn-rnn-wtt* was celebrated at the beginning of the subsequent month of I *šmw*, this cannot be a reference to the feast.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 520–521; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 299–300 (year 28 of Ramesses III).

4 Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 220 note 49.

5 *Pз dỉw pn-rnn-wtt sw 1*; O. Berlin P 14263, vs. 1.

6 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 446; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14263, Beschreibung.

1.2.1.10 The Beautiful Feast of the Valley

II *šmw*, the ninth month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, was named *pn-ỉnt* (Greek *Payni*) after the well attested 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley'.[1] The name of this eponymous feast, *ḥb nfr n ỉnt*, is known from various 18th Dynasty tombs.[2] In the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[3] (date attributed to the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III[4]), this particular feast is referred to as *ḥb ỉnt*.

Ḥb ỉnt appears to have been one of the names used for the Beautiful Feast of the Valley at Deir el-Medina, at least during the 19th Dynasty. The writer of O. DeM 127[5] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[6]) referred to the 'day of the offering you will make to Amon at *ḥb ỉnt*'. The feast *ḥb ỉnt* is also mentioned in the text on the back support of a statue of Neferhotep found in his tomb (TT216,[7] date attributed to the 19th Dynasty[8]). The reference in O. Cairo CG 25644[9] (date attributed to the reign of Seti II[10]) to a 'man who is here in the west of the valley (at) the feast of Amon' should perhaps be understood as meaning the 'one who is here in the west (in) the Feast of the Valley of Amon' (*ḥb ỉnt* (*n*) *ỉmn*).[11] During the 20th Dynasty, the name of the Feast of the Valley may have been *pn-ỉnt*. In O. DeM 645,[12] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[13]), a record of court proceedings, an unidentified man is said to have sworn an oath to make a reimbursement before *pn-ỉnt*.[14] This might be a reference to the name of the eponymous feast. The feast

---

1 Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 175; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45–46. For the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, see, for example, Foucart, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée* (1930); Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952); Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 68–72; Marciniak, Encore sur la Belle Fête de la Vallée, *ÉT* 5 (1971), 54–64; Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin* II (1972), 11–16; Bietak & Reiser-Haslauer (eds.), *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemalin Nitokris I* (1978), 24–29; Graefe, Talfest, *LÄ* VI (1986), 187–189; Wiebach, Die Begegnung, *SAK* 13 (1986), 263–291; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 21–32; Manniche, Reflections on Banquet Scene (1997); Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 11–15, 91–97, 98–103. The date and details of the eponymous feast of the previous month of I *šmw*, known as *pn-ḫnsw* (Greek *Pakhons*), are unknown; see Chapter III 1.3 (I *šmw* 18).

2 E.g., Foucart, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée* (1930); Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952).

3 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 163 (list 4); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 124.

4 For the date attributed, see Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55. Ramesses III may have added the two lists pertaining to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley to the calendar used at the Ramesseum (Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 67; Haring, *op. cit.*, 53).

5 *Rʿ n pɜ wdn ỉ.ỉr=k n ỉmn m ḥb ỉnt*; O. DeM 127, vs. 1–2. For *ỉmn*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 54–63.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139.

7 *Ḫft ḥb ỉnt*; Bruyère, *Rapport 1923–1924* (1925), 41–43; see also idem, *Rapport 1924–1925* (1926), 37 fig. 25a.

8 Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 312–315 (Ramesses II to Seti II).

9 *Pɜ wn dy ḥr ỉmnt pɜ ỉnt ḥb ỉmn*; O. Cairo CG 25644, rt. 3–4

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 330–331.

11 *Pɜ wn dy ḥr ỉmnt* (*m*) *pɜ* <*ḥb ỉnt*> (*n*) *ỉmn*; O. Cairo CG 25644, rt. 3–4; see also Wente, *Letters* (1990), 143–144.

12 O. DeM 645, rt. 1 – vs. 6.

13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

14 *Ḏd=f wɜḥ ỉmn*[*wɜḥ pɜ*] *ḥḳɜ mtw=ỉ* (*dỉt*) *ḥpr pn-ỉnt*…; O. DeM 645, vs. 2–3.

name *pn-ỉnt* is perhaps also used[1] in O. Cairo CG 25598, [2] (year 3 of Ramesses V through year 1 of Ramesses VI[3]) which starts with a date 'Year 4, II *šmw, m pn-ỉnt*'.

The Beautiful Feast of the Valley seems to have been already celebrated during the Middle Kingdom and continued to be observed through the Greco-Roman Period.[4] During the Valley Feast, the king crossed the river with the statue of Amon of Karnak[5] to visit the 'Temples of Millions of Years' in Western Thebes and to pour water for the royal ancestors.[6] From the 19th Dynasty onwards, the statues of Mut, Khonsu, and Amaunet also took part in the procession.[7] Originally, the destination of the procession appears to have been the temples at Deir el-Bahri, but during the Ramesside Period, the statue of Amon rested overnight in the 'Temple of Millions of Years' of the reigning king.[8] The Valley Feast, however, not only pertained to Amon of Karnak, but Hathor also had a prominent role in the festivities.[9] This was, additionally, one of the feasts to appease the enraged Solar Eye, the daughter of Re.[10] Various officials took part in the procession to Western Thebes and celebrated the feast in their respective family tomb chapels in the necropolis.[11] The purpose of the family gathering at the tomb seems to have been to participate in the sun god's journey to the afterlife[12] and to temporarily lift the veil between the living and the dead.[13] An important aim at the nocturnal banquet in the family

---

1 Van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 220; René van Walsem has taken the preposition *m* as a sign of identity (*op. cit.*, note 50).

2 *Rnpt-sp 4 II šmw m pn-ỉnt*; O. Cairo CG 25598, rt. 1; see also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 220. For interpreting *pn-ỉnt* as a month name, see Černý, Review of Weill, Études d'Égyptologie, 1926, *AfO* 5 (1928–1929), 114

3 *M rnpt-sp 3…n sḫpr*[*-n-rˁ*] *wḥm m rnpt-sp 1 n* [*nsw-bỉty*] (*nb-mɜˁt-rˁ*) ˁ *w s*; O. Cairo CG 25598 vs. A, 2–4; see also Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 365–366; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 430–431, 440.

4 Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 68–72.

5 For 'Amon in Karnak', see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 312.

6 Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin* II (1972), 12; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22.

7 Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952), 6; Graefe, Talfest, *LÄ* VI (1986), 187.

8 Graefe, Talfest, *LÄ* VI (1986), 187. For *mwt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 255–256; for *ḫnsw*, see idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* V (2002), 761–763; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 574–579; for *ỉmnt*, see idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 357–358; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 93–94.

9 Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 69–70; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 21–32. For *ḥwt-ḥr*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* V (2002), 75–79.

10 Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 69–70; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 24–29; see also Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992), 101–114; Manniche, Reflections on Banquet Scene (1997), 29–36; von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 47–55; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 98–103. For *ỉrt-rˁ*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 426–429.

11 Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952), 33–39; see also, for example, Wiebach, Die Begegnung, *SAK* 13 (1986), 263–291; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 11–15, 98–103. The rituals of the Feast of the Valley were depicted in various 18th Dynasty tombs and have been studied by Siegfried Schott (*Das schöne Fest* (1952)). These rites included a burnt sacrifice; a walk to the tomb with priests, singers, etc.; distribution of flower bouquets from the temple of Amon; and a banquet in the family tomb (*ibid.*, 12–84; see also Wiebach, *op. cit.*, 265–266).

12 Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952), 7; Wiebach, Die Begegnung, *SAK* 13 (1986), 284–291.

13 Foucart, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée* (1930); Wiebach, Die Begegnung, *SAK* 13 (1986), 271–284; see also, for example, Manniche, The so-called 'scene of daily life' (2003), 44.

tomb seems to have been to become intoxicated, which was one of the ways of pacifying the Eye of Re and persuading her to return from Nubia to Egypt.[1]

The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina appear to have been familiar with the procession of the statue of Amon of Karnak to Western Thebes. There are many references dated to the month of II *šmw* which mention the Crossing of the river (*pꜣ ḏꜣy*) by Amon.[2] These references may be to the processions of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[3] Furthermore, at the beginning of the verso of O. Berlin P 12635[4] (date attributed to year 4–6 of Ramesses IV[5]), the scribe of this account of transfers wrote about the 'Coming of the gods from the east'. This passage might refer to the statues of Amon, Mut, Khonsu, and Amentet coming in procession from Karnak to Western Thebes during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[6] The writer of P. Turin Cat. 2044[7] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[8]) appears to describe a water procession where the people of Eastern and Western Thebes were rejoicing while Amon-Re is also mentioned. This description does bear a resemblance to the procession of the Valley Festival described in Theban tombs.[9]

Amon of Karnak and Hathor were both revered deities in the royal artisans' community.[10] The temples of Hathor were situated to the north of the village, inside and to

---

1 Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 69–70; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 24–29; see also Brunner, Die theologische Bedeutung der Trunkenheit, *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 81–83; Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992), 101–114; Manniche, Reflections on Banquet Scene (1997), 29–36; von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 47–55; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 98–103.

2 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 11; O. Cairo CG 25265 II, 1–2; O, Cairo CG 25538, 3; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 7; O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9; see below in this chapter.

3 Rolf Krauss rejected this assumption by using calculations of moon dates (*Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 145–148). His results, however, were based on an absolute chronology of New Kingdom rulers (*op. cit.*, 207) which is not accepted by all (compare, for example, von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (1994); see also Barta, Review of Krauss, Sothis- und Monddaten, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 416–420).

4 *Pꜣ iỉy nꜣ nṯrw m ỉꜣbt*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 1; the reading of the last word is not certain; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12635, Anmerkung T8.

5 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355.

6 A 'Crossing by the god' (*pꜣ nṯr*) also is mentioned in this document (<*pꜣ*> *ḏꜣy n pꜣ nṯr*; O. Berlin P 12635, rt. 11). At Deir el-Medina, the term *pꜣ nṯr* generally seems to refer to Amenhotep I, especially in the various oracle accounts dating to the 20th Dynasty (See Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 158). Nonetheless, I am not aware of any Crossings of Amenhotep I. Why O. Berlin P 12635 would have two such diverse references to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley is not readily evident. It is also possible that only one – or neither – of the references in this document stand for the Valley Feast.

7 *ỉw=w m nꜣ brw ỉw=w mỉ* […] *nỉwt ḥnᶜ ỉmn nỉwt r nhm r-ḏr=w ỉw=n nhm r wrt* […*ỉ*]*mn-rᶜ nsw nṯrw nhm ỉm=f*; P. Turin Cat. 2044 vs. I, 2–4.

8 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI VI* (1983), 340–343 (year 1 of Ramesses VI); McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 227 (year 1 of Ramesses V or VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 417–418, 420–421 (year 1 of Ramesses V).

9 See Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952). Wolfgang Helck dated this reference in P. Turin Cat. 2044 to I *šmw* 29 since the last dates on the recto side of this document are in the last decade of I *šmw* (*Die datierten* (2002), 418). It seems, however, that the order of the columns on the verso is, in fact, III-I-II (Demarée, Recent Work on the Administrative Papyri in the Museo Egizio, Turin, in Zaccone & di Netro (eds.), *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia* II (1993), 104) and the water procession mentioned, in fact, may have taken place between I *prt* 13 and I *prt* 16 (vs. II, 8, III, 1).

10 See, for example, Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13; see also Chapters III 1.2.1.3 and 1.2.1.4.

the north of the present Ptolemaic temple enclosure.[1] As the sanctuary of Hathor founded by Ramesses II was a smaller version of the terrace temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri[2] and, opposite the entrance to this temple, there seems to have been a chapel dedicated to Amon,[3] the setting recalls of the position of the temples of Karnak and Deir el-Bahri relative to each other.[4] Bruyère suggested that the chapel of Amon and the temple of Hathor formed the surroundings for the Beautiful Feast of the Valley when Amon of the Beautiful Encounter and Hathor met.[5] It has not been possible to establish the location of the cult of Amon of the Beautiful Encounter[6] but the chapels of Hathor and Amon might have been the site where Hathor and some form of Amon came together during the Valley Feast. If this scenario is true, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina perhaps performed their own procession of Amon to the temple of Hathor.

Certain Deir el-Medina tombs on the northern slope of Qurnet Murai contain domestic attachments with querns, silos, and hearths.[7] Such areas may have been used for preparing food,[8] perhaps also during a nocturnal banquet of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Since the necropolis of the royal artisans' community is situated in close proximity to the village, a vigil at the tomb, however, is not dependent on such a domestic enclosure: the supplies for a banquet at a tomb chapel may have been brought from the village.

The writer of O. DeM 127[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[10]) sent some cakes and incense on the day of the offering the recipient of this letter was making to Amon during the Valley Festival. It appears, thus, that an individual person might perform his or her own offering ritual to Amon during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Whether this offering ritual referred to in O. DeM 127 took place in one of the chapels at Deir el-Medina or, for example, in one of the Deir el-Bahri temples is not evident from this text.

The Beautiful Feast of the Valley commenced with the new moon in II *šmw*,[11] explicitly stated in the Festival Calendar in the temple of Medinet Habu[12] (date attributed to the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III[13]). According to this festival calendar, the

---

1 The Hathor chapel of Seti I (Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 99–104; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1964), 694–695); the Sanctuary of Hathor build by Ramesses II (Bruyère, Deir el Medineh, *Cd'É* 25–28 (1939), 269–271; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 19–20; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1964), 695–696); the temple attributed to Merenptah (Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 91; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 107–109 (no. 250), I, 143–144 (nos. 382–383), pl. 41; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1964), 695).

2 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 23.

3 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 121–124; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 700; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 326; for a plan of the area, see Valbelle, *op. cit.*, 327 fig. 3.

4 See, for example, Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles* (2001), pls. 3–8.

5 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* III (1952), 37.

6 Toye, Amon-de-la-Bonne-Recontre, *GM* 211 (2006), 89–105.

7 Bruyère, *Rapport 1948–1951* (1953), 92–131; see also Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 76.

8 See Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 76.

9 *Dỉ<=ỉ> ỉn.tw n=k šʿy(t)…snṯr…hrw n pȝ wdn ỉ.ỉr=k n ỉmn m ḥb ỉnt*; O. DeM 127, rt. 3, 5, vs. 1–2.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139.

11 E.g., Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 107; Graefe, Talfest, *LÄ* VI (1986), 187.

12 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 135 (list 3); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 123.

13 For the date attributed, see Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

feast offerings were presented on two separate days.[1] The Feast may, thus, have lasted for two days only.[2]

Since the date of the Valley Festival was determined according to the moon, no fixed civil calendar dates occur as annual work-free days associated with this feast. Several allusions to a work-free day due to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley in II *šmw*, nevertheless, have survived in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina. Most of these references mention the 'Crossing (the river) by Amon' to or from Western Thebes.[3] In the sixth year of Seti II,[4] Amon crossed the river back to the east side on II *šmw* 25, as stated in O. Cairo CG 25538.[5] II *šmw* 25 thus appears to have been the date of the second day of the festival in this particular year. According to O. Cairo CG 25515[6] from the same year (year 6 of Seti II[7]), the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb on days II *šmw* 19–26. At Deir el-Medina, the work-free period, in this particular year, lasted for more than the two days of the Festival proper. In O. Turin N. 57034[8] (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III[9]), a Crossing is said to have occurred on II *šmw* 12. The crew seems to have been work-free for six days, II *šmw* 8–13.[10] According to O. Turin N. 57044[11] (date attributed to year 26 of Ramesses III[12]), on II *šmw* 28, the Eve of the Crossing,[13] the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb. In O. Cairo CG 25265[14] (date attributed to the later years of Ramesses III through year 1 of Ramesses V[15]), the Crossing to Western Thebes is said to have taken place on II *šmw* 1. There are no indications of the length of the festival holiday in the year this document was written. According to O. Ashmolean Museum 11[16] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI),[17] the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb on II *šmw* 25 due to the Crossing. It seems, however, that the procession did not take place, and rock is said to have been burnt again on the three

---

1 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 135–190 (lists 3–4); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 123–125.

2 Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 11; cf. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 136–144.

3 For *ḏ3*, 'crossing', see Erman & Grapow, *WB* V (1931), 511–513 (*kreuzen, überfahren*).

4 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25538, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 315; Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I (1995), 58; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141.

5 *Hrw n ḏ3y n ỉmn r nỉwt*; O. Cairo CG 25538, 3.

6 *ʿḥʿ…wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. I, 9–16.

7 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

8 *P3 ḏ3*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 7.

9 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 244.

10 (*II šmw*) *sw 8 wsf wȝḥ-mw sw 11 wsf sw 12 p3 ḏ3 sw 13 wsf*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 6–8.

11 *Wsf ḫ3*(*wy*) *p3 ḏ3*; O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9. One might perhaps assume that the Valley Feast took place on the 'weekend' that followed this entry (the entries in O. Turin N. 57044 end on II *šmw* 28).

12 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 31; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 510; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 275.

13 *Ḫ3*(*wy*); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 226 note 87 ('something like 'feast-night'?'); see also Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 225 (*der Abend*).

14 *Ḏ3y r ỉmntt nỉwt ỉn ỉmn-rʿ nsw* [*nṯrw*] *r wȝḥ-mw n nsyw-bỉtyw*; O. Cairo CG 25265 II, 1–2 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.23).

15 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 423–424; the text on face II of this ostracon contains the year date 5.

16 *Wsf ỉw.tw m p3 ḏʿy* […; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 11.

17 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.

subsequent days, i.e., the crew seems to have been working.[1] From these examples one may perhaps deduce that the work-free period due to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley already started at Deir el-Medina prior to the Crossing to the West by Amon. On the day of the Crossing and the day of returning back to Eastern Thebes, the royal artisans may have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb.

According to the aforementioned O. Turin N. 57034[2] (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III[3]), the royal artisans were celebrating the Beautiful Feast of the Valley on II *šmw* 11–13. Shortly before this event, on II *šmw* 8, the crew was work-free to pour water.[4] Pouring water for the ancestral kings was an important ritual of the Valley Festival.[5] This particular occasion of pouring water, however, might not be connected to the Valley Feast as the festival period proper only lasted two days.[6] Alternatively, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina already organized their own ritual of pouring water before the festival proper had started.

Regarding the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, the eponymous feast of II *šmw*, one may also note that in the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[7] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[8]) this particular month is called *pn-ỉnt*. In documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there are no references that may securely be interpreted as denoting the month name of II *šmw*. The references to *pn-ỉnt* in O. DeM 645,[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[10]) and in O. Cairo CG 25598, [11] (year 3 of Ramesses V through year 1 of Ramesses VI[12]) might, perhaps be understood as meaning the month of II *šmw* instead of the eponymous Feast of the Valley.

---

1 *ỉ]w tm ỉmn ḏ3y hrw*[*pn?…*]*psỉ sw 27 psỉ ỉw ḥry=f dy sw 28 ḥry=f dy*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 12–13.

2 *Sw 11 wsf sw 12 p3 ḏ3 sw 13 wsf*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 7–8.

3 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 244.

4 *Wsf w3ḥ mw*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 6.

5 Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin* II (1972), 12; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22.

6 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 135–190 (lists 3–4); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 123–125; see also Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004), 11; cf. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 136–144.

7 [*Pn-*]*rnn-wtt*; P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 8; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

8 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

9 *Ḏd=f w3ḥ ỉmn*[*w3ḥ p3*] *ḥḳ3 mtw=ỉ* (*dỉt*) *ḫpr pn-ỉnt*; O. DeM 645, vs. 2–3. See also van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 220. Many stipulated deadlines of oaths fall on the last day of the month, i.e., it appears to have been customary to set the date to the end of a month; e.g., O. Berlin P 10655, 3 (*mtw=ỉ dỉt ʿḳ ʿrḳ n III šmw*; reign of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 573–574); O. DeM 433, 7 (*r-š3ʿ II šmw ʿrḳ*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 130–131); O. OIM 12073, rt. 7 (*r-š3ʿ…III šmw ʿrḳ*; year 3 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 22); O. UC 39633, rt. 7 (*r-š3ʿ III šmw ʿrḳ*; date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 299).

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

11 *Rnpt-sp 4 II šmw m pn-ỉnt*; O. Cairo CG 25598, rt. 1. See Černý, Review of Weill, Études d'Égyptologie, *AfO* 5 (1928–1929), 114; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Cairo CG 25598, Contents; see also O. DeM 35, 14 (*IV prt 1 pn-rnn-wtt*; reign of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 520–521; see Chapter III 1.2.1.9).

12 *M rnpt-sp 3…n sḫpr*[*-n-rʿ*] *wḥm m rnpt-sp 1 n* [*nsw-bỉty*] (*nb-m3ʿt-rʿ*) ʿ *w s*; O. Cairo CG 25598 vs. A, 2–4; see also Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 365–366; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 430–431, 440.

1.2.1.11 Epiphi

The eponymous feast of III *šmw*, the eleventh month of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar, was *ỉpỉp* (Greek *Epiphi*).[1] However, on the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Senmut (TT71, 18th Dynasty),[2] this particular eponymous feast was entitled *ỉpt-ḥmt*. During the late New Kingdom, the feast was celebrated in the temple of Karnak under the name *ỉpt-ḥmt=s*.[3] *ʾIpỉp*, the name of III *šmw* used in Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic documents from the Persian Period on, seems, nevertheless, to have already been in use during the Ramesside Period. In P. Cairo CG 58096[4] (reign of Ramesses II[5]), a jeweller's account from Saqqara, a feast celebrated in the eleventh month of the civil calendar was called *ỉpỉp*. The feast name *ỉpỉp* can also be found in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina. *ʾIpỉp* is mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[6] dating to the third year of Ramesses X.[7] *ʾIpỉp* additionally features among the eponymous feasts cited in O. IFAO 1088[8] (no date attributed).

ʾIpỉp was another name of the hippopotamus goddess Ipet, also called Ipy.[9] Ipet was a Theban fertility goddess who was occasionally equated with the goddess Mut.[10] As far as I am aware, the rituals and other specifics of the Feast of *Ipỉp* are mostly unknown. However, in the oracle text of Nesamun from the late 20th Dynasty, Amon of Karnak is said to have appeared in a procession during this feast.[11]

No references to the goddess Ipet appear to have survived from the royal artisans' community. The goddess Mut, who occasionally appears to have been equated with Ipet,

---

1 Gardiner, Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 137–138; Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 175.

2 See, for example, Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 42–43, pl. I; Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 35–48; for the date of TT71, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 139–142.

3 Inscription on the outer face of the festival hall of Amenhotep II; see Nims, An Oracle Dated in 'the Repeating of Births', *JNES* 7 (1948), 157–162; Gardiner, The Problem, *Rd'É* 10 (1955), 12. The feast name 'Feast of Her Majesty' (*ḥb ḥmt=s*), a variant of this New Kingdom form of the name, was still in use in certain Greco-Roman temples (Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 134–137).

4 P. Cairo CG 58096, vs. 2; see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 221; for the provenance of this papyrus, see Ali, Das Verhältnis zwischen den Beiden Seiten (1994), 508.

5 For the date of this papyrus, see Ali, Das Verhältnis zwischen den Beiden Seiten (1994), 508.

6 *Wsf tȝ ỉst ỉpỉp*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 19.

7 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

8 O. IFAO 1088, 2 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.56); see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 242 (O. DeM reg. no. 1088); for a discussion of this document, see Chapter III 1.2.1.

9 Černý, Some Coptic Etymologies III, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 207. For *ỉpt*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 218. For *ỉpt-ḥmt.s*, see idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 219–220.

10 Van Dijk, Hymnen uit het dagelijks tempelritueel (1983), 241 note 24. In the myth about the Destruction of Mankind, the Feast of *ỉpt-ḥmt=s* is said to be a feast of Hathor and Mut. The rituals of this feast, however, seem to have taken place around the turn of the year on the epagomenal days (*op. cit.*, 240–242). Furthermore, according to the so-called 'Voyage of the Libyan Goddess' text (P. Berlin P 3053), the central feast of the arrival of the fierce goddess back to Thebes from Nubia seems to have been celebrated at the Feast of *ỉpt-ḥmt=s* on IV *šmw* 1. This text, however, might be from the period when the cult of Mut had not yet been firmly established at Karnak, i.e., from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Verhoeven & Derchain, *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque* (1985), 53).

11 Inscription on the outer face of the festival hall of Amenhotep II; see Nims, An Oracle Dated in 'the Repeating of Births', *JNES* 7 (1948), 159.

was a popular deity at Deir el-Medina[1] and the Feast of *Ipip* might in have been celebrated there in honour of this particular goddess.[2] As Ipet was a hippopotamus goddess and the hippopotamus goddess par excellence at Deir el-Medina was Taweret,[3] one might tentatively suggest that the Feast of *Ipip* may alternatively have been celebrated in her honour. Many of the references to a feast of Taweret denote personal feasts of this goddess;[4] she was, after all, a household deity.[5] However, some texts appear to allude to a communal feast of Taweret. O. DeM 230[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[7]) is an account of transfers where the Feast of Taweret is mentioned. In O. Liverpool 13625[8] (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah[9]), the Feast of Taweret is also among the occasions when victuals were provided. One may perhaps also refer to O. Ashmolean Museum 166[10] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[11]) which is a deposition by Nakhtmin about a theft while he was sitting in his chapel during the 'Birth of Taweret'.[12] There is some evidence for a cult of Taweret outside the houses of the royal artisans at Deir el-Medina. In the reign of Ramesses II,[13] Mose dedicated a naos to Taweret.[14] His son Amenwahsu is called 'servant of Taweret' in this naos.[15] Several objects – and even a piece of relief – mentioning Taweret were found in the so-called '*chapel du Djebel*' (numbered 1213 by Bernard Bruyère).[16] This chapel, thus, might have been the site of a cult of Taweret.[17] In O. Berlin P 14263[18] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[19]), rations for various persons for the month of IV *prt* are listed. Among the recipients is also

---

1 Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977); see also Chapter III 1.2.1.6.

2 For Deir el-Medina references to Mut and the eponymous feast of Mut, see Chapter III 1.2.1.6.

3 For *tꜣ-wrt* at Deir el-Medina, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* III (1952), 72–82; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 125–127. For *tꜣ-wrt* see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*VII (2002), 331–332; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 690–691.

4 See, for example, Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 193; see Chapter III 2.3.1.

5 See, for example, Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* III (1952), 72–82; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 125–127.

6 *Pꜣ ḥb n tꜣ-wrt*; O. DeM 230, rt. 6.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 559.

8 *Rdyt n=f m pꜣ ḥb n tꜣ-wrt*; O. Liverpool 13625, rt. 1.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1982), 162–163.

10 *ỉnk tw=ỉ ḥms m pꜣy=ỉ ḫnw* (*m*) *pꜣ msw n tꜣ-wrt*; O. Ashmolean Museum 166, rt. 1–2.

11 Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 550.

12 For interpreting the 'Birth of Taweret' as a feast, see Borghouts, Divine Intervention (1982), 41 note 13; McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 102 (73B). Schafik Allam considered *pꜣ msw n tꜣ-wrt* a name of a chapel (*HOP* (1973), 185 note 1).

13 *Ms*, son of *ỉʿḥ-nfr*, is known from the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 209–210).

14 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 22; according to Bernard Bruyère, the double doors of the naos are in Moscow.

15 *Bꜣk n tꜣ-wrt*; see Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 22; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* III (1952), 72.

16 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 19–23; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 690.

17 Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 690; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 70, 83.

18 *Pꜣ dỉw pn-rnn-wtt*; O. Berlin P 14263, 1.

19 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 446; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14263, Beschreibung.

the goddess *tɜ-wrt*.[1] The cult of Taweret, furthermore, is illustrated on various stelae pertaining to Deir el-Medina.[2] Nevertheless, I have found not evidence for Taweret being the object of the Feast of *Ipip* in the royal artisans' community.

In the aforementioned P. Cairo CG 58096[3] (reign of Ramesses II)[4] from Saqqara, the Feast of *Ipip* is said to have taken place on IV *šmw* 16. According to the above-mentioned oracle account of Nesamun[5] (late 20th Dynasty), a procession of Amon in the temple of Karnak took place on III *šmw* 28 during the Feast *ỉpt-ḥmt=s*. In the Greco-Roman temple of Esna, the feast *ḥb ḥmt=s* was observed on III *šmw* 29 – IV *šmw* 1, whereas in the temples of Dendera and Edfu, the celebration of this feast lasted for one day only IV *šmw* 1.[6]

One would expect to find the eponymous feast of III *šmw* at the beginning of the subsequent month after IV *šmw*. The aforementioned oracle account from Karnak[7] may also indicate that the Feast of *Ipip* was celebrated at the turn of the month III *šmw*. There are, indeed, indications that *ỉpỉp* may have been celebrated at Deir el-Medina at the beginning of IV *šmw*. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[8] (year 3 of Ramesses X[9]), the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *šmw* 2 due to *ỉpỉp*. The previous day is also said to have been work-free.[10] There is another document where a feast at the beginning of IV *šmw* is mentioned. In O. DeM 209[11] (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty[12]), the crew is said to have been work-free on IV *šmw* 1–2 because of a *ḥb*, 'feast'.[13] After an analysis of the references to working and inactivity at the beginning of IV *šmw*, it appears that the first two days of the month may have been

---

1 *Tɜ-wrt 6*[…; O. Berlin P 14263, 2; the name is written with the determinative for a goddess (I12). The reference is probably to rations for the offerings to the goddess Taweret; cf. *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14263, Anmerkung T4. For rations provided for the cults of the deities at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34–35; Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 156–159.

2 E.g., Stela BM EA 284; Stela Glasgow (published by Bierbrier and de Meulenaere); Graffito 1635 also seems to portray the cult of Taweret.

3 P. Cairo CG 58096, vs. 2; see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 221; for the provenance of this papyrus, see Ali, Das Verhältnis zwischen den Beiden Seiten (1994), 508.

4 For the date of this papyrus, see Ali, Das Verhältnis zwischen den Beiden Seiten (1994), 508.

5 Inscription on the outer face of the festival hall of Amenhotep II; see Nims, An Oracle Dated in 'the Repeating of Births', *JNES* 7 (1948), 157–162; Gardiner, The Problem, *Rd'É* 10 (1955), 12.

6 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 413–414.

7 Inscription on the outer face of the festival hall of Amenhotep II; see Nims, An Oracle Dated in 'the Repeating of Births', *JNES* 7 (1948), 157–162; Gardiner, The Problem, *Rd'É* 10 (1955), 12.

8 *Wsf tɜ ỉst ỉpỉp*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 19.

9 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

10 *Wsf tɜ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 18–19. The work-free period in this particular year seems to have already started on III *šmw* 19 and the men continued to be work-free even after the feast *Ipip* (rt. V, 7–23). On IV *šmw* 3, the crew crossed the river to Eastern Thebes and on IV *šmw* 10 they seem to have been searching for rations (rt. V, 19–20; VI, 1). The long period of inactivity in the third year of Ramesses X was, therefore, probably due to irregularities in the distribution of rations.

11 *ʿḥʿ.n tɜ ỉst m wsf n ḥb*; O. DeM 209, vs. 4.

12 For the dates attributed, see Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 217–219 (Amenmesse); Krauss, Sothis- und Monddaten (1985), 130 (year 2 of Seti II); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 103–105 (year 2 of Amenmesse).

13 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 57–58 (*das Fest*).

annually occurring work-free days at Deir el-Medina.[1] According to O. Cairo CG 25529[2] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[3]), the men were work-free from III *šmw* 29 through IV *šmw* 2. In O. Cairo CG 25609[4] (date attributed to year 1 of Ramesses V[5]), the crew is also stated as having been freed from work on the Royal Tomb from III *šmw* 29 through IV *šmw* 2. Certain other documents might be interpreted as indicating that the crew was work-free around this time. According to O. IFAO 1357,[6] a court protocol the date of which is attributed to the reign of Merenptah,[7] a man was sentenced by the village *ḳnbt* to fifty blows with a stick. The relevant section in regard to the Feast of *Ipip* is the subsequent passage describing the behaviour of a man:[8]

O. IFAO 1357[9]
(rt. 4) II]I *šmw* 29–30 IV *šmw* 1–2, altogether 4 days,
(rt. 5) he went to drink in the village. When
(rt. 6) the crew ascended to work, he was absent
(rt. 7) in the village on IV *šmw* 3 and 4 while going to[...
(rt. 8) to the Field (on) day 5 and spending time sleeping in the[...
(rt. 9) being inactive (on) days 6–11.

It would, thus, seem that, in this particular year of Merenptah,[10] the royal artisans were freed from work from III *šmw* 29 through IV *šmw* 2 and that most of them ascended to work on IV *šmw* 3.[11] In O. Ashmolean Museum 167[12] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[13]), a list of men absent or working, the days III *šmw* 29 – IV *šmw* 2 have been omitted. As Qenhirkhopshef and Khaemseba were absent both before and after the

1 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity is 0/4 on both IV *šmw* 1 and 2; see also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 159.
2 *N*; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. IV, 12–15.
3 For attributing, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.
4 *N*; O. Cairo CG 25609 rt. II, 2–5.
5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 245–246; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 419.
6 *Tȝ ḳnbt ḥr dỉt n=f 50 sḏt n šȝtỉ*; O. IFAO 1357, rt. 3. For translations of this text, see, for example, Allam, *HOP* (1973), 197–198; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 92.
7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 162; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 92.
8 It is unclear whether this passage has to do with the court case mentioned in the beginning of the document or not; see, for example, Allam, *HOP* (1973), 198; McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 158.
9 O. IFAO 1357, rt. 4–9.
(rt. 4) II]I *šmw 29 ꜥrḳ* IV *šmw 1 sw 2 dmḏ 4 hrw*
(rt. 5) *ỉ*]*w=f šmy ḥr swrỉ m pȝ dmỉt ḫr ỉr*
(rt. 6) *tȝ ỉst ḥr ṯs r bȝk ỉw=f ḥr wsft*
(rt. 7) *m pȝ dmỉt m* IV *šmw 3 sw 4 ỉw=f ḥr ỉỉy r*[
(rt. 8) *r sḏt* (*m*) *sw 5 ỉw=f ḥr wrš sḏr m tȝ ỉ*[
(rt. 9) *ỉw=f wsft* (*m*) ~~*sw 3*~~ *sw 6 sw 7 sw 8 sw 9 sw 11*.
10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 162; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 92.
11 Cf. Allam, *HOP* (1973), 197–198; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 92; for an example of an event connected to the following date with the preposition *m*, see, for example, O. Cairo CG 25560, 3.
12 O. Ashmolean Museum 167, vs. 4–5.
13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 242–243; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 110.

excluded days,[1] the period III *šmw* 29 – IV *šmw* 2 was perhaps not omitted because no one was absent. The crew may actually have been work-free during these particular days.[2]

During the New Kingdom, *ỉpt-ḥmt* also appears to have been one of the names used for III *šmw*. In P. Ebers[3] (year 9 of Amenhotep I[4]), a month called *ỉpt-ḥmt* is mentioned. The month name *ỉpỉp* is mentioned in the Cairo Calendar (P. Cairo JE 86637,[5] date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[6]). In documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there seem to be no references to the name of the month of III *šmw*.

---

1 (*III šmw*) *28 sš ḳn-ḥr-ḫpš=f mr…ḥ-m-sbɜ mr IV šmw 3…sš ḳn-ḥr-ḫpš=f mr ḥ-m-sbɜ mr…*; O. Ashmolean Museum 167, vs. 4–5.

2 The scribe of another list of men absent or working, O. Cairo CG 25533, omitted these same days (rt. 11–13; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177). In this case, the days excluded might have been days when everyone was present but, in view of the other evidence for a work-free period due to the Feast of *Ipip* on III *šmw* 29 – IV *šmw* 2, it is possible that these days were omitted in O. Cairo CG 25533 because of the festival period.

3 P. Ebers vs. I, 12; see Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 38 fig. 16; see also Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992), 137–144.

4 For the date, see P. Ebers, vs. I, 1.

5 *ỉp*[*ỉp*]; P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XIV, 11; see Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), pl. 54.

6 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

1.2.2 Feasts of Various Divinities

In addition to the days when the eponymous festivals were celebrated, many other days of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar appear to have been annually occurring work-free days. Some of these days can be connected to feasts of deities of the Egyptian pantheon. The feasts of Amenhotep I on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30 and III *šmw* 12–13, the Feast of Sokar on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26, the Feast of Ptah at the beginning of III *prt*, and the Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari on II *šmw* 15 will be considered below in chronological order within the ancient Egyptian civil calendar.

1.2.2.1 The Feast of Amenhotep I on I ꜣḫt 29–30

According to O. Cairo CG 25275,[1] the date of which is attributed to the sixth year of Ramesses IV,[2] an 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' took place on I *ꜣḫt* 29. As stated in O. Cairo CG 25276,[3] another procession of Amenhotep I occurred on the subsequent day, I *ꜣḫt* 30. This latter document has been attributed a date in the same year as O. Cairo CG 25275, i.e., in the sixth year of Ramesses IV.[4] The 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' referred to in these Cairo ostraca have been interpreted as denoting a feast occurring annually on fixed civil calendar dates. Wolfgang Helck[5] interpreted this feast at the end of I *ꜣḫt* as marking the accession day of Amenhotep I, whereas Franz-Jürgen Schmitz[6] believed that it was the first appearance of the king in public that was commemorated on these days. Winfried Barta[7] had another theory regarding the interpretation and the classification of the festivals of Amenhotep I. In his opinion, the feast on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30 commemorated the coronation of the deified king who had ascended the throne some eighty days prior to this event, on III *šmw* 9.

In order to obtain oracle statements from Amenhotep I, processions of the deified king were also organized at Deir el-Medina on days other than feast days.[8] Thus, it is possible that the processions of Amenhotep I on I *ꜣḫt* 29 and 30,[9] were one-time occasions and organized *ad hoc* to acquire such oracle statements.[10] However, due to the propositions that these processions marked the accession[11] or coronation[12] of Amenhotep I, one might consider the possibility that a feast taking place annually on a fixed civil calendar date was celebrated at Deir el-Medina on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30.

The processions referred to in O. Cairo CG 25275 and 25276 came about on a 'weekend', i.e., on days that were usually work-free at Deir el-Medina.[13] As the Feast of

---

1 *Ḥᶜ ỉn nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. Cairo CG 25275, 2. For this reading, see Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 182.

2 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 399.

3 *Ḥᶜ n nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. Cairo CG 25276, 1.

4 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 400.

5 Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 71–72.

6 Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 28–30.

7 Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 45; the 80 days would consist of the 70 days of the embalming and the days needed for the funeral of his predecessor Ahmose.

8 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161–162; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189

9 O. Cairo CG 25275, 2; O. Cairo CG 25276, 1.

10 This possibility was recognized by Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 30 note 34.

11 Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 71–72.

12 Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 45.

13 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30 are 0/4 and 0/2, respectively; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 9 – V, 3 ([ᶜḥᶜ] *I ꜣḫt 7 wsf…II ꜣḫt 1 wsft wsf hrw 25*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. DeM 633, rt. 6 (*st tn*; date attributed to later years of Ramesses III; e.g., Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370); P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt. II, 3–4 (*I ꜣḫt 29 wsf.n tꜣ ỉst m st tn…ᶜrḳ wsf n tꜣ ỉst n pꜣ ḥr*; date attributed to year 8 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 608–609); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 24 ([*I ꜣḫt*] *2*[*9*] *wsf tꜣ ỉst*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699).

Thoth, the eponymous feast of I *ꜣḫt*, was celebrated on I *ꜣḫt* 19 instead of at the beginning of the subsequent month, no eponymous feast is known to have taken place at the beginning of II *ꜣḫt*. If a feast of Amenhotep I was celebrated annually on the fixed civil calendar dates of I *ꜣḫt* 29–30, the feast may, at least occasionally, have continued through the first few days of II *ꜣḫt*.[1] In O. Cairo CG 25515[2] (sixth year of Seti II[3]), it is said that the draftsmen and the sculptors went to work on II *ꜣḫt* 2 while on II *ꜣḫt* 1, the whole crew was work-free. According to O. Turin N. 57026[4] (year 23 of Ramesses III[5]), the crew was 'in this place' on II *ꜣḫt* 1. The men seem to have been work-free on this day, despite the fact they were probably already on the so-called *col* or in the Valley of the Kings.[6] There are, furthermore, certain lists of men absent or working which might indicate that the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb on II *ꜣḫt* 1. In O. Cairo CG 25779,[7] the date of which is attributed to the reign of Amenmesse,[8] I *ꜣḫt* 29 – II *ꜣḫt* 1 have been omitted. Anakhtu and Nakhtsu, who were ill on I *ꜣḫt* 28, are said to have come to work, *ỉw r pꜣ bꜣk*, on II *ꜣḫt* 2.[9] As this expression was generally used when someone came back to work after an absence,[10] it seems that these men were still not working on II *ꜣḫt* 1. The omission of this particular day in O. Cairo CG 25779 was, thus, probably not due to no one being absent. The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25793[11] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[12]) opened a new account on II *ꜣḫt* 2, perhaps indicating that the work for the decade in question started on that day.[13] There are, however, several documents according to which the royal artisans were working on II *ꜣḫt* 1. According to O. Turin N. 57025[14] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[15]), lamps were used by both sides of the gang on I *ꜣḫt* 1 and, thus, the crew seems to have been working on this day. According to P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074[16] (date attributed to year 8 of Ramesses IX[17]), the royal artisans were also working on I *ꜣḫt* 1. The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25575[18] (date attributed

---

1 See Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156; see also the eponymous feasts, the length of which changed from year to year (Chapters 1.2.1.1–1.2.1.11).

2 [*ḥꜥ*] *I ꜣḫt 7 wsf…II ꜣḫt 1 wsft wsf hrw 25 ỉw II ꜣḫt 2 hrw pn ỉw ỉr.n nꜣ sš-ḳdw nꜣ ṯꜣy-mḏꜣwt r bꜣk ỉw tꜣ-ỉst wsf;* O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 9 – V, 6.

3 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163

4 *M st tn*; O. Turin N. 57026, rt. 3.

5 For the date of O. Turin N. 57026, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 24–25; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 487–488.

6 For *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98.

7 O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 9–10.

8 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI IV* (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–51.

9 *I ꜣḫt 28…ꜥꜣ-nḫt mr nḫt-sw mr…II ꜣḫt 2…ꜥꜣ-nḫt ỉw r pꜣ bꜣk nḫt-sw ỉw r pꜣ bꜣk*; O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 9–11.

10 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 87–88.

11 O. Cairo CG 25793, 1.

12 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 361 (Siptah-Tausret); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 165 (year 1 of Siptah); Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 92–93 (mid – late reign of Siptah).

13 For the scribes opening a book at the beginning of a decade, month, and year, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 67.

14 O. Turin N. 57025, rt. 1.

15 For the dates attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 24; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 276–281 (year 26 of Ramesses III).

16 *Bꜣk m pꜣ ḫr n pr-ꜥꜣ*; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074 rt. II, 5.

17 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 608–609; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 488.

18 *Ṯs r mḥ bꜣk m st tn ỉn tꜣ ỉst*; O. Cairo CG 25575, 1–2.

to the end of the 20th Dynasty[1]) writes, moreover, that the men ascended to work on I *ꜣḫt* 1. Thus, there seems to be four possible references to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 1 while three documents note working on this day. In documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there are generally fewer references to working at the beginning of a decade than at the end of a decade. It can, thus, perhaps be deduced that the royal artisans may have been in a habit of prolonging the 'weekend'.[2] The references to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 1 may have resulted from such lengthening of a 'weekend'. Based on the references to inactivity and working, it is impossible to determine whether the royal artisans celebrated a feast on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30, continuing occasionally through II *ꜣḫt* 1, or not. If the accession of Amenhotep I did, indeed, occur at the beginning of III *šmw*, this might, nevertheless, have been the time to commemorate his coronation.[3]

The name of the supposed feast on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30 might have been 'Appearance of King Amenhotep I', *ḫꜥ n nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*). This is what the event is called in O. Cairo CG 25275 and 25276.[4] This would be a fitting name for the feast commemorating the coronation of the deified king.[5] Alternatively, this expression was a description of the main ritual of the feast[6] or a description of a procession organized to obtain an oracle from Amenhotep I.[7]

1 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 27.
2 See also Chapter III 1.1.1.
3 See Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 45.
4 O. Cairo CG 25275, 2 (*ḫꜥ ỉn nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. Cairo CG 25276, 1 (*ḫꜥ n nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)).
5 See also Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 43–45.
6 See, for example, Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 184–192.
7 Processions of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina were also organized outside the feasts of this deified king; Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161–162; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189.

1.2.2.2 The Feast of Sokar

A primitive form of the Feast of Sokar is known to have already been celebrated during the Archaic Period and the true Feast of Sokar was observed from the Old Kingdom on.[1] According to the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[3]), the name of this particular feast was *ḥb skr*. At Deir el-Medina, *ḥb skr* may have also been the name of the Feast of Sokar. A *ḥb skr* is mentioned on a door jamb in the collection of Jacques Jean Clére (date attributed to the Ramesside Period).[4] In P. UC 34336[5] (date attributed to year 6 of Siptah[6]), *hrw ḥb skrt-wsỉr*, 'day of the Feast of Sokar-Osiris,' is mentioned. The Eve of the Sokar Feast proper was called *nṯryt*.[7] The word *nṯryt* may indicate the deification of the dead god during the days leading to the feast proper.[8] At Deir el-Medina, the Eve of the Sokar Feast seems to have been called *grḥ nṯryt*, the 'Night of *nṯryt*', as is explicitly stated in the tombs of Khabekhenet (TT2[9]) and Amenmose (TT9[10]), both from the reign of Ramesses II.[11]

Sokar was originally the god of the metal workers in the Memphite necropolis.[12] By the Middle Kingdom, Sokar had become a mortuary god, probably due to his association

---

1 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 13–26. For the Feast of Sokar, see also, for example, Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 51–90; Goyon, Fête de Sokaris, *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 415–438; Mikhail, The Festival of Sokar, *GM* 82 (1984), 24–44; Helck, Zu Ptah und Sokar (1991), 159–164; Graindorge, Les oignon de Sokar, *Rd'É* 43 (1992), 87–105; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 55–77, 169–437; Graindorge, La quête de la lumière, *JEA* 82 (1996), 83–105; Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 75–101.

2 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1025 (list 47); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 165.

3 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

4 [*Ḥ*]*b skr*[…; Door jamb Clére 14; see Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 199, pl. 4.

5 P. UC 34336, vs. B, 33; the document is also known as P. Greg; for a translation of the text, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 111–130.

6 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116.

7 E.g., Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1003 (list 46) (e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 164); see also Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 43–45; Graindorge, Les oignon de Sokar, *Rd'É* 43 (1992), 95–99; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 228–239.

8 Graindorge, Les oignon de Sokar, *Rd'É* 43 (1992), 97–99; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 232–234; another suggestion for a translation of *nṯryt* is the 'two goddesses' (Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 43).

9 *Grḥ nṯryt*; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 14).

10 *Grḥ nṯryt*; TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71).

11 For the date of TT2, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9. Amenmose, the owner of TT9, is known to have lived during the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 2.

12 Brovarski, Sokar, *LÄ* V (1984), 1056–1057; Helck, Zu Ptah und Sokar (1991), 160–164; for *skr*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VI (2002), 664–666; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 661–663.

with the cemetery.[1] As a chthonic god, Sokar became associated with Ptah and Osiris.[2] In Thebes, Sokar had two main cult centres: the Akhmenu temple at Karnak on the East bank and the '*ḥwt* Sokar' in the temple of Amenhotep III in Western Thebes.[3] *Ḥnw*, the bark of Sokar, stood on a sledge and was adorned with a prow in the form of an antelope. The falcon of Sokar shrouded in a cloak stood in the middle of the boat.[4]

According to the festival calendar in the tomb of the official Neferhotep (TT50,[5] reign of Horemheb[6]), a ritual of moistening barley and doing *sš ḥnkyt* took place on the eight days leading to the Sokar Feast proper.[7] Jan Assmann believes that the ritual *sš ḥnkyt* refers to re-opening the shaft to the burial chamber during the days leading to this feast.[8] During the Feast of *nṯryt*, people appear to have kept a vigil, tying garlands of onions to be worn around the neck and to be offered to Sokar and to the deceased.[9] The main ritual of the Sokar Feast proper was the procession of 'going around the walls', originally the white walls in Memphis.[10] During the procession, Nefertem standards and Sokar in his *ḥnw*-bark were carried by priests while the king and the barks of Hathor, Wadjet, Shesmetet, Bastet, and Sekhmet accompanied the deity honoured.[11] Due to the presence of Osiris in the Sokar Feast presentations, it has been suggested that the Feast of Sokar was integrated into the *Khoiak* Festival.[12] According to Katherine Eaton,[13] the two feasts were still separate during the early 19th Dynasty. The presence of Osiris in the Sokar festival scenes may, in fact, be due to the funerary nature of the feast: the feast commemorated the burial of Sokar.[14] By the Ptolemaic Period, the Feast of Sokar had, indeed, been absorbed by the *Khoiak* Festival.[15]

---

1 Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946), 124; see also Brovarski, Sokar, *LÄ* V (1984), 1057–1058.

2 Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946), 123–147; Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 54–57; Brovarski, Sokar, *LÄ* V (1984), 1059–1061.

3 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 27–30

4 Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 75–81; Brovarski, Sokar, *LÄ* V (1984), 1066–1067; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 17–33; Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 80–84.

5 See, for example, Assmann, Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 284–287; Manniche, Beginning of the Festival Calendar (1985), 105–108; Assmann, The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of sacred Space, in Strudwick & Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis* (2003), 50.

6 For the date of TT50, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 95–97.

7 For *sš ḥnkyt nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*), see P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. III, 5; see also Chapter III 1.3 (III *prt* 15).

8 Assmann, Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 287; Assmann, The Ramesside Tomb (2003), 50.

9 Graindorge, Les oignon de Sokar, *Rd'É* 43 (1992), 87–105; see also Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 44–45.

10 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 2–13; 52–53; see also The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pls. 218–228.

11 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 57; see also Graindorge, La quête de la lumière, *JEA* 82 (1996), 83–105.

12 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 34–36; see also Mikhail, The Festival of Sokar, *GM* 82 (1984), 24–44; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 169–171. For the *Khoiak* Festival, see Chapter III 1.2.1.5.

13 Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 97–98. Claas Jouco Bleeker also believed that the Sokar Festival celebrated at Medinet Habu was purely Sokarian (Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 71–75); see also Helck, Zu Ptah und Sokar (1991), 162–163.

14 Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 98.

15 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 33–34; Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006), 97.

At Deir el-Medina, Sokar was not one of the popular deities of everyday life.[1] Sokar instead appears to have been a form of Ptah, a fact that is well illustrated by O. Cairo CG 25052[2] (no date attributed). This ostracon contains a *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* prayer for Ptah of the Beautiful place 'in this his name of Sokar-Osiris'.[3] Ptah-Sokar is also mentioned on funerary stelae in the British Museum (BM EA 446,[4] date attributed to the early 19th Dynasty[5]) and in the *Museo Egizio* in Turin (N. 50012,[6] date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[7]).

According to the aforementioned P. UC 34336[8] (date attributed to year 6 of Siptah[9]), two days before the Feast of Sokar the crew received extra wicks in addition to the ones said to be for the work in the Royal Tomb. These additional wicks were perhaps meant for the approaching Feast of Sokar with its vigil on the eve of the feast.[10] On the Night of *nṯryt*, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina may have been tying onions to be worn around the neck and to be offered to Sokar and the deceased. The act of tying onions is mentioned in the tomb of Nebenmaat (TT219[11]) from the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.[12] In the tomb of Khabekhenet (TT2,[13] reign of Ramesses II[14]), *nṯryt* is described as 'the day of tying the onions'. In the tomb of Amenmose (TT9,[15] reign of Ramesses II[16]), there is a spell to be recited when tying onions for the neck of the tomb-owner. The rituals of the Sokar Feast proper are also alluded to in tombs and objects pertaining to Deir el-Medina.

---

1 See, for example, the work on the popular religion at Deir el-Medina by Ashraf Iskander Sadek where Sokar is only mentioned in connection with Ptah and Osiris (*Popular Religion* (1987), 104, 106–107, 109). See also Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13–15.

2 O. Cairo CG 25052; for a good illustration of the ostracon, see Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 51 fig. 31.

3 *Ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* (*n*) *ptḥ n tȝ st-nfrw m rn=f pw n skry-wsỉr*; O. Cairo CG 25052, 1–3. For *skr-wsỉr*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VI (2002), 666–667; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 663–667.

4 *Ptḥ-skry*; Stela BM EA 446. For *ptḥ-skr*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 175–176; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003),210–211.

5 For the date attributed, see *Hieroglyphic Texts* XII (1993), 14–15.

6 *Ptḥ-skry*; Stela Turin N. 50012; Ptah-Sokar is, furthermore, mentioned on a fragment of a stela (*ptḥ-*[*sk*]*ry*; Stela Turin N. 50160; no date attributed).

7 For the date attributed, see Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 47–49.

8 *Ḫbsw dỉt r pȝ r-ˁ-bȝk m hrw pn 10*[*…ỉw pȝy* (*m?*) *wnmy ḥr dỉt ḫbsw m hrw pn 6 smḫy*[…; P. UC 34336 vs. B, 27–30.

9 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116.

10 See also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 128. However, as the text also contains a reference to finishing something in the Royal Tomb (*hrw n grḥ m tȝ rỉȝt ḥtȝ*; vs. B, 29), the wicks might have been intended for this work (Janssen, *loc. cit.*)

11 …] *hrw pn n tpy n ṯs ḥḏw IV ȝḫt 26*; TT219, funerary chapel, north wall, bottom register (Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 759).

12 Nebenmaat is known to have lived during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 236.

13 *Hrw pn n ṯs ḥḏw*(*t*); TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 14).

14 For the date of TT2, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

15 *R n ṯs ḥḏw r ḫḥ=k grḥ nṯryt dỉ.tw ḥḏw r ḫḥ=k nḫm.tw sty*[…; TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71).

16 Amenmose is known to have lived during the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 2.

On the aforementioned door jamb in the collection of Clére[1] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[2]), Kaha prays that he would be allowed to follow Wennefer, i.e., Osiris, during the Feast of Sokar. This seems to be an allusion to a procession during the feast in question. In the tomb of Khabekhenet (TT2,[3] reign of Ramesses II[4]), there is a reference to the act of 'making Sokar'. This might allude to the making of a statue of Sokar.

Many of the Deir el-Medina references to the Feast of Sokar come from the tombs of the community.[5] If tombs were, indeed, opened during the days leading to the Sokar Feast as Jan Assmann[6] has suggested, tomb chapels and perhaps also funerary chambers of the community may have been used when celebrating this feast at Deir el-Medina. Since Sokar was equated with Ptah at Deir el-Medina, the rock sanctuary of Ptah and Meretseger on the path from the village to the Valley of the Queens might also have served as the site of the Feast of Sokar.[7] Furthermore, in the northernmost niche of the three naoi in the so-called '*Chapelle à Trois Loges*' (numbered 1211 by Bernard Bruyère)[8] is a wall painting depicting the bark of Sokar.[9] This chapel might, thus, also have been used for rituals during the Feast of Sokar.[10]

During the New Kingdom, the Feast of Sokar proper was celebrated on IV *ꜣḫt* 26 but the festival period with offerings to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris may have lasted for ten days, on IV *ꜣḫt* 21–30.[11] Wolfgang Helck[12] suggested that the references in O. BM EA 5634[13] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[14]) to burying 'the god' on IV *ꜣḫt* 17 mark the beginning of the Feast of Sokar. At Deir el-Medina, the Feast of Sokar, however, seems to have been celebrated principally on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26.[15] In the tomb of Khabekhenet (TT2,[16] reign of Ramesses

---

1 *Dì=f…šms(=i) wnn-nfr m* [*ḥ*]*b skr*[…; Door jamb Clére 14; Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 199, pl. 4.

2 For the date attributed, see Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 199.

3 *Ỉw.tw ḥr ỉr skry m ḥb=f n tp*(*y*) *rnpt m-drt sꜣ=tn mry=tn ms*; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 14).

4 For the date of TT2, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

5 TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall B, 2nd register (*grḥ nṯryt…ỉr skry m ḥb=f*; Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 14); TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 2nd register (*grḥ nṯryt*…]*sw 26;* Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71); TT219, funerary chapel, north wall, bottom register (…] *hrw pn n tpy n ṯs ḫḏw IV ꜣḫt 26;* Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 759).

6 Assmann, Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 287; Assmann, The Ramesside Tomb (2003), 50.

7 For the rock sanctuary, see Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 5–48; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 706–709.

8 Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 17–18; see also Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 689.

9 Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 41.

10 In the opinion of Ashraf Iskander Sadek, however, chapel 1211 was perhaps a tomb chapel rather than one of the chapels of the gods (*Popular Religion* (1987), 71).

11 Gaballa & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 34.

12 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 164.

13 *Ḳrs pꜣ nṯr*; O. BM EA 5634 rt. 13, vs. 4.

14 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

15 See also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 127; cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 157 (only IV *ꜣḫt* 26).

16 *Grḥ nṯryt…ỉr skry m ḥb=f*; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 14).

II[1]), the Night of *nṯryt* is mentioned on IV *ꜣḫt* 25 while the Feast of Sokar is said to take place on IV *ꜣḫt* 26. The inscriptions in the tomb of Amenmose (TT9,[2] reign of Ramesses II[3]) may also indicate that the Feast of Sokar was celebrated on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26. The Night of *nṯryt* is mentioned without a date but the day 26 after a lacuna refers probably to the Feast of Sokar on IV *ꜣḫt* 26.[4] According to P. UC 34336[5] (date attributed to year 6 of Siptah[6]), the Feast of Sokar was celebrated on IV *ꜣḫt* 26. On the previous day, the crew received deliveries from the temples of Western Thebes and the scribe of this papyrus made no comment on working.[7] An analysis of the references to working and inactivity during the last decade of IV *ꜣḫt* seems to indicate that the work-free period due to the Feast of Sokar lasted for two days on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26.[8] In the sixth year of Seti II,[9] the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26, as stated in O. Cairo CG 25515.[10] The scribe of the lamp account recorded on O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454[11] (date attributed to year 6 of Seti II and year 1 of Siptah[12]) omitted the days IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26, indicating that the royal artisans were work-free during this period. According to O. DeM 339[13] (reign of Ramesses III[14]), the crew was also freed from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26. According to O. Turin N. 57154[15] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[16]), the crew was already work-free on IV *ꜣḫt* 24. There is, furthermore, one document that seems to indicate that the royal artisans were work-free on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26. In O. Cairo CG 25521,[17] a list of men absent or working from the first year of Siptah,[18] the days IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26 have been omitted but, as Nebnefer seems to have been ill both before and after

---

1 For the date of TT2, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

2 See, for example, Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 69–74.

3 Amenmose is known to have lived during the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 2.

4 *Grḥ nṯryt…*]*sw 26*; TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71).

5 *Hrw ḥb skrt-wsir*; P. UC 34336 vs. B, 33.

6 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116.

7 *Šsp m ỉnyt m nꜣ rw-prw ỉmntt* [*wꜣst*; P. UC 34336 vs. B, 32; On IV *ꜣḫt* 24 and 27, the crew, however, is said to have been working (*ỉw nꜣ rmṯ-ỉst ḥr bꜣk m pꜣ r-*ꜥ[-*bꜣk*; vs. B, 27, 36).

8 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on days IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26 are 1/4 and 1/3, respectively.

9 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25515, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163

10 *ꜥḥꜥ*; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. I, 15–16.

11 No lamps used; O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454; see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146–147).

12 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146–147; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 34.

13 *Tꜣ ỉst wsf…*__.; O. DeM 339, rt. 10–11.

14 For the date of O. DeM 339, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 618–619; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 246–247.

15 *Wsf*; O. Turin N. 57154, 1–3; see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 127. The days IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26 are not mentioned in this document.

16 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 409.

17 O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 3.

18 For the date, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 36–37, 155.

these excluded days,[1] the omission does not appear to have been due to no absentees. P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071,[2] in contrast, seems to indicate that, in the fourteenth year of Ramesses IX,[3] at least part of the crew was working on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26. Despite this exception, it seems that the Feast of Sokar may generally have been celebrated on IV *ꜣḫt* 25–26 in the royal artisans' community.

[1] *IV ꜣḫt 24…ỉw nb-nfr mr IV ꜣḫt 27…ỉw nb-nfr mr*; O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 3.

[2] *…2*]*5 bꜣk…*[*sw 2*]*6 ḫbsw…IV* [*ꜣḫt*] *27 bꜣk m pꜣ ḫr n pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ w s hrw pn*; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 rt. II, 1–9. Twenty-eight men, however, were inactive on day 25, and on day 26 the crew appears to have received extra wicks in addition to the ones used for working in the tomb (*2*]*5…nty wsf s 28…sw 2*]*6 ḫbsw=w 15 dmḏ wnmy smhy 27 šsp m-drt ꜥꜣ-n-ỉst nḥ-m-mwt ḫbs 22 ꜥꜣ-n-ỉst ḥr-ms ḫbs 15 hꜣw n pꜣ r-ꜥ-bꜣk ḫbs 60*; rt. II, 1–6). Despite working during the Feast of Sokar, it seems that some activities related to the feast in question may have taken place.

[3] For the date of this document, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 641–644; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 508–510.

1.2.2.3 The Feast of Ptah in III prt

A Feast of Ptah 'in his feast of lifting the sky' (*m ḥb=f n ḫy pt*) is known to have been celebrated in Memphis.[1] At Deir el-Medina, a feast of Ptah was also celebrated around the time it was celebrated in Memphis. In O. DeM 401,[2] a work journal from the second year of Ramesses IV,[3] this feast of Ptah was called the 'Great Feast' (*ḥb ꜥꜣ*). In the third year of Ramesses X,[4] the feast was simply termed *ḥb ptḥ*, 'Feast of Ptah,' as indicated in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094.[5] I know of one more reference that might stand for the Feast of Ptah at the beginning of III *prt*.[6] In O. DeM 230[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[8]), *pꜣ ḥb n ptḥ* is mentioned without date.

Ptah was the god of the craftsmen, the deceased, and the sky, just to give a few examples.[9] The main sanctuary of Ptah was situated in Memphis, where Ptah 'South of the White Walls' was revered.[10] In Thebes, Ptah had many places of worship and a temple had been erected for him in the north part of Karnak.[11] Ptah, the 'sky-lifting' deity is known as one of the aspects of this creator god from the Ramesside Period on.[12] The 'sky-lifting Ptah' took the role of Shu, the son of Atum, as the one instigating the separation of the earth and the sky at the time of the creation of the world.[13]

Ptah was one of the most popular deities at Deir el-Medina.[14] His principal place of worship was the rock sanctuary on the road to the Valley of the Queens.[15] The god revered in these grottos that formed the sanctuary was called 'Ptah of the Beautiful Place' (*ptḥ n tꜣ*

---

1 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 177. For the Feast of Ptah, see, for example, Berlandini, Ptah-demiurge, *Rd'É* 46 (1995), 29–31; for Ptah, see, for example, Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 59–102; Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946); Giveon, A God Who Hears (1982), 38–42; te Velde, Ptah, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1177–1180; Helck, Zu Ptah und Sokar (1991), 159–164; Berlandini, *op. cit.*, 9–41; Dils, Ptah van de grote poort, *De Scriba* 4 (1996), 69–84.

2 [*i*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ꜥꜣ*; O. DeM 401, rt. 4.

3 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

4 For the date of P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

5 *Ḥb ptḥ*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 5.

6 Not all allusions to a feast of Ptah refer to this particular feast at the beginning of III *prt*. In O. DeM 45, a feast of Ptah is mentioned taking place on II *ꜣḫt* 16 (*pꜣ ḥb n ptḥ*[…; rt. 13; year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12].

7 *Pꜣ ḥb n ptḥ nfr*[*-ḥr*]; O. DeM 230, 8.

8 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 559.

9 Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946), 31–107; see also te Velde, Ptah, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1177–1180; for *ptḥ*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 167–171; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 204–210.

10 Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946), 204–220.

11 Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (1946), 224–231.

12 Berlandini, Ptah-demiurge, *Rd'É* 46 (1995), 10.

13 Berlandini, Ptah-demiurge, *Rd'É* 46 (1995), 11–15.

14 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 100; see also Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13–15.

15 Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 5–48; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 706–709.

st nfrw).[1] The Chapel labelled G by Bernard Bruyère,[2] which is situated to the north of the present Ptolemaic precinct, might also have been dedicated to Ptah.[3] A fragment of wall painting with a man's hand in the act of offering to Ptah was found in this chapel.[4] No inscriptions indicating the identity of the Ptah revered in this chapel have survived.[5] Both these places of worship might have served as the location for the Great Feast of Ptah.

One of the earliest known references to the 'sky-lifting Ptah' comes from Deir el-Medina.[6] Stela BM EA 286 is the top half of a stela dedicated to Ptah by a workman in the Place of Truth. The epithets of the deity are written above the god: Ptah, Lord of Maat, King of both lands, Gracious of face, who is on the Great Place, *who lifts the sky with his hand* (*ḥ pt m ḥp=f*).[7] Generally, however, Ptah was referred to with the general epithets of Ptah of Memphis at Deir el-Medina.[8]

According to O. DeM 401[9] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[10]), the royal artisans celebrated the Great Feast of Ptah by offering to this deity in the Valley of the Kings. In respect to offerings to Ptah, one may also mention P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908[11] (year 5 of Ramesses VI through year 7 of Ramesses VII[12]), according to which an unidentified man received grain for an offering to Ptah approximately ten days before the Feast of Ptah. The grain may have been intended for brewing beer for the offerings made during the feast.[13] As far as I am aware, no other ceremonies during this feast are known and no procession of Ptah has been mentioned in the documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina or depicted in the tombs or stelae from the community. The festival rituals of the Great Feast of Ptah are, thus, unknown apart from the offerings.

---

1 Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 48–52; for *ptḥ n st nfrw*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 175.

2 Bruyère, *Rapport 1945–1947* (1952), 21–27; see also Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 694.

3 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 83.

4 Bruyère, *Rapport 1945–1947* (1952), 24.

5 See Bruyère, *Rapport 1945–1947* (1952), 21–27.

6 Berlandini, Ptah-demiurge, *Rd'É* 46 (1995), 10 note 6. Jocelyne Berlandini referred to Stela BM EA 286 as the earliest evidence for the 'sky-lifting Ptah' citing *Hieroglyphic Texts* VII (1925) where the stela has been attributed a date in the late 18th Dynasty (p. 12). The stela, however, has been published anew and the editor, Morris L. Bierbrier, attributed the stela a date within the Ramesside Period (*Hieroglyphic Texts* XII (1982), 14).

7 *Ptḥ nb mꜣꜥt nsw tꜣwy nfr ḥr ḥry st wrt ḥ pt m ḥp=f*; Stela BM EA 286.

8 Compare the epithets of Ptah pertaining to Deir el-Medina (Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 104–107) with the titles mentioned, for example, by Maj Sandman Holmberg (*The God Ptah* (1946), 108–114, 204–220) and Herman te Velde (Ptah, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1177–1180).

9 *Hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ꜥꜣt ỉn tꜣ ỉst r-gs pꜣ r-ꜥ-bꜣk* [*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḫb ꜥꜣ m bꜣḥ pꜣ r-ꜥ-bꜣk*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5.

10 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

11 *Rdỉ.tw n=f m rnpt-sp* [*4 II*] *prt 20 r wdn n ptḥ bdt ḫꜣr 1 ỉr.n dbn 8 ỉt m ỉt ḫꜣr 1 ỉr.n dbn 24*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. II, 16; Jac. J. Janssen was inclined to read III *prt* or IV *prt* in the lacuna but, considering the evidence in O. DeM 401 and P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 for a feast at the beginning of III *prt*, he concluded that the month number in the lacuna must be II (Janssen, A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin no. Cat. 1907/8), *JEA* 52 (1966), 87 note hh). For calling the side of the papyrus with fibres V/H verso, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Turin Cat. 1907 + P. Turin Cat. 1908, Remarks.

12 For the date of this papyrus, see Janssen, Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus, *JEA* 52 (1966), 92.

13 For brewing beer for feasts and offerings, see Chapter III 2.7.

The Feast of Ptah 'in his feast of lifting the sky' was celebrated in Memphis at the end of the month of II *prt* and the beginning of III *prt*.[1] According to the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[3]), a Theban variant[4] of this Feast of Ptah, was observed from II *prt* 29 through III *prt* 1. In the New Kingdom papyri[5] containing a calendar of lucky und unlucky days, the Feast of Lifting the Sky, however, is said to have taken place on II *prt* 1. In the Greco-Roman temples of Esna, Edfu, and Dendera, a feast of Ptah was celebrated on III *prt* 1.[6]

In documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, a feast of Ptah is said to have been celebrated at the beginning of III *prt*. According to O. DeM 401,[7] in the second year of Ramesses IV,[8] the Great Feast of Ptah was celebrated on III *prt* 4. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[9] from the third year of Ramesses X,[10] the Feast of Ptah, in contrast, was celebrated on III *prt* 1. There is no indication in this particular text whether the royal artisans were work-free on this day or not but on III *prt* 2, the crew is stated as having been freed from work on the Royal Tomb.[11] The difference in dates of the Feast of Ptah in O. DeM 401 and the Turin journal suggests that the Feast of Ptah perhaps was observed according to the lunar calendar. Alternatively, the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina might have changed by the end of the Ramesside Period.[12] It is also possible that certain problems mentioned in the Turin Papyrus, such as irregularities in the payment of wages and the subsequent strikes,[13] led to changes in the festival calendar. I have suggested above[14] that the beginning of III *prt* was perhaps dedicated to the eponymous feast *mḫr* while the Feast of Ptah was celebrated on III *prt* 4–5 in this community. The evidence for two separate feasts at the beginning of III *prt*, however, is open to doubt and it is possible that only one feast was celebrated at Deir el-Medina.[15] There are indications

---

1 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 177.

2 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1350–1369 (list 60); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 178–179. The first day of this feast in the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar is stated as being II *prt* 9, but this must be an error for II *prt* 29 as the second and third day of the feast are II *prt* 30 and III *prt* 1, respectively (Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 96).

3 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

4 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 177

5 *Nṯrw nṯryt m ḥb pn m ḥb ḥ pt rˁ ỉn ptḥ m ˁwy=fy*; P. Cairo JE 86637, rt. XXIII, 5; P. Sallier IV, rt. XVI, 1; see also Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 228–229; Berlandini, Ptah-demiurge, *Rd'É* 46 (1995), 29–30.

6 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 397; in the temple of Dendera, the Feast of Ptah was part of a festival cycle on II *prt* 28 – III *prt* 1 (*ibid.*, 396–397).

7 *Hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ˁɜt ỉn tɜ ỉst r-gs pɜ r-ˁ-bɜk* [*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ˁɜ m bɜḥ pɜ r-ˁ-bɜk*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5.

8 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

9 *Ḥb ptḥ*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 5.

10 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

11 *Wsf tɜ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 5.

12 See also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 324.

13 See Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 43–44.

14 See Chapter III 1.2.1.7; see also Wikgren, The Festival Calendar (2005), 186.

15 See also Chapter III 1.2.1.7. Wolfgang Helck believed that the whole beginning of III *prt* was dedicated to a feast of Ptah (Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158). The question remains whether *mḫr* was an alternative name of this conceivable Feast of Ptah at the beginning of III *prt* or whether *Mekhir* was celebrated in II *prt*.

that the crew may have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb at the beginning of III *prt*, occasionally through day 4. The scribe of the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25542[1] (date attributed to the reign of Seti II[2]) omitted II *prt* 29 – III *prt* 5, indicating inactivity during these particular days. In O. Turin N. 57432[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[4]), it is said that the men were work-free from II *prt* 23 through III *prt* 10. In O. Ashmolean Museum 131,[5] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[6]) only the 'weekend', II *prt* 29–30, is said to have been work-free. The subsequent day mentioned, however, is III *prt* 5,[7] indicating perhaps inactivity up to that date.[8] Generally, the work-free period ended by III *prt* 5[9] or 6,[10] as several lists of men absent or working indicate. The reference in O. DeM 401[11] (second year of Ramesses VI[12]) to the Great Feast of Ptah having been celebrated on III *prt* 4 stands perhaps for the fourth day of the festival.[13]

---

1 O. Cairo CG 25542 vs. II, 12–13.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 137–138.

3 *M wsf*; O. Turin N. 57432, rt. 6–8, vs. 7–9.

4 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982), 41–42; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 317–318; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 241–242.

5 *Sw 29 wsf…ꜥrḳ _*.; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 4–5.

6 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 134–137.

7 *II prt 5 dit pȝ 3 ḥwtyw diw*; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 6.

8 Alternatively, the scribe of this work journal had nothing to report on the days omitted.

9 O. DeM 594, 1–4 (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 407–408 (year 8 of Tausret); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 88 (year 8 of Merenptah)); O. DeM 911, rt. 3 (date attributed to year 26 of Ramesses III; e.g., Janssen, A Curious Error, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 306).

10 O. BM EA 5634, vs. 2 (year 39 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 13); P. Bibliotheque Nationale 27 (date attributed to year 3 of Ramesses IV; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 269).

11 *Hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ꜥȝt in tȝ ist r-gs pȝ r-ꜥ-bȝk* [*i*]*w=sn irt ḥb ꜥȝ m bȝḥ pȝ r-ꜥ-bȝk*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5.

12 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

13 The fact that the rituals of this specific day took place in the Valley of the Kings, i.e., in a location were the men were customarily working, may have prompted the scribe of this document to write an account of the festivities.

1.2.2.4 The Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari

Ahmose-Nefertari was the mother of Amenhotep I, and these two deified royals were often depicted and worshipped together.[1] The Menset temple in Qurna appears to have been dedicated, in addition to Ahmose-Nefertari, also to her son Amenhotep I and to Amon.[2] A Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari is probably depicted in the tomb of Amenmose, high priest of Amenhotep I of the Forecourt (TT19).[3] The scene in the tomb of Amenmose shows Ahmose-Nefertari inside a shrine which is placed on a boat sailing on the T-shaped lake in front of the Menset-temple of this queen.[4] Wolfgang Helck[5] suggested that the main Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari observed in II *šmw* was perhaps celebrated to commemorate the death of this beloved queen.

The name of the feast of the deified Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, the 'Sailing of Nefertari', is known from texts pertaining to Deir el-Medina.[6] In O. DeM 38[7] (year 32 of Ramesses III[8]), the Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari is called *ḫnw* (*nfrt-ỉry*). *Ḫnw* (*nfrt-ỉry*) is also mentioned in O. Ashmolean Museum 11[9] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[10]) and in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[11] (year 3 of Ramesses X[12]). That the name Nefertari alone could refer to Ahmose-Nefertari, the mistress of the temple in Menset, is demonstrated by the letter to the vizier recorded on O. OIM 16991[13] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[14]). Among the gods mentioned in the opening formula is also Nefertari (of) Menset.[15]

---

1 For Ahmose-Nefertari, see Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975). For the name *ỉʿḥ-ms nfrt-ỉry*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 149; for *nfrt-ỉry* (*mn-st*), see idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IV (2002), 227–228.

2 For the temple called Menset, see, for example, Carter, Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-ra, *JEA* 16 (1916), 147–154; Derchain, Débris du temple-reposoir d'Aménopis Ier et d'Ahmes Nefertari à Dra' Abou'l Naga', *Kêmi* 19 (1969), 17–21; Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 18–19, 78–83; Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 105–118; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II² (1972), 422–423; van Siclen, The Temple of Meniset at Thebes, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 183–207; Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), 104–111.

3 Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 79; see also Foucart, *Le Tombeau d'Amonmos* (1935), pl. 11.

4 Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 80–85; see also Foucart, *Le Tombeau d'Amonmos* (1935), pl. 11.

5 Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 72.

6 See, for example, Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 108; Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 65. For the name Nefertari alternating with Ahmose-Nefertari, see Gitton, *op. cit.*, (1975), 5.

7 *Pȝ ḫnw n* (*nfrt-ỉry*; O. DeM 38, 12. For *nfrt-ỉry* being written with the sign *tr* (Gardiner M5–7), see Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 68.

8 For the date of O. DeM 38, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 10; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 551–552; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 334–335.

9 *Ḫnw* (*nfrt-ỉry*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 3–4.

10 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446. Kenneth Kitchen placed this text in the reign of Ramesses V (KRI VI (1983), 248–249).

11 *Ḫnt* (*nfr*(*t*)*-ỉỉt*); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. III, 6.

12 E.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

13 O. OIM 16991, rt. 1 – vs. 12; see also Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 5.

14 For the date attributed, see Wente, A Letter of Complaint to the Vizier To (1961), 252; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 559–560.

15 (*Nfr*(*t*)*-ỉry*) *ʿnḫ.tỉ mn-st*; O. OIM 16991, rt. 4.

Ahmose-Nefertari was a beloved deity in the royal artisans' community.[1] The queen mother is often depicted with her son Amenhotep I[2] but occasionally she is also presented alone.[3] In O. Michaelides 13[4] (date attributed to year 2 of Merenptah[5]), the draftsman Neferhotep relates how he made for Haremwia a painted stela of Ahmose-Nefertari for which he received a wooden chest in payment. A chapel or temple of Ahmose-Nefertari, as far as I am aware, is not mentioned in the documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina but the deified queen was probably worshipped with Amenhotep I in chapel D to the north of the present Ptolemaic precinct.[6] Other possible locations of the rituals of the 'Sailing of Nefertari' are the side chapel of the Hathor sanctuary built by Seti II, chapel 2 inside the present Ptolemaic precinct, and chapel 1190, all of which may have been dedicated to Ahmose-Nefertari.[7] The deified queen, furthermore, seems to have had her own religious personnel. In the British Museum, there is a stela (BM EA 1515[8], reigns of Ramesses II and Merenptah[9]) dedicated to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari by Anherkhawy, whose wife Henutdjuu is called 'servant of the Divine Wife in the Place of Truth'. In another stela in the British Museum dedicated to these patrons of the royal artisans' community (BM EA 1347,[10] date attributed to the 19th Dynasty[11]), Mutemwia, wife of Parennefer, was entitled 'Chantress of the Lady of Both Lands'. Both these appellations contain common epithets of Ahmose-Nefertari.[12]

The festival rituals of the 'Sailing of Nefertari' at Deir el-Medina are unknown. The inhabitants of the village might have visited the temple of Menset during this feast in order to witness the sailing on the T-shaped lake. The villagers seem to have been familiar with that specific region. Column II on the verso side of P. Turin Cat. 2070[13] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[14]) is an account of the division of belongings of Nakhtmin. Among the property mentioned, is a 'hut next to the temple of Ahmose-Nefertari at Menset'.[15]

---

1 See, for example, Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 140–141; Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13–15; Helck, Ahmesnofretare als Mittlerin, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 89–91.

2 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 140.

3 See, for example, Stela BM EA 916 where Ahmose-Nefertari is adored by *ḳn-ỉmn*.

4 *Rdyt sš-ḳd nfr-ḥtp n pɜ-wỉɜ wḏ sšw n* (*nfrt-ỉry*) *ʿnḫ.tỉ ỉw=f dỉt n=ỉ mh*(*n*) *r ḏbɜw=f*; O. Michaelides 13, rt. 1–3. For *mhn*, 'wooden container', see Janssen, *Commodity Prices* (1975), 207–208.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 152–153; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 85–86.

6 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* (1948), 105–106; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 693–694.

7 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 83; see also Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 58–59.

8 *Bɜk*(*t*) *n ḥmt-nṯr m st-mɜʿt*; Stela BM EA 1515.

9 *ỉn-ḥry-ḫʿw* is known from the second half of the reign of Ramesses II to the reign of Merenptah (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 16).

10 *Ḫsy n nbt tɜwy*; Stela BM EA 1347.

11 For the date attributed, see *Hieroglyphic Texts* XII (1993), 14.

12 See, for example, Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 141; Noberasco, Gli dei, *OrAnt* 20 (1981), Tavola 7bis.

13 P. Turin Cat. 2070, vs. II; see also Demarée, A House is not a Home – What exactly is a Hut?, in Dorn & Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine* (2006), 60.

14 For the date attributed, see Demarée, A House is not a Home (2006), 60 (year 7 of Ramesses VI, Ramesses VII, or Ramesses IX).

15 *Tɜ ʿt nty r-gs pr* (*ỉʿḥ*<*-ms*>*nfrt-ỉry*) *ʿ w* {*s*} *n mn-st*; P. Turin Cat. 2070 vs. II, 4. For *ʿt*, 'hut', see, for example, Janssen & Pestman, Burial and Inheritance, *JESHO 11* (1968), 160; Demarée, A House is not a Home (2006), 57–66.

Although Ahmose-Nefertari is not known to have given oracle statements as her son Amenhotep I did,[1] the deified queen might, at Deir el-Medina, have given advice for someone who was in need of it. The writer of the letter recorded on P. DeM 6[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[3]) relates how a woman had come in order to stand in front of Nefertari because of a dream she had. Whether this visit to Ahmose-Nefertari occurred during the Feast of Nefertari or not, is not evident from the text.

The date of the Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari is known from documents pertaining to the royal artisans' community.[4] According to O. DeM 38[5] (year 32 of Ramesses III[6]), the Sailing of Nefertari was celebrated on II *šmw* 15. In O. Ashmolean Museum 11[7] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[8]), the crew is said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb because of the 'Sailing of Nefertari' on II *šmw* 15. On the previous and the following day, Nekhemmut was burning rock, i.e., the rest of the crew may also have been working.[9] According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[10] (year 3 of Ramesses X[11]), the feast occurred, or at least started, on II *šmw* 14. An analysis of the references to working and inactivity in the middle of the month of II *šmw* reveals that II *šmw* 15 may, indeed, have been an annually occurring work-free day for the royal artisans. According to O. Cairo CG 25529 (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[12]), the men seem to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on II *šmw* 14–17.[13] In O. Turin N. 57034[14] (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III[15]), the royal artisans are said to have been work-free on II *šmw* 15 and working on both II *šmw* 14 and 16. According to O. Turin N. 57044[16] (date attributed to year 24 of Ramesses III[17]), the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb

---

1 See Gitton, Ahmose Nofretere, *LÄ* I (1975), 106.

2 *Sw dy yꜣ ỉrw=s ỉỉt r ꜥḥꜥ m-bꜣḥ* (*nfrt-ỉry ḥr wꜥ ḳd prt=s*; P. DeM 6, vs. 2–3.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1982), 266–267; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 151.

4 Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), 79.

5 *M pꜣ ḫnw n* (*nfrt-ỉry*; O. DeM 38, 12. In the transcription by Jaroslav Černý, the text is marked as column II (*Ostraca Deir el Medineh I* (1935), pls. 18–19) but the ostracon only contains one column of text (idem, 10) and, hence, the column number is not used here.

6 For the date of O. DeM 38, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 10; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 551–552; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 334–335.

7 *Wsf r ḫnw* (*nfrt-ỉry*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 3–4.

8 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.

9 *Psỉ ỉn nḥ-m-mwt*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 2–5.

10 *Wsf tꜣ ỉst ḫnt* (*nfr*(*t*)*-ỉỉt*); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. III, 6. The entry for II *šmw* 15 is in a lacuna and for day 16 there is no information on working or inactivity (rt. III, 6–8). On II *šmw* 17, the crew was work-free (*wsf tꜣ ỉst*; rt. III, 8).

11 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

12 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

13 *N*; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. II, 7–10. The beginning of line 7 is destroyed but the date *sw* 14 is written in black ink which indicates inactivity in this document.

14 *Sw 14 ḫbs 4 sw 15 wsf sw 16 ḫbs 4*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 8–10.

15 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 244.

16 *Sw 15 wsf sw 16 wsf*; O. Turin N. 57044, rt. 6. On day 14 the crew received rations (*wsf p*(*s*)*š pꜣ ꜥḳw*; rt. 5).

17 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 31; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 510; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 275.

on II *šmw* 15–16. According to O. Turin N. 57033[1] (year 25 of Ramesses III[2]), the men were work-free on II *šmw* 15. In O. Cairo CG 25647[3] (date attributed to year 10 of Ramesses IX[4]), the crew is said to have been freed from work on II *šmw* 15–16. There is, however, one document from the first half of the 19th Dynasty which indicates that the royal artisans were working during the days under discussion. In O. BM EA 5634[5] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[6]), individual men absent from work on II *šmw* 14–15 are listed and, thus, most of the crew appears to have been working. As there is one reference to working and six references to inactivity on II *šmw* 15, it appears that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina celebrated the Sailing of Nefertari on this particular day. Often, however, the festivities – or at least the work-free period – seem to have continued through II *šmw* 16[7] or 17[8] and occasionally the holiday already started on II *šmw* 14.[9]

---

1 *Sw 14 mr sw 15 wsf*; O. Turin N. 57033, rt. 16–17. The suggestion by Schafik Allam, that the enigmatic *mr* on day 14 might stand for binding (*binden*), does not make the reference much clearer (*HOP* (1973), 248 note 4). The crew might, in fact, have been work-free on II *šmw* 7–14 as no lamps were reported (rt. 11–17).

2 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

3 *Wsfw n tȝ ỉst*; O. Cairo CG 25647, rt. 10-11.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 659; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 499–501.

5 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 7a, vs. 5.

6 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

7 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *šmw* 16 is 2/3. Working: O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 4–5 (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI; e.g., Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136); O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 11 (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27). Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. II, 9 (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135); O. Cairo CG 25647, rt. 11 (date attributed to year 10 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 659); O. Turin N. 57044, 6 (date attributed to year 26 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 31).

8 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *šmw* 17 is 2/3. Working: O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 5; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 12. Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. I, 7 (year 6 of Seti II through year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. II, 10; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. III, 8 (year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699).

9 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *šmw* 14 is 4/2. Working: O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 2–3; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 7a, vs. 5; O. DeM 902, rt. 2 (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 75–76); O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 9. Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. II, 7; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. III, 6.

1.2.2.5 The Feast of Amenhotep I on III šmw 12–13

Another processional feast of Amenhotep I, in addition to the one on I *ꜣḫt* 29–30,[1] appears to have been celebrated annually in the middle of III *šmw*.[2] The feast has been interpreted as commemorating the accession[3] of Amenhotep I. This particular feast of Amenhotep I may have been called the 'Appearance of Amenhotep I', *ḫꜥ* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*). This is what the event is called in O. DeM 10051[4] (year 4 of Siptah[5]), O. BM EA 5637[6] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[7]), and P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[8] (year 3 of Ramesses X[9]).[10]

According to O. DeM 10051,[11] in the fourth year of Siptah,[12] the 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' took place on III *šmw* 12. As some individual men are listed as absent on III *šmw* 11 and 13 in this document,[13] the work-free period due to this feast appears to have lasted for one day only in the year this particular document was written. According to O. BM EA 5637[14] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[15]), this particular feast of Amenhotep I took place on III *šmw* 13. In P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[16] (year 3 of Ramesses X[17]), the royal artisans are said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb because of the 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' on III *šmw* 11. The crew was also work-free on III *šmw* 12–14 in this particular year.[18] In view of the references to working and inactivity in the middle of III *šmw*, the royal artisans may have been freed from work annually on III *šmw* 12–13, but not usually on day 11.[19] In O. Cairo CG

---

1 See Chapter III 1.2.2.1.

2 E.g., Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 183; Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 109; Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 72; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 43; McDowell, Awareness of the Past (1992), 101.

3 Redford, On the Chronology, *JNES* 25 (1966), 115–116; Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978), 27–29; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 43–45.

4 *Pꜣ ḫꜥ n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. DeM 10051, vs. 3–4.

5 For the date of O. DeM 10051, see Grandet, Travaux, grèves et personnages (2003), 214–215.

6 *Ḫꜥy nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*; O. BM EA 5637, rt. 8 – vs. 2.

7 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 18.

8 *Ḫꜥ nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 1.

9 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

10 Alternatively, as a procession of Amenhotep I was probably one of the main events of the feast, the phrase 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' might be a description of the main ritual of the feast in these documents.

11 *ꜥḥꜥ.n tꜣ ỉst n pꜣ ḫꜥ n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. DeM 10051, vs. 3–4.

12 For the date of O. DeM 10051, see Grandet, Travaux, grèves et personnages (2003), 214–215.

13 O. DeM 10051, rt. 4 – vs. 2, vs. 4–9.

14 *III šmw 13 m ḫꜥy nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); O. BM EA 5637, rt. 8–9.

15 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 18.

16 *Wsf tꜣ ỉst ḫꜥ nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 1.

17 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

18 *Wsf tꜣ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 2–4.

19 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 11–13 are 6/2, 1/4, 1/3, respectively; cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 159.

25783[1] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[2]), a list of men absent or working, the days III *šmw* 12–14 have been omitted. As the foreman Neferhotep is said to have been ill both before and after the omitted days,[3] it is possible that the omission of these particular days indicates that the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb. According to O. Cairo CG 25529[4] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[5]), the crew was working on III *šmw* 11 and work-free on days 12–13. In P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949[6] (year 32 of Ramesses III through year 1 of Ramesses IV[7]), the men are said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on III *šmw* 11–14. However, as the crew is stated as having been in 'this place' on III *šmw* 12–14, the men appear to have spent most of the time at the huts on the *col* or in the Valley of the Kings.[8] There is, in the corpus of this study, one document that seems to allude to the crew working on III *šmw* 11–12. In O. DeM 898[9] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[10]), Ipuy is said to have been absent from work on III *šmw* 11 in order to brew beer and Nekhemmut is said to have come to the Valley of the Kings on III *šmw* 12.

According to O. DeM 10051[11] (year 4 of Siptah[12]), the royal artisans were rewarded on III *šmw* 10, i.e., a few days before this particular Feast of Amenhotep I. It is, however, impossible to determine whether the extra rations were granted to the royal artisans because of the impending feast or for some other reason.

Concerning the Feast of Amenhotep I in III *šmw*, note also O. BM EA 5637[13] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[14]). The writer of this particular document describes how thieves entered his warehouse during the Appearance of Amenhotep I, while he himself was in the chapel of his father.[15] The chapel he refers to is probably the funerary chapel of his father.[16] Alternatively, the religious structure mentioned might be a private chapel belonging to his father.[17] In any event, spending time in a chapel during a feast does not seem to be behaviour typical to this feast of Amenhotep I alone.[18]

---

1 O. Cairo CG 25783, vs. 12–18.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 224–227; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 118–121; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–52.

3 *III šmw 11 ꜥ3-n-ỉst nfr-ḥtp mr…III šmw 15 ꜥ3-n-ỉst nfr-ḥtp mr*; O. Cairo CG 25783, vs. 12–18.

4 [*III šwm*]*…n sw 12 n sw 13*; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. III, 11–13; the date *sw* 11 is written in red ink which indicates working in this document.

5 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

6 …]*11 wsf* [*III šmw*] *12 st tn…13 st tn…14 st tn*; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949 vs. I, 5–8.

7 For the date of P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949, see Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS 72* (1936), 110–111; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 557–558; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 335, 351.

8 For *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98. On III *šmw* 15, the crew is said to have been working (*b3k*; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949 vs. I, 9).

9 *I*]*II šmw 11 ỉpwy ḥr ꜥtḫ…III šmw 12 hrw pn n ṯs ỉr.n nḫ-m-mwt* […; O. DeM 898, rt. 6, vs. 4.

10 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 70–71.

11 *Hrw pn mkw tз ỉst ḥr pз ḫtm n pз ḫr ỉn ṯз*[*ty*] *ḥrỉ*; O. DeM 10051, rt. 1–4.

12 For the date of O. DeM 10051, see Grandet, Travaux, grèves et personnages (2003), 214–215.

13 O. BM EA 5637, rt. 1 – vs. 7.

14 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 18.

15 *M ḫꜥy nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ỉw=w šmy r pз wḏ3…ỉw=ỉ m pз ḫnw n pзy=ỉ ỉt*; O. BM EA 5637, rt. 8 – vs. 5.

16 Janssen & Pestman, Burial and Inheritance, *JESHO 11* (1968), 162.

17 See Janssen & Pestman, Burial and Inheritance, *JESHO 11* (1968), 161; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 119–121.

18 See, for example, O. Ashmolean Museum 166, rt. 1–2 (*tw=ỉ ḥms m pзy=ỉ ḫnw* (*m*) *pз ms n tз-wrt*; reign of Ramesses II; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 550); O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 7–8 (*hrw mḫy ỉw=f ḥms* (*m*) *pзy=f ḫnw*; year 13 of Ramesses III; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 455); see also Chapter III 3.2.

1.2.3 Feasts to Commemorate the Accession of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III

The office of the king was divine but the living king himself was not a god.[1] Nevertheless, certain kings were already venerated during their lifetime[2] and some were deified after death.[3] The deified, deceased kings were intermediaries between the gods and humankind but Lanny Bell has suggested that a royal person depicted as an intermediary was perhaps really a form of an Egyptian deity, generally Amon or Re.[4] The posthumous cult of certain kings was marked by the celebration of their respective accession days. The accession day of several kings of the Ramesside Period have been referred to in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina. The 'Appearance of the King' (*ḫˁ nsw*) mentioned in O. DeM 44[5] (years 1–2 of Ramesses IV[6]) stands for the accession day of Ramesses IV.[7] There is no convincing evidence that the accession of Ramesses IV was commemorated with a feast during the reign of this king or during the remaining Ramesside Period at Deir el-Medina.[8] O. Ashmolean Museum 131 (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[9]), contains a reference to the Pharaoh on II *prt* 8. This might be a reference to the accession day of Ramesses VI.[10] As there are no other references to this particular accession day and no references to working or inactivity on II *prt* 8 during or after the reign of Ramesses VI, it is impossible to determine whether a feast was annually celebrated on the same civil calendar day from the reign of Ramesses VI onwards. The accession days of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III, however, seem to have been observed after their respective reigns. The evidence for these particular accession days will be presented below.

---

1 Silverman, The Nature of Egyptian Kingship, in David O'Connor & David P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 67; see also Compagno, God-kings and King-gods in ancient Egypt, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (1998), 238, note 7.

2 Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (1969), 46; see also Bell, Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun, Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* I (1985), 31–59.

3 Habachi, *Features of the Deification* (1969), 46–50; see also, for example, Radwan, Thutmosis III. als Gott, in Guksch & Polz (eds.), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Reiner Stadelmann Gewidmet* (1998), 329–340.

4 Bell, Aspects of the Cult (1985), 38–40; for kings as mediators, see, for example, Helck, Ahmesnofretare als Mittlerin, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 89–91; Altenmüller, Amenophis I. als Mittler (1981), 1–7; Radwan, Ramesses II as Mediator, in Bleiberg & Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage. The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great* (1991), 221–225; Radwan, Thutmosis III. als Gott (1998), 331–333.

5 O. DeM 44, rt. 1.

6 For the date attributed, see Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 115–118; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 116–118; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 366–370.

7 Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109–118.

8 See Chapter III 1.3 (III *šmw* 15). For the veneration of Ramesses IV, see Keller, Speculations Concerning Interconnections Between the Royal Policy and Reputation of Ramesses IV, in Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka* (1994), 145–157.

9 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 134–137.

10 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 137.

1.2.3.1 The Accession Day of Seti I

Ramesses II seems to have attempted to establish the deification and the cult of his own father, Seti I, at Thebes.[1] According to Labib Habachi,[2] this cult, however, was not long-lasting. The accession day of Seti I, nevertheless, seems to have been celebrated at Deir el-Medina throughout the Ramesside Period.[3]

It seems that generally the accession day of most kings was called the Appearance (*ḫꜥ*) of the king in question.[4] In O. Ashmolean Museum 11[5] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[6]), the accession feast of Seti I, however, was called the 'Sailing of Seti' (*pꜣ ḫnw* (*stḫy*)). O. Cairo CG 25503[7] (date attributed to the end of the 19th Dynasty[8]) contains a reference to the 'Sailing' of a king sometime around the accession days of Seti I and Ramesses II. Considering the aforementioned reference to the Sailing of Seti I and the fact that the accession day of Ramesses II appears to have been called a *ḫꜥ* of this particular king,[9] the reference in O. Cairo 25503 may stand for the accession day of Seti I and not the accession day of Ramesses II, as was suggested by Wolfgang Helck.[10]

There are some indications of a cult of Seti I existing at Deir el-Medina. This second king of the 19th Dynasty is perhaps found as recipient of offerings in certain accounts of the distribution of grain rations.[11] Amidst the men listed in O. DeM 188 + 373[12] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[13]), are Ptah, the Pharaoh, and Seti (*stḫy*).[14] This is probably a reference to offerings for the cult of Seti I.[15] O. DeM 743[16] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period after the reign of Ramesses II[17]) lists grain rations for the left side of the crew, Ramesses II, Amon, Hathor, Amenhotep I, Ptah, and another king. Only (*mn*[…]-*rꜥ* has survived of the name of this last king. This could be a reference to Seti I

---

1 Habachi, *Features of the Deification* (1969), 49–50.
2 Habachi, *Features of the Deification* (1969), 50.
3 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 159; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980); Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 207–208; cf. Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959), 117–118.
4 See Chapters III 1.3 (III *šmw* 15), 1.2.3.2, and 1.2.3.3); for the Appearances of Amenhotep I, see Chapters III 1.2.2.1 (I *ꜣḫt* 29–30); III 1.2.2.5 (III *šmw* 12–13); III 1.3 (IV *ꜣḫt* 19; II *prt* 29).
5 O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 7.
6 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.
7 *Tꜣ*]*ỉst m wsf n pꜣ ḫnt* ([…]*rꜥ*; O. Cairo CG 25503, vs. 4. On III *šmw* 20, the crew is said to have been work-free after which there is one day of working before the reference to the Sailing (vs. 2).
8 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 1–2 (end 19th Dynasty); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 425 (Siptah or Tausret); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 164 (year 1 of Siptah).
9 See Chapter III 1.2.3.2.
10 Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 206; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 165.
11 For grain rations intended for offerings to the village deities, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34–35; Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 156–159.
12 O. DeM 188 + 373, 1–8.
13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 422–423.
14 *Ptḥ ḫꜣr ½…pr-ꜥꜣ ḫꜣr ½…*(*stḫy*) *ḥ*[*ꜣr…*; O. DeM 188 + 373, 2, 4, 7.
15 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34.
16 *S*{*m*}*ḫy s nb 16 wꜥ nb ḫꜣr ¼* (*wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*) ꜥ *w s ḫꜣr ¼* (*mn*[…]-*rꜥ*[…] *ỉmn nb nsty tꜣwy ḫꜣr ¼ ḥwt*-[…] (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ḫꜣr ½*[…] *ptḥ ḫꜣr*[…; O. DeM 743, 1–5.
17 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* VIII (2000), 36–37.

(*mn-mɜʿt-rʿ*), Thutmose III (*mn-ḫpr-rʿ*), Ramesses I (*mn-pḥty-rʿ*),[1] or perhaps to Thutmose IV (*mn-ḫprw-rʿ*). The strongest candidates are Thutmose III who seems to have had a chapel inside the present Ptolemaic precinct[2] and Seti I whose accession day was celebrated throughout the Ramesside Period at Deir el-Medina.[3] There is in the corpus of this study, furthermore, one reference that might indicate a temple of Seti I at Deir el-Medina. O. DeM 825[4] (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty[5]) is an oracle question, the surviving part of which reads simply 'temple of Maatra'. This could be a reference to the temple of Seti I (Menmaatra).[6] As far as I am aware, no temple dedicated to Seti I is known at Deir el-Medina. The oracle question in O. DeM 825 might, hence, refer to the Temple of Millions of Years of Seti I. Alternatively, this might be a reference to the Hathor sanctuary built by Seti I at Deir el-Medina.[7] Nevertheless, the cult of Seti I at Deir el-Medina might have been conducted in the Khenu dedicated originally to Ramesses II[8] which seems to have also been used for the cult of other kings.[9]

According to O. Ashmolean Museum 11[10] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[11]), the Sailing of Seti I took place on III *šmw* 24. It is additionally said in this document that there was no burning of rock on this day, i.e., the crew may have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb.[12] In view of the references to working and inactivity on III *šmw* 24, the day might have been an annually occurring work-free day.[13] According to O. Cairo CG 25529[14] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[15]), the crew was not working on III *šmw* 24. Moreover, according to O. Cairo CG 25515[16] (year 6 of Seti II[17]), the royal artisans

[1] Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* VIII (2000), 37.
[2] Chapel numbered II; Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 92–95; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 690–691.
[3] See also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34 (O. IFAO 1424); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* VIII (2000), 37.
[4] *Tɜ*] *ḥwt* (*mɜʿt-rʿ*); O. DeM 825, 1.
[5] For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* VIII (2000), 75.
[6] See also Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* VIII (2000), 75.
[7] For this chapel, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 99–104; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1964), 694–695.
[8] Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 72–79, 85–89; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 696–697; for a discussion of the term 'Khenu', see Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 115 note 26.
[9] See Chapter III 1.2.3.2.
[10] *M pɜ ḫnw* (*sṯḫy*); O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 7.
[11] For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.
[12] *Tm psḏ*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 8.
[13] The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 24 is 1/5.
[14] *N*; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. IV, 7.
[15] For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.
[16] *ʿḥʿ*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. II, 20.
[17] For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

were work-free on III *šmw* 24. As maintained by O. DeM 427[1] (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III[2]), the work-free period already started on III *šmw* 23 and continued at least through III *šmw* 29. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[3] (year 3 of Ramesses X[4]), the inactivity on III *šmw* 24 also fell within a long period of not working in the Royal Tomb from III *šmw* 19 through IV *šmw* 2. However, in O. Ashmolean Museum 167[5] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[6]), men absent on III *šmw* 24 are listed indicating, that most of the crew was working. As there are five references to inactivity and only one reference to working, one might perhaps suggest that the royal artisans celebrated the Sailing of Seti I annually on III *šmw* 24.[7]

1 *Wsf*; O. DeM 427, rt. 12–16. The subsequent entries have been destroyed. The reason for the longer inactivity in the year this particular document was written is not readily apparent (see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 158).

2 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.

3 *Wsf tȝ ist*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 7–19. The inactivity at the end of III *šmw*, however, may have been due to lack of rations. At the beginning of IV *šmw*, the crew went, namely, to Thebes to see the vizier (rt. V, 19) and later, it seems, they searched for grain rations (rt. VI, 1). See also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 218–219.

4 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

5 O. Ashmolean Museum 67, vs. 1–2. The date has been destroyed (III *šmw* 20[+x) but the text appears to continue from the recto (III *šmw* 23; rt. 7–8) and the subsequent date is III *šmw* 25 (vs. 2).

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 242–243; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 110.

7 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 159.

1.2.3.2 The Accession Day of Ramesses II

It appears that Ramesses II, the third ruler of the 19th Dynasty, was already worshipped during his lifetime and that his cult continued at least until the end of the Ramesside Period.[1] A cult of Ramesses II may have also existed at Deir el-Medina.[2] The Khenu built by the scribe Ramose next to the Hathor temple was dedicated to this particular king.[3] In an inscription in the Khenu, this building is called 'Chapel of Meryamun Ramesses'.[4] Furthermore, the verso of P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969[5] contains a letter that appears to refer to the cult of Ramesses II in this building. A Scribe of the Tomb wrote to Ramesses VI hoping that the king would assign a certain man to perform the cult of his own royal statue in the *pr* of Ramesses II.[6] This temple of Ramesses II is said in the papyrus to be the 'temple of Wesermaatra Setepenra the great god [at the side of the temple of Hathor] the mistress of the West'.[7] The scribe also referred to the statues of Ramesses II, Merenptah, and of 'all the kings who had worn the white crown' which had been in this building.[8] The Khenu-chapel may have served as the location for the rituals of the accession feasts of Ramesses II and other kings. With regard to the cult of Ramesses II, one may mention a stela pertaining to Deir el-Medina which is now housed in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (no. 5627, date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II).[9] This stela depicts Sobek, Taweret, and Hathor sitting behind an altar. Opposite them stands the statue of Ramesses II.[10] In O. DeM 743[11] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period after the reign of Ramesses II[12]), Ramesses II, moreover, is mentioned as the recipient of grain for offerings.

---

1 Habachi, *Features of the Deification* (1969), 44. For the cult of Ramesses II, see also, for example, Radwan, Ramesses II as Mediator (1991), 221–225; for the name (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ*), see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* II (2002), 574–575; for *rʿ-ms-sw*, see also idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter VIII* (2003), 333–334.

2 For the cult of Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina, see Exell, The Senior Scribe Ramose (2006), 51–67.

3 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 72–79, 85–89; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 696–697; for a discussion of the term 'Khenu', see Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 115 note 26.

4 *Ḫnw* (*mry-ỉmn rʿ-mss*) *dỉ ʿnḫ*; Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 63–65, pl. 30; Kitchen, *KRI* II (1979), 705, 6–7.

5 P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969, vs.; see Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 107–121.

6 *Twt nfr n…*(*nb-mꜣʿt-rʿ mry-ỉmn*)*…ỉw.tw r rdỉt ḥtp=f m pr* (*wsr-mꜣʿt rʿ stp-n-rʿ*); P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I, 3, 9.

7 *Pr* (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ*) *pꜣ nṯr ʿꜣ* [*m pr ḥwt-ḥr*] *ḥnwt ỉmnt*; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 I, 9–10; the restoration is based on the assumption that the building mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 is the 'Khenu' (Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 108, 115).

8 *Nꜣ twwt ỉ.ỉrw nꜣy=ỉ ỉtw n nsw* (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ*) *pꜣ nṯr ʿꜣ m-mỉtt* [*nsw* (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ mry*]-*ỉmn*) *pꜣ nṯr ʿꜣ m-mỉtt nswy nb ṯꜣy ḥḏt nty nꜣy=sn sšmw dy ḥtpw*; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969, vs. I, 10–11.

9 Stela Moscow 5627; see Hodjash & Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (1982), 135–136.

10 Generally, it seems that Ramesses II was portrayed offering to various other deities on the stelae pertaining to the royal artisans' community; e.g., Stela Bankes 9; Stela BM EA 328; Stela National Archaeological Museum Greece 3356; Stela Turin N. 50030.

11 (*Wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ*) *ʿ w s ḫꜣr ¼*; O. DeM 743, 2.

12 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* VIII (2000), 36–37.

The accession day of Ramesses II was called the 'Appearance of Wesermaatra' in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[1] (year 3 of Ramesses X[2]). In the corpus of this study, there is also another document, O. Cairo CG 25533[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[4]), containing a reference to the accession of Ramesses II. However, in this particular document, the beginning of the name of the feast is lost in a lacuna leaving only 'Wesermaatra Setepenra'.[5]

According to the aforementioned documents, the accession day of Ramesses II was celebrated on III *šmw* 27.[6] In view of the references to working and inactivity, III *šmw* 27 seems to have been an annually occurring work-free day at Deir el-Medina.[7] The scribe of O. Ashmolean Museum 167[8] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[9]), a list of men absent or working, omitted III *šmw* 27. As Qenhirkhopsef, Harnefer, and Khaemseba are said to have been ill both before and after this date,[10] it is possible that III *šmw* 27 was skipped in this particular list because the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb. According to O. Cairo CG 25529[11] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[12]) and O. Cairo CG 25515[13] (year 6 of Seti II[14]), the royal artisans were work-free on III *šmw* 27 but working on the previous and subsequent day. In the aforementioned O. Cairo CG 25533[15] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[16]), the royal artisans are said to have been at this feast on III *šmw* 27 but on days 26 and 28 men working are listed. As maintained by O. DeM 427[17] (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III[18]), the crew was freed from work on

---

1 *Wsf tȝ ỉst ḫ r n nsw* (*wsr-mȝ t-r*[…; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 15.

2 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

3 O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 1 – vs. 17.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–386.

5 …]*wsr-mȝ t*[-*r*] *stp-n-r*; O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 10–11.

6 O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 10–11 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177); e.g., P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 15 (year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); see also Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959), 119–120; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 40; Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205–207.

7 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 27 is 0/5; see also Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959), 119–120.

8 O. Ashmolean Museum 167, vs. 3–4.

9 Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 242–243; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 110.

10 *Sw 26 sš ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš=f mr…ḥr-nfr mr ḫ -m-sbȝ mr sw 28 sš ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš=f mr…ḥr-nfr mr ḫ -m-sbȝ mr*; O. Ashmolean Museum 167, vs. 3–4.

11 III *šmw* 27 is written in black ink which indicates inactivity in this document, days 26 and 28 are written in red ink; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. IV, 9–11.

12 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

13 *ỉw sw 26 ḥ sw 27 ỉw III šmw 28*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. II, 23.

14 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

15 *Sw 26 ỉw bȝkỉ…sw 27 ỉw=w wsf* […(*wsr-mȝ t-r*] *stp-n-r*) *w sw 28 ỉw nfr-ḥr nfr-ḥtp bȝk*; O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 9–13.

16 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–386.

17 *Wsf*; O. DeM 427, rt. 12–16. The subsequent entries have been destroyed. The reason for the lengthy inactivity in this year is not readily apparent (see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 158).

18 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.

the Royal Tomb on III *šmw* 23–29. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[1] (year 3 of Ramesses X[2]), the Appearance of Ramesses II on III *šmw* 27 fell within a long work-free period from III *šmw* 19 through IV *šmw* 2. There is also one document that appears to indicate that the royal artisans were working on III *šmw* 27 but which may perhaps be interpreted otherwise. In O. DeM 209[3] (date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty[4]), Patjauemdiamun is said to have been absent in Thebes due to the illness of a woman called Sent-nefer from III *šmw* 25 through IV *šmw* 1. If a statement about the absence of a workman is taken to mean that most of the crew was working during the days in question, the royal artisans may have been working on the accession day of Ramesses III in the year O. DeM 209 was written. However, on the verso side of this particular document, the crew is said to have been work-free from III *šmw* 29 through IV *šmw* 2.[5] One would, indeed, expect the royal artisans to be freed from work on the Royal Tomb on the ninth and tenth days of the decade[6] while on IV *šmw* 1–2, the crew seems generally to have been work-free for the Feast of Ipip.[7] It appears, thus, that the absence of Patjauemdiamun mentioned on the recto of O. DeM 209 does not necessarily indicate that rest of the crew was working.

As regards the feast of Ramesses II, one may additionally mention O. DeM 898[8] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[9]) according to which Nakhy was absent from work on III *šmw* 26 in order to brew beer for the Pharaoh. Although the word 'Pharaoh' was normally used of the ruling king at Deir el-Medina,[10] it is tempting to associate the action of brewing performed by Nakhy with the Appearance of Ramesses II on the following day.

---

1 *Wsf tȝ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 7–19. The inactivity at the end of III *šmw* may have been due to lack of rations: at the beginning of IV *šmw*, the crew went to Thebes to see the vizier and later, it seems, they searched for grain rations (rt. V, 19 (*IV šmw 3 ḏȝ ỉn tȝ* [*ỉst pȝ ḫr*] *r nỉwt*), VI, 1 (…] *r wḫȝ dỉw*); see also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 218–219).

2 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

3 *ʿḥʿ.n pȝ-ṯȝw m nỉwt m wsf ỉw snt-nfrt mr.tỉ…sw 1 ʿḥʿ.n pȝ-ṯȝw-m-dỉ-ỉmn n pȝy=f dmḥ*; O. DeM 209, rt. 1–5. For reading *pȝ-ṯȝw* as a diminutive of *pȝ-ṯȝw-m-dỉ-ỉmn*, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 93, note 42. Jaana Toivari-Viitala has suggested that *pȝ-ṯȝw-m-dỉ-ỉmn* was perhaps the village doctor or someone very close to the woman in question (*Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 213, 221).

4 For the dates attributed, see Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 217–219 (Amenmesse); Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 130 (year 2 of Seti II); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 103–105 (year 2 of Amenmesse).

5 *ʿḥʿ.n tȝ ỉst m wsf*; O. DeM 209, vs. 3–4.

6 See, for example, Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 140; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115.

7 P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 19; see Chapter III 1.2.1.11.

8 *Nȝḫy ḫr ʿtḫ n pr-ʿȝ ʿ w s*; O. DeM 898, vs. 1.

9 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 70–71.

10 Černý, *Community* (1973), 13.

1.2.3.3 The Accession Day of Ramesses III

A cult of Ramesses III appears to have been established in Memphis in the twenty-fourth year of this particular king.[1] The cult of Ramesses III at Deir el-Medina is not well known. Ramesses III, nevertheless, is noticeably well represented in the rock sanctuary along the road from the village to the Valley of the Queens.[2] The presence of Ramesses III in these chapels probably reflects the fact that many of the rock-chapels were restructured during his reign.[3] It is possible that the king also was venerated in these chapels after his own reign. Alternatively, Ramesses III may have been worshipped in the Khenu-chapel[4] where statues of various kings of the New Kingdom appear to have been housed.[5] The accession day of Ramesses III appears to have been celebrated after the reign of this king.[6] The literary text O. DeM 1222[7] is a hymn dedicated to Ramesses III and it contains a reference to a procession of this particular king. If this text describes the customs of Deir el-Medina, the royal artisans were perhaps in the habit of carrying the statue of Ramesses III on his accession day.

According to the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu,[8] the Temple of Millions of Years of Ramesses III,[9] his accession day was called *ḫˁ nsw* (*wsr-mɜˁt-rˁ mry-ỉmn*), the 'Appearance of Ramesses III', and it was celebrated on I *šmw* 26. The accession day of Ramesses III was also entitled the Appearance of Ramesses III at Deir el-Medina and observed on I *šmw* 26.[10] During the 19th Dynasty, the feast, obviously, was not celebrated which is also confirmed by four 19th Dynasty references to working on I *šmw* 26.[11] On I

---

1 Schulman, A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis, *JNES* 22 (1963), 177–184. For Ramesses III, see also, for example, Grandet, *Ramsès III. Histoire d'une regne* (1993).

2 Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 5–48, pls. 3–8; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 706–709.

3 Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 52; see also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 74.

4 Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 72–79, 85–89; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 696–697; for a discussion of the term 'Khenu', see Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 115 note 26.

5 P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969, vs. I, 10–11; see also Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 107–121).

6 Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 114; Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959), 124; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 48 note 93; Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 206.

7 *ỉw=w m fɜy* (*wsr-mɜˁt-rˁ mry-ỉmn*); O. DeM 1222, vs. 7.

8 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 553 (list 19); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 140. The list of offerings for the accession day of Ramesses II was probably adapted to contain the date of the accession day of Ramesses III (Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–54).

9 E.g., Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II² (1972), 481–527.

10 Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959), 124; Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 206.

11 The ratio of 19th Dynasty references to working to references to inactivity on I *šmw* 26 is 4/0; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 22, vs. 7 (men listed as absent; year 39 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. Cairo CG 25512, rt. 8–9 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 313–315); O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. I, 3 (written in red ink which in this document indicates working; date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135); O. Cairo CG 25782, vs. 22–24 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223).

šmw 26 in the twenty-fifth regnal year of Ramesses III,[1] the crew also seems to have been working as the scribe of O. Turin N. 57033[2] reports that lamps were used for work in the Royal Tomb. As far as I am aware, the earliest potential reference to celebrating the accession of Ramesses III at Deir el-Medina comes from his thirty-first regnal year. In O. DeM 55,[3] it is related that the crew celebrated the Appearance of the Pharaoh (*ỉr.t*(*w*) *ḫˁ nsw n pr-ˁɜ*) on I *šmw* 26. According to O. DeM 153,[4] the date of which has been attributed to the thirty-first and thirty-second years of Ramesses III,[5] on I *šmw* 26 the men were at something that is lost in a lacuna. In view of the reference in O. DeM 55 to the Appearance of the Pharaoh on I *šmw* 26, one would expect to find in the lacuna of O. DeM 153 a reference to the accession of Ramesses III. The subsequent preserved reference to the accession day of Ramesses III comes from the third year of Ramesses X. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094,[6] the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb due to the Appearance of Wesermaatra on I *šmw* 26. As the accession of Ramesses III seems to have been celebrated as late as the reign of Ramesses X, we might conclude that this feast may have been observed during the 20th Dynasty from the late regnal years of Ramesses III onwards.[7]

---

1 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

2 *Rnpt*-]*sp 25 I šmw 26* (*ḥbs*) *5;* O. Turin N. 57033, rt. 2. The previous day was dated to year 24 (rt. 1).

3 *ỉr.t*(*w*) *ḫˁ nsw n pr-ˁɜ ˁ w s*; O. DeM 55, vs. 1–2. For dating O. DeM 55 to year 31 of Ramesses III, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 15; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 557; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 321–322. On III *šmw* 27–28, the royal artisans appear to have been work-free (*st tn*; vs. 3–4; for *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98).

4 *ỉw=w m pɜ*[…; O. DeM 153, vs. 8. The change of the regnal year is not reported in this particular document.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 549–550; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 332–333.

6 *Wsf ḫˁ* (*wsr-mɜˁt-rˁ*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 26. For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554. The scribe added *stp-n* above the line but he must have confused the name with that of Ramesses II or Ramesses IV (Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 114).

7 See also Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959), 124; Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 206.

1.2.4 Other Possible Feasts Connected to the Official Theology

In addition to the above-mentioned feasts, certain other days seem to have been annually occurring work-free days. These particular days do not appear to be eponymous festivals nor can they be connected to a specific deity of the ancient Egyptian pantheon or to a deified royal person. These annually occurring work-free days, I *ꜣḫt* 8, IV *ꜣḫt* 5, I *prt* 7, and the epagomenal days, will be discussed below. *Msy*, the last day of IV *šmw* which was the tenth day of a decade and work-free for the royal artisans, was mentioned in several tombs and documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina and will also be examined.

1.2.4.1 I ꜣḫt 8

Due to the references to working and inactivity, I *ꜣḫt* 8 might be interpreted as having been an annually occurring work-free day.[1] As far as I am aware, no feast has been attested as having taken place on I *ꜣḫt* 8 at Deir el-Medina or elsewhere during the New Kingdom. At the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, I *ꜣḫt* 8–9 was the date of a water procession of Horus.[2] This feast appears to have put an end to the New Year Festival at the Edfu Temple.[3] At Deir el-Medina, the New Year festival, however, seems to have ended on I *ꜣḫt* 3 or 4[4] and the crew went to work before being again work-free around I *ꜣḫt* 8.[5] It is possible that the crew sometimes started the first 'weekend' of the civil year one day early, i.e., already on day 8 of the month. Generally, however, the royal artisans did not get an early start on the 'weekends'.[6] I have, therefore, tentatively suggested above[7] that I *ꜣḫt* 8 was, nevertheless, connected to the New Year Festival as a feast called *pꜣ šmt-n-ḥr*.

As regards the references to working and inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 8, one may mention two references which indicate that the royal artisans may have been working on this particular day during the 19th Dynasty. According to O. Cairo CG 25539[8] (date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah[9]), lamps were used for work in the Royal Tomb on I *ꜣḫt* 4–8. In O. Cairo CG 25506[10] (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty[11]), Raweben is said to have been absent on I *ꜣḫt* 8 and, thus, most of the crew seems to have been working. In five documents spanning the period from the late 19th Dynasty through the reign of Ramesses IX, I *ꜣḫt* 8 is indicated as having been a work-free day. In O. Cairo CG 25529[12] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[13]), the entries for the days I *ꜣḫt* 6–11 are written in black ink which in this particular document seems to imply that the royal artisans were

---

1 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 8 is 2/4, cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156.

2 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 26. At the temple of Esna, I *ꜣḫt* 9 was called 'the Feast of Amun and Re, which the ancestors called *wpt-rnpt*' (idem 27). This feast, however, is probably the ancient New Year festival which had been transferred to I *ꜣḫt* 9 in the Esna calendar (idem 371).

3 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 370.

4 See Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

5 O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 6–8 (working on I *ꜣḫt* 4–6); O. Cairo CG 25266, vs. (working on I *ꜣḫt* 4–7). The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 4–7 are 4/3, 8/2, 5/2, 4/4, respectively.

6 See Chapter III 1.1.1.

7 See Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

8 O. Cairo CG 25539 I, 4–9.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 41–44.

10 *ʿḥʿ.n rʿ-wbn wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25506, vs. 4–5.

11 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 425–426 (Siptah); Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I (1995), 42–43 (Amenmesse); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 111 (year 3 of Amenmesse).

12 O. Cairo CG 25529 vs. II, 1–6. The verso is very damaged and does not contain any month designation. However, according to the traces of lines in the transcription by Černý (*Ostraca Caire* (1935, 29*), there seem to be no days missing and, hence, the dates on the verso may be IV *šmw* 25 – I *ꜣḫt* 15.

13 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

work-free. According to O. Cairo CG 25515[1] (year 6 of Seti II[2]), on I *ꜣḫt* 7 the men started a long period of inactivity lasting through II *ꜣḫt* 1. In O. DeM 427[3] (date attributed to year 23 of Ramesses III[4]), the men are said to have been work-free and to have received rations on I *ꜣḫt* 8. In O. Cairo CG 25266,[5] a lamp account the date of which has been attributed to the third year of Ramesses IV,[6] the days I *ꜣḫt* 8–12 have been omitted indicating that the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb. According P. Turin Cat. 2072[7] (year 9 of Ramesses IX[8]), the crew was work-free on I *ꜣḫt* 6–10. Furthermore, there is one document that might perhaps be interpreted as indicating that the men were freed from work on the Royal Tomb on I *ꜣḫt* 8. The scribe of O. Turin N. 57029[9] (year 24 of Ramesses III[10]) recorded individual men who were absent from work on I *ꜣḫt* 5–7. It is tempting to assume that the scribe opened this particular list on the first working day after the New Year Festival on I *ꜣḫt* 1–4[11] and closed it on the last day of work during this particular decade, i.e., on I *ꜣḫt* 7.[12] One might suggest that I *ꜣḫt* 8 was an annually occurring work-free day during the 20th Dynasty. Note also P. Turin Cat. 1881 + 2080 + 2092[13] (year 8 of Ramesses IX[14]), where the royal artisans are said to have received a reward from the Pharaoh on I *ꜣḫt* 8. The definite reason for this work-free day during the 20th Dynasty, nonetheless, is still a mystery and must wait for further evidence to emerge.

---

1 [*ꜥḥꜥ*] *I ꜣḫt 7…II ꜣḫt 1 wsf hrw 25*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 9 – V, 3. As the reference to inactivity is, in this particular document, within a longer work-free period from I *ꜣḫt* 6 through II *ꜣḫt* 1, it might not indicate an annually occurring work-free day even during the reign of Seti II.

2 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

3 *Wsf…dit diw…*; O. DeM 427, vs. 12. Because of the reference to the distribution of grain rations, the reference to inactivity on this day was omitted from the month tables (see Appendix 1). In view of the other 20th Dynasty references to the royal artisans being work-free on I *ꜣḫt* 8, one might perhaps tentatively suggest that the work-free day was not the result of the grain distribution.

4 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.

5 O. Cairo CG 25266, vs. 13–14 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.54); see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 284–285.

6 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–385.

7 *Wsfw n tꜣ-ist*; P. Turin Cat. 2072 rt. II, 2–8.

8 For the date of this papyrus, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 630–633; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 497.

9 O. Turin N. 57029, 2–11.

10 For the date of this document, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 26; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 492; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 255.

11 See Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

12 For the Scribes of the Tomb opening and closing a journal, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 67.

13 *Hrw n šsp…ḥsy nꜣ rmṯ pꜣ ḫr dit n=w pr-ꜥꜣ*; P. Turin Cat. 1881 + 2080 + 2092 rt. IV, 7, 9.

14 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 613–614; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 489–490.

1.2.4.2 IV ꜣḫt 5

In view of references to working and inactivity, one might suggest that IV *ꜣḫt* 5 was an annually occurring work-free day.[1] As far as I am aware, no feast is known to have taken place on this particular day during the New Kingdom. Wolfgang Helck suggested that the day was perhaps celebrated as a feast of Amon at Deir el-Medina.[2] According to the Festival Calendar of the Greco-Roman temple of Edfu, IV *ꜣḫt* 5 was celebrated as a feast of Horus while, in the temple of Esna, a feast of Heka-the-child is known to have been observed on this day.[3] Both these Greco-Roman feasts were celebrated in honour of a local deity of the temple in question and, hence, the feasts might not reflect customs outside these temples.

There are, in the corpus of this study, five document with references to the royal artisans being freed from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *ꜣḫt* 5. According to O. Cairo CG 25515[4] (year 6 of Seti II[5]) and O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454[6] (date attributed to year 6 of Seti II[7]), the royal artisans were work-free on IV *ꜣḫt* 5. The crew was, in fact, according to both these texts, work-free at the beginning of the month on IV *ꜣḫt* 1–2, presumably due to the Feast of Hathor, but returned to work on IV *ꜣḫt* 3–4 before being again work-free on day 5 and going back to work on day 6.[8] According to O. Turin N. 57047[9] (year 22 of Ramesses III[10]), the men were work-free the entire beginning of the month on IV *ꜣḫt* 1–6. As indicated in O. Strasbourg H. 136[11] (date attributed to year 24 of Ramesses III[12]), the crew was work-free on IV *ꜣḫt* 5 between two days of working. In O. Michaelides 33[13] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III or IV[14]), the crew is said to have been freed

---

1 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 5 is 1/5.

2 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–137, 157. According to him, in the Festival Calendar of Thutmose III in Karnak, a feast of Amon is mentioned as having taken place on IV *ꜣḫt* 3 or 13.

3 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 383.

4 *ꜥḥꜥ IV ꜣḫt 5 ỉw=w wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VII, 20.

5 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

6 O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454

7 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146–147; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 34.

8 O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. VII, 15–19 (*ꜥḥꜥ IV ꜣḫt 1 ꜥḥꜥ IV ꜣḫt 2 ỉw=w wsf ỉw IV ꜣḫt 3 ỉw=w bꜣk ỉw IV ꜣḫt 4 ỉw=w bꜣk IV ꜣḫt 5 ỉw=w wsf IV ꜣḫt 6 ỉw=w bꜣk*); O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454 (lamps used on days IV *ꜣḫt* 3–4 and 6; see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146). For the Feast of Hathor, see Chapter III 1.2.1.4.

9 *Wsf*; O. Turin N. 57047, rt. 7.

10 For the date of O. Turin N. 57047, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I, 32; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 483; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 246–247.

11 Lamps used on IV *ꜣḫt* 4 and 6; IV *ꜣḫt* 5 seems to have been omitted (each date occupies, in general, one row (cf. vs. 1)); O. Strasbourg H. 136, vs. 8–9.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 291–291; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 257–258.

13 *Wsf*; O. Michaelides 33, rt. 15 – vs. 1; contra the transcription by Hans Goedicke and Edward Wente (*Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), pls. 67–68; see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Michaelides 033, Remarks).

14 For the dates attributed, see Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 20 (Ramesses III); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 612–613 (Ramesses III); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 374–375 (year 2 of Ramesses IV).

from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *ꜣḫt* 4–5. In the corpus, there is also one document that seems to indicate that the royal artisans were working on I *ꜣḫt* 5. In O. Cairo CG 25520[1] (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty[2]), men who were absent on IV *ꜣḫt* 5 are listed and, thus, most of the crew appears to have been working. As there are five references to inactivity on IV *ꜣḫt* 5 and only one to working, one might perhaps tentatively suggest that this particular day may have been an annually occurring work-free day at Deir el-Medina. The reason for the work-free day on IV *ꜣḫt* 5 at Deir el-Medina, however, is not apparent and must be left to await further evidence.[3]

1 O. Cairo CG 25520, rt. 15.

2 For the dates attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10 (reign of Siptah); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 392–394 (reign of Siptah); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 106–107 (year 1 of Amenmesse).

3 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 157; the ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on IV *ꜣḫt* 5 is 1/5 but O. Cairo CG 25515 and O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454 refer to the same day in year 6 of Seti II.

1.2.4.3 I prt 7

The references to working and inactivity on I *prt* 7 span the time period from the reign of Amenmesse to the early years of Ramesses IV. If one looks at these references as a whole, one might conclude that I *prt* 7 may have been an annually occurring work-free day at Deir el-Medina.[1] As far as I am aware, no feast is known to have taken place on this day during the New Kingdom. According to the Festival Calendar of Hathor at Edfu, a feast of the goddess Renenutet was celebrated on I *prt* 7 in the Greco-Roman temple of Dendera.[2] Although no dated references to the Feast of Renenutet have been found in the village of Deir el-Medina or its surroundings, a feast of this goddess may have been celebrated by the royal artisans on I *šmw* 1–2.[3] There are in the corpus of this study also undated references to a feast of Meretseger,[4] a goddess who at Deir el-Medina appears to have been equated with Renenutet.[5] Some of the undated references to a feast of Renenutet or a feast of Meretseger might be interpreted as denoting a feast celebrated on I *prt* 7.

The corpus of this study contains only one certain reference to working on I *prt* 7 while four references definitely indicate that the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb on this particular day. In O. Cairo CG 25514[6] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[7]), men absent from work on I *prt* 7 are listed indicating that most of the crew was working on this day. In O. Cairo CG 25542,[8] a lamp account from the fifth year of Seti II, the days I *prt* 6–11 have been omitted, indicating that the crew was work-free during this period. According to O. Cairo CG 25515[9] (year 6 of Seti II[10]), the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb only on I *prt* 7. In the first year of Siptah,[11] the royal artisans appear to have been work-free on I *prt* 7–10 as indicated by O. Cairo CG 25536,[12] a lamp account where these particular days have been omitted. The scribe of O. Ashmolean Museum 113[13] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV[14]) writes that the

---

1 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *prt* 7 is 1/5.

2 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 390.

3 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158; see also Chapter III 1.2.1.9.

4 O. Cairo CG 25535, 5 (*mswt n mrt-sgr*; date attributed to the end of 20th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 15); O. Liverpool 13625, rt. 4 (*r*⌋*dyt n=f m pȝ ḥb n mrt-sgr* _. *5*; date attributed to the reign of Merenptah; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1982), 162–163); O. Michaelides 48, rt. 2 (…] *n mrt-sgr*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 556–557).

5 See Stele Bordeaux (Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 72–77) where Renenutet and Meretseger are equated; see also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 118–123.

6 O. Cairo CG 24414, 1–5.

7 For the date attributed, see Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I (1995), 47–48; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 103; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 107–108; cf. Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 333–334 (Seti II).

8 O. Cairo CG 25542, rt. 12–13.

9 *ʿḥʿ*; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. II, 9.

10 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

11 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25536, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 402–204; Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie I* (1995), 56–57; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 169, 171.

12 O. Cairo CG 25536, vs. 4–6.

13 *Wsf*; O. Ashmolean Museum 113, rt. 8–9.

14 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 124–125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 376–377.

crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb on I *prt* 7–8. There is, in the corpus, also one document that might perhaps be interpreted as meaning that the royal artisans were work-free on I *prt* 7. The traces of signs between the date I *prt* 7 and the word *tꜣ ỉst* in O. DeM 339[1] (reign of Ramesses III[2]) indicate that the word in the lacuna may have been *wsf*. In view of the aforementioned references, one might suggest that I *prt* 7 may, indeed, have been an annually occurring work-free day at Deir el-Medina. However, with our present knowledge, it is not possible to determine the object of the possible feast on this particular day.

[1] *I prt 7* […] *tꜣ-ỉst*; O. DeM 339, rt. 17; see also Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 247; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. DeM 00339, Terminology.

[2] For the date of O. DeM 339, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 618–619; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 246–247.

1.2.4.4 Msy

Msy(*t*), which occurred on IV *šmw* 30, was closely associated with the New Year celebrations.[1] The name *msy* appears to denote an evening meal on the 'Eve' of New Year.[2] Due to the impending epagomenal days, torches were lit for protection.[3] At Deir el-Medina, the crew was generally freed from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *šmw* 30[4] as the day is the tenth day of a decade. The possible feast celebrated on this day cannot, therefore, be determined based on the references to working and inactivity. However, there are references to *msy* in various sources pertaining to Deir el-Medina. In the funerary chapels of Khabekhenet (TT2,[5] reign of Ramesses II[6]), Qen (TT4,[7] beginning of the 19th Dynasty[8]) and Amenmose (TT9,[9] reign of Ramesses II[10]), IV *šmw* 30 was described the 'day of doing *msy*'. In these tomb inscriptions, the reference seems to be to a ritual performed by a son or daughter of the deceased.[11] However, not all the references to feasts or festival rituals of the official theology that feature in the tombs of Deir el-Medina

---

1 Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 10; see also Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 16.

2 Erman & Grapow, *WB* II (1928), 142 (*Das Abendbrot (vor dem Neujahr (der dreissigste Mesore)*).

3 E.g., Säve-Söderbergh, Nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel* 9 (1950), 11–14; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 179; for the epagomenal days, see Chapter III 1.2.5.5.

4 See Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on IV *šmw* 30 is 0/10; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 11 (account of burning rock omitting IV *šmw* 29 – I *ꜣḫt* 2; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI; e.g., Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136); O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. III, 24 – IV, 5 (*ꜥḥꜥ IV šmw 26…I ꜣḫt 3 hrw wsf 12*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25528, 5 (*n*; date attributed to the19th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 13); O. Cairo CG 25529 vs. I, 6 (the date written in black ink which, in this document, indicates inactivity; date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135); O. Cairo CG 25533, vs. 13–15 (*sw 28 ỉw=w* […]*…I ꜣḫt 3 ỉr.n hrw 11*; reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177); O. Cairo CG 25539 I, 3–4 (lamp account omitting IV *šmw* 29 – I *ꜣḫt* 3; date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172); O. DeM 209, vs. 3 (*ꜥḥꜥ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf*; date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; e.g., Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II)); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 4 (*wsf tꜣ ỉst*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs. I, 2 (*wsf tꜣ ỉst ỉw mn ḫꜣstyw*; date attributed to year 13 of Ramesses IX; e.g Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566); P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt. 4 (*wsfw n tꜣ ỉst*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 38).

5 *IV šmw ꜥrḳ hrw pn n ỉrt msy*; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall C, 2nd register right (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 16).

6 For the date of TT2, see, for example, Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

7 *Hrw n ỉrt msy* [*m IV šmw ꜥrḳ*; TT4, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st register left (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 45). The restoration was done by Jaroslav Černý after a copy made by Kurt Sethe (*loc. cit.*).

8 For the date attributed to TT4, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 11–12.

9 *Hrw pn n ỉrt msy m IV šmw ꜥrḳ*; TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st register left (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71).

10 Amenmose is known to have lived during the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 2.

11 …[*m drt*] *sꜣ=f mr=f ỉmn-m-ḥb* (TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall C, 2nd register right); …[*m drt sꜣt=sn tꜣ-ḳrỉ*] (TT4, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st register left); *…m drt sꜣ(t)=k bꜣkt-ꜣst* (TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st register left); see Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 16, 45, 71.

appear to have resulted in a work-free day and to have been celebrated for the entire day in question.[1] There are, in the corpus, some non-literary documents referring to *msy*. According to O. DeM 32[2] (year 25 of Ramesses III[3]), the scribe Amennakht brought plaster for the crew on IV *šmw* 30, i.e., on *msy*. This appears to be a reference to the name of the day or feast.[4] Note also O. Berlin P 12635[5] (date attributed to years 4–6 of Ramesses IV[6]) where *msy* is mentioned without a date. This document is an account of transfers conducted on several occasions, such as 'my lifting of the falcon', the 'crossing of the god', the 'coming of the gods from the east', 'my feast for Taweret', and the *Khoiak* Festival.[7] The reference to *msy* seems here to stand for the last day of the civil year.[8] It, nevertheless, remains uncertain whether the last day of the civil year was in actual fact celebrated at Deir el-Medina or whether the above-mentioned references to *msy* denote the name of this particular day.

1 See Chapter III 1.3 (I *prt* 22 (*ḥryt*), IV *prt* 4 (Bastet)).

2 *IV šmw ꜥrḳ…ỉnyt sš ỉmn-nḫt m mswy n tꜣ ỉst ḳḏ*; O. DeM 32, vs. 4–6.

3 For the date of O. DeM 32, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 7–8; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 497–499; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 266–267.

4 Alternatively, the scribe of O. DeM 32 was simply describing how Amennakht came in the evening and the similarity of the expression used to the name of IV *šmw* 30 is coincidental.

5 *Wḥm m msyw*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 6. The reading of the word, however, is unsure (*Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12635, Anmerkung Ü8).

6 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355.

7 *M pꜣy=ỉ fꜣ bỉk…wḥm m tꜣ ḏꜣy n pꜣ nṯr…wḥm pꜣ ỉỉy nꜣ nṯrw m ỉꜣbt…wḥm m pꜣy=ỉ ḥb n tꜣ-wrt…wḥm I prt 2 m kꜣ-ḥr*(*-kꜣ*); O. Berlin P 12635, rt. 7, 11, vs. 1, 4–5, 9.

8 See also *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12635, Anmerkung Ü8.

1.2.4.5 The Epagomenal Days

During the period from the last day of the ancient Egyptian civil year, IV *šmw* 30, through the New Year Festival on I *ꜣḫt* 1, the world was in a transitional stage from one year to another.[1] The regular, cyclical time of *nḥḥ* had halted and the world had entered the linear *ḏt*-time.[2] During this period, the people were threatened by plague caused by Sekhmet, the Eye of Re. It was also Sekhmet who could protect them against this threat.[3] To assure the protection of this particular goddess, a ritual called 'pacifying Sekhmet' (*sḫtp sḫmt*) was performed.[4] Moreover, protective charms were drawn on linen to be worn around the neck on these perilous days.[5]

The five epagomenal days were called the birthdays of certain Heliopolitan gods. The names of these days were 'Birth of Osiris', 'Birth of Horus', 'Birth of Seth', 'Birth of Isis' and 'Birth of Nephthys'.[6] Collectively, these days were called the 'five days upon the year'.[7] The epagomenal days were also called the 'five days upon the year', *hrw 5 ḥry rnpt* at Deir el-Medina.[8] An abbreviated form of this expression, 'five days' (*hrw 5*), was

1 Stricker, Spreuken tot beveiliging, *OMRO* 29 (1948), 55–70; Raven, Charms for Protection (1997), 275–291.

2 Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986), 15; Raven, Charms for Protection (1997), 275.

3 Raven, Charms for Protection (1997), 275–276; see also Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal* (1972), 29; Goyon, Sur une formule, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 75–83; Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 206–274.

4 Germond, *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde* (1981), 206–274; Goyon, *Le rituel du sḫtp Sḫmt* (2006); see also von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003), 47–49; for another protection ritual during the New Year Festival, see Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal* (1972), 29.

5 Stricker, Spreuken tot beveiliging, *OMRO* 29 (1948), 55–70; Raven, Charms for Protection (1997), 275–291.

6 E.g., Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 179–180.

7 E.g., Spalinger, Some Remarks on the Epagomenal Days in ancient Egypt, *JNES* 54 (1995), 34.

8 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25788, rt. 4 (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 158–159); O. DeM 32, rt. 7 (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 158–159); O. DeM 44, vs. 19 (year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 115–118); O. DeM 145, rt. 9, 10 (year 30 of Ramesses III; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 537–538); O. DeM 156, vs. 2–5 (year 28 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937), 13); O. DeM 158, rt. 1 (year 31 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937), 13–14); O. DeM 164, rt. 1–5 (year 24 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937), 15–16); O. DeM 206, 1 (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* III (1937), 4; O. DeM 209, vs. 19 (date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty; e.g., Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II)); O. DeM 410, 1 (year 26 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 19); O. DeM 427, vs. 5 (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23); O. DeM 942, rt. 2, vs. 1 (date attributed to the end of the reign of Ramesses II; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 115); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 5 (year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs. I, 1, 4, 6, 8–10 (date attributed to years 13–14 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566); P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt. 5–10 (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IX; see also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 38).

occasionally used.[1] The names of the individual epagomenal days at Deir el-Medina were the same as the ones used outside the royal artisans' community, i.e., Birth of Osiris,[2] Horus,[3] Seth,[4] Isis,[5] and Nephthys.[6] In O. DeM 156[7] (year 28 of Ramesses III[8]), the third epagomenal day is called simply Seth but this could be a scribal error as the word 'birth' features in the names of the other epagomenal days mentioned in this document. In O. DeM 44[9] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[10]), the fourth epagomenal day, indeed, is called Isis. An event called 'Birth of Isis' is, furthermore, mentioned in O. Queen's College 1115[11] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[12]), an account of transfers to a woman on various occasions. Although no other epagomenal days are listed in this document, the Birth of Isis might here stand for the fourth epagomenal day. However, the fact that this event is mentioned between *pn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*), i.e., probably the Great Feast of Amenhotep I on III *prt* 29 – IV *prt* 1, and *pn-ḫnsw*, the eponymous feast of I *šmw*, makes such an assumption open to doubt.[13]

The names of the five epagomenal days indeed seem to be names of days rather than of feasts.[14] The New Year Festival proper was celebrated only on I *ꜣḫt* 1–3 at Deir el-Medina and, thus, the feast did not include the epagomenal days.[15] The festive nature of

---

1 E.g., O. DeM 145, vs. 1 (year 30 of Ramesses III; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 537–538); O. DeM 427, vs. 6, 7 (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23); O. UC 39625, 1 (date attributed to year 26 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 7); P. BM EA 9997, II, 12 (year 14 or 15 of Ramesses XI; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 389–394); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 6–7 (year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); see also O. Cairo CG 25821, vs. 3 (*ḥrw 5 ḥry*; date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 98).

2 *Mswt wsỉr*; e.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 16, rt. 10 (mid-20th Dynasty; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 597–598 (Ramesses III); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 429–430 (year 3 of Ramesses V)); O. DeM 158, rt. 1; O. DeM 164, rt. 1; O. DeM 427, vs. 5.

3 *Mswt ḥr*; e.g., O. DeM 156, vs. 2; O. DeM 158, rt. 3; O. DeM 164, rt. 2.

4 *Mswt stḫ*; e.g., O. Cairo CG 25788, rt. 4; O. Cairo CG 25821, vs. 3; O. DeM 145, rt. 9; O. DeM 158, rt. 4; O. DeM 164, rt. 3; O. DeM 206, 1; O. DeM 427, vs. 6; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 6.

5 *Mswt ꜣst*; e.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 16, rt. 11; O. DeM 32, rt. 7 (year 25 of Ramesses III, e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh I* (1935), 7–8); O. DeM 145, rt. 10; O. DeM 156, vs. 4; O. DeM 158, rt. 5; O. DeM 164, rt. 4; O. DeM 427, vs. 7; O. UC 39625, 1; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 7.

6 *Mswt nbt-ḥwt*; e.g., O. DeM 156, vs. 5; O. DeM 158, rt. 5; O. DeM 164, rt. 5; O. DeM 410, 1; O. DeM 427, vs. 7; O. UC 39625, 3; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 rt. I, 3 (year 15 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 644–650).

7 *Mswt ḥr…stḫ…mswt ꜣst…mswt nbt-ḥwt*; O. DeM 156, vs. 2–5.

8 For the date of O. DeM 156, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937), 13; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 519–520; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 294–295.

9 *Ḥrw 5 ḥry rnpt ꜣst*; O. DeM 44, vs. 19.

10 For the date of DeM 44, see Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 115–118; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 116–118; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 366–370.

11 *Pꜣ mswt n ꜣst*; O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 6.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 167–168.

13 O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 5, 7. For the Feast of Amenhotep I, see Chapter III 1.2.1.8; for *pn-ḫnsw*, see Chapter III 1.3 (I *šmw* 18).

14 If the reference to *mswt n ꜣst* in O. Queen's College 1115 (rt. 6) denotes the fourth epagomenal day, we might have here an allusion to a feast on one of the epagomenal days (see the discussion on this document in Chapter III 1.2.1.8).

15 E.g., O. DeM 209, vs. 20 (*I ꜣḫt 1 2 3 ʿḥʿ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf n wpt-rnpt*); see Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

the epagomenal days is uncertain despite the fact that the royal artisans were generally work-free on those days.[1] The work-free period started, in the main, on IV *šmw* 29 and continued until the end of the New Year Festival around I *ꜣḫt* 3.[2] The perilous period at the turn of the year coincided with this work-free period. However, according to O. UC 39625[3] (date attributed to year 26 of Ramesses III[4]), the crew was working on the fifth epagomenal day. On the recto side of P. Turin Cat. 2070[5] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IX[6]), the men are said to have been working on the first four epagomenal days.

The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina seem to have been aware of the charms used for protection during this period. The Cairo Calendar[7] (P. Cairo JE 86637, date attributed to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty[8]) contains instructions for making such charms. The precarious times may also at Deir el-Medina have been guarded against by carrying torches as was done in the temples of ancient Egypt during the New Year Festival.[9] In O. DeM 427[10] (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III[11]), the act of carrying torches has been mentioned in connection with the end of the year (IV *šmw* 28) and the first epagomenal day. One has to remember, however, that, in general, the act of carrying torches does not appear to have had a religious function at Deir el-Medina.[12]

---

1 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 159. The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on the five epagomenal days is 1/6, 1/7, 1/9, 2/9, and 0/8, respectively. Inactivity: O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 11 (omitting IV *šmw* 29 – I *ꜣḫt* 2; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI; e.g., Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136); O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. III, 24 – IV, 5 (*ḥ ꜥ IV šmw 26…I ꜣḫt 1 2 3 ḥrw wsf 12*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25533, vs. 13–15 (*I ꜣḫt 3 ỉr.n ḥrw 11*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177); O. Cairo CG 25539 I, 3–4 (lamp account omitting IV *šmw* 29 – I *ꜣḫt* 3; date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172); O. Cairo CG 25788, rt. 4–5 (*mswt stḫ ỉw=w m pꜣ dmỉt*; date attributed to the reign of Merenptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 158–159); O. DeM 209, vs. 19 (*ḥrw 5 ḥryw rnpt ḥ ꜥ.n tꜣ ỉst m wsf*; date attributed to the second half of the 19th Dynasty; e.g., Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II)); O. DeM 427, vs. 5–7 (*wsf*; date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23); P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 rt. I, 3 (…]*mswt nbt-ḥwt wsf n tꜣ ỉst pꜣ ḥr* (year 15 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 644–650); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. VII, 6–7 (*mswt stḫ wsf tꜣ ỉst…mswt ꜣst wsf tꜣ ỉst*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs. I, 4–10 (*wsfw n tꜣ ỉst ỉw mn/bn nꜣ ḫꜣstyw* (*dy*); date attributed to years 13–14 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 563–566); P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt. 10 (*mswt*] *nbt-ḥwt wsfw n tꜣ ỉst*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 38).

2 See Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

3 *Mswt ꜣst bꜣk*; O. UC 39625, 1; the document is also known as O. Petrie 24.

4 For the date attributed, see Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 507; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 276.

5 *Bꜣk m st tn*; P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt. 5–9. On the last epagomenal day, the royal artisans were work-free (*wsfw n tꜣ ỉst*; rt. 10).

6 For the date attributed to the recto side of P. Turin Cat. 2070, see Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 38; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 472–473.

7 P. Cairo JE 86637, vs. XI, 5; XVI, 3–4; see, for example, Raven, Charms for Protection (1997), 284.

8 For the date attributed, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994), 7–8; see also Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966), 6.

9 Säve-Söderbergh, Nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel 9* (1950), 11–14; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965), 130.

10 *Fꜣ mhd*; O. DeM 427, vs. 4–5.

11 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.

12 Janssen, Carrying Torches (1995), 119.

1.3 Feasts and Seemingly Work-free Days Omitted from the Festival Calendar

After an analysis of the references to working, inactivity, and feasts that can be connected to a specific civil calendar day, certain potentially work-free days and feasts were omitted from the reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar. The discarded days and feasts are presented below in chronological order within the ancient Egyptian civil year.

I *ꜣḫt* 15 According to Graffito 1696[1] (year 2 of Ramesses V[2]), a feast, *ḥb*, took place on I *ꜣḫt* 15. An analysis of the references to working and inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 15 reveals, however, that, at least during the 19th Dynasty, the crew was generally working on this particular day. The royal artisans are said to have been work-free on I *ꜣḫt* 15 in two documents, O. Cairo CG 25529[3] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II)[4] and O. Cairo CG 25515[5] (year 6 of Seti II[6]), but the majority of the references imply working on I *ꜣḫt* 15. In O. BM EA 5634[7] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II)[8], some individual men who were absent from work on I *ꜣḫt* 15 are mentioned, thus, indicating that most of the crew was working. According to O. Cairo CG 25539[9] (date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah[10]), lamps were used for work in the Royal Tomb on I *ꜣḫt* 15. O. Varille 26[11] (date attributed to year 2 of Amenmesse[12]) and O. Berlin P 11248[13] (date attributed to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty[14]) indicate that most of the crew was working on I *ꜣḫt* 15 as individual men are stated as having been absent from work. There are no 20th Dynasty references to working or inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 15. It is, thus, impossible to say whether I *ꜣḫt* 15 was an annually occurring work-free day during this period or not. During the New

---

1 *Sw 15* […] *ḥb*(*?*); Graffito 1696, 9; see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 426 (*beim Fest*). Jaroslav Černý and Abd el-Aziz Sadek (*Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* IV (1970), 10) did not transcribe the sign which Wolfgang Helck interpreted as *ḥb*.

2 For the date, see Graffito 1696, 1–2.

3 The date is written in black ink which in this document indicates inactivity; O. Cairo CG 25529 vs. II, 10. The following entry is also I *ꜣḫt* 15 (vs. II, 11) but this may be an error for I *ꜣḫt* 16 as this latter entry is written in red ink which indicates working (see also Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 135). Alternatively, one might interpret these two references to mean that the crew only worked in the afternoon on I *ꜣḫt* 15; for the royal artisans sometimes working only a half day, see Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* (1973), 48–50.

4 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

5 *ʿḥʿ I ꜣḫt 7 wsf... II ꜣḫt 1 wsf hrw 25*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 9 – V, 3.

6 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

7 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 9a, vs. 10.

8 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

9 O. Cairo CG 25539 II, 2–3.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 41–44.

11 O. Varille 26, vs. 2.

12 For the date attributed, see Janssen, Two Personalities (1982) 112; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 236–237; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 105.

13 O. Berlin P 11248, rt. 3.

14 For the date attributed, see Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 128–129.

Kingdom, a feast of Amon-Re and the Nile[1] may have been celebrated at Gebel Silsila on I *ꜣḫt* 15. The object of the feast which in Graffito 1696 is mentioned as having taken place at Deir el-Medina on I *ꜣḫt* 15 is not known. The feast has been omitted from my Deir el-Medina festival calendar reconstruction.

I *ꜣḫt* 17–18 The tomb of Ankhurkhawy (TT359[2]) dating to the reigns of Ramesses III and IV[3] contained a spell for sailing to Abydos on I *ꜣḫt* 17. Sailing to Abydos was an important part of the Feast of Wag[4] which was celebrated on I *ꜣḫt* 17–18 during the Middle and New Kingdoms.[5] In the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction, there are two references to the royal artisans having been work-free on I *ꜣḫt* 17–18. The scribe of the lamp account O. Cairo CG 25539[6] (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah[7]) omitted days I *ꜣḫt* 16–21 from his list, thus indicating a long 'weekend'. In O. Cairo CG 25515[8] (year 6 of Seti II[9]), the days I *ꜣḫt* 17–18 are listed among the twenty-five work-free days from I *ꜣḫt* 7 through II *ꜣḫt* 1. There are, however, several documents indicating working on I *ꜣḫt* 17–18. O. Cairo CG 25779 [10] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[11]), a list of men absent or working, indicates that most of the royal artisans were working on I *ꜣḫt* 18. In P. UC 34336[12] (date attributed to year 5 of Siptah[13]), the crew is said to have been working on I *ꜣḫt* 17–18. According to O. Berlin P 10663,[14] in the twenty-eighth year of Ramesses III,[15] the men ascended to work on I *ꜣḫt* 17 and thus the royal artisans were not work-free on this day. As there are three references to working and two to inactivity, one might suggest that I *ꜣḫt* 17–18 would generally have been working days. The reference to the ritual of the Wag Feast in the tomb of Ankhurkhawy (TT359) has, therefore, been discarded from my reconstruction of the festival calendar.[16]

---

1 The Gebel Silsila stelae of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III; Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien. Tafelband* III (1849–1859), 175 (fig. a), 200 (fig. d), 218 8 (fig. d); see Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 81.

2 *R n mdwt n ḥd r ꜣbḏw hrw sbwt ḳrfwt m* I *ꜣḫt* 17; TT359; see Lepsius, *Denkmäler Textband* III (1897–1913), 295. The scene had already disappeared by the time Bernard Bruyère excavated the tomb in 1930 (*Rapport 1930* (1933), 41). Siegfried Schott erroneously referred to the other tomb of Anhurkhwy, i.e., TT299 (*Festdaten* (1950), 81).

3 For the date of TT359, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 421–424.

4 Posener-Kriéger, Wag-Fest, *LÄ* VI (1986), 1136.

5 See, for example, Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 81–82; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 174–175. In the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar, the date I *ꜣḫt* 18–19 for the Feast of Wag is perhaps a scribal error as I *ꜣḫt* 19 is also labelled the Feast of Thoth (Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 82); for other dates of the Wag Feast, see, for example, Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 150–152; Luft, The Date of *Wꜣgy* (1994), 39–44.

6 O. Cairo CG 25539 II, 3.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 171–172; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 41–44.

8 *ʿḥʿ I ꜣḫt 7 wsf...II ꜣḫt 1 wsf hrw 25*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. IV, 9 – V, 3.

9 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

10 O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 2–4.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–51.

12 *ỉw nꜣ rmṯ-ỉst ḥr bꜣk m pꜣ r-ʿ-bꜣk*; P. UC 34336 rt. B, 7–15.

13 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116.

14 *Hrw pn ṯs ỉn tꜣ-ỉst r tꜣ st ʿꜣt*; O. Berlin P 10663, vs. 1–2.

15 For the date of O. Berlin P 10663, see Wente, A Prince's Tomb in the Valley of the Kings, *JNES* 32 (1973), 225; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 558–559.

16 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 156; see Chapter III 1.2.1.2.

II *ꜣḫt* 6 and II *ꜣḫt* 16 According to O. Turin N. 57032[1] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[2]), the crew was work-free on II *ꜣḫt* 6 because of Ptah. This seems to be a reference to a feast of Ptah.[3] Moreover, in this particular document, the crew is said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on days II *ꜣḫt* 5 and 7.[4] In the sixth year of Seti II,[5] the crew was also work-free on II *ꜣḫt* 4–7 as stated by the scribe of O. Cairo CG 25515.[6] In O. DeM 633[7] (date attributed to later years of of Ramesses III[8]), the crew is said to have been in 'this place' on days II *ꜣḫt* 7–8, i.e., probably work-free.[9] An analysis of the references to working and inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 5–7 shows, however, that the royal artisans were not always work-free on these days. Most of the references indicate that the royal artisans were working. In O. Cairo CG 25779[10] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[11]), individual men absent from work in the Royal Tomb on II *ꜣḫt* 6–7 have been listed and, therefore, most of the crew appears to have been working. In O. Turin N. 57025[12] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[13]), lamps are said to have been used for work on II *ꜣḫt* 5–7. According to O. Turin N. 57026[14] (years 24–25 of Ramesses III[15]), the men were freed from work on the Royal Tomb on II *ꜣḫt* 5 and 7 but most of the crew seem to have been working on II *ꜣḫt* 6. In O. Cairo CG 25298[16] (no date attributed[17]), II *ꜣḫt* 5–7 is also said to have been a working period. When all these references are taken into account, one is tempted to conclude that II *ꜣḫt* 6 was a working day, and probably also II *ꜣḫt* 5 and II *ꜣḫt* 7.[18] No feast, as far as I am aware, is known to have taken place on any of these days outside the community of Deir el-Medina.[19] The feast of Ptah which according to the aforementioned O. Turin N. 57032 was celebrated on II *ꜣḫt* 6 appears not

---

1 *Wsf ptḥ*; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 14.

2 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 620–621; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 255–257 (year 24).

3 For Ptah, see Chapter III 1.2.2.3.

4 *Wsf*; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 13, 15.

5 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

6 *II ꜣḫt 7 dmḏ wsf hrw 4*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. V, 10.

7 *St tn*; O. DeM 633, rt. 7.

8 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 284.

9 For *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98.

10 O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 13–15.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–51.

12 Lamps used for work in the Royal Tomb; O. Turin N. 57025, rt. 3–4.

13 For the dates attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 24; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 276–281 (year 26 of Ramesses III).

14 O. Turin N. 57026, rt. 13 – vs. 7. The date II *ꜣḫt* 6 is probably in the lacuna at the beginning of the verso. Between the dates II *ꜣḫt* 5 and II *ꜣḫt* 7, which are both said to have been work-free (*wsf*; rt. 13, vs. 7), there is a list of named men who were absent, indicating that the rest of the crew was working on II *ꜣḫt* 6.

15 For the date of O. Turin N. 57026, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 24–25; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 487–488.

16 *Bꜣk*; O. Cairo CG 25298, rt. 2–4.

17 The date of O. Cairo CG 25298 might perhaps be attributed to the 20th Dynasty because of the name *pꜣ-ʿꜣ-ḫt=f* (for a workman with this name, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 279, 445).

18 The ratios of references to working to references to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 5–7 are 2/3, 4/2, and 3/4, respectively.

19 In Ptolemaic temples, II *ꜣḫt* 6 was celebrated as a feast of Isis (Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 377).

to have been a feast celebrated regularly on a fixed date of the civil calendar. Another feast of Ptah, according to O. DeM 45[1] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[2]), appears to have occurred on II *ꜣḫt* 16. This particular day also appears generally to have been a working day.[3] In O. Ashmolean Museum 115[4] (date attributed to year 9 of Merenptah[5]) and O. Cairo CG 25779[6] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[7]), some individual men are listed as absent on II *ꜣḫt* 16 indicating a working day for the rest of the crew. In O. Cairo CG 25515[8] (year 6 of Seti II[9]), the sculptors and the draughtsmen are said to have been working on II *ꜣḫt* 16. A feast of Ptah celebrated by the entire village could not have taken place on this particular day. O. Cairo CG 25517[10] (year 1 of Siptah[11]), a list of individual men absent or working, also indicates that most of the crew was working on II *ꜣḫt* 16. It is only in O. Turin N. 57032[12] (date attributed to reign of Ramesses III[13]) that the crew is said to have been work-free on II *ꜣḫt* 16. If the feast which in O. Turin N. 57032[14] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[15]) is said to have taken place on II *ꜣḫt* 6 is the same one which according O. DeM 45[16] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[17]) occurred on II *ꜣḫt* 16, the date of the feast may have been determined by the lunar calendar.[18] Since the feasts of Ptah mentioned in O. Turin N. 57032 and O. DeM 45 did not result in annually occurring work-free days on the same civil calendar days, they have not been included in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina.

---

1 *Pꜣ ḥb n ptḥ*[…; O. DeM 45, rt. 13. For a translation of the passage as the 'feast of Ptah', see, for example, Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 371. The text is broken after the word Ptah but the transcription by Jaroslav Černý shows a diagonal line after the letter *ḥ* of the word Ptah (*Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), pl. 34) and the transcription in the *Deir el-Medine online* database displays a curved line (Berlin P 12651 + DeM 45 + Wien H. 4, Transliteration AS) used, for example, in the name of Ptahmose elsewhere in the document (rt. 7, 9, 18, vs. 7, 8, 13). It is, therefore, possible that the reference in O. DeM 45, in fact, stands for a feast of Ptahmose (thus *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12651 + DeM 45 + Wien H. 4, Übersetzung).

2 For the date of O. DeM 45, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 119–121; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 370–372.

3 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *ꜣḫt* 16 is 4/1.

4 O. Ashmolean Museum 115, 3–4.

5 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 151.

6 O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 26–28.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–51.

8 *ʾIw nꜣ ṯꜣy-mḏꜣt nꜣ sš-ḳd ḥr bꜣk*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. V, 22–24.

9 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

10 O. Cairo CG 25517 rt. δ, 7–8.

11 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25517, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 8–9; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 34–41.

12 *Wsf*; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 23.

13 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 620–621; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 255–257 (year 24).

14 *Wsf ptḥ*; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 14.

15 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 620–621; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 255–257 (year 24).

16 *Pꜣ ḥb n ptḥ*[…; O. DeM 45, rt. 13.

17 For the date of O. DeM 45, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 119–121; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 370–372.

18 See also the Beautiful Feast of the Valley in Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

IV *ꜣḫt* 19 According to O. Louvre N 694,2[1] (date attributed to year 14 of Ramesses III[2]), a procession (*ḥʿy*) of Amenhotep I took place on IV *ꜣḫt* 19. Being the ninth day of a decade, the day was generally work-free.[3] Therefore, it is impossible to determine based on the references to working and inactivity whether this procession day was celebrated annually on IV *ꜣḫt* 19. The terminology the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina employed when denoting processional feasts of Amenhotep I has been used to differentiate between the various feasts of this deity celebrated in the royal artisans' village. The use of the nominal *ḥʿ/ḥʿy* in the name of the feast on III *šmw* 11–12 has, for example, been interpreted as denoting the accession day of Amenhotep I, whereas the use of the verb *ḥʿi* for the days I *ꜣḫt* 29 and 30 has been understood as alluding to a common processional feast.[4] O. Louvre N 694,2, which was published after these interpretations were published, shows that the nominal *ḥʿ* is used also when meaning processions or feasts on other dates. In order to obtain oracle statements from Amenhotep I, processions of this patron of Deir el-Medina appear to have been organized even outside the feasts of the deified king.[5] O. Louvre N 694,2 might, in fact, concern such an oracle event.[6] It is impossible to determine whether the 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' on IV *ꜣḫt* 19 was an annually occurring feast, a feast celebrated only in the year O. Louvre N 694,2 was written, or a one-off procession organized especially to attain an oracle from the deity in question. The reference to the procession of Amenhotep I on IV *ꜣḫt* 19 has, therefore, been omitted from my festival calendar reconstruction.

I *prt* 22 In the funerary chapel of Khabekhenet (TT2)[7] dating to the reign of Ramesses II,[8] a ceremony called *hryt*[9] is mentioned as having taken place on I *prt* 22. The same ritual is mentioned without a date in the tomb chapel of Amenmose (TT9,[10] reign of

---

1 *Ḥʿy nṯr pn* [*nsw*] (*imn-ḥtp*)*;* O. Louvre N 694,2, 1. See also Chapters III 1.2.1.8, 1.2.2.1, and 1.2.2.5.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 284; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 231.

3 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on IV *ꜣḫt* 19 is 1/3. Working: P. UC 34336 vs. B, [0] (*iw nꜣ rmṯ-ist ḥr bꜣk m r-ʿ-bꜣk*; date attributed to year 6 of Siptah; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115–116). Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. I, 9 (*ʿḥʿ*; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25542, rt. 6 (lamp account omitting IV *ꜣḫt* 19–20; year 5 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309); O. Cairo CG 25545 + JE 72454 (lamp account omitting IV *ꜣḫt* 19–20 (Černý, Notebooks, 101.78, 106.5–6; date attributed to year 6 of Seti II and year 1 of Siptah; see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146–147).

4 See Redford, On the Chronology, *JNES* 25 (1966), 115–116. Winfried Barta interpreted these two feasts, i.e., III *šmw* 11–12 and I *ꜣḫt* 29–39, as the coronation and the accession of Amenhotep I, respectively (Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 43–47).

5 See Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161–162; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189. For oracles in general, see, for example, Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962), 35–48; von Lieven, Divination in Ägypten, *AoF 26* (1999), 79–97. For oracles at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 107–141.

6 O. Louvre N 694,2 is almost entirely illegible but it ends with the words *m-bꜣḥ pꜣ ʿꜣ-n-ist 2 pꜣ sš tꜣ ist r-ḏrw=s* (line 7), 'in front of the two foremen, the scribe and the whole crew', which is a frequent expression in oracle accounts; see also *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Louvre N 0694, 2, Contents. For the use of this idiom in oracle accounts, see, for example, O. BM EA 5625, vs. 6–7; O. Cairo CG 25555 + O. DeM 999, vs. 4–7; O. DeM 133, rt. 6 – vs. 2; O. DeM 448, vs. 1–3.

7 *Hhw pn n irt hry*; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall C, 3rd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 17). See also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 95.

8 For the date of TT2, see, for example, Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

9 See Erman & Grapow, *WB* II (1928), 498 *hry* (*eine Ceremonie vor dem Toten*).

10 *Hhw pn n irt h*[*ry*; TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71).

Ramesses II[1]). In the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction, there is only one reference to inactivity on I *prt* 22. O. Cairo JE 72452[2] (year 2 of Seti II[3]) is a journal that starts with the assignment of work on the tomb of Queen Tausret. Days of working and inactivity are subsequently listed and on I *prt* 19–22 the crew is said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb.[4] According to five 19th Dynasty documents, I *prt* 22 was a working day. In O. Cairo CG 25818[5] (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah[6]), lamps are said to have been used for work in the Royal Tomb on I *prt* 22. In O. Cairo CG 25514[7] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[8]), men absent from work on I *prt* 22 are listed showing that most of the men were working. The lamp account on the verso side of O. Cairo CG 25543[9] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II)[10] indicates that the royal artisans were working on I *prt* 22. O. DeM 907[11] (date attributed to year 6 of Seti II through year 2 of Siptah[12]), a list of men absent or working, indicates that most of the crew was working. Furthermore, according to O. DeM 340[13] (date attributed to the 19th Dynasty[14]), the crew was working on I *prt* 22. In the Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu[15] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[16]), I *prt* 22 is designated as a feast of Herit but as there is only one reference to working and five references to inactivity on I *prt* 22, the feast does not appear to have resulted in an annually occurring work-free day at Deir el-Medina on the same civil calendar day, at least not during the 19th Dynasty. The reference to *hryt* in the tomb

---

1 Amenmose is known to have lived during the reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina. A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community* (1999), 2.

2 *Hrw pn ỉỉy ỉr.n rwḏw ḥr*[*y tɜ*] *šʿt n ṯɜty r-ḏd šɜʿ pɜ ḫr n ḥmt-nsw wr*[*t*] *tɜ-wsrt*; O. Cairo JE 72452, 1–2.

3 For the date, see Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 209–210; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 156; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 59 note 89.

4 *ỉw=w wsf sw 19 sw 20 ỉw=w wsf sw 21 I prt 22*; O. Cairo JE 72452, 7–8.

5 O. Cairo CG 25818, 5.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 173, see also Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 41–44.

7 O. Cairo CG 25514, 9.

8 For the date attributed, see Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I (1995), 47–48; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 103; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 107–108; cf. Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 333–334 (Seti II).

9 O. Cairo CG 25543, vs. 3–4.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 310–311; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 138.

11 O. DeM 907, rt. 2–3; O. Gardiner AG 32 appears to be the same document as O. DeM 907, although there are some minor discrepancies in the transcriptions (Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 254–255 (after Jaroslav Černý's notebooks); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 326–327).

12 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 80; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 177. O. DeM 907, however, cannot be from year 1 of Siptah as in that particular year the crew was work-free on I *prt* 19–22 due to the death of Seti II while this document indicates that the men were working on I *prt* 22 (rt. 2–3).

13 *ỉw*; O. DeM 340, rt. 5. A great deal of the text seems to be lost at the end of each line. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine that all days of the decade, including the 'weekends', were originally listed and that the words *wsf* and *ỉw* have been inserted *before* the days they refer to: if the words referred to the preceding days, the men would have been working on the 29th and the 30th days of the month (see rt. 6).

14 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 1.

15 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1340 (list 57); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 177. For Herit, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* IV (2002), 809 (*hrty*)

16 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

of Khabekhenet (TT2) has, therefore, been disregarded when reconstructing the festival calendar.

II *prt* 8 O. Ashmolean Museum 131[1] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[2]) contains a reference to the Pharaoh on II *prt* 8, a day when a delivery from the granary of the Pharaoh was received. This might be a reference to the accession day of Ramesses VI.[3] As far as I am aware, there are no other references to this particular accession day and no references to working or inactivity on II *prt* 8 during or after the reign of Ramesses VI. It is, hence, impossible to determine whether a feast was celebrated annually on the same civil calendar day from the reign of Ramesses VI onwards and, therefore, the reference to the Pharaoh in O. Ashmolean Museum 131 is omitted from my reconstruction of the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina.

II *prt* 29 In P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047[4] (date attributed to years 7–8 of Ramesses IX[5]), an 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' is said to have taken place on II *prt* 29. Since II *prt* 29 was the ninth day of a decade and, therefore, generally work-free,[6] it is not possible to determine whether this procession of the patron of the village took place annually on this particular civil calendar day. It is possible that the 'appearance' mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 was a one-time occasion in the year this particular document was written or a procession organized to attain an oracle from Amenhotep I.[7] The 'Appearance of Amenhotep' I on II *prt* 29 has, therefore, been discarded from the festival calendar reconstruction.

III *prt* 13–23 In documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, there are references, spanning the period from the twenty-ninth year of Ramesses III through the third year of Ramesses X, to four different feasts occurring between III *prt* 14 and III *prt* 24. Two of the four feasts mentioned relate to Amenhotep I[8] while the object of the other two festivities is unknown.[9] In between and close to the dates of these feasts are several 'weekdays' which in view of the ratios of references to working to references to inactivity, might be considered annually occurring work-free days but for which there is hardly any

---

1 *II prt 8 pr-ꜥꜣ rdyt n=sn ḥr pꜣ ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr ỉn ỉdnw mry-ptḥ n tꜣ šnwt pr-ꜥꜣ ḥꜣr 79 ¼*; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 7–10.

2 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 134–137.

3 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 137.

4 …]*ḫ*ꜥ *n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 21. The transcription by Kenneth Kitchen has II *prt* 20 + x (*KRI* VI (1983), 629) but Ben Haring has since collated the original in Turin and in his opinion, the date is probably II *prt* 29 (see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Turin Cat. 1906 + P. Turin Cat. 1939 + P. Turin Cat. 2047, Dates mentioned).

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 624–630; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 494.

6 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115. The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *prt* 29 is 0/3; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 4 (*wsf*; date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 134–137); O. Cairo CG 25542 vs. II, 12–13 (lamp account omitting II *prt* 29 – III *prt* 5; years 5–6 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309); O. Turin N. 57432, rt. 7, vs. 7–8 (*m wsf*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982), 41–42).

7 See Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161–162; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189.

8 III *prt* 15 *sšš ḫnkyt nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) (P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. III, 5; date attributed to year 29 of Ramesses III; e.g., Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 34); III *prt* 21 *ṯs ỉn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) (O. Cairo CG 25559, 1; date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; e.g., Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 421 (year 1 of Ramesses V or perhaps Ramesses VI)).

9 III *prt* 19 *wsf tꜣ ỉst ḫnt*[… (P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 12; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); III *prt* 23 *m pꜣ* [… (O. DeM 760, 2; no date attributed).

evidence.[1] In fact, the number of references per day on III *prt* 13–23 is small compared to the number of references per day during the civil year as a whole.[2] It is possible that the low number of references results from the random survival of documents. One might also speculate that the scribes were making fewer entries because the crew was working less during this period; it has been suggested that the burial of King Amenhotep I took place on III *prt* 19 and was commemorated around this time.[3] It is also possible that the date of a feast of Amenhotep I varied from year to year and was perhaps determined by the lunar calendar or that arrangements and preparatory rituals for the Great Feast of Amenhotep I that was celebrated from III prt 29 through IV prt 1 were made during this period. As there is not enough evidence to corroborate any of these scenarios, the potential festival cycle of Amenhotep I is not included in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina, albeit with reservations. The references to the feasts which, in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, are said to have taken place during this period (III *prt* 15, III *prt* 19, III *prt* 21, and III *prt* 23) are, nevertheless, presented below.

III *prt* 15 In P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006[4] (date attributed to year 29 of Ramesses III[5]), the crew is said to have been work-free on III *prt* 15[6] because of *sšš ḥnkyt*[7] *nsw* (*imn-ḥtp*). It was Alan H. Gardiner who put forward the idea that the occasion was connected with preparations for the anniversary of the death of Amenhotep I.[8] Winfried Barta, however, proposed that this event may rather have been part of the commemoration of the burial of this patron of the village.[9] On the whole, when all the references to working and inactivity on III *prt* 15 are looked at together, there is, in addition to the reference to inactivity in the aforementioned P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006, one reference to working and one to inactivity.

---

1 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on these particular days are as follows: III *prt* 13: 0/1; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 9 (*wsf tȝ-ỉst*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699); III *prt* 16: 0/1; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 9 (*wsf tȝ-ỉst*); III *prt* 17: 0/2; O. DeM 253, 3 (*ỉw.tw wsf tȝ ỉst*; year 15 of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 460); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 9 (*wsf tȝ-ỉst*).

2 The average number of references to working, inactivity, and feasts together per day is 5.8 for the whole year. On III *prt* 13–23, the average number of references per day is 2.2.

3 Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 46–47. Moreover, Wolfgang Helck believed that a festival of Amenhotep I was celebrated on III *prt* 19–23 (Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158).

4 *Wsf sšš ḥnkyt nsw* (*imn-ḥtp*); P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. III, 5. Column III is the column numbered II in Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* (1876) (pl. 98); see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Turin Cat. 1961 + P. Turin Cat. 2006, Remarks.

5 For the date attributed, see, for example, Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 34; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 311–314.

6 For the date of the event, see also Gardiner, Regnal Years, *JEA* 31 (1945), 25, note 5; *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Turin Cat. 1961 + P. Turin Cat. 2006, Dates mentioned; cf. Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 183 (III *prt* 25).

7 For a ritual called *sš ḥnkyt*, see, for example, Assmann, Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 287; Assmann, The Ramesside Tomb (2003), 50; see also Chapter III 1.2.2.2.

8 Gardiner, Regnal Years, *JEA* 31 (1945), 25. This notion was followed by, for example, Donald B. Redford (On the Chronology, *JNES* 25 (1966), 115), Wolfgang Helck (Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 71), and Franz-Jürgen Schmitz (*Amenophis I.* (1978), 26–27). Jaroslav Černy had earlier suggested that *sšš* might have something to do with playing a sistrum (Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 183 note 2).

9 Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 46; followed by, for example, Andrea McDowell (Awareness of the Past (1992), 101–102).

O. DeM 911[1] (date attributed to years 27–28 of Ramesses III[2]) is a list of one particular man's absences. The day III *prt* 15 is also mentioned,[3] which might indicate implicitly that most of the crew was working on the day in question in the year this document was written. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[4] (year 3 of Ramesses X[5]), the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb on III *prt* 15. The evidence for III *prt* 15 is too scarce to say with certainty anything about an annually occurring feast on this particular day. The *sšš ḥnkyt* of Amenhotep I which is mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 has, therefore, been omitted from the reconstruction of the festival calendar.

III *prt* 19 According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[6] (year 3 of Ramesses X[7]), the crew was work-free because of a procession on III *prt* 19. As this event fell on the ninth day of a decade, the only other reference to either working or inactivity on this day is, as expected, to inactivity.[8] It is impossible to determine whether the procession on III *prt* 19 took place annually on the same fixed civil calendar date or not.[9] As far as I am aware, no feast is known elsewhere in the country on this particular day during the New Kingdom. The procession, which in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 is said to have taken place on III *prt* 19, is put aside to wait for possible, additional evidence.

III *prt* 21 The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25559[10] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[11]) relates how Amenhotep I ascended to the Valley of the Kings on III *prt* 21 and had a warehouse opened in order to distribute curd to the men who had climbed up in front of the king. This appears to be a description of a procession. In the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction, there are two references to working and one to inactivity on III *prt* 21. According to O. DeM 900[12] (date attributed to the second half of the 19th

---

1 O. DeM 911, rt. 1 – vs. 1.

2 For the date attributed, see Janssen, A Curious Error (O. IFAO. 1254), *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 306; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 86.

3 O. DeM 911, rt. 3.

4 *Wsf tɜ-ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 10.

5 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

6 *Wsf tɜ-ỉst ḫnt*[…; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 12.

7 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

8 O. Glasgow D.1925.76, rt. 2 (*n*; date attributed to year 25 of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 293–295; in the publication of this document, the sign *n* was misinterpreted as '40' (McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca Glasgow* (1993), pl. 14a); see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 88). For the 9th and 10th day of a decade being generally work-free, see, for example, Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115.

9 Helck believed earlier that a festival of Amenhotep I was celebrated on III *prt* 19–23 (Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158). His assumption, however, was partly based on the idea that the date III *prt* 29 for a feast of Amenhotep I mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25234 might have been a scribal error for III *prt* 19 (Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968), 72; cf. Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406). Helck's view was supported, for example, by Winfried Barta (Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 46).

10 *Hrw pn ṯs ỉn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s ỉw=f pḥy tɜ ỉnt ỉw tɜ ỉst m sḫsḫ r-ḥɜt=f ỉw=f dỉt wn.tw pɜ wḏɜ ỉw=f dỉt šd.tw 4 ꜥy smỉ*; O. Cairo CG 25559, rt. 1–4.

11 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 104 (year 1 of Ramesses IV); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 421 (year 1 of Ramesses V or perhaps Ramesses VI).

12 O. DeM 900, rt. 3.

Dynasty[1]), most of the crew appears to have been working on III *prt* 21 as men absent have been listed. In O. Glasgow D.1925.76[2] (date attributed to year 25 of Ramesses III[3]), the crew is stated as having been work-free on this day. According to O. DeM 760[4] (no date attributed), a short list of days of working and inactivity, the men were working on III *prt* 15. The scarcity of references to working and inactivity precludes any further conclusions that the procession of Amenhotep I on III *prt* 21 might have occurred during a feast celebrated annually on the same civil calendar day.[5] As stated above, a procession of Amenhotep I, in addition to feast days, could happen on other occasions in order to get oracle statements from the deified king.[6] The procession of Amenhotep I, which in O. Cairo CG 25559 is said to have occurred on III *prt* 21, has thus been omitted from the festival calendar reconstruction.

III *prt* 23 In O. DeM 760[7] (no date attributed), the royal artisans are said to have been *m pȝ* […] on III *prt* 23. The expression used in O. DeM 760, including the lacuna, recurs in O. DeM 153[8] (date attributed to years 30–31 of Ramesses III[9]). In this latter document, the date of the event mentioned is I *šmw* 26,[10] which was the accession day of Ramesses III.[11] One would, thus, expect to find the word *ḥb* or perhaps the words *ḥr nsw* in the lacuna. Something similar might have stood in the lacuna in O. DeM 760. There are, however, no references to inactivity on III *prt* 23 in any of the documents in the corpus of my calendar reconstruction.[12] O. Turin N. 57020[13] (date attributed to year 16 of Ramesses III[14]) indicates that most of the crew was working on III *prt* 23. According to this document, III *prt* 23 was the first day of a long period of absence for Kasa, Khaemwaset, and Iyernutef.[15] The scribe of O. Berlin P 12295[16] (date attributed to year 25 of Ramesses III[17]) relates how a road was made to the village on the morning of III *prt* 23. It seems that, in the year this particular document was written, the crew or some of the men were working on III *prt* 23. The feast that may have been mentioned in O. DeM 760 as having taken place on III *prt* 23 cannot be proved to have been observed annually on the same

---

1 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 73 (Amenmesse-Siptah).

2 *N*; O. Glasgow D.1925.76, rt. 4. For interpreting the sign after the date as *n*, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 88.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 293–295; McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca Glasgow* (1993), 15–16; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 272–273.

4 *Bȝk*; O. DeM 760, 1.

5 Cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158.

6 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161–162; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189.

7 O. DeM 760, 2.

8 O. DeM 153, rt. 1 – vs. 14.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 549–550; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 332–333.

10 *ʾIw=w m pȝ* […; O. DeM 153, vs. 8.

11 Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 206; see also Chapter III 1.2.3.3.

12 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *prt* 23 is 2/0.

13 O. Turin N. 57020, 1–10.

14 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I, 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 461; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 234.

15 *Wsfw n ḥmww kȝ-sȝ wsfw n ḥmww ḥr(-m)-wȝst wsfw n ỉỉ-r-nỉwt=f ỉw=w ḥr ỉww r pȝ bȝk rnpt-sp 16 I šmw 15*; O. Turin N. 57020, 1–4.

16 *Tr*[*n dwȝw*]*t ỉrt* [*tȝ mỉt*]*…r dmỉt*; O. Berlin P 12295, rt. 1–2.

17 For the date attributed, see *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12295, Beschreibung, Datierung.

civil calendar day and has, therefore, been discarded from my reconstruction of the festival calendar.

IV *prt* 4 In the funerary chapel of Khabekhenet (TT2,[1] reign of Ramesses II[2]), a 'Day of making Bastet' is mentioned as occurring on IV *prt* 4. A Feast of Bastet on IV *prt* 4 is also mentioned in certain other tombs in Western Thebes[3] and in the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[5]). IV *prt* 4 is only mentioned twice in documents dealing with working and inactivity at Deir el-Medina. According to O. Cairo CG 25509[6] (date attributed to year 1 of Siptah[7]), the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb from III *prt* 29 through IV *prt* 4. O. IFAO 1077[8] (date attributed to year 4 of Siptah[9]), a list of individual men absent or working, indicates, however, that most of the men were working on IV *prt* 4–5. As there is one reference to working and one to inactivity on IV *prt* 4, it is impossible to determine whether this was an annually occurring work-free day or not. The 'Day of making Bastet' mentioned in the tomb of Khabekhenet (TT2) as occurring on IV *prt* 4 has, therefore, been omitted from the Deir el-Medina festival calendar reconstruction.

IV *prt* 11–19 In addition to the above-mentioned III *prt* 13–23, a long work-free period might have taken place on IV *prt* 11–18. When all the references to working and inactivity on these days are taken into account, the ratios of references to working to references to inactivity are as follows: IV *prt* 11: 0/2;[10] IV *prt* 12: 0/3;[11] IV *prt* 13: 0/2;[12]

---

1 *Hrw pn*]*n ỉr* <*bɜstt*>; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 14); see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 100; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 231. For *bɜstt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* II (2002), 739–742; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 192–193.

2 For the date of TT2, see, for example, Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

3 See Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 100–101.

4 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1373 (list 62); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 179.

5 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

6 *ỉw=w wsf*; O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. I, 8–13. These days have been omitted in the list of men absent or working on the verso side of O. Cairo CG 25516 (lines 3–4) from the same year (Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64).

7 For dating O. Cairo CG 25509 to year 1 of Siptah instead of Seti II, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64.

8 O. IFAO 1077, 5–8 (Černý, Notebooks, 110.46); see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 182.

9 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 182.

10 IV *prt* 11: Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 6 (*ỉw=w wsf*; date attributed to year 1 of Siptah; see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64); O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. VI, 3 (*ḥr*; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7).

11 IV *prt* 12: Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 7; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. VI, 4; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 25 (*wsf tɜ ỉst*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699).

12 IV *prt* 13: Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 8; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. VI, 5.

IV *prt* 14: 1/2;[1] IV *prt* 15: 2/0;[2] IV *prt* 16: 2/2;[3] IV *prt* 17: 2/3;[4] and IV *prt* 18: 1/3.[5] There are several 19th Dynasty references to working during the period under discussion. According to O. BM EA 66409[6] (date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah or Seti II[7]), the royal artisans were working on IV *prt* 14. In O. Cairo CG 25522[8] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[9]), individual men absent from work are listed on days IV *prt* 15–16 while in O. Cairo CG 25510[10] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[11]), men listed absent indicate that most of the crew was working on IV *prt* 16–18. There is only one 20th Dynasty reference to working on any of the days IV *prt* 11–18. In O. Cairo CG 25599[12] (date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses IV[13]), men absent from work on IV *prt* 17 are listed, indicating that most of the crew was working. There are three documents that contain references to inactivity on days IV *prt* 11–18. According to O. Cairo CG 25509[14] (date attributed to year 1 of Siptah[15]) and O. Cairo CG 25515[16] (year 1 of Siptah[17]), the men were work-free on IV *prt* 8–14 and 16–20. The burial of Siptah's predecessor Seti II had taken place on III *prt* 11.[18] On IV *prt* 21, i.e., right after the inactivity under discussion here, chisels were distributed to the crew and the work on the tomb of Siptah was commissioned.[19] The reason for the work-free period in the first year of Siptah might, therefore, be that work on the tomb of the new king had not yet been commissioned, i.e.,

---

1 IV *prt* 14: Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 9; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. VI, 6. Working: O. BM 66409, rt. 2 (*ỉw tȝ ỉst ḥr bȝk*; date attributed to year 3 of Merenptah or Seti II; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 45).

2 IV *prt* 15: Working: O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 10 (*bȝk*); O. Cairo CG 25522 rt. I, 1 – II, 13 (men listed as absent; date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309).

3 IV *prt* 16: Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 11; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 4. Working: O. Cairo CG 25510, rt. 6–7 (men listed as absent; date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 106–107); O. Cairo CG 25522 vs. I, 1 – II, 7.

4 IV *prt* 17: Inactivity : O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 12; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. VI, 8; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 4. Working: O. Cairo CG 25510, rt. 7–8; O. Cairo CG 25599, rt. 1–11 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 140)

5 IV *prt* 18: Inactivity: O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 13; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. VI, 9; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 4. Working: O. Cairo CG 25510, rt. 8–10.

6 *ỉw tȝ ỉst ḥr bȝk*; O. BM EA 66409, rt. 1–2.

7 For the date attributed, see Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 45.

8 O. Cairo CG 25522 rt. I, 1 – vs. II, 7.

9 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 305–309 (Siptah-Tausret); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 137–138 (year 2 of Siptah); Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 68–69 (after year 5 of Siptah).

10 Men listed as absent; O. Cairo CG 25510, rt. 6–9.

11 For the date attributed, see Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 80–81; see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 106–107 (after the reign of Seti II).

12 O. Cairo CG 25599, 1–11.

13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 140; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 393.

14 *ỉw=w wsf...IV prt 15 ỉw=w bȝk*; O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 3–15.

15 For dating O. Cairo CG 25509 to year 1 of Siptah instead of Seti II, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64.

16 *ꜥḥꜥ*; O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. V, 16 – VI, 11 (IV *prt* 15 is in a lacuna (vs. VI, 7)).

17 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25515, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

18 Graffito above the entrance to the tomb of Tausret (KV14); see Altenmüller, Das Begräbnistag Sethos' II, *SAK* 11(1984), 37–38.

19 O. Cairo CG 25515 vs. IV, 5 (*ḥrw pn dỉt nȝ ḫȝw n tȝ ỉ*[*st*]; V, 1–2 (*ḥrw pn sḫn* […] *pȝ bȝk n* (*sḫꜥ-n-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*) *ꜥ w s* [*sȝ rꜥ*] *nb ḫꜥw* (*rꜥ-ms-sw sȝ-ptḥ*) *ꜥ w s*).

an atypical situation.[1] In P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[2] (year 3 of Ramesses X[3]), the crew is said to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on IV *prt* 12 and on days 16–28. On IV *prt* 27, the two doorkeepers were sent to Thebes to look for rations[4] and, thus, the reason for the work-free period might, in this case, be the tardiness of the grain rations. The inactivity mentioned in this document might, therefore, not be relevant evidence for annually occurring work-free days on the same civil calendar days during the remainder of the Ramesside Period. It is possible that none of these references to the royal artisans being work-free during the days under discussion, i.e., IV *prt* 11–18, denotes an annually occurring work-free period. Alternatively, one might tentatively suggest that the inactivity was caused by a festival period. There is, in the corpus of this study, some additional evidence pointing to a work-free period or a festive period on IV *prt* 11–18. In O. Cairo CG 25780[5] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[6]), the days IV *prt* 10–19 have been omitted. As this document is a list of men absent or working, the days excluded might indicate days when everyone was working with no one absent. In this particular document, however, Hay is said to have been ill on IV *prt* 2–9.[7] After the omitted days on IV *prt* 20, Hay is said to have come to the field, i.e., to the Valley of the Kings.[8] This expression was generally used when someone came back to work after an absence.[9] The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25780 might have omitted IV *prt* 10–19 because the crew was not working and, in the meanwhile, Hay had perhaps recovered from his illness.[10] Furthermore, on days IV *prt* 11–20, there are fewer references to working, inactivity, and feasts per day than during the previous or the subsequent decade.[11] A low number of references per day during an extended period of time might point to a festive period when fewer administrative records were made. In the literary text O. DeM 1265[12] (no date attributed), IV *prt* is described as the month when 'all the gods were born'. In the Greco-Roman temples, a feast of the Birth of God (*msw nṯr*) was celebrated on IV *prt* 11,[13] i.e.,

---

1 The delay in commissioning the work might be due to the vizier not visiting Thebes earlier, for example.

2 *Wsf tз ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 25 – II, 12.

3 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

4 *Wḏy pз ꜥзwy r nỉwt r wḫз dỉw*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 11.

5 O. Cairo CG 25780, 3.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 220–221; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 116–117; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–52.

7 *Ḥзy mr*; O. Cairo CG 25780, 1–3.

8 *Ḥзy ỉw r sḫt*; O. Cairo CG 25780, 3–4.

9 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 87–88.

10 According Wofgang Helck, in the unpublished O. IFAO 1262, a 'visit to the town during a feast' is mentioned as having taken place on IV *prt* 19 but, in the transcription by Jaroslav Černý, the date is I *šmw* 19 (column I, 1–2; Černý, Notebooks, 61.47; date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses IV or V; e.g., Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 393).

11 The average number of all the references to IV *prt* 11–20 is 3.5 references per day while the number is 4.2 for IV *prt* 1–10 and 5.2 for days 21–30.

12 *IV prt tw.tw* **[ ]***ms nṯrw nbw ỉm=f*; O. DeM 1265 I, 24–25. Another allusion from Deir el-Medina to a month and the birth of gods is in O. Qurna 633 (*nзy=sn nṯrw ḥr ms m pзy зbd*; lines 3–4; date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; Burkard, 'Die Götter gebären', *GM* 169 (1999), 8). The scribe of this letter, however, does not indicate which month he is referring to.

13 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 94–95, 401–402. In the Festival Calendar of Esna, this feast, furthermore, is specified as the birth of Re (op. cit. 94–95). At Deir el-Medina, a feast of the birth of Re was celebrated during the New Year Festival (see Chapter III 1.2.1.1).

during the period under discussion here. It is not possible to determine whether this much later feast in the Greco-Roman temples had its origin in the occurrence of the birth of the gods referred to in O. DeM 1265 or not. The relation of the references to the birth of the gods at Deir el-Medina to the possible annually occurring work-free period on IV *prt* 11–18 is not known.[1] As the evidence for a possible festival cycle on IV *prt* 11–19 is inconclusive, these days have been omitted from my Deir el-Medina festival calendar reconstruction.[2]

IV *prt* 26 The scribe of O. BM EA 50744[3] describes how in the fifth year of Ramesses IV,[4] the vizier Neferronpet 'came to pour water' on IV *prt* 26. There are several 19th Dynasty documents indicating that the royal artisans were working on IV *prt* 26. In O. Cairo CG 25509[5] (date attributed to year 1 of Siptah[6]), the crew is said to have been working on IV *prt* 26. Three 19th Dynasty lists of men absent or working indicate that most of the men were working on this particular day.[7] In one 20th Dynasty document, P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[8] (year 3 of Ramesses X[9]), the crew, however, is said to have been work-free on IV *prt* 26 . As there are four references to working and only one reference to inactivity on IV *prt* 26, the ritual of pouring water described in O. BM EA 50744 seems not to have taken place annually on a fixed civil calendar work-free day, at least not during the 19th Dynasty. Additionally, it is not certain that the ritual described in this document actually took place at Deir el-Medina.[10] As no feast is known to have been celebrated on IV *prt* 26 during the New Kingdom, the reference to the ritual of pouring water on this day has been discarded from the reconstructed festival calendar.

I *šmw* 14 In O. DeM 115[11] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[12]), Nekhemmut writes to his brother to remind him that he is coming to visit 'before the god (*pꜣ nṯr*) has made an appearance on I *šmw* 14'. This seems to be a reference to a procession of Amenhotep I as this patron of the village was often referred to as *pꜣ nṯr*.[13] Furthermore, this procession may have taken place during the feast of *pꜣ nṯr* referred to in another letter

---

1 In O. Cairo CG 25535, the 'Birth of Meretseger' is mentioned as taking place sometime towards the end of IV *prt* but before I *šmw* 4 (…]*msw n mrt-sgr I šmw 4*[…; line 5; date attributed to the end of the 20th Dynasty; Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 15).

2 Cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 158 (IV *prt* 10–14 and 22 free).

3 *Hrw pn iỉ ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯꜣty nfr-rnpt r wꜣḥ-mw*; O. BM EA 50744, rt. 1–2. See also Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19.

4 For the date of O. BM EA 50744, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 336–337; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 36.

5 *ỉw=w bꜣk*; O. Cairo CG 25509 rt. II, 21.

6 For dating O. Cairo CG 25509 to year 1 of Siptah instead of Seti II, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 61–64.

7 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 19a (year 39 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. Cairo CG 25510, rt. 15 (date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 106–107); O. Cairo CG 25780, 6 (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–52).

8 *Wsf tꜣ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 11.

9 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

10 See Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19–20.

11 *Sḫꜣ pꜣy=ỉ ỉỉy n=k…ỉw bn ỉry pꜣ nṯr ḥ^{c}y m I šmw 14*; O. DeM 115, vs. 6–8. For a translation of this text, see Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (1990), 163.

12 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 448 (Ramesses VIII); Wente, *Letters* (1990), 163 (Ramesses IV).

13 See Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 158

recorded on this particular ostracon.[1] An analysis of the references to working and inactivity on I *šmw* 14 indicates that the day may, at least during the 20th Dynasty, have been a working day. According to O. Turin N. 57153[2] (date attributed to year 26 of Ramesses III[3]), the men were, indeed, work-free on I *šmw* 14. O. DeM 911[4] (date attributed to years 26–27 of Ramesses III[5]), a list of absences of an individual workman, indicates, however, that most of the crew was working on I *šmw* 14. Furthermore, according to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[6] (year 3 of Ramesses X[7]), the royal artisans worked on I *šmw* 14. There is, in fact, not enough references to working and inactivity on I *šmw* 14 to determine with certainty whether the day was an annually occurring work-free day or not and, therefore, the reference in O. DeM 115 to a procession of *pꜣ ntr* taking place on I *šmw* 14 has been omitted from the festival calendar reconstruction.

I *šmw* 18 According to O. Cairo CG 25815a[8] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[9]), the crew celebrated a feast, *ḥb*, on I *šmw* 18. An analysis of the references to working and inactivity on I *šmw* 18 shows that generally the royal artisans may have been working on this particular day.[10] Two lists of men absent from work, O. Cairo CG 25782[11] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[12]) and O. DeM 389[13] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[14]), indicate that most of the royal artisans were working on I *šmw* 18. According to O. Cairo CG 25511[15] (date attributed to year 6 of Seti II[16]), lamps were used for work in the Royal Tomb on I *šmw* 18. In O. Turin N. 57055[17] (date attributed to year 24 of Ramesses III[18]), O. Cairo CG 25292[19] (date attributed to year 7 of Ramesses IV[20]), and P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[21] (year 3 of Ramesses X[22]), it is said that the crew was working on I *šmw* 18. In O. Cairo CG 25304[23] (date attributed to the

---

1 *ỉmỉ ỉn.tw wʿ ḥnw n sfft n ḥb* […] *n pꜣ nṯr*; O. DeM 115, vs. 12–15.
2 *Wsf*; O. Turin N. 57153, vs. 7.
3 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 26; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 282.
4 O. DeM 911, rt. 5.
5 For the date attributed, see Janssen, A Curious Error, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 306; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 86.
6 *Bꜣk*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 23.
7 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.
8 *I šmw 18 ḥb*; O. Cairo CG 25815a, vs. 4.
9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 567.
10 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *šmw* 18 is 7/0.
11 O. Cairo CG 25782, vs. 6–8.
12 For attributing, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 116–119; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–52.
13 O. DeM 389, rt. 9–10.
14 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 237–238; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 108–109.
15 O. Cairo CG 25511 rt. I, 17.
16 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 311–313.
17 *ỉỉ r bꜣk*; O. Turin N. 57055, 1–2.
18 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 34; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 495; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 263–264.
19 *Ṯs*[…] *ỉn tꜣ ỉst r bꜣk m st tn*; O. Cairo CG 25292, 1–2.
20 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406.
21 *Bꜣk*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 24.
22 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.
23 O. Cairo CG 25304, 1–2.

20th Dynasty[1]), lamps are reported to have been used for work on this particular day. As there are seven references to working and none to inactivity on I *šmw* 8, the feast mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25815a appears not to have taken place on an annually occurring work-free day. The name of the month of I *šmw* in the ancient Egyptian civil calendar was *pn-ḫnsw* (Greek *Pakhons*).[2] One would expect to find the eponymous Feast of Khonsu within the month of I *šmw* or at the beginning of II *šmw*.[3] The date of the Feast of Khonsu, however, is not known and, as far as I am aware, there is only one undated reference to this feast from Deir el-Medina.[4] The reference in O. Cairo CG 25815a to a *ḥb* on I *šmw* 18 might perhaps stand for the Feast of Khonsu generally celebrated perhaps on I *šmw* 19, i.e., on the subsequent 'weekend'.[5] In the much later Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, a Feast of Khonsu was celebrated on I *šmw* 19.[6] Alternatively, the feast mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25815a might refer to the Feast of Min which, according to the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[8]), was an important feast in I *šmw*. This Festival of Min started on the eve of the new moon and, hence, if celebrated at Deir el-Medina, would not have resulted in an annually occurring work-free day on a civil calendar date. I know of only one allusion to a feast of Min in the royal artisans' community.[9] O. IFAO 2830[10] (date attributed to the second half of the 20th Dynasty[11]) is a model letter mentioning a procession of Min and a *sḫbt* of Isis that was turned into a

---

1 For the date attributed, see Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* (1973), 52 note 8.

2 Černý, The Origin of the Name of the Month Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 175; Parker, *Calendars* (1950), 45. For *ḫnsw*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* V (2002), 761–763; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003),574–579.

3 The ratios of references to working to references to working on II *šmw* 1–3 are 7/3, 7/2, and 8/0, respectively.

4 *Wḥm dỉt* (*m*) *pn-ḫnsw*; O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 7; reign of Ramesses IV; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 167–168. See the Cairo Calendar for the use of *pn-ḫnsw* as a month name (P. Cairo JE 86637 vs. XIV, 9).

5 Khonsu seems to have been worshipped at Deir el-Medina. A temple of Khonsu is mentioned in 2 documents (O. Louvre i 2, 1; O. DeM 819, 1) and Khonsu is worshipped alone on Stela Turin N. 50036. Khonsu, moreover, is depicted alongside other deities on several stelae pertaining to the royal artisans' community (e.g., Stela Bankes 8; Stela Bankes 10; Stela BM EA 153; Stela Cairo JE 91927; Stela from chapel 1190; Stela A found in the Hathor Sanctuary; Stela C found in the Hathor Sanctuary; Stela Turin N. 50052; see also Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13–15). On Stela Turin N. 50052, Khonsu is referred to as the Lord of draftsman Pay (*nb=f*).

6 Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994), 406.

7 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 1430 (list 66); Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 182; see also Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 104–105; el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000), 127–129; for the Feast of Min, see, for example, Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* (1931); Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes* (1956); Moens, The Procession of Min, *SAK* 12 (1985), 61–73; Feder, Das Ritual *sʿḥʿ kɜ sḫn.t* (1998), 31–54; Graindorge, Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope (2003), 37–45. For *mnw*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* III (2002), 288–290; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 227–231.

8 For the date attributed, see Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

9 Min was worshipped at Deir el-Medina although this god was not one of the most popular deities of the community. I know of 6 stelae depicting Min which may originate from Deir el-Medina; Stela BM EA 191; Stela BM EA 355; Stela Louvre C 86; Stela Moscow 5209; Stela Moscow 5613; Stela Turin N. 50066; see also Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 15).

10 *Grḥ n pɜ šmt n mnw r ḫtwy mnw*; O. IFAO 2830, 5; see Gasse, Une *sbḫt* d'Isis, *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 171–175.

11 For the date attributed, see Gasse, Une *sbḫt* d'Isis, *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 171–172 (*[les] derniers Ramessides, au plus tôt du règne de Ramsès IV*).

pavilion of Horus-Min. It remains uncertain whether these festival rituals took place at Deir el-Medina or not.[1] Furthermore, it is impossible to determine if the reference in O. Cairo CG 25815a to a feast on I *šmw* 18 stands for one of the aforementioned feasts. This particular feast, therefore, has been left out of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar reconstruction.

I *šmw* 27 According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[2] (year 3 of Ramesses X[3]), a feast of Amenhotep I was celebrated on I *šmw* 27. This particular day may, however, have usually been a working day.[4] According to O. Cairo CG 25529[5] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[6]), the crew was working on I *šmw* 27. Three 19th Dynasty lists of men absent or working indicate that most of the crew was working on this particular day.[7] O. Turin N. 57033[8] (years 24–25 of Ramesses III[9]) also indicates that the men were working on I *šmw* 27 as lamps are said to have been used. It is only in O. DeM 55[10] (year 31 of Ramesses III[11]) that I *šmw* 27 is indicated as having been a work-free day. The crew is said to have been in this place (*st tn*) on I *šmw* 27–28.[12] Four 19th Dynasty references thus indicate work on I *šmw* 27, whereas there is one reference to working, one to inactivity, and one to a feast on this particular day from the 20th Dynasty. It is possible that the presence of mountain people[13] or the delay in distributing rations[14] in the third year of Ramesses X, as related in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094, somehow affected the date of the feast mentioned as having taken place on I *šmw* 27. As the evidence is inconclusive, the feast has been omitted from my reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar.

II *šmw* 8 According to O. Turin N. 57034[15] (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III[16]), the royal artisans were work-free on II *šmw* 8 to pour water. All the other references

---

1 See also Gasse, Une *sbḫt* d'Isis, *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 175.

2 *Ḥb nsw* (*imn-ḥtp*); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 27.

3 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

4 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *šmw* 27 is 5/1.

5 The date is written in red ink, which indicates working in this document; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. I, 4.

6 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

7 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 22, vs. 5, 7 (year 39 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. Cairo CG 25512, rt. 9–10 (date attributed to year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 313–315); O. Cairo CG 25783, rt. 1 (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 224–227).

8 O. Turin N. 57033, rt. 5.

9 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

10 O. DeM 55, rt. 1 – vs. 4; here the recto and verso sides of this ostracon have been used as indicated by Kenneth Kitchen (*KRI* V (1983), 557).

11 For the date of O. DeM 55, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 15; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 557; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 321–322.

12 O. DeM 55, vs. 3–4. For *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98.

13 *Wsf tꜣ ỉst r-ḥꜣt nꜣ ḫꜣstyw*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 6; I, 8–9; I, 11; I, 14–15.

14 P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 11 (*wḏy pꜣ ꜥꜣw 2 r nỉwt r wḫꜣ dỉw*); rt. III, 23 – IV, 1 (*ḏꜣ r nỉwt ỉn tꜣ ỉst…ꜥḥꜥ m-bꜣḥ nꜣ sr ꜥꜣw…ỉw.tw dỉt n=n dỉw*); rt. V, 19 – VII, 28 (*ḏꜣ ỉn tꜣ* [*ỉst pꜣ ḫr*] *r nỉwt…*[*nꜣ*] *ḥwtyw ꜥḥꜥ m-bꜣḥ* [*ṯꜣty*).

15 *Wsf wꜣḥ mw*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 6. For the ritual of pouring water, see Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19–30.

16 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 244.

to II *šmw* 8, however, point to a regular working day.[1] O. BM EA 5634[2] (year 39 of Ramesses II[3]) and O. DeM 389[4] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[5]) indicate that most of the crew was working on I *šmw* 8 as individual men absent from work are listed. In O. IFAO 1306[6] (date attributed to year 27–28 of Ramesses III[7]), the royal artisans are said to have been working on II *šmw* 8. In P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[8] (year 3 of Ramesses X[9]), the crew is also said to have been working on this particular day. The ritual of pouring water mentioned in O. Turin N. 57034 might have had something to do with the 'Crossing of Amon' mentioned in this particular document on II *šmw* 12, i.e., four days later.[10] During the Beautiful Feast of the Valley in the month of II *šmw*, Amon of Karnak and the king visited the Temples of Millions of Years in Western Thebes to pour water for the ancestral kings.[11] This particular feast commenced with the new moon in II *šmw*[12] and, thus, no annually occurring work-free day on the same civil calendar day resulted at Deir el-Medina. Generally, however, the Valley Feast seems to have lasted for two days only.[13] The connection between the act of pouring water on II *šmw* 8 and the Valley Feast is uncertain. The reference in O. Turin N. 57034 to the ritual of pouring water on II *šmw* 8 has been omitted from my reconstruction of the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina.

III *šmw* 1 O. DeM 354[14] is a short note, the date of which has been attributed to the eleventh year of Ramesses II.[15] The scribe of this document relates how, on III *šmw* 1, a servant called Baketdua celebrated a feast of Amon *m ỉpt*.[16] Although it is this particular woman who is said to have observed the festivities, the reference in O. DeM 354 might point to a communal feast. An analysis of the references to working and inactivity on III *šmw* 1 reveals that there are documents, spanning the period from the reign of Amenmesse through the third year of Ramesses X, which contain such references to this particular day.[17] In O. Cairo CG 25529[18] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[19]) and O. Cairo

[1] The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on II *šmw* 8 is 4/1.
[2] O. BM EA 5634, rt. 9, 20, vs. 4, 12, 17.
[3] *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.
[4] O. DeM 389, vs. 10–11.
[5] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 237–238; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 108–109.
[6] *Bɜk*; O. IFAO 1306 (Černý, Notebooks, 62.15); see also Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 291–292.
[7] For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 291–292.
[8] *Bɜk*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. III, 4.
[9] For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.
[10] *Pɜ ḏɜ*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 7.
[11] Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin* II (1972), 12; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22; see Chapter III 1.2.1.10.
[12] Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 135–190 (lists 3–4); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 123–125.
[13] Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22; cf. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 136–144.
[14] O. DeM 354, rt. 1 – vs. 4.
[15] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 508–509; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 54.
[16] *Hrw pn ỉrt pɜ ḥb n ỉmn n ỉpt ỉn ḥmt bɜkt-dwɜw*; O. DeM 354, rt. 1–4. For *ỉmn-n-ỉpt*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), I, 309–310.
[17] The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 1 is 4/3.
[18] *N*; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. III, 1–3.
[19] For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

CG 25515[1] (year 6 of Seti II[2]), the royal artisans are said to have been work-free on III *šmw* 1–3. According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[3] (year 3 of Ramesses X[4]), the crew was also freed from work on the Royal Tomb on III *šmw* 1. Several documents, however, indicate working on III *šmw* 1. In O. Cairo CG 25783[5] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[6]), several men are listed as absent on III *šmw* 1 and, thus, most of the crew seems to have been working. According to O. Cairo CG 25814[7] (date attributed to year 1 of Siptah[8]), lamps were used for work in the Royal Tomb on III *šmw* 1. According to O. Turin N. 57033[9] (years 24–25 of Ramesses III[10]), lamps were also used for work in the Royal Tomb on III *šmw* 1. O. Ashmolean Museum 11[11] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[12]) appears to indicate that the crew was working on III *šmw* 1 since rock was burned on this particular day. As there are four references to working on III *šmw* 1 while three documents indicate inactivity on this day, it does not seem probable that this particular civil calendar day was an annually occurring work-free day. The reference to a feast of Amon in O. DeM 354 might mark a feast that was not celebrated according to the civil calendar. The reference, however, does not seem to point to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley which was a feast of Amon starting on the day of the new moon in II *šmw*.[13] As far as I am aware, no feast was celebrated on III *šmw* 1 elsewhere in Egypt during the New Kingdom. The feast which is said to have taken place on III *šmw* 1 in O. DeM 354 has been omitted from my reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar.

III *šmw* 15 In the work journal recorded on O. DeM 44[14] (years 1–2 of Ramesses IV[15]), an 'Appearance of the King' (*ḫˁ nsw*) is mentioned as having occurred on III *šmw* 15. Jaroslav Černý demonstrated that III *šmw* 15 was the date of the death of Ramesses III and, hence, also the accession day of his successor Ramesses IV.[16] It is not clear from O. DeM 44 whether the crew was work-free on III *šmw* 15 in the year this particular text was written. There are, in the corpus of the documents of my festival calendar reconstruction, two references to working and one to inactivity on III *šmw* 15 during the time after the

---

1 *ˁḫˁ II šmw 29…ỉw r bɜk m III šmw 3*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. I, 21–25.

2 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

3 *Wsf tɜ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. IV, 5.

4 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

5 O. Cairo CG 25783, rt. 27–29.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 224–227; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 118–121; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–52.

7 O. Cairo CG 25814, 1–2.

8 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 433.

9 O. Turin 57033, vs. 3.

10 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

11 *Psỉ*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 1.

12 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.

13 Van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 226 note 88; for the Valley Festival, see Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

14 O. DeM 44, rt. 1.

15 For the date attributed, see Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 115–118; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 116–118; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 366–370.

16 Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109–118. For the accession days of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III celebrated at Deir el-Medina, see Chapters III 1.2.3.1–1.2.3.3.

accession of Ramesses IV.[1] According to O. Ashmolean Museum 11[2] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[3]), rock was burned on III *šmw* 15, i.e., the crew was probably working. In O. Brussels E 301[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[5]), the crew is said to have been in 'this place', i.e., probably work-free but not in the village, on III *šmw* 15.[6] In the third year of Ramesses X,[7] the crew was working on III *šmw* 15, as stated in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094.[8] As there is no convincing evidence that the accession of Ramesses IV was commemorated on III *šmw* 15 during the reign of this king or during the remaining Ramesside Period at Deir el-Medina,[9] the reference to the Appearance of the King in O. DeM 44 has been omitted from my reconstruction of the festival calendar.

III *šmw* 16 According to O. Cairo CG 25290,[10] in the sixth year of Ramesses IV[11] on III *šmw* 16, the vizier Neferronpet came to Western Thebes to inspect the progress of the work and to pour water. The scribe of P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063[12] (date attributed to years 3 and 6 of Ramesses IV[13]) did not mention the vizier but said that in year 6 on III *šmw* 16, Anakhtu was made to cut stone and water was poured for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. These two documents appear to relate the same event.[14] In view of the references to working and inactivity on III *šmw* 16, the day appears to have

---

1 In year 1 of Ramesses IV (e.g., Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS 72* (1936), 110–111), the news about the accession of the new king reached Deir el-Medina on III *šmw* 16; P. Turin Cat. 1946 + 1949, vs. 9–15 (*III šmw*] *15 bꜣk*…[*III šmw 16*] *st tn hrw n iỉy in ḥry mḏꜣy mntw-ms* [*..r ḏd n n*]*ꜣ*(*-n*) *pꜣ ḫr bik p*(*ꜣ*)*w* [*r pt n ḥm*] *nsw* (*wsr-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ mry-imn*) *sꜣ rᶜ* (*rᶜ-ms-sw ḥḳꜣ-iwnw*) ᶜ *w s* [*iw nsw*] (*wsr-mꜣᶜt-rᶜ stp-n-imn*) *sꜣ rᶜ* (*rᶜ-ms-sw mry-imn*) ᶜ*nḫ wḏꜣ snb* [*pꜣ ity*] *ḥms ḫr tꜣ isbt pꜣ rᶜ r-st=f*).

2 *Psi*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 4.

3 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.

4 *ỉw tꜣ ist m st tn*; O. Brussels E. 301, rt. 20–21.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 357–358.

6 For *st tn*, see Janssen,*Village varia* (1997), 97–98.

7 For the date of P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

8 *Bꜣk*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 4.

9 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 15 is 2/1 for the reign of Ramesses IV through the reign of Ramesses XI. For the veneration of Ramesses IV, see Keller, Speculations Concerning Interconnections Between the Royal Policy and Reputation of Ramesses IV, in Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka* (1994), 145–157.

10 *ỉỉ pw in imy-r niwt ṯꜣty nfr-rnpt r mꜣꜣ pꜣ sḫnw iw=f wꜣḥ-mw*; O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 1–4. For the ritual of pouring water, see Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19–30. The reference to a goddess in O. Cairo CG 25290 (line 4) might not belong to the text describing the visit of the vizier (*op. cit.*, 20). The visit of vizier *nfr-rnpt* to inspect work on III *šmw* 16 in a year 6 is also mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25291, 1–3 (*iỉy in imy-r niwt ṯꜣty nfr-rnpt r ptr sḫnw*; Černý, Notebooks, 101.8).

11 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25290, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 143; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 398.

12 *Dit* ᶜ*ꜣ-nḫt r ḳḥḳḥ…wꜣḥ-mw n nꜣ nsyw-bityw m hrw pn*; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs. III, 1–3. In his publication of the papyrus, Adhémar Massart transcribed the date as III *šmw* 16 but he translated the passage as III *šmw* 26 (The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 183, pl. 38). Wolfgang Helck also placed this entry on day 26 (*Die datierten* (2002), 399) but see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 verso, Dates mentioned (III *šmw* 16).

13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 133–134, 143–144; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384, 387, 398–399.

14 See Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 20.

been a working day throughout the Ramesside Period.[1] O. Ashmolean Museum 167[2] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[3]) and O. Cairo CG 25783[4] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[5]) indicate that most of the crew was working on III *šmw* 16 as men absent have been listed. According to O. Cairo CG 25515,[6] in the sixth year of Seti II,[7] the crew ascended to work on III *šmw* 14. As day 19 seems to be the subsequent one to be marked with the word *ḥ*, the crew may have been working through III *šmw* 18.[8] O. Valley of the Queens 6[9] (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III[10]) also indicates that the royal artisans were working on this particular day as lamps are reported to have been used. In O. DeM 427[11] (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III[12]), the men are said to have been working on III *šmw* 16. O. Ashmolean Museum 11[13] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[14]) also seems to indicate that III *šmw* 16 was a working day as the rock is reported to have been burned. Furthermore, the scribe of P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[15] (year 3 of Ramesses X[16]) writes that the crew was working on III *šmw* 16. As there are seven references to working on III *šmw* 16 and none to inactivity, the ritual of pouring water does not appear to have taken place annually on a fixed civil calendar date and may even have been a one-time occasion. The ritual of pouring water mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25290 and P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 occurred in the reign of Ramesses IV on the day after his accession day[17] and it is, thus, possible that the ritual had something to do with this occasion. Alternatively, the ritual may have commemorated the death of the reigning king's predecessor Ramesses III.[18] The ritual of pouring water on III *šmw* 16 has been discarded from the Deir el-Medina festival calendar reconstruction.

---

1 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 16 is 7/0.
2 O. Ashmolean Museum 167, rt. 3.
3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 242–243; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 110.
4 O. Cairo CG 25783, vs. 23–27.
5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 224–227; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 118–121; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–52.
6 [*Ỉw tɜ-ỉst ḥr ỉw r*]*sḫt*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. II, 10.
7 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.
8 O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. II, 11–15.
9 O. Valley of the Queens 6, vs. 4.
10 For the date attributed, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 65–71; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Valley of Queens 06, Remarks.
11 *Bɜk*; O. DeM 427, rt. 5.
12 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.
13 *Psỉ ỉn nḫ-m-mwt*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 5.
14 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.
15 *Bɜk*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 5.
16 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.
17 III *šmw* 15; see Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109–115.
18 See Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wɜḥ mw* (1992), 20.

III *šmw* 25 The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25794[1] (date attributed to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty[2]) reported that something Amon-Re did occurred on III *šmw* 25. There are three 20th Dynasty references to the royal artisans being work-free on III *šmw* 25. According to O. DeM 427[3] (date attributed to year 28 of Ramesses III[4]), the crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb on III *šmw* 23–29. In O. Ashmolean Museum 11[5] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses V[6]), the crew is said to have been work-free on III *šmw* 25. As maintained by P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[7] (year 3 of Ramesses X[8]), the royal artisans were freed from work on the Royal Tomb from III *šmw* 19 through at least IV *šmw* 2. In the corpus of my festival calendar reconstruction, however, there are several documents, spanning the period from the reign of Amenmesse through the reign of Ramesses IV, which indicate that the royal artisans were working on III *šmw* 25. In O. Ashmolean Museum 167[9] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[10]) and O. Cairo CG 25784[11] (date attributed to year 4 of Amenmesse[12]), men who were absent on III *šmw* 25 are listed and, thus, most of the crew was probably working. In O. Cairo CG 25529[13] (date attributed to year 5 of Seti II[14]) and O. Cairo CG 25515[15] (year 6 of Seti II[16]), the royal artisans are said to have been working on III *šmw* 25. O. DeM 209[17]

---

1 *Hrw n pn n* [*…ỉr.n*]*ỉmn-rˁ* [*…*; O. Cairo CG 25794, 3. For *ỉmn-rˁ*, see Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I (2002), 320–322; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 66–87.

2 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 361 (year 4 of Siptah/Tausret); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 182–183 (year 4 of Siptah); Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 155 note 49 (perhaps year 4 of Ramesses III).

3 *Wsf*; O. DeM 427, rt. 12–16. The reason for this long period of idleness is not given but in late IV *šmw*, the men were carrying torches and at the beginning of I *ꜣḫt*, the vizier came to take some men to the riverbank, so something out of the ordinary might have been going on ((*IV šmw*) *sw 28 wsf fꜣ mḥd…hrw 5 ḥry rnpt mswt ꜣst fꜣ mḥd…*(*I ꜣḫt*) *sw 5 wsf ỉỉ.n ṯꜣty* (*r*) *pꜣ ḫtm ỉṯꜣ nꜣ rmṯ r mry*[*t…*; vs. 4–11); see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 158.

4 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), 23; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 521–523; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 293–295.

5 *ỉw=w wsf*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 8. The following entry in this document is on IV *šmw* 22. The crew might have been work-free during the intervening period. It is, however, also possible that rock was not burned during this period.

6 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 445–446.

7 *Wsf tꜣ ỉst*; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 7–19. At the beginning of IV *šmw*, the crew went to Thebes to see the vizier and later, it seems, they searched for grain rations (*IV šmw 3 ḏꜣ ỉn tꜣ* [*ỉst pꜣ ḫr*] *r nỉwt*), VI, 1 (…] *r wḫꜣ dỉw*; rt. V, 19). The inactivity at the end of III *šmw* was thus perhaps due to lack of rations (see also Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 218–219).

8 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

9 O. Ashmolean Museum 167, vs. 2.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 242–243; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 110.

11 O. Cairo CG 25784, 11.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 227–228; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 120–121; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–52.

13 The date is written in red ink which denotes working in this document; O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. IV, 8.

14 For the date attributed, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135.

15 *ỉw*; O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. II, 21.

16 For the date of this ostracon, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 322–327, 382–384; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 141–147, 160–163.

17 O. DeM 209, rt. 1.

(date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty[1]), O. DeM 911[2] (date attributed to years 26–27 of Ramesses III[3]), and O. Cairo CG 25533[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[5]) also indicate that most of the crew was working on III *šmw* 25 as individual men absent from work are listed. Furthermore, in P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063[6] (date attributed to years 3 and 6 of Ramesses IV[7]) the men are said to have been working on this particular day. With eight references to working and only three references to inactivity, it appears that, in general, the crew worked on III *šmw* 25.[8] The occasion involving Amon-Re which is stated as having taken place on III *šmw* 25 in O. Cairo CG 25794 was perhaps a one-time occasion or a feast celebrated according to the lunar calendar. The event, therefore, has been omitted from my reconstruction of the festival calendar.

The feasts discussed above were omitted when reconstructing the Deir el-Medina festival calendar either because the days on which they are said to have taken place do not seem to have been annually observed work-free days or because not enough evidence is available to determine whether a feast was observed annually on the same civil calendar day. Furthermore, the above-mentioned days occasionally referred to as work-free were discarded from the reconstruction of the festival calendar since the number of references is too low to establish with certainty whether these particular days were, indeed, annually occurring work-free days or not. A revised version of the reconstructed festival roster omitting the days and feasts discussed above is presented below in Table 8.

---

1 For the dates attributed, see Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II); Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 217–219 (Amenmesse); Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985), 130 (year 2 of Seti II); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 103–105 (year 2 of Amenmesse).

2 O. DeM 911, rt. 7.

3 For the date attributed, see Janssen, A Curious Error, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 306; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 86.

4 O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 7–9.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–386.

6 *ʾIw=w bȝk m st tn*; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs. IV, 2.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 133–134, 143–144; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384, 387, 398–399.

8 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 25 is 5/0 in the 19th Dynasty documents and 3/3 in the 20th Dynasty texts.

Table 8. Reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar during the Ramesside Period

Month name	I *ꜣḫt*	II *ꜣḫt*	III *ꜣḫt*	IV *ꜣḫt*	I *prt*	II *prt*
	Thoth	*Phaophi*	*Athyr*	*Khoiak*	*Tybi*	*Mekhir*
1	*wpt rnpt*			*ḥwt-ḥr*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*ḫnw mwt*
2	*wpt rnpt*			*ḥwt-ḥr*	*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*	*ḫnw mwt*
3	*wpt rnpt*					*ḫnw mwt*
4						
5				?		
6						
7					?	
8	?					
9						
10						
11			*pn-ỉpt?*			
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19	Thoth	*pn-ỉpt?*				
20		*pn-ỉpt?*				
21						
22						
23						
24						
25				*grḥ nṯryt*		
26				*ḥb skrt-wsỉr*		
27						
28						
29	*ḫˁ* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)					
30	*ḫˁ* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)					

The annually celebrated feast days are presented in view of the references to working, inactivity, and feasts. The feasts and seemingly work-free days discussed in Chapter III 1.3 have been omitted. The names of the months are added as many of the annually celebrated festivals seem to have been eponymous feasts. The ninth and tenth days of each decade are highlighted in gray. RII = Ramesses II, RIII = Ramesses III.

Table 8. Reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar

III *prt*	IV *prt*	I *šmw*	II *šmw*	III *šmw*	IV *šmw*	*hrw* 5 *ḥry rnpt*
Phamenoth	*Pharnuthi*	*Pakhons*	*Payni*	*Epiphi*	*Mesore*	*Epagomenals*
Mekhir?	*pn-(imn-ḥtp)*	*pn rnn-wtt*	(Valley)		*ipip*	*msw wsir*
Mekhir?		*pn rnn-wtt*			*ipip*	*msw ḥr*
						msw stẖ
ḥb ʿ3 n ptḥ?						*msw 3st*
ḥb ʿ3 n ptḥ?						*msw nbt-ḥwt*
			(Valley)	*ḫʿ (imn-ḥtp)*		
				ḫʿ (imn-ḥtp)		
			ḫnt (nfrt-iry)			
				p3 ḫnw (stẖ)		
			(Valley)			
		ḫʿ-nsw (RIII)				
				ḫʿ n (RII)		
pn-(imn-ḥtp)			(Valley)			
pn-(imn-ḥtp)					*msy*	

2 Other Deir el-Medina References to Feasts and Festive Behaviour

In addition to references to feasts featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina, the corpus of this study contains several references to feasts that can be tied to a specific day of the ancient Egyptian civil calendar but which, nevertheless, cannot be considered as part of the festival roster.[1] Additionally, there are numerous undated references to feasts. Some of these references that cannot be identified with a feast featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina point to so-called 'personal feasts' which in several earlier studies have been contrasted with the general, or public, festivals.[2] Occasionally, however, it is difficult to determine whether a reference stands for a public or a personal feast. All these references to personal feasts and to feasts that cannot be connected to the festival calendar presented above, therefore, are discussed in this section of the study. There are, furthermore, references to festive behaviour that may implicitly indicate that a feast was celebrated. These references are also discussed below.

Various kinds of references to feasting were collected in order to build a wide-ranging picture of feasts and festive behaviour in the royal artisans' community (see Appendix 2). References to feasts, feast rituals, and other possible festive occasions were mainly collected from the non-literary sources pertaining to Deir el-Medina. In some cases, religious inscriptions in tombs and on statues were also considered, provided that they contain information that appears to refer to a practical aspect of the festive occasion rather than to its symbolic content.[3]

The reconstructed festival calendar of the royal artisans' community illustrates that the terms *ḥb*[4] and *wp*,[5] both meaning 'feast',[6] could be used to refer to the feasts celebrated in the village. Therefore, the references containing these words were collected. The references to *ḥb* also contain several examples that have been used in conjunction with a suffix pronoun (*ḥb=f*) or a possessive article (*pꜣy=f ḥb*).[7] Such references seem to mark personal feasts and cannot be linked to the official feasts of the royal artisans' community.[8] References to a *ḥb* that denote celebrating a feast in honour of someone other than a deity, references such as *ḥb ḥry=f*,[9] are also considered personal feasts in this study.

---

1 See Chapter III 1.3.

2 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 136–166; van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 223–229; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 332–335; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 171–175, 183–190; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 6–31.

3 E.g., Statue Cairo JE 72000; TT2; TT4; TT9.

4 E.g., *ḥb ꜥꜣ n nsw* (*imn-ḥtp*) (O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–2); *ḥb* (O. DeM 209, vs. 4); *ḥb ꜥꜣ* (*n ptḥ*) (O. DeM 401, rt. 2–4); *ḥb skrt-wsir* (P. UC 34336 vs. B, 33); *ḥb ptḥ* (P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094, rt. I, 5).

5 *Wsf wp* (O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9).

6 *Ḥb*: Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 57–58 (*das Fest*); *wp*: Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 304 (*Fest (allgemeines Wort)*).

7 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 182–196; see also, for example, Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 163–164; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 145–146; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 14–18.

8 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 182.

9 O. Cairo CG 25532, vs. 6.

References to celebrations in connection with the birth of a child, furthermore, seem to indicate personal feasts.[1]

In the corpus of this study, there are references to rituals that cannot be identified with any feasts in the reconstructed festival calendar. Processions, for example, were visible parts of ancient Egyptian festivals.[2] The local vernacular used for referring to such processions during the feasts feature words such as *ḫꜥ*,[3] *ḫnw*,[4] and *ḏꜣ*.[5] Offering ritual was another important component of ancient Egyptian feasts and festivals.[6] This also holds true for the village of Deir el-Medina[7] as is evident from O. DeM 401,[8] a work journal dating to the second year of Ramesses IV.[9] According to this text, the royal artisans celebrated a feast of Ptah by performing an offering ritual in the Valley of the Kings.[10] Similarly, the ritual of pouring water (*wꜣḥ-mw*)[11] for deceased relatives was sometimes performed during festivals.[12] Drinking could also be a festive act, as is demonstrated by O.

---

1 Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 254–256; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 180–181. Jaana Toivari-Viitala has demonstrated that no proof of a formal marriage celebration can be found in texts pertaining to Deir el-Medina (*Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 86; cf. Janssen, An Allusion to a Wedding Ceremony, *GM* 10 (1974), 25–28). Since I have found no documents to contest her observations, the references to marriage have been omitted from this study of feasts at Deir el-Medina. Furthermore, the references in the non-literary documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina to death and funerals contain no information on rituals or festivities connected with these events; hence, these references have been omitted from this study (for references to death and to inactivity due to funerals, see O. Ashmolean Museum 61, rt. 8–9; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 9, 17, vs. 2, 4, 15, 17; O. Cairo CG 25554, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25784, 3; O. Černý 19, rt. 6 – vs. 1; O. DeM 10019, 5; O. DeM 10051, rt. 8–9; O. Varille 26, rt. 8–9; P. DeM 2, vs. 1).

2 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 171; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160; see also Sauneron, *Les prêtres* (1957), 89–95; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 105–122; see Chapter II 2.

3 E.g., *ḫꜥ ỉn nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) (O. Cairo CG 25275, 1–2); *ḫꜥ n nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) (O. Cairo CG 25276, 1); *ḫꜥ n ḥwt-ḥr* (O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9). In some cases, it is not entirely certain whether a particular word is used as the name of a feast or to describe the main event of one. Furthermore, in order to receive oracle statements, processions of the village patron Amenhotep I were organized outside the feasts of this deified king (Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161–162; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189).

4 E.g., *ḫnw n* (*nfrt-ỉry*) (O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 3–4); *pꜣ ḫnw* (*stḫy*) (O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 7); *pꜣ ḫnw n* (*nfrt-ỉry* (O. DeM 38,12); *pꜣ ḫn*(*w*) *mwt* (O. DeM 297, rt. 3a); *ḫn*(*w*) *mwt* (O. IFAO 1088, rt. 7); *ḫnt* (*nfrt-ỉry*) (P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. III, 6).

5 E.g., *pꜣ ḏꜣy* (O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 11–12); *ḏꜣy n ỉmn r nỉwt* (O. Cairo CG 25538, 3); *ḏꜣy r ỉmntt nỉwt ỉn ỉmn-rꜥ* (O. Cairo CG 25265 II, 1–2); *pꜣ ḏꜣ* (O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 7); *ḫꜣ*(*wy*) *pꜣ ḏꜣ* […] (O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9).

6 See, for example, Altenmüller, Opfer, *LÄ* IV (1982), 579–584; see also Chapter II 3.

7 Among the occasions which Sadek calls ‘personal feasts’, i.e., feasts celebrated by one person or a small group, he lists instances which were called ‘offerings (to a god)’ (Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 182–188).

8 O. DeM 401, rt. 1 – vs. 9.

9 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

10 *…hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ꜥꜣt ỉn tꜣ ỉst r-gs pꜣ r-ꜥ-bꜣk* [*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ꜥꜣ*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–4.

11 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 254 (*Wasser spenden*); see also Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19–30.

12 E.g., the Beautiful Feast of the Valley; see Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin* II (1972), 12; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22.

Cairo CG 25234[1] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[2]), according to which the crew and their families spend four days of the Great Feast of Amenhotep I drinking in front of this deified king. Furthermore, brewing beer seems to have been relevant to celebrating a feast, at least as a preparation for one.[3] Another possible festive occasion is the perplexing activity of *ḥsmn* connected with the women of the village. The term has been suggested as indicating a ritual purification,[4] an action that might be considered a festive event, and, hence, the various references to *ḥsmn* and to purification are considered.

Jac. J. Janssen[5] classified certain texts pertaining to Deir el-Medina as so-called 'gift-giving lists'. These lists are accounts of mostly victuals, presumably received from the persons listed in the documents. Some of these texts contain clues to the occasions when food was given.[6] None of the gift-giving lists can definitely be linked to a feast featured in the Deir el-Medina festival calendar reconstruction. Since these documents have been associated with feasts at Deir el-Medina, they will be included in this part of the study.

The references collected were classified under the following categories: (1) *ḥb* and *wp*; (2) *pꜣy=f ḥb* and *ḥb=f*; (3) feasts connected with birth; (4) other possible references to personal feasts; (5) gift-giving lists; (6) procession; (7) offering; (8) pouring water; (9) drinking and brewing; (10) *ḥsmn* and purification; and (11) various other possible references to festive occasions and activities (see Appendix 2). With the aim of finding out how large a portion of all the references to feasts in the documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina denote official feasts of the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar, the references that have already been linked to various feasts of the festival calendar were also tallied.

---

1 *ỉw.tw m pꜣ ḥb ꜥꜣ n n*[*sw*] (*imn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s pꜣ nb pꜣ dmỉt ỉw tꜣ ỉst m ḥꜥꜥwy m-bꜣḥ=f m 4 ḥrw ḏrỉw n swrỉ ḥnꜥ nꜣy=w ḫrdw m-mỉtt nꜣy=w ḫmwt*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–5.

2 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

3 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 9 (...]*w ꜥtḫ* (*r*) *pꜣy=f ḥb*); see also Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 146–147; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 193.

4 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 141–143; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 162–168; cf. Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony (1999), 419–434.

5 Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86 (Women and Gifts); see also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 130–132; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 18–20.

6 Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 130–132; see also Chapter III 2.4.

2.1 The Source Material on Local and Personal Feasts

References to feasts, feast rituals, and other conceivably festive occasions were found in 170 documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina (see Table 9). Twenty per cent of the documents containing such references are work journals[1] while other large groups of document types are various kinds of lists and accounts, i.e., lists of objects and so forth with amounts and, occasionally, calculations included (14%),[2] accounts of transfers or debt (13%),[3] short notes (13%),[4] letters (11%),[5] and lists of men absent or working (10%).[6] Further document types that were found to contain references to feasts, feast rituals, and other possible festive occasions are depositions, i.e., personal statements in

[1] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25535; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 653; O. DeM 910; O. DeM 10051; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2044; P. UC 34336.

[2] E.g., O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179; O. Berlin P 14328; O. Brunner; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 97; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 639; O. DeM 643; O. DeM 666; O. DeM 10041; O. Faulkner 1; O. IFAO 1088; O. IFAO 1262; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57073; O. Turin N. 57191; O. UC 39630; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt. For lists and accounts as text types, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 104–108.

[3] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. Berlin P 10631; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. BM EA 29560; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 297; O. DeM 753; O. DeM 952; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.71; O. Glasgow D.1925.72, O. IFAO 344; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Michaelides 12; O. Michaelides 48; O. OIM N. 160; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Turin N. 57503; O. Varille 24; P. DeM 2; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908. For accounts of transfer or debt as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 148–153.

[4] E.g., Graffito 265; Graffito 1158; Graffito 1159C; Graffito 2087; O. Ashmolean Museum 61; O. Berlin P 12286; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25234; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25308; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 951; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. OIM 13512; O. Turin N. 57133; O. Turin N. 57530; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.; Statue Cairo JE 72000. For notes as a text type, see Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record, *JESHO* 46 (2003), 254.

[5] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. BM EA 65933[a]; O. Brussels E 6781; O. Cairo CG 25644; O. DeM 115; O. DeM 127; O. DeM 132; O. DeM 434 vs.; O. DeM 446; O. DeM 551; O. DeM 603; O. IFAO 380; O. IFAO 2830; O. Turin N. 57168; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv; P. BM EA 10430; P. DeM 3; P. DeM 7; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I–II; P. Turin Cat. 1971.

[6] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25505; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 907; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Turin N. 57388.

court (4%);[1] accounts of necropolis supplies (2%);[2] legal protocols (2%);[3] records of oaths (2%);[4] accounts of payment (2%);[5] accounts of distribution of grain rations (1%);[6] and various other types of texts (4%).[7] One document was not placed in a category due to its incomplete state which prevents the assessment of its type.[8]

The 170 documents with references to feasts, feast rituals, and other possible festive occasions were found to contain 332 such references (see Table 9). Some documents include references which fit two of the categories listed. For example, P. DeM 3[9] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[10]) has a reference to an offering to Sobek which is said to have taken place during a *wp*. This reference thus alludes to both offering and a feast. There are twenty-four such references that contain two aspects. There are, furthermore, some references that have been included although it remains uncertain whether they actually stand for a feast of not.[11] In some cases, it is not entirely certain under which group a particular reference should be classified.[12] There are, moreover, references the exact meaning of which is unclear due to a lacuna in the text.[13] All these uncertain references form nine per cent of all the references to feasts, feast rituals, and other possible festive occasions.

---

1 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 166; O. Brussels E 6311; O. IFAO 290; O. Turin N. 57062; O. Turin N. 57356; P. BM EA 10055. For depositions as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 167–171.

2 E.g., O. Michaelides 33; O. Turin N. 57146; P. BM EA 9997. For accounts of necropolis supplies as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 126–134.

3 E.g., O. Berlin P 10655; O. Berlin P 14214; O. DeM 645. For court protocols as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 162–167; see also, for example, McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 143–179.

4 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 106; O. DeM 57; O. DeM 59; O. Turin N. 57458. For records of oaths as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 171–175.

5 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Cairo CG 25597; O. Louvre E 3263. For accounts of payment as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 153–157.

6 E.g., O. Berlin P 14263; O. DeM 739. For accounts of distribution of grain rations as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 136–139.

7 E.g., Graffito 1696 (list of days of working and inactivity); O. BM EA 5637 (oracle petition); O. DeM 108 (account of property division); O. Turin N. 57156 vs. (list of absences of an individual workman); TT2 (tomb inscription); TT4 (tomb inscription); TT9 (tomb inscription).

8 O. Cairo JE 72469.

9 *Ptr tw=ỉ wdn n sbk pꜣy=k nb ỉmỉ ỉn.tw wˁ n* <*ḥ*> *bs* (*n*) *nꜣy=k bꜣk ỉr ỉry=ỉ pꜣ wp ỉw=ỉ dỉt ỉn.tw=f n=k ˁn*; P. DeM 3, rt. 6–9. For a translation of the text, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 140.

10 For the date attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 140.

11 E.g., Graffito 1158, 5; Graffito 1159C, 1–2; O. Ashmolean Museum 5, rt. 2; O. O. Brussels E 6781, rt. 2–3; O. DeM 639; O. DeM 10041; O. IFAO 1088, rt. 4, 5; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57133, 1; P. BM EA 10055 vs. I, 4; P. Turin Cat. 2044 vs. I, 2–4.

12 E.g., Graffito 265, 1; Graffito 2087, 1–3; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 2; O. Berlin P 12406, vs. 7; O. Berlin P 12635 , rt. 7; O. BM EA 5634, vs. 10; O. Cairo CG 25505, rt. 4–8; O. O. Cairo CG 25535, 5; O. Cairo CG 25782, vs. 18–19, 20, 23; O. DeM 44, rt. 1, 9; O. Glasgow D.1925.72, 2; O. Michaelides 48 rt. II, 1; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 16; O. Turin N. 57133, 1; O. Turin N. 57356, 1; P. DeM 2, vs. 8.

13 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25308, 3; O. Cairo CG 25794, 3; O. DeM 230, 7–8; O. Turin N. 57191, rt. 6; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. rt. I, 17, 19.

Table 9. The number of documents in the corpus of feasts and feasting at Deir el-Medina and the number of references in these particular documents

	With **references to festival calendar**				***Without*** **references to festival calendar**			
	Number of documents		**Number of references**		**Number of documents**		**Number of references**	
The Corpus of Feasting	**170**		**332**		**123**		**224**	
Ramesside Period	**10**	**6 %**	**11**	**3 %**	**8**	**6,5 %**	**9**	**4 %**
19th Dynasty	**45**	**26,5 %**	**124**	**37 %**	**37**	**30 %**	**105**	**47 %**
1st half	19	11 %	65	20 %	15	12 %	54	24 %
Ramesses I	0		0		0		0	
Seti I	1	0,6 %	1	0,3 %	1	0,8 %	1	0,4 %
Ramesses II	18	11 %	64	19 %	14	11 %	53	24 %
2nd half	25	15 %	58	17 %	21	17 %	50	22 %
Merenptah	1	0,6 %	3	0,9 %	1	0,8 %	3	1 %
Amenmesse	8	5 %	19	6 %	8	7 %	18	8 %
Seti II	2	1,2 %	3	0,9 %	1	0,8 %	1	0,4 %
Siptah	7	4 %	19	6 %	6	5 %	17	8 %
Tausret	0		0		0		0	
19th - 20th Dynasty	**1**	**0,6 %**	**1**	**0,3 %**	**1**	**1 %**	**1**	**0,4 %**
20th Dynasty	**107**	**63 %**	**179**	**54 %**	**72**	**58,5 %**	**101**	**45 %**
1st half	85	50 %	135	41 %	59	48 %	84	38 %
Sethnakht	0		0		0		0	
Ramesses III	33	19 %	40	12 %	23	19 %	27	12 %
Ramesses IV	22	13 %	41	12 %	15	12 %	28	13 %
Ramesses V	5	3 %	13	4 %	2	1,6 %	5	2 %
Ramesses VI	5	3 %	10	3 %	3	2 %	4	2 %
2nd half	13	8 %	26	8 %	7	6 %	10	4 %
Ramesses VII	0		0		0		0	
Ramesses VIII	0		0		0		0	
Ramesses IX	5	3 %	7	2 %	1	0,8 %	1	0,4 %
Ramesses X	1	0,6 %	10	3 %	1	0,8 %	2	0,9 %
Ramesses XI	1	0,6 %	1	0,3 %	1	0,8 %	1	0,4 %
No date attributed	**7**	**4 %**	**17**	**5 %**	**5**	**4 %**	**8**	**3,6 %**

The number of documents in the corpus of feasts and feasting and the number of references (to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions all together) in these documents are tabulated. The number of documents that have been dated to or attributed a date in the Ramesside Period, 19th or the 20th Dynasty, and the various reigns within the Ramesside Period have also been tabulated as well as the number of references in these documents. The number of documents that have no date attributed to them and the number of references in these documents have also been included. The numbers on the left part of the table include references to the feasts in the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar. On the right, the references to the feasts in the festival calendar have been omitted. The percentages after the numbers indicate the percentage that particular number comprises of *all* the documents in the respective group, i.e., with or without references to feasts in the festival calendar.

Thirty-three of the documents containing references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions (19% of all such documents) have been dated to a year or reign of a king in accordance with the same principles as in the reconstruction of the festival calendar,

i.e., they contain one or several of the following facts:[1] (1) date with the name of a king;[2] (2) king or another known royal person mentioned in such a way that it is clear during which reign the document was written;[3] (3) vizier whose time in office is known;[4] (4) foreman, scribe, or deputy who ties, perhaps with a year date, the document to the reign of only one king;[5] (5) names of men in the duty roster;[6] (6) names of known royal artisans in connection with a date containing a high year number;[7] and (7) a date with a high year number that can only be connected with the reign of Ramesses II[8]. Seventy-six per cent of the documents containing references to feasting cannot be dated securely but have a date attributed to them [9] while four per cent of them have had no date attributed to them.[10]

Ten documents (6% of all the documents) with references to feasting have been attributed an unspecified date within the Ramesside Period.[11] Forty-five documents (26%) have been dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty.[12] Thirty-six per cent of these

---

1 Although valuable work is being done to date documents based on the men mentioned in them (e.g., Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983); Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 99–109; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* II (2002); Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004)) and on palaeographic grounds (e.g., Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I–II (1995); van den Berg & Donker van Heel, A Scribe's Cache (2000), 9–49; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 39–82), the results from these ongoing approaches are not used in this study.

2 E.g., Graffito 1696, 1–2 (year 2 of Ramesses V); O. DeM 108, rt. 1 (reign of Seti I); P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. II, 13–14 (year 5 of Ramesses VI through year 7 of Ramesses VII).

3 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25598 (year 3 of Ramesses V through year 1 of Ramesses VI); O. DeM 45 (year 2 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 55 (year 31 of Ramesses III); O. MMA 14.6.217 (year 1 of Seti II); O. Turin N. 57033 (change of regnal year > years 24–25 of Ramesses III); P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237 (year 3 of Ramesses VI); P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I–II (year 6 of Ramesses VI); P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105 (years 15–16 of Ramesses IX); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. (year 3 of Ramesses X); Statue Cairo JE 72000 (reign of Ramesses II).

4 E.g., O. BM EA 50744 (Neferronpet > year 5 of Ramesses IV); O. Cairo CG 25290 (Neferronpet > year 6 of Ramesses IV); O. Cairo CG 25538 (Paraemheb > year 6 of Seti II); O. DeM 10051 (Hori > year 4 of Siptah).

5 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 106 (foreman Anhurkhawy > year 27 of Ramesses III); O. Berlin P 10655 (foreman Khons > reign of Ramesses III); O. Cairo CG 25521 (foreman Paneb > years 1–2 of Siptah); O. DeM 57 (deputy Hay > year 31 of Ramesses III); P. Turin Cat. 1880 (foreman Khons > year 29 of Ramesses III); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 (scribe Harshire > years 14–15 of Ramesses IX).

6 E.g., O. DeM 44 (years 1–2 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 46 (year 2 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 401 (year 2 of Ramesses IV); O. DeM 653 (year 27 of Ramesses III).

7 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 (year 27 of Ramesses III); O. DeM 32 (year 25 of Ramesses III); O. DeM 38 (year 32 of Ramesses III); P. BM EA 9997 (years 14–15 of Ramesses IX).

8 E.g., O. BM EA 5634 (years 39–40 of Ramesses II); O. Turin N. 57062 (year 47 of Ramesses II).

9 These documents have been listed below in connection with the part of the dynasty in which they have been attributed a date.

10 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. DeM 639; O. DeM 739; O. DeM 952; O. IFAO 344; O. IFAO 1088; O. OIM N. 160.

11 O. BM EA 65933[a]; O. Cairo CG 25644; O. DeM 551; O. IFAO 380; O. OIM 13512; O. Turin N. 57146; O. Turin N. 57168; O. Turin N. 57191; O. Turin N. 57503; O. Turin N. 57530.

12 In addition to the documents mentioned below which have been dated to or attributed a date within the first or second half of the 19th Dynasty, there is one document the date of which has been attributed generally to the 19th Dynasty; O. Cairo JE 72469. To compare the number of documents and references dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty with the number of them dated to or attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty, see Table 9.

19th Dynasty documents are lists of men absent or working.[1] All in all, the documents from this particular time period contain 124 references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions which is thirty-seven per cent of all such references. Nineteen documents (11%) have been dated to[2] or attributed a date within[3] the first half of the 19th Dynasty.[4] These particular documents contain sixty-five references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions (20%). Twenty-five documents (15%) have been dated to[5] or attributed a date in[6] the second half of the 19th Dynasty.[7] The documents from this particular time period contain fifty-eight references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions (17%). One document containing a reference to feasting has been attributed a date in the late 19th Dynasty or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty.[8] There are 107 documents containing references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions (61% of all such documents) that have been dated to or attributed a date within the 20th Dynasty.[9] Twenty-five per cent of these documents are work journals[10] while eighteen per cent of them are various accounts.[11] All in all, the 20th Dynasty documents contain fifty-four per cent of all the references to feasting, i.e., 179 references. Eighty-five documents (50%) have been

1 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25505; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 907; O. MMA 14.6.217, O. Turin N. 57388.

2 E.g., O. BM EA 5634; O. DeM 108; O. Turin N. 57062; Statue Cairo JE 72000.

3 E.g., Graffito 265; O. Ashmolean Museum 166; O. Brussels E 6781; O. Cairo CG 25815a ; O. DeM 97; O. DeM 127; O. DeM 132; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 446; O. Louvre E 3263; O. Michaelides 48; TT2; TT4; TT9.

4 From the reign of Ramesses I until the end of the reign of Ramesses II.

5 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. DeM 10051; O. MMA 14.6.217.

6 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Brunner; O. Brussels E 6311; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25505; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 910; O. DeM 951; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Turin N. 57388; P. BM EA 10055; P. UC 34336.

7 From the reign of Merenptah until the end of the reign of Tausret.

8 O. Cairo CG 25794.

9 In addition to the documents mentioned below that have been dated to or attributed a date within the first or second half of the 20th Dynasty, there are nine documents the date of which is attributed generally to the 20th Dynasty; O. Berlin P 10631; O. BM EA 29560 ; O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000; O. DeM 59; O. DeM 115; O. DeM 434 vs.; O. Turin N. 57073; O. Turin N. 57133; P. DeM 7.

10 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25535; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 653; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2044.

11 E.g., O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179; O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 643; O. DeM 666; O. DeM 10041; O. Faulkner 1; O. IFAO 1262; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57073; O. UC 39630; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047.

dated to[1] or attributed a date within[2] the first half of the 20th Dynasty.[3] In these documents, there are 135 references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions (41%). Thirteen documents (8%) have been dated to[4] or attributed a date in[5] the second half of the 20th Dynasty.[6] These thirteen documents contain twenty-six references to feasting (8%).

Seventeen per cent of all the references to feasting point to various personal feasts.[7] Two other large groups of references to feasts and festive occasions are composed of references to feasts designated *ḥb* or *wp* which cannot be identified with a feast in the reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar (11% of all the references to feasting)[8] and to offering rituals performed outside the feasts of the festival calendar (8%).[9]

The largest group of references to feasting is the group mentioning feasts included in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina (32% of all the references to feasting).[10] References to the feasts in the festival calendar reconstruction were found in sixty-four documents (37% of all the documents). Work journals[11] form thirty-six per cent of these documents while nineteen per cent of them are accounts of transfer.[12] All in all,

---

1 E.g., Graffito 1696; O. Ashmolean Museum 106; O. Berlin P 10655; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 57; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 653; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I–II; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

2 E.g., Graffito 1158; Graffito 1159C; Graffito 2087; O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 61; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39, O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Berlin P 14214; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25308; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25597; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 297; O. DeM 603; O. DeM 645; O. DeM 666; O. DeM 10041; O. Faulkner 1; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.71; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. IFAO 1262; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. Michaelides 12; O. Michaelides 33; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57156 vs.; O. Turin N. 57458; O. UC 39630; O. Varille 24; P. DeM 2; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006.

3 From the reign of Sethnakht until the end of the reign of Ramesses VI.

4 E.g., P. BM EA 9997; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071.

5 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25535; O. IFAO 290; O. IFAO 2830; O. Turin N. 57356; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv; P. BM EA 10417; P. BM EA 10430, P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2070 rt.

6 From the reign of Ramesses VII through the *wḥm mswt* period.

7 See Chapters III 2.3–2.3.3.

8 See Chapter III 2.2.

9 See Chapter III 2.4.2.

10 Twenty of these documents containing references to feasts in the festival calendar also include references to other feasts and festive behaviour.

11 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25538; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 653; O. DeM 10051; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2070 rt.; P. UC 34336.

12 E.g., O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. BM EA 29560; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 297; O. Glasgow D.1925.71; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. IFAO 344; O. Michaelides 12; O. Queen's College 1115; P. DeM 2.

these sixty-four documents contain 107 references to the feasts in the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar. Thirteen (20%) of these documents have been dated to[1] or attributed a date in[2] the 19th Dynasty while forty-seven (73%) of them have been dated to[3] or attributed a date within[4] the 20th Dynasty. The references that can be linked to the feasts of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar, i.e., feasts that can be associated with the official theology of New Kingdom Egypt, have already been discussed above.[5]

When the references to the feasts featured in the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar are overlooked, the source material for the study of the other feasts celebrated in the village comprises 123 documents (see Table 9). Eighteen per cent of these particular documents are various accounts and lists of people and commodities[6] while accounts of transfer or debt form fifteen per cent of the documents containing references to feasts other than the ones featured in the festival calendar.[7] Other large groups of documents with references to such feasting are lists of men absent or working (14%),[8] short notes (14%),[9] and letters (11%).[10] All in all, there are 224 references to feasts, feast rituals, and other possible festive occasions that cannot be identified with a feast in the reconstructed festival calendar.

---

1 O. Cairo CG 25538; O. DeM 10051.

2 E.g., Graffito 265; O. Brunner; O. Cairo CG 25503; O. Cairo CG 25876; O. DeM 127; O. DeM 209; O. Louvre E 3263; P. UC 34336; TT2; TT4; TT9.

3 E.g., O. Berlin P 10655; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 32; O. DeM 38; O. DeM 46; O. DeM 55; O. DeM 57; O. DeM 401; O. DeM 653; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071.

4 E.g., Graffito 2087; O. Ashmolean Museum 11; O. Ashmolean Museum 70; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Berlin P 14214; O. Berlin P 14263; O. BM EA 5637; O. BM EA 29560 ; O. Cairo CG 25234; O. Cairo CG 25265; O. Cairo CG 25275; O. Cairo CG 25276; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25688 + O. DeM 1000; O. DeM 35; O. DeM 153; O. DeM 297; O. DeM 434 vs.; O. DeM 645; O. Glasgow D.1925.71; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. IFAO 290; O. IFAO 2830; O. Michaelides 12; O. Michaelides 33; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57044; O. Turin N. 57458; P. DeM 2; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1999 + 2009 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 2070 rt.

5 See Chapters III 1.2 – 1.2.4.4.

6 E.g., O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179; O. Berlin P 14328; O. Brussels E 6311; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 97; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 639; O. DeM 643; O. DeM 666; O. DeM 10041; O. Faulkner 1; O. IFAO 1262; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57073; O. Turin N. 57191; O. UC 39630; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.

7 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. Berlin P 10631; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 753; O. DeM 952; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Michaelides 12; O. Michaelides 48; O. OIM N. 160; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Turin N. 57503; O. Varille 24; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

8 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25505; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 907; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Turin N. 57388.

9 E.g., Graffito 1158; Graffito 1159C; O. Ashmolean Museum 61; O. Berlin P 12286; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25308; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. Cairo CG 25794; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 951; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. OIM 13512; O. Turin N. 57133; O. Turin N. 57530; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.; Statue Cairo JE 72000.

10 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. BM EA 65933[a]; O. Brussels E 6781; O. DeM 115; O. DeM 132; O. DeM 446; O. DeM 551; O. DeM 603; O. Turin N. 57168; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv; P. BM EA 10430; P. DeM 3; P. DeM 7; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I–II.

Five documents containing a total of eight references to other feasts and festive occasions than the ones featured in the festival calendar reconstruction have no date attributed to them,[1] whereas eight documents containing nine such references have been attributed a date generally in the Ramesside Period.[2]

Thirty-eight documents with references to feasts outside the reconstructed festival calendar (30% of all such documents) have been dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty.[3] Forty-three per cent of these 19th Dynasty documents are lists of men absent or working.[4] All in all, the 19th Dynasty documents contain 105 references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions other than the feasts of the festival calendar (47% of all such references). Fifteen of these documents (12% of all documents) have been dated[5] to or attributed a date within[6] the first half of the 19th Dynasty.[7] These fifteen documents contain fifty-four references to feasting outside the festival calendar reconstruction (24% of all such references). There are no documents from the reign of Ramesses I. Ninety-three per cent of the documents from the first half of the 19th Dynasty have been dated to[8] or attributed a date in[9] the reign of Ramesses II. Twenty-one documents containing references to feasting that cannot be identified with a feast in the reconstructed festival calendar (17% of all such documents) have been dated to[10] or attributed a date in[11] the second half of the 19th Dynasty.[12] The documents from this particular time period contain fifty references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions outside the festival calendar (22% of all such references). Thirty-eight per cent of the documents from the second half of the 19th Dynasty have been attributed a date in the reign of Amenmesse[13] while twenty-nine per cent of them have been dated to[14] or attributed a date in[15] the reign of Siptah. There are no documents from the reign of Tausret.

---

1 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. DeM 639; O. DeM 739; O. DeM 952; O. OIM N. 160.

2 E.g., O. BM EA 65933[a]; O. DeM 551; O. OIM 13512; O. Turin N. 57146; O. Turin N. 57168; O. Turin N. 57191; O. Turin N. 57503; O. Turin N. 57530.

3 In addition to the documents mentioned below which have been dated to or attributed a date within the first or second half of the 19th Dynasty, there is one document the date of which has been attributed generally to the 19th Dynasty; O. Cairo JE 72469. To compare the number of documents and references dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty with the number of them dated to or attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty, see Table 9.

4 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25505; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 907; O. MMA 14.6.217, O. Turin N. 57388.

5 E.g., O. BM EA 5634; O. DeM 108; O. Turin N. 57062; Statue Cairo JE 72000.

6 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 166; O. Brussels E 6781; O. Cairo CG 25815a ; O. DeM 97; O. DeM 127; O. DeM 132; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 446; O. Michaelides 48; TT2; TT9.

7 From the reign of Ramesses I until the end of the reign of Ramesses II.

8 E.g., O. BM EA 5634; Statue Cairo JE 72000; O. Turin N. 57062.

9 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 166; O. Brussels E 6781; O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. DeM 97; O. DeM 127; O. DeM 132; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 446; O. Michaelides 48; TT2; TT9.

10 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25521; O. DeM 10051; O. MMA 14.6.217.

11 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Brussels E 6311; O. Cairo CG 25505; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 910; O. DeM 951; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Turin N. 57388; P. BM EA 10055.

12 From the reign of Merenptah until the end of reign of Tausret.

13 E.g., O. Brussels E 6311; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 898.

14 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25521; O. DeM 10051.

15 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. DeM 951; P. BM EA 10055.

One document containing a reference to feasting that cannot be identified with a feast in the festival calendar reconstruction has been attributed a date in the late 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty.[1] Seventy-two documents containing such references (59% of all such documents) have been dated to or attributed a date within the 20th Dynasty.[2] Twenty-five per cent of these 20th Dynasty documents are various accounts[3] while accounts of transfer[4] form seventeen per cent of the documents. All in all, the 20th Dynasty documents contain 101 references to feasting outside the reconstructed festival calendar (45% of all such references). Fifty-nine documents with references to feasts outside the festival calendar reconstruction (48% of all such documents) have been dated to[5] or attributed a date within[6] the first half of the 20th Dynasty.[7] In the documents from this particular time period, there are 84 references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions outside the reconstructed festival calendar (38% of all such references). There are no documents from the reign of Sethnakht. Thirty-nine per cent of the documents from the first half of the 20th Dynasty have been dated to[8] or attributed a date in[9] the reign of Ramesses III while twenty-five per cent of them have been dated to[10] or attributed a date

1 O. Cairo CG 25794.

2 In addition to the documents mentioned below that have been dated to or attributed a date within the first or second half of the 20th Dynasty, there are 6 documents the date of which is attributed generally to the 20th Dynasty; O. Berlin 10631; O. DeM 59; O. DeM 115; O. Turin N. 57073; O. Turin N. 57133; P. DeM 7. To compare the number of documents and references dated to or attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty with the number of them dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty, see Table 9.

3 E.g., O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179; O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 643; O. DeM 666; O. DeM 10041; O. Faulkner 1; O. IFAO 1262; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57073; O. UC 39630; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.

4 E.g., O. Berlin P 10631; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. Michaelides 12; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Varille 24; P. DeM 2; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

5 E.g., Graffito 1696; O. Ashmolean Museum 106; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45; O. Turin N. 57033; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I–II; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

6 E.g., Graffito 1158; Graffito 1159C; O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 61; O. Ashmolean Museum 131; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12286; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25308; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. Cairo CG 25597; O. Cairo CG 25643; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 603; O. DeM 643; O. DeM 666; O. DeM 10041; O. Faulkner 1; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. IFAO 1262; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. Michaelides 12; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57156 vs.; O. UC 39630; O. Varille 24; P. DeM 2; P. DeM 3; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006; P. Turin Cat. 2044.

7 From the reign of Sethnakht until the end of the reign of Ramesses VI.

8 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 106; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Turin N. 57033; P. Turin Cat. 1880.

9 E.g., Graffito 1158; Graffito 1159C; O. Ashmolean Museum 61; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Cairo CG 25308; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 603; O. DeM 666; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Louvre N 694,2; O. Turin N. 57010; O. Turin N. 57032; O. Turin N. 57034; O. Turin N. 57156 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006.

10 E.g., O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. DeM 44; O. DeM 45.

in[1] the reign of Ramesses IV. Seven of the documents containing references to feasting that cannot be identified with a feast in the festival calendar reconstruction (6% of all such documents) have been dated to[2] or attributed a date in[3] the second half of the 20th Dynasty.[4] The documents pertaining to this particular period contain ten references to feasting outside the festival calendar (4% of all such references). There are no documents from the reigns of Ramesses VII and Ramesses VIII.

The references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions that cannot be identified with certainty with any of the feasts in the reconstructed festival calendar will now be presented. First, the references to *ḥb* and *wp* will be examined, followed by a discussion on the personal feasts (*ḥb=f, pȝy=f ḥb*, and festivities connected with birth) and an overview of gift-giving. The various feast rituals (procession, offering, pouring water, drinking, and purification) will then be considered. To conclude, the various other kinds of indications of feasts and festive behaviour will be presented. The fact that references to *ḥb=f, pȝy=f ḥb*, and birth are classified as private feasts does not exclude the possibility that some of the references in the other categories also mark such personal feasts. The classification of references used in this study is artificial and based on a difference in the type of reference they represent rather than a difference in the feasts that they stand for.

[1] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25597; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. IFAO 1262; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Varille 24; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.

[2] E.g., P. BM EA 9997; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.

[3] E.g., O. Cairo CG 25535; O. Turin N. 57356; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv; P. BM EA 10430; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt.

[4] From the reign of Ramesses VII through the *wḥm mswt* period.

2.2 Miscellaneous References to ḥb and wp

Two separate words for a 'feast' in general, *ḥb*[1] and *wp*,[2] feature in documents pertaining to the royal artisans' community. Both of these words are used in the Deir el-Medina source material when referring to official feasts.[3] The words *ḥb* and *wp*, furthermore, feature in references which cannot be identified with an annually occurring feast in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina. These latter references are discussed below, starting with the references to a *ḥb*. Then the references to a *wp* are presented and, finally, various uses of these terms are briefly considered.

Twenty-three of the 176 documents with references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive behaviour were each found to contain at least one reference to a *ḥb* outside the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar. Of these texts, work journals[4] make up thirty-six per cent while accounts of transfers or debt[5] comprise twenty-one per cent of them. In the twenty-three documents, there are thirty-one references to a *ḥb*.[6] Ten of these references contain a date. Four of the dates mark a *ḥb* in the month of I *šmw*[7] while I *ꜣḫt*,[8] II *ꜣḫt*,[9] and III *šmw*[10] received two dated references each.

Two of the texts containing references to a *ḥb* have been attributed an unspecified date in the Ramesside Period[11] while one document has no date attributed to it.[12] Seven documents (30%) have been attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty.[13] These seven documents contain forty-eight per cent of all the references to a *ḥb*. Thirteen documents

---

1 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 57–58 (*das Fest*); see also Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 27.

2 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 304 (*Fest (allgemeines Wort)*).

3 The term *ḥb* features as part of the name of the Feast of Thoth (O. DeM 57, vs. 3; see Chapter III 1.2.1.2), the Feast of Sokar (P. UC 34336 vs. B, 33; TT2, hall 1, wall B; see Chapter III 1.2.2.2), the Feast of Ptah (O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 5; see Chapter III 1.2.2.3), the Great Feast of Amenhotep I (O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–2; see Chapter III 1.2.1.8) and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (O. Cairo CG 25644, rt. 3–4; O. DeM 127, vs. 1; see Chapter III 1.2.1.10). Additionally, the word *ḥb* is used for referring to the days of the Feast of *Ipip* in one document (O. DeM 209, vs. 4; see Chapter III 1.2.1.11). The word *wp* is not found in any names of the feasts in the reconstructed festival calendar, but in one text, *wp* seems to stand for the *Khoiak* Festival (O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9; see Chapter III 1.2.1.5).

4 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25643; O. Cairo CG 25815a ; O. DeM 45; O. Turin N. 57033 ; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.

5 E.g., O. DeM 230; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Michaelides 12; O. Michaelides 48; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

6 Two of the references tallied do not contain the word *ḥb* but in light of the other references in these particular texts, it is here assumed that the word may have stood in a lacuna; O. DeM 230, 7–8 (…] ꜥnḫt); O. Michaelides 48 rt. I, 2 (…] *n mrt-sgr*).

7 O. Cairo CG 25815a , vs. 1; O. IFAO 1262 I, 2; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 27.

8 Graffito 1696, 9; O. DeM 739, 1–2.

9 O. DeM 45, rt. 13; O. Turin N. 57530, 2.

10 O. DeM 354, 3–5; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 4.

11 O. Turin N. 57168; O. Turin N. 57530.

12 O. DeM 739.

13 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25815a; O. DeM 97; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 354; O. DeM 446; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Michaelides 48.

(57%) have been dated to[1] or attributed a date in[2] the 20th Dynasty. The references in these 20th Dynasty documents form forty-two per cent of all the references to a *ḥb* that cannot be tied to the festival calendar.

There are twenty-one references to a *ḥb* that are modified by another word in the documents of the corpus of the local feasts of Deir el-Medina.[3] Eighteen of these references denote a *ḥb* connected with a deity. Four documents, spanning the period from the reign of Ramesses II through the reign of Ramesses VII, contain a reference to a *ḥb* of Amon. The scribe of the short note O. DeM 354[4] (date attributed to year 11 of Ramesses II[5]) relates how a servant called Baketdua celebrated a *ḥb* of Amon *m ỉpt* on III *šmw* 1. On this festive occasion, she seems to have received some date brew from Khawy.[6] It remains unclear whether she celebrated a public or personal feast.[7] O. Michaelides 12[8] (date attributed to the early 20th Dynasty[9]) is an account of transfers of victuals for an unnamed man. During what appears to be a *ḥb* of Amon, this particular man received something from the water carrier Weserhatnakht.[10] Unfortunately, the passage is too damaged to deduce what was going on. O. Gardiner AG 57[11] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[12]) is also an account of transfers to various people. A *ḥb n ỉmn* is one of the occasions when items were changing hands.[13] A specific form of Amon seems to have been meant but the information is lost in a lacuna. According to another account of transfers, P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908[14] (reigns of Ramesses V to Ramesses VII[15]), a person, perhaps Aanakht,[16] received some wood and incense for a *ḥb* of Amon. The incense, at least, may have been intended for an offering ritual during this particular feast.

---

1 E.g., Graffito 1696; O. DeM 45; P. BM EA 9997; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

2 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25643; O. DeM 115; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. IFAO 1262; O. Michaelides 12; O. Turin N. 57033; O. Turin N. 57073.

3 This number does not include the references to *ḥb=f* and *pꜣy=f ḥb* which appear to stand for personal feasts and which will be discussed below in Chapter III 2.3.1.

4 *Hrw pn n ỉrt pꜣ ḥb n ỉmn n ỉpt ỉn* [*ḥmt*] *bꜣk*(*t*)*-dwꜣw*; O. DeM 354, 3–5.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 508–509; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 54.

6 *ỉnỉ=*{*s*} *ỉn ḫꜣwy srmt* [*…*; O. DeM 354, 6–7.

7 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on III *šmw* 1 is 4/3; see also Chapter III 1.3 (III *šmw* 1).

8 O. Michaelides 12, rt. 1 – vs. 7.

9 For the date attributed, see Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 19.

10 *Ḥ*]*bw n ỉmn m drt ỉn-mw wsr-ḥꜣt-nḫt*[*…*; O. Michaelides 12, rt. 7. The writing of the sign for *ḥb* with plural strokes is also used in this document in the name of the Feast of *mḫr* (vs. 1).

11 O. Gardiner AG 57, rt. 1 – vs. 7.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 314.

13 *Rdyt n=f n pꜣ ḥb n ỉmn n* [*…*; O. Gardiner AG 57, rt. 2.

14 *Rdỉ.tw n=f…r pꜣ ḥb n ỉmn tỉ-šps 20 ỉr.n dbn 5 snṯr ḥnw 10 ỉr.n dbn 2½*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908, rt. III, 6.

15 *Rnpt-sp 7…n nsw-bỉty* (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ mry-ỉmn*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. III, 13–14; see also Janssen, A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus, *JEA 52* (1966), 91–92.

16 Janssen, A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus, *JEA* 52 (1966), 93.

Three of the references to a *ḥb* outside the festival calendar reconstruction stand for feasts of Amenhotep I.[1] In O. Turin N. 57530[2] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[3]), loaves of bread for a *ḥb* of Amenhotep I are listed, probably in the month of II *ꜣḫt*. The text is too eroded to draw any further conclusions. O. DeM 97[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[5]) is an account of commodities for a *ḥb* of Amenhotep I. It remains unclear which of the items listed were supplies meant for this particular event.[6] According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[7] (year 3 of Ramesses X[8]), a *ḥb* of Amenhotep I was celebrated on I *šmw* 27. It has already been noted above that generally this day does not seem to have been a work-free day.[9] The feast reported in this papyrus may have been a feast observed according to the lunar calendar, a one-time occasion, or an event celebrated perhaps only during the reign of Ramesses X.[10] The reference to a feast of *pꜣ nṯr*, 'the god' in O. DeM 115[11] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[12]) might also stand for a feast of Amenhotep I.[13] The procession of *pꜣ nṯr* mentioned in another letter recorded on this document as taking place on I *šmw* 14 may have been part of this particular feast.[14]

In addition to Amon and Amenhotep I, feasts which were referred to by the word *ḥb* but which cannot securely be identified with a feast in the reconstructed festival calendar were, at least during the 19th Dynasty, also celebrated in honor of other deities of the royal

---

1 For the feasts of Amenhotep I in the Deir el-Medina festival calendar, see Chapters III 1.2.1.8, 1.2.2.1, and 1.2.2.5.

2 *Rnpt 8* [*II ꜣḫt*…] *ḳw*(*?*) *n* [*ḥb n* (*imn-*…; O. Turin N. 57530, 1–2. The sign for loaves (Gardiner's sign list X4) might also be the determinative for a word for bread at the end of the preceding line.

3 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* IV (1984), 34.

4 *N pꜣ ḥb n* (*imn-ḥtp ꜥ w s*; O. DeM 97, vs. 7; see also *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. DeM 00097, Contents.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557–558.

6 No other purposes for the use of these items are mentioned in the document and it is, therefore, possible that all the commodities listed were meant for the feast of Amenhotep I. However, certain items are mentioned on both the recto and the verso side of the ostracon (*ḳw* (rt. I, 3, vs. 8); *smw* (rt. II, 3, vs. 4)), which could be interpreted as indicating that only the articles on the verso of the document, i.e., on the sides the feast is mentioned, were intended for this event. Alternatively, only the ropes referred to in the line just above the reference to the *ḥb* of Amenhotep I or the bread and fish mentioned after this reference to a feast were supplies meant for the festivities (*nwḫwy drt 20 n pꜣ ḥb n* (*imn-ḥtp ꜥ w s ḳw 7 ḏss 1 tpw mḥy 1*; rt. 6–11).

7 *Hb nsw* (*imn-ḥtp*); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 27.

8 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

9 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *šmw* 27 is 5/1; see Chapter III 1.3.

10 It is possible that the presence of mountain people or the delay in distributing rations related in P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 somehow affected the date of the feast in the third year of Ramesses X.

11 *ỉmỉ ỉn.tw wꜥ ḥnw n sḏfṯ n ḥb* […] *n pꜣ nṯr*; O. DeM 115, vs. 12–15.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 448 (Ramesses VIII); Wente, *Letters* (1990), 163 (Ramesses IV).

13 The phrase *pꜣ nṯr* was often used of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina, particularly in various 20th Dynasty oracle accounts; see Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 158.

14 *ỉw bn ỉr pꜣ nṯr ḥꜥy m I šmw 14*; O. DeM 115, vs. 6–8. See Chapter III 1.3 (I *šmw* 14).

artisans' community. In O. Michaelides 48[1] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[2]), a 'second *ḥb* of Pre' and a 'second *ḥb* of Hathor' are mentioned. These allusions to another feast of a deity might refer to feasts mentioned in the lost beginning of the text where remains of eroded lines of a first column of text can be seen. Alternatively, there might have been a third column to the right of the two remaining columns.[3] This particular document, O. Michaelides 48,[4] may also contain an allusion to a feast of Meretseger. In O. DeM 230[5] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[6]), an unidentified person is said to have been given five cakes and some date brew on the occasion of a *ḥb* of Taweret. Moreover, during a *ḥb* of Isis, five cakes, some date brew, and at least one jar of beer were handed over to this particular person.[7] A *ḥb* of Ptah is also mentioned in this document, as is perhaps a *ḥb* of Anukis.[8] According to O. Liverpool 13625[9] (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah[10]), five cakes were given to an unnamed person on the occasion of each of the following feasts: *ḥb* of Taweret, *ḥb* of Hathor, and *ḥb* of Meretseger. The reference to *pȝ ḥb n ptḥ*[… in O. DeM 45,[11] a work journal from the second year of Ramesses IV,[12] may be to a personal feast of a man called Ptahmose.[13]

Two documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina allude to a *ḥb sd*, i.e., to a Sed-festival of the reigning king.[14] In O. DeM 446[15] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[16]), Amek writes to his mother about a pair of sandals for a *wʿw*, 'soldier' who was about to sail north for a *ḥb sd*. As the royal artisans were occasionally also called *wʿw*,[17] the man travelling north to the Sed-festival may have been one of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.

---

1 *Wḥm ky ḥb n pȝ rʿ…wḥm ky ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Michaelides 48 rt. II, 6, 16.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 556–557; the document was attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty by Hans Goedicke and Edward Wente (*Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 20).

3 Most of the occasions mentioned in O. Michaelides 48 are personal feasts (*p*]*ȝy=f ḥb n ptḥ…pȝy=f ḥb* […]*…pȝ swȝb n tȝy=f šri*[*t…* (rt. I, 4; rt. I, 11; rt. II, 2) and it is, therefore, also possible that the references to a 'second *ḥb*' are to personal feasts mentioned in the lacunae.

4 …] *n mrt-sgr*; O. Michaelides 48, rt. 2. This particular incomplete reference might stand for either a communal or a personal feast.

5 *Wḥm pȝ ḥb n tȝ-wrt sšrt 5 srmt*[…; O. DeM 230, 6. The word *mn*, debit, between *whm* and *pȝ ḥb* is written in red ink and might have been added afterwards.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 559.

7 *Pȝ ḥb n ȝst sšrt 5 srmt ḳd mn*[*t…*; O. DeM 230, 7.

8 …] *ʿnḳt sšrt 5 pȝ ḥb n ptḥ nfr*[*-ḥr…*; O. DeM 230, 8. The references to a *ḥb* of Ptah might denote the Feast of Ptah featured in the reconstructed festival calendar (see Chapter III 1.2.2.3).

9 *R*]*dyt n=f m pȝ ḥb n tȝ-wrt sšrt 5* [*r*]*dyt n=f m pȝ ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr sšrt 5* [*r*]*dyt n=f m pȝ ḥb n mrt-sgr* _. *5*; O. Liverpool 13625, rt. 1–4.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1982), 162–163.

11 *Pȝ ḥb n ptḥ*[…; O. DeM 45, rt. 13.

12 For the date of O. DeM 45, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 12; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 119–121; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 370–372.

13 The transcription by Jaroslav Černý shows a diagonal line after the letter *ḥ* of the word Ptah (*Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), pl. 34) and the transcription in the *Deir el-Medine online* database displays a curved line (Gardiner's sign list Z5; Berlin P 12651 + DeM 45 + Wien H. 4, Transliteration AS) used, for example, in the name of Ptahmose elsewhere in the document (rt. 7, 9, 18, vs. 7, 8, 13).

14 For Sed-festival in general, see, for example, Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967), 96–123; Hornung & Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (1974); Brovarski, Sed, *LÄ* V (1984), 779–780; Martin, Sedfest, *LÄ* V (1984), 782–790.

15 *Yȝ sw m ḫd r pȝ ḥb sd*; O. DeM 446, vs. 6–7.

16 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* II (1979), 383; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 154.

17 Černý, *Community* (1973), 109–112.

In the so-called 'Turin Strike Papyrus' (P. Turin Cat. 1880,[1] year 29 of Ramesses III[2]), the vizier is said to travel north after taking the gods of the south to a *ḥb sd*. As far as I am aware, there are no other Deir el-Medina references to Sed-festivals.

The word *ḥb* outside the reconstructed festival calendar is also found on its own in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina. In the data collected, there are ten references to a *ḥb* with no apparent specification. The documents containing such references have mainly been attributed to the 20th Dynasty.

According to the short work journal O. Cairo CG 25815a[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[4]), the royal artisans celebrated a *ḥb* on I *šmw* 18. No information on the nature of the feast is given. I *šmw* 18 seems predominantly to have been a working day and, for that reason, the day was not included in the Deir el-Medina festival calendar.[5] This particular document also contains another reference to a *ḥb*.[6] The date of this second feast might have been I *šmw* 5,[7] which seems to have been a working day.[8] Alternatively, *ḥb* might here refer to the eponymous Feast of Renenutet at the beginning of the month of I *šmw*.[9]

On the verso side of O. Cairo CG 25643[10] (date attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty[11]), a *ḥb* is perhaps mentioned as having taken place on a day 27. The object of the feast is not mentioned but one is tempted to interpret this as a reference to the accession day of Ramesses II on III *šmw* 27.[12]

In the work journal O. Turin N. 57033[13] (years 24–25 of Ramesses III[14]), some ropes are mentioned in connection with a *ḥb* on III *šmw* 2. On this particular day, only three

---

1 *Ḫd ỉn ṯɜty tɜ m-ḏr ỉw=f r ỉṯɜ nṯrw n ꜥ-rsy r ḥb sd*; P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. II, 18–19.

2 For the date of P. Turin Cat. 1880, see, for example, Gardiner, *RAD* (1968), xvi; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 310.

3 *I šmw 18 ḥb*; O. Cairo CG 25815a, vs. 4.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 567.

5 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *šmw* 18 is 6/0; see Chapter III 1.3 (I *šmw* 18).

6 …] *ḥb* [*I šmw*] *6*…; O. Cairo CG 25815a, vs. 1–2.

7 The date of the *ḥb* has not been preserved but the following line starts with the date I *šmw* 6.

8 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *šmw* 5 is 4/0; O. Cairo CG 25511, rt. 3–6 (lamps used; date attributed to year 6 of Seti II; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 311–313); O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 13–15 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223); O. Turin N. 57020, 5–6 (three men came to work after an absence; date attributed to year 16 of Ramesses III; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 23); O. Turin N. 57125, rt. 6 (*ỉw tɜ ỉst ḥr bɜk*; date attributed to first half of the 20th Dynasty; e.g., López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 18 (reign of Ramesses III?)).

9 For the Feast of Renenutet see Chapter III 1.2.1.9.

10 *Sw 27 b*[…] *m ḥbw*; O. Cairo CG 25643, vs. 1–2. The reference might be reconstructed as 'we/they were not at a feast' (*b*[*n tw.n/sn*] *m ḥb*; for the use of this sentence type in the Deir el-Medina texts, see, for example, O. DeM 684, 4. The writing of the word *ḥb* with plural strokes is also used in O. Michaelides 12 and probably refers to one single feast (*ḥ*]*bw n ỉmn*; rt. 7).

11 For the date attributed Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 47.

12 For the accession day of Ramesses II, see Chapter III 1.2.3.2.

13 *Nɜ nwḥ m ḥb*; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 4. Allam translated this passage as 'Die Trunkenbolde (?) (waren) beim Fest' (*HOP* (1973), 248). For translating *nwḥ* as ropes, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Turin N. 57033, Contents.

14 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

wicks were used for work in the Royal Tomb[1] instead of the usual five[2] or six[3] on the other days covered by this document and, thus, the royal artisans seem to have worked in the Royal Tomb for only a half-day.[4] In the afternoon, they may have celebrated a feast involving the ropes. Alternatively, the crew might have been working on some ropes intended for a feast celebrated later, perhaps the same feast for which an ox for Ptah was slaughtered five days later.[5] It is tempting to associate this reference to a feast and ropes with the information in the much earlier document O. DeM 97[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[7]). In this latter document, provisions for a feast of Amenhotep I are listed and some ropes are mentioned just before the reference to the feast.[8]

According to the unpublished account O. IFAO 1262[9] (date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses IV or Ramesses V[10]), the royal artisans went to Thebes for a *ḥb* on a day 19.[11] One may also mention O. DeM 739[12] (no date attributed) which is an incomplete account of a distribution of rations on I *ꜣḫt* 3. Among the recipients of rations are five men who were or had been at a feast.[13] This might be a reference to a payment to the wab-priests of the community for duties performed at a feast.[14] Alternatively, these five men might have been outside Deir el-Medina to perform some duty at the New Year Festival or another feast.

Certain references to a *ḥb* are very obscure. The writer of O. Turin N. 57168[15] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[16]), a fragment of what might have been a letter, relates something the writer was perhaps making for the vizier for or during a *ḥb*. Unfortunately, the deed of this person as well as the occasion of the feast remains a mystery. In O. Turin

---

1 *Sw 2 ḥbs 3*; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 4.

2 *Ḥbs 5*; O. Turin N. 57033, rt. 2, 3, 7.

3 *Ḥbs 6*; O. Turin N. 57033, rt. 8, 20, 22, 23, vs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

4 For the crew sometimes working only half a day, see Černý, *Valley of the Kings* (1970), 48.

5 *III šmw 7* sʿt *kꜣ n ptḥ*; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 9.

6 O. DeM 97 rt. I, 1 – vs. 11.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557–558.

8 *Nwḫwy drt 20 n pꜣ ḥb n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp* ʿ *w s*; O. DeM 97, vs. 6–7. It is not clear which of the provisions listed in this document were meant for the feast mentioned.

9 *Sbt nỉwt m ḥb*; O. IFAO 1262 I, 2 (Černý, Notebooks, 61.47); see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 393 (sic. IV *prt* 19). I wonder if the reference is rather to food that is 'brought from the town to a feast'; see Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 431 (*sbỉ herbeibringen*).

10 For the dates attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 287 (year 4 of Ramesses IV or V); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 393 (year 4 of Ramesses V).

11 According Wofgang Helck, the 'visit to the town during a feast' is mentioned as having taken place on IV *prt* 19 but in the transcription by Jaroslav Černý the date is I *šmw* 19 (O. IFAO 1262 column I, 1–2; Černý, Notebooks, 61.47).

12 O. DeM 739, rt. 1–4.

13 *Rdyt r dỉw n I ꜣḫt…nty m ḥb s 5 wʿ nb 1 ỉr.n 5*; O. DeM 739, 1–2. The date of the distribution is the third day of the New Year Festival at Deir el-Medina, and, hence, the whole crew was probably work-free for a feast; see also Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

14 I know of no other cases like this. See, however, O. BM EA 5634 where 5 men are said to have been off work on the same day to offer to *pꜣ nṯr* (*Sꜣ-wꜣḏyt…I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…*ʿ*ꜣ-pḥty…I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…wn-nfr I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…*[*pꜣ*]*-ḥry-pḏt…I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…rʿ-ḥtp I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr*; rt. 4, 12, 16, 21, vs. 17; years 39–40 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133).

15 …].*kwỉ n ṯꜣty m ḥb* […; O. Turin N. 57168, 2.

16 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 31.

N. 57073[1] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[2]), a *ḥb* is mentioned but all the information concerning it is in lacunae. The ambiguous sign after the date I *ꜣḫt* 15 in Graffito 1696[3] (year 2 of Ramesses V[4]) was interpreted by Wolfgang Helck[5] as standing for the hieratic sign for *ḥb*.[6] This day appears generally to have been a working day at Deir el-Medina[7] and the objective of the possible feast is not clear. The reference to 'making a feast' (*ỉr n ḥb*) in the fragmentary account of necropolis supplies recorded in column III of P. BM EA 9997[8] (years 14–15 of Ramesses XI[9]) might refer to something being made for a person whose name starts with the word *ḥb*.[10]

In view of all the references to a *ḥb* presented above, the usage of this word when referring to feasts outside the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina is multiform. The word could be used when referring to feasts of the deities of the village. Occasionally, the expression may have been used as an abbreviation for the name of a feast.

References to a *wp* that cannot be identified securely with an annually celebrated feast featured in the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar were found in seven documents. Among the documents there are two letters,[11] two records of oaths,[12] and one each of the following text types: accounts of division of property,[13] accounts of necropolis supplies,[14] and lists of commodities.[15] One of the documents has been dated to the reign of Seti I[16] and one to year 27 of Ramesses III.[17] Three documents have been attributed a date within the 20th Dynasty[18] while two have been attributed a date generally in the Ramesside Period.[19] These seven documents with references to a *wp* outside the reconstructed festival calendar each contain one reference to a *wp*. None of the references can be connected to a date and only one of the them contains an allusion to another category in this study.[20]

The word *wp* appears to have been used when referring to feasts in general.[21] With one exception, the word *wp* was used without a specification in the references of the

---

1 …] *ḥb* […; O. Turin N. 57073, rt. 2.
2 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 39.
3 Graffito 1969, 9.
4 For the date, see Graffito 1696, 1–2.
5 Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 426; Jaroslav Černý and Abd el-Aziz Sadek did not transcribe the sign (*GMTh* IV (1970), 10).
6 Gardiner's sign list W3.
7 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *ꜣḫt* 15 is 4/2; see also Chapter III 1.3 (I *ꜣḫt* 15).
8 *ỉry pꜣ* […] *ỉr n ḥb* […; P. BM EA 9997 III, 4.
9 For the date of this papyrus, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 389–394.
10 See *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. BM EA 09997, Names/Titles.
11 P. DeM 3; P. DeM 7.
12 O. Ashmolean Museum 106; O. DeM 59.
13 O. DeM 108.
14 O. Turin N. 57146.
15 O. Turin N. 57191.
16 O. DeM 108.
17 O. Ashmolean Museum 106.
18 O. DeM 59; P. DeM 3; P. DeM 7.
19 O. Turin N. 57146; O. Turin N. 57191.
20 P. DeM 3, rt. 6-8 (offering ritual).
21 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 304 (*Fest (allgemeines Wort)*).

corpus of this study. The exception can be found in O. DeM 108[1] (reign of Seti I[2]), a record of the division of the property of Pashedu. Nubemshaes, the daughter of this particular man, received the '*wp* of the Mistress' in his will. Receiving a feast in a will may allude to being entitled to the provisions for the feast in question.[3] Who the Mistress[4] (*ḥnwt*) of this *wp* was, remains an open question since in the pantheon of Deir el-Medina, most of the goddesses, such as Hathor,[5] Meretseger,[6] and Mut[7] just to give a few examples, carried the title Mistress.

In P. DeM 3[8] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[9]), a letter written by Hay to Iyemseba, *wp* is used without an attribute but the word appears to stand for a feast of Sobek. Hay wrote:

P. DeM 3[10]
(rt. 6) …Look, I will be offering to
(rt. 7) Sobek, your lord. Let be brought a garment
(rt. 8) (for) your servants! When I have celebrated the *wp*, I will have it brought
(rt. 9) back to you. ...

This text, in addition to O. DeM 401[11] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[12]), provides evidence that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina associated the offering ritual with a feast, i.e., that they considered offerings to be an essential component of a feast.

---

1 *Ḫr ỉr pꜣ wpy n tꜣ ḥnwt ỉw=f nbwt-m-šꜣ=s*; O. DeM 108, rt. 6–7.

2 *R*[*npt-sp*…] *2* […]*10 ḫr ḥm n nsw-bỉty* (*mn*-[*mꜣʿt*]-*rʿ*[...; O. DeM 108, rt. 1; see also Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 28; Kitchen, *KRI* I (1975), 409.

3 Allam, *HOP* (1973), 90; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 99.

4 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 107–109 (*Herrin, Herrscherin*).

5 Hathor was, at Deir el-Medina, entitled Mistress of All the Gods (Stela BM EA 278; Stela BM EA 316; Stela BM EA 369; Stela BM EA 470; Stela BM EA 814; Stela Turin N. 50027; Stela Turin N. 50030), Mistress of Both Lands (Stela BM EA 278; Stela Turin N. 50039), Mistress of all the Lands (Stela BM EA 555), Mistress of the West (Graffito 1; Statue Berlin 6910; Stela BM EA 278; Stela BM EA 555), and Mistress of the Northern Wind (TT219).

6 Meretseger was called the Great Mistress (Graffito 2087, 3), Mistress of the West (Graffito 15; Graffito 780; Graffito 2054; Figured O. MM 14134; Offering table Bodlean; O. Berlin P 10664; Stela BM EA 273; Stela BM EA 279; Stela BM EA 371; Stela BM EA 374; Stela BM EA 8501; Stela Turin N. 50060; Stela UC 14439), Mistress of Both Lands (Stela Turin N. 50058), and Mistress of the Gods (Figured O. MM 14134; Stela Turin N. 50060).

7 Mut was perceived as Mistress of All the Gods (Stela BM EA 283; Stela Turin N. 50135) and Mistress of Both Lands (Stela Bankes 2; Stela BM EA 283).

8 P. DeM 3, rt. 1 – vs. 1. For *sbk*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VI (2002), 258–260; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 627–637.

9 For the date attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 140.

10 P. DeM 3, 6–9
(rt. 6)…*ḫr ptr tw=ỉ wdn n*
(rt. 7) *sbk pꜣy=k nb ỉmỉ ỉn.tw wʿ n* <*ḥ*>*bs*
(rt. 8) *nꜣy=k bꜣk ỉr ỉry=ỉ pꜣ wp ỉw=ỉ dỉt ỉn.tw=f*
(rt. 9) *n=k ʿn*…
For translations of this text, see, for example, Černý, *Papyrus Deir el-Médineh* I, 13; Černý, *Community* (1973), 180 (rt. 6–9); Wente, *Letters* (1990), 140.

11 *Hrw pn n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ʿꜣt ỉn tꜣ ỉst*…[*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉr ḥb ʿꜣ*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5. See Chapters III 1.2.2.3, III 2.5.2.

12 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

O. Ashmolean Museum 106[1] (year 27 of Ramesses III[2]) and O. DeM 59[3] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[4]) record oaths dealing with reimbursement. In the former, the stipulated deadline is *wp*[5] and in the latter *wpt*.[6] Both texts have been interpreted as referring to *wpt-rnpt*, i.e., the New Year Festival.[7] Alternatively, one might understand the *wp* in O. Ashmolean Museum 106 and O. DeM 59 to refer to the *Khoiak* Festival: the Feast of *nḥb-kȝw* on I *prt* 1, which seems to have been an extension of the *Khoiak* Festival,[8] was associated with the New Year Festival.[9] The work journal O. Ashmolean Museum 70[10] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[11]), where I *prt* 1 is designated *wp*, might corroborate such a reading.[12]

The verso side of P. DeM 7[13] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[14]) is a letter of complaint. The unidentified writer of the text accuses the equally unidentified addressee of disrespect and asks: 'Am I no longer going to be among those for whom you make a *wp*?'[15] In this case, the reference appears to be to feasts in general.

A *wp* is referred to in two more documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina: O. Turin N. 57146[16] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[17]) and O. Turin N. 57191[18] (date

---

1 O. Ashmolean Museum 106, rt. 1 – vs. 4.

2 For the date, see Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), 18; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 515; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 283.

3 O. DeM 59, 1–6.

4 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935), 16.

5 *Mtw=ỉ dỉt ḫpr wp…*; O. Ashmolean Museum 106, rt. 4.

6 *ỉ.*[*dỉ=ỉ…*] *wpt…*; O. DeM 59, 4.

7 O. Ashmolean Museum 106: Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 283; Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 24; Schafik Allam translates '*Lasse ich das Fest kommen*' but notes '*Ob das Fest des Neujahres gemeint ist?*' (*HOP* (1973), 174, note 1). O. DeM 59: Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 80. Alternatively, one might interpret *wp/wpt* as standing for IV *šmw*: such a reading has been favoured for feast names used as deadlines in three other recorded oaths (O. Berlin P 14214, rt. 11 (*kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 38–39); O. DeM 645, vs. 3 (*pn-ỉnt*; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 144–145; Janssen, *Donkeys* (2005), 39); O. Turin N. 57458 (*ḥwt-ḥr*; Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929), 249 note 41; Allam, *HOP* (1973), 252)).

8 Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 176; Barta, Nehebkau, *LÄ* IV (1982), 389; see also Gardiner, Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 139; Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377.

9 Gardiner, Review of Frazer, The Golden Bough, *JEA* 2 (1915), 124; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 279; Spalinger, Calendars: Real and Ideal (1994), 302–308; Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994), 363–377.

10 *I prt 1 wsf wp*; O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9. For the *Khoiak* Festival, see Chapter III 1.2.1.5.

11 According to the *Deir el-Medina Database*, the presence of four *ḥwtyw* in this text suggests a date in the reign of Ramesses VI (O. Ashmolean Museum 0070, Remarks).

12 However, the evidence in P. DeM 3 for the use of *wp* as a reference to a feast of Sobek (*tw=ỉ wdn n sbk…ỉr ỉry=ỉ pȝ wp…*; lines 6–8) calls into question the tendency to interpret certain references to *wp* as an abbreviated form of *wpt-rnpt*.

13 P. DeM 7, vs. 1–8.

14 For the date attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 152 (reign of Ramesses IX); Bontty & Peust, Papyrus Deir el-Medineh VII verso: A personal conflict in Deir el-Medineh, *JARCE* 33 (1996), 65.

15 *Bn* <*ỉw*>*=ỉ* (*m*) *nȝ ỉryw=k n=w wp ỉwnȝ*; P. DeM 7, vs. 3. For the reconstruction of the passage, see Bontty & Peust, Papyrus Deir el-Medineh VII, *JARCE* 33 (1996), 65. For translations of the text, see, for example, Wente, *Letters* (1990), 152–153; Bontty & Peust, *op. cit.*, 66–67.

16 …] *hrw wp*; O. Turin N. 57146, rt. 8.

17 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 24.

18 *Wp*; O. Turin N. 57191, rt. 2.

attributed to the Ramesside Period[1]). The fragmentary condition of these documents prevents any speculations on the meaning of these references to *wp*.

The word *wp* may have been used when denoting feasts in general at Deir el-Medina, but from time to time the expression seems to have been used when referring to a specific feast, such as the Feast of Sobek and perhaps the New Year Festival.

An analysis of the choice the writers of the Deir el-Medina documents made when using either *ḥb* or *wp* does not help to distinguish between different types of feasts. Both words were used when referring to a feast in general and both could be employed to stand for a specific feast. The word *ḥb* could additionally be used in connection with the name of a deity and in the names of various feasts.

[1] For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 38.

2.3 Personal Feasts

In the local vernacular of Deir el-Medina, two expressions deriving from the word *ḥb*, i.e., *ḥb=f* and *pꜣy=f ḥb*, were used. These expressions appear to be used for personal feasts of individuals and small groups.[1] It has been suggested that such feasts could incorporate an offering to a deity[2] and drinking with friends.[3] Moreover, Wolfgang Helck proposed that at least some of the personal feasts that were celebrated in honour of a daughter or another woman might have been wedding festivities.[4] It seems, however, that the beginning of a marriage at Deir el-Medina may have lacked elaborate rituals.[5] In the corpus of the local feasts at Deir el-Medina, there are also a few references which have here been interpreted a denoting personal feasts although neither of the aforementioned words, *ḥb=f* or *pꜣy=f ḥb*, have been used. There are, additionally, some references to feasting due to the birth of a child and these references appear to be to personal feasts.

Twenty-nine documents in the corpus of this study contain references that have been interpreted as denoting personal feasts. None of these personal feasts can be identified with a feast in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina. Forty-one per cent of the documents containing references to such personal feasts are accounts of transfer[6] while thirty-four per cent of these references appear in lists of men absent or working.[7] All in all, there are fifty-six references to personal feasts. Fifty per cent of these references use the word *pꜣy=f ḥb* while thirty-two per cent of them employ the word *ḥb=f*. Seven per cent of the references stand for personal feasts due to the birth of a child and eleven per cent of the references are other kinds of references to personal feasts. Twelve of the documents referring to personal feasts (41% of all the documents with such references) have been dated to[8] or attributed a date in[9] the 19th Dynasty. Forty-six per cent of all the references to personal feasts are in these 19th Dynasty documents. Fourteen of the texts with references to personal feasts (48% of all such documents) have been dated to[10] or attributed a date within[11] the 20th Dynasty. These 20th Dynasty documents contain forty-five per cent of all the references to personal feasts. Two documents incorporating references to personal feasts have had no date attributed to them.[12]

---

1 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 145–146; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 192–197.
2 Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 192–197.
3 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 145–146; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 192–197; cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 164.
4 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 164.
5 Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 86; cf. Janssen, An Allusion, *GM* 10 (1974).
6 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 952; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. Michaelides 48; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Varille 24; P. DeM 2.
7 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 910; O. Turin N. 57388.
8 E.g., O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25521.
9 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 910; O. Michaelides 48; O. Turin N. 57388.
10 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25598.
11 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 61; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25533; O. Cairo CG 25597; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Turin N. 57156; O. Varille 24; P. BM EA 10430; P. DeM 2.
12 O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. DeM 952.

2.3.1 *Ḥb=f* and *pꜣy=f ḥb*

The word *ḥb=f* is employed in nine documents in the corpus of this study. Seven of these documents are lists of men absent or working[1] while the other two are work journals with references to individual workmen being absent from work.[2] All in all, these nine documents contain eighteen references to a *ḥb=f*. One of the documents has been dated to the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of Ramesses II[3] while six texts have been attributed a date within the second half of the 19th Dynasty.[4] These 19th Dynasty documents contain sixty-one per cent of all the references to a *ḥb=f*. Two documents have been attributed a date in the reign of Ramesses IV.[5]

With a few exceptions, the references to *ḥb=f* simply state that a person was off work due to 'his feast' with no further information given.[6] Regards the exceptions, there are certain references in O. BM EA 5634,[7] a list of men absent or working dating to the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of Ramesses II.[8] In this document, Khons is said to have been off work for two days due to a *ḥb=f* while Pendua is said to have been drinking with him on the first day of Khons' feast.[9] Iyernutef, furthermore, is said to have been drinking on that same day[10] and he may also have been at the *ḥb* of Khons.[11] According to O. Ashmolean

---

1 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. Turin N. 57388.

2 O. Cairo CG 25533; O. DeM 910.

3 O. BM EA 5634.

4 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 910; O. Turin N. 57388.

5 O. Cairo CG 25532; O. Cairo CG 25533.

6 O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 8–10 (*II prt 5*(*?*)*…ꜥḥꜥ.n ṯnr-n-mn*(*tw*) (*m*) *ḥb=f* […] (*m*) *ḥb*(*=f*); date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447); O. BM EA 5634, vs. 10 (*ḫnsw…I ꜣḫt 14 ḥb=f sw 15 ḥb=f*; years 39–40 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 5, 8 (*IV prt 28…nfr-ḥtp m ḥb=f*; date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223); O. Cairo CG 25793, 2–5 ([*II ꜣḫt 3…*] *m ḥb=f…*[*nb*]*-smn m ḥb=f…*[*…r*]*t m ḥb=f*; date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 361); O. Černý 7, vs. 1–3 (*I p*[*rt 2)1…rꜥ-ḥtp* (*m*) *ḥb=f ỉmn-m-ỉpt* (*m*) *ḥb=f*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 243); O. DeM 910, rt. 2, 6–7 (…]*w m ḥb=f.…ꜥḥꜥ.n nb-smn m ḥ*[*b=f*]; date attributed to later reign of Seti II through the reign of Siptah; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 118); O. Turin N. 57388, rt 2, 9 ([*ꜥḥꜥ*].*n ḥr-m-wỉꜣ m ḥb=f…II prt 23…ꜥḥꜥ.n rt m ḥb=f ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥwy sꜣ ḥwy-nfr m* [*ḥb*]*=f*; date attributed to year 6 of Seti II through the reign of Siptah; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 52–53). In O. Cairo CG 25532, the word *ḥb* is used without a suffix pronoun but only a small group of men were off for the feast (*ḳny-mnw ḥb…sš ỉmn-nḫt ḥb…ns-ỉmn ḥb ḳny-mnw ḥb ms ḥb*; rt. 2, 7, vs. 5–6; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 178–179).

7 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 2, vs. 10, 18.

8 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

9 *Pn-dwꜣ…I ꜣḫt 14 swrỉ m-ꜥ ḫnsw…ḫnsw I ꜣḫt 14 ḥb=f*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 2, vs. 10.

10 *ỉỉ-r-nỉwt=f…I ꜣḫt 14 swrỉ*; O. BM EA 5634, vs. 18. It has been suggested that Khons' second day of absence was due to over-indulgence in alcohol (Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 15).

11 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 145.

Museum 37[1] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[2]), a person was at a *ḥb=f* while Anuy was absent with this particular colleague of his. According to O. Cairo CG 25532[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[4]), a person was off work due to the '*ḥb* of his foreman'.[5] Furthermore, in O. Cairo CG 25533[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[7]), Amenemope is said to have been absent from work because of the *ḥb* of Hener. This appears to be a reference to a personal feast of this woman (*ḥb=s*)[8] although the scribe of this particular work journal recorded the event from the point of view of the workman absent. It seems, thus, evident that it was possible for a workman to have a day off work due to a *ḥb=f*.[9] A person could also have 'guests' at his or her feast and a workman sometimes took a day off work due to a feast he was attending.[10]

The expression *pꜣy=f ḥb* is used in sixteen of the documents in the corpus of this study. Fifty-six per cent of these documents are accounts of transfer[11] and twenty-five per cent of them are lists of men absent or working.[12] The sixteen documents with references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* contain twenty-eight such references. Five of the references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* contain, in addition to the personal feast, another aspect of feasting considered in this study.[13] Six (38%) of the documents containing references to a *pꜣy=f hb* have been dated to[14] or attributed a date in[15] the 19th Dynasty and forty-six per cent of all the references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* are in the documents pertaining to this period. Nine documents (53%) have been dated to[16] or attributed a date in[17] the 20th Dynasty and these 20th Dynasty documents contain forty-six per cent of all references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb*. One of the documents featuring a *pꜣy=f ḥb* has had no date attributed to it.[18]

---

1 …]*w* (*m*) *ḥb=f ꜥḥꜥ.n ꜣnwy m-ꜥ=f*; O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 10.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 181–182; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 78–79.

3 …]-*mnw ḥb ḥry=f*; O. Cairo CG 25532, vs. 6.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 178–179; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 410.

5 Since only one or, at the most, a few people seem to have been absent because of the feast of this foreman (some other men are said to have been at a *ḥb* (*ns-ỉmn ḥb ḳny-mnw ḥb ms ḥb*; vs. 5), the reference to the feast of a foreman seems to point to a personal feast rather than a feast celebrated by all or most of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.

6 (*IV šmw*) *sw 15 ỉw ỉmn-m-ỉpt* [*m pꜣ?*] *ḥb n ḥnry*; O. Cairo CG 25533, vs. 11–12.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–386.

8 See also Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 187, 195.

9 See also Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 163–164; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 145–146; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 193–196.

10 See also Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 145–146; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 193–196.

11 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25598; O. DeM 230; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Michaelides 48; O. Queen's College 1115; P. DeM 2.

12 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. DeM 907; O. Turin N. 57156.

13 O. Ashmolean Museum 37 vs. 4–5 (brewing beer); O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 4–5 (drinking); O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 9, 16 (brewing beer); P. BM EA 10430, vs. 7 (offering).

14 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25521.

15 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 230; O. DeM 907; O. Michaelides 48.

16 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25598.

17 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 61; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Turin N. 57156; O. Varille 24; P. BM EA 10430; P. DeM 2.

18 O. Ashmolean Museum 50.

In the corpus of this study, there are four lists of men absent or working that contain references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb*. All these documents have been dated to[1] or attributed a date in[2] the second half of the 19th Dynasty.[3] These four documents contain eleven references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb*, six of which relate only that someone was off work due to 'his feast' without further details of the feast celebrated.[4] The other references describe the feast in question in slightly more detail. For example, according to O. DeM 907[5] (date attributed to later years of of Seti II or to the reign of Siptah[6]), Ruta was absent for the *pꜣy=f ḥb* for someone, perhaps Pre. Furthermore, in O. Cairo CG 25521[7] (years 1–2 of Siptah[8]), Nakhy is said to have been absent due to *pꜣy=f ḥb* for his daughter.[9] Two persons were, moreover, noted as having been off work in order to brew beer for a *pꜣy=f ḥb* in this document.[10] In O. Ashmolean Museum 37[11] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[12]), Harnefer is said to have been absent because he was brewing beer for a *pꜣy=f ḥb*. The references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* in the lists of men absent or working are, thus, very similar to the references to a *ḥb=f* in these documents: a person is said to have been absent for his feast but rarely is the object of the feast reported. Regarding absences due to a *pꜣy=f ḥb*, one may also mention O.

---

1 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25521.

2 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 907.

3 These lists of men absent or working constitute 67% of the 19th Dynasty documents containing references to *pꜣy=f ḥb*.

4 O. Ashmolean Museum 37, vs. 5 (*II prt 6…ꜥꜣ-pḥty m pꜣy=f ḥb*; date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447); O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 11–12, vs. 21 (*I prt 21…iw ḫꜥ-m-sbꜣ* (*m*) *pꜣy=f ḥb*[…]…[*II prt 4?*]*…iw ḫꜥmy* (*m*) *pꜣ*[*y*]*=f* [*ḥb*]; years 1–2 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11); O. DeM 209, rt. 7, vs. 1–2 (*IV šmw 18 ꜥḥꜥ.n pn-dwꜣ* [*n pꜣy=f…*] *ḥb…III šmw 28…ꜥḥꜥ.n ḫꜥ-m-sbꜣ n pꜣy=f ḥb*; date attributed to late 19th Dynasty; e.g., Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112 (Amenmesse or Seti II)); O. DeM 907, rt. 2 (...] *pꜣy=f ḥb*; date attributed to later years of Seti II or to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 80).

5 *R*]*t* (*m*) *pꜣy=f ḥb n pꜣ rꜥ*(*?*); O. DeM 907, vs. 5. O. Gardiner AG 32 appears to be the same document as O. DeM 907 although there are some minor discrepancies in the transcriptions (Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 254–255 (after Jaroslav Černý's notebooks); Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 326–327). Kitchen transcribed this particular line in O. Gardiner AG 32 *r*]*t pꜣy=f ḥb n pꜣ sꜣ* (vs. 5; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 255) while Pierre Grandet saw only …] *n pꜣ rꜥ* (Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 327). The sign interpreted by Grandet as the sun (N5) has an obscure line next to it on the upper right side.

6 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 80; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 177. O. DeM 907 cannot, however, be from year 1 of Siptah as that year the crew was work-free on I *prt* 19–22 due to the death of Seti II while this document indicates that the men were working on I *prt* 22 (rt. 2–3).

7 *I prt 21…iw nꜣḫy* (*m*) *pꜣy=f ḥb* […] *tꜣy=f šrỉt*; O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 11.

8 For the date, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 36–37, 155.

9 This reference brings to mind the account of transfers O. DeM 952 (no date attributed) according to which a bed and foodstuffs were given to an unidentified man due to the birth of his daughter (*rdyt n=f m pꜣ mswt n pꜣy=f šrỉt*; rt. 1–3). Food was also given to him when the daughter was three and fourteen days old as well as at the 'great drinking-party' ([*wḥm m pꜣy*]*=s hrw 3…wḥm m pꜣ hrw 14…wḥm m pꜣ swrỉ ꜥꜣ*; vs. 1, 8, 11). Especially the latter one of these events may have been an occasion which might also have been called 'his feast for his daughter'.

10 *I prt 18…*[…]*w ꜥtḫ* (*r*) *pꜣy=f ḥb…*[*I prt 28?*]…[…*ꜥtḫ*] (*r*) *pꜣy=f ḥb*; O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 8–9, 15–16.

11 *II prt 6…ꜥḥꜥ n ḥr-nfr r ꜥtḫ* [*r*] *pꜣy=f ḥb*; O. Ashmolean Museum 37, vs. 3–5.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 181–182; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 78–79.

Turin N. 57156[1] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[2]). A Scribe of the Tomb[3] used the verso side of this ostracon to tally his own days of working and inactivity, writing that once he had been at a *pꜣy=f ḥb*.[4]

Nine of the documents with references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* are accounts of transfers. Two of these texts have been attributed a date within the reign of Ramesses II[5] while six of them have been dated to[6] or attributed a date in[7] the first half of the 20th Dynasty. One account of transfers containing one reference to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* has had no date attributed to it.[8] Two of the references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* in these accounts of transfers contain no information on the object of the feast in the manner of most of the references in the aforementioned lists of men absent or working. For example, O. Varille 24,[9] the date of which is attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV,[10] lists the items of the draughtsman Men that had been given to Iyemwaw. Most of the items are articles of food but on the occasion of a *pꜣy=f ḥb*, she received a basket.[11] Furthermore, according to O. Cairo CG 25598[12] (year 4 of Ramesses V through year 1 of Ramesses VI[13]), Henutnofret received one bundle of vegetables from Pasait on the occasion of a *pꜣy=f ḥb*. In contrast to these examples, most of the references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* in accounts of transfers contain information on the object of the personal feast. For example, as related in O. DeM 230[14] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[15]), an unidentified person gave foodstuffs to another individual on the occasion of the *pꜣy=f ḥb* for Taweret. The other events mentioned in this document are mainly *ḥb* feasts of various deities.[16] In O. Michaelides 48[17] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[18]), a *pꜣy=f ḥb* for Ptah is mentioned. Another *pꜣy=f ḥb* is mentioned later in the document[19] but, due to a lacuna, it is impossible to decipher to which deity this personal feast was dedicated. In O. Gardiner AG 57[20] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[21]), two

---

1 O. Turin N. 57156, vs. 1–7.
2 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 27.
3 For this scribe, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 65–67.
4 *ỉw=ỉ wsf m pꜣ* […*pꜣ*]*y=ỉ ḥb*; O. Turin N. 57156, vs. 6–7.
5 O. DeM 230; O. Michaelides 48.
6 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25598.
7 E.g., O. Berlin P 12635; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Varille 24; P. DeM 2.
8 O. Ashmolean Museum 50.
9 O. Varille 24, rt. 1–9.
10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 341; however, according to the *Deir el-Medina Database*, this date is improbable (O. Varille 24, Remarks).
11 *Wḥm mnḏm 1 n pꜣy=f ḥb*; O. Varille 24, rt. 5.
12 *M-drt* [*pꜣ-sꜣ*]-*ỉt ḫrš 1 wḥm m-drt=f m pꜣy=f ḥb*; O. Cairo CG 25598, rt, 8–9.
13 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25598, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 365–366; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 430–431, 440.
14 *Pꜣy=f ḥb n tꜣ-wrt*; O. DeM 230, 5.
15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 559.
16 *Pꜣ ḥb n tꜣ-wrt sšrt 5 srmt ḳ*[*d*…] *pꜣ ḥb n ꜣst sšrt 5 srmt-ḳd mn*[*t*…] *pꜣ ḥb n ptḥ nfr*[…; O. DeM 230, 6–8. The goods given due to the *pꜣy=f ḥb* for Taweret, i.e., five *sšrt*-loaves and some date brew, resemble the items given during the feasts of the goddesses mentioned in this document (for the suggestion that these amounts of bread and other provisions formed the standard amounts given due to feasts of goddesses, see Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 194).
17 *Pꜣy=f ḥb n ptḥ*; O. Michaelides 48 rt. I, 4.
18 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 556–557; the document was dated to the 20th Dynasty by Hans Goedicke and Edward Wente (*Ostraca Michaelides* (1962), 20).
19 *P*]*ꜣy=f ḥb* […; O. Michaelides 48 rt. I, 11–12.
20 *Rd*]*yt n=f n pꜣy=f ḥb n* […] *pꜣy=f ḥb n* […; O. Gardiner AG 57, rt. 3–5.
21 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 314.

occasions of *pꜣy=f ḥb n* [… are mentioned. A feast of Amon is also referred to in this text.[1] As stated in O. Queen's College 1115[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[3]), supplies were given on two separate occasions of a *pꜣy=f ḥb* celebrated by the writer of this document, once at 'my feast for Amon of the Beautiful Encounter' and another time at 'my feast for Hathor'. This document also contains references to transfers due to other feasts besides these personal ones.[4] The writer of O. Berlin P 12635[5] (date attributed to years 4–6 of Ramesses IV[6]) relates how he gave food and drink to several persons on various occasions, including many feasts. Among the events is also 'my feast for Taweret' when an unidentified person drank beer, presumably provided by the writer of the text.[7] P. DeM 2[8] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[9]) is an account of transfers a man made to a woman. This particular woman was provided with food on the occasion of several feasts including 'her feast of Amenhotep I' and 'her feast for Taweret'.[10] A third personal feast of this woman is mentioned but the name of the deity honoured is lost in a lacuna.[11] O. Ashmolean Museum 50[12] (no date attributed) is a fragment of an account of transfers made to a woman. Among the occasions mentioned is the *pꜣy=f ḥb* for someone, perhaps Taweret.[13] In the accounts of transfers, the information on the object of the personal feasts are mainly included. Furthermore, these personal feasts are generally recorded among the references to *ḥb*-feasts of deities, i.e., feasts perhaps celebrated by the whole village.

Two further documents contain references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb*. O. Ashmolean Museum 61[14] is a note, the date of which is attributed to the reign of Ramesses III.[15] The day of the death of a sister is mentioned as well as 'his great feast of (goddess) Hathor'.[16] It remains uncertain whether both these events occurred on the date given, i.e., I *ꜣḫt* 1,[17] or whether the personal feast took place at another point in time. P. BM EA 10430[18] is a fragmentary

---

1 *Rdyt n=f n pꜣ ḥb n ỉmn n* […; O. Gardiner AG 57, rt. 2–3.

2 *Pꜣy=ỉ ḥb n ỉmn ṯḥn-nfr ḥpr…wḥm dỉt n=s* (*m*) *pꜣy=ỉ ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 2, vs. I, 6–7.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 167–168.

4 *Pn-*(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ỉw=ỉ dỉt…wḥm dỉt pꜣ mswt n ꜣst…wḥm dỉt pn-ḫnsw*; O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 5–7.

5 O. Berlin P 12635, rt. 1 – vs. 14.

6 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355.

7 *Whm m pꜣy=ỉ ḥb n tꜣ-wrt ỉrm mꜣꜣ-nḫt=f ỉw=f swrỉ ṯr 2 mnt 1*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 4–6. As the text runs 'my feast for Taweret with Maa(ni)nakhtuf he drank two *tr*-jars and one *mnt*-jar', it is possible to interpret this personal feast as having been celebrated together with this Maa(ni)nakhtuf. It is, however, also possible that Maa(ni)nakhtuf is to be associated with an unnamed recipient of the beer: in the previous entry, an unidentified person is mentioned as eating and drinking with another workman called Amenpahapi (*ỉw=f swrỉ wʿ mnt ỉw=f wnm wʿ ʿḳw ʿꜣ dng 5 ỉrm ỉmn-pꜣ-ḥʿpy*; vs. 2–3).

8 *Rdỉt rḫ.tw pꜣ dỉw ỉ.dỉ=f n=ỉ*; P. DeM 2, rt. 1.

9 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259–260.

10 *Pꜣy=s ḥb n* (*ỉ*[*mn-*…]… *pꜣy*[*=s ḥb n*] *tꜣ-wrt*; P. DeM 2, vs. 2–3, 4.

11 *Wḥm pꜣy=s ḥb n*[…; P. DeM 2, vs. 4–5.

12 O. Ashmolean Museum 50, 1–8.

13 *Rdyt n=s n pꜣy=s ḥb n tꜣ*[…; O. Ashmolean Museum 50, 7.

14 O. Ashmolean Museum 61, 1–4.

15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V, 596–597.

16 *Hrw n mwt ỉr.n tꜣy=ỉ/t snt mḥ…pꜣy=f ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr ʿꜣ*; O. Ashmolean Museum 61, 1–2.

17 See, for example, Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 183.

18 P. BM EA 10430, rt. 1 – vs. 7.

letter the date of which is attributed to the *wḥm-mswt*.[1] Someone slaughtering something for a *pꜣy=f ḥb* is mentioned in this letter.[2] The details of the event remain unclear due to lacunae in the text.

Three, or perhaps four,[3] of the references to a *pꜣy=f ḥb* refer to personal feasts celebrated in honour of the goddess Taweret.[4] Other deities mentioned in connection with a personal feast are Hathor,[5] Ptah,[6] Amenhotep I,[7] Amon of the Beautiful Encounter,[8] and perhaps Pre,[9] all among the most popular gods in the royal artisans' community.[10]

From the aforementioned references to personal feasts, one might conclude that there were perhaps two different kinds of feasts: personal feasts of individual people (*ḥb=f* / *pꜣy=f ḥb*) and feasts an individual person celebrated in honour of a deity of the community (*pꜣy=f ḥb n* X). The difference between these two groups, however, may simply reflect the difference between the two document types where they generally appear, i.e., lists of men absent or working and accounts of transfers. In lists of men absent or working and similar documents, the scribe seems to have preferred to omit the information on the object of the personal feast. Considering the function of these documents as work-related records, the omission of additional information might simply be due to this piece of information being irrelevant to the compiler of the text or to the one for whom the document was intended.[11] The object of the personal feast was only mentioned in cases when it was perhaps more exceptional, such as the daughter of the workman. When a workman was off work due to a personal feast of another person, this fact seems also to have been worth mentioning. In the accounts of transfers, the references to personal feasts are generally mentioned among *ḥb*-feasts of the village deities and the items transferred are listed. In this type of text, it was perhaps more relevant to state what kind of a feast the articles were intended for.

The lists of men absent or working with references to personal feasts, with a few exceptions,[12] come from the 19th Dynasty.[13] In such accounts, the reason for absences of individual workmen, when a feast, feast ritual, or other festive occasion, appears to have

---

1 For the date attributed, see Wente, *LRL* (1967), 16.

2 …*smꜣ*]*=f m pꜣy=f ḥb*; P. BM EA 10430, vs. 7.

3 O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 4–5; O. DeM 230, 5; P. DeM 2, vs. 4. Perhaps also O. Ashmolean Museum 50, 7.

4 For Taweret at Deir el-Medina, see, for example, Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* III (1952), 72–82; Bierbrier & de Meulenaere, Hymne a Taouêret sur une stele de Deir el Médineh, in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh* (1984), 23–32; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 125–127.

5 O. Ashmolean Museum 61, 2; O. Queen's College 1115 vs. I, 6–7.

6 O. Michaelides 48 rt. I, 4.

7 P. DeM 2, vs. 2–3.

8 O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 2.

9 O. DeM 907, vs. 5.

10 See, for example, Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977), 13–15.

11 The vizier, during his visits to the necropolis, may have audited the reports compiled by the scribes of the Tomb; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 53–55.

12 O. Cairo CG 25532, rt. 2, 8, vs. 5–6 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 178–179). O. Turin N. 57156 vs. (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III; López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 27; a list of absences of an individual workman).

13 O. BM EA 5634; O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 907; O. Turin N. 57388.

been mentioned, for the main part, only during the 19th Dynasty.[1] These events were perhaps simply no longer recorded during the 20th Dynasty. Alternatively, the personal feasts were celebrated mainly on the work-free days of the crew during the 20th dynasty. Most of the accounts of transfers with references to personal feasts have, in turn, been dated to[2] or attributed a date in[3] the 20th Dynasty. Such documents are records of private transactions, the number of which increased at the beginning of the 20th Dynasty, which may explain their absence among the documents pertaining to the 19th Dynasty.[4]

The use of both *ḥb=f* and *pȝy=f ḥb* in lists of men absent or working, on the one hand, and only *pȝy=f ḥb* in accounts of transfers, on the other hand, might reflect the difference in the systems of documentation typical of the respective time period from which these kinds of documents containing references to personal feasts mainly originate. Ben Haring has demonstrated that a change to more formalized texts was taking place at Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period.[5] Thus, it is possible that the use of *ḥb=f* during the 19th Dynasty as opposed to the use of *pȝy=f ḥb* during the 20th Dynasty reflects this change. One may refer to the list of men absent or working O. Ashmolean Museum 37[6] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[7]). The scribe of this document used the word *ḥb=f* on the recto side of the ostracon[8] while he utilized *pȝy=f hb* on the verso.[9] If, indeed, during the late 19th Dynasty and the beginning of the 20th Dynasty, the scribes of Deir el-Medina stopped using *ḥb=f* to refer to personal feasts and instead started using *pȝy=f ḥb*, this might explain why O. Ashmolean Museum 37, the date of which is attributed to this transitional period, exhibits both these forms.

1 In the corpus of this study, there are 24 lists of men absent or working which contain references to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions. Of these documents 23 have been dated to or attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty; O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Ashmolean Museum 167; O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25505, O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo CG 25793; O. Černý 7; O. DeM 209; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 907; O. DeM 908; O. IFAO 1077; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Turin N. 57388; the only list of men absent or working in this corpus which has been attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty is O. Cairo CG 25532.

2 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25598.

3 E.g., O. Berlin P 12635; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Varille 24; P. DeM 2.

4 Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record, *JESHO* 46 (2003), 259–263, 269 (Table 2); see also Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 148–153, 185 (Diagram 4).

5 Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record, *JESHO* 46 (2003), 249–272.

6 O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 1–vs. 14.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 181–182; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 78–79.

8 *ʿḥʿ.n ṯnr-n-mn*(*tw*) (*m*) *ḥb=f* […]*w* (*m*) *ḥb*(*=f*); O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 9–10.

9 *ʿḥʿ n ḥr-nfr r ʿtḫ* […] *pȝy=f ḥb ʿȝ-pḥty m pȝy=f ḥb*; O. Ashmolean Museum 37, vs. 4–5.

2.3.2 Celebrations Associated with Birth

In the corpus of the local feasts of Deir el-Medina, there are two documents that appear to indicate feasting due to the birth of a child.[1] According to the account of transfers O. DeM 952[2] (no date attributed), an unidentified man received a bed and some foodstuffs on the occasion of the birth of his daughter. When the daughter was three and fourteen days old, the man was again given food.[3] Eventually, a 'great drinking' was organized and the man in question received more victuals.[4] The reference in O. Cairo CG 25597[5] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses IV[6]) to a transfer due to the birth of *ḥnwt* might also denote a feast in honour of the birth of a daughter. Alternatively, this may be a reference to a feast of the goddess Hathor.[7]

In view of these aforementioned texts, it is tempting to associate the reference in O. Cairo CG 25521[8] (years 1–2 of Siptah[9]) to 'his feast [of] his daughter' with the celebration of the daughter's birth.[10] No other man, however, is noted as having been absent with him on that particular day and, thus, the connection between the 'feast of his daughter' and the 'great drinking' due to the birth of a daughter is very doubtful. However, some of the gift-giving lists might record gifts received during such a 'drinking party' although the purpose of the event is not mentioned.[11]

---

1 For pregnancy and birth at Deir el-Medina, see Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 170–182. For the so-called '*lit clos*' structures in Deir el-Medina houses which have occasionally been interpreted as birthing beds, see, for example, Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935* III (1939), 55–64; Friedman, Aspects of Domestic Life (1994), 97–111; Koltsida, Birth-Bed, Sitting Place, Erotic Corner or Domestic Altar? A Study of the so-called 'Elevated Bed' in Deir el-Medina Houses, *SAK* 35 (2006), 165–173. For the so-called '*Wochenlaube*' scenes, see, for example, Brunner-Traut, Die Wochenlaube, *MIO* 3 (1955), 11–30.

2 *Rdyt n=f m pȝ mswt n tȝy=f šrỉt ḫt ỉr ytỉt 1…ḥḳ 1 ḏss 1 ỉwf mḥ 1 ḥnkt mnt 10…*; O. DeM 952, rt. 1–9. For this interpretation of the text, see Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 180–181 (O. IFAO 1069) ; cf. Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 254–255.

3 [*Wḥm m pȝy*]*=s hrw 3...wḥm m pȝ hrw 14…*; O. DeM 952, vs. 1–10.

4 *Wḥm m pȝ swrỉ ʿȝ ḥnḳt mnt 6…*; O. DeM 952, vs. 11–16. For interpreting the great drinking to be connected with the birth of the daughter, see Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 181 (O. IFAO 1069).

5 *N tȝ-kȝ-mn m pȝ ms ḥnwt ḫȝr 1/4;* O. Cairo CG 25597, rt. 7. The word *ḥnwt* has a sitting woman determinative (Gardiner's sign list B1).

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 129; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 380.

7 See Borghouts, Divine Intervention (1982), 41 note 13; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 181 note 341; see also O. Ashmolean Museum 166 where a feast called 'Birth of Taweret' is perhaps mentioned (*ỉnk tw=ỉ ḥms m pȝy=ỉ ḥnw* (*m*) *pȝ msw n tȝ-wrt*; rt. 1–2).

8 *I prt 21 nty wsf…nȝ*[*ḫy*] (*m*) *pȝy=f ḥb* […] *tȝy=f šrỉt*; O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 11.

9 For the date, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 36–37, 155.

10 Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 181.

11 For gift-giving at Deir el-Medina, see Chapter III 2.4.

Certain work journals[1] and lists of men absent or working[2] pertaining to Deir el-Medina refer to individual workmen having been absent from work due to their respective wives giving birth. The absences of the persons in question, in the cases recorded by the Scribes of the Tomb, may have resulted from difficult deliveries and leave from work because of the birth of a child might, thus, not have been a norm.[3] According to O. Cairo JE 72452,[4] a work journal dating to the second year of Seti II,[5] the entire crew seems to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on a day a woman gave birth but it is uncertain whether the work-free day was due to this particular birth or not.[6] The next day, however, only part of the crew seems to have gone back to work.[7]

[1] O. Cairo CG 25531, rt. 5 (…]*mswt mst*…; date attributed to year 6 of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 437); O. Cairo JE 72452, 6 (*ỉw msy msw*[…; year 2 of Seti II; e.g., Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 209–210).

[2] O. Cairo CG 25516, vs. 17 (…]*tɜy=f ḥmt msy*[…; date attributed to year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7–8); O. Cairo CG 25517, vs. 6–7 (*nty* (*wsf*)… *kɜsɜ ỉw tɜy=f ḥmt mst ỉw=f wsf 3 hrw*; year 1 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 8–9).

[3] Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 172.

[4] *ỉw=w wsf* (*m*) *sw 16 ỉw msy msw*[…; O. Cairo JE 72452, 6.

[5] For the date, see Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 209–210; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 156; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 59 note 89.

[6] See also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 172.

[7] *21 9 ỉw=w ỉỉy* (*m*) *sw 17 sw 18*; O. Cairo JE 72452, 6–7.

2.3.3 Other Possible References to Personal Feasts

In the corpus of this study, there are, an additional six references that have been interpreted as denoting personal feasts although neither of the words *ḥb=f* or *pȝy=f ḥb* have been used. The reference in P. DeM 2[1] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[2]) to transfers due the 'day of her father' is, indeed, reminiscent of the references to transfers because of a *ḥb=f* or a *pȝy=f ḥb*.

Two of the possible references to personal feasts mark a celebration due to a promotion to the work crew. According to O. Glasgow D.1925.72[3] (date attributed to year 19 of Ramesses III[4]), a transfer of foodstuffs was made when a man was appointed to the crew. According to O. Berlin P 12406[5] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[6]), various items were handed over to Weskhet-nemtet when he joint the crew of the royal artisans.

Some of the references included in this category are less easily identifiable as personal feasts. In O. BM EA 5634[7] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[8]), Khons is said to have been absent from work because he was 'with his god' (*m-ˁ nṯr=f*). According to O. Berlin P 12635[9] (date attributed to years 4–6 of Ramesses IV[10]), a woman was given fish on the occasion of 'Carrying My Malcon'. The reference in O. Turin N. 57133[11] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[12]) to 'his evening' might perhaps stand for a personal feast celebrated in the evening.

---

1 *N hrw n pȝy=s ỉt*; P. DeM 2, vs. 8.

2 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 370; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 259–260.

3 …]*ỉḫt ỉ.ỉr* […]*mt ṯs=f r tȝ ỉst*; O. Glasgow D.1925.72, rt. 1–2.

4 For the date attributed, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Glasgow D.1925.72, Remarks; see also Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 285.

5 *Rdỉt rḫ.tw tȝ ỉḫt ỉ.dỉt n=f nb-ỉmn m-ḏr ṯs=f*; O. Berlin P 12406, vs. 6–7.

6 Weskhet-nemtet is known from year 1 of Ramesses IV through year 1 of Ramesses V (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 262; see also Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 444).

7 *Ḫnsw…IV prt 8 m-ˁ nṯr=f*; O: BM EA 5634, vs. 10.

8 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

9 *Rdyt n=s m pȝy=ỉ fȝ bỉk*; O. Berlin P 12635, rt. 7–8.

10 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 354–355.

11 …*p*]*ȝy=f mšrw*; O. Turin N. 57133, 1.

12 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 20.

2.4 Gift-Giving

Jac. J. Janssen classified certain texts pertaining to Deir el-Medina as constituting gift-giving lists.[1] These particular texts seem to bear witness to the custom of reciprocal gift-giving observed in various peasant societies.[2] The Deir el-Medina gift-giving lists are accounts of items, mostly foodstuffs, that presumably were received from the persons mentioned in the documents. Many of the people listed are women of the community. Certain texts contain clues to the occasions when the gifts were presented. These lists were probably written as the guests arrived to a feast bringing food and other items for the hosts. The foodstuffs, it would seem, were consumed by the participants in the festivities.[3]

Sixteen documents in the corpus of the local and personal feasts were interpreted as such gift-giving lists.[4] All these documents have been dated to[5] or attributed a date in the first half of the 20th Dynasty.[6] All the gift-giving lists collected have been classified as accounts or lists since they are essentially calculations or lists of items brought by various persons. The gift-giving lists form thirty per cent of all the accounts and lists and fifty-six per cent of all the 20th Dynasty accounts in the corpus of the local and personal feasts.

Each of the gift-giving texts is considered one reference. Three of the documents additionally contain a reference which can be considered standing for one of the other categories studied.[7] These references seem to provide us with the objective of the event when gifts were presented in these particular cases. Three of the documents contain a

---

1 Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86 (Women and Gifts). See also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 130–132; Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 18–20.

2 Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–254; for the basic study of this custom, see Mauss, *The Gift* [1925].

3 Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86 (Women and Gifts); Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 130–132.

4 Add O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179 and perhaps O. DeM 639 to the ones mentioned by Jac. J. Janssen (Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 253–258; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86). O. DeM 282 listed by Janssen (*Village varia* (1997), 56 note 4) seems rather to be an account of a division of commodities. I have not been able to collate certain unpublished documents and they have, therefore, been omitted (O. Ashmolean Museum 178; O. IFAO 1026; O. IFAO 1308; O. IFAO 1329; O. Gardiner AG 63; O. OIM 17005; O. Prague H 24); I agree with Janssen that it is not imperative to study all the possible gift-giving lists in order to discuss this fairly homogeneous group of texts (*Village varia* (1997), 56).

5 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624.

6 E.g., O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179; O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25650; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 639; O. DeM 643; O. DeM 666; O. DeM 10041; O. Faulkner 1; O. Louvre E 3262b; O. Turin N. 57010; O. UC 39630. According to Jac. J. Janssen, the unpublished gift-giving list O. OIM 17005 dates to the 19th Dynasty (*Village varia* (1997), 56) but I have not been able to collate this text and, as Janssen did not provide a translation of this document, it has not been included in this study.

7 O. Berlin P 14328, rt. 1–3 (drinking); O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 rt. II, 4 (drinking); O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38, 1 (other indications of feasts).

date.[1] Only one of the gift-giving lists possesses a clue linking possibly it to a feast in the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar.[2]

In his study of the gift-giving lists, Jac. J. Janssen has provided a translation and a commentary on several of these documents.[3] Those particular texts will not be discussed here unless they contain some special information on the feast in question.[4]

O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38[5] (date attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty[6]) is a list starting with the contributions a woman called Isis made 'to the drinking(-party) of Hathor'. The object of the festivities seems to be a woman, as the name Hathor has a sitting woman as determinative.[7] The initial entry is followed by a list of the input of at least thirty-three women and three men, all of whom probably contributed their items, generally five or ten *sš*-loaves and other kinds of loaves of bread, to the drinking-party celebrated by Hathor.[8]

In O. Berlin P 14328[9] (date attributed to the first half of the 20th Dynasty[10]), the items listed are said be the ones 'Minkhau took (with him) after drinking in his house'. Minkhau received food, generally four to six assorted loaves of bread, and such items as baskets, mats, and bundles of papyrus from at least twenty-four persons.[11] Whether Minkhau took home all the gifts or just the inedible objects and the remains of the food is not stated in the text.

Column II of O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624[12] (date attributed to year 27 of Ramesses III[13]) contains the date IV *ꜣḫt* 29 followed by an obscure statement: 'what he gave to Tasaket for passing to the water by(?) Henutenkhenu'. This event took place on the

---

1 O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 (IV *ꜣḫt* 29); O. DeM 222 V, 22 (III *šmw* 8); O. Turin N. 57010, vs. 1 (I *prt* 9).

2 O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 rt. II, 4 (*kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*).

3 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86: O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624; O. Cairo CG 25660 + JE 37649; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 134; O. DeM 222; O. DeM 643; O. Faulkner 1; O. UC 39630.

4 O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38; O. DeM 222.

5 *Rdyt ꜣst* [*ḥmt*] *nb-nfr sš 10 sš n hꜣ 1 mnt 1 n pꜣ swrỉ n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38, 1 (Černý, Notebooks, 2.23; 62.24). For the reconstruction, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 161 (Ramesses IV); Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56 note 7 (Ramesses III).

7 Gardiner's sign list B1; see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 84.

8 O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38, 1–16; for a translation and commentary of the whole text, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56–59. For bread in ancient Egypt, see, for example, Janssen, The Daily Bread. A Contribution to the Study of the ancient Egyptian Diet, *BES* 13 (1997), 15–38.

9 *R rdỉt rḫ.tw pꜣ nkt ỉ.ỉṯꜣ.n rmṯ-ỉst mn-ḫʿw m<-ḏr> swrỉ* [*mꜣ?*] *pꜣy=f pr*; O. Berlin P 14328, rt. 1–3. For translations of this document, see, for example, Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 80; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14328, Übersetzung.

10 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 82; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14328, Beschreibung.

11 O. Berlin P 14328, rt. 3 – vs. 3.

12 *Rnpt-sp 27 IV ꜣḫt 29 rdyt n tꜣ-sꜣkt n pꜣ šꜣw r mw n ḥnwt-*(*nt-*)*ḫn*; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 II, 1–4. For reading the signs *pꜣ sꜣw r mw, see* Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 69 (n). For reading *ḥnwt ḫn* as the personal name *ḥnwt-nt-ḫn*, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Cairo CG 25365 + O. Cairo CG 25624, Names/Titles.

13 For the date of this document, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 41–42; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 516–517; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 72.

'weekend' before the Feast of *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ* at Deir el-Medina.[1] Whether this occasion of gift-giving had something to do with this annually occurring festival or whether it was a private feast, or perhaps the funeral of Henutenkhenu is unclear.[2] Tasaket was presented with various food items, such as ten *sš*-loaves, 2 *mnt*-vessels, and *rḥs*-cakes, and with a box, a basket, and some mats.[3] Columns II and III of O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 seem to form one list containing items given to Tasaket while column I produces perhaps another.[4] Whether the date of column II applies to both lists or not is unclear.[5]

O. DeM 222[6] (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III[7]) contains the date III *šmw* 8 followed by the phrase 'on this day'. On III *šmw* 8, the royal artisans generally seem to have been working.[8] O. DeM 222 lists the items brought by at least twenty-five men and three women. The provisions presented by each individual were mainly composed of three to five assorted loaves and some vegetables. No inedible objects are reported.[9]

O. DeM 666[10] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[11]) contains a list of seven men and the items they brought, generally 10 assorted loaves of bread as well as some fish or meat. As no women are listed, the event that prompted this particular list may have been a feast celebrated only by certain men of the community.

In O. Louvre E 3262b[12] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[13]), the provisions contributed by seven men and two women are listed. Various sorts of bread,

---

1 For *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*, see Chapter III 1.2.1.5.

2 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 69 (n).

3 O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 rt. II, 5 – III, 9; for a translation of this text, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 69–72.

4 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 71–72. O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 column I on the recto lists the items brought by nine individuals, generally consisting of five or ten *sš*-loaves, one or two beer jars, vegetables, and oil. In addition to the foodstuffs, various items such as sandals, baskets, and boxes were presented. A *tȝ-sȝkt* is among the contributors in this list.

5 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 72.

6 *Rnpt-sp 22 III šmw 8 m hrw pn*; O. DeM 222 V, 22; for a translation of this document, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 61–67. The date is located at the end of column V of six columns total. The compiler of the list appears to have added the date as an afterthought.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 480–482; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 245–246; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 61.

8 The ratio of references to working to references to inactivity on I *šmw* 8 is 6/0; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 6, 13, vs. 1, 14 (men listed as absent; year 40 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. Cairo CG 25515 rt. I, 26 – II, 4 (*iw r bȝk* [*m*] *III šmw 4…III šmw* [*8 hrw n bȝk 5*]; year 6 of Seti II; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 7); O. Cairo CG 25529 rt. III, 8 (I *šmw* 8 in red ink indicating working; date attributed to year 5 of Seti II; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 133–135); O. Cairo CG 25783 rt. II, 6–10 (men listed as absent; date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 224–227); O. DeM 898, rt. 2 (men listed as absent; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 70–71); O. DeM 911, rt. 6 (men listed as absent; date attributed to years 26–27 of Ramesses III; e.g., Janssen, A Curious Error, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 306); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. IV, 22 (*bȝk*; year 3 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699).

9 O. DeM 222 I, 1 – VI, 17; see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 61–67.

10 *ȝny-nḫt ꜥḳw sbn 10 rmw sꜥt 1 ꜥš 2 mḫtw 1 ḳȝw 1 nȝḥy ꜥḳw sbn 10 ỉwf 2 ꜥš* […] *ṯr ꜥḳw sbn 10 ỉwf dgȝ*(*y*) […] *ḳd-*(*ḥr-*)*ỉḫt=f* [*ꜥḳw sbn 10…*] *ỉỉ-r-nỉwt=f* [*ꜥḳw sbn…*]*rmw* […] *nb-nfr ꜥḳw 12 ỉwf* […; O. DeM 666, 1–7.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 617.

12 O. Louvre E 3262b, 1–8.

13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 314.

generally 5 assorted loaves or three to five *ḳw*-loaves, are said to have been brought by these individuals.[1]

The incomplete and only partially published gift-giving list O. Berlin P 1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179[2] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[3]) contains the names of about nine men and perhaps three women. These persons brought three to five *ḳw*-loaves each, but also cakes, fish, fruit, or vegetables.[4]

According to O. DeM 10041[5] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[6]), at least seven persons brought food to an unspecified event. These individuals brought bread, cakes, fish, fruit, and vegetables.[7]

According to the incomplete O. Cairo CG 25650[8] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[9]), at least three men and three women brought bread, generally three to five large assorted loaves, for an unnamed celebration. The total number of loaves is also counted, being all together at least 30 loaves.[10]

O. DeM 639[11] (no date attributed) is a document resembling the gift-giving lists and may also belong to this group. Bread, cakes, fish, fruit, vegetables, and possibly malt are mentioned in connection with two men and one woman.[12]

---

1 …]-*nfr ḳw 3* […] *ḳw sbn 6 ḥrỉ sꜣ ỉmn-m-ỉpt* […]-*nwb ḳw sbn 4 ḫꜣy* (*sꜣ?*) *sbꜣ*[…] *mnnꜣ ḳw sbn 5 kršt 1* […]*nfr-ḥtp ḳw 5 mry-ỉmn-dwꜣ* […]*nfrt-ỉry sꜣt tw*(*ỉ*) *ḳw 3* […*sꜣ*] *sbꜣ ḳw 3*; O. Louvre E 3262b, 1–8.

2 O. Berlin P 1120 I, 1 – II, 7; for the IFAO fragments, see Černý, Notebooks, 102.97. According to *Deir el-Medina Database*, the unpublished pieces contain the names of *ỉmn-m-ỉpt*, *ḫꜣy sꜣ ỉmn-nḫt*, *ḳd-ḥr-ỉḫt=f*, *ks*, […]-*nfr*, and the name of one woman (O. IFAO 00177 + O. IFAO 00178 + O. IFAO 00179, Names/Titles).

3 For the date attributed, see *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 1120, Beschreibung.

4 …]*ḳw*(*?*) *5 mntw-pꜣ-ḥ*ᶜ*py ḳw 5 tꜣ-*ᶜ*ꜣt ḳw 4* […] *dbḥ-nfr ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ 3 tꜣ-šrỉ ḳw 3*[…] *ds 1 ḳw 3 bst 1 wꜣ*(*?*)[…] *ỉmn-ms ḳw 5 mrwt-mwt ḳw* [*5 mrwt-*…; O. Berlin P 1120 I, 1 – II, 7. According to *Deir el-Medina Database*, the unpublished pieces contain foodstuffs such as bread, cakes, fish, fruit, and vegetables (O. IFAO 00177 + O. IFAO 00178 + O. IFAO 00179, Contents).

5 O. DeM 10041, rt. 1 – vs. 4. This document is also known as O. IFAO 1242. The *nḫ*-loaves are mentioned thrice before the first name on rt. 4 indicating at least three people in addition to the ones whose names have survived.

6 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* X (2006), 46–47.

7 …]*4 kmḥ 2 nḫ kꜣp*(*?*) *4 ḏss 1* [...] *ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ 5 ḳw sbn 9 ps*(*n*) *1 nḫ kꜣp*(*?*) *1 ḥḳḳ* [...] *s*ᶜ*b 3 ps*(*n*) *2 nḫ kꜣp*(*?*) *2 wḏ 1 rm*w […*sm*]*w* ᶜ*nḫ 3 pꜣḳ*(*?*) *3 ḳḏ*(*ḏ*) *1 ḥrỉ* […] *5 ḫꜣy ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ 3 s*ᶜ*b 2* […*n*]*fr*(*t*)*-ỉry sꜣ*(*t*) *kỉ* [*ḳw*] ᶜ*ꜣ* [*1*…] *ḥḳḳ 6 rmw mḫy 1 tꜣ-ỉw*[*=s*…*s*]ᶜ*b 1 kršt 1 nḫ kꜣp*(*?*) *1 ps*(*n*) *1*; O. DeM 10041, rt. 1 – vs. 4. For a translation of this text, see, for example, Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* X (2006), 46. For the transliteration with the word *kꜣp*, see idem, 46. For *kꜣp*, see Janssen, The Daily Bread, *BES* 13 (1997), 23. For the sign used in O. DeM 10041 after the word *nḫ*, see Janssen, *op. cit.*, 26–27.

8 *P*]*ꜣ-kꜣ-mn*[…] *5 ꜣst ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ 2* […]*-mꜣ*ᶜ*t ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ sbn 4 ỉmn-pꜣ-ḥ*ᶜ*py ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ sbn 5 tꜣ-ỉw-n=s ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ sbn 3 ꜣst ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ sbn 3 dmḏ 30*[…; O. Cairo CG 25650, 1–6.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 172; Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I (1995), 68.

10 *Dmḏ 30*[…; O. Cairo CG 25650, 7.

11 O. DeM 639, rt. 1 – vs. 3.

12 …]*ỉ ỉꜣrt mḫy 1 š*ᶜ*y bỉt 1* […*s*]*mw* ᶜ*nḫ 2 bꜣy mḫy 1 ḏss* […] *1* <*psꜣ*> *twr*(*?*) *3 rmw ḳꜣy 1* […] *r*ᶜ*-ỉꜣ ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ* [*1 s*ᶜ]*b 1 psꜣ 1 nḫ kꜣp*(*?*) *1 ḥ*[*ḳḳ*…] *ḳw n ỉt 1 ỉmn-m-ỉ*[*p*]*t ḳw 1 s*ᶜ*b 1 n*[…] *kršt 2 [...ḥ*ᶜ*-m-nw*]*n*(*?*) *ḳw* ᶜ*ꜣ 3 s*ᶜ*b 1 sšrt pꜣḳ* […] *1* (*n*)*ḫ kꜣp*(*?*) *1 kmḥ 1 ? 1 ḥḳḳ 1*; O. DeM 639, rt. 2 – vs. 3. For the transliteration *kꜣp*, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* X (2006), 46.

O. Turin N. 57010[1] (date attributed to year 27 of Ramesses III[2]) might also be a gift-giving list.[3] On the recto side of this ostracon, food and other items brought by at least four individuals seem to have been listed. Among the items given are a tool, a chest, and several batches of five *sš*-loaves each.[4] According to the verso side of this document, a woman called Sa did something for – or perhaps gave something to – her daughter on I *prt* 9.[5] Several items, such as *sš*-loaves, a *ṯtf*-jar, some wood, and a tool, are listed.[6] As the text is incomplete, it is impossible to deduce the relationship of the two sides of the document to each other. Nonetheless, the provisions listed on each side are similar.

To sum up, the gifts, according to these gift-giving lists, that were brought to the host on various occasions consisted mainly of various loaves of bread. Cakes, emmer wheat, vegetables, fruit, fish, meat, oil, and beer were also brought by some of the persons listed in these documents. Items other than food, such as baskets, wooden containers, and sandals were also occasionally presented to the host on these occasions.[7] In certain lists, the number of people listed and the quantity of the food is so large that these particular texts may testify to a party during a public feast.[8] The shorter lists may record smaller gatherings either during public or private feasts.

The items mentioned in the gift-giving lists resemble the articles that were given to various individuals during interpersonal transfers in general.[9] The numbers of items presented, furthermore, are similar in both groups of documents.[10] The accounts of transfers, which record items assigned to or given by one person to another,[11] therefore, will be discussed here. For the purposes of this study, only the references mentioning transfers due to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions were taken into account. Twenty-three of the documents in the corpus were considered as constituting accounts of transfers. In these twenty-four documents, there were seventy-nine references to transfers due to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions. Forty-two per cent of the references stand for a transfer due to a feast in the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar

---

1 O. Turin N. 57010, rt. 1 – vs. 4.

2 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 20; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 517.

3 See also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56 note 4.

4 …]*5 ꜥ-n-ḫ*ꜥ*w 1 ꜥfd 1* […]*5 nfrt-ỉry tɜ ḥmt n knỉ sš* […] *ḥnry sš 5* […*sš*] *5 ḥɜy* […*sš*] *5 srw? n*[…] *ḥtpw 1*; O. Turin N. 57010, rt. 1–4.

5 *Rnpt 27 I prt 9 m ḥrw pn* […] *ỉr.n sɜ n tɜy=st šrỉt*; O. Turin N. 57010, vs. 1–2. Due to the presence of the *ṯtf*-jar among the items listed, it has been suggested that Sa performed an offering for her daughter (*Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Turin N. 57010, Contents).

6 *Sš*[…] *ṯtf 1* [*ḫt ḳnỉ*] *1 ꜥ-n-ḫ*ꜥ[…; O. Turin N. 57010, vs. 2–3.

7 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 85.

8 Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC* 20.2 (2005), 19.

9 Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 255–256; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56 note 5; see also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 131–132.

10 For example, in the gift-giving lists, the number of *ꜥḳw*-loaves is generally 5 or its multiples although occasionally 3, 4, or 6 *ꜥḳw*-loaves are recorded (Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 85). In the accounts of transfer, the number of *ꜥḳw*-loaves is generally 5, 10, or 15 but infrequently smaller numbers such as 1 and 3 also occur (e.g., O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 4 (*ꜥḳw 5*); O. Berlin P 12406, vs. 2 (*ꜥḳw 15*); O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 7, 10 (*ꜥḳw 1*); O. BM EA 29560, rt. 12 (*ꜥḳw 1*), 15 (*ꜥḳw 5*), 17 (*ꜥḳw* 3), vs. 13 (*ꜥḳw 3*); O. Glasgow D.1925.72, rt. 3 (*ꜥḳw 5*); O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 5 (*ꜥḳw 10*); P. DeM 2, rt. 6 (*ꜥḳw 10*), vs. 3 (*ꜥḳw ỉt 5*)).

11 For accounts of transfer as a text type, see Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 148–153.

while twenty-two per cent of the references are to a transfer due to a personal feast.[1] Three (13%) of the accounts of transfers in the corpus have been attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty.[2] Fifteen (65%) of the documents have been dated to[3] or attributed a date in[4] the 20th Dynasty. Seventy per cent of the references to feasting in accounts of transfers are in these 20th Dynasty documents. Four documents (17%) have had no date attributed to them.[5]

The structure of the accounts of transfers is different from that of the gift-giving lists. Accounts of transfers record items given by the writer of the text to one or several persons on various occasions, such as feasts, over an extended period of time while gift-giving texts generally list several people and the items they brought to the writer on a single occasion. According to the accounts of transfers, foodstuffs and other items were also given on occasions other than feasts.[6] It appears that the gift-giving lists and the transfers due to feasts perhaps testify to a similar kind of activity although the viewpoint of the writer is different in each case. This difference in viewpoint can be highlighted by the account of transfers O. DeM 952[7] (no date attributed) where it is related how a man received food and other objects due to the birth of his daughter:[8]

O. DeM 952[9]

(rt. 1) ...] given to him at the birth of his daughter: 1 wooden *ytỉt* spread in her place of sleeping, 1 basket of food containing: 1 *ʿḳḳ*-loave, 1 *ḏss*-fish, 1 *mḥ*-vessel of meat, 10 *mnt*-jar of beer, 9 barley loaves, [...] hin of [oil?].
(vs. 1) [Again on]her day 3: 1 large ash-baked *sš*-loave, *sšrt*?, 5 *sš*-loaves, 1 *nt*-vessel of beans, 30 bundles of vegetables, 15 handfuls of reeds.
(vs. 8) Again on day 14: 1 *ḳḏḏ*-loave, 1 *nt*-vessel of beans.

---

1 Such a personal feast might be a feast of the recipient of the items or of the benefactor; e.g., O. Gardiner AG 57, 3–4 (*rd*]*yt n=f n pɜy=f ḥb n* […); O. Varille 24, 1–2, 5 (*ɜḫt n sš-ḳd mn nty m-ʿ ʿnḫ* [*n*] *nỉwt ỉỉy-m-wɜw…wḥm mnḏm n pɜy=f ḥb*).

2 E.g., O. DeM 230; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Michaelides 48.

3 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25598; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

4 E.g., O. Berlin P 10631; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. BM EA 29560; O. DeM 297; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.71; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. Michaelides 12; O. Queen's College 1115; O. Varille 24, P. DeM 2.

5 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. DeM 952; O. IFAO 344; O. OIM N. 160.

6 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 50; O. Berlin P 10637; O. Berlin P 12406; O. Berlin P 12635; O. Gardiner AG 57; O. Glasgow D.1925.71; O. Glasgow D.1925.72; O. Liverpool 13625; O. Michaelides 12; O. Michaelides 48; O. Queen's College 1115; P. DeM 2; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

7 O. DeM 952, rt. 1 – vs. 16; this text is also known as O. IFAO 1069.

8 Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 180–181 (O. IFAO 1069); for another view of the content of this text, see Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 254–255 (O. IFAO 1069).

9 O. DeM 952, rt. 1 – vs. 16
(l. 1) …] *rdyt n=f m pɜ* (l. 2) *msw n pɜy=f šrỉt* (l. 3) *ḫt ytỉt 1* (l. 4) *sš.tỉ m tɜy=st st sḏr*
(l. 5) *ḥtp 1 n wnm nty ḥr=f* (l. 6) *ʿḳḳ 1* (rt. 7) *ḏss 1* (rt. 8) *ỉwf mḥ 1*
(rt. 9) [*ḥ*]*nḳ*[*t*] *mnt 10* (rt. 10) [*ʿḳw n*] *ỉt 9* (rt. 11) […] *hnw* […
(vs. 1) [*wḥm m pɜy*]*=s hrw 3* (vs. 2) *sš ʿɜt ḫɜ 1* (vs. 3) *sšrt?* (vs. 4) *sš 5*
(vs. 5) *ỉwr nt 1* (vs. 6) *smw ḫrš 30* (vs. 7) *ỉsy drt 15*
(vs. 8) *wḥm pɜ hrw 14* (vs. 9) *ḳḏḏ 1* (vs. 10) *ỉwr nt 1*
(vs. 11) *wḥm pɜ swrỉ ʿɜ* (vs. 12) [*ḥ*]*nḳt mnt 6 sš 30*
(vs. 13) *mrḥw hnw* 1 (vs. 14) *rḫs ỉnr* (vs. 15) *smw ḫrš 40*
(vs. 16) *ỉsy dr*[*t…*
For a translation of this text, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 124–125; for the translation of *sš n hɜ* as 'ash-baked loaf', see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56–57, (b).

> (vs. 11) Again at the big drinking(-party): 6 *mnt*-jars of [b]eer, 30 *sš*-loaves,
> 1 hin of cosmetic oil, [...] *ỉnr*-platters of *rḥs*-cakes, 40 bundles of vegetables,
> [...h]andfuls of reeds.

The document lists items presented on four separate occasions. The first three events mentioned seem to be connected with the birth of the daughter and, hence, the 'big drinking' may also be related to this occasion.[1] This drinking-party brings to mind the drinking-parties referred to in the aforementioned gift-giving lists O. Berlin P 14328[2] and O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38.[3] In the case of O. DeM 952, the gift-giving, however, was recorded only from the point of view of the contributor.

Transfers were, furthermore, carried out during personal feasts of the one who *gave* the items listed in the document. For example, O. Varille 24[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[5]) appears to be an account of transfers kept by the draughtsman Men. A woman called Iyemwaw received food from him on various occasions and during 'his (personal) feast' she was given a basket.[6] Furthermore, according to O. Queen's College 1115[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[8]), the writer of this particular document transferred goods to a woman on two separate occasions of his own personal feasts, once at 'my feast for Amon of the Beautiful Encounter' and another time at 'my feast for Hathor'.

In view of the connection between the gift-giving lists and the feasts mentioned in accounts of transfers, one might suggest that gift-giving, and especially recording such gifts, may have been more common at Deir el-Medina than the actual gift-giving lists indicate. However, it is unclear whether the items recorded in the accounts of transfers to have been given on the occasion of a feast were, in fact, intended for the celebration of the feast in question or whether feasts simply provided a suitable opportunity to carry out any transfers.[9]

---

1 See also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 181.

2 *R rdỉt rḫ.tw pꜣ nkt ỉ.ỉṯꜣ.n rmṯ-ỉst mn-ḫꜥw m<-ḏr> swrỉ* [*m?*] *pꜣy=f pr*; O. Berlin P 14328, rt. 1–3.

3 *Rdyt ꜣst* [*ḥmt*] *nb-nfr sš 10 sš n hꜣ 1 mnt 1 n pꜣ swrỉ n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38, 1.

4 *ꜣḫt n sš-ḳd mn nty m-ꜥ ꜥnḫ* [*n*] *nỉwt ỉỉy-m-wꜣw*; O. Varille 24, rt. 1–2.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 341; according to *Deir el-Medina Database* this is, however, improbable (O. Varille 24, Remarks).

6 *Wḥm mnḏm n pꜣy=f ḥb*; O. Varille 24, rt. 5.

7 *Pꜣy=ỉ ḥb n ỉmn ṯḥn-nfr ḥpr…wḥm dỉt n=s* (*m*) *pꜣy=ỉ ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Queen's College 1115, rt. 2, vs. I, 6–7.

8 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 167–168.

9 Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 224; see also Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001), 74.

2.5 Rituals Connected with Local Feasts

2.5.1 Processions

A procession was an important ritual of any public feast in ancient Egypt.[1] Various words that were employed to denote a procession were used in connection with certain festivals in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina.[2] In the corpus of this study, there are also several references to processions that cannot be securely identified with a feast featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina. Such references are found in ten documents (6%) of the 176 documents containing references to feasts, feast rituals, and festive behaviour. Three of these documents are letters,[3] three are work journals,[4] and two short notes.[5] All in all, these ten documents contain twelve references to a procession outside the reconstructed festival calendar (3% of all references to feasting). One of the references also mentions drinking, i.e., another aspect of feasting,[6] and six of them contain a date.[7] One of the documents has been attributed a date generally in the Ramesside Period[8] and one has a date attributed in the reign of Ramesses II.[9] The other

---

1 E.g., Sauneron, *Les prêtres* (1957), 89–95; Altenmüller, Feste, *LÄ* II (1977), 171; Stadelmann, Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1160; Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991), 105–122; see Chapter II 2.

2 The word *ḫʿ*, Appearance (Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 239–240 (verb: *erscheinen*, noun: *Fest*)), was used in the name of the accession feasts of Ramesses II (P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 15; see Chapter III 1.2.3.2) and Ramesses III (O. DeM 55, rt. 1–2; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 26; see Chapter III 1.2.3.3), perhaps also in the name of certain feasts of Amenhotep I (O. BM EA 5637, rt. 8–9 (*ḫʿy nsw* (*imn-ḥtp*)); O. Cairo CG 25275, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25276, 1; O. DeM 10051, vs. 3–4; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. V, 1; see Chapters III 1.2.2.1 and 1.2.2.5). The eponymous feast of Harhor is also called, or perhaps described as, an Appearance (O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; see Chapter III 1.2.1.4). The word *ḫnw*, Sailing (e.g., Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 173–181 (navigation)), in the local vernacular, was employed in the name of the Feast of Mut (O. BM EA 29560, vs. 4; O. DeM 297, 3a; O. IFAO 290, 4; O. IFAO 380, 3; O. IFAO 1088, rt. 7; see Chapter III 1.2.1. 6), Ahmose-Nefertari (O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 3–4; O. DeM 38, 12; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. III, 6; see Chapter III 1.2.2.4), and Seti I (O. Ashmolean Museum 11, vs. 7–8; O. Cairo CG 25503, vs. 4; see Chapter III 1.2.3.1). The word *ḏȝ*, Crossing (Erman & Grapow, *WB* V (1931), 511–513 (*kreuzen, überfahren*)), was used in several documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina to illustrate the processions of Amon-Re from Eastern Thebes to the West side and back during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 11–12; O. Cairo CG 25265 II, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25538, 3; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 7; O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9; see Chapter III 1.2.1.10) and the procession of this particular deity from the temple of Karnak to the temple of Luxor during the Opet Festival (P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 vs. I, 17; see Chapter III 1.2.1.3).

3 O. BM EA 65933[a]; O. DeM 115; O. DeM 132; P. BM EA 10417.

4 P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.; P. Turin Cat. 2044.

5 O. Cairo CG 25559; O. Louvre N 694,2. The other documents are one account of transfers (O. Berlin P 12635) and one account or list (P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047).

6 O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 1–2.

7 O. Cairo CG 25559, rt. 1–3 (III *prt* 21); O. DeM 115, vs. 6–8 (I *šmw* 14); O. Louvre N 694,2, 1 (IV *ȝḫt* 19); P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, 17–18 (II *ȝḫt* 18); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 12 (III *prt* 19); P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 21 (II *prt* 20[+).

8 O. BM EA 65933[a].

9 O. DeM 132.

documents, eight to be more exact, have been dated to[1] or attributed a date in[2] the 20th Dynasty.

Five of the twelve references to processions outside the feasts of the reconstructed festival calendar seem to stand for a procession of Amenhotep I. These particular references span the period from the reign of Ramesses II to the reign of Ramesses IX. As processions of Amenhotep I appear to have been also organized outside the various feasts of this deified king,[3] it is not surprising to find so many references to various processions of the patron of the royal artisans' community. In addition to the four processions already presented above in connection with the references omitted from the reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar,[4] there is one reference to a procession of Amenhotep I. In O. DeM 132[5] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[6]), a woman called Isis asks her sister to weave a garment for her as 'Amenhotep will not come because I am naked'.[7]

In one of the references to processions outside the reconstructed festival calendar, it is Amon whose procession is mentioned while two references might perhaps be interpreted as meaning processions during a feast of this particular god. In O. BM EA 65933[a][8] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[9]), the foreman Hay writes to the vizier with a request to come and let Amon appear in a procession. According to O. Berlin P 12635[10] (date attributed to years 4–6 of Ramesses IV[11]), transfers were made when the 'gods came from the east'. This might be a reference to the statues of Amon, Mut, Khonsu, and Amentet coming in procession from Karnak to Western Thebes during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[12] As there is no date, it is impossible to determine whether this is a reference to the Valley Feast or not. The reference in P. Turin Cat. 2044[13] (date attributed

---

1 P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt.

2 O. Berlin P 12635; O. Cairo CG 25559; O. DeM 115; O. Louvre N 694,2; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047; P. Turin Cat. 2044.

3 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161–162; Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982), 187–189.

4 O. Cairo CG 25559, rt. 1–2 (*III prt 21 hrw pn ṯs ỉn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ˁ *w s ỉw=f pḥy tɜ ỉnt*); O. Louvre N 694,2, 1 (*IV ɜḫt 19 ḥˁy nṯr pn* [*nsw*] (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); O. DeM 115, vs. 6–8 (*ỉw bn ỉry pɜ nṯr ḥˁy m I šmw 14*); P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 vs. II, 21 (*II prt 20*[+…]*ḥˁ n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)); see Chapter III 1.3 (IV *ɜḫt* 19, II *prt* 29, III *prt* 21, I *šmw* 14).

5 *ʾIw bw ỉỉy* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ˁ *w s pɜ-wn tw=ỉ ḫɜw.kwỉ r ỉḳr sp sn sp sn*; O. DeM 132, 3–5. For translations of this text, see, for example, Allam, *HOP* (1973), 99–100; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 157; McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 41.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 558; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 157.

7 This might be a reference to Isis hoping to receive an oracle statement from the deified king. According Schafik Allam, the reference to Amenhotep I not coming means that a negative answer was received for an oracle petition (*HOP* (1973), 99–100, note 3).

8 *ʾIr pɜy=n nb r swh n=n m pɜy=f ỉỉy r dỉt ḥˁy ỉmn* [*m pɜ*…; O. BM EA 65933[a], vs. 2–3.

9 Kenneth Kitchen attributed a date to this text in the reign of Ramesses III (Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 583–584) but Robert Demarée attributed it to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty (*Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 41).

10 *Pɜ ỉỉy nɜ nṯrw m ỉɜbt*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 1.

11 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 355.

12 See Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

13 *ʾIw=w m nɜ brw ỉw=w mỉ* […] *nỉwt ḥnˁ ỉmn nỉwt r nhm r-ḏr=w ỉw=n nhm r wrt* […*ỉ*]*mn-rˁ nsw nṯrw nhm ỉm=f*; P. Turin Cat 2044 vs. I, 2–4.

to the mid-20th Dynasty[1]) to people of Eastern and Western Thebes in boats rejoicing in Amon appears to describe a water procession, perhaps during the Valley Festival.[2]

Moreover, there are two references to a procession with either the statue of Amenhotep I or the statue of Amon. According to the account of transfers O. Berlin P 12635[3] (date attributed to years 4–6 of Ramesses IV[4]), a woman was given items on the occasion of the 'Crossing (*ḏȝ*) of *pȝ nṯr*'. The word *ḏȝ*, 'crossing',[5] seems to refer to water processions of Amon during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley[6] and the Opet Festival[7] while the word *pȝ nṯr* was often used in connection with Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina.[8] According to P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237,[9] in the third year of Ramesses VI,[10] an Appearance of 'the god' (*pȝ nṯr*) took place on II *ȝḫt* 18. As this was the Eve of the Opet Festival[11] and there is, in this papyrus, also a mention of the First High Priest of Amon arriving in Thebes that same day, II *ȝḫt* 18,[12] the reference to the procession of *pȝ nṯr* may be to the main procession of Amon during the Opet Festival. Alternatively, the reference might designate a procession of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina.[13]

In addition to these processions of Amenhotep I and Amon, there in the corpus of the local and private feasts of Deir el-Medina is one more reference to a procession.[14] According to P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094[15] (year 3 of Ramesses X[16]), the royal artisans were work-free because of a Sailing on III *prt* 19. Any further information on this procession is lost in a lacuna.

In view of these references to processions one may perhaps conclude that processions were common at Deir el-Medina, at least at the feasts of Amenhotep I.

---

1 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 340–343 (year 1 of Ramesses VI); McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 227 (year 1 of Ramesses V or VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 417–418, 420–421 (year 1 of Ramesses V).

2 See Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

3 *Wḥm m tȝ ḏȝyt n pȝ nṯr*; O. Berlin P 12635, rt. 11.

4 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 355.

5 Erman & Grapow, *WB* V (1931), 511–513 (*kreuzen, überfahren*).

6 See Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

7 P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 vs. I, 17 (years 14–15 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 641–644); see Chapter III 1.2.1.3.

8 Amenhotep I was often referred to as *pȝ nṯr*, especially in various 20th Dynasty oracle accounts; see Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 158.

9 *ʾIw pȝ nṯr ḥr ḥʿy*; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1, 17–18. The date written is I *ȝḫt* 18, but probably stands for II *ȝḫt* 18 (see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1, Dates mentioned).

10 For the date of this papyrus, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 339–340; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 447–448.

11 Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 725 (list 28) (e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 147); P. BM EA 9999 pl. 17a, 4–6 (Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994), pl. 17).

12 *ʾIw pȝ ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn ḥr spr r nỉwt*; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1, 15–16.

13 See also Borghouts, Divine Intervention (1982), 25.

14 See Chapter III 1.3 (III *prt* 19).

15 *Wsf tȝ ỉst ḫnt*[…; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 12.

16 For the date of this papyrus, see, for example, Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 687–699; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 541–554.

This fact is corroborated by oracle accounts,[1] stelae,[2] and tomb paintings[3] pertaining to Deir el-Medina. Whether there were also local processions of Amon or whether the references to the parades of this god stand for the main processions of the statue of Amon during the feasts celebrated in Thebes is less clear. Furthermore, it remains uncertain whether the processions of deities, such as Mut, Hathor, Ahmose-Nefertari, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III, referred to in the names of certain feasts connected to the reconstructed festival calendar were, in actual fact, organized at Deir el-Medina or not.

[1] E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 23, 4 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 663); O. BM EA 5625 (date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses V; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 252–253); O. Cairo CG 25364 (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 346–347); O. Cairo CG 25555 + O. DeM 999, rt. 7, 8, vs. 3 (year 14 of Ramesses III; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 21); O. Cairo CG 25559 (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 104 (year 1 of Ramesses IV)); O. Louvre N 694,2 (date attributed to year 14 of Ramesses III; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 284).

[2] Stela Clère 9 (reign of Ramesses II; Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 190–192; Stela Louvre 338 (reign of Ramesses III or IV; Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO 27* (1927), 192).

[3] TT2, funerary chapel, 1st room (see, for example, Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 186–188, fig. 13, fig. 14; reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9).

2.5.2 Offering Rituals

Offering rituals were performed during feasts featured in the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar of feasts celebrated annually on the same civil calendar day.[1] This is demonstrated, for example, by O. DeM 127[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[3]), the writer of which refers to an offering the addressee was going to perform to Amon during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. In the corpus, there are also references to an offering ritual being a component of feasts that cannot be identified with a feast in the reconstructed festival calendar.[4]

In the corpus of this study, there are seventeen documents with references to the performance of an offering ritual that did not take place during a feast featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina. Of all such documents, letters[5] make up twenty-nine per cent while lists of men absent or working[6] form twenty-four per cent. The twenty documents with references to the act of performing offering rituals contain, all in all, twenty-nine such references. Five of these references allude at the same time to another aspect of feasting.[7] One document with references to performing offering rituals has been attributed a date generally in the Ramesside Period.[8] Seven (41%) of the documents have been dated to[9] or attributed a date in[10] the 19th Dynasty. These 19th Dynasty documents contain fifteen references to the act of performing offering rituals (58% of all such references). Nine (53%) documents have been dated to[11] or attributed a date within the 20th Dynasty.[12] The ten references in these 20th Dynasty documents account for thirty-eight per cent of all the references to performing an offering ritual outside the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina.

Whereas, as far as I am aware, there are no references to the *entire community* of Deir el-Medina participating in an offering ritual together, there are, indeed, references to the *entire crew* being present. For example, according to O. Cairo CG 25290[13] (year 6 of

---

1 For offering rituals in ancient Egypt, see, for example, Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung altägyptishcen Opferformel* (1968); Altenmüller, Opfer, *LÄ* IV (1982), 579–584; Englund, Gifts to the Gods – a necessity for the preservation of cosmos and life. Theory and praxis, in Linders & Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985* (1987), 57–66; Haring, Die Opferprozessionsszenen (1995), 73–82.

2 *Dì<=ì> ỉn.tw n=k…snṯr…hrw n pɜ wdn ỉ.ỉr=k n ỉmn m ḥb ỉnt*; O. DeM 127, rt. 3, 5, vs. 1–2. For the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, see Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139.

4 See Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 163–164; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 148–149; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 193–197.

5 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. DeM 603; P. BM EA 10430; P. DeM 3; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I–II.

6 E.g., O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782.

7 O. Brussels E 6311, rt. 4–7 (purification?); O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 2–4 (pouring water); O. DeM 603, 5–7 (other indication of feasting); P. BM EA 10430, vs. 7 (*pɜ-y=f ḥb*); P. DeM 3, rt. 6–8 (*wp*).

8 O. Turin N. 57191.

9 O. BM EA 5634; Statue Cairo JE 72000.

10 O. Brussels E 6311; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25780; O. Cairo CG 25782; P. BM EA 10055.

11 O. Cairo CG 25290; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I-II.

12 O. Ashmolean Museum 5; O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39; O. DeM 603; O. Turin N. 57033 ; O. Turin N. 57356; P. BM EA 10430; P. DeM 3.

13 *ʾIỉy pw ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯɜty nfr-rnpt r ptr pɜ sḥn*; O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 2–3.

Ramesses VI[1]), the vizier Neferronpet came to inspect the work in the Royal Tomb as well as to pour water and to present (*wꜣḥ*)[2] a wreath of flowers to the Mistress of Thebes.[3] As someone from the community of Deir el-Medina deemed it imperative to record this particular event, the royal artisans may have witnessed this offering made by the vizier. Further examples of offering rituals performed by or in the presence of the royal artisans as a group can be found in references to feasts featured in the reconstructed festival calendar. According to O. DeM 401[4] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[5]), the royal artisans performed an offering ritual (*wdn*) during the Feast of Ptah. Furthermore, according to Graffito 2087[6] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[7]), the crew brought (*ms*) *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* to Meretseger during the *Khoiak* Festival.[8] These occasions of the offering ritual may have been attended by all the royal artisans but not by their families.

An offering ritual could also be performed by a smaller group of people. According to O. BM EA 5634[9] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[10]), five men were absent from work on I *prt* 14 in order to make an offering (*wdn*) to *pꜣ nṯr*, 'the god'. These references in O. BM EA 5634 may be to a small-scale feast of Amenhotep I.[11] On the following day, I *prt* 15, Siwadjet was still absent from work to offer to 'the god'.[12] One might suggest that this particular man celebrated a two-day long personal feast of Amenhotep I which the other four men attended as guests only on the first day, I *prt* 14.[13] An alternative explanation might be that the five men who were offering to *pꜣ nṯr* were the wab-priests who took care of the cult of this particular deity[14] and that the offering ritual of the second day was perhaps less elaborate and needed only one of the men to perform it. In O. Cairo CG

---

1 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25290, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 143; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 398.

2 See Erman & Grapow, *WB* I, 253 (Opfergaben hinlegen).

3 *ỉw=f wꜣḥ-mw pꜣ mꜣḥ r-ˁ*[…]*yt nbt wꜣst*; O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 3–5.

4 *Hrw pn wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ˁꜣt ỉn tꜣ ỉst r-gs pꜣ r-ˁ-bꜣk*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–3.

5 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

6 *ỉỉ ỉn tꜣ ỉst r ms kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ n nwt ˁꜣt špsyt mrt-sgr*; Graffito 2087, 1–3.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 420.

8 Rather than referring to the actual *Khoiak* Festival (see Chapter III 1.2.1.5), the *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* brought to Meretseger, as referred to in this graffito perhaps stands for vessels called *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* (see O. Demarée H 6, 8; *ḳrḥt kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ 40*; date attributed to year 3 of Seti I; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 30).

9 *Sꜣ-wꜣḏyt…I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…ˁꜣ-pḥty…I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…wn-nfr I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…*[*pꜣ*]*-ḥry-pḏt…I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr…rˁ-ḥtp I prt 14 wdn n pꜣ nṯr*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 4, 12, 16, 21, vs. 17.

10 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

11 The phrase *pꜣ nṯr* was often used of Amenhotep I, particularly in various 20th Dynasty oracle accounts; see Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 158. As O. BM EA 5634 dates to the reign of Ramesses II, i.e., to the time far before these 20th Dynasty oracle accounts, it is also possible that *pꜣ nṯr* refers here to some other god; see also Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 148. Wolfgang Helck suggested that the reference to burying *pꜣ ntr* in this document stands for the beginning of the Feast of Sokar (Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 164).

12 *I prt 15 m-mỉtt*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 4.

13 See other references in this document: Khons was work-free on I *ꜣḫt* 14–15 to celebrate a *ḥb=f* while Pendua is said to have been drinking with Khons on I *ꜣḫt* 14 only (*pn-dwꜣ…I ꜣḫt 14 swrỉ m-ˁ ḫnsw… ḫnsw…I ꜣḫt 14 ḥb=f sw 15 ḥb=f*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 2, vs. 10). For personal feasts, see Chapter III 2.3.

14 See also Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 148.

25782[1] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[2]), six men are mentioned as having been work-free due to offering rituals they were performing on one of the days I *šmw* 24–26.[3] Whether the rituals were performed in groups or not, is not evident from the text. Furthermore, in this particular document, both Pendua and Amememope are said to have been offering (*wdn*) to the 'Mistress of the Northern Wind' on IV *prt* 28.[4] This reference might be understood as an offering ritual to Hathor: 'Mistress of the Northern Wind' was one of the epithets of this popular deity.[5]

Many references to the act of performing an offering ritual seem to stand for a rite that was carried out by only one person. Generally, the references also indicate to whom the offering was performed, the object of the veneration being mainly a deity of the community. According to the aforementioned O. BM 5634[6] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[7]), Wennefer was off work because he was offering (*wdn*) to 'his god'. In O. Brussels E 6311[8] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[9]), some of the items listed appear to have been meant for a man to bring (*ỉn*) to 'his god'. It is not evident from these texts which of the village deities it was whom these two men considered their personal god. In O. Cairo CG 25779[10] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[11]) and O. Cairo CG 25780[12] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[13]), individual men, one at a time, are reported as having been off work due to making an offering (*wdn*) to Hathor. In his deposition against Paneb recorded in P. BM EA 10055[14] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[15]), Amennakht charged this particular foreman with inciting the villagers to prevent any kin of Amennakht from going to make offerings (*wdn*) to Amon. The act of offering

---

1 (*I šmw*) *sw 24… wdn ḥwy sꜣ ḥwy-nfr wdn rˁ-ḥtp…wdn nb-nḫt sꜣ mḥt-mnw wdn nꜣḥy sꜣ bw-ḳn.tw=f…sw 25 wdn nꜣḥy wdn ḥr-nfr…sw 26…wdn ꜣnwy*; O. Cairo CG 25782, vs. 17–23.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 116–119; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–52.

3 The sign for offering (*wdn*) was inserted afterwards between the lines which might explain why an abbreviated form of the word was used. Terry Wilfong suggested that the abbreviated form perhaps stands for *ḥsmn* (Menstrual Synchrony (1999), 422 note 9) but the fact that offering to *ḥnwt mḥyt* is mentioned on the recto side of O. Cairo CG 25782 (rt. 7) might indicate that the same word is meant with the abbreviation.

4 *IV prt 28…pn-dwꜣ wdn n ḥnwt mḥyt ỉmn-m-ỉpt m-mỉtt*; O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 5, 7–8. In this particular document, Amenemope is additionally said to have been absent from work in order to brew beer for Hathor on the previous day, IV *prt* 27 (rt. 1, 4–5).

5 See, for example, Noberasco, Gli dei, *OrAnt* 20 (1981), 259–275; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 117.

6 *Wn-nfr…IV šmw 4 wdn n nṯr=f*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 16.

7 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

8 *N pꜣ ḥmty r ỉn pꜣy=f nṯr*; O. Brussels E 6311, rt. II 4; see also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 165.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 230–231.

10 *II ꜣḫt 6…*[*rˁ-ḥtp*] *w*[*dn*] *n ḥwt-h*[*r…*; O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 14.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 100–102; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–51.

12 (*IV prt*) *sw 28…ỉmn-m-ỉpt wdn n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Cairo CG 25780, 7–8.

13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 220–221; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 116–117; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–52.

14 *Mtw=f ḫpr ḥr ˁš pꜣ dmỉt r ḏd m dyt ptr.tw rmṯ n tꜣ mhꜣỉ n ˁꜣ n ỉst nb-nfr ỉw=f šm r wdn n ỉmn pꜣy=w nṯr ḥr=f*; P. BM EA 10055 vs. I, 14–16. The document is also known as P. Salt 124.

15 For the date attributed, see, for example, Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929), 251–257; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 408–414.

to Amon would have taken place in the chapel of Amennakht's parents.[1] In O. DeM 603[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[3]), the scribe Qensety writes to his brother to ask for some ink and reed pens with which he was going to fill his scribal palette on the 'day of Thoth'. The action referred to by Qensety may have been a ritual of offering a scribal palette to Thoth.[4] In P. DeM 3[5] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[6]), Hay writes that he needs a garment because he is going to make an offering to Sobek and that he will return this garment when he has celebrated the feast. It remains unclear whether this feast of Sobek celebrated by Hay was a personal feast of this man or a feast observed by the whole village. In any case, the ritual may have been performed by Hay alone. In O. Turin N. 57191[7] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[8]), giving 'white-bread' to Ptah (*rdi n ptḥ t-ḥḏ*) is mentioned. Furthermore, in O. Turin N. 57356[9] (date attributed to the second half of the 20th Dynasty[10]), an unidentified person referred to the time he had been making 'water-bread' (*irt t-mw*) for Taweret. Making bread for Taweret probably means preparing it for an offering to be presented to her.

The object of the offering ritual was, in some cases, not a deity. In his eighth regnal year, Ramesses II ordered offerings to be made (*wꜣḥ ḥtp-nṯr*) to the statue of the scribe Ramose (Statue Cairo JE 72000)[11] which was standing in the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina. Furthermore, in P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969[12] (year 6 of Ramesses VI[13]), someone from Deir el-Medina[14] wrote to the king about the cult (*irt ḥtp-nṯr*) of the king's statue in the Khenu-chapel. The writer further related that statues of earlier kings had also

---

1 *Sḫꜣw r pꜣy=f ꜥrḳ ḥry pꜣ ḫnw n tꜣy=i mwt pꜣy=i it*; P. BM EA 10055 vs. I, 13.

2 *Mtw=k wḫꜣ* […] *n ry(t) m-mitt wꜥ n drt ꜥryw nty iw=i mḥ nꜣy=i gsti m-im=sn hrw ḏḥwty*; O. DeM 603, 7.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI V* (1983), 568; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 165.

4 The intention of Qensety resembles the ritual depicted in the Valley of the Queens tomb of Nefertari (QV66, side chamber of the outer hall, north wall; reign of Ramesses II; e.g., Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 762–765) and the Greco-Roman custom of offering a palette to Thoth (Derchain-Urtel, *Thot à travers* (1981), 1–26). See Chapter III 1.2.1.2.

5 *Ptr tw=i wdn n sbk pꜣy=k nb imi in.tw wꜥ n* <*ḥ*>*bs* (*n*) *nꜣy=k bꜣk ir iry=i pꜣ wp iw=i dit in.tw=f n=k ꜥn*; P. DeM 3, rt. 6–9. For a translation of the text, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 140.

6 For the date attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 140.

7 *Rdi*] *n ptḥ t-ḥḏ*; O. Turin N. 57191, rt. 6. For *t-ḥḏ*, see Stroop-Kiraly, L'Offrande du Pain Blanc, *BSÉG* 13 (1989), 157–160; Janssen, The Daily Bread, *BES* 13 (1997), 25–26.

8 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 38.

9 *Wnn=i ḥr irt pꜣy=i* [*t*]*-mw n tꜣ-wrt*; O. Turin N. 57356, 1. For *t-ḥr-mw*, see Janssen, The Daily Bread, *BES* 13 (1997), 30.

10 For the dates attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982), 19 (probably Ramesses V through Ramesses IX); Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 355–356 (Ramesses V).

11 *Rnpt-sp 8…nsw-bity* (*wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ* […] *sꜣ rꜥ* […]*rꜥ-ms*)*…wḏ ḥm=f ꜥ w s wꜣḥ ḥtp-nṯr n twt pn n tꜣ ḥwt ḥwt-ḥr ḥryt-tp wꜣst m pꜣ ḥr*; Statue Cairo JE 72000; Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–40 II* (1952), 56–57, pls. XII, XXXV.

12 *Twt nfr n…*(*nb-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ mry-imn…iw.tw r rdit ḥtp=f m pr* (*wsr-mꜣꜥt rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ*)…[*rdy pꜣy=i nb nfr*] *r rdit dd.tw=f…iw=f irt pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr* […] *pꜣy twt*; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I, 3, 9, 19–21. For this reading, see Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 108, note mm.

13 For dating P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I–II to year 6 of Ramesses VI, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 335–339; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 449; see also Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 107–121.

14 Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 114.

stood in this temple and had received offerings (*ỉrt ḥnw*) thrice every day.[1] Regarding the object of an offering ritual being other than a statue of a village deity, one may perhaps also refer to O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[3]). According to this document, an imbursement was paid for an offering made (*wdn*) to a sarcophagus or such like.[4]

The scribe of O. Turin N. 57033,[5] (years 24–25 of Ramesses III[6]) noted on III *šmw* 7 that an ox was slaughtered as an offering to Ptah. Lamps on this particular day were used for work in the Royal Tomb and, thus, it seems that the men were working despite the offering ritual. The slaughter may have been done as preparation for an offering ritual performed the following day on which the royal artisans seem to have been work-free.[7] As the slaughter was recorded in a work journal, the ox may have been intended for an offering ritual attended by the entire community or crew. A similar offering of an ox may be referred to in O. Ashmolean Museum 5[8] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[9]), the writer of which asked the guardian Khay to bring an ox to Meretseger. Note also the fragmentary letter P. BM EA 10430[10] (date attributed to the *wḥm-mswt*[11]) where slaughtering something at 'his feast' is mentioned. Unfortunately, the details of the event are lost in lacunae. At any rate, it seems that something, perhaps an ox, was slaughtered for an offering at a personal feast.

Several documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina refer to items which were intended for an offering ritual. Two groups of such texts are the accounts of the distribution of grain rations and the accounts of necropolis supplies where grain for various deities of the village, i.e., for the cults of these gods, were occasionally mentioned.[12] The grain received for a particular god was probably made into bread and beer to be presented to the deity in question.[13] Meretseger, Hathor, and Amenhotep I are prominent in such accounts; nevertheless, several other deities of the community can also be found.[14] The lists of grain deliveries mentioning offerings for deities are rare compared to the number of all the known documents recording grains rations. One might suggest that, in general, the

---

1 *Mỉ nɜ twwt ỉ.ỉrw nɜy=w ỉtw n nsw* (*wsr-mɜʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ*)*…m-mỉtt* [*nsw* (*bɜ-n-rʿ mry-ỉ*]*mn*)*…ỉw.tw ḥr ỉrt n=sn 3 ḥnw m mnt*; P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969 vs. I, 10–12. For this reading, see Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 108, note s.

2 O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39, rt. 1 – vs. 10.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 587–588.

4 *R rdỉt rḫ.tw ɜḫt nbt rdyt ḫnm-ms n rt m šbt n pɜ wdn n tɜy=f ḏbɜ*(*t*); O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.39, rt. 1–2.

5 *Sw 7 ḫbs 6 sʿd ỉḥ n ptḥ*; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 9.

6 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

7 III *šmw* 8 has no entry in addition to the date; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 10.

8 *N sɜw ḫɜy ḫnʿ ḏd…mtw=k ỉn ỉḥ n mrt-sgr*; O. Ashmolean Museum 5, 1–2; for reading *ỉḥ n* instead of *nɜ*, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Ashmolean Museum 0005, Remarks.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI, 211.

10 *…s*]*mɜ=f m pɜy=f ḥb*; P. BM EA 10430, vs. 7.

11 For the date attributed, see Wente, *LRL* (1967), 16.

12 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34–35; Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 156–159.

13 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34–35.

14 See Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 156–159. Add O. DeM 395, vs. 10 (*ỉmn-ḥtp* (*ḫɜr*) *½*; date attributed to year 3 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 133); O. DeM 744 + 745 (745) II, 3 (*nbt-ḥtp ḫɜ*[*r…*; date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; e.g., Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 115–116 (later years of Seti II through reign of Siptah)); perhaps also O. DeM 188 + 373, 7 ((*ỉ*[*mn-ḥtp*?] *ḫɜr ¼*; date attributed to the reign of Siptah; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 422–423).

members of the community provided offerings for their deities themselves and that the deliveries to gods from the authorities who provided the grain rations for the royal artisans may have taken place only on special occasions, such as festival days.[1] In some of the lists of grain deliveries containing provisions for deities, the occasions have been dated. According to O. Berlin P 14263[2] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[3]), grain was brought to Taweret on I *šmw* 1, i.e., on the day of the Feast of Renenutet.[4] In O. Berlin P 14264 'K'[5] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[6]), grain for divine offerings (*ḥtp-nṯr*) was among the rations distributed on III or IV *šmw* 3. The latter interpretation of the date would indicate that the delivery was made right after the Feast of *ỉpỉp*.[7] According to P. Turin Cat. 2002[8] (date attributed to years 7–8 of Ramesses IX[9]), divine offerings were brought to Meretseger on I *ꜣḫt* 4, i.e., on the day after the New Year Festival.[10] Furthermore, the divine offerings for Meretseger mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1932 + 1939[11] (year 9 of Ramesses IX[12]) may have taken place during the Opet Festival.[13] According to P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047[14] (date attributed to year 7 of Ramesses IX[15]) divine offerings were delivered on III *ꜣḫt* 25, a day which, as far as I am aware, was not immediately connected to a feast day at Deir el-Medina. The delivery, nevertheless, might have something to do with the Feast of Hathor on IV *ꜣḫt* 1–2.

In addition to accounts of the distribution of grain rations and accounts of necropolis supplies, items intended for offerings were mentioned in certain accounts of transfer. According to P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908,[16] in the fourth year of Ramesses VII,[17] an unidentified man received grain for an offering to Ptah (*wdnw n ptḥ*). On the occasion of a feast of Amon, he also received 10 *hin* of incense.[18] In O. Berlin P 10631[19] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[20]), an unidentified woman is said to have been given some

---

1 See Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 151–161.

2 *Pꜣ dỉw pn-rnnwtt sw 1…tꜣ-wrt 6*[; O. Berlin P 14263, rt. 1–2.

3 For the date attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* (1983), 446; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14263, Beschreibung.

4 For the Feast of Renenutet, see Chapter III 1.2.1.9.

5 +]*III šmw 3 ỉdn dỉw*[…]*…pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr…*; O. Berlin P 14264 'K', rt. 1, 5. This is a supplementary delivery.

6 For the date attributed, see *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14264('K'), Beschreibung; see also Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* (1983), 440.

7 For the Feast of *ỉpỉp*, see Chapter III 1.2.1.11.

8 *I ꜣḫt 4…pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr n mrt-sgr...*; P. Turin Cat. 2002 vs. I, 1–2.

9 For the date attributed, see Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 66–67.

10 For the New Year Festival, see Chapter III 1.2.1.1.

11 *III ꜣḫt 7…šsp…pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr n mrt-s*[*gr…*; P. Turin Cat. 1932 + 1939 rt. II, 1–3.

12 For the date, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 685–687; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 532, 539, 541.

13 For the Opet Festival, see Chapter III 1.2.1.3.

14 *III ꜣḫt 25 šsp…pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr…pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr n mrt-sgr…*; P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt. III, 11 – IV, 2.

15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 624–630; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 494.

16 *Rdyt n=f m rnpt-sp 4* […] *prt 20 r wdnw n ptḥ bty ḫꜣr 1…ỉt m ỉt ḫꜣr 1*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. II, 16.

17 *Rnpt-sp 7…n nsw-bỉty* (*wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ stp-n-rʿ mry-ỉmn*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. III, 13–14; see also Janssen, A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus, *JEA 52* (1966), 91–92.

18 *Rdyt n=f …r pꜣ ḥb n ỉmn…snṯr hnw 10*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. III, 6.

19 *Rdyt n=s m ỉn*[…] *sš pꜣ-sr…snṯr*; O. Berlin P 10631, 8–9.

20 For the date attributed, see Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III (1911), pl. 36.

incense. According to O. UC 39631[1] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[2]), some incense was delivered from the town, i.e., from Eastern Thebes, to another unidentified women.

Supplies for offerings, furthermore, were referred to in various letters pertaining to the royal artisans' community. In O. DeM 124[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[4]), the scribe Neferhotep asked the deputy Hay to come and receive some offering loaves for Hathor. The writer of O. DeM 122[5] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[6]) asks the recipient of this letter to send him some items, including incense.[7] These examples demonstrate that individual persons might receive various items needed for an offering ritual. It remains unclear whether these items were intended for personal offering rituals or for events celebrated with a group or the entire community.

In view of the above-presented evidence, one might conclude that offerings were presented to the various deities of the community both during public and private feasts at Deir el-Medina. Offering rituals may have been conducted either by a group or an individual. Generally at Deir el-Medina, an offering ritual was referred to by the word *wdn*.[8] In the corpus of this study, there are, however, also documents with references using alternative ways of denoting an offering ritual. One might, for example, present or bring various items to a deity. The supplies for offerings could also be referred to with the aforementioned word *wdn*.[9] A word used especially during the late 20th Dynasty when denoting grain rations for offerings[10] was *ḥtp-nṯr*, an 'offering to gods'.[11] The grain for the offerings during the public feasts may occasionally have been received from the authorities outside the community, whereas an individual might purchase the supplies needed for a private offering ritual.

---

1 *ỉn n=s m nỉwt…snṯr*; O. UC 39631, rt. 3–4. The text is also known as O. Petrie 32.

2 *Petrie Museum Online Catalogue*, UC39631.

3 *Ḏd sš nfr-ḥtp n ỉdnw n tɜ ỉst ḥɜy mỉ šsp=k snw n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. DeM 124, rt. 1–3.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 565–566; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139.

5 *ỉmỉ ỉn.tw n=ỉ…snṯr*; O. DeM 122, 1, 3.

6 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937), 3; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 164.

7 References to possible items for offerings, such as incense, were not tallied unless the references indicate that the items were meant for a feast, a deity, or an offering ritual.

8 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 391 (*opfern*).

9 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 392 (*das Opfer*).

10 E.g., P. Geneva D191 rt. 17 – vs. 1 (date attributed to year 2 of the *wḥm-mswt*; Wente, *LRL* (1967), 16); P. Turin Cat. 1881 + 2080 + 2092 rt. V, 7; VI, 4; VII, 2 (year 8 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 613–614); P. Turin Cat. 1906 + 1939 + 2047 rt. III, 10; III, 19; IV, 2 (date attributed to years 7–9 of Ramesses IX; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 624–630); P. Turin Cat. 1932 + 1939 rt. II, 3 (year 9 of Ramesses IX through year 2 of Ramesses X; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 685–687); P. Turin Cat. 1960 + 2071 vs. I, 6 (date attributed to year 10 of the *wḥm-mswt*; Wente, *LRL* (1967), 16); P. Turin Cat. 2002, vs. I, 2 (date attributed to years 7–8 of Ramesses IX; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 66–67); P. Turin Cat. 2018 rt. AII, 12; AIII, 12; BI, 12; CI, 14; CIII, 12 (years 8–10 of Ramesses XI; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 630–633. See also P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.111, rt. 7 (year 36 of Ramesses II; Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 99–100).

11 Erman & Grapow, *WB* III (1929), 185 (*Gottesopfer, Opfergabe für einen Gott*); see also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 34–35.

2.5.3 Ritual of Pouring Water

The ritual of *wꜣḥ-mw*, 'pouring water',[1] at Deir el-Medina and elsewhere during the New Kingdom has been discussed by Koenrad Donker van Heel.[2] Generally, this ritual seems to have been restricted to the funerary sphere where the high-ranking Egyptians hired professional *choachytes* to carry out the ceremony. At Deir el-Medina, however, the inhabitants performed the ritual themselves.[3]

References to the ritual of pouring water which were not included in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina are found in seventeen documents in the corpus of this study. Lists of men absent or working[4] and short notes[5] each form twenty-nine per cent of these documents while another eighteen per cent of them are letters.[6] The seventeen documents with references to the ritual of pouring water contain twenty-two such references. Two of the references refer at the same time to an offering ritual.[7] Two of the documents containing references to the ritual of pouring water have been attributed generally to the Ramesside Period.[8] Eight documents (47%) have been dated to[9] or attributed a date in[10] the 19th Dynasty. The documents dated and attributed to the 19th Dynasty contain fifty-nine per cent of all references to this particular ritual. Seven of the documents (41%) have been dated to[11] or attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty.[12] The documents dated and attributed to the 20th Dynasty contain thirty-two per cent of all the references to the ritual of pouring water outside the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina.

Several documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina indicate that the ritual of pouring water was done for a family member.[13] In some of these documents, the ritual seems to be connected with the death of a relative. For example, according to O. BM EA 5634[14] (years

---

1 See Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 254 (*Wasser spenden*).

2 Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19–30. For this ritual, see also Borghouts, Libation, *LÄ* III, 1014.

3 Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992), 19–30.

4 O. BM EA 5634; O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. DeM 898.

5 O. Berlin P 12286; O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290; O. DeM 951; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.

6 O. DeM 551; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv; P. Turin Cat. 1971.

7 O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 2–4; O. DeM 551, rt. 4 – vs. 6; for offering rituals, see Chapter III 2.5.2.

8 O. DeM 551; O. Turin N. 57503.

9 O. BM EA 5634; O. Turin N. 57062.

10 O. Cairo CG 25779; O. Cairo CG 25784; O. Cairo CG 25786; O. Cairo JE 72469; O. DeM 898; O. DeM 951.

11 O. BM EA 50744; O. Cairo CG 25290.

12 O. Berlin 12286; O. Turin N. 57034; P. Bibliotheque Nationale 199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs.; P. Turin Cat. 1971.

13 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 4, vs. 5 (*sꜣ-wꜣḏyt…I prt 24 wꜣḥ-mw n ỉt=f sw 25 m-mỉtt* […] *m-mỉtt…I prt 26 pꜣ-sr wꜣḥ-mw n sꜣ=f*; years 39–40 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133); O. DeM 898, rt. 1–2 (*III šmw 6 mry-rˁ wsf ḥr wꜣḥ-mw n tꜣy=f mwt III šmw 8 ỉmn-m-ỉpt wsf ḥr wꜣḥ-mw n tꜣy=f mwt*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 70–71); O. DeM 951 rt. 2–3 (*pꜣ wꜣḥ-mw n pꜣy=ỉ ỉt*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 123).

14 *Nfr-ˁbt…II šmw 7 wt sn=f sw 8 wꜣḥ.n=f mw*; O. BM EA 5634, vs. 4.

39–40 of Ramesses II[1]), Neferabu was wrapping up his brother on II *šmw* 7 while on day 8 he is said to have been pouring water. In O. Cairo CG 25784[2] (date attributed to year 4 of Amenmesse[3]), several people are listed as having been absent because of a funeral and, a few days later, some of them were off work due to 'pouring water'. One of these persons was the son of the deceased.[4] Not all texts referring to the action of pouring water reveal how long after the death of a person this rite was performed. According to O. BM EA 5634[5] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[6]), Paser was absent from work to pour water for his son on I *prt* 25 while Nakhtmin is simply stated as having been off work to pour water. On the same day, Siwadjet was absent for a second day of pouring water for his father.[7] All three men may have been performing the ritual of pouring water for the same person.[8]

Furthermore, the object of the ritual is not always communicated.[9] According to O. Turin N. 57034[10] (date attributed to year 22 of Ramesses III[11]), the entire crew seems to have been work-free on II *šmw* 8 to pour water. The scribe of O. DeM 551[12] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[13]) requested some incense, leaves, and flowers on day 18 because 'they are going to pour water on day 19'. It remains unclear who the people were who were going to perform the ritual. In order to perform the ritual of pouring water, the writer of this text appears to have also needed other ingredients in addition to water. The flowers and the incense were perhaps meant to be presented as an offering to a deity.[14]

---

1 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

2 *III šmw 18…ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš=f nb-nḫt ỉmn-m-ỉpt mry-sḫmt nfr-ḥtp nb-ỉmn ḳrs pɜy…III šmw 21…nb-nḫt ỉmn-m-ỉpt rˁ-ḥtp sš-ḳd nfr-ḥtp wɜḥ-mw*; O. Cairo CG 25784, 1–6.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 227–228; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 120–121; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–52.

4 Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wɜḥ mw* (1992), 23.

5 *Nḫt-mnw…I prt 25 wɜḥ-mw… pɜ-sr I prt 25 wɜḥ-mw n sɜ=f*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 10, vs. 5.

6 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

7 *Sɜ-wɜḏyt…I prt 24 wɜḥ-mw n ỉt=f sw 2*[*5 m-*]*mỉtt*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 4.

8 Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wɜḥ mw* (1992), 23.

9 O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 19–20, vs. 19 (*II ɜḫt 12…ḳn wɜḥ-mw…*[*III*] *ɜḫt 17…ḳn wɜḥ-mw*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216); O. Cairo CG 25786, 2 (*…sɜ*] *ḫˁw wɜḥ-mw*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 235). In O. Turin N. 57503 the object of the ritual is lost in a lacuna (*wɜḥ-mw n* […; rt. 3; date attributed to the Ramesside Period; López, *Ostraca ieratici* IV (1984), 26).

10 *Sw 8 wsf wɜḥ-mw*; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 6.

11 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 244.

12 *ỉmỉ ỉn.tw…nkt n snṯr mtw=k dỉt ỉn.tw n ḏbɜw krḥt* [*m*] *sw 18 pɜ-wn ỉw=w r wɜḥ-mw m sw 19*; O. DeM 551, rt. 4, 7, vs. 1–6. For the translation 'an offering platform' instead of leaves, see Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wɜḥ mw* (1992), 23.

13 For the dates attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139 (19th Dynasty); Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wɜḥ mw* (1992), 29 (20th Dynasty?).

14 For items on temple offering lists, see, for example, Altenmüller, Opfer, *LÄ* IV (1982), 581; Englund, Gifts to the Gods (1987), 57; Haring, Die Opferprozessionsszenen (1995), 73–89. See also the various Deir el-Medina stelae depicting offering rituals; for an example of an offering scene containing a libation vessel, flowers, and an incense burner, see Stela BM EA 316 (the deity revered in this stela is Hathor); see also O. Cairo CG 25290 (I, 3–5) where the vizier Neferronpet presented the Mistress of Thebes with a libation and flowers (*ỉw=f wɜḥ-mw pɜ mɜḥ r-*ˁ[…]*yt nbt wɜst*; year 6 of Ramesses VI; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 143).

The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina also appear to have been spectators of the ritual of pouring water when it was performed by the vizier. The writer of O. BM EA 50744[1] describes how the vizier Neferronpet 'came to pour water' on IV *prt* 26 in the fifth year of Ramesses IV.[2] On III *šmw* 16 in the subsequent regnal year, the vizier Neferronpet came once more to the necropolis. According to O. Cairo CG 25290[3] (year 6 of Ramesses IV)[4], the vizier came to inspect the progress of the work and to pour water. The scribe of P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063[5] (date attributed to year 6 of Ramesses IV[6]) does not mention the vizier but states that, on III *šmw* 16, Anakhtu was made to cut stone and that water was poured for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. Whether this ritual of pouring water was performed at Deir el-Medina, for example, in the Khenu-chapel housing the statues of various kings,[7] or somewhere else is not evident from these texts.

A few texts referring to the ritual of pouring water seem to denote the rite being performed for deities instead of dead relatives or kings. O. Turin N. 57062[8] from the forty-seventh year of Ramesses II[9] is a collection of depositions concerning the cult of Anukis. The statement of Pay was that he would be 'the one bringing water to Anukis'.[10] This may mean performing the ritual of pouring water. In the Late Ramesside Letters, there are references to bringing water to 'Amon of the Thrones of Both Lands'.[11] These letters are

---

1 *Hrw pn ỉỉ ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯɜty nfr-rnpt r wɜḥ-mw*; O. BM EA 50744, rt. 1–2. O. Berlin P 12286, rt. 1–5 seems also to denote the vizier *nfr-rnpt* coming to pour water for the kings (…*nỉwt*] *ṯɜty nfr-rnpt* […]…*r wɜḥ-mw* […]*nɜ nsw*[…; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV or year 1 of Ramesses V; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12286, Beschreibung).

2 For the date of O. BM EA 50744, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 336–337; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 36.

3 *ʾỉỉ pw ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯɜty nfr-rnpt r mɜɜ pɜ sḫnw ỉw=f wɜḥ-mw*; O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 1–4. The mention of a goddess in line 4 may not belong to the text describing the visit of the vizier (Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wɜḥ mw* (1992), 20). The visit of the vizier *nfr-rnpt* to inspect the work on III *šmw* 16 in year 6 is also mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25291, 1–3 (*ỉỉy ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯɜty nfr-rnpt r ptr sḫnw*; year 6 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 143).

4 For the date of O. Cairo CG 25290, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 143; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 398.

5 *Dỉt ʿɜ-nḫt r ḳḥḳḥ…wɜḥ-mw n nɜ nsyw-bỉtyw m hrw pn*; P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063 vs. III, 1–3.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 133–134, 143–144; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384, 387, 398–399.

7 See P. Turin Cat. 1879 + 1899 + 1969, vs.; see also Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 107–121). See Chapter III 1.2.3.2.

8 For O. Turin N. 57062, see Allam, Engagements matériels en faveur d'Anoukis, déesse guérisseuse (Ostracon hiératique Turin 57062, anciennement 5941), in *Bulletin du Centenaire* (1981), 197–204; Helck, Ein früher Beleg, *SAK* 18 (1991), 233–240. For the cult of Anukis at Deir el-Medina, see for example, Valbelle, Témoignages du Nouvel Empire sur les cultes de Satis et d'Anoukis à Élefantine et à Deir el-Médineh, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 123–145. For *ʿnḳt*, see also Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* II (2002), 172–173; idem, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* VIII (2003), 121–124.

9 *Rnpt-sp 47*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 1; see also López, *Ostraca ieratici I* (1978), 36; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 524–526.

10 *Ḏd n pɜy ỉnk ỉnw mw n* <*ʿnḳt*>; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 6.

11 P. Bibliotheque Nationale 199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv (*m-dỉ tm nnỉ* [*ỉṯɜ m*]*w r pɜy=f wbɜ*; date attributed to the *wḥm-mswt*; Wente, *LRL* (1967), 16; for mentions of the forecourt of Amon in the Late Ramesside Letters, see P. Leiden I 369, vs. 5; P. Turin Cat. 1971, rt. 6–7); P. Turin Cat. 1971, rt. 12 (*m ỉr nnỉ m ỉṯɜ mw n ỉmn nsty tɜwy*; date attributed to year 10 of the *wḥm-mswt*; Wente, *LRL* (1967), 16).

from the end of the New Kingdom[1] when the royal artisans were moving away from Deir el-Medina.[2] Therefore, it is not certain whether the Amon receiving water, as referred to in these Late Ramesside Letters, is the one having a cult at Deir el-Medina[3] or whether he was another Amon revered in Western Thebes.[4]

The occasions when water was poured for dead relatives may not have been feasts, yet they may perhaps be described as festive events. The ritual of pouring water may also have taken place during feasts. Such was the case during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley when Amon of Karnak came to Western Thebes to pour water for the ancestral kings.[5] At Deir el-Medina, the ritual of pouring water to the gods was not called *wꜣḥ-mw*. Instead, the texts refer to bringing water to deities. One might perhaps tentatively suggest that such acts of bringing water to a deity may have been especially performed during feasts.

---

1 For the Late Ramesside Letters, see, for example, Černý, *LRL* (1939); Wente, *LRL* (1967); Janssen, *LRL* (1991); Demarée, *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri* (2006).

2 Bernard Bruyère believed that the village was abandoned towards the end of the 20th Dynasty and the crew moved to the the temple precinct of Medinet Habu (*Rapport 1934–1935* III (1939), 11–12). It seems, however, that the abandonment was gradual and that perhaps only the Scribes of the Tomb Thutmose and Butehamun lived in a house at Medinet Habu (see Haring, Scribes and Scribal Activity (2006), 111–112). After moving out of the village, the tombs (and chapels?) of Deir el-Medina were still in use (see Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 225–226).

3 Among the Deir el-Medina deities receiving grain as listed in O. DeM 743 is also *ỉmn nb nsty tꜣwy* (line 3; date attributed to the Ramesside Period after Ramesses II; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* VIII (2000), 36–37). There also seem to have been wab-priests of *ỉmn*(*-rˁ nb*) *nsty tꜣwy* at Deir el-Medina; see, for example, Graffito 61; Graffito 609; Graffito 774e; Graffito 886; Graffito 889; Graffito 891; Graffito 1139; Graffito 2654; Graffito 2667.

4 See Wente, A Letter of Complaint, *JNES* 20 (1961), 255–256.

5 Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin* II (1972), 12; Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991), 22; see also Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

2.5.4 Drinking and Brewing Beer as Festive Actions

Drinking played an important part in the Great Feast of Amenhotep I as is demonstrated by O. Cairo CG 25234[1] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[2]) where the royal artisans' community is said to have celebrated this particular feast by drinking for four days. The wives and children of the royal artisans are said to have been drinking as well as, it seems, sixty people from outside the community.[3] The beverage consumed is not identified. There are, in the corpus of 176 documents with references to feasts and festive behaviour outside the feasts featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina, also references to drinking. These references are presented below. To organize a drinking party one needed to brew beer and, therefore, references to the act of brewing, when stated as having been carried out for a feast or a deity, are subsequently considered.[4]

Seven documents of the corpus contain a total of eleven references to drinking outside the feasts in the reconstructed festival calendar. Forty-three per cent of these documents are accounts of transfers[5] while various accounts[6] form twenty-nine per cent of the documents. Two (29%) of the documents with references to drinking have been dated to the 19th Dynasty[7] and these 19th Dynasty documents contain forty-five per cent of all such references. One text has been dated to the 20th Dynasty[8] and three have been attributed a date within this particular period.[9] The documents dated to or attributed a date in the 20th Dynasty form fifty-seven per cent of the texts with references to drinking and they contain forty-five per cent of all such references. One document with one reference to drinking has had no date attributed to it.[10]

O. Turin N. 57062[11] (year 47 of Ramesses II[12]) is a deposition containing many references to drinking in honour of Anukis. In his deposition, Amenemope refers to three *sry*-plants that are with him on the 'day of drinking' (*hrw swrỉ*) while Pay swears that he will bring water to Anukis on all such days.[13] A woman called Hutia, furthermore, refers to organizing a 'day of drinking'.[14] Schafik Allam[15] thought that these people were ill and promised certain things to Anukis in return for an eventual recovery. This would mean

---

1 *ỉw.tw m pȝ ḥb ꜥȝ n n*[*sw*] (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s…ỉw tȝ ỉst m ḥꜥwy…m 4 hrw ḏrỉw n swrỉ*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 1–4.

2 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

3 *M 4 hrw ḏrỉw n swrỉ ḥnꜥ nȝy=w ḫrdw m-mỉtt nȝy=w ḥmwt ỉw 60 n ḫny* <*d*>*mỉt 60 n bnr*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 3–6. See Chapter III 1.2.1.8.

4 For beer and brewing in ancient Egypt, see, for example, Helck, Das Beer im Alten Ägypten (1971).

5 O. Berlin P 12635; O. DeM 952; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

6 O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38.

7 O. BM EA 5634; O. Turin N. 57062.

8 P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.

9 O. Berlin P 12635; O. Berlin P 14328; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38.

10 O. DeM 952.

11 O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 1–11.

12 *Rnpt-sp 47*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 1; see also López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 36; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 524–526.

13 *ḎḎd.n rmṯ-ỉst ỉ*[*mn-m-ỉpt*]*… sry 3 ḫprw=sn m-dỉ=ỉ hrw n swrỉ…ḏd.n pȝy ỉnk ỉn mw n* ꜥ*nḫt…m hrw nbt n swrỉ*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 3–5, 6–7.

14 *Ḏd n ḥwt-ỉȝ…ỉw=ỉ ỉrt hrw swrỉ*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 8–9.

15 Allam, Engagements matériels (1981), 197–204.

that each person may have performed the aforementioned cultic actions on his or her own. Wolfgang Helck[1] believed that the men and the woman listed in O. Turin N. 57062 formed a religious association looking after the cult of Anukis. This scenario might signify that the persons mentioned celebrated the 'days of drinking' together.

In the corpus of this study, there are also other documents that seem to indicate drinking in a group. In O. BM EA 5634[2] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[3]), Pendua is said to have been absent from work to drink with Khons on the first day of the latter's personal feast. Iyernutef, furthermore, is said to have been drinking on that very day[4] and it is possible that he, too, was at Khons' feast.[5] These three men seem, thus, to have participated together in a drinking party given by Khons. The writer of O. Berlin P 12635[6] (years 4–6 of Ramesses IV[7]), records that he gave an unidentified man drink on the occasion of his own personal feast for Taweret. A man called Maa(ni)nakhtuf also seems to have been present and, thus, this may also have been a drinking party. During the reign of Ramesses VII,[8] a man received various items after having gone to drink at the *ḫtm* of the royal necropolis with a scribe of the treasury, as stated in P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908.[9] According to O. Berlin P 14328[10] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[11]), Minkhau received several items which he 'took (with him) after drinking in his house'. Since several people are listed as the ones handing over the items,[12] it seems that Minkhau was not drinking alone. The expression 'drinking' in this document thus appears to denote some kind of a drinking party involving gift-giving.[13] In the gift-giving list O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38[14] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[15]), food brought by various people for a 'drinking party' in honour of a woman called Hathor seem to have been listed. It is tempting to interpret the 'great drinking', *pꜣ swrỉ ꜥꜣ*, referred to in O. DeM 952[16] (no date attributed), as such a drinking party. This particular document lists

---

1 Helck, Ein früher Beleg, *SAK* 18 (1991), 233–240.

2 *Pn-dwꜣ…I ꜣḫt 14 swrỉ m-ꜥ ḫnsw*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 2

3 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

4 *ỉỉ-r-nỉwt=f…I ꜣḫt 14 swrỉ*; O. BM EA 5634, vs. 18.

5 Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 145.

6 *Whm m pꜣy=ỉ ḥb n tꜣ-wrt ỉrm mꜣꜣ-nḫt=f ỉw=f swrỉ ṯr 2 mnt 1*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 4–6.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 576–577.

8 *Rnpt-sp 7…n nsw-bỉty* (*wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ mry-ỉmn*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. III, 13–14; see also Janssen, A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus, *JEA 52* (1966), 91–92.

9 *Rdyt n=f m pꜣ ḫtm n pꜣ ḫr m-ḏr ỉw=f swrỉ ỉm ỉrm sš pr-ḥḏ*; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 rt. II, 1–2.

10 *R rdỉt rḫ.tw pꜣ nkt ỉ.ỉṯꜣ.n rmṯ-ỉst mn-ḫꜥw m<-ḏr> swrỉ* [*m?*] *pꜣy=f pr*; O. Berlin P 14328, rt. 1–3. For translation of the text, see, for example, Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 80; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14328, Übersetzung.

11 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 82; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 14328, Beschreibung.

12 Altogether 23 people are listed bringing bread, emmer, papyrus, baskets, various vessels, etc. (Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 80–82).

13 See also Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 81–82.

14 *Rdyt…n pꜣ swrỉ n ḫwt-ḥr*; O. Cairo CG 25705 + O. IFAO 1322 + O. Varille 38, 1. For a translation of this text, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56–59. See also Chapter III 2.4.

15 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 161 (Ramesses IV); Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56 note 7 (Ramesses III).

16 *Wḥm m pꜣ swrỉ ꜥꜣ*; O. DeM 952, vs. 11. See Chapters III 2.3.2 and 2.4.

items transferred to an unidentified man when his daughter was born,[1] when she was three and fourteen days old, and due to the above-mentioned 'great drinking'.[2]

One reference to drinking might, in fact, point to drinking during an official feast of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar. The writer of O. Berlin P 12635[3] (date attributed to years 4–6 of Ramesses IV[4]) says that an unidentified man had been eating and drinking at the author's expense on various occasions including the 'Coming of the gods from the east'. This reference brings to mind the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, i.e., Amon, Mut, Khonsu, and Amentet coming in procession from Karnak to Western Thebes.[5] Since the occasion is not called *ḥb nfr n ỉnt* or *pз ḏ.ȝ* and the event is not dated, it is impossible to determine whether the reference does, indeed, denote the Beautiful Feast of the Valley or not.

Seven documents in the corpus of this study contain references to the act of brewing beer for festive use outside the reconstructed Deir el-Medina festival calendar. Four of these documents are lists of men absent or working,[6] two are work journals,[7] and one is a deposition.[8] These seven documents contain eight references to brewing beer. Three of the texts have been dated to the 19th Dynasty[9] while three documents have been attributed a date within this period.[10] The documents dated to and attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty make up eighty-six per cent of all the documents containing references to brewing and they form eighty-eight per cent of these references. One document with a reference to the act of festive brewing has been attributed a date within the 20th Dynasty.[11]

Most of the references that have been interpreted as denoting brewing beer in preparation for a festive occasion state that the brewing was done for a deity. In O. Turin N. 57062[12] (year 47 of Ramesses II[13]), a man called Pay made a declaration that he is the one brewing for Anukis on every day of drinking. The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25782[14] (attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[15]) noted down that Amenemope was absent from work in order to brew for Hathor on IV *prt* 27. On the following day, IV *prt* 28, Amenemope was absent to make an offering to the Mistress of the Northern Wind with Pendua.[16]

---

1 See Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 180–181 (O. IFAO 1069); cf. Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982), 254–255 (O. IFAO 1069).

2 *Rdyt n=f m pз msw n tȝy=f šrỉt…*[*wḥm m pȝy*]*=s hrw 3…wḥm m pз hrw 14…wḥm m pз swrỉ ʿ.ȝ*; O. DeM 952, rt. 1, vs. 1, 8, 11.

3 *Whm pз ỉỉy nз nṯrw m ỉȝbt*; O. Berlin P 12635, vs. 1; the reading of the last word is not certain; *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 12635, Anmerkung T8.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 576–577.

5 For the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, see Chapter III 1.2.1.10

6 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25521; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. DeM 898.

7 O. Cairo CG 25533; O. DeM 10051.

8 O. Turin N. 57062.

9 O. Cairo CG 25521; O. DeM 10051; O. Turin N. 57062.

10 O. Ashmolean Museum 37; O. Cairo CG 25782; O. DeM 898.

11 O. Cairo CG 25533.

12 *Ḏd.n pȝy…ỉnk ʿtḥ n ʿnḫt m hrw nbt n swrỉ*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 6–7.

13 *Rnpt-sp 47*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 1; see also López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 36; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 524–526.

14 *IV prt 27…ỉmn-m-ỉpt ʿtḥ n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 1–4.

15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 116–119; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003), 49–52.

16 *IV prt 28…pn-dwȝ wdn n ḥnwt mḥyt ỉmn-m-ỉpt m-mỉtt*; O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 5–8.

'Mistress of the Northern Wind' was one of the epithets of Hathor[1] and, thus, the beer brewed by Amenemope was probably intended for this offering ritual. In O. DeM 10051[2] (year 4 of Siptah[3]), Khaemseba is said to have been absent from work in the Royal Tomb in order to brew beer for 'his god', *pȝy=f nṯr*. According to O. Cairo CG 25533[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[5]), a man was, furthermore, absent on III *šmw* 25 because he was brewing for Hathor. The act of brewing beer seems, thus, in some cases to have been preparation for an offering ritual performed to a deity. Such a ritual may have taken place during a feast of the entire community or a personal feast. In two lists of men absent or working, O. Ashmolean Museum 37[6] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[7]) and O. Cairo CG 25521[8] (years 1–2 of Siptah[9]), it is said that a man was off work to brew beer for 'his feast', *pȝy=f ḥb*.

Additionally, there is one document that might denote brewing beer for a feast featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina. According to O. DeM 898[10] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[11]), Nakhy was brewing beer for the Pharaoh on III *šmw* 26. Generally, the word Pharaoh was used of the ruling king at Deir el-Medina [12] but, as the following day III *šmw* 27 was the accession day of Ramesses II,[13] it is possible that Nakhy was brewing beer for an offering to be presented to the statue of this particular deified king.[14]

There are some documents that might possibly be interpreted as condemning the drinking mentioned in these particular texts. The recto side of O. IFAO 1357[15] (date attributed to the reign of Merenptah[16]) appears to be a summary of the court proceedings at the local *ḳnbt*. A man is said to have been drinking in the village for four days from III *šmw* 29 through IV *šmw* 2,[17] i.e., during the eponymous feast *Ipip*.[18] It is further reported that after the festival holiday, the man kept drinking and did not go to work in the Royal Tomb.[19] This report might have something to do with the court case mentioned in the

---

1 See, for example, Noberasco, Gli dei, *OrAnt* 20 (1981), Tavola 7; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 117.

2 *ʿḥʿ.n ḥʿ-m-sbȝw r ʿtḫ n pȝy=f nṯr*; O. DeM 10051, vs. 1–2.

3 For the date of O. DeM 10051, see Grandet, Travaux, grèves et personnages (2003), 214–215.

4 *Sw 25…ỉw* […]*ʿtḫ n ḥwt-ḥ*[*r*]; O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 7–8.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 175–177; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 384–386.

6 *II prt 6…ʿḥʿ.n ḥr-nfr r ʿtḫ* [*r*] *pȝy=f ḥb*; O. Ashmolean Museum 37, vs. 3–5.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 181–182; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 78–79.

8 …]*w ʿtḫ* (*r*) *pȝy=f ḥb*…[…*ʿtḫ*] (*r*) *pȝy=f ḥb*; O. Cairo CG 25521, vs. 9, 16.

9 For the date, see, for example, Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11; Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 36–37, 155.

10 *III šmw 26 nȝḫy ḥr ʿtḫ n pr-ʿȝ ʿ w s*; O. DeM 898, vs. 1.

11 For the date attributed, see Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 70–71.

12 Černý, *Community* (1973), 13.

13 Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959), 119–120; Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 40; Helck, Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205–20. See Chapter III 1.2.3.2.

14 For the cult of Ramesses II, see, for example, Habachi, *Features of the Deification* (1969); Radwan, Ramesses II as Mediator (1991), 221–225; Exell, The Senior Scribe Ramose (2006), 51–67.

15 O. IFAO 1357, rt. 1–10.

16 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 162; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 92.

17 *II*]*I šmw 20 ʿrḳ IV šmw 1 sw 2 dmḏ 4 hrw ỉw=f šm ḥr swrỉ m pȝ dmỉt*; O. IFAO 1357, rt. 4–5.

18 See Chapter III 1.2.1.11.

19 *Ḫr ỉr tȝ ỉst ḥr ṯs r bȝk ỉw=f wsf m pȝ dmỉt m IV šmw 3 sw 4*; O. IFAO 1357, rt. 5–7.

beginning of the document.[1] In P. BM EA 10055[2] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[3]), drinking is not mentioned but the foreman Paneb is accused of repeatedly beating up other workmen during night-parties. One may imagine that such a night-party also featured drinking. Note also O. DeM 570[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IX[5]), a fragmentary note about some men and women drinking at the *ḫtm* while the crew was working.

[1] See, for example, Allam, *HOP* (1973), 198; McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 158.

[2] *Smỉt pɜy=f ḥpr ỉ.ỉr=f ḳnḳn nɜ rmṯ-ỉst m smɜ*[*y*]*t n grḥ m-ḏwn*; P. BM EA 10055 vs. I, 4.

[3] For the date attributed, see, for example, Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929), 251–257; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 408–414.

[4] *R rdỉt rḫ.tw rmṯ*-[*ỉst*…] *ỉ.wnw ỉm swrỉ ỉrm tɜ-ꜥnw sn*(*t*) *tɜ-ḥnwt pɜ-nḫw-m-ỉpt ỉmn-ḫꜥ ỉw=w swrỉ m pɜ ḫtm pɜ ḫr ỉw tɜ ỉst ḥr bɜk m st*[*tn*; O. DeM 570, 2–7.

[5] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 664.

2.5.5 *Ḥsmn* and Purification

The concept of *ḥsmn* at Deir el-Medina has been discussed in-depth by Jaana Toivari-Viitala.[1] This word, in the local vernacular, may have been used for various practices or rituals connected with women, such as regular menstruation, purification after birth, miscarriage, abortion, and perhaps also female circumcision.[2] At least some of these practices required that the women leave the village to go to the 'place of women'.[3] As the word *ḥsmn* in the local vernacular appears to have been used to designate so many various kinds of activities, it is difficult to distinguish which of the occasions are to be considered festive by nature. There are, however, some documents that allude to food and other 'gifts' having been presented on the occasion of *ḥsmn*. The words *wꜥb*[4] and *swꜥb*,[5] 'to purify', may also denote ritual purification.[6] These words, in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina, have been used in connection with gifts and deities. References like these are also considered here. All in all, there are seven documents, each with one reference to a festive occasion involving the act of *ḥsmn* or purification. Four of these documents have been attributed a date in the 19th Dynasty[7] while two have a date attributed in the 20th Dynasty.[8] One of the documents has no date attributed to it.[9]

Five of the documents containing references to purification as a festive event refer to the act of *ḥsmn*. In O. DeM 230[10] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[11]), the foodstuffs handed over on the occasion of 'coming from *ḥsmn* by his daughter' are listed among the gifts presented during various feasts. The reference to transfers on the occasions of a woman 'coming from *ḥsmn*' in O. Berlin P 10631[12] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[13]), O. Turin N. 57356[14] (date attributed to the second half of the 20th Dynasty[15]), and O. OIM N. 160[16] (no date attributed) should perhaps also be interpreted as

---

1 Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 162–168; see also Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony (1999), 419–434.

2 Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 162–168.

3 For the place of women, see, in particular, O. OIM 13512 (*ḥrw n pry ỉr n tȝy 8 ḥmwt r-b*[*nr r/m tȝ*] *st ḥmwt ỉw=w m ḥsmn*; attributed to year 9 of Merenptah or Ramesses III; Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony (1999), 420–421). See also idem, 419–434; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 162–163.

4 Erman & Grapow, *WB* I (1926), 280–282 (*reiningen, rein sein, rein werden*).

5 Erman & Grapow, *WB* IV (1930), 66–67 (*reiningen*).

6 See also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 166–167.

7 O. Brussels E 6311; O. Cairo CG 25505; O. DeM 230; O. Michaelides 48.

8 O. Berlin P 10631; O. Turin N. 57356.

9 O. OIM N. 160.

10 *Pȝ ỉỉy m ḥsmn n sȝt=f… pȝy=f ḥb n tȝ-wrt…pȝ ḥb n tȝ-wrt…pȝ ḥb n ȝst…pȝ ḥb n ptḥ* [*nfr…*; O. DeM 230, 3–8; see also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 164.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 559.

12 *Rdyt n=s* (*m*) *pȝ ỉw* (*m*) *ḥsmn* (*ỉ*)*n* {*m*} *ḥnwt-wꜥtỉ*; O. Berlin P 10631, 1. For reading the name *ḥnwt-wꜥtỉ*, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Berlin P 10631, Names/Titles.

13 For the date attributed, see Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III (1911), pl. 36.

14 *Rdyt n=f m pȝ ỉỉy m ḥsmn* (*ỉ*)*n tȝ-grpt*; O. Turin N. 57356, 3.

15 For the dates attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982), 19 (probably Ramesses V to Ramesses IX); Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 355–356 (Ramesses V).

16 *M-ḏỉ ỉw=s m ḥsmn*; O. OIM N. 160, 2 (Černý, Notebooks, 65.40); see Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 165.

denoting festive occasions on which gifts were bestowed.[1] Foodstuffs, due to the occasion of *ḥsmn*, may also have been presented to gods. O. Brussels E 6311[2] (date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse[3]), contains a list of items a man was going to bring to his god (*pꜣy=f nṯr*) when his daughter-in-law came from *ḥsmn*. Terry Wilfong[4] suggested that the Gardiner's sign list U32 used repeatedly on the verso side of O. Cairo CG 25782[5] (date attributed to year 3 of Amenmesse[6]) stands perhaps for *ḥsmn* but the fact that an offering (*wdn*) to *ḥnwt mḥyt* is mentioned on the recto of O. Cairo CG 25782[7] might indicate that the same word is meant with the abbreviation on the reverse side. The sign was inserted afterwards, between the lines, which might explain why an abbreviated form of the word was used on the verso.

In one reference to purification as a festive action, the word used is *swʿb*. According to O. Michaelides 48[8] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[9]), something was transferred on the occasion of the 'purification of his daughter' (*pꜣ swʿb n tꜣy=f šrỉt*). The occasion of purification is paralleled with various feasts in this document,[10] i.e., the reference may denote a festive event. In another document, the term used is *wʿb*. According to O. Cairo CG 25505[11] (date attributed to the reign of Seti II or the reign of Siptah[12]), several men were absent from work on the Royal Tomb because they let Taweret purify them (*dỉt wʿb sw tꜣ-wrt*). Without additional references to such a ritual, the meaning of it is unclear but, nevertheless, in this case, instead of a woman, it was men who were purified.

---

1 See also Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 165.

2 *Pꜣ ḫmty r ỉn pꜣy=f nṯr ḫr nty tꜣy ḥmt n nḫ(t)-mnw pꜣy=f šrỉt ỉỉy m ḥsmn*; O. Brussels E 6311, rt. II, 4–6.

3 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 230–231.

4 Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony (1999), 422 note 9.

5 O. Cairo CG 25782, vs. 17–23.

6 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 221–223; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 116–119; Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Villag*e (2003), 49–52.

7 *Pn-dwꜣw wdn n ḫnwt mḥyt*; O. Cairo CG 25782, rt. 7.

8 *Pꜣ swʿb n tꜣy=f šrỉ*[*t*…] *5*; O. Michaelides 48, rt. II, 2.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 556–557.

10 *Pꜣ*]*y=f ḥb n ptḥ…pꜣy=f ḥb* […]…*wḥm ky ḥb n pꜣ rʿ…wḥm ky ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. Michaelides 48, rt. I, 4, 11–12, II, 6, 16.

11 *Dỉt wʿb sw tꜣ-wrt*; O. Cairo CG 25505, rt. 4, 5, 7, 8.

12 For the date attributed, see Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004), 112–113.

2.6 Additional Indications of Local Feasts and Feast Rituals

In addition to the references to feasts designated as *ḥb* or *wp*, to personal feasts, and to various feast rituals,[1] the corpus of this study also contains references that may indicate feasts or festive behaviour but which do not make use of the terminology that is known to indicate such occasions and customs. Nineteen such references which could not securely be identified with a feast in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina or with any of the categories of other indications of festive behaviour considered above were found in seventeen documents spanning the period from the reign of Ramesses II to the end of the 20th Dynasty.

Many of the obscure references to feasting might denote *ḥb* feasts although this particular word is not used in the text references. Two of the references contain a date and they have already been discussed in connection with the reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar from which they were omitted. According to O. Cairo CG 25794[2] (date attributed to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty[3]), something Amon-Re did occurred on III *šmw* 25. The lacunae in the text prevent any further interpretations on the meaning of this reference. Furthermore, according to O. Turin N. 57032[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[5]), the crew was work-free because of Ptah on II *ꜣḫt* 6. This seems to be a reference to a feast of Ptah.[6]

There are, moreover, four references which do not contain a date but which appear to stand for feasts. In O. Ashmolean Museum 166[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[8]), Nakhtmin gives a deposition about a theft that occurred during *pꜣ msw n tꜣ-wrt*, the 'Birth of Taweret'. Graffito 1158[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[10]) and Graffito 1159C[11] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[12]) allude to *pn-*(*mn-ḫpr-rˁ*), which might perhaps be understood as a Feast of Thutmose III. As far as I am aware, there are no other references to a feast of this particular king. Both these graffiti contain or are situated near to references to the beginning of the inundation.[13] However, it is not evident from these graffiti notes whether the feast mentioned had something to do

---

1 See Chapters III 2.2–2.5.

2 *Ḥrw n pn n* […*ỉr.n*]*ỉmn-rˁ* […; O. Cairo CG 25794, 3. See Chapter III 1.3 (III *šmw* 25).

3 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 361 (year 4 of Siptah/Tausret); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 182–183 (year 4 of Siptah); Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 155 note 49 (perhaps year 4 of Ramesses III).

4 *Wsf ptḥ*; O. Turin N. 57032, vs. 14. See Chapter III 1.3 (II *ꜣḫt* 6).

5 For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 620–621; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 255–257 (year 24).

6 For Ptah, see Chapter III 1.2.2.3.

7 *ỉnk tw=ỉ ḫms m pꜣy=ỉ ḫnw* (*m*) *pꜣ msw n tꜣ-wrt*; O. Ashmolean Museum 166, rt. 1–2. For interpreting the 'Birth of Taweret' as standing for a feast, see Borghouts, Divine Intervention (1982), 41 note 13; McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 102 (73B).

8 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 550.

9 *Pn-*(*mn-ḫpr-rˁ*); Graffito 1158, 5.

10 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 468; Janssen, The Day the Inundation Began, *JNES* 46 (1987), 134; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 237 (Graffito 1157, year 18 of Ramesses III).

11 *Hꜣy r pn-*(*mn-ḫpr-rˁ*); Graffito 1159C.

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 492, 536.

13 See Janssen, The Day the Inundation Began, *JNES* 46 (1987), 129–136; Peden, *Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt* (2001), 170–173.

with the rising inundation or not. In O. Cairo CG 25535[1] (date attributed to the end of the 20th Dynasty[2]), the 'Birth of Meretseger' is mentioned.

In the corpus of this study, there are also references that appear to stand for rituals that were supposed to be performed during temple festivals. Some of the better preserved funerary chapels of the tombs at Deir el-Medina contain references to rituals performed during feasts such as the Feast of Bastet[3] and the Feast of Herit.[4] These feasts, although part of the official religion, do not appear to have given cause for annually occurring feasting on fixed civil calendar dates. An inscription on the wall of a funerary chapel may have been emblematic of the ritual taking place every year. Perhaps the family members who stayed in the village when the crew was working performed the rites, or perhaps the men conducted them during personal feasts. Alternatively, the royal artisans may have performed the rituals mentioned in the evening after work. A small *ꜣḫ ỉḳr n rˁ* 'stela' in the Smith Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at the Linköping Museum contains a hole indicating that the stela could be worn around the neck.[5] The rituals directed to ancestors could, hence, probably take place anywhere.

In O. BM EA 5634[6] (years 39–40 of Ramesses II[7]), there are references to two men being absent from work on the same day because they were 'burying the god'. Wolfgang Helck[8] suggested that this ritual should be connected with the rituals performed during the time leading to the Feast of Sokar. As the designation *pꜣ nṯr* was, at least later during the 20th Dynasty, often used of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina,[9] the reference to 'burying the god' might alternatively denote a ritual directed at this patron of the village.[10] Whether this ritual was a private feast of these two men or whether they were performing it as the designated wab-priests of the community is not clear from O. BM EA 5634.

---

1 *Ms*(*wt*) *n mrt-sgr I šmw 4*[…; O. Cairo CG 25535, rt. 5. See Chapter III 1.2.1.9.

2 For the date attributed, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 15.

3 *Hrw pn*]*n ỉr* <*bꜣstt*>; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall B, 2nd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 14; see Chapter III 1.3 (IV *prt* 4).

4 *Hhw pn n ỉrt hry*; TT2, funerary chapel, hall 1, wall C, 3rd register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 17); *hhw pn n ỉrt h*[*ry*; TT9, funerary chapel, wall B, 1st register (Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 71); see Chapter III 1.3 (I *prt* 22).

5 For this stela, see Björkman, *A Selection of the Objects in the Smith Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at the Linköping Museum, Sweden* (1979), 51, pl. 15 fig 1. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Robert Demarée of the University of Leiden for pointing out this 'stela' to me. For the *ꜣḫ ỉḳr n rˁ* stelae, see Demarée, *The ꜣḫ ỉḳr n Rˁ-stelae* (1983), 286–290; Demarée, More *ꜣḫ ỉḳr n Rˁ*-stelae, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 348–351; Schulman, Some Observations on the *ꜣḫ ỉḳr n Rˁ*-Stelae, *BiOr* 43 (1986); 302–348.

6 *Ḥˁ-m-tr…IV prt 17 ḳrs pꜣ nṯr…nfr-ˁbt…IV prt…sw 17 ḳrs pꜣ nṯr*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 13, vs. 4.

7 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

8 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 164. For the rituals connected with the Sokar Festival, see, for example, Assmann, Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 287; Assmann, The Ramesside Tomb (2003), 50; see also Chapter III 1.2.2.2.

9 See Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 158.

10 However, the funeral of Amenhotep I may have taken place during the second half of III *prt*, i.e., one month before this particular ritual (Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 46–47); see also Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 149.

In P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006[1] (date attributed to year 29 of Ramesses III[2]), there is a reference to *sšš ḥnkyt nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) on III *prt* 15. The reference appears to stand for a ritual directed at Amenhotep I perhaps while commemorating the king's funeral during the second half of the month of III *prt*.[3]

Additionally, there are two dated references to an accession day of the reigning king. In O. DeM 44[4] (years 1–2 of Ramesses IV[5]), the accession day of Ramesses IV is mentioned[6] while in O. Ashmolean Museum 131[7] (date attributed to year 2 of Ramesses VI[8]), there seems to be a reference to the accession day of Ramesses VI.[9] However, there is no definite evidence that these accession days would have been commemorated with a feast during or after the reign of the respective king.[10]

There are also some references the meaning of which is ambiguous. For example, O. Brussels E 6781,[11] a letter the date of which has been attributed to the reign of Ramesses II,[12] contains a reference to a *nḏ-ḥrt* of Amenhotep I. P. BM EA 10055[13] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[14]), seems to contain a reference to a *smɜyt n grḥ*. Jaroslav Černý[15] interpreted this reference as indicating a night-party, perhaps during one of the feasts in the village. As fighting was also reported, this interpretation may be justifiable and drinking might have been involved. In O. Cairo CG 25308[16] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[17]), there is an allusion to something of Amenhotep I taking place but a lacuna in the text precludes any further conclusions on the meaning of the reference. According to O. Berlin P 10637[18] (date attributed to year 13 of Ramesses III[19]), food was transferred to an unidentified man on various occasions including the 'Day of Doing

---

1 *Wsf sšš ḥnkyt nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*); P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 rt. III, 5. Column III is the column numbered II in Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* (1876) (pl. 98); see *Deir el-Medina Database*, P. Turin Cat. 1961 + P. Turin Cat. 2006, Remarks. See also Chapter III 1.3 (III *prt* 15).

2 For the date attributed, see, for example, Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 34; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 311–314.

3 Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980), 46–47.

4 *III šmw 15 hrw pn ỉrt ḥˁ nsw*; O. DeM 44, rt. 1.

5 For the date attributed, see Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 115–118; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 116–118; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 366–370.

6 Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109–118.

7 *II prt 8 pr-ᶜɜ*; O. Ashmolean Museum 131, vs. 2.

8 For the date attributed, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 134–137.

9 See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 137.

10 See Chapters III 1.2.3 and III 1.3. (III *šmw* 15).

11 *ỉḫ*[…] *nḏ-ḥrt n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) <ᶜ> *w s mtw=k dỉt ỉry=tn n*[*=f*…] *srmt ḳḏ*; O. Brussels E 6781, rt. 2–3. According to Benedict Davies, this letter is concerned with preparations for the festival of Amenhotep I (*Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999), 155).

12 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 200–201.

13 *Smỉt pɜy=f ḫpr ỉ.ỉr=f ḳnḳn nɜ rmṯ-ỉst m smɜ*[*y*]*t n grḥ m-ḏwn*; P. BM EA 10055 vs. I, 4.

14 For the date attributed, see, for example, Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929), 251–257; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 408–414.

15 See Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929), 249 note 40.

16 …] *ỉmn-ḥtp ḥr ḫpr*; O. Cairo CG 25308, 3; see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 313.

17 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 313; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Cairo CG 25308, Remarks.

18 *Dỉt rḫ.tw pɜ ᶜḳw ỉ.ỉṯɜ.n=f r tɜ wḥɜ*(*t*) (*m*) *hrw pɜ ỉr nfr*; O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 2–3; this reading of the signs is by Robert Demarée (*Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Berlin P 10637); cf. *Deir el Medine online*, Berlin P 10637.

19 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 455.

Good'. This 'Day of Doing Good' has been interpreted to denote a feast of Hathor.[1] As the so-called 'do good' prayers left as graffiti at Deir el-Bahri are almost exclusively directed at Hathor,[2] this understanding may well be correct. The reference to passing to the water by(?) Henutenkhenu in the gift-giving list O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624[3] (date attributed to year 27 of Ramesses III[4]) might have something to do with the eponymous feast *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*[5] or it might denote a private feast, or perhaps the funeral of Henuten-khenu.[6]

[1] *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Berlin P 10637, Dates mentioned.

[2] Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 240; see also Marciniak, Quelques remarques sur la formule IR NFR, IF NFR, *ÉT* 2 (1968), 25–31. Elsewhere in Egypt, these prayers were directed to other gods such as Sekhmet and Ptah to name but a few (see Sadek, *loc. cit.*) and, thus, it is also possible that this reference to the day of *ỉr nfr* denotes a feast of a deity other than Hathor.

[3] *Rnpt-sp 27 IV ȝḫt 29 rdyt n tȝ-sȝkt n pȝ šȝw r mw n ḥnwt-*(*nt-*)*ḫn*; O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624 II, 1–4. For reading the signs *pȝ sȝw r mw, see* Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 69 note n. For reading *ḥnwt ḫn* as the personal name *ḥnwt-nt-ḫn*, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Cairo CG 25365 + O. Cairo CG 25624, Names/Titles.

[4] For the date of this document, see Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 41–42; Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 516–517; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 72.

[5] See Chapter III 2.4.

[6] See Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 69 note n.

3 Further Considerations on Feasts at Deir el-Medina

3.1 Participants in the Festivities

There are only a few documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina that explicitly tell us who was participating in a feast. The scribe of O. Cairo CG 25234[1] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[2]) relates, however, that the royal artisans were celebrating the Great Feast of Amenhotep I with their wives and children as well as with 60 other people. In many of the references to the feasts in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina, it is said that the entire crew was work-free for these feasts.[3] There are also work-related documents stating that a feast occurred on a specific day indicating implicitly that the whole crew was work-free.[4] Feasts for which the entire crew was freed from work on the Royal Tomb may have been celebrated with their families in the village. [5] The interpretation of the references at the end of the aforementioned O. Cairo CG 25234[6] to the 'sixty (people) from inside the <village>' and the 'sixty from outside' is disputed.[7] However, if this particular translation[8] is correct, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, at this feast of Amenhotep I, may have had guests who did not live in the village. There are, however, some references that might indicate that the royal artisans occasionally participated in

---

1 *ỉw.tw m pȝ ḥb ʿȝ n n*[*sw*] (*imn-ḥtp*) ʿ *w s… ỉw tȝ ỉst m ḥ*ʿʿ*wy…ỉw=w n swrỉ ḥn*ʿ *nȝy=w ḫrdw m-mỉtt nȝy=w ḥmwt ỉw 60 n ḫny* <*d*>*mỉt 60 n bnr*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 4–5.

2 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

3 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 3–4 (*ḫnw* (*nfrt-ỉry*), rt. 11 (Valley Festival); O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9 (*Khoiak*); O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 10–11 (…]*wsr-mȝʿt*[*-r*ʿ] *stp-n-r*ʿ); O. DeM 209, vs. 4 (*ỉpỉp*), vs. 20 (*wpt-rnpt*); O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 26 (*ḫ*ʿ (*wsr-mȝʿt-r*ʿ), III, 6 (*ḫnt* (*nfr*(*t*)*-ỉỉt*)), V, 1 (*ḫ*ʿ *nsw* (*imn ḥtp*); V, 19 (*ỉpỉp*), V, 15 (*ḫ*ʿ *n nsw* (*wsr-mȝʿt-r*ʿ[…]).

4 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25265, 1 (Valley Festival); O. Cairo CG 25538, 3 (Valley Festival); O. DeM 55, vs. 1–2 (accession day of Ramesses III); O. DeM 153, vs. 8 (accession day of Ramesses III); O. Turin N 57034, rt. 7 (Valley Festival); O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9 (Valley Festival); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. I, 5 (*ḥb ptḥ*).

5 See Chapters III 1.2.1.5, 1.2.1.7, and 1.2.2.3.

6 *ỉw 60 n ḫny myt 60 n bnr*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 5–6.

7 For correcting *myt* to *dmỉt*, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices* (1975), 459 note 25; Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 note 16a; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136 note 16; followed by McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 96 (66B). Jaroslav Černý did not consider it possible to read *myt* as 'village' and translated the passage in question: '*il étaient soixante de Ḫnỉ-mỉt* (?)' (Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 184). Raphael Ventura proposed taking the word *myt* as a reference to the path to the Valley of the King and understanding *n ḫny myt* as a reference to the crew (using the path) while *n bnr* (*myt*) would indicate the wives and children mentioned in the text (*Living in the City of the Dead* (1986), 177).

8 Janssen, *Commodity Prices* (1975), 459 note 25; McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 96 (66B). For other translations, see, for example, Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 183–184; Ventura, *Living in the City of the Dead* (1986), 177, 179; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406.

festivities without their wives and children. O. DeM 401[1] (year 2 of Ramesses IV[2]) illustrates how the crew celebrated a feast by offering to Ptah in the Valley of the Kings. Furthermore, in Graffito 2087[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[4]), the crew is said to have brought *kɜ-ḥr-kɜ* to Meretseger on I *prt* 5. This particular graffito is situated in the Valley of the Kings[5] which might indicate that the crew was working despite the observance of the rituals related in this particular graffito. For example, they may have taken the *kɜ-ḥr-kɜ* to Meretseger at the rock sanctuary on their way to the Valley of the Kings. Moreover, the scribe of O. Cairo CG 25559[6] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[7]) relates how Amenhotep I ascended to the Valley of the Kings with the crew. These examples might mean that only the crew celebrated these particular feasts. Another explanation might be that these feast rituals were performed after the festival had been celebrated in the village.

There are some documents that state that the vizier was present at festivities. During the reign of Ramesses IV, the vizier Neferronpet came on several occasions to pour water.[8] Furthermore, O. BM EA 65933[a][9] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[10]) is a letter from the foreman Hay with a request that the vizier would come to let Amon appear in a procession.

The gift-giving lists, if they have been interpreted correctly, may indicate that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina did not always celebrate public feasts all together.[11] Various people may have hosted gatherings in their own houses or family chapels. In view of the varying sizes of these gift-giving lists, one might perhaps suggest that such gatherings were also hosted during private feasts. Certain references in the lists of men absent or working also indicate that private feasts were sometimes celebrated in small groups.[12] Furthermore, there are references to a man being off work alone to celebrate a private feast

---

1 *Hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ꜥɜt ỉn tɜ ỉst r-gs pɜ r-ꜥ-bɜk* [*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ꜥɜ m-bɜḥ pɜ r-ꜥ-bɜk*; O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5.

2 For the date of O. DeM 401, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 379–380.

3 *ỉỉ ỉn tɜ-ỉst r msy kɜ-ḥr-kɜ n ḥnwt ꜥɜt špsyt mrt-sgr*; Graffito 2087, 1–3.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 420.

5 Valley of the Tomb of Seti II; Félix & Kurz, *GMTh* II (1970), pl. 43.

6 *Hrw pn ṯs ỉn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s ỉw=f pḥy tɜ ỉnt ỉw tɜ ỉst m sḫsḫ r-ḥɜt=f*; O. Cairo CG 25559, rt. 1–3.

7 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 104 (year 1 of Ramesses IV); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 421 (year 1 of Ramesses V or perhaps Ramesses VI).

8 O. BM EA 50744, rt. 1–2 (*hrw pn ỉỉ ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯɜty nfr-rnpt r wɜḥ-mw*; year 5 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 336–337); O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 1–4 (*ỉỉ pw ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯɜty nfr-rnpt r mɜɜ pɜ sḫnw ỉw=f wɜḥ-mw*; year 6 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 143–144).

9 *ỉr pɜy=n nb r swḥ n=n m pɜy=f ỉiy r dỉt ḫꜥy ỉmn* [*m pɜ…*; O. BM EA 65933[a], vs. 2–3.

10 Kenneth Kitchen attributed a date to this text in the reign of Ramesses III (Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 583–584) but Robert Demarée dated it to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty (*Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 41).

11 See Chapter III 2.4.

12 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 10 (date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447); O. BM EA 5634, rt. 2, vs. 10, 18 (years 39–40 of Ramesses II; e.g., Janssen, Absence, SAK 8 (1980), 133).

of his own or of a family member.[1] Such references might stand for family gatherings. The verso side of P. DeM 7[2] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[3]) indicates that the host of a gathering could choose whom he or she invited to the festive occasion. The writer of this letter says: 'Am I no longer going to be among those for whom you make a feast'.[4] The aforementioned gift-giving lists demonstrate that women were often present at various gatherings. Women were also hosts of gatherings of different sizes.[5]

1 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37, vs. 5 (*ꜥɜ-pḥty m pɜy=f ḥb*; date attributed to the reign of Siptah; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 446–447); O. Ashmolean Museum 167, rt. 8 (*tɜy=f ḥmt ḥsmn*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 242–243); O. O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 21 (*iw ḫɜmw* (*m*) *pɜ*[*y=f ḥb*]; years 1–2 of Siptah; e.g., Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935), 10–11); O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 14 (*rᶜ-ḥtp w*[*dn*] *n ḥwt-ḥr*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 211–216); O. DeM 209, rt. 7 (*ꜥḥᶜ.n nb-nfr…*[*n pɜy=f*] *ḥb*; date attributed to the late 19th Dynasty; e.g., Janssen, Two Personalities (1982), 112), vs. 2 (*ꜥḥᶜ.n ḫᶜ-m-sbɜ n pɜy=f ḥb*); O. DeM 898, vs. 2–3 (*ḥwy…wsf iw tɜy=f ḥmt ỉỉ.tỉ ḥsmn*; date attributed to the reign of Amenmesse; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médînéh* IX (2003), 70–71).

2 P. DeM 7, vs. 1–8.

3 For the date attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 152 (reign of Ramesses IX); Bontty & Peust, Papyrus Deir el-Medineh VII, *JARCE* 33 (1996), 65.

4 *Bn* <*iw*>*=ỉ* (*m*) *nɜ ỉryw=k n=w wp ỉwnɜ*; P. DeM 7, vs. 3. For the reconstruction of the passage, see Bontty & Peust, Papyrus Deir el-Medineh VII, *JARCE* 33 (1996), 65. For translations of the text, see, for example, Wente, *Letters* (1990), 152–153; Bontty & Peust, *op. cit.*, 66–67.

5 Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 55–86 (Women and Gifts); Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), 130–132; see Chapter III 2.4.

3.2 Possible Locations of Festivities

Only a few texts in the corpus of this study enlighten us about the location of the feast. The royal artisans are occasionally stated as having been freed from work on the Royal Tomb during public feasts[1] and sometimes they are said to have ascended back to work after a holiday.[2] From these references, one might infer that generally the crew left the Valley of the Kings to come to the village to celebrate a feast. However, some feasts appear to have been celebrated, or at least some festival rituals seem to have been performed, in the Valley of the Kings.[3]

In O. Cairo CG 25234[4] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[5]), the festivities are said to have taken place in front of King Amenhotep I. This is probably a reference to a statue of Amenhotep I in one of the village chapels. The surroundings of the village of Deir el-Medina contain the ruins of several structures that can be identified as religious buildings, i.e., temples or chapels, and many of these buildings can, in view of inscriptions, be assigned to a specific god of the community or to a local cult of a king.[6] Many of these structures are also referred to in documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina.[7] These chapels or temples of the principal gods of the community and the area around them may have served as the location of the various public feasts of the respective deity.

Processions were organized at least during some of the public feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina.[8] Indications of the route of the procession are seldom found. However, the scribe of O. Cairo CG 25559[9] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[10]) relates how the statue of Amenhotep I was taken up to the Valley of the Kings. Furthermore, the

---

1 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 3–4 (*ḫnw* (*nfrt-ỉry*), rt. 11 (Valley Festival); O. Ashmolean Museum 70, rt. 9 (*Khoiak*); O. Cairo CG 25533, rt. 10–11 (…]*wsr-mɜꜥt*[*-rꜥ*] *stp-n-rꜥ*); O. DeM 209, vs. 4 (*ỉpỉp*), vs. 20 (*wpt-rnpt*); O. Michaelides 33, rt. 9; O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9; P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 26 (*ḫꜥ* (*wsr-mɜꜥt-rꜥ*), III, 6 (*ḫnt* (*nfr*(*t*)*-ỉỉt*)), V, 1 (*ḫꜥ nsw* (*ỉmn ḥtp*); V, 19 (*ỉpỉp*), V, 15 (*ḫꜥ n nsw* (*wsr-mɜꜥt-rꜥ*[…]).

2 E.g., O. Cairo CG 25636, 1 (I *ɜḫt* 5); P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III, 5 (I *ɜḫt* 21); P. Turin Cat. 1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094 rt. II, 16 (I *šmw* 3); P. Turin Cat. 2002 vs. I, 1 (I *ɜḫt* 4).

3 O. Cairo CG 25559, rt. 1–2 (*hrw pn ṯs ỉn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ꜥ w s ỉw=f pḥy tɜ ỉnt*; date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 104); O. DeM 401, rt. 1–5 (*hrw* [*p*]*n wdn n ptḥ m sḫt ꜥɜt ỉn tɜ ỉst r-gs pɜ r-ꜥ-bɜk* [*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ꜥɜ m-bɜḥ pɜ r-ꜥ-bɜk*; year 2 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 125); Graffito 2087, 1–3 (*ỉỉ ỉn tɜ-ỉst r msy kɜ-ḥr-kɜ n ḥnwt ꜥɜt špsyt mrt-sgr*; date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271; the graffito is situated in the Valley of the Kings; Félix & Kurz, *GMTh* II (1970), pl. 43).

4 *ỉw tɜ ỉst m ḥꜥwy m-bɜḥ=f*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 2–3.

5 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

6 E.g., Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 5–48; idem, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 3–69; idem, *Rapport 1931–1932* (1934), 56–71; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), 12–39, 99–125; idem, *Rapport 1945–1947* (1952), 17–27; Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².2 (1973), 689–691, 693–700, 706–709; Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 326–328; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 59–84; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 39–55. See also Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995), 107–121; Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 153–154.

7 Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009), 154–156.

8 See Chapter III 2.5.1.

9 *Hrw pn ṯs ỉn* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ꜥ w s ỉw=f pḥy tɜ ỉnt*; O. Cairo CG 25559, rt. 1–2.

10 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 104 (year 1 of Ramesses IV); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 421 (year 1 of Ramesses V or perhaps Ramesses VI).

processional route of the statue of Amenhotep I occasionally went by the tombs of Deir el-Medina as is demonstrated by O. BM EA 5625,[1] an oracle account the date of which is attributed to the fourth year of Ramesses V.[2]

There are some documents where individual people are said to have been in a chapel during a feast. O. Ashmolean Museum 166[3] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[4]) is a deposition by Nakhtmin in front of the local *ḳnbt* concerning a theft by a woman called Tanehsy while he had been sitting in his chapel during the Birth of Taweret.[5] The writer of O. Berlin P 10637[6] (date attributed to year 13 of Ramesses III[7]) relates how food was given to an unidentified man on the 'day of *mḫy*(*r*) while he was sitting in his chapel'. O. BM EA 5637[8] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[9]) is an oracle petition according to which a theft from a warehouse took place during the 'Appearance of Amenhotep I' while Nekhemmut was sitting in his father's chapel.[10] The chapels mentioned in these particular documents were probably family tomb chapels[11] or, alternatively, private chapels dedicated to various deities.[12] Such chapels may also have housed the gatherings implied in lists recording men absent or working, especially where several men are said to have been at some personal feast[13] or a man is said to be absent from work at what might be a family feast.[14] Some of the parties implied in the gift-giving lists may also have taken place at a chapel.[15] Various rituals, during feasts and probably also at other times, may also have been performed in the village chapels. Note, for example, P. BM EA 10055[16] (date attributed to the reign of Siptah[17]). In his deposition against Paneb, recorded in this document, Amennakht charged the foreman Paneb with inciting the villagers to prevent

---

1 The oracle statement was received in front of the tomb of Kaha; O. BM EA 5625, vs. 7–8 (*m r n tꜣ ꜥḥꜥt n ꜥꜣ-n-ỉst ḳḥ*; see also Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 184–185.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 252–253; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 432; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 16.

3 *R n nḫt-mnw n tꜣ ḳnbt ỉr ỉnk ḥms m pꜣy=ỉ ḫnw* (*m*) *pꜣ ms*(*wt*) *tꜣ-wrt ỉw tꜣ-nḥsy ỉṯꜣ wꜥ n sš n-dỉ=ỉ*; O. Ashmolean Museum 166, rt. 1–2.

4 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 550.

5 For interpreting the 'Birth of Taweret' as standing for a feast, see Borghouts, Divine Intervention (1982), 41 note 13; McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 102 (73B).

6 *Dỉ*(*t*) *n=f hrw n mḫy ỉw=f ḥms* (*m*) *pꜣy=f ḫnw*; O. Berlin P 10637, rt. 7–8.

7 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 455.

8 *III šmw 13 m ḥꜥy nsw* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ỉw=w šmy r pꜣ wḏꜣ ỉw=w ỉṯꜣ*…; O. BM EA 5637, rt. 8 – vs. 2.

9 Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 18.

10 *ỉw=ỉ m pꜣ ḫnw n pꜣy=ỉ ỉt*; O. BM EA 5637, vs. 4–5.

11 At Deir el Medina, buildings called *ḫnw*, when not connected with a deity, seem to have been chapels of private persons, referring perhaps to tomb chapels or the courtyards in front of them (Janssen and Pestman, Burial and Inheritance, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 162).

12 For private chapels at Deir el-Medina, see Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), passim; idem, *Rapport 1935–1940* I (1948), passim; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 59–84; Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991), 39–55, 69–79.

13 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37, rt. 10; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 2, vs. 10, 18.

14 E.g., O. Ashmolean Museum 37, vs. 5 (*ꜥꜣ-pḥty m pꜣy=f ḥb*); O. Ashmolean Museum 167, rt. 8 (*tꜣy=f ḥmt ḥsmn*); O. O. Cairo CG 25521, rt. 21 (*ỉw ḫꜣmw* (*m*) *pꜣ*[*y=f ḥb*]); O. Cairo CG 25779, rt. 14 (*rꜥ-ḥtp w*[*dn*] *n ḥwt-ḥr*); O. DeM 209, rt. 7 (*ꜥḥꜥ.n nb-nfr*…[*n pꜣy=f*] *ḥb*), vs. 2 (*ꜥḥꜥ.n ḫꜥ-m-sbꜣ n pꜣy=f ḥb*).

15 For gift-giving lists, see Chapter III 2.4.

16 P. BM EA 10055 rt. I, 1 – vs. II, 7.

17 For the date attributed, see, for example, Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929), 251–257; Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 408–414.

any kin of Amennakht from going to make offerings to Amon in the chapel of Amennakht's parents.[1]

No documents in the corpus of this study specifically mention feasts celebrated at home. Some of the smaller gatherings during public and private feasts, nevertheless, may have taken place in the houses in the village. In a typical house of Deir el-Medina, the first and second rooms when counting from the street entrance contained niches for offering stelae and ancestral busts.[2] Offering rituals may have been performed in these rooms during feasts and on other occasions.

There are some indications that the royal artisans, and perhaps also their families, occasionally left to go and celebrate a feast outside the village. O. IFAO 1262[3] (date attributed to year 4 of Ramesses IV or Ramesses V[4]) might contain a reference to 'going to the town during a feast'. In the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT2,[5] reign of Ramesses II[6]), the temple of Mut at Karnak has been portrayed. This demonstrates that, at least during the reign of Ramesses II, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina were aware of the design of the temple of Mut at Karnak and that they may have been familiar with the procession that took place at this particular temple during the Sailing of Mut.[7] In the corpus, there are also several references to the Crossing (of the river) by Amon during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.[8] The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina may have been in the Nile Valley to witness the procession of Amon of Karnak to Western Thebes during this particular feast.

---

1 *Sḫɜw r pɜy=f ꜥrḳ ḥry pɜ ḫnw n tɜy=i mwt pɜy=i it…mtw=f ḥpr ḥr ꜥš pɜ dmi̯t r ḏd m dyt ptr.tw rmṯ n tɜ mhɜi̯ n ꜥɜ n ist nb-nfr iw=f šm r wdn n imn pɜy=w nṯr ḥr=f*; P. BM EA 10055 vs. I, 13–16.

2 See Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935* III (1939), 54–71; Demarée, *The ɜḫ iḳr n Rꜥ-stelae* (1983), 286–290; see also, for example, Keith-Bennett, Anthropoid Busts: II. Not From Deir el-Medineh Alone, *BES* 3 (1981) 43–72; Friedman, On the Meaning of Some Anthropoid Busts from Deir el-Medina, *JEA* 71 (1985), 82–97; Demarée, More *ɜḫ iḳr n Rꜥ*-stelae, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 348–351; Schulman, Some Observations on the *ɜḫ iḳr n Rꜥ*-Stelae, *BiOr* 43 (1986); 302–348; Kaiser, Zur Büste als einer Darstellungsform ägyptischer Rundplastik, *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 269–285; Friedman, Aspects of Domestic Life (1994), 95–117; Koltsida, Birth-Bed, Sitting Place, Erotic Corner or Domestic Altar?, *SAK* 35 (2006), 165–173.

3 *Sbt nḫwt m ḥb*; O. IFAO 1262 I, 2 (Černý, Notebooks, 61.47); see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 393 (sic. IV *prt* 19).

4 For the dates attributed, see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983), 287 (year 4 of Ramesses IV or V); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 393 (year 4 of Ramesses V).

5 TT2, funerary chapel, room 1, wall B', 4th register; Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949), 25–27.

6 For the date of TT2, see Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 (1960), 6–9.

7 Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983), 412–415; for the Sailing of Mut, see Chapter III 1.2.1.6.

8 *Ḏɜ(y)*; O. Ashmolean Museum 11, rt. 11; O. Cairo CG 25265 II, 1–2; O. Cairo CG 25538, 3; O. Turin N. 57034, rt. 7; O. Turin N. 57044, vs. 9; see Chapter III 1.2.1.10.

3.3 Objects and Victuals Associated with Feasts

Objects used during feasts are seldom mentioned in the documents of the corpus. However, in O. DeM 97[1] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[2]), provisions for a feast of Amenhotep I appear to have been listed and some ropes are mentioned just before the reference to the feast. Some ropes in connection with a feast are also referred to in O. Turin N. 57033[3] (years 24–25 of Ramesses III[4]). The function of the ropes in the feasts in question is unclear from these particular texts. One may perhaps refer to temple feast rituals where ropes seem to have been used,[5] rituals such as the 'erecting of the Djed-pillar' during the eponymous feast *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*[6] and the 'erecting the scaffolding' for Min.[7] Concerning artefacts used during feasts at Deir el-Medina, note O. DeM 603[8] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[9]), a letter the scribe Qensety wrote to his brother Amenemope to ask for some ink and reed brushes 'with which he was going to fill his scribal palette on the day of Thoth'. This appears to be a reference to a ritual.[10]

Some offering rituals may have required the ritual slaughter of an ox. In O. Ashmolean Museum 362[11] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[12]), Ramose writes to the Royal Scribe Hatia about the preparations for the approaching Opet Festival by mentioning, for example, oxen for offerings to the gods. In O. Turin N. 57033,[13] (years 24–25 of Ramesses III[14]), an ox is said to have been slaughtered for Ptah on III *šmw* 7. It seems that the royal artisans were working despite the offering ritual, and the slaughter may have been a preparation for an offering ritual performed later.[15] One might perhaps

---

1 *Nwḫwy drt 20 n pȝ ḥb n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp ꜥ w s*; O. DeM 97, vs. 6–7. It is not clear which of the provisions listed in this document were meant for the feast mentioned. See also Chapter III 2.2.

2 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557–558.

3 *Nȝ nwḫ m ḥb*; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 4. Allam translated this passage as 'Die Trunkenbolde (?) (waren) beim Fest' (*HOP* (1973), 248). For translating *nwḫ* as ropes, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265; *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Turin N. 57033, Contents.

4 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

5 See also, for example, one of the Medinet Habu depiction of the Feast of Sokar where the king is led by his sons and the High Priests by means of a rope (The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940), pl. 224).

6 Gaballa, & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969), 72–74; Mikhail, Raising the Djed-pillar, *GM* 83 (1984), 51–69: Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994), 270–277; see also Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934), 85–87, figs. 41–43.

7 See, for example, Helck, 'Klettern für Min', *LÄ* III (1980), 454–455; Feder, Das Ritual *sꜥḫꜥ kȝ sḫn.t* (1998).

8 *Mtw=k wḫȝ* […] *n ry*(*t*) *m-mỉtt wꜥ n drt ꜥryw nty ỉw=ỉ mḥ nȝy=ỉ gstỉ m-ỉm=sn hrw ḏḥwty*; O. DeM 603, 7.

9 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 568; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 165.

10 See Chapter III 1.2.1.2.

11 *Ḥb ỉpt ḫn n* […]*n pȝ hrw ḫr b*(*w*) *ỉỉ n=n pȝ ḳȝwt n pr ỉmn m* […] *n ḥb ỉpt m-mỉtt nȝ n ỉḫ*(*w*) *n sšmw nȝ n wdnw nȝ n nṯrw nbw*; O. Ashmolean Museum 362, rt. 2–3.

12 For the date attributed, see Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 93.

13 *Šꜥd ỉḫ n ptḥ*; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 9.

14 For the date, see, for example, López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978), 27; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 265.

15 On III *šmw* 9 lamps were used but III *šmw* 10 has no entry other than the date; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 9–10.

tentatively suggest that the 'ropes for the feast' mentioned earlier in this particular document[1] were prepared in anticipation of this ritual slaughter. The reference to the ox which, according to O. Ashmolean Museum 5[2] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[3]), was to be taken to Meretseger might also stand for a sacrificial animal.

Bread and other food were also needed when celebrating a feast at Deir el-Medina. In the aforementioned O. DeM 97[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[5]), the provisions listed for a feast of Amenhotep I might include at least bread and fish. In O. Turin N. 57530[6] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[7]), loaves of bread for a *ḥb* of Amenhotep I are also listed. The gift-giving lists and the accounts of transfers containing references to items handed over due to feasts indicate that the most important item to bring to a feast at Deir el-Medina was bread.[8] Bread may also have been part of the offerings presented to the village deities, probably also during various feasts. In O. DeM 124[9] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses III[10]), the scribe Neferhotep asked the deputy Hay to come and receive the offering loaves for Hathor. In O. Turin N. 57191[11] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[12]), there is a reference to 'giving white-bread' to Ptah. Furthermore, in the deposition O. Turin N. 57356[13] (date attributed to the second half of the 20th Dynasty[14]), an unidentified person referred to the time he had been making 'water-bread' for Taweret, i.e., for an offering to be presented to her.

Drinking was also an important part of a feast at Deir el-Medina.[15] The scribe of O. DeM 354[16] (date attributed to year 11 of Ramesses II[17]), relates how a servant called Baketdua received some date brew because she was celebrating a feast of Amon *m ỉpt*. In the gift-giving lists and in accounts of transfers, beer was among the items mentioned to have been given to another person.[18] In the corpus of this study, there are also references to presenting water and beverages to gods.[19] O. Brussels E 6781[20] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[21]) contains a reference to giving some date brew to Amenhotep due

[1] *Nꜣ nwḥ m ḥb*; O. Turin N. 57033, vs. 4.
[2] *N sꜣw ḫꜣy ḥnᶜ ḏd…mtw=k ỉn iḥ n mrt-sgr*; O. Ashmolean Museum 5, 1–2; for reading *iḥ n* instead of *nꜣ*, see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. Ashmolean Museum 0005, Remarks.
[3] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI, 211.
[4] *N pꜣ ḥb n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp ᶜ w s ᶜḳw 7 ḏss 1 tpw mḫy 1*; O. DeM 97, vs. 7–11.
[5] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557–558.
[6] *Rnpt 8* [*II ꜣḫt…*] *ᶜḳw*(*?*) *n* [*ḥb n* (*ỉmn-…*; O. Turin N. 57530, 1–2.
[7] For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* IV (1984), 34.
[8] See Chapter III 2.4.
[9] *Ḏd sš nfr-ḥtp n ỉdnw n tꜣ ỉst ḫꜣy mỉ šsp=k snw n ḥwt-ḥr*; O. DeM 124, rt. 1–3.
[10] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 565–566; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139.
[11] *Rdỉ*] *n ptḥ t-ḥḏ* […; O. Turin N. 57191, rt. 6.
[12] For the date attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980), 38.
[13] *Wnn=ỉ ḥr ỉrt pꜣy=ỉ* [*t*]*-mw n tꜣ-wrt*; O. Turin N. 57356, 1.
[14] For the dates attributed, see López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982), 19 (probably Ramesses V through Ramesses IX); Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 355–356 (Ramesses V).
[15] See Chapter III 2.5.4.
[16] *Hrw pn n ỉrt pꜣ ḥb n ỉmn n ỉpt ỉn* [*ḥmt*] *bꜣk*(*t*)*-dwꜣw ỉny=*{*s*} *ỉn ḫꜣwy srmt* […; O. DeM 354, 3–7.
[17] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 508–509; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 54.
[18] See Chapter III 2.4.
[19] See Chapter III 2.5.3.
[20] *ỉḫ*[…] *nḏ-ḫrt n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ᶜ n w mtw=k dỉt ỉry=tn n*[*=f…*] *srmt ḳḏ*; O. Brussels E 6781, rt. 2–3.
[21] For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 200–201.

to a *nḏ-ḥrt* of this deified king. O. Turin N. 57062[1] (year 47 of Ramesses II)[2] is a collection of promises made by various people to Anukis. Amenemope promised the goddess several items including date brew and beer, whereas Pay swore he would bring water to this particular deity and brew beer for her.[3]

Incense and other such supplies were also required for some rituals performed during feasts. The writer of O. DeM 127[4] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[5]) said that he had sent some cakes and incense for the day the recipient of this letter was going to make an offering to Amon during the Feast of the Valley. In O. DeM 115[6] (date attributed to the 20th Dynasty[7]), the wab-priest Kynebi asks Qenymin to send one *hin* of oil for a feast of *pȝ nṯr*. The scribe of O. DeM 551[8] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[9]) requested some incense, leaves, and flowers on day 18 because 'they are going to pour water on day 19'. The ritual of pouring water may, thus, have included other offerings besides the water.

Some rituals may have required special vessels. For example, according to O. Demarée H 6[10] (date attributed to year 3 of Seti I[11]), the crew received a delivery of 40 *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*-vessels on IV *ȝḫt* 30, i.e., just prior to the Feast of *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*. Furthermore, in Graffito 2087[12] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses V[13]), the crew is said to have brought *kȝ-ḥr-kȝ*, perhaps also such a vessel, to Meretseger shortly after this particular feast.

Celebrating a feast may also have required special clothing. In O. DeM 132[14] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses II[15]), a woman called Isis asks her sister to weave a garment for her as 'Amenhotep will not come because I am naked'. The need for attire is also demonstrated by P. DeM 3,[16] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[17]), a letter where Hay writes that he needs a garment because he is going to make an offering to Sobek and that he would return this garment when he has celebrated the feast.

---

1 O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 1–11. See Allam, Engagements matériels (1981), 197–204; Helck, Ein früher Beleg, *SAK* 18 (1991), 233–240.

2 *Rnpt-sp 47*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 1; see also López, *Ostraca ieratici I* (1978), 36; Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 524–526.

3 *Ḏd.n rmṯ-ỉst ỉ*[*mn-m-ỉpt*] *ỉr ꜥnḫ-ꜥn-n-tr srmt-ḳd* […]*mt 5 ḥnḳt ỉnḥ 2½…ḏd.n pȝy ỉnk ỉn mw n ꜥnḳt ỉnk ꜥtḥ n ꜥnḳt m hrw nbt n swrỉ*; O. Turin N. 57062, rt. 3–4, 6–7.

4 *Dỉ<=ỉ> ỉn.tw n=k šꜥy*(*t*)*…snṯr…hrw n pȝ wdn ỉ.ỉr=k n ỉmn m ḥb ỉnt*; O. DeM 127, rt. 3, 5, vs. 1–2.

5 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 557; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139.

6 *ʾỉmỉ ỉn.tw wꜥ ḥnw n sḏft n ḥb* […] *n pȝ nṯr*; O. DeM 115, vs. 12–15.

7 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 448 (Ramesses VIII); Wente, *Letters* (1990), 163 (Ramesses IV).

8 *ʾỉmỉ ỉn.tw…nkt n snṯr mtw=k dỉt ỉn.tw n ḏbȝw krḥt* [*m*] *sw 18 pȝ-wn ỉw=w r wȝḥ-mw m sw 19*; O. DeM 551, rt. 4, 7, vs. 1–6. For a translation 'an offering platform' instead of leaves, see Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wȝḥ mw* (1992), 23.

9 For the dates attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 139 (19th Dynasty); Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wȝḥ mw* (1992), 29 (20th Dynasty?).

10 *IV ȝḫt ꜥrḳy… kȝ-ḥr-kȝ 40*; O. Demarée H 6, 1, 8.

11 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 30.

12 *I prt 5 ỉỉ ỉn tȝ-ỉst r msy kȝ-ḥr-kȝ n ḥnwt ꜥȝt špsyt mrt-sgr*; Graffito 2087, 1–3.

13 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 271; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 420.

14 *ʾỉw bw ỉỉy* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *ꜥ w s pȝ-wn tw=ỉ ḫȝw.kwỉ r ỉḳr sp sn sp sn*; O. DeM 132, 3–5. See Chapter III 2.5.1.

15 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* III (1980), 558; Wente, *Letters* (1990), 157.

16 *Ptr tw=ỉ wdn n sbk pȝy=k nb ỉmỉ ỉn.tw wꜥ n <ḥ>bs* (*n*) *nȝy=k bȝkỉw ỉr ỉry=ỉ pȝ wp ỉw=ỉ dỉt ỉn.tw=f n=k ꜥn*; P. DeM 3, rt. 6–9. See Chapter III 2.2.

17 For the date attributed, see Wente, *Letters* (1990), 140.

3.4 The Function of Deir el-Medina Feasts

According to the ancient Egyptian wisdom text called the 'Instructions of Ani',[1] one should celebrate the feast of one's god because the god becomes furious if one overlooks it. The Egyptians frequently explain the purpose of celebrating feasts by referring to gods. Feasts were celebrated in honour of various deities in the Egyptian pantheon, a fact that is manifest in the names of many feasts. Such an explanation refers to the symbolic content of a feast.[2] In the preceding chapters, the feasts of Deir el-Medina have been presented in view of their symbolic content.

O. UC 39614[3] gives another kind of explanation for celebrating feasts. The composer of this particular instruction text, when saying 'do not celebrate your feast without your neighbours, they surround you, grieving, on the day of the burial',[4] maintains that feasts are a social obligation. Feasts, indeed, may be occasions for establishing and sustaining social relationships.[5] On the whole, the documents pertaining to Deir el-Medina do not contain many such references to the function of a feast. The possible functions of various Deir el-Medina feasts, nevertheless, are here considered in view of the functional approach to feasts introduced in Chapter I 2.2 and bearing in mind the above-presented evidence on feasts, their size, and their participants.

The reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina festival calendar demonstrates that the inhabitants of the royal artisans' community celebrated many national and regional festivals of the official religion.[6] The men, furthermore, appear to have been freed from work on the Royal Tomb on an annual basis due to these feasts. The men working in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens are also known to have been work-free every ninth and tenth day of a decade.[7] During these 'weekends', the men, however, seem to have been working within private workshops in the village.[8] The men must also have been taking care of family affairs and so forth. Such regularly occurring work-free days have not been attested elsewhere in ancient Egypt[9] although one may easily imagine that various state employees enjoyed similar benefits. Moreover, celebrating at least one major festival every month might have been a means of giving the people of Egypt a day of rest at regular intervals. This is reminiscent of the Roman Republic, where the so-called *feriae*

---

1 *ỉrt ḥb nṯr=k…ḳnd nṯr th.tw=f*; P. Cairo CG 58042 XVI, 3–4. For the Instructions of Ani, see Quack, *Die Lehre des Ani. Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfelt* (1994). The date of this text has been attributed to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Barta, Phonetische Substitution in den Handschriften der Lebenslehre des Ani, *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 97).

2 See also, for example, Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 25.

3 O. UC 39614, rt. 1 – vs. 10; Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 1. The text is also known as O. Petrie 11. For translations of this didactic text, see Hagen, The Prohibitions, *JEA* 91 (2005), 143–145; McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 142–143.

4 *ỉm=k ỉrt ḥb=k nn sꜣḫw=k pḥrw=sn n=k nḫwy hrw ḳrs*; O. UC 39614, vs. 7.

5 E.g., Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 30.

6 See Chapter III 1.

7 Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 115.

8 Cooney, An Informal Workshop (2006), 43–55; idem, *The Cost of Death* (2007), 131–175; idem, Profit or Exploitation?, *JEH* 1 (2008), 79–115.

9 See also von Beckerath, Dekade, *LÄ* I (1975), 1035–1036; Helck, Feiertage, *LÄ* II (1977), 145; cf. Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 141; Sadek, *Popular Religion* (1987), 170.

scattered around the calendar year were days when all people had a 'day off'.[1] The large temple festivals in ancient Egypt appear to be what Brian Hayden[2] calls *tribute feasts*. Such feasts are celebrated at regular calendric intervals and the rituals of the festivities pertain to the gods of the society in question. The aim of tribute feasts is to persuade the people of that society to support the privileges of the elite so that the elite can accumulate as much surplus as possible.[3] The function of the large, nationally or regionally celebrated, temple festivals in ancient Egypt might, thus, have been a means of keeping the people content so that they would continue to work to the advantage of the king and the elite surrounding him. The lavish processions, in that case, were perhaps a means of presenting the power of the leaders[4] but also of connecting this power to the symbolic content of the festival, i.e., to the deities of the Egyptian pantheon.

All the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina appear to have celebrated certain feasts together in the village as explicitly stated in O. Cairo CG 25234[5] (date attributed to the mid-20th Dynasty[6]) according to which the royal artisans celebrated the Great Feast of Amenhotep I for four days with their wives and children. The reason for celebrating a feast together may have been to maintain the unity of the group. Such feasts, according to James Parodie,[7] are called *solidarity feasts*. If a feast was celebrated solely for purposes of solidarity, the hierarchy of the community was probably downgraded. The food for such solidarity feasts may have been provided by the members of the group.[8]

The corpus of my study contains some documents that state that the vizier was present at certain festivities. During the reign of Ramesses IV, the vizier Neferronpet came on several occasions to pour water.[9] Furthermore, O. BM EA 65933[a][10] (date attributed to the Ramesside Period[11]) is a letter from the foreman Hay with a request that the vizier would come to let Amon appear in a procession. This latter reference might be an example of a feast arranged by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. A feast to which one invites a person in a high political position may be classified as a *solicitation feast*. Such feasts were organized in order to obtain support from the prosperous and influential members of the society.[12] The members of the community or of the crew may have had something they

---

1 E.g., Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (1981), 39.

2 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 58. Michael Dietler uses the word *patron-role feasts* to denote similar feasts (Theorizing the Feast (2001), 82–85). For tribute feasts in Sumer, see Schmandt-Basserat, Feasting in the Ancient Near East (2001), 391–403.

3 Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 58.

4 See also Schmandt-Basserat, Feasting in the Ancient Near East (2001), 400–401. For ancient Egyptian festivals as propaganda, see Assmann, *Ägypten. Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (1984), 225–232.

5 *ỉw.tw m pȝ ḥb ꜥȝ n n*[*sw*] (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ꜥ *w s… ỉw tȝ ỉst m ḥ*ꜥ*wy…ỉw=w n swrỉ ḥn*ꜥ *nȝy=w ḫrdw m-mỉtt nȝy=w ḥmwt*; O. Cairo CG 25234, 4–5.

6 For the dates attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 370 (year 7 of Ramesses VI); Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 406 (year 7 of Ramesses IV).

7 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 192–194; see also Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001), 54–55 (minimally distinctive feasts).

8 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 194.

9 O. BM EA 50744, rt. 1–2 (*hrw pn ỉỉ ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯȝty nfr-rnpt r wȝḥ-mw*; year 5 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 336–337); O. Cairo CG 25290 I, 1–4 (*ỉỉ pw ỉn ỉmy-r nỉwt ṯȝty nfr-rnpt r mȝȝ pȝ sḫnw ỉw=f wȝḥ-mw*; year 6 of Ramesses IV; e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 143–144).

10 *ỉr pȝy=n nb r swh n=n m pȝy=f ỉỉy r dỉt ḫ*ꜥ*y ỉmn* [*m pȝ…*; O. BM EA 65933[a], vs. 2–3.

11 Kenneth Kitchen attributed a date to this text in the reign of Ramesses III (Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 583–584) but Robert Demarée attributed it to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty (*Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 41).

12 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 195.

wanted to achieve in relation to the work on the Royal Tomb or to the organization of the work crew. For example, during most of the reign of Ramesses IV, there were 120 members of the crew instead of the usual sixty.[1] These circumstances may have led to situations where the vizier needed to be 'persuaded' to do something. In the second year of Ramesses V, the size of the crew seems to have been restored.

The small gatherings during public feasts which are indicated by some of the gift-giving lists[2] may perhaps be classified as so-called *reciprocal feasts*. The personal feasts where guests were present may also have been such feasts.[3] Reciprocal feasts may have been organized by someone who wanted to form or maintain alliances with other members of the group.[4] For example, a workman might wish to form a closer relationship with one of his fellow villagers in order to arrange a marriage for himself or his children. Additionally, there may occasionally have been competition for open positions on the crew although, in theory, the offices of foreman and scribe were passed from father to son.[5] A feast may have been an excellent opportunity for a person to improve his own chances of advancement or his children's chances of being accepted on the crew by forming alliances. When higher-ranked men on the crew were invited to a feast, one may talk about *solicitation feasts*.[6] The 'feast of his foreman' mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25532[7] (date attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV[8]) might have been such a solicitation feast organized by a workman to advance his own position in the hierarchy of the crew. Alternatively, the feast was organized by the foreman in question in order to attract allies or supporters (*promotional feast*).[9]

The functions of the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina may, thus, have been very diverse. A feast may have had different meanings for the various persons participating in it. The functional approach to feasts tends to concentrate on the motives of the person organizing a gathering.[10] Nevertheless, the people attending a feast at Deir el-Medina may also have had their own agendas when they accepted the invitation or brought presents for the host.

1 Černý, *Community* (1973), 103–104; Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 136.
2 See Chapters III 2.4 and III 3.1.
3 See Chapter III 2.3.
4 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 201–205.
5 See also Černý, *Community* (1973), 126–127, 143, 223–224.
6 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 195.
7 …]-*mnw ḥb ḥry=f*; O. Cairo CG 25532, vs. 6.
8 For the date attributed, see Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 178–179; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 410.
9 Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001), 196–198.
10 See Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts* (2001).

IV Conclusions

When one considers the feasts celebrated at Deir el-Medina as a whole, one is reminded of the wisdom text passage quoted in the title of this study 'do not celebrate your feast without your neighbour'.[1] In a community such as Deir el-Medina, where everyone lives and works together, it is, indeed, the neighbours with whom one celebrates feasts. There is ample evidence in the documents pertaining to this community that the inhabitants of the village celebrated various feasts with each other. References to small gatherings during public feasts, however, indicate that celebrating with the neighbours did not always mean celebrating with the entire village.

When comparing my reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina to other festival calendars, the best point of comparison is the Festival Calendar in the temple of Medinet Habu. This particular temple festival calendar seems, for the most part, to be a copy of the Festival Calendar of the Ramesseum,[2] an important temple in the vicinity of the village of Deir el-Medina, and probably provides evidence for the festivals celebrated in the Ramesseum during the reign of Ramesses II,[3] and perhaps also later. The reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina differs from this Ramesseum calendar. For example, the Deir el-Medina festival calendar contains feasts that are not present in the Ramesseum calendar. Such feasts generally appear to have been regional feasts pertaining to Thebes.[4] These regional feasts include the three feasts of Amenhotep I and the Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari. The Sailing of Mut might also have been a local Theban feast although it is possible that this particular feast of Mut was a local version of a national feast of the Eye of Re celebrated in honour of the other feline goddesses personifying the Daughter of Re. The accession feasts of Seti I and Ramesses II are also present in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina but they are not found in the Ramesseum calendar. Another difference between the Ramesseum calendar and the reconstruction of the Deir el-Medina calendar is that the former contains feasts that are not present in the latter reconstructed calendar.[5] Some of these feasts featuring in the Ramesseum calendar are mentioned in certain inscriptions in tomb chapels at Deir el-

---

1 *ỉm=k ỉrt ḥb=k nn sꜣḫw=k*; O. UC 39614, vs. 7; Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 1.

2 Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934), 25–29; Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

3 Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996), 226; Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 53–55.

4 Some of these particular feast may be missing from the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar because the calendar inscribed on the wall of this temple ends in I *šmw*.

5 E.g., Feast of Victory (III *šmw* 16), Feast of Sothis (I *ꜣḫt*), the Wag-Festival (I *ꜣḫt* 17–18), Feast of the Great Procession of Osiris (I *ꜣḫt* 22), Feast of Amon after the Festival of Opet (III *ꜣḫt* 17), Feast of Purifying the Ennead (IV *ꜣḫt* 20), Feast of Victory over the Libyans (I *ꜣḫt* 28), Feast of Writing King's Name on *išd*-Tree (I *prt* 6), the Festival of the Two Goddesses (I *prt* 22), Feast of Erecting the *ṯrt*-Tree (I *prt* 28), the Festival of Navigation of Anubis (II *prt* 1), Feast of Lifting Up the Sky (II *prt* 9), Feast of Entering the Sky (III *prt* 29 – IV *prt* 1), Feast of Chewing Onions for Bastet (IV *prt* 4), Feast of [So]k[ar] (IV *prt* 1), The Feast of Clothing Anubis (I *šmw* 10), The Processional Festival of Min (I *šmw*), The Processional Feast of Amon (I *šmw*); see Festival Calendar of Medinet Habu, 5–67 (lists 2–67); e.g., Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 125–183.

Medina but these particular feasts do not appear to have been celebrated as annually occurring holidays in this community.[1]

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned differences in the Ramesseum calendar and the reconstructed Deir el-Medina calendar, many feasts can be found in both calendars. For example, such national feasts as the New Year Festival, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of Hathor, the Feast of Sokar, the *Khoiak* Festival, and the Feast of Renenutet appear to have been celebrated both in the temples and at Deir el-Medina. The Feast of Ptah, which was also observed at Deir el-Medina, was an old Memphite feast and celebrated in the temples as a feast of Amon. The Opet Festival and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley which were, at least originally, local Theban are also present in both calendars.

Since one can thus conclude that feasts celebrated annually on a fixed civil calendar date at Deir el-Medina do not entirely reflect the feasts featured in the Ramesseum calendar, there are, in my opinion, two facts that might be considered when contemplating the setting of the reconstructed festival calendar. First, the fact that the proposed function of the nationally celebrated feasts as so-called 'tribute feasts' is to promote the prerogatives of the elite might signify that such feasts were not a privilege of the royal artisans alone. Second, it appears that some local Theban feasts are also present in the reconstructed festival calendar. One is, therefore, tempted to suggest that the feasts featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of Deir el-Medina reflect feasts that were celebrated collectively in Thebes, or perhaps in Western Thebes.

As regards the time of the establishment of these feasts at Deir el-Medina, one may observe that, with the exception of the accession days of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III, most of the feasts featured in the reconstructed festival calendar appear to have been old feasts,[2] already celebrated in Thebes by the time the village of Deir el-Medina was founded or at the latest, at the time of the reorganization of the Deir el-Medina workforce during the reign of Horemheb.[3] Although most of the references to feasts at Deir el-Medina feature in documents pertaining to the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th Dynasty, the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina might have been more or less already set by the time of the reorganization. One cannot, however, exclude the possibility that local feasts were, in the course of time, added to the festival calendar of Deir el-Medina.[4] The reconstruction of this festival calendar shows, for example, that certain 'weekdays', such as I *ꜣḫt* 8, I *ꜣḫt* 15, and IV *ꜣḫt* 26, might have been annually occurring work-free days during the 20th Dynasty only. Furthermore, a feast of Amenhotep I might have been celebrated on I *šmw* 27 during the late 20th Dynasty. It is, however, impossible to conclude from the reconstruction of the festival calendar whether such possible additions were local feasts of Deir el-Medina or whether they were celebrated more widely, at Thebes, or perhaps throughout the country.

---

1 E.g., the Wag-Festival (I *ꜣḫt* 17–18), Hryt (I *prt* 22), Bastet (IV *prt* 4); see Chapter III 1.3.

2 The New Year Festival, the Feast of Thoth, the Feast of Hathor, the Feast of Sokar, *Khoiak* and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley are known to have been already celebrated during the Old or the Middle Kingdom. The Feast of Ptah was an old Memphite feast, the eponymous feast of Renenutet is mentioned in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Senmut (TT71), and the first references to the Opet Festival are from the reign of Thutmose III.

3 See O. BM EA 5624, rt. 1–3 (year 21 of Ramesses III; e.g., Blackman, Oracles II, *JEA* 12 (1926), 177 note 14; Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002), 15–16). The recto side of this ostracon was in the publication (Blackman, *op. cit.*, 183–185) called the verso; see *Deir el-Medina Database*, O. BM EA 05624, Remarks); see also for example, Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985), 160–161.

4 It appears, for example, that many feasts of Amenhotep I were celebrated only once or perhaps only during the 20th Dynasty; see Chapter III 1.3 (II *prt* 29, III *prt* 15, III *prt* 21, IV *prt* 19).

With regard to the feasts of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, Raphael Ventura[1] suggested that the royal artisans adopted the cult of these royal persons before moving to Deir el-Medina while living in the vicinity of the *mn-st* temple. However, the cult of Amenhotep I seems first to have been established during the reign of Thutmose III.[2] Furthermore, the cult of his mother Ahmose-Nefertari may first have been widespread during the Ramesside Period.[3] It is impossible to determine whether the royal artisans brought the feasts of these deified patrons of the community with them when moving to Deir el-Medina during the reign of Thutmose I or whether they started celebrating these feasts only later with the other inhabitants of Western Thebes. However, O. BM EA 5634[4] dating to the years 39–40 of Ramesses II,[5] where individual men absent from work during the Feast of Ahmose-Nefertari are listed indicating that most of the crew was working, could perhaps be interpreted as denoting that this particular feast had not yet been established at Deir el-Medina during the reign of Ramesses II.

Public festivals were celebrated with various rituals at Deir el-Medina. A feast might contain a procession of the deity honoured, at least at the feasts of the deified Amenhotep I. Offering rituals were also performed and such a ritual may have included the rite of pouring water. The general carousing during feasts consisted of drinking beer and eating. On many occasions, the food and beverages consumed during festivities appear to have been provided by the guests attending the event.

The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina also celebrated feasts which cannot securely be identified with feasts featured in the reconstructed festival calendar of this community. These feasts may have been observed on some of the days that appear to have been annually occurring work-free days but for which there are no references as to what the object of the feast in question is, days such as I *ꜣḫt* 8, IV *ꜣḫt* 5, and I *prt* 7. Alternatively, these feasts might have been one-time occasions, or perhaps feasts observed according to the lunar calendar.

The royal artisans and their families also celebrated personal feasts. The reason for a personal feast is seldom revealed and often the feast is simply said to have been celebrated in honour of a deity or a person. Such feasts, nevertheless, are known to have been observed due to the purification of a woman and, possibly, because of the birth of a child. One might perhaps tentatively suggest that personal feasts were one-time occasions celebrated to mark a special event or rite of passage.

Many of the feasts celebrated by the royal artisans and their families were, without doubt, religious by nature. These feasts, however, also had a social function and they served as occasions of solidarity as well as of rivalry. By means of various feasts, an inhabitant of Deir el-Medina might advance his or her economic and social status in the village. The feasts observed at Deir el-Medina thus provide evidence for the social aspect of feasts celebrated in ancient Egypt.

---

1 Ventura, Snefru in Sinai (1985), 283–284.

2 Mohamed El Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom* (2008). I am greatly indebted to Dr. Yasmin Mohamed El Shazly for providing me with the text of her thesis.

3 Mohamed El Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship* (2008), 452. See also http://www.degruyter.de/cont/fb/at/detail.cfm?isbn=9783110204612&sel=pi (Hollender (ed.), *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumen Kultes anhand der Privatgräber des thebanischen Nekropole* (2009) (*nolens volens*)); cf. Gitton, Ahmose Nofretere, *LÄ* I (1975), 104.

4 O. BM EA 5634, rt. 7a, vs. 5.

5 *Rnpt-sp 40*; O. BM EA 5634, rt. 1; see Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980), 133; Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 66–71.

Appendix 1: References to working, inactivity, and feasts listed within the frame of a reconstructed day-by-day festival calendar

The texts of the corpus containing references to working, inactivity, and feasts are tabulated below by civil calendar month. The documents in each month table have been grouped chronologically, belonging to either the 19th or the 20th Dynasty according to which dynasty they have been dated to or attributed a date in. Documents that have been attributed a date at the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th Dynasty and the documents that have no date attributed to them form groups of their own. The references from the entire Ramesside Period have been collated into these month tables in order to get a clearer picture of possible annually occurring work-free days and feasts on the same civil calendar day. The dated references to working, inactivity, and feasts are indicated for the day in question. At the base of each column representing a day in the civil calendar, the numbers of individual references to working, inactivity, and feasts for that day are calculated separately. The days on which there are more references to inactivity than to working are considered possible feast days and emphasized with dark grey. Feasts indicated in the texts are also noted with dark grey. The 'weekends', i.e., the ninth and the tenth days of each decade, are differentiated with a light gray background. The type of each text is given in the column furthest to the right in each table.

Abbreviations used in Appendix 1:

w	= Explicit statement in the text about working on the day in question (e.g., *bꜣk*, 'working'; *ỉw*, 'going (to work)'; *ṯs*, 'ascending (to work))
(w)	= Indication of working on the day in question although not explicitly so stated
i	= Explicit statement in the text about inactivity of the entire crew on the day in question (*wsf*, 'work-free'; *n*, 'not' (working); *ʿḥʿ.n*, 'staying' (away from work), etc.)
(i)	= Indication of inactivity on the day in question although not explicitly so stated
f	= Explicit statement about a feasts on the day in question
i+f	= Explicit statement about the crew being work-free on the day in question because of a feast
?	= An uncertain reference to working, inactivity, or feast
Absences	= List of men absent or working
Journal	= Work journal
Work/Inact.	= List of days of working and inactivity of the crew
Lamp acc.	= Lamp account
Note(s)	= Short note(s) on specific events on a particular day
Indiv. abs.	= List of days of absence of an individual workman
Tomb inscript.	= Tomb inscription
Account	= Account or list of men or commodities
Acc. of work	= Account of work in the Royal Tomb
Transfer	= Account of transfer of debt
Oracle pet.	= Record of an oracle petition
Lamps/Abs.	= Document containing a lamp account *and* a list of men absent or working
Protocol	= Protocol of court proceedings

I *3ḫt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5634													
O. Cairo CG 25506							w	(w)					
O. Cairo CG 25515	(i)	(i)	(i)	w	(w)	(w)	i	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)
O. Cairo CG 25529	f?	w				i	i	i	i	i	i	w	i
O. Cairo CG 25539	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25541													
O. Cairo CG 25779													
O. DeM 209	i+f	i+f	i+f										
O. DeM 10052											(w)	(w)	(w)
O. Varille 26					(w)				i	i	(w)	(w)	i
P. UC 34336													
19TH - 20TH DYNASTY													
O. Berlin P 11248													
20TH DYNASTY													
Graffito 1696													
O. Ashmolean Museum 11	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)								
O. Ashmolean Museum 124													
O. Ashmolean Museum 187 vs.										w			
O. Berlin P 10663													
O. Cairo CG 25266	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25275													
O. Cairo CG 25276													
O. Cairo CG 25533	(i)	(i)	(i)										
O. Cairo CG 25636					w								
O. DeM 427	i		i	i	i		i						
O. DeM 633													
O. DeM 759													
O. DeM 911											(w)	(w)	(w)
O. Turin N. 57026													
O. Turin N. 57029					(w)	(w)	(w)						
O. Turin N. 57032	i	i	i	i	(w)	(w)			(i)	(i)		(w)	(w)
P. Milan E 0.9.40127 +													
P. Turin Cat. 1884 +	f?												
P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. III													
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +	i?	i			i?								
P. Turin Cat. 1999 + vs.	f?	i	i	i									
P. Turin Cat. 2072			i			i	i	i	i	i			
TT359													
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	0	1	1	4	8	5	4	2	0	1	4	6	5
Inactivity (i)	9	9	9	3	2	2	4	4	7	7	3	2	3
Feasts (f)	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
(w)	(w)																Absences
																	Absences
(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i?)	Journal
i	i	w?															Work/Inact.
(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Lamp acc.
							(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)				Lamp acc.
				(w)				(w)	(w)		(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Absences
																	Absences
(w)																	Journal
(w)	(w)	(w)															Journal
			w	w	i	i	w	w						(w)			Journal
	(w)																Absences
i?	f?																Work/Inact.
																	Journal
								w									Journal
																	Journal
			(w)														Note
(w)																	Journal
															f		Note
																f	Note
																	Journal
																	Journal
																	Journal
					i	i	i	i	i						i		Journal
		(w)															Note
																	Indiv. abs.
														i			Absences
																	Absences
(w)														(w)			Journal
													w	w	i	i	Journal
																	Journal
							w										Journal
					i					i	i	i		i	i		Journal
																	Journal
																	Journal
			f?														Tomb inscript.
6	4	3	2	2	0	0	3	5	3	2	3	3	4	5	0	0	
3	2	2	2	2	5	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	4	2	
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	

II *ꜣḫt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 115										i	i	i	
O. Cairo CG 25515	i	w	(w)	i	(i)	(i)	(i)	w	i			w	i
O. Cairo CG 25517												(w)	
O. Cairo CG 25518													
O. Cairo CG 25536												(w)	
O. Cairo CG 25541												(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25581													
O. Cairo CG 25779		(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)	(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25793		(w)	(w)	(w)									
O. DeM 353			(w)										
O. Michaelides 71													w
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 187 vs.								(w)			(w)		
O. BM EA 50733 +													
O. Cairo CG 25290 bis													
O. Cairo CG 25575	(w)												
O. DeM 45													
O. DeM 633							i?	i?					
O. DeM 894													
O. DeM 911												(w)	
O. Strasbourg H. 136													
O. Turin N. 57025	(w)	(w)	i	i	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)
O. Turin N. 57026	i	(w)	(w)	(w)	i	(w?)	i	(w)					
O. Turin N. 57032				(w)	i	i+f?	i	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)
O. UC 39626													
P. Milan E 0.9.40127 +	w	w	w	i									
NO DATE ATTRIBUTED													
O. Cairo CG 25261													
O. Cairo CG 25298				w	w	w	w	i	i	i	i	i	
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	3	6	6	4	2	4	3	6	1	0	3	7	5
Inactivity (i)	2	0	1	3	3	2	4	2	4	4	3	3	1
Feasts (f)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
		(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)												Journal
w	w	w	w	i	(i)	(i)	i	w	(w?)	(w?)	w	(w)	i	(i)	(i)	(i)	Journal
	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Absences
	(w)																Absences
																	Lamp acc.
(i)	(w)																Lamp acc.
																w	Acc. of work
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)				(w)					(w)	(w)			Absences
																	Absences
												w					Absences
																	Journal
																	Journal
(w)																	Account
									(w)								Journal
																	Absences
		f?															Journal
																	Journal
												i					Journal
																	Indiv. abs.
														(w)	(i)	(i)	Lamp acc.
(w)																	Lamp acc.
																	Absences
(w)	i	i	(w)														Journal
								w	w	i	i	i	w?				Journal
																	Journal
									i								Note
																	Journal
5	5	4	5	3	1	0	1	4	4	2	2	3	3	3	0	1	
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

III *ꜣḫt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5634													
O. Cairo CG 25504													
O. Cairo CG 25515	**(i)**	**(i)**	**w**	**(w)**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**
O. Cairo CG 25519	**(w)**	**(w)**	**(w)**										
O. Cairo CG 25520													**(w)**
O. Cairo CG 25545 +													
O. Cairo CG 25547													
O. Cairo CG 25779		**(w)**	**(w)**									**(w)**	**(w)**
O. DeM 899													
O. MMA 14.6.217												**w**	**(w)**
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Berlin P 11254												**(w)**	
O. Cairo CG 25290bis												**(w)**	
O. Cairo CG 25297													
O. DeM 46											**f**		
O. DeM 339						**(w)**		**(w)**					
O. DeM 758													
O. DeM 911												**(w?)**	
O. IFAO 1206					**w**								
O. IFAO [unnumbered] +			**(w)**	**(w)**	**(w)**		**(w)**				**(w)**	**(w)**	**(w)**
O. Michaelides 33													
O. Michaelides 40													
O. Strasbourg H. 136	**(i)**	**(w)**	**(w)**	**(w)**	**(w)**	**(i)**	**(w)**						
O. Turin N. 57025													
O. Turin N. 57043													
O. Turin N. 57047													
NO DATE ATTRIBUTED													
O. Cairo CG 25248							**(w)**	**(w)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(w)**	**(w)**
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	**1**	**3**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**7**	**5**
Inactivity (i)	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**
Feasts (f)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
							(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)							Absences
									(w)								Journal
i	i	i	i	w	i	i	(i?)	(i?)	(i?)	(i?)	(i?)	i	w	w	i	i	Journal
																	Absences
									(w)		(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Absences
													(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	Lamp acc.
													(w)				Lamp acc.
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)				(w)	(w)	(w)								Absences
							(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)							Journal
	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)							Absences
																	Note
																	Journal
												i	i	i	i		Journal
																	Journal
																	Journal
													(w)				Absences
										(w?)			(w?)				Indiv. abs.
							i	(w)									Lamp acc.
			(w)														Absences
																i	Journal
							i	w									Journal
			(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	Lamp acc.
		(w)	(w)	(w)													Lamp acc.
		(w)		(w)													Journal
												(w)	(w)	i	i	i	Journal
(w)	(i)	(w)															Lamp acc.
2	2	5	5	5	0	0	5	7	7	5	2	3	7	3	0	0	
1	2	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	5	5	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

IV *3ḫt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5634							(w)	(w)					
O. Cairo CG 25249													
O. Cairo CG 25508												(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25515	i	i	w	w	i	w	w	w	i	i	w	i	i
O. Cairo CG 25519								(w)			(w)	(w)	
O. Cairo CG 25520		(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)						
O. Cairo CG 25521													
O. Cairo CG 25536													
O. Cairo CG 25542												(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25545 +	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i?)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(i)	(i)
O. Cairo CG 25792													
O. Cairo CG 25785							(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)
O. DeM 340													
P. UC 34336													
TT2													
20TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5672 +													
O. Cairo CG 25270							(w)						
O. Cairo CG 25299	w	w	w	w									
O. DeM 339	(w)					(w)		(w)					
O. DeM 604													
O. DeM 655													
O. DeM 10019								w	(i)	i	i		w
O. Louvre N 694,2													
O. Michaelides 33	i+f	i		i	i								
O. Strasbourg H. 136	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(i)	(w)	(w)						
O. Turin N. 57043													
O. Turin N. 57047	i	i	i	i	i	i	(w)	(w)	i	i	i	(w)	(w)
O. Turin N. 57154													
P. Turin Cat. 1960 +													
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	2	2	4	5	1	4	8	8	0	0	4	5	5
Inactivity (i)	5	5	2	2	5	2	0	0	4	4	2	2	2
Feasts (f)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
	(w)	(w)	(w)														Absences
				(w)											(w)		Lamp acc.
																	Journal
w		w	w	w	i	i	w	w	w	w	i	i	w	w	i	i	Journal
(w)																	Absences
																	Absences
	(w)		(w)							(w)			(w)	(w)			Absences
														(w)			Lamp acc.
(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)						(w)	(i)	(i)	Lamp acc.
(w)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)			Lamp acc.
						w											Journal
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)							Absences
																	Work/Inact.
	w	w	w		w		w	w	w	w	i?	f	w	w			Journal
											f	f					Tomb inscript.
						i	w		w								Journal
																	Note
																	Journal
											i	i					Journal
	i	i		i													Journal
				w										w	i		Journal
w																	Journal
					f												Note
																	Journal
																	Lamp acc.
			(w)											(w)			Journal
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)													Journal
										i							Note
											w	w	w				Journal
6	6	7	9	7	1	1	6	5	5	5	1	1	5	8	1	0	
1	2	1	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	1	4	3	0	0	3	2	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	

I *prt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 37													
O. BM EA 5634													
O. Cairo CG 25514	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)					
O. Cairo CG 25515	i	i	i	i	w	w	i	w	i	i	w	w	w
O. Cairo CG 25516													
O. Cairo CG 25521				(w)	(w)	(w)					(w)	(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25536				(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25542	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25543 vs.													
O. Cairo CG 25544													
O. Cairo CG 25545 +								(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25816													
O. Cairo CG 25817													
O. Cairo CG 25818													
O. Cairo JE 72452									i	i	w	w	w
O. Černý 7													
O. DeM 340	i?	i?	w	w	w	(i?)				(i?)	w	w	w
O. DeM 901													
O. DeM 907													
P. UC 34336												w	
TT2													
20TH DYNASTY													
Graffito 2087					f?								
O. Ashmolean Museum 70	i+f		w										
O. Ashmolean Museum 113							i	i				w	
O. Berlin P 12635		f											
O. DeM 339							i?				i?		
O. DeM 655						w							
O. DeM 10009													
O. Turin N. 57007													
O. Turin N. 57028													
O. Turin N. 57031													
P. Turin Cat. 2001 +													
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	1	1	3	5	6	5	1	3	0	0	6	9	7
Inactivity (i)	4	3	2	1	0	2	5	3	5	6	2	0	0
Feasts (f)	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
											(w)	(w)	(w)				Absences
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)						(w)	(w)						Absences
							(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)						Absences
i	i	w	w	w					w	w	w	w	w	w	i	i	Journal
			(w)	(w)					(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	Lamps/Abs.
	(w)		(w)	(w)			(w)		(w)			(w)	(w)				Absences
(i)	(w)	i	(w)	(w)							(w)						Lamp acc.
(w)				(w)													Lamp acc.
							(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	Lamp acc.
												(w)	(w)	(w)			Lamp acc.
(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)													Lamp acc.
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)													Lamp acc.
	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)													Lamp acc.
				(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)									Lamp acc.
	w	i	w	w	i	i	i	i	w	i	i		w	w?			Journal
	(w)		(w)	(w)			(w)										Absences
w	w	w	(w?)		(i?)	(i?)	w	w	w	w	w	(w?)	(w?)	(w?)	i	i	Work/Inact.
	(w?)			(w)			(w?)										Absences
								(w)	(w?)	(w?)							Absences
			w	w													Journal
								f									Tomb inscript.
																	Note
																	Journal
																	Journal
																	Transfer
																	Journal
																	Journal
											w	(w?)	(w?)	i	i		Journal
													w	i	i?		Journal
												(w)	(w)	i	i	i	Absences
												(w)	(w)	(w)	i	i	Journal
		i	i														Journal
4	9	6	12	14	0	0	7	5	8	7	9	10	12	7	0	0	
3	2	3	1	0	3	3	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	8	6	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

II *prt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 37						(w)					(w)		(w)
O. BM EA 5634							w	w					w
O. Cairo CG 25515	i	i	i	w	i	w	i	i	i	i	w	w	w
O. Cairo CG 25516	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(i)	(w)						(w)	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25521					(w)	(w)							
O. Cairo CG 25542													
O. Cairo CG 25543 vs.	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)							
O. Cairo CG 25817					(w)	(w)							
O. Cairo JE 72452	i	i											
O. DeM 340	w?												
O. DeM 907					(w)								
O. IFAO 1105													
O. Turin N. 57388												(w)	(w)
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 131								f?					
O. IFAO 252	i	i	i										
O. Turin N. 57007	i	i	i?	i	i?								
O. Turin N. 57028	i	i	i	i	i	(w)	(w)	(w)					
O. Turin N. 57031	i	i	i	i	i	w	(w)	w				w	w
O. Turin N. 57056													
O. Turin N. 57432											(w)	(w)	i
P. Turin Cat. 1906 +													
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	1	0	0	2	3	8	3	3	0	0	3	5	6
Inactivity (i)	8	8	7	4	6	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
Feasts (f)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
(w)																	Absences
w	w	w	w					w	w								Absences
w	w	w	w	w	i	i	w	w	(w)	(w)	(w)						Journal
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)				(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)						Lamps/Abs.
																	Absences
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)										(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	Lamp acc.
																	Lamp acc.
																	Lamp acc.
																	Journal
					(i?)	(i?)	w	w	w	w							Work/Inact.
																	Absences
				(w)					(w)			(w)					Absences
(w)		(w)	(w)						(w)								Absences
															i	i	Journal
																	Journal
			w	(w)													Journal
(w?)	(w?)	(w?	(w?)	(w?)				(w?)									Absences
w	w	w	w	w	i	i	i	w	w								Journal
												(w)	(w)				Absences
i	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i	i	(w)	(w)		i	i	i	i	i	i	i	Absences
															f?		Journal
8	7	8	9	6	0	0	4	7	7	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	4	4	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	

III *prt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5634						(w)							
O. Cairo CG 25509													
O. Cairo CG 25515													
O. Cairo CG 25516													
O. Cairo CG 25542	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	
O. Cairo CG 25786													
O. DeM 594					(w)								
O. DeM 900													
O. IFAO 1077													
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Berlin P 12295													
O. Cairo CG 25234													
O. Cairo CG 25559													
O. DeM 253													
O. DeM 401				f									
O. DeM 911					(w)	(w)					(w)		
O. Glasgow D.1925.76													
O. IFAO 383			(w)										
O. Turin N. 57020													
O. Turin N. 57432	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i?	(w)		
P. Bibl. Nationale 27						(w)							
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +	f	i	w	w	i		i	i		i			i
P. Turin Cat. 1961 +		i									w	(i?)	(i?)
NO DATE ATTRIBUTED													
O. DeM 760													
O. DeM 896						w	w						
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	0	0	2	1	2	5	2	1	0	0	3	1	0
Inactivity (i)	2	4	2	2	3	1	2	2	2	3	1	1	2
Feasts (f)	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
				(w)							(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Absences
										i	w	i	w	w	i	i	Journal
										i	w		w		i	i	Journal
												(w)	(w)	(w)			Lamps/Abs.
											(w)	(w)	(w)				Lamp acc.
														(w)			Absences
																	Indiv. abs.
						(w)	(w)	(w)		w							
														(w)			Absences
									(w)	(w)							Work/Inact.
															f	f	Note
							f										Note
			i														Note
																	Journal
(w)	(w)							(w)									Indiv. abs.
					i	i	i										Journal
																	Acc. of work
									(w)								Indiv. abs.
(w)																	Absences
																	Absences
i	i	i	i		i+f	i						i	i	i+f?	i		Journal
(i?)	i+f																Journal
							w		f?	w							Work/Inact.
																	Work/Inact.
2	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	2	3	4	3	5	5	0	0	
2	2	1	2	0	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	3	2	
0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	

IV *prt*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5634			(w)				(w)	(w)					
O. BM EA 66409													
O. Cairo CG 25509	i	i	i	i	w	w	w	i	i	i	i	i	i
O. Cairo CG 25510													
O. Cairo CG 25515	i					w	w	i	i	i	i	i	i
O. Cairo CG 25516					(w)	(w)	(w)						
O. Cairo CG 25522													
O. Cairo CG 25780		(w)	(w)		(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)				
O. Cairo CG 25782													
O. Cairo CG 25786		(w)											
O. DeM 900													
O. IFAO 1077				(w)	(w)								
TT2				f									
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Berlin P 12629					(w)								
O. BM EA 50744													
O. Cairo CG 25234	f	f											
O. Cairo CG 25563													
O. Cairo CG 25599													
O. DeM 398							w						
O. DeM 634													
O. DeM 911													
O. IFAO 1262													
O. Turin N. 57153													
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +	i+f?	i			i				i	i		i	
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	0	2	2	1	5	4	6	2	1	0	0	0	0
Inactivity (i)	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	2	3	3	2	3	2
Feasts (f)	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
									(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)					Absences
w																	Work/Inact.
i	w	i	i	i	i	i	w	i	w	w	w	w	w	w	i	i	Journal
		(w)	(w)	(w)			(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)					Absences
i			i	i	i	i	w	i									Journal
																	Lamps/Abs.
	(w)	(w)															Absences
						(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)				Absences
													(w)	(w)			Absences
																	Absences
					i	(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)						Absences
																	Absences
																	Tomb inscript.
																	Journal
												f?					Note
																	Note
								(w)									Absences
			(w)														Absences
																	Absences
							(w)										Absences
								(w)						(w)			Indiv. abs.
					f												Account
											w			w	i	i	Journal
		i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i		i	Journal
1	2	2	2	1	0	2	6	3	3	5	6	4	3	4	0	0	
2	0	2	3	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	

I *šmw*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5634													
O. Cairo CG 25509	**i**	**i**	**i**	**w**			**i**	**w**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**w**	**w**
O. Cairo CG 25510													**(w)**
O. Cairo CG 25511					**(w)**	**(w)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(w)**	**(w)**	**(w)**
O. Cairo CG 25512													
O. Cairo CG 25529													
O. Cairo CG 25782				**(w)**	**(w)**			**(w)**			**(w)**	**(w)**	**(w)**
O. Cairo CG 25783													
O. Cairo CG 25815a													
O. Cairo CG 25790													
O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text)												**(w)**	
O. DeM 389													
P. Berlin P 14485 b-c													
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Cairo CG 25292													
O. Cairo CG 25304													
O. DeM 55													
O. DeM 115													
O. DeM 153						**w**							
O. DeM 911													**(w)**
O. IFAO 1306													
O. Turin N. 57020					**(w)**								
O. Turin N. 57033													
O. Turin N. 57055													
O. Turin N. 57125					**w**								
O. Turin N. 57153											**w**	**i**	
O. Valle delle Regine 126							**(w)**	**(w)**					
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +			**(w)**									**w**	**w**
NO DATE ATTRIBUTED													
O. Cairo CG 25245	**w**												
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**5**	**6**
Inactivity (i)	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**
Feasts (f)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
		(w)	(w)								(w)	(w)	(w)				Absences
																	Journal
																	Absences
	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)								Lamp acc.
										(w)		(w)	(w)	(w)			Absences
									(w)	w	w	w	w	w	i	i	Work/Inact.
	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)				(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)					Absences
													(w)	(w)			Absences
		(w)	(w)	f													Journal
									(w)	(w)							Absences
																	Absences
	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)													Absences
										(w)	(w)						Absences
				(w)													Note
				(w)	(w)		(w)										Lamp acc.
												f	i?	i?			Journal
f																	Letter
	w?	w								w		i+f?					Journal
(w)	(w)	(w)						(w)		(w)	(w)						Indiv. abs.
							w							i			Journal
																	Indiv. abs.
											(w)	(w)	(w)	i	(i)	(i)	Journal
				w		i	i	i	i	(w)	(w)						Journal
																	Journal
i	w																Journal
																	Absences
w	w	w	w	w	i	i	i	i	i	w	w	i+f	f		i	i	Journal
																	Journal
2	7	8	6	7	1	0	2	3	4	9	8	5	5	3	0	0	
1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	2	2	0	0	2	1	3	3	3	
1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	

II *šmw*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. BM EA 5634		(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)					
O. Cairo CG 25512						(w)							
O. Cairo CG 25515													
O. Cairo CG 25529	i	w	w	w	w							w	w
O. Cairo CG 25538													
O. Cairo CG 25540	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)									
O. Cairo CG 25783	(w)	(w)	(w)										(w)
O. Cairo CG 25803													
O. DeM 389	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)	(w)					
O. DeM 902													
O. Michaelides 71				w									
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 11													(w)
O. Cairo CG 25247													
O. Cairo CG 25265	f												
O. Cairo CG 25647	w			w			w				w		i
O. Cairo CG 25648													
O. DeM 38	w	(w)				w							
O. DeM 911													
O. IFAO 1306	i	i	w	w	w	w		w					
O. MMA 09.184.702													
O. Turin N. 57033	i	i	w	w							i		
O. Turin N. 57034				(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i+f?	(i)	(i)	i	f	i
O. Turin N. 57044											(w)	(w)	(w)
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	i	i	w	w	w
NO DATE ATTRIBUTED													
O. DeM 757	(w)												
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	7	7	8	10	6	6	5	4	0	0	3	3	5
Inactivity (i)	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	2	0	2
Feasts (f)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
(w)	(w)																Absences
																	Absences
			i	w	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	w?	w	i	(i)	Journal
i	i	i	i	w	w	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i		Work/Inact.
											f						Journal
																	Lamp acc.
													(w)	(w)			Absences
								(w)									Note
																	Absences
(w)																	Absences
																	Journal
(w)	i+f	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i+f	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	Journal
											(w)						Journal
																	Journal
	i	i			i	i		w									Journal
				w?								w					
	f																Journal
								(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Indiv. abs.
																	Journal
														(w)			Absences
	i			(w)	(i)	(i)	i	(w)	(w)	i	i		(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	Journal
(w)	i	(w)	(w)				(w)	(w)	(w)	i	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Journal
	i	i				i	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i+f			Journal
i+f			i	w	i	i	i	w	i	w		w	i	i	i		Journal
																	Absences
4	1	2	2	6	1	0	3	8	4	3	4	6	7	7	0	0	
2	6	3	3	0	5	7	4	2	3	4	4	2	2	3	5	3	
1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	

III *šmw*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 167													
O. BM EA 5634			(w)		(w)		(w)	(w)					
O. Cairo CG 25503													
O. Cairo CG 25515	i	i?	i	w	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i	i	w		
O. Cairo CG 25523							(w?)						
O. Cairo CG 25529	i	i	i	w	w	w	w	w	i	w	w	i	i
O. Cairo CG 25546													
O. Cairo CG 25783	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			(w)		
O. Cairo CG 25784													
O. Cairo CG 25814	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)									
O. Cairo CG 25815a						(w)							
O. DeM 209													
O. DeM 354	f												
O. DeM 898				(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)			(w)	(w)	
O. DeM 903													
O. DeM 10051											(w)	i+f	(w)
O. DeM 10053													
19TH - 20TH DYNASTY													
O. Cairo CG 25794													
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 11	(w)	(w)											
O. Ashmolean Museum 148													
O. BM EA 5637													f
O. BM EA 50730 +													
O. Brussels E 301													
O. Cairo CG 25290													
O. Cairo CG 25533													
O. Cairo CG 25609													
O. DeM 44													
O. DeM 427									w	w	w		
O. DeM 911		(w)	(w)					(w)					
O. Louvre E 13160													
O. Turin N. 57033	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)						
O. Turin N. 57046													
O. Valley of Queens 6		(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)								
P. Geneva MAH 15274 +													
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +	i	w	w	w	w	w	(w)	w	i	i	i+f	i	i
P. Turin Cat. 1946 +											i	i	i
NO DATE ATTRIBUTED													
O. Berlin P 23404		i	i	i	i	i							
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	4	7	7	8	8	7	7	7	1	2	6	1	1
Inactivity (i)	3	3	3	1	1	1	0	0	3	2	2	4	3
Feasts (f)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)			Absences
			(w)	(w)			(w)	(w)									Absences
						i?											Journal
w	(w?)	(w?)	(w?)	(w?)	i	(i)	w	(w)	(w)	i	w	w	i	w	i	(i)	Journal
							(w)										Absences
w	w			w	i	i	w	w	w	i	w	w	i	w	i	i	Work/Inact.
									(w?)								Lamp acc.
	(w)	(w)	(w)														Absences
				(w)			(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)	(w)		(w)	(w)		Absences
																	Lamp acc.
																	Journal
														(w)	i	i	Absences
																	Note
												(w)					Absences
								(w)									Absences
																	Journal
														(w)			Absences
											f?						Note
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i+f	i						Journal
(w)																	Absences
																	Oracle pet.
(w)																	Indiv. abs.
	(w)																Absences
		f?															Note
							(w)				(w)	(w)	i+f	(w)			Journal
					i	i	i								i	i	Journal
	f																Journal
	w	w	w	w	w	i	i	w	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i?	Journal
				(w)			(w)	(w)			(w)						Indiv. abs.
(w)												(w)					Absences
																	Journal
				(w)													Absences
		(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)		(w)	(w)								Journal
		f?									w						Notes
i	w	w	w	w	i	i	i	i		i	i	i	i+f	i	i	i	Journal
i	w																Journal
																	Indiv. abs.
7	9	7	8	11	1	1	9	10	7	1	7	7	0	7	1	0	
2	0	0	0	0	5	7	3	1	1	5	3	2	5	2	6	6	
0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	

IV *šmw*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
19TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 167			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)						
O. BM EA 5634				(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)					
O. Cairo CG 25504													(i)
O. Cairo CG 25515			w	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i	(i)	(i)	(i)	w	(w)
O. Cairo CG 25524													
O. Cairo CG 25525												(w)	
O. Cairo CG 25528													
O. Cairo CG 25529	i	i	w	w	w	i?	i?	i?					
O. Cairo CG 25539													
O. Cairo CG 25680												(w)	(w)
O. DeM 209	i+f	i+f		(w)		i				i			
O. DeM 898				(w)									
O. DeM 906							i						
O. DeM 10052													
O. IFAO 1357			(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)		
TT2													
TT4													
20TH DYNASTY													
O. Ashmolean Museum 11													
O. Berlin P 12631													w
O. Brussels E 301													
O. Cairo CG 25266							(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	
O. Cairo CG 25305													
O. Cairo CG 25533			(w)	i	(w)	(w)		(w)					
O. Cairo CG 25609	i	i							i	i			
O. DeM 32													
O. DeM 427													
O. DeM 911													
O. Louvre E 13160								(w)					
O. Turin N. 57039													
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +	i	i+f		i		i		i					
P. Turin Cat. 1999 + vs.													
P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt.													
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES													
Working (w)	0	0	5	7	6	5	5	5	1	0	2	4	3
Inactivity (i)	4	4	0	2	0	3	2	3	3	4	1	0	1
Feasts (f)	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Type of text
																	Absences
										(w)	(w)	(w)					Absences
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)													Journal
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	i	(i)	(i)	(i)	w	(w)	(w)	(w)	i	(i?)	(i?)	(i?)	(i)	Journal
							w	w	w	w	w						Lamps/Abs.
																	Absences
												i	w	w	i	i	Work/Inact.
w	w	w	w	w	i	i	i				w	w	w	(i)	(i)	(i)	Work/Inact.
											(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	Lamp acc.
																	Lamps
				(w)		i	(w?)	(w)	(w?)	(w)	(w)				i	i	Absences
																	Absences
																	Absences
							(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)							Journal
																	Protocol
																f	Tomb inscript.
																f	Tomb inscript.
								(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)		(w)	(i)	(i)	Journal
																	Journal
											(w)						Absences
(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(i)	(i)	(i)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)	(w)			Journal
			i	(w)													Journal
								w		(w)	(w)		(w)	i?	(i)	(i)	Journal
					i	i											Journal
																f	Journal
											i	i	i	i			Journal
(w)																	Indiv. abs.
																	Absences
									(w)	(w)							Absences
																i	Journal
																i	Journal
																i	Journal
5	4	4	4	4	0	0	4	7	7	9	10	5	5	4	0	0	
0	0	0	1	2	4	5	2	0	0	0	1	3	2	4	7	10	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	

ḥrw 5 *ḫry rnpt*	1	2	3	4	5	Type of text
19TH DYNASTY						
O. Cairo CG 25515	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**Journal**
O. Cairo CG 25539	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**Lamp acc.**
O. Cairo CG 25788			**(i)**			**Journal**
O. DeM 209	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**Absences**
20TH DYNASTY						
O. Ashmolean Museum 11	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**Journal**
O. Cairo CG 25533	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**Journal**
O. DeM 427		**i**	**i**	**i**	**i**	**Journal**
O. UC 39625				**w**		**Journal**
P. Turin Cat. 1884 +				**i**		**Journal**
P. Turin Cat. 1898 +			**i**	**i**		**Journal**
P. Turin Cat. 1999 + vs.	**i**	**i**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**Journal**
P. Turin Cat. 2070, rt.	**w**	**w**	**w**	**w**	**i**	**Journal**
NUMBERS OF REFERENCES						
Working (w)	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	
Inactivity (i)	**6**	**7**	**9**	**9**	**8**	
Feasts (f)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	

Appendix 2: References to feasts, feast rituals, and other festive occasions

The references to feasts, feast rituals, and other possibly festive occasions are tabulated below. The documents containing these references are organized according to which part of the Ramesside Period the text in question has been dated to or attributed a date in. The type of the text is listed in the second column from the left. The category of festive occasion assigned to a reference is marked with an x in the column of that particular category (festival calendar; *ḥb* / *wp*; *ḥb=f* / *pꜣy=f ḥb*; birth; other personal feasts; gift-giving lists; procession; offering; pouring water; drinking / brewing; purification; and other indications). The transliteration of the reference in question is presented in the column furthest to the right.

Abbreviations used in Appendix 2:

x	= Reference to a feast, feast ritual, or other possibly festive occasion the type of which is indicated by the heading of the column in which the x is placed
x?	= An uncertain reference to a feast, feast ritual, or other possibly festive occasion
Note(s)	= Short note(s) on specific events on a particular day
Supplies	= Account of necropolis supplies
Account	= Account or list of men or commodities
Transfer	= Account of transfers
Absences	= List of men absent or working
Journal	= Work journal
Division	= Account of personal property-division
Payment	= Account of payment
Deposition	= Record of personal statements in court
Tomb inscript.	= Tomb inscription
Oath	= Record of oaths
Work/Inact.	= List of days of working and inactivity of the crew
Protocol	= Protocol of court proceedings
Rations	= Account of the distribution of grain rations
Indiv. abs.	= List of days of absence of an individual workman
Oracle pet.	= Record of an oracle petition
?	= The text type is impossible to determine due to the incomplete state of the document

Appendix 2

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
Ramesside							
	Letter	O. BM EA 65933[a]	vs. 2-3				
	Letter	O. Cairo CG 25644	rt. 3-4	x			
	Letter	O. DeM 551	rt. 4 - vs. 6				
	Letter?	O. IFAO 380	3	x			
	Supplies	O. Turin N. 57146	rt. 8		x		
	Letter?	O. Turin N. 57168	2		x		
	Account	O. Turin N. 57191	rt. 2		x		
			rt. 6				
	Transfer?	O. Turin N. 57503	rt. 3				
	Note	O. Turin N. 57530	2		x		
19th Dynasty							
	?	O. Cairo JE 72469					
1st half 19th							
	Note	Graffito 265	1	x?			
	Deposition	O. Ashmolean Museum 166	rt. 2				
	Absences	O. BM EA 5634	rt. 2				
			rt. 4				
			rt. 4				
			rt. 4				
			rt. 10				
			rt. 10				
			rt. 12				
			rt. 13				
			rt. 16				
			rt. 16				
			rt. 21				
			vs. 3				
			vs. 4				
			vs. 4				
			vs. 4				
			vs. 4				
			vs. 5				
			vs. 7				
			vs. 9				
			vs. 9				
			vs. 10				
			vs. 10			x	
			vs. 17				
			vs. 17				
			vs. 18				

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
		x						*ʾIr pɜy=n nb r swh n=n m pɜy=f iỉy r dit ḥᶜy ỉmn* [*m pɜ…*
								Pɜ wn dy ḥr ỉmnt pɜ ỉnt ḥb ỉmn
				x				*ʾImỉ ỉn.tw n=ỉ…nkt n snṯr…ḏbɜw…pɜ wn ỉw=w wɜḥ-mw*
								Pɜ ḫnyt mwt
								…] *hrw wp*
								…].*kwỉ n ṯɜty m ḥb* […]
								Wp
			x?					*Rdỉ*] *n pṯḥ t-ḥḏ*
				x				*Wɜḥ-mw n* […]
								ᶜḳw(*?*) *n* [*ḥb n* (*imn-…*
				x				
								Pn-rnn-wtt
							x	*ʾInk tw=ỉ ḥms m pɜy=ỉ ḫnw* (*m*) *pɜ msw n tɜ-wrt*
					x			*Pn-dwɜw…swrỉ m-ᶜ ḫnsw*
						x		*Sɜ-wɜḏyt…sɜt=f ḥsmn*
			x					*Sɜ-wɜḏyt…wdn n pɜ nṯr*
				x				*Sɜ-wɜḏyt…wɜḥ-mw n ỉt*(*=f*)
				x				*Nḫt-mỉn…wɜḥ-mw*
						x		*Nḫt-mỉn…ḥmt=f ḥsmn*
			x					*ᶜɜ-pḥty…wdn n pɜ nṯr*
							x	*Ḫᶜ-m-tr…ḳrs pɜ nṯr*
			x					*Wn-nfr…wdn n pɜ nṯr*
			x					*Wn-nfr…wdn n nṯr=f*
			x					[*Pɜ*]-*ḥry-pḏt…wdn n pɜ nṯr*
						x		*ʾIn-ḥry-ḫᶜw…ḥmt=f m ḥsmn*
						x		*Nfr-ᶜbt…sɜt=f m ḥsmn*
							x	*Nfr-ᶜbt…ḳrs pɜ nṯr*
				x				*Nfr-ᶜbt…wɜḥ.n=f mw*
						x		*Nfr-ᶜbt…ḥmt=f ḥsmn*
				x				*Pɜ-sr…wɜḥ-mw n sɜ=f*
						x		*Sbɜ…ḥmt=f ḥsmn*
						x		*Sɜ-mwt…ḥmt=f ḥsmn*
						x		*Sɜ-mwt…ḥmt=f ḥsmn*
x								*Ḫnsw…m-ᶜ nṯr=f*
								Ḫnsw…ḥb=f
			x					*Rᶜ-ḥtp…wdn n pɜ nṯr*
						x		*Rᶜ-ḥtp…ḥmt=f ḥsmn*
					x			*ʾIỉ-r-nỉwt=f…swrỉ*

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
1st half 19th							
	Letter	O. Brussels E 6781	rt. 2-3				
	Journal	O. Cairo CG 25815a	vs. 1		x		
			vs. 4		x		
	Account	O. DeM 97	vs. 7		x		
	Division	O. DeM 108	rt. 6-7		x		
	Letter	O. DeM 127	vs. 1	x			
	Letter	O. DeM 132	3-5				
	Transfer?	O. DeM 230	3				
			5			x	
			6		x		
			7		x		
			7-8		x?		
			8		x?		
	Note	O. DeM 354	3-5		x		
	Letter	O. DeM 446	vs. 6-7		x		
	Payment	O. Louvre E 3263	rt. 9	x			
	Transfer	O. Michaelides 48	rt. I, 2		x?		
			rt. I, 4			x	
			rt. I, 11-12			x	
			rt. II, 1				
			rt. II, 5		x		
			rt. II, 15		x		
	Deposition	O. Turin N. 57062	rt. 5				
			rt. 6				
			rt. 6-7				
			rt. 9				
	Note	Statue Cairo Ent. 72000	3				
	Tomb inscript.	TT2, tomb of *ḫˁ-bḫnt*	Hall 1, B				
			Hall 1, B	x			
			Hall 1, B	x			
			Hall 1, C				
			Hall 1, C	x			
	Tomb inscript.	TT4, tomb of *ḳn*	Wall, B	x			
	Tomb inscript.	TT9, tomb of *ỉmn-ms*	Hall, B				
			Hall, B	x			
			Hall, B	x			
			Hall, B	x			
			Hall, B	x			

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
							x?	*ʾIḫ*[…] *nḏ-ḥrt n* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)
								..Ḥ]*b*
								Ḥb
								N pɜ ḥb n (*ỉmn-ḥtp*
								Ḥr ỉr pɜ wpy n tɜ ḥnwt ỉw=f nbwt-m-šɜ=s
								Rᶜ n pɜ wdn ỉ.ỉr=k n ỉmn m ḥb ỉnt
		x						*ʾỉw bw ỉỉy* (*ỉmn-ḥtp*) ᶜ *w s pɜ-wn tw=ỉ ḫɜw.kwỉ*
						x		*Pɜ ỉỉy m ḥsmn n sɜt=f*
								Pɜy=f ḥb n tɜ-wrt
								Pɜ ḥb n tɜ-wrt
								Pɜ ḥb n ɜst
								…] *ᶜnḳt*
								Pɜ ḥb n pthꜣ nfr[*-ḥr*]
								Hrw pn ỉrt pɜ ḥb n ỉmn n ỉpt ỉn ḥmt bɜkt-dwɜw
								Yɜ sw m ḫd r pɜ ḥb sd
								Pn-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)
								…] *n mrt-sgr*
								Pɜy=f ḥb n pthꜣ
								P]*ɜy=f ḥb* […]
						x?		*Pɜ swᶜb n tɜy=f šrỉ*[*t…*
								Ky ḥb n pɜ rᶜ
								Ky ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr
					x			*Hrw n swrỉ*
				x				*ʾỉnk ỉn mw n* <ᶜ*nḳt*>
					x			*ʾỉnk…ᶜtḫ n ᶜnḳt m hrw nb n swrỉ*
					x			*Hrw swrỉ*
			x					*wḏ ḥm=f* ᶜ *w s wɜḥ ḥtp-nṯr n twt pn*
							x	*Hrw pn*]*n ỉr* <*bɜstt*>
								Hrw pn n ṯs.tw ḥḏt grḥ nṯryt
								ʾỉw.tw ḫr ỉr skry m ḥb=f n tp(*y*) *rnpt*
							x	*Hrw pn n ỉrt hry*
								Hrw n ỉrt msy
								Hrw n ỉrt msy
							x	*Hhw pn n ỉrt h*[*ry*
								Grḥ nṯryt
								Wpt-rnpt
								N] *ḥnḥn rn=k dwɜwt nḥb-kɜ*
								Hrw pn n ỉrt msy

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥḃ / wp*	*ḥḃ=f / pȝy=f ḥḃ*	Birth
Second half 19th							
	Absences	O. Ashmolean Museum 37	rt. 9			x	
			rt. 10			x	
			vs. 4-5			x	
			vs. 5			x	
	Account	O. Brunner	right edge	x?			
	Deposition?	O. Brussels E 6311	rt. 4				
	Journal	O. Cairo CG 25503	vs. 4	x			
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25505	rt. 4-8				
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25521	rt. 11			x	
			rt. 12			x	
			rt. 21			x	
			vs. 9			x	
			vs. 16			x	
	Journal	O. Cairo CG 25538	3	x			
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25779	rt. 14				
			rt. 20				
			vs. 19				
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25780	7-8				
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25782	rt. 4				
			rt. 7-8				
			rt. 8			x	
			vs. 18-19				
			vs. 20				
			vs. 23				
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25784	6				
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25786	rt. 2				
			rt. 3	x?			
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25793	2-4			x	
	Absences	O. Černý 7	vs. 2-3			x	
	Absences	O. DeM 209	rt. 7			x	
			vs. 2			x	
			vs. 4	x			
			vs. 20	x			
	Absences	O. DeM 898	rt. 1				
			rt. 2				
			vs. 1				
	Absences	O. DeM 907	rt. 2			x	
			vs. 5				x

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
								ʿḥʿ.n ṯnr-n-mn(tw) (m) ḥb=f […]w (m) ḥb(=f)
								…]w (m) ḥb=f ʿḥʿ.n ɜnwy m-ʿ=f
					x			*ʿḥʿ n ḥr-nfr r ʿṯḥ [r] pɜy=f ḥb*
								ʿɜ-pḥty m pɜy=f ḥb
								Ḥb ỉmn
			x			x		*R ỉn pɜy=f nṯr ḫr nty…pɜy=f šrỉt ỉỉy m ḥsmn*
								pɜ ḫnt ([…]rʿ
						x?		*Dỉt wʿb sw tɜ-wrt*
								ʾỉw nɜḫy (m) pɜy=f ḥb […] tɜy=f šrỉt
								ʾỉỉw ḫʿ-m-sbɜ (m) pɜy=f ḥb[…
								ʾỉw ḫʿmy (m) pɜ[y]=f [ḥb]
					x			*…]w ʿṯḫ (r) pɜy=f ḥb*
					x			*…ʿṯḫ] (r) pɜy=f ḥb*
								Ḥrw n ḏɜy n ỉmn r nỉwt
			x					*[Rʿ-ḥtp] w[dn] n ḥwt-ḥ[r…*
				x				*Ḳn wɜḥ-mw*
				x				*Ḳn wɜḥ-mw*
			x					*ʾỉmn-m-ỉpt wdn n ḥwt-ḥr*
					x			*ʾỉmn-m-ỉpt ʿṯḫ n ḥwt-ḥr*
			x					*Pn-dwɜw wdn n ḥnwt mḥyt*
								Nfr-ḥtp m ḥb=f
			x?					*Ḥwy…rʿ-ḥtp…nb-nḫt…nɜḫy…wdn*
			x?					*Nɜḫy…ḥr-nfr wdn*
			x?					*ɜny wdn*
				x				*Nfr-ḥtp wɜḥ-mw*
				x				*…sɜ] ḫʿw wɜḥ-mw*
								…] (ỉmn[…]) ʿnḫ.tỉ
								…] m ḥb=f…[nb]-smn m ḥb=f…[…r]t m ḥb=f
								Rʿ-ḥtp (m) ḥb=f ỉmn-m-ỉpt (m) ḥb=f
								ʿḥʿ.n pn-dwɜ [n pɜy=f…] ḥb
								ʿḥʿ.n ḫʿ-m-sbɜ n pɜy=f ḥb
								ʿḥʿ.n tɜ ỉst m wsf n ḥb
								ʿḥʿ.n tɜ ỉst m wsf n wpt-rnpt
				x				*Mry-rʿ wsf ḥr wɜḥ-mw n tɜy=f mwt*
				x				*ʾỉmn-m-ỉpt wsf ḥr wɜḥ-mw n tɜy=f mwt*
					x			*Nɜḫy ḥr ʿṯḫ n pr-ʿɜ*
								…] pɜy=f ḥb
								R]t (m) pɜy=f ḥb n pɜ rʿ(?)

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
Second half 19th							
	Journal	O. DeM 910	rt. 2			x	
			rt. 7			x	
	Note?	O. DeM 951	rt. 2-3				
	Journal	O. DeM 10051	vs. 1-2				
			vs. 3-4	x			
	Transfer	O. Liverpool 13625	rt. 1		x		
			rt. 3		x		
			rt. 4		x		
	Absences	O. MMA 14.6.217	rt. 7				
			vs. 7				
	Absences	O. Turin N. 57388	rt. 2			x	
			rt. 9			x	
			rt. 9			x	
	Deposition	P. BM EA 10055	vs. I, 4				
			vs. I, 16				
	Journal	P. UC 34336	vs. B, 33	x			
Late 19th or beg. 20th							
	Note	O. Cairo CG 25794	3				
20th Dynasty							
	Transfer	O. Berlin P 10631	1				
	Transfer	O. BM EA 29560	rt. 4	x			
			rt. 8	x			
			rt. 12	x			
			rt. 15	x			
			rt. 18	x			
			vs. 4	x			
			vs. 6	x			
			vs. 8	x			
			vs. 13	x			
	Account?	O. Cairo CG 25688	1	x			
	Oath	O. DeM 59	3-4		x		
	Letter	O. DeM 115	vs. 6-8				
			vs. 12-15		x		
	Letter	O. DeM 434 vs.	2	x			
	Account?	O. Turin N. 57073	rt. 2		x		
	Note?	O. Turin N. 57133	1				
	Letter	P. DeM 7	vs. 3		x		

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
								…]w m ḥb=f
								ʿḥʿ.n nb-smn m ḥ[b=f
				x				*Pɜ wɜḫ-mw n pɜy=i it*
					x			*ʿḥʿ.n ḫʿ-m-sbɜw r ʿtḫ n pɜy=f nṯr*
								Pɜ ḫʿ n (imn-ḥtp)
								R]dyt n=f m pɜ ḥb n tɜ-wrt
								R]dyt n=f m pɜ ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr
								R]dyt n=f m pɜ ḥb n mrt-sgr
						x		*pɜ-ḥm-nṯr wsf ḥmt=f ḥsmn*
						x		*…]sɜ[t?] ḥsmn*
								[ʿḥʿ].n ḥr-m-wiɜ m ḥb=f
								ʿḥʿ.n rt m ḥb=f
								ʿḥʿ.n ḥwy sɜ ḥwy-nfr m [ḥb]=f
							x?	*Smɜ[y]t n grḥ*
			x					*ʾIw=f šm r wdn n imn pɜy=w nṯr*
								Hrw ḥb skrt-wsir
							x?	*Hrw n pn n […ir.n]imn-rʿ […*
						x		*Rdyt n=s (m) pɜ iw (m) ḥsmn (i)n {m} ḥnwt-wʿti*
								Pɜ šmt-n-ḥr
								Pn-ḏḥwty
								Pn-ipt
								Ḥwt-ḥr
								Kɜ-ḥr-kɜ
								Pɜ ḫnw mwt
								Pn-pɜ-mḫr
								Pn-(imn-ḥtp)
								Pn-ipt?
								Pn-(imn-ḥtp)
								ʾI.[di=i…] wpt…
		x						*ʾIw bn iry pɜ nṯr ḫʿy*
								ʾImi in.tw wʿ hnw n sfft n ḥb […] n pɜ nṯr
								Km [pn-(imn-ḥtp)]
								…] ḥb […
x								*…p]ɜy=f mšrw*
								Bn <iw>=i (m) nɜ iryw=k n=w wp iwnɜ

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
First half 20th							
	Note	Graffito 1158	5				
	Note	Graffito 1159C	1-2				
	Work/Inact.	Graffito 1696	9		x		
	Note	Graffito 2087	1-3	x			
	Letter	O. Ashmolean Museum 5	rt. 2				
	Journal	O. Ashmolean Museum 11	rt. 3-4	x			
			rt. 11-12	x			
			vs. 7-8	x			
	Note	O. Ashmolean Museum 61	2			x	
	Journal	O. Ashmolean Museum 70	rt. 9	x			
	Oath	O. Ashmolean Museum 106	rt. 3-4		x		
	Journal	O. Ashmolean Museum 131	vs. 2				
	Payment	O. Ashmolean Mus. 1945.39	rt. 2				
	Account	O. Berlin P 1120 +					
	Transfer	O. Berlin P 10637	rt. 3				
			rt. 7	x			
	Protocol	O. Berlin P 10655	6	x			
	Transfer	O. Berlin P 12635	rt. 7				
			rt. 11				
			vs. 1-2				
			vs. 4-5			x	
			vs. 6	x			
			vs. 9	x			
	Protocol	O. Berlin P 14214	rt. 11	x			
	Note	O. BM EA 50744	rt. 1-2				
	Journal	O. Cairo CG 25265	II, 1-2	x			
	Note	O. Cairo CG 25275	1-2	x			
	Note	O. Cairo CG 25276	1	x			
	Note	O. Cairo CG 25290	I, 2-4				
	Note	O. Cairo CG 25308	3				
	Account	O. Cairo CG 25365 +	(rt. II, 4)				
	Absences	O. Cairo CG 25532	rt. 2			x	
			rt. 7			x	
			vs. 5			x	
			vs. 5			x	
			vs. 5			x	
			vs. 6			x	

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
							x?	*Pn-(mn-ḫpr-rˁ)*
							x?	*Hɜy r pn-(mn-ḫpr-rˁ)*
								Ḫb(?)
								ʾIi ỉn tɜ-ỉst r msy kɜ-ḥr-kɜ n ḥnwt ˁɜt špsyt mrt-sgr
			x					*Mtw=k ỉn ỉḥ n mrt-sgr*
								Ḫnw (nfrt-ỉry
								ʾIw.tw m pɜ ḏˁy […]
								Pɜ ḫnw (stḫy)
								Pɜy=f ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr ˁɜ
								Wp
								Mtw=ỉ dỉt ḫpr wp…
							x	*Pr-ˁɜ*
			x					*Pɜ wdn n tɜy=f ḏbɜ(t)*
	x							
							x	*Hrw pɜ ỉr nfr*
								Hrw n mḫy
								ʾI.dỉ=ỉ ˁḳ wpt-rnpt
x								*Pɜy=ỉ fɜ bỉk*
		x						*Tɜ ḏɜyt n pɜ nṯr*
		x			x			*Pɜ ỉỉy nɜ nṯrw m ỉɜbt ỉw=f swrỉ*
					x			*Pɜy=ỉ ḥb n tɜ-wrt…ỉw=f swrỉ*
								Msyw
								Kɜ-ḥr(-kɜ)
								Mtw=ỉ dỉt ˁḳ kɜ-ḥr-kɜ…
				x				*ʾIi ỉn…ṯɜty nfr-rnpt r wɜḥ-mw*
								Ḏɜy r ỉmntt nỉwt ỉn ỉmn-rˁ…r wɜḥ-mw n nsyw-bỉtyw
								Ḫˁ ỉn nsw (ỉmn-ḥtp)
								Ḫˁ n nsw (ỉmn-ḥtp)
			x	x				*ṯɜty nfr-rnpt…ỉw=f wɜḥ-mw pɜ mɜḥ r-ˁ[ ]yt nbt wɜst*
							x?	*…] ỉmn-ḥtp ḥr ḫpr*
	x						x	*Pɜ šɜw r mw n ḥnwt-(nt-)ḫn*
								Ḳny-mnw ḥb(=f)
								ʾImn-nḫt ḥb(=f)
								Ns-ỉmn ḥb(=f)
								Ḳny-mnw ḥb(=f)
								Ms ḥb(=f)
								…]-mnw ḥb ḥry=f

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
First half 20th							
	Journal	O. Cairo CG 25533	rt. 8				
			rt. 10-11	x			
			vs. 11-12			x	
	Payment	O. Cairo CG 25597	rt. 7				
	Journal	O. Cairo CG 25643	vs. 2		x		
	Account	O. Cairo CG 25650					
	Account	O. Cairo CG 25660 +					
	Journal	O. DeM 32	vs. 6	x			
	Journal	O. DeM 35	14	x			
	Journal	O. DeM 38	12	x			
	Journal	O. DeM 44	rt. 1, 9				
	Journal	O. DeM 45	rt. 13		x		
	Journal	O. DeM 46	rt. 10	x			
	Journal	O. DeM 55	rt. 1-2	x			
	Oath	O. DeM 57	rt. 2-3	x			
	Account	O. DeM 134					
	Journal	O. DeM 153	vs. 8	x			
	Account	O. DeM 222	(V, 22)				
	Transfer	O. DeM 297	3a	x			
			4a	x			
	Journal	O. DeM 401	rt. 1-5	x			
	Letter	O. DeM 603	5-7				
	Protocol?	O. DeM 645	vs. 2-3	x			
	Journal	O. DeM 653	vs. 1	x			
	Account	O. DeM 666					
	Account	O. DeM 10041					
	Account	O. Faulkner 1					
	Transfer	O. Gardiner AG 57	rt. 2		x		
			rt. 3			x	
			rt. 4			x	
	Transfer	O. Glasgow D.1925.71	rt. 3	x			
			rt. 3	x			
			rt. 4	x			
	Transfer	O. Glasgow D.1925.72	2				
			5	x			
	Account	O. IFAO 1262	I, 2		x		
	Account	O. Louvre E 3262b					
	Note	O. Louvre N 694,2	1				

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
					x			*ỉw* […]*ʿtḫ n ḥwt-ḥ*[*r*]
								…]wsr-mɜʿt[*-rʿ*] *stp-n-rʿ*
								ỉw ỉmn-m-ỉpt [*m pɜ?*] *ḥb n ḥnry*
							x	*Pɜ ms ḥnwt*
								b[…] *m ḥbw*
	x							
	x							
								Mswy
								Pn-rnn-wtt
								Pɜ ḫnw n (*nfrt-ỉry*
							x	*Ḫʿ nsw*
								Pɜ ḥb n pthḫ[…
								ỉw.tw ỉn tɜ ỉst r mkw m dbḥ[*…s*]*y n pn-ỉpt*
								ỉr.t(*w*) *ḫʿ nsw n pr-ʿɜ*
								ỉryw…ʿnḫ-n-nb…r ḏbɜ…r-r-ʿ ḥb ḏḥwty
	x							
								M pɜ […]
	x							
								Pɜ ḫn mwt
								Pn-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)
								Hrw [*p*]*n wdn n pthḫ m sḫt ʿɜt ỉn tɜ ỉst…*[*ỉ*]*w=sn ỉrt ḥb ʿɜ*
			x					*Ry*(*t*)*…ʿryw nty ỉw=ỉ mḥ nɜy=ỉ gstỉ m-ỉm=sn hrw ḏḥwty*
								Mtw=ỉ (*dỉt*) *ḫpr pn-ỉnt…*
								Ḏḥwty
	x							
	x?							
	x							
								rdyt n=f n pɜ ḥb n ỉmn n […]
								rdyt n= f n pɜy=f ḥb n […]
								rdyt n= f n pɜy=f ḥb n […]
								Wpt-rnpt
								Pn-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*) *2*
								Wpt-rnpt
x								*Ṯs=f r tɜ ỉst*
								Pn-(*ỉmn-ḥtp*)
								Sbt nỉwt m ḥb
	x							
		x						*Ḫʿy nṯr pn* [*nsw*] (*ỉmn-ḥtp*)

Appendix 2

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
First half 20th							
	Transfer	O. Michaelides 12	rt. 7		x		
			vs. 1	x			
	Supplies	O. Michaelides 33	rt. 9	x			
	Transfer	O. Queen's College 1115	rt. 2			x	
			rt. 5	x			
			rt. 6	x?			
			rt. 7	x			
			vs. I, 6-7			x	
	Account	O. Turin N. 57010	vs. 2-3				
	Journal	O. Turin N. 57032	vs. 16				
	Journal	O. Turin N. 57033	vs. 4		x		
			vs. 9				
	Journal	O. Turin N. 57034	rt. 6				
			rt. 7	x			
	Journal	O. Turin N. 57044	vs. 9	x			
	Indiv. abs.	O. Turin N. 57156 vs.	vs. 6-7			x	
	Oath	O. Turin N. 57458	vs. 2-3	x			
	Account	O. UC 39630					
	Transfer	O. Varille 24	rt. 5			x	
	Journal	P. Bibliotheque Nat. 237	17-18				
	Transfer	P. DeM 2	rt. 4	x			
			rt. 6	x			
			vs. 2	x			
			vs. 2	x			
			vs. 2-3			x	
			vs. 4			x	
			vs. 4-5			x	
			vs. 6	x			
			vs. 8				
	Notes	P. Geneva MAH 15274 +	vs. III, 3				
	Letter	P. Turin Cat. 1879 + vs. I-II	vs. I, 11-12				
			vs. I, 20-21				
	journal	P. Turin Cat. 1880	rt. II, 18-19		x		
	Journal	P. Turin Cat. 1961 +	rt. III, 5				
Mid 20th							
	Note	O. Berlin P 12286	rt. 1-4				
	Transfer	O. Berlin P 12406	rt. 3	x			
			rt. 11	x			
			vs. 1	x			
			vs. 7				

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
								Ḥb n ỉmn
								…] nw mḫrw
								Ḥʿ(w) nt ḥwt-ḥr
								Pɜy=ỉ ḥb n ỉmn ṯḥn-nfr
								Pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp)
								Pɜ mswt n ɜst
								Pn-ḫnsw
								Pɜy=ỉ ḥb n ḥwt-ḥr
	x?							*…] ỉr.n sɜ n tɜy=st šrỉt*
							x	*Ptḥ*
								Nɜ nwḥ m ḥb
			x					*Sʿt kɜ n ptḥ*
				x				*Wɜḥ-mw*
								Pɜ ḏɜ
								Ḫɜ(wy) pɜ ḏɜ
								Pɜ […pɜ]y=ỉ ḥb
								Mtw=ỉ (dỉt) ʿḳ ḥwt-ḥr
	x							
								Pɜy=f ḥb
		x						*ʾIw pɜ nṯr ḥr ḫʿy*
								Wpt-rnpt
								Wpt-rnpt
								Wpt-rnpt
								Pɜ šm-n-ḥr
								Pɜy=s ḥb n (ỉ[mn-…
								Pɜy[=s ḥb n] tɜ-wrt
								Pɜy=s ḥb n[…
								Pɜ šm-n-ḥr
x								*Hrw n pɜy=s ỉt*
				x				*Wɜḥ-mw n nɜ nsyw-bỉtyw*
			x					*ʾIw.tw ḥr ỉrt n=sn 3 ḫnw m mnt*
			x					*ʾIw=f ỉrt pɜ ḥtp-nṯr […] pɜy twt*
								Ḥd ỉn ṯɜty tɜ m-ḏr ỉw=f r ỉṯɜ nṯrw n ʿ-rsy r ḥb sd
							x	*Sšš ḫnkyt nsw (ỉmn-ḥtp)*
				x				*…nỉwt] ṯɜty nfr-rnpt […]…r wɜḥ-mw […]nɜ nsw[…*
								Pn-(ỉmn-ḥtp) 3
								Kɜ-ḥr(-kɜ) 2
								Kɜ-ḥr(-kɜ)
x								*ʾI.dỉt n=f nb-ỉmn m-ḏr ṯs=f*

Appendix 2

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
Mid 20th							
	Rations	O. Berlin P 14263	vs. 1	x			
	Account	O. Berlin P 14328	(rt. 1-3)				
	Oracle pet.	O. BM EA 5637	rt. 8-9	x			
	Note	O. Cairo CG 25234	1-3	x			
	Note	O. Cairo CG 25559	rt. 1-3				
	Transfer?	O. Cairo CG 25598	rt. 1	x			
			rt. 9			x	
	Account	O. Cairo CG 25705 +	(1)				
	Account	O. DeM 643					
	Letter	P. DeM 3	rt. 6-8		x		
	Transfer	P. Turin Cat. 1907 +	rt. II, 1				
			rt. III, 6		x		
			vs. II, 16	x			
	Journal	P. Turin Cat. 2044	vs. I, 2-4				
Second half 20th							
	Journal	O. Cairo CG 25535	5				
	Deposition	O. IFAO 290	4	x			
	Letter	O. IFAO 2830	5	x			
	Deposition	O. Turin N. 57356	1				
			3				
	Letter	P. Bibliotheque Nat. 199 +	rt. 10-11				
	Supplies	P. BM EA 9997	III, 4		x		
	Letter	P. BM EA 10430	vs. 7			x	
	Journal	P. Turin Cat. 1884 +	rt. I, 4	x			
	Journal	P. Turin Cat. 1898 +	rt. I, 5	x			
			rt. I, 12				
			rt. I, 17	x?			
			rt. I, 19	x?			
			rt. II, 26	x			
			rt. II, 27		x		
			rt. III, 6	x			
			rt. V, 1	x			
			rt. V, 15	x			
			rt. V, 19	x			
	Account	P. Turin Cat. 1906 +	vs. II, 9	x			
			vs. II, 21				
			vs. II, 22	x			
	Journal	P. Turin Cat. 1960 +	vs. I, 17	x?			
	Journal	P. Turin Cat. 1999 +	vs. I, 12	x			
	Journal	P. Turin Cat. 2070 rt.	rt. 14	x			

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
								Pɜ diw pn-rnn-wtt sw 1
	x				x			*Pɜ nkt i.it̲ɜ.n rmt̲-ist mn-ḫ<w m<-ḏr> swri* [*m?*] *pɜy=f pr*
								Ḥ<y nsw (*imn-ḥtp*
								ʾIw.tw m pɜ ḥb <ɜ n n[*sw*] (*imn-ḥtp*)
		x						*T̲s in* (*imn-ḥtp*)*…iw=f phy tɜ int iw tɜ ist m sḫsḫ r-ḥɜt=f*
								Pn-int
								Pɜy=f ḥb
	x				x			*Pɜ swri n ḥwt-ḥr*
	x							
			x					*ʾIw=i wdn n sbk…iry=i pɜ wp…*
								Rdyt n=f m pɜ ḫtm n pɜ ḫr m-ḏr iw=f swri im
								Rdi.tw n=f…r pɜ ḥb n imn
								Rdi.tw n=f…r wdn n pt̲ḥ
		x?						*ʾIw=w m nɜ byrw…iw=n nhm r wrt* […] *imn-r<*
							x	*Ms*(*wt*) *n mrt-sgr*
								Pɜ ḫnw mwt
								Grḥ n pɜ šmt n mnw r ḥtwy mnw
			x?					*Wnn=i ḥr irt pɜy=i* [*t*]*-mw n tɜ-wrt*
						x		*Rdyt n=f m pɜ iiy m ḥsmn* (*i*)*n tɜ-grpt*
				x				*M-di tm nni* [*it̲ɜ m*]*w r pɜy=f wbɜ*
								ʾIry pɜ […] *ir n ḥb* […]
			x					*…smɜ*]*=f m pɜy=f ḥb*
								…]*mswt r<-ḥr-ɜḫty*[…
								Ḥb pt̲ḥ
		x						*Ḥnt*[…
								Ḥr pɜ[…
								Ḥr pɜ[…
								Ḥ< (*wsr-mɜ<t-r<*)
								Hb nsw (*imn-ḥtp*)
								Ḥnt (*nfr*(*t*)*-iit*)
								Ḫ< nsw (*imn-ḥtp*
								Ḫ< n nsw (*wsr-mɜ<t-r<*[…
								ʾIpip
								Mswt r<
		x						*…*]*ḫ< n* (*imn-ḥtp*)
								Pn-(*imn-ḥtp*)
								D̲ɜ]*y n imn r< nsw nt̲rw*[…
								Mswt r<-ḥr-ɜḫty
								[*Mswt r<-*]*ḥr-ɜḫty*

Appendix 2

Date (attributed)	Text type	Document		Festival Calendar	*ḥb / wp*	*ḥb=f / pȝy=f ḥb*	Birth
No date attributed							
	Transfer?	O. Ashmolean Museum 50	7			x	
	Account	O. DeM 639					
	Rations	O. DeM 739	1-2		x		
	Transfer	O. DeM 952	(rt. 1-2)				x
			vs. 1				x
			vs. 8				x
			vs. 11				
	Account?	O. IFAO 1088	rt. 1	x			
			rt. 2	x			
			rt. 2	x			
			rt. 3	x			
			rt. 4	x?			
			rt. 5	x?			
			rt. 6	x			
			rt. 7	x			
	Transfer	O. IFAO 344	3	x			
	Transfer?	O. OIM N. 160	2				

Other personal feasts	Gift-giving list	Procession	Offering	Pouring water	Drinking / Brewing	Purification	Other indication	Transliteration
								Pɜy=s ḥb n tɜ-[…
	x?							
								Rdyt r dỉw n I ɜḫt…nty m ḥb s 5 wˁ nb 1 ỉr.n 5
								Rdyt n=f m pɜ msw n tɜy=f šrỉt
								[*Wḥm m pɜy*]*=s hrw 3*
								Wḥm m pɜ sw 14
					x			*Wḥm m pɜ swrỉ ˁɜ*
								Pn-rnnwtt
								ʾIpỉp
								Wpt-rnpt
								Ḏhwty
								Ḥb n ỉmn
								Ḥb ˁḳ nw p(t)
								[*Kɜ-ḥr-*]*kɜ*
								Ḫn mwt
								Mḫr
						x		*M-ḏỉ ỉw=s m ḥsmn*

Bibliography

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AAWMainz	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz.
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Le Caire, 1900–.
ARC	*Archaeological Review from Cambridge*. Cambridge, 1981–.
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung: internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient*. Berlin/Graz, 1926–.
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1974–.
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology. Sidney, 1990–.
Bd'É	Bibliothèque d'Études. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1908–.
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*. New York, 1990–.
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*. Le Caire, 1901–.
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis.* Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1943–.
BRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. Manchester, 1903–1972.
BSÉG	*Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie*. Genève, 1949–.
BSFÉ	*Bulletin de la Societé Francaise d'Égyptologie: réunions trimestrielles et communications archéologiques*. Paris, 1949–.
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*. Cambridge, 1991–.
Cd'É	*Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth*. Bruxelles, 1925–.
CHÉ	*Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne. Egyptian History Papers*. Le Caire, 1948–.
CRIPEL	Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille Université Charles-de-Gaulle. Lille, 1973–.
DE	*Discussions in Egyptology*. Oxford, 1985–.
DFIFAO	Documents de Fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
EgUit	Egyptologische uitgaven. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.
ÉT	*Études et Travaux*. Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie der Sciences. PWN - Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, Warszawa, 1966–.
FIFAO	Fouilles de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
FuB	*Forschungen und Berichte Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*. Akatemie Verlag, Berlin, 1957–1991.
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*. Göttingen, 1972–.
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim.
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Golden House Publications, London, 1998–. Http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/nilus/net-publications/index.html.
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion*. Leiden, 2001–.

JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Princeton, 1962–.
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London, 1914–.
JEH	*Journal of Egyptian History*. Leiden, 2008–.
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*. Leiden, 1933–.
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Leiden, 1957–.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago, 1942–.
Kêmi	*Kêmi: revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*. Paris, 1928–1971.
K.M.T.	*K.M.T. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*. San Fransisco, 1990–.
LingAeg	*Lingua Aegyptia - Journal of Egyptian Language Studies*. Göttingen, 1991–.
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto & Wolfhart Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I–VII. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975–1992.
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien. Institut für Ägyptologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München.
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*. (Band 14–). Mainz, 1945–.
MDIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*. Augsburg, 1930–1940.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale de Caire. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*. Berlin, 1953–1972.
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*. Boston, 1998– (vol. 61–).
OBO	Orbis Biblicus Orientalis. Universitätsverlag, Freiburg.
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Department oriëntalistiek, Katholieke universiteit. Peeters, Leuven.
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*. Leuven, 1970–.
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Nieuwe reeks. Leiden, 1920–.
Or	*Orientalia: commentarii periodici de rebus Orientis antiqui*. Roma, 1920–.
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus: Rivista del Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente*. Roma, 1962–1990.
PAe	Probleme der Ägyptologie. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden.
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. London, 1879–.
Rd'É	*Revue d'Égyptologie*. Louvain, 1933–.
RitEg	Rites Égyptiens. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles.
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*. Hamburg, 1974–.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago.
VA	*Varia Aegyptiaca*. San Antonio, 1985–.
VA(S)	Varia Aegyptiaca Supplements. Van Siclen Books, San Antonio.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, 1847–.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig/Berlin, 1863–.

Editions, Monographs, Festschrifts, and Others

Adrom, Der Gipfel der Frömmigkeit?, *LingAeg* 12 (2004)
Adrom, Faried. Der Gipfel der Frömmigkeit? Überlegungen zur Semantik und religiösen Symbolik von *t3-dhn.t*, *LingAeg* 12, 1–20. Göttingen, 2004.

Albanese, Catherine L. Religion and American Popular Culture: An Introductory Essay, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, 733–742. Oxford, 1996.

Aldred, The 'New Year' Gifts, *JEA* 55 (1969)
Aldred, Cyril. The 'New Year' Gifts to the Pharaoh, *JEA* 55, 73–81. London, 1969.

Ali, Das Verhältnis zwischen den Beiden Seiten (1994)
Ali, Moh. S. Das Verhältnis zwischen den Beiden Seiten des Papyrus Boulaq 19, in Adam Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992*, 508–512. Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen, 1994.

Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963)
Allam, Schafik. *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)*. MÄS 4. Bruno Hessling, Berlin, 1963.

Allam, Schafik Einige hieratische Ostraca der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, *FuB* 22, 51–61. Akatemie Verlag, Berlin, 1982.

Allam, Engagements matériels (1981)
Allam, Schafik. Engagements matériels en faveur d'Anoukis, déesse guérisseuse (Ostracon hiératique Turin 57062, anciennement 5941), in *Bulletin du Centenaire*, 197–204. Supplément au *BIFAO* 81. Le Caire, 1981.

Allam, *HOP* (1973) Allam, Schafik. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit.* Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten 1, band 1. [Schafik Allam,] Tübingen, 1973.

Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973)
Allam, Schafik. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit. Tafelteil – Transkriptionen aus dem Nachlass von J. Černý*. Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten, 1, band 2. [Schafik Allam,] Tübingen, 1973.

Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus* (1949–1954)
Alliot, Maurice. *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps de Ptolémées* vols. I–II. Bd'É 20. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1949–1954.

Altenmüller, Amenophis I. als Mittler (1981)
Altenmüller, Hartwig. Amenophis I. als Mittler, in *Festschrift für Labid Habachi*, 1–7. *MDAIK* 37. Mainz, 1981.

Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* (1965)
Altenmüller, Hartwig. *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens. Eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sog. 'Zaubermesser' des Mitteleren Reichs*. Unpublished dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. München, 1965.

Altenmüller, Hartwig Das Begräbnistag Sethos' II, *SAK* 11, 37–47. Hamburg, 1984.

Altenmüller, Hartwig Die Fahrt der Hathor nach Edfu and die 'Heilige Hochzeit', in Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors & Harco Willems (eds.), *Egyptian religion: The last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur II*, 753–765. OLA 85. Peeters, Leuven, 1998.

Altenmüller, Hartwig Feste, *LÄ* II, 171–191. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977.

Altenmüller, Hatrwig Jagdritual, *LÄ* III, 231–233. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1980.

Altenmüller, Hartwig Opfer, *LÄ* IV, 580–581. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982.

Altenmüller, Hartwig Das präsumptive Begräbnis des Siptah, *SAK* 23, 1–9. Hamburg, 1996.

Andreu, Guillemette La tombe de Thothermaktouf à Deir el-Medina (TT 357), *BIFAO* 85, 1–21. Le Caire, 1985.

Anthes, Rudolf — Die Deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913, *MDIK* 12, 1–68. Reichsverlagsamt, Berlin, 1943.

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses, book XI* — Apuleius of Madauros, *The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, book XI)*. Edited with an introduction, translation and commentary by J. Gwyn Griffiths. Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 39. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1975.

Assmann, Jan — *Ägypten. Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur*. Urban-Taschenbücher, 366. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1984.

Assmann, Prozessionsfest (1991) — Assmann, Jan. Das ägyptische Prozessionsfest, in Jan Assmann (ed.), *Das Fest und das Heilige. Religiöse Kontrapunkte zur Alltagswelt*, 105–122. Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen, 1. Verlagshaus Mohn, Gütersloh, 1991.

Assmann, Jan — Geheimnis, Gedächtnis und Gottesnähe: zum Strukturwandel der Grabsemantik und der Diesseits-Jenseitsbeziehungen im Neuen Reich, in Jan Assmann et al., *Thebanische Beamtennekropole. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposion Heidelberg 9.–13.6.1993*, 281–293. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, 12. Heidelberger Orientverlag, Heidelberg, 1995.

Assmann, Jan — Gottesbeherzigung. 'Persönliche Frömmigkeit' als religiöse Strömung der Ramessidenzeit, in I. Brancoli et al., *L'Impero Ramesside. Concegno Internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni*, 17–43. Vicino Oriente – Quaderno, 1. Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', Roma, 1997.

Assmann, Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg, *MDAIK* 40 (1984) — Assmann, Jan. Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg. Zum Typenwandel des Privat-Felsgrabes im Neuen Reich, *MDAIK* 40, 277–290. Mainz, 1984.

Assmann, Jan — *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*. C.H. Beck, München, 1990.

Assmann, Ocular desire (1994) — Assmann, Jan. Ocular desire in a time of darkness. Urban festivals and the divine visibility in Ancient Egypt, in R. E. Aharon & Jan Assmann (eds.), *Ocular desire. Sehnsucht des Auges*, 13–29. Yearbook for religious anthropology, 1. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1994.

Assmann, The Ramesside Tomb (2003) — Assmann, Jan. The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space, in Nigel Strudwick & John H. Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, 46–52. British Museum Press, London, 2003.

Assmann, Jan — Das Schöne Tag. Sinnligkeit und Vergänglichkeit im altägyptischen Fest, in Walter Haug & Rainer Warning (eds.), *Das Fest*, 3–28. Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München, 1989.

Badone, Introduction (1990) — Badone, Ellen. Introduction, in Ellen Badone (ed.), *Religious Orthodoxy & Popular Faith in European Society*, 3–23. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990.

Bacchi, Ernesto — *Il rituale di Amenhotpe I*. Pubblicazioni egittologiche del R. Museo di Torino, 3. Museo di Torino, Torino, 1942.

Bács, Two Calendars, *SAK* 17 (1990) — Bács, Tamás A. Two Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days, *SAK* 17, 41–64. Hamburg, 1990.

Bailey, Edward I. — Popular Religion, in William H. Swatos (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Society*, 370. Sage, London, 1998.

Bailey, Emoke — Circumcision in Ancient Egypt, *BACE* 7, 15–28. Sidney, 1996.

Baines, John — Egyptian Letters of the New Kingdom as Evidence for Religious Practice, *JANER* 1, 1–31. Leiden, 2001.

Baines, John — Practical Religion and Piety, *JEA* 73, 79–98. London, 1987.

Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966)
Bakir, Abd el-Mohsen. *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637*. Antiquities Department of Egypt, Cairo, 1966.

Baraize, M. Émile — Compte rendu des travaux exécutés à Deîr-el-Médinéh, *ASAE* 13, 19–42. Le Caire, 1914.

Barguet, Paul — *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Égyptiens*. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient. Les Éditions du CERF, Paris, 1967.

Barns, The Nevill Papyrus, *JEA* 35 (1949)
Barns, J. The Nevill Papyrus: A Late Ramesside Letter to an Oracle, *JEA* 35, 69–71. London, 1949.

Barta, Winfried — *Aufbau und Bedeutung altägyptishcen Opferformel*. Ägyptologische Forschungen, 24. Verlag J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt, 1968.

Barta, Winfried — Das Götterkultbild als Mittelpunkt bei Prozessionsfesten, *MDAIK* 23, 75–78. Mainz, 1968.

Barta, Winfried — Kult, *LÄ* III, 839–848. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1980.

Barta, Winfried — Nehebkau, *LÄ* IV, 388–390. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982.

Barta, Das Opferritual, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967)
Barta, Winfried. Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult, *JEOL* VI/19 *1965–1966*, 457–461. Leiden, 1967.

Barta, Winfried — Phonetische Substitution in den Handschriften der Lebenslehre des Ani, *ZÄS* 118, 97–103. Berlin, 1991.

Barta, Winfried — Review of Rolf Krauss, Sothis- und Monddaten. Studien zur astronomische und technischen Chronologie Altägyptens, HÄB 20, Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim 1985. *BiOr* 44, 416–420. Leiden, 1987.

Barta, Thronbesteigung, *SAK* 8 (1980)
Barta, Winfried. Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche zeugnisse königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme, *SAK* 8, 33–51. Hamburg, 1980.

Barta, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke, *JEOL* VI/19 (1967)
Barta, Winfried, Zum Ritual der Götterbarke im Neuen Reich, *JEOL* VI/19 *1965–1966*, 462–463. Leiden, 1967.

Von Beckerath, Bemerkungen zu Papyrus Turin 1885 (2000)
Von Beckerath, Jürgen. Bemerkungen zu Papyrus Turin 1885 Verso II–III, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD. A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, 1–7. EgUit 14. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2000.

Von Beckerath, Jürgen — *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*. HÄB 39. Gerstenberg, Hildesheim, 1994.

Von Beckerath, Jürgen — Dekade, *LÄ* I, 1035–1036. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975.

Beinlich-Seeber, Christine — Kornosiris, *LÄ* III, 744–746. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1980.

Beinlich-Seeber, Christine — Renenutet, *LÄ* V, 232–236. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984.

Bell, Aspects of the Cult (1985)
Bell, Lanny. Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun, Paule Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* I, 31–59. Bd'É 97. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1985.

Bell, 'Divine' Temple (1998)
Bell, Lanny. The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor, in Byron E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 127–184. I.B. Tauris, London, 1998.

Bell, Lanny — Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka, *JNES* 44, 251–294. Chicago, 1985.

Bell, Catherine — *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997.

Bell, Catherine — *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992.

Van den Berg & Donker van Heel, A Scribe's Cache (2000)
Van den Berg, H. and K. Donker van Heel. A Scribe's Cache from the Valley of Queens? The Palaeography of Documents from Deir el-Medina: Some Remarks, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD. A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, 9–49. EgUit 14. Leiden, 2000.

Berlandini, Ptah-demiurge, *Rd'É* 46 (1995)
Berlandini, Jocelyne. Ptah-demiurge et l'exaltation du ciel, *Rd'É* 46, 9–41. Paris, 1995.

Bierbrier, Morris
The Royal artisans of the Pharaohs. The American University Press, Cairo, 1989.

Bierbrier, M. L. and H. J. A. de Meulenaere
Hymne a Taouêret sur une stele de Deir el Médineh, in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh*, 23–32. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis BOREAS, 13. Almqvist & Wicksell, Uppsala, 1984.

Bietak, & Reiser-Haslauer (eds.). *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor* (1978)
Bietak, Manfred and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer (eds.). *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemalin Nitokris I*. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österrechischen Archäologischen Instituts, 4. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1978.

Björkman, Gun
A Selection of the Objects in the Smith Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at the Linköping Museum, Sweden. Bibliotheca Ekmaniana Universitatis Regiae Upsaliensis, 65. Almqvist & Wiksells, Uppsala, 1979.

Blackman, Oracles I, *JEA* 11 (1925)
Blackman, Aylward M. Oracles in Ancient Egypt I. Papyrus B.M. 10335, *JEA* 11, 249–255. London, 1925.

Blackman, Oracles II, *JEA* 12 (1926)
Blackman, Aylward M. Oracles in Ancient Egypt II, *JEA* 12, 176–185. London, 1926.

Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (1967)
Bleeker, Claas Jouco. *Egyptian Festivals. Enactment of Religious Renewal*. Studies in the History of Religions, 13. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1967.

Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes* (1956)
Bleeker, Claas Jouco. *Die Geburt eines Gottes. Eine Studie über den ägyptischen Gott Min und sein Fest*. Studies in the History of Religions, 3. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1956.

Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973)
Bleeker, Claas Jouco. *Hathor and Thoth. Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*. Studies in the History of Religion, 26. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1973.

Blumenthal, Elke
Kuhgöttin und Gottkönig: Frömmigkeit und Staatstreue auf der Stela Leipzig Ägyptisches Museum 1541. Elfte Siegfried-Morenz-Gedächtnis-Vorlesung. Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, 2001.

Bomann, *Private Chapel* (1991)
Bomann, Ann H. *Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt. A Study of the Chapels in the Workmen's Village at el Amarna with Special Reference to Deir el Medina and other Sites*. Studies in Egyptology. Kegan, London, 1991.

Bontty & Peust, Papyrus Deir el-Medineh VII, *JARCE* 33 (1996)
Bontty, Mónica and Peust, Carsten. Papyrus Deir el-Medineh VII verso: A personal conflict in Deir el-Medineh, *JARCE* 33, 65–68. Princeton, 1996.

Borghouts, Divine Intervention (1982)
Borghouts, J. F. Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bɜw*), in R. J. Demarée & Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 1–70. EgUit 1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1982.

Borghouts, The 'hot one', *GM* 38 (1980)
Borghouts, J. F. The 'hot one' (*pꜣ šmw*) in ostracon Deir el-Médineh 1265, *GM* 38, 21–28. Göttingen, 1980.
Borghouts, Joris F. Libation, *LÄ* III, 1014. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1980.
Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar* (1986)
Borghouts, Joris F. *Nieuwjaar in het oude Egypte*. Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, 1986.
Bosse-Griffith, Kate Baboon and Maid, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern* 2, 823–827. Junge, Göttingen, 1984.
Botti & Peet, *Il giornale* (1928)
Botti, Giuseppe and T. Eric. Peet. *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe*. I Papiri ieratici del Museo di Torino, 1. Fratelli Bocca, Torino, 1928.
De Bourguet, Pierre *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*. MIFAO 121. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 2002.
Bowman, Vernacular Religion and Nature, *Folklore* 114 (2003)
Bowman, Marion. Vernacular Religion and Nature: The 'Bible of the Folk' Tradition in Newfoundland, *Folklore* 114 , 285–295. London, 2003.
Brettell, The Priest and his People (1990)
Brettell, Caroline B. The Priest and his People: The Contractual Basis for Religious Practice in Rural Portugal, in Ellen Badone (ed.), *Religious Orthodoxy & Popular Faith in European Society*, 55–75. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990.
Broekhuis, Jan *De godin Renenwetet*. Bibliotheca Classica Vangorcumiana, 19. Van Gorcum, Assen, 1971.
Brovarski, Edward Sed, *LÄ* V, 779–780. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984.
Brovarski, Edward Sokar, *LÄ* V, 1055–1974. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984.
Brown, Linda A. Feasting on the Periphery. The Production of Ritual Feasting and Village Festivals at the Cerén Site, el Salvador, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 368–390. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.
Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (1981)
Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. The Haskell Lectures on History of Religions, New Series, 2. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1981.
Brunner, Hellmut *Altägyptische Weisheit. Lehren für das Leben. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert*. Artemis Verlag, Zürich, 1988.
Brunner, Hellmut. Die theologische Bedeutung der Trunkenheit, *ZÄS* 79, 81–83. Berlin, 1954.
Brunner-Traut, Emma Altägyptische Scherbenbilder (bildostraca) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1956.
Brunner-Traut, Emma *Egyptian Artists' Sketches. Figured Ostraca from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 45. Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, Leiden, 1979.
Brunner-Traut, Emma *Der Tanz in Alten Ägypten nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen*. Ägyptologische Forschungen, 6. J.J. Augustin, Glückstadt, 1958.
Brunner-Traut, Emma Die Wochenlaube, *MIO* 3, 11–30. Berlin, 1955.
Bruyère, Deir el Medineh, *Cd'É* 25–28 (1939)
Bruyère, Bernard. Deir el Medineh. Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, *Cd'É* 25–28, 268–276. Bruxelles, 1939.
Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930)
Bruyère, Bernard. *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*. MIFAO 58. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1930.
Bruyère, Bernard Quelques stèles trouvées par M. É. Baraize à Deir el Médineh, *ASAE* 25, 76–96. Le Caire, 1925.

Bruyère, *Rapport 1923* etc.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1923–1924.* FIFAO 2. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1925.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1924–1925.* FIFAO 3. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1926.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1929.* FIFAO 7. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1930.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1930.* FIFAO 8. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1933.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1931–1932*. FIFAO 10. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1934.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1934–1935. Troisième partie: Le village, les décharges publiques, la station repos du col de la vallée des rois*. FIFAO 16. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1939.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1935–1940* I. FIFAO 20, fascicule 1. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1948.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1935–1940* II. FIFAO 20, fascicule 2. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1952.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1935–1940* III. FIFAO 20, fascicule 3. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1952.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1945–1947*. FIFAO 21. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1952.
Bruyère, Bernard. *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1948–1951*. FIFAO 26. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1953.

Burkard, 'Du kennst doch die Situation der Stadt!' *Alma Mater Philippina* (1995)
Burkard, Günter. 'Du kennst doch die Situation der Stadt!'. Zum Alltag der Nekropolenarbeiter Pharaos, *Alma Mater Philippina, Sommersemester 1995*, 11–15. Marburger Universitätsbund E.V., Marburg, 1995.

Burkard, 'Die Götter gebären', *GM* 169 (1999)
Burkard, Günter. 'Die Götter gebären in diesem Monat': Ostrakon Qurna 633, *GM* 169, 5–15. Göttingen, 1999.

Cabrol, Les boeufs gras de la fête d'Opet, *CRIPEL* 20 (1999)
Cabrol, Agnès. Les boeufs gras de la fête d'Opet: remarques complémentaires sur des animaux d'exception, *CRIPEL* 20, 15–27. Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille, 1999.

Cabrol, Agnes. *Les voies processionelles de Thèbes*. OLA 97. Peeters, Leuven, 2001.

Carter, Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-ra, *JEA* 16 (1916)
Carter, Howard. Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-ra Amenhotep I, discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914, *JEA* 16, 147–154. London, 1916.

Centrone, Behind the Corn-mummies (2005)
Centrone, Maria Constanza. Behind the Corn-mummies, in K. Piquette & S. Love (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2003. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Symposium University College London*, 11–28. Oxbow Books, Oxford 2005.

Černý, *Community* (1973) Černý, Jaroslav. *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period.* Bd'É 50. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1973.

Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927)
Černý, Jaroslav. Le culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers de la necropole thébaine, *BIFAO* 27, 159–203. Le Caire, 1927.

Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936)
Černy, Jaroslav. Datum des Todes Ramses' III. und der Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV., *ZÄS* 72, 109–118. Leipzig, 1936.

Černý, Egyptian Oracles (1962)
Černý, Jaroslav. Egyptian Oracles, in Richard A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Pap. Brooklyn 47.2218.3)*, 35–48. Brown Egyptological Studies, 4. Brown University Press, Providence, 1962.

Černý, *Egyptian Stelae* (1958)
Černý, Jaroslav. *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection*. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1958.

Černý, Une expression négative d'un oracle, *BIFAO* 30 (1930)
Černý, Jaroslav. Une expression désignant la réponse négative d'un oracle, *BIFAO* 30, 491–496. Le Caire, 1930.

Černý, *Graffiti Thébaine* (1956)
Černý, Jaroslav. *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole Thébaine*. DFIFAO 9. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1956.

Černý, *LRL* (1939)
Černý, Jaroslav. *Late Ramesside Letters*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 9. Fondation Égyptologie Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1939.

Černý, Nouvelle série de questions, *BIFAO* 41 (1941)
Černý, Jaroslav. Nouvelle série de questions adressées aux oracles, *BIFAO* 41, 13–24. Le Caire, 1941.

Černý, Origin of Tybi, *ASAE* 43 (1943)
Černý, Jaroslav. The Origin of the Name of the Month Tybi, *ASAE* 43, 173–181. Le Caire, 1943.

Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935)
Černý, Jaroslav. *Ostraca hiératiques Nos 25501–25832. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1935.

Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I etc.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* I *(Nº 1 à 113)*. DFIFAO 3. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1935.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* II *(Nº 114 à 189)*. DFIFAO 4. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1937.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* III *(Nº 190 à 241)*. DFIFAO 5. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1937.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* IV *(Nº 242 à 339)*. DFIFAO 6. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1939.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* V *(Nº 340 à 456)*. DFIFAO 7. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1951.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* [VII] *(Nº 624 à 705)*. DFIFAO 14. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1970.

Černý, *Papyrus Deir el-Médineh* I etc.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh* I. *Cataloque complété et édité par Georges Posener*. DFIFAO 8. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1978.
Černý, Jaroslav. *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh* II. *Cataloque complété et édité par Yvan Koenig*. DFIFAO 22. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1986.

Černý, Papyrus Salt 125, *JEA* 15 (1929)
Černý, Jaroslav. Papyrus Salt 125 (Brit. Mus. 10055), *JEA* 15, 243–288. London, 1929.

Černý, Jaroslav — Philological and Etymological Notes III, *ASAE* 51, 441–446. Le Caire, 1951.

Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949)
Černý, Jaroslav. *Repertoire Onomastique de Deir el-Médineh*. DFIFAO 12. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1949.

Černý, Review of Weill, Études d'Égyptologie, *AfO* 5 (1928–1929)
Černý, Jaroslav. Review of Raymond Weill, Études d'Égyptologie, Peul Geuthner, Paris, 1926. *AfO* 5, 113–114. Berlin, 1928–1929.

Černý, Questions adressées, *BIFAO* 35 (1935)
Černý, Jaroslav. Questions adressées aux oracles, *BIFAO* 35, 41–58. Le Caire, 1935.

Černý, Jaroslav — Some Coptic Etymologies III, *BIFAO* 57, 203–213. Le Caire, 1958.

Černý, Troisième série de questions, *BIFAO* 72 (1972)
Černý, Jaroslav. Troisième série de questions adressées aux oracles, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 49–69. Le Caire, 1972.

Černý, *Valley of the Kings* (1970)
Černý, Jaroslav. *The Valley of the Kings*: *Fragments d'un manuscrit inachevé*. Bd'É 41. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, 1973.

Černý J., Ch. Desroches Noblecourt, and M. Kurz
Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine I: Cartographie et étude topographique illustrée. Centre de Documentation et d'études sur ancienne Égypte, Le Caire 1969–1970.

Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957)
Černý, Jaroslav and Alan H. Gardiner. *Hieratic Ostraca* I. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1957.

Černý, Jaroslav and Sarah Israelit-Groll
A Late Egyptian Grammar. 4th edition. Studia Pohl: Series Maior, 4. Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma, 1993.

Černý, J., A. A. Sadek, and M. Shimy
Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine III. Fac-similés. Centre d'études et de documentation sur l'ancienne Égypte, Le Caire, 1970–1977.

Černý & Sadek, *GMTh* IV (1970)
Černý, J. and A. A. Sadek. *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* IV. *Transcriptions et indices*. Centre d'études et de documentation sur l'ancienne Égypte, Le Caire, 1970.

Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris* (1966–1968)
Chassinat, Émile. *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* I–II. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1966–1968.

Christian, Willian A. — Folk Religion, in Lindsey Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* V, 3150–3153. 2nd ed. Macmillan Reference USA, Detroit, 2005.

Christian, *Local Religion* (1981)
Christian, William A. Jr. *Local Religion in the Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981.

Christophe, Les fêtes agraires, *CHÉ* 7/1 (1955)
Christophe, Louis-A. Les fêtes agraires de calendrier d'Hathor à Edfou, *CHÉ* 7/1, 35–42. Le Caire, 1955.

Clarke, Michael, J. — Akha Feasting, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 144–167. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.

Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire, *Rd'É* 27 (1975)
Clère, J. J. Un Monument de la Religion Populaire de l'Époque Ramesside, *Rd'É* 27, 72–77. Le Caire, 1975.

Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929)
Clère, J. J. Monuments inédits des serviteurs dans la place de vérité, *BIFAO* 28, 173–201. Le Caire, 1929.

Collier, *Dating Ostraca* (2004)
Collier, Mark. *Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca*. EgUit 18. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2004.
Collombert, Philippe Renenoutet et Renenet, *BSÉG* 27, 21–32. Genève, 2005–2007.
Condon, Virginia *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period. Papyrys Turin CG 54031*. MÄS 37. Deutsche Kunstverlag, München, 1978.
Compagno, Marcelo God-kings and King-gods in Ancient Egypt, in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, 237–243. OLA 82. Peeters, Leuven, 1998.
Cooney, *The Cost of Death* (2007)
Cooney, Kathlyn M. *The Cost of Death. The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*. EgUit 22. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2007.
Cooney, An Informal Workshop (2006)
Cooney, Kathlyn M. An Informal Workshop: Textual Evidence for Private Funerary Art Production in the Ramesside Period, in Andreas Dorn & Tobias Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, 43–55. Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 19. Schwabe, Basel, 2006.
Cooney, Profit or Exploitation?, *JEH* 1 (2008)
Cooney, Kathlyn M. Profit or Exploitation? The Production of Private Ramesside Tombs Within the West Theban Funerary Economy, *JEH* 1, 79–115. Leiden, 2008.
Cooney & McClain, The Daily Offering Meal, *JANER* 5 (2005)
Cooney, Kathlyn M and J. Brett McClain. The Daily Offering Meal in the Ritual of Amenhotep I: An Instance of the Local Adaptation of Cult Liturgy, *JANER* 5, 41–78. Leiden, 2005.
Corthals, The Procession of the New Year (2005)
Corthals, Angelique. The Procession of the New Year in the Staircases at Edfu and Dendera, in Alessia Amenta (ed.), *L'Acqua nell'antico Egitto. Proceedings of the First International Conference for Young Egyptologists, Italy, Chainciano Terme, October 15–18, 2003*, 211–219. L'Erma di Bretschneider, Roma, 2005.
Curto, Silvio Standarte, *LÄ* V, 1255–1256. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984.
Daressy, Rituel des offrantes, *ASAE* 17 (1917)
Daressy, M. G. Rituel des offrantes à Amenhotep Ier, *ASAE* 17, 97–122. Le Caire, 1917.
Daressy, *Ostraca Caire* (1901)
Daressy, Georges. *Ostraca Nos. 25001-25385. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1901.
Darnell, John Coleman Hathor Returns to Medamûd, *SAK* 22, 47–94. Hamburg, 1995.
Daumas, François Choiakfeste, *LÄ* I, 958–960. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977.
Daumas, François Hathorfeste, *LÄ* II. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977.
Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999)
Davies, Benedict G. *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina. A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*. EgUit 13. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1999.
Davies, N. de Garis The Graphic work of the Expedition 2. The King as Priest of the Harvest, *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum of Art. Supplement: The Egyptian Expedition 1928–1929*, 41–49. New York, 1929.
Davies, N. de Garis *The tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*. 2 Vols. Publications of Metropolitan Museum of Arts, Egyptian Expedition, 5. Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York, 1930.

Dawson, An Oracle Papyrus, *JEA* 11 (1925)
Dawson, Warren R. An Oracle Papyrus. B.M. 10335, *JEA* 11, 247–248. London, 1925.
Debuydt, Function and Significance, *JEH* 1 (2008)
Debuydt, Leo. Function and Significance of The Ebers Calendar's Lone Feast-Hieroglyph (Gardiner Sign-List W3), *JEH* 1, 117–138. Leiden, 2008.
Deir el-Medina Database http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html.
Deir el Medine online http://www.lmu.de/dem-online.
Demarée, *The ꜣḫ iḳr n Rᶜ-stelae* (1983)
Demarée, Robert J. *The ꜣḫ iḳr n Rᶜ-stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*. EgUit 3. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1983.
Demarée, R. J. *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri.* British Museum Research Publication, 155. British Museum Press, London, 2006.
Demarée, A House is not a Home (2006)
Demarée, Robert J. A House is not a Home – What exactly is a Hut?, in Andreas Dorn & Tobias Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, 57–66. Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 19. Schwabe, Basel, 2006.
Demarée, R. J. More *ꜣḫ iḳr n Rᶜ*-stelae, *BiOr* 43, 348–351. Leiden, 1986.
Demarée, Robert J. *Ramesside Ostraca*. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 2002.
Demarée, Recent Work (1993)
Demarée, R. J. Recent Work on the Administrative Papyri in the Museo Egizio, Turin, in Gian Maria Zaccone & Tomaso Ricardi di Netro (eds.), *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia* II, 101–105. Società Italiana per il Gas p.A., Torino, 1993.
Demarée, R. J. and Jac. J. Janssen (eds.)
Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna. EgUit 1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1982.
Demichelis, Sara *Il calendario delle feste di Montu. Papiro ieratico CGT 54021, verso*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie prima - Monumenti e testi 10. Ministero per i beni e le attivita culturali, Torino, 2002.
Derchain, Phillipe Débris du temple-reposoir d'Aménopis Ier et d'Ahmes Nefertari à Dra' Abou'l Naga', *Kêmi* 19, 17–21. Paris, 1969.
Derchain, Phillipe *Hathor Quatrifons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Ístanbul, 28. Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, Istanbul, 1972.
Derchain, Phillipe Review of Jan Broekhuis, De godin Renenwete, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1971. *Cd'É* 47, 134–138. Le Caire, 1972.
Derchain-Urtel, Maria-Theresia
Die Festbesucher in Esna, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 3–15. ÄAT 33,2. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.
Derchain-Urtel, 'Der Himmel ist festlich...' (1996)
Derchain-Urtel, Maria-Theresia. 'Der Himmel ist festlich...' in Mechthild Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, 34–41. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1996.
Derchain-Urtel, *Thot à travers* (1981)
Derchain-Urtel, Maria-Theresia. *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine*. RitEg 3. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1981.

Dietler, Theorizing the Feast (2001)
Dietler, Michael. Theorizing the Feast. Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 65–114. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.

Dietler & Hayden, Digesting the Feast (2001)
Dietler, Michael and Brian Hayden. Digesting the Feast—Good to Eat, Good to Drink, Good to Think: An Introduction, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 1–20. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.

Dietler, Michael and Ingrid Herbich
Feast and Labor Mobilization: Dissecting a Fundamental Economic Practice, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 240–264. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.

Van Dijk, Hymnen uit het dagelijks tempelritueel (1983)
Van Dijk, Jacobus. Hymnen uit het dagelijks tempelritueel voor de egyptische godin Moet, in K. R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend verleden. Documenten uit het oude nabije oosten vertaald en toegelicht*, 233–246. Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux', 24. Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden, 1983.

Dils, Ptah van de grote poort, *De Scriba* 4 (1996)
Dils, Peter. Ptah van de grote poort. Een aspect van het functioneren van de tempel van Medinet Habu, *De Scriba. Tijdschrift van Egyptologica Vlaanderen* 4, 69–84. Egyptologica Vlaanderen VZW, Leuven, 1996.

Diodorus, *On Egypt*
Diodorus On Egypt. Book I of Diodorus Siculus' Historical Library. Translated by Edwin Murphy. McFarland & Company, Jefferson, 1985.

Donders, C. J. M.
Some Psychological Remarks on Official and Popular Religion, in Pieter Hendrik Vrijhof & Jacques Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion. Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*, 294–322. Religion and Society, 19. Mouton, The Hague, 1979.

Donker van Heel, Use and Meaning of *wꜣḥ mw* (1992)
Donker van Heel, Koenrad. Use and Meaning of the Egyptian Term *wꜣḥ mw*, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Village voices. Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir El-Medîna and their Interpretation' Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991*, 19–30. CNWS publications, 13. Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden, 1992.

Donker van Heel & Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village* (2003)
Donker van Heel, K. and B. J. J. Haring. *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina*. EgUit 16. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2003.

Doresse, Le dieu voilé, *Rd'É* 31 (1979)
Doresse, Marianne. Le dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du debut de la décade, *Rd'É* 31, 36-65. Louvain, 1979.

Dorson, Richard M. (ed.)
African Folklore. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1972.

Drenkhahn, Zur Anwendung Tagewählkalender, *MDAIK* 28 (1972)
Drenkhahn, Rosemarie. Zur Anwendung der 'Tagewählkalender', *MDAIK* 28, 85–94. Mainz, 1972.

Drioton, Etienne
Pages Egyptologie. La Revue du Caire, Cairo, 1957.

Eaton, Festivals of Osiris and Sokar, *SAK* 35 (2006)
Eaton, Katherine J. The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak, *SAK* 35, 75–101. Hamburg, 2006.

Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning* (1995)
Egberts, Arno. *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the* Meret*-chests and Driving the Calves* I: Texts. EgUit 8,1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1995.

Egberts, Mythos und Fest (1998)
Egberts, Arno. Mythos und Fest. Überlegungen zur Dekoration der westlichen Innenseite der Umfassungsmauer im Tempel von Edfu, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 17–29. ÄAT 33,2. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.

Englund, Gifts to the Gods (1987)
Englund, Gertie. Gifts to the Gods – a necessity for the preservation of cosmos and life. Theory and praxis, in Tullia Linders & Gullög Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, 57–66. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis BOREAS, 15. University of Uppsala, Uppsala, 1987.

The Epigraphic Survey, *The Calendar of Ramses III* (1934)
The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu III: The Calendar, the 'Slaughter House,' and Minor Records of Ramses III*. OIP 23. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1934.

The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet* (1994)
The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall, with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*. OIP 112. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1994.

The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (1940)
The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu IV: Festival Scenes of Ramses III*. OIP 51. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1940.

Erman, Denksteine (1986)
Erman, Adolf. Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt, *Akademieschriften 2 (1911–1928)*, 36–60 (= *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1911), 1086–1110). Opuscula, 13. Zentralantiquariat, Leipzig, 1986.

Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III (1911)
Erman, Adolf. *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* III. J.C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1911.

Erman, Monatsnamen, *ZÄS* 39 (1901)
Erman, Adolf. Monatsnamen aus dem neuen Reich, *ZÄS* 39, 128–130. Leipzig, 1901.

Erman, Adolf
Zehn Verträge aus dem Mittleren Reich, *ZÄS* 20, 159–180. Leipzig, 1880.

Erman & Grapow, *WB* I etc.
Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* I (*ꜣ–N*). Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1926.
Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* II (*M–H*). Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1928.
Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* III (*Ḥ–S*). Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1929.
Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* IV (*Ś–Š*). Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1930.
Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* V (*Ḳ–Ḏ)*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1931.

Exell, The Senior Scribe Ramose (2006)
Exell, Karen. The Senior Scribe Ramose (1) and the cult of the king: a social and historical reading of some private stelae from Deir el Medina in the reign of Ramesses II, in Dann (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2004. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium, University of Durham*, 51–67. Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2006.

Fairman, Worship and Festival, *BRL* 37 (1954–1955)
Fairman, H. W. Worship and Festival in an Egyptian Temple, *BRL* 37, 165–203. Manchester, 1954–1955.

Fantecchi & Zingarelli, Singers and Musicians, *GM* 186
Fantecchi, Silvana E. and Andrea P. Zingarelli. Singers and Musicians in New Kingdom Egypt, *GM* 186, 27–35. Göttingen, 2002.

Favard-Meeks, Christine
Behbeit el-Hagara. Le 'temple de la fête' et la famille osirienne, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 123–133. ÄAT 33,2, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.

Feder, Das Ritual *sʿḥʿ kɜ sḫn.t* (1998)
Feder, Frank. Das Ritual *sʿḥʿ kɜ sḫn.t* als Tempelfest des Gottes Min, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 31–54. ÄAT 33,2, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.

Félix & Kurz, *GMTh* II (1970)
Félix, J. and M. Kurz. *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine II: Plans de Position*. Centre d'études et de documentation sur l'ancienne Égypte, Le Caire, 1970.

Finnestad, Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (1998)
Finnestad, Ragnhild Bjerre. Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: Ancient Traditions in New Contexts, in Byron E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 185–237. I.B. Tauris, London, 1998.

Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka* (1986)
Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. *Literarische Ostraka der Ramessidenzeit in Übersetzung*. Kleine Ägyptische Texte [9]. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1986.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner
Rest in Pieces. Fragments of Absence from Work in Deir el-Medina (Pap. Berlin P. 14485 A-C + 14449 C+G; I and 14448), in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD. A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, 101–107. EgUit 14. Leiden, 2000.

Foucart, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée* (1930)
Foucart, M. George. *La Belle Fête de la Vallée ḥb nfr n ỉnt*. Extrait du *BIFAO* 24. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1930.

Foucart, *Le Tombeau d'Amonmos* (1935)
Foucart, M. George. *Tombes thébaines. Nécropole de Dirâ' Abû'n-Naga IV. Le Tombeau d'Amonmos*. MIFAO 57,4. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1935.

Frandsen, Paul John
On Fear of Death and the Three *Bwt*s connected with Hathor, in Emily Teeter & John A. Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, 131–148. SAOC 58. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1999.

Friedman, Aspects of Domestic Life (1994)
Friedman, Florence D. Aspects of Domestic Life and Religion, in Leonard H. Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers. The Villagers of Deir el-Medina*, 95–117. Cornell Unviersity Press, Ithaca, 1994.

Friedman, F.
On the Meaning of Some Anthropoid Busts from Deir el-Medina, *JEA* 71, 82–97. London, 1985.

Gaballa, & Kitchen, Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38 (1969)
Gaballa, G. A. and K. A. Kitchen. The Festival of Sokar, *Or* 38, 1–76. Roma, 1969.
Gabolde, L'Itineraire de la Procession (1992)
Gabolde, Luc. L'Itineraire de la Procession d'Opet, in *Louqsor. Temple du Ka royal*, 25–26. Faton, Dijon, 1992.
Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* I–II (1935)
Gardiner, Alan H. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series, Chester Beatty Gift* Vol. I–II. British Museum, London, 1935.
Gardiner, *LEM* (1937) Gardiner, Alan Henderson. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1937.
Gardiner, Mesore, *ZÄS* 43 (1906)
Gardiner, Alan H. Mesore as the first month of the Egyptian year, *ZÄS* 43, 136–144. Leipzig, 1906.
Gardiner, The Problem, *Rd'É* 10 (1955)
Gardiner, Alan H. The Problem of the Month Names, *Rd'É* 10, 9–31. Paris, 1955.
Gardiner, *RAD* (1968) Gardiner, Alan H. *Ramesside Administrative Documents*. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1968.
Gardiner, Regnal Years, *JEA* 31 (1945)
Gardiner, Alan H. Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt, *JEA* 31, 11–28. London, 1945.
Gardiner, Review of Frazer, The Golden Bough, *JEA* 2 (1915)
Gardiner, A. H. Review of J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris; Studies in the history of oriental religion (3rd edition, revised and enlarged), London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1914. *JEA* 2, 121–126. London, 1915.
Gasse, *Ostraca littéraires Deir el-Médina* IV etc.
Gasse, Annie. *Cataloque des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médina* IV *(Nos 1676 à 1774)*. DFIFAO 25. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1990.
Gasse, Annie. *Cataloque des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir al-Medîna* V *(Nos 1175 à 1873 et 1156)*. DFIFAO 44. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 2005.
Gasse, Annie Une *sbḫt* d'Isis, *BIFAO* 86, 171–175. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1986.
Gauthier, Henri *Les fêtes du dieu Min*. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1931.
Van Gennep, Arnold *Les rites de passage: etude systematique des rites de la porte et du seuil*. Réimpr. Johnsson Reprint Corporation, New York, 1969 [1909].
Germond, Philippe *Sekhmet et la Protection du Monde*. Ægyptiaca Helvetica, 9. Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel, Genève, 1981.
Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* (1983)
Geßler-Löhr, Beatrix. *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischen Tempel. Ein Beitrag zur deutung sakraler Baukunst im alten Ägypten*. HÄB 21. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1983.
Gillam, Robyn A. Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance, *JARCE* 32, 211–237. Princeton, 1995.
Gitton, Michel Ahmose Nofretere, *LÄ* I, 102–109. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975.
Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (1975)
Gitton, Michel. *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume*. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 127 = Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 15. Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1975.

Giveon, A God Who Hears (1982)
Giveon, Raphael. A God Who Hears, in M. Heerma van Voss et al. (eds.), *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, 38–42. Studies in the history of religions, 43. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1982.

Goedicke, Hans and Wente, E. F.
Ostraca Michaelides. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1962.

Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe* (1992)
Göttlicher, Arvid. *Kultschiffe und Schiffskulte im Altertum*. Gebrüder Mann Verlag, Berlin, 1992.

Goody, J. R. 'Against Ritual': Loosely Structured Thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic, in Sally F. Moore & Barbara G. Myerhoff (eds.), *Secular Ritual*, 25–35. Van Gorcum, Assen, 1977.

Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal* (1972)
Goyon, Jean-Claude. *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An [Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50]*. Bd'É, 52. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1972.

Goyon, Fête de Sokaris, *BIFAO* 78 (1978)
Goyon, Jean-Claude. La fête de Sokaris à Edfou à la lumière d'un texte liturgique remontant au Nouvel Empire, *BIFAO* 78, 415–438. Le Caire, 1978.

Goyon, Le feu nouveau (1986)
Goyon, Jean-Claude. Le feu nouveau du jour de l'an a Dendera et Karnak, *Hommages à François Daumas*, 331–344. Université de Montpellier, Montpellier, 1986.

Goyon, Jean-Claude. *Le rituel du sḥtp Sḫmt* (2006)
Goyon, Jean-Claude. *Le rituel du shtp Sḫmt au changement de cycle annuel d'aprés les architraves du temple d'Edfou et textes paralléles, du Nouvel Empire à l'époque ptolémaque et romain*. Bd'É 141. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 2006.

Goyon, Sur une formule, *BIFAO* 74 (1974)
Goyon, Jean-Claude. Sur une formule des rituels de conjuration des dangers de l'année, in *BIFAO* 74, 75–83. Le Caire, 1974.

Graefe, Erhart Talfest, *LÄ* VI, 187–189. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1986.

Graindorge, Catherine Les oignon de Sokar, *Rd'É* 43, 87–105. Louvain, 1992.

Graindorge, La quête de la lumière, *JEA* 82 (1996)
Graindorge, Catherine. La quête de la lumière au mois de Khoiak, *JEA* 82, 83–105. London, 1996.

Graindorge, Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope (2003)
Graindorge, Catherine. Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope: Metamorphosen eines Ritus, in Carola Metzner-Nebelsick *et al.* (eds.), *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart. Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 37–45. Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rahden/Westfalen, 2003.

Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar* (1994)
Graindorge-Héreil, Catherine. *Le Dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire I–II*. Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten, 28. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1994.

Grandet, Pierre L'exécution du chancelier Bay. O. IFAO 1864, *BIFAO* 100, 339–345. Le Caire, 2000.

Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* VIII–X
Grandet, Pierre. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médîneh* VIII *(Nº 706 à 830)*. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 2000.
Grandet, Pierre. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médîneh* IX *(Nº 831 à 1000)*. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 2003.
Grandet, Pierre. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médîneh* X *(Nº 10001–10123)*. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 2006.
Grandet, Ouvriers et 'esclaves' de Deir el-Medina (2000)
Grandet, Pierre. Ouvriers et 'esclaves' de Deir el-Medina. Quatre ostraca inédits de l'IFAO, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD. A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, 121–127. EgUit 14. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2000.
Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994)
Grandet, Pierre. *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)* II. Bd'É 109/2. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1994.
Grandet, Pierre *Ramsès III. Histoire d'une regne*. Pygmalion / Gérard Watelet, Paris, 1993.
Grandet, Travaux, grèves et personnages (2003)
Grandet, Pierre. Travaux, grèves et personnages célèbres aux XIXe et XXe dynastie, in Guillemette Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: La vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002*, 209–233. [Conférences et colloques du Louvre.] Editions Khéops-musée du Louvre, Paris, 2003.
Green, Lyn Feasting with Tutankhamen. Fine Dining in the Late-18th Dynasty, *K.M.T.* 13/4, 58–69. San Francisco, 2002–2003.
Green, Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets (2004)
Green, Lyn. Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets at the Court of Akhenaten and in the Ancient Near East, in Gary N. Knoppers & Antoine Hirsch (eds.), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World. Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, 203–222. PAe 20. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 2004.
Grimes, *Research in Ritual Studies* (1985)
Grimes, Ronald L. *Research in Ritual Studies: a programmatic essay and bibliography*. American Theological Library Association, Metuchen, 1985.
Grimm, *Festkalender* (1994)
Grimm, Alfred. *Die altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*. ÄAT 15. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1994.
Grimm, Alfred Festduft für Menschen und Götter, in Sylvia Schoske (ed.), *Schönheit, Abglanz der Göttlichkeit. Kosmetik im alten Ägypten*, 32–39. Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München, 1990.
Guglielmi, Waltraud Die Funktion von Tempeleingang und Gegentempel als Gebetsort. Zur Deutung einiger Widder- und Gansstelen des Amun, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm (akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992)*, 55–68. HÄB 37. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1994.
Gundlach, Rolf Tempelfeste und Etappen der Königsherrschaft in der 18. Dynastie, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 55–75. ÄAT 33,2, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.
Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* I (1983)
Gutgesell, Manfred. *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation I: Die 20. Dynastie.* Band 1–2. HÄB 18–19. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1983.

Gutgesell, *Die Datierung* II (2002)
Gutgesell, Manfred. *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el Medineh II: Die Ostraka der 19. Dynastie*. HÄB 44. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 2002.

Györi, Hedvig
Une amulette-ouadj surmontée d'une figure de chatte, in Ferenc Pölöskei (ed.), *Studia in honorem L. Fóti*, 129–138. Studia Aegyptiaca, 12. Schiff-Giorgin, Budapest, 1989.

Habachi, *Features of the Deification* (1969)
Habachi, Labib. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, 5. J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt, 1969.

Hagen, The Prohibitions, *JEA* 91 (2005)
Hagen, Fredrik. The Prohibitions: A New Kingdom Didactic Text, *JEA* 91, 145–164. London. 2005.

Hagen & Koefoed, Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina, *ARC*, 20.2 (2005)
Hagen, Fredrik and Henriette Koefoed. Private Feasts at Deir el-Medina. Aspects of Eating and Drinking in an Ancient Egyptian Village, *ARC*, 20.2 (Sarah Ralph (ed.), *Issues of Food and Drink. An Interdiciplinary Approach*), 6–31. Cambridge, 2005.

Haikal, Fayza
Preliminary Studies on the Tomb of Thay in Thebes: the Hymn to the Light, in Paule Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* I, 361–372. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1985.

Haikal, *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin* II (1972)
Haikal, Fayza Mohammed Hussein. *Two Hieratic Papyri of Nesmin*, Part II. *Translation and Commentary*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 15. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1972.

Haring, *Divine Households* (1997)
Haring, B. J. J. *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*. EgUit 12. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1997.

Haring, From Oral Practice to Written Record, *JESHO* 46 (2003)
Haring, Ben. From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir el-Medina, *JESHO* 46, 249–272. Leiden, 2003.

Haring, Ben
Hieratic Varia, *JEA* 90,215–221. London, 2004.

Haring, Libyans (1992)
Haring, B. Libyans in the Late Twentieth Dynasty, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Village voices. Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir el-Medîna and their Interpretation', Leiden, May 31 – June 1, 1991*, 71–80. CNWS Publications, 13. Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden, 1992.

Haring, Die Opferprozessionsszenen (1995)
Haring, Ben J. J. Die Opferprozessionsszenen in Medinet Habu und Abydos, in Wolfgang Waitkus & Susanne Woodhouse (eds.), *Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration. 3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Hamburg 1.–5. Juni 1994*, 73–89. ÄAT 33,1. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1995.

Haring, Scribes and Scribal Activity (2006)
Haring, Ben J. J. Scribes and Scribal Activity at Deir el-Medina, in Andreas Dorn & Tobias Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, 107–112. Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 19. Schwabe, Basel, 2006.

Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity* (2004)
Hartwig, Melinda. *Tomb Painting and Identity in Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca, 10. Fondation Égyptologie Reine Élisabeth / Brebols, Bruxelles, 2004.

Hayden, Fabulous Feasts (2001)
Hayden, Brian. Fabulous Feasts: A Prolegomenon to the Importance of Feasting, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 23–64. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C., 2001.

Hayden, Brian
Feasting in Prehistoric and Traditional Societies, in Polly Wiessner & Wulf Schiefelhövel (eds.), *Food and the Status Quest: an interdisciplinary perspective*, 127–147. Berghahn, Providence, 1996.

Helck, Wolfgang
Ahmesnofretare als Mittlerin, *ZÄS* 83, 89–91. Berlin, 1958.

Helck, Wolfgang
Das Beer im Alten Ägypten. Gesellschaft für die Geschichte und Bibliographie des Brauwesens E. V., Berlin, 1971.

Helck, Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten (1959)
Helck, Wolfgang. Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich, *Studia Biblica et Orientalia III, Oriens Antiquus*, 113–129. Analecta Biblica Investigationes Scientificae in Res Biblicas, 12. Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Roma, 1959.

Helck, *Die datierten* (2002)
Helck, Wolfgang. *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*. Bearbeitet von Adelheid Schlott. ÄA 63. Wiesbaden, 2002.

Helck, Wolfgang
Drei Ramessidische Daten, *SAK* 17, 205–212. Hamburg, 1990.

Helck, Ein früher Beleg, *SAK* 18 (1991)
Helck, Wolfgang. Ein früher Beleg für eine Kultgenossenschaft?, *SAK* 18, 233–240. Hamburg, 1991.

Helck, Wolfgang
Erneut das Angebliche Sothis-Datum des Pap. Ebers und die Chronologie der 18. Dynastie, *SAK* 15, 149–164. Hamburg, 1988.

Helck, Feiertage, *JESHO* 7 (1964)
Helck, Wolfgang. Feiertage und Arbeitstage in der Ramessidenzeit, *JESHO* 7, 136–166. Leiden, 1964.

Helck, Wolfgang
Feiertage, *LÄ* II, 145. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977.

Helck, Wolfgang
'Klettern für Min', *LÄ* III, 454–455. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1980.

Helck, Wolfgang
Rituale, *LÄ* V, 271–285. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984.

Helck, *Urk*. IV (1955–1958)
Helck, Wolfgang. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 5–7. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 4. J. C. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1955–1958.

Helck, Wolfgang
Eine Zahlungsquittung, *ZÄS* 111, 6–10. Berlin, 1984.

Helck, Zu Ptah und Sokar (1991)
Helck, Wolfgang. Zu Ptah und Sokar, in Ursula Verhoeven (ed.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinen 65. Geburtstag am 24 Juli 1991*, 159–164. OLA 39. Peeters, Leuven, 1991.

Helck, Zur Chronologie Amenophis I (1968)
Helck, Wolfgang. Zur Chronologie Amenophis I, in Wolfgang Helck (ed.), *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967*, 71–72. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1968.

Helck, Wolfgang
Zur Geschichte der 19. und 20. Dynastie, *ZDMG* 105, 27–52. Leipzig, 1955.

Helck, Wolfgang, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhard Westendorf (eds.)
Tageskalender, *LÄ* VII, 735–740. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992.

Hermann, Alfred
Altägyptische Liebesdichtung. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1959.

Hermann, Alfred
Das Kind und seine Hüterin, *MDIK* 8, 171–176. Augsburg, 1939.

Herodotus
The History. Translated by David Grene, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987.

Hieroglyphic Texts V etc.
Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum V. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1914.
Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum VI. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1922.
Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum VII. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1925.
Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum IX. Edited by T. G. H. James. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1970.
Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum X. Edited by M. L. Bierbrier. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1982.
Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum XII. Edited by M. L. Bierbrier. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1993.

Hodjash, Svetlana and Oleg Berlev
The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Aurora Art Publishers, Leningrad, 1982.

Hoenes, Sigrid-Eike *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet*. Habelts Dissertationsdrucke reihe Ägyptologie, 1. Habelt, Bonn, 1976.

Hollender, Gabi (ed.) *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumen Kultes anhand der Privatgräber des thebanischen Nekropole*. Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abt. Kairo, 23. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2009.

Hollender, Gabi Eine Votivstele für Amenophis I. im Nationalmuseum Athen, in Andreas Brodbeck (ed.), *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel: ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung aus seinem Schülerkreis*, 85–91. Gebrüder Mann, Berlin, 1998.

Hori, Ichori *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1968.

Hornung, Erik and Othmar Keel (eds.)
Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren. OBO 28. Universitätsverlag, Freiburg, 1979.

Hornung, Erik and Elisabeth Staehelin
Studien zum Sedfest. Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 1. Éditions de Belles-Lettres, Gèneve, 1974.

Hovestreydt, A Letter to the King, *LingAeg* 5 (1995)
Hovestreydt, Willem. A Letter to the King Relating to the Foundation of a Statue (P. Turin 1879 vso.), *LingAeg* 5, 107–121. Göttingen, 1997.

Jansen-Winkeln, Karl Bezeichnung und Funktion einer Situla, *DE* 32, 57–62. Oxford, 1995.

Jansen-Winkeln, Karl Ein politisches Orakel, *VA* 9, 7–14. San Antonio, 1993.

Janssen, Absence, *SAK* 8 (1980)
Janssen, Jac. J. Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes, *SAK* 8, 127–152. Hamburg, 1980.

Janssen, An Allusion, *GM* 10 (1974)
Janssen, Jac. J. An Allusion to a Wedding Ceremony, *GM* 10, 25–28. Göttingen, 1974.

Janssen, Carrying Torches (1995)
Janssen, Jac. J. Carrying Torches, in Terence DuQuesne (ed.), *Hermes Aegyptiacus. Egyptological studies for B. H. Stricker on his 85th birthday*, 115–121. Discussions in Egyptology Special Number, 2. DE Publications, Oxford, 1995.

Janssen, *Commodity Prices* (1975)
Janssen, Jac. J. *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1975.

Janssen, A Curious Error, *BIFAO* 84 (1984)
Janssen, Jac. J. A Curious Error (O. IFAO. 1254), *BIFAO* 84, 303–306. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1984.
Janssen, The Daily Bread, *BES* 13 (1997)
Janssen, Jac. J. The Daily Bread. A Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet, *BES* 13, 15–38. New York, 1997.
Janssen, Jac. J. The Day the Inundation Began, *JNES* 46, 129–136. Chicago, 1987.
Janssen, Donkeys (2005) Janssen, Jac. J. *Donkeys at Deir el-Medîna*. EgUit 19. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2005
Janssen, Gift-giving, *JEA* 68 (1982)
Janssen, Jac. J. Gift-giving in Ancient Egypt as an Economic Feature, *JEA* 68, 253–258. London, 1982.
Janssen, *LRL* (1991) Janssen, Jac. J. *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 6. Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1991.
Janssen, Literacy and Letters (1992)
Janssen, Jac. J. Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Village voices. Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir El-Medîna and their Interpretation' Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991*, 81–94. CNWS publications, 13. Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden, 1992.
Janssen, The Mission of the Scribe Pesiur (1982)
Janssen, Jac. J. The Mission of the Scribe Pesiur, in R. J. Demarée & Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 133–147. EgUit 1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1982.
Janssen, Requisitions, *JEA* 77 (1991)
Janssen, Jac. J. Requisitions from Upper Egyptian Temples (P. BM EA 10401), *JEA* 77, 79–92. London, 1991.
Janssen, Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus, *JEA* 52 (1966)
Janssen, Jac. J. A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin no. Cat. 1907/8), *JEA* 52, 81–94. London, 1966.
Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961)
Janssen, Jac. J. *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs: Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008*. Supplement to Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 42. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1961.
Janssen, Two Personalities (1982)
Janssen, Jac. J. Two Personalities, in R. J. Demarée & Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 109–131. EgUit 1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1982.
Janssen, Jac. J. An Unusual Donation Stela of the Twentieth Dynasty, *JEA* 69, 64–70. London, 1963.
Janssen, *Village varia* (1997)
Janssen, Jac. J. *Village varia. Ten studies on the history and administration of Deir el-Medina*, EgUit 11. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1997.
Janssen & Pestman, Burial and Inheritance, *JESHO* 11 (1968)
Janssen J. J. and P. W. Pestman. Burial and Inheritance in the Community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes (Pap. Bulaq X and O. Petrie 16), *JESHO* 11, 137–170. Leiden, 1968.
Jauhiainen, Religious Buildings (2009)
Jauhiainen, Heidi. Religious Buildings in Deir el-Medina, in René Preys (ed.), *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Structuring Religion, Leuven, 28. September – 1. Oktober 2005*, 151–161. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen, 3,2. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2009.

Jiménez Serrano, *Royal Festivals* (2002)
Jiménez Serrano, Alejandro. *Royal Festivals in the Late Predynastic period and the First Dynasty*. British Archaeological Reports, International series, 1076. Archaeopress, Oxford, 2002.

Johnson, David, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski (eds.)
Popular Culture in Late Imperial China. Studies in China, 4. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1985.

Jourdain, *La tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet* (1939)
Jourdain, G. *Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh II: La tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet*. MIFAO 73. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1939.

Kaiser, Werner — Zur Büste als einer Darstellungsform ägyptischer Rundplastik, *MDAIK* 46, 269–285. Mainz, 1990.

Kákosy, László — Orakel, *LÄ* IV, 600–606. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982.

Kaper, Olaf E. — Queen Nefertari and the Frog. On an Amphibious Element in the Vignette to BD 94, *BACE* 13, 109–126. Sydney, 2002.

Karkowski, Beautiful Feast of the Valley Representations (1976)
Karkowski, J. The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley Representations in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari, in Walter F. Reineke (ed.), *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology. Cairo October 2–10, 1976*, 359–364. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, 14. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin, 1979.

Keimer, Ludwig — *Sur un certain nombre d'ostraca figurés, de plaquettées, etc., provenant de la nécropole thébaine et encore inédits*. Études d'Égyptologie, 1. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1940.

Keith-Bennett, J. L. — Anthropoid Busts: II. Not From Deir el-Medineh Alone, *BES* 3, 43–72. New York, 1981.

Keller, Cathleen — Some Thoughts on Religious Change at Deir el-Medina, in Sue H. d'Auria (ed.), *Servants of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzani*, 149–154. PAe 28. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 2008.

Keller, C. A. — Speculations Concerning Interconnections Between the Royal Policy and Reputation of Ramesses IV, in D. P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, 145–157. SAOC 55. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1994.

Kirch, Patrick V. — Polynesian Feasting in Ethnohistoric, Ethnographic, and Archaeological Contexts: A Comparison of Three Societies, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 168–184. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. — Barke, *LÄ* I, 619–625. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. — Festkalender, *LÄ* II, 191–192. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977.

Kitchen, *KRI* I etc.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* I. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1975.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* II. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1979.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* III. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1980.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* IV. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1982.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* V. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* VI. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.
Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* VII. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989.

Koenig, Nouveaux textes, *BIFAO* 88 (1988)
Koenig, Yvan. Nouveaux textes Hiératiques de la Vallée des Reines (I). *BIFAO* 88, 113–129. Le Caire, 1988.
Koenig, Les ostraca hiératiques, *Rd'É* 42 (1991)
Koenig, Yvan. Les ostraca hiératiques du Musée du Louvre, *Rd'É* 42, 95–116. Paris, 1991.
Koenig, *Les Ostraca Strasbourg* (1997)
Koenig, Yvan. *Les ostraca hiératiques inédits de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg*. DFIFAO 33. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1997.
Koltsida, Birth-Bed, Sitting Place, Erotic Corner or Domestic Altar?, *SAK* 35 (2006)
Koltsida, Aikaterini. Birth-Bed, Sitting Place, Erotic Corner or Domestic Altar? A Study of the so-called 'Elevated Bed' in Deir el-Medina Houses, *SAK* 35, 165–173. Hamburg, 2006.
Kormyscheva, Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel (1998)
Kormyscheva, Eleonora. Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 77–89. ÄAT 33,2, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.
Krauss, Korrekturen, GM 70 (1984)
Krauss, Rolf. Korrekturen und Ergänzungen zur Chronologie der MR und NR - eine Zwischenbericht -, *GM* 70, 37–43. Göttingen, 1984.
Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (1985)
Krauss, Rolf. *Sothis- und Monddaten. Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie Altägyptens*. HÄB 20. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1985.
Krauss, Rolf Talfestdaten – eine Korrektur, *GM* 54, 53. Göttingen, 1982.
Krauss, Rolf Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse: Nachträge, *SAK* 24, 161–177. Hamburg, 1997.
Krauss, Wenn und Aber, *GM* 162 (1998)
Krauss, Rolf. Wenn und Aber: Das Wag-Fest und die Chronologie des Alten Reiches, *GM* 162, 53–63. Göttingen, 1998.
Krauss, Zur historischen Einordnung, *GM* 45 (1981)
Krauss, Rolf. Zur historischen Einordnung Amenmesse und zur Chronologie der 19./20. Dynastie, *GM* 45, 27–34. Göttingen, 1981.
Kruchten, Jean-Marie L'Année où la fête d'Opet n'eut pas lieu en Paophi, *JEA* 77, 182–184. London 1991.
Kruchten, *Le grand text oraculaire* (1986)
Kruchten, Jean-Marie. *Le grand text oraculaire de Djéhoutymose, intendant du domaine d'Amon sou le pontificat de Pinodjem II*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth, 5. Fondation Égyptologie Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1986.
Kruchten, Un oracle d'Amenhotep du village (2000)
Kruchten, Jean-Marie. Un oracle d''Amenhotep du village' sous Ramsès III. Ostracon Gardiner 103, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD. A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, 209–216. EgUit 14. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2000.
Kruchten, Une stèle signée dédiée à Amenophis Ier et Ahmès Néfertari (1990)
Kruchten, Jean-Marie. Une stèle signée dédiée à Amenophis Ier et Ahmès Néfertari divinisés, in Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology: Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* 2, 646–652. Magnes Press, Jerusalem, 1990.
Kruchten, Jean-Maire La terminologie de la consultation de l'oracle de l'Amon thébain à la troisième période intermédiaire, in Jean-Georges Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourgh 15-17 juin 1995*, 55–64. Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le proche-orient et la grèce antiques, 15. De Boccard, Paris, 1997.

Kucharek, Andrea Die frühe Persönliche Frömmigkeit im Fest. Über ein Lied in Gebel es-Silsilah, *GM* 176, 77–80. Göttingen, 2000.

Kurth, Die Reise der Hathor (1994)
Kurth, Dieter. Die Reise der Hathor von Dendera nach Edfu, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm (akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992)*, 211–216. HÄB 37. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1994.

Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel
Montaillou: village occitan de 1294 à 1324. Éditions Gallimard, Paris, 1978.

Leibovitch, Gods of Agriculture, *JNES* 12 (1953)
Leibovitch, Joseph. Gods of Agriculture and Welfare in Ancient Egypt, *JNES* 12, 73–113. Chicago, 1953.

Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter* I etc.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen I. OLA 110. Peeters, Leuven, 2002.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* II. OLA 111. Peeters, Leuven, 2002.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* III. OLA 112. Peeters, Leuven, 2002.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* IV. OLA 113. Peeters, Leuven, 2002.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* V. OLA 114. Peeters, Leuven, 2002.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* VI. OLA 115. Peeters, Leuven, 2002.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* VII. OLA 116. Peeters, Leuven, 2002.
Leitz, Christian (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* VIII. OLA 129. Peeters, Leuven, 2003.

Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989)
Leitz, Christian. *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*. ÄA 49. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1989.

Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (1994)
Leitz, Christian. *Tagewählerei. Das buch ḥꜣt nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏt und verwandte Texte*. Textband. ÄA 55. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1994.

Leitz, *Tagewählerei. Tafelband* (1994)
Leitz, Christian. *Tagewählerei. Das buch ḥꜣt nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏt und verwandte Texte*. Tafelband. ÄA 55. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1994.

Lepsius, *Denkmäler Tafelband* III (1849–1859)
Lepsius, Carl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien*. Tafeltband III. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1849–1859.

Lepsius, *Denkmäler Textband* III (1897–1913)
Lepsius, Carl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien*. Textband III. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1897–1913.

Von Lieven, Alexandra Divination in Ägypten, *AoF* 26, 77–126. Berlin, 1999.

Von Lieven, Kleine Beiträge zur Amenophis' I. I., *Rd'É* 51 (2000)
Von Lieven, Alexandra. Kleine Beiträge zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis' I. I. Amenophis I auf Schildförmigen Mumienamuletten, *Rd'É* 51, 103–114. Louvain, 2000.

Von Lieven, Kleine Beiträge zur Amenophis' I. II., *ZÄS* 12 (2001)
Von Lieven, Alexandra. Kleine Beiträge zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis' I. II. Der Amenophis-Kult nach dem Ende des Neuen Reiches, *ZÄS* 128, 41–64. Berlin, 2001.

Von Lieven, Wein, Weib und Gesang (2003)
Von Lieven, Alexandra. Wein, Weib und Gesang – Rituale für die Gefärliche Göttin, in Carola Metzner-Nebelsick et al. (eds.), *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart. Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 47–55. Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rahden/Westfalen, 2003.

Lichtheim, Miriam
Didactic Literature, in Antonio Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Form*, 243–262. PAe 10. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1996.

Lichtheim, Miriam
Moral Values in Ancient Egypt. OBO 155. Universitätsverlag, Freiburg, 1997.

Long, Popular Religion (2005)
Long, Charles H. Popular Religion, in Lindsey Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* XI, 7324–7333. 2nd ed. Macmillan Reference USA, Detroit, 2005.

López, *Ostraca ieratici* I etc.
López, Jesús. *Ostraca ieratici N 57001–57092*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie seconda – Collezioni, 3, Fascicolo 1. Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, Milano, 1978.
López, Jesús. *Ostraca ieratici N 57093–57319*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie seconda – Collezioni, 3, Fascicolo 2. Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, Milano, 1980.
López, Jesús. *Ostraca ieratici N 57320–57449*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie seconda – Collezioni, 3, Fascicolo 3. Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, Milano, 1982.
López, Jesús. *Ostraca ieratici N 57450–57568*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie seconda – Collezioni, 3, Fascicolo 4. Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, Milano, 1984.

Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992)
Luft, Ulrich. *Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun*. Veröffentlichungen der Ägyptischen Kommission, 2. Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1992.

Luft, The Date of WAgy (1994)
Luft, Ulrich. The Date of the *Wꜣgy* Feast, in Anthony J. Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time. Studies in the Ancient Egyptian Calendrics*, 39–44. VA(S) 6. Van Siclen Books, San Antonio, 1994.

Luft, Noch einmal Ebers, *GM* 92 (1986)
Luft, Ulrich. Noch einmal zum Ebers-kalender, *GM* 92, 69–77. Göttingen, 1986.

Maline, Notes juridiques, *BIFAO* 46 (1947)
Maline, M. Notes juridiques (À propos de l'ouvrage de E. Seidl), *BIFAO* 46, 93–123. Le Caire, 1947.

Manniche, Beginning of the Festival Calendar (1985)
Manniche, Lise. The Beginning of the Festival Calendar in the Tomb of Neferhotep (No. 50) at Thebes, in Paule Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II, 105–108. Bd'É 97. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1985.

Manniche, *Music and Musicians* (1991)
Manniche, Lise. *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*. British Museum, London, 1991.

Manniche, Reflections on Banquet Scene (1997)
Manniche, Lise. Reflections on the Banquet Scene, in Roland Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture égyptienne ancienne . Un monde de signes à préserver. Actes du Colloque International de Bruxelles*, 29–36. Monumenta Aegyptiaca, 7. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1997.

Manniche, The so-called scene of daily life (2003)
Manniche, Lise. The so-called scene of daily life in the private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: An Overview, in John H. Taylor & Nigel Strudwick (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, 42–45. British Museum Press, London, 2003.

Mariette, *Les papyrus egyptiéns* (1871)
Mariette, August. *Les papyrus egyptiéns de Musée de Boulaq: publiés en fac-simile sous les auspices de S. A. Ismaïl-Pacha, khedive d'Égypte* I. Mourés, Paris, 1871.

Marciniak, Marek — Encore sur la Belle Fête de la Vallée, *ÉT* 5, 54–64. Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie der Sciences,11. PWN - Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, Warszawa, 1971.

Marciniak, Marek — Quelques remarques sur la formule IR NFR, IR NFR, *ÉT* 2, 25–31. Warszawa, 1968.

Martin, Karl — Sedfest, *LÄ* V, 782–790. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1984.

Massart, The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus, *MDAIK* 15 (1957)
Massart, Adhémar. The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274, *MDAIK* 15, 172–185. Wiesbaden, 1957.

Maurer, Michael (ed.) — *Das Fest. Beiträge zu seiner Theorie und Systematik*. Böhlau, Köln, 2004.

Maurer, Michael — Zur Systematik des Festes; in Michael Maurer (ed.), *Das Fest. Beiträge zu seiner Theorie und Systematik*, 55–80. Böhlau, Köln, 2004.

Mauss, *The Gift* [1925] — Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Translation of Essai sur le don by Ian Cunnison. Norton, New York, 1967 [1925].

McDowell, Awareness of the Past (1992)
McDowell, A. G. Awareness of the Past in Deir el-Medîna, in R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), *Village voices. Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir El-Medîna and their Interpretation' Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991*, 95–109. CNWS publications, 13. Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden, 1992.

McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca Glasgow* (1993)
McDowell, A. G. *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (The Colin Campbell Ostraca)*. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1993.

McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990)
McDowell, A. G. *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medîna*. EgUit 5. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1990.

McDowell, *Village Life* (1999)
McDowell, A. G. *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.

Meyer, Festlieder zum Auszug Gottes (1998)
Meyer, Sibylle. Festlieder zum Auszug Gottes, in Rolf Gundlach & Matthias Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 135–142. ÄAT 33,2, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.

Merkelbach, *Isisfeste* (1963)
Merkelbach, Reinhold. *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischen Zeit. Daten und Riten*. Beiträge zur Klassisen Philologie, 5. Anton Hain, Meisenheim am Glan, 1963.

Métraux, G. S. — Editorial: Of Feasts and Carnivals…, in *Festivals and Carnivals: The Major Traditions*, 7–10. Cultures 3:1. Unesco, Paris, 1976.

Mikalson, Jon D. — *Athenian Popular Religion*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983.

Mikhail, The Festival of Sokar, *GM* 82 (1984)
Mikhail, L. B. The Festival of Sokar. An Episode of the Osirian Khoiak Festival, *GM* 82, 25–44. Göttingen, 1984.

Mikhail, Raising the Djed-pillar, *GM* 83 (1984)
Mikhail, L. B. Raising the Djed-pillar. The Last day of the Osirian Khoiak Festival, *GM* 83, 51–69. Göttingen, 1984.
Minas, Martina — Die Ptolemäischen Sokar-Osiris-Mumien, *MDAIK* 62, 197–213. Mainz, 2006.
Moens, The Procession of Min, *SAK* 12 (1985)
Moens, Marie-Francine. The Procession of the God Min to the *ḥtjw*-garden, *SAK* 12, 61–73. Hamburg, 1985.
Mohamed El Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship* (2008)
Mohamed El Shazly, Yasmin. *Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom*. Unpublished dissertation, Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, 2008.
Monteith, W. Graham — The Constructive Use of 'Vernacular Religion', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59, 413–426. Cambridge, 2006.
Mostafa, Lieux saints populaires, *DE* 29 (1994)
Mostafa, Doha. Lieux saints populaires dans l'Egypte ancienne, *DE* 29, 87–98. Oxford, 1994.
Mullen, Patrick B. — Belief and the American Folk, *The Journal of American Folklore* 113, 119–143. Washington, 2000.
Mullen, Patrick B. — Folklore, in Lindsey Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* V, 3141–3149. 2nd ed. Macmillan Reference USA, Detroit, 2005.
Muhs, Brian — Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis, *JESHO* 44, 1–21. Leiden, 2001.
Murnane, William J. — La Grande Fete d'Opet, in *Louqsor. Temple du Ka royal*, 20–23. Faton, Dijon, 1992.
Murnane, William J. — Opetfest, *LÄ* IV, 574–579. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1982.
Muszynski, Michel — Les 'associations religieuses' en Égypte d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques, OLP 8, 145–178. Leuven, 1977.
Muszynski, Michel — P. Turin Cat. 2070/154. *OrAnt* 16, 183–200. Rome, 1977.
Naguib, The Beautiful Feast (1991)
Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal. The Beautiful Feast of the Valley, in Roald Skarsten, Else Johansen Kleppe & Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad (eds.), *Understanding and History in Arts and Sciences*, 21–32. Acta Humaniora Universitatis Bergensis,1. Solum, Oslo, 1991.
Negm, Maged — The Offering Table of Djehuty-her-mekat-ef in the Cairo Museum, *DE* 51, 47–52. Oxford, 2001.
Nelson, The Calendar at Medinet Habu (1934)
Nelson, Harold H. The Calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu, in Harold H. Nelson & Uvo Hölscher (eds.), *Work in Western Thebes 1931–33*, 1–63. OIC 18. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1934.
Nelson, Certain Reliefs at Karnak, *JNES* 8 (1949)
Nelson, Harold H. Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I, *JNES* 8, 201–232, 310–345. Chicago, 1949.
Nims, Charles F. — An Oracle Dated in 'the Repeating of Births', *JNES* 7, 157–162. Chicago, 1948.
Nims, Charles F. — Review of Richard A. Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Pap. Brooklyn 47.2218.3), Brown Egyptological Studies, 4, Brown University Press, Providence, 1962. *JNES* 27, 76–77. Chicago, 1968.
Noberasco, *Analisi statistica* (1977)
Noberasco, Giorgio. *Analisi statistica di alcuni documenti di carattere religioso provenienti da Deir el Medina.* Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Seconda - Collezioni 1 - Appendice. G. Giappichelli, Torino 1977.

Noberasco, Gli dei, *OrAnt* 20 (1981)
Noberasco, Giorgio. Gli dei a Deir el Medina (Studi su Deir el Medina, 2), *OrAnt* 20, 259–275. Roma, 1981.

Obelkevich, James *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825–1875*. Clarendon, Oxford, 1976.

Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress* (2005)
Onstine, Suzanne Lynn. *The Role of the Chantress in Ancient Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports, 1401. Hadrian Books, Oxford, 2005.

Otto, Eberhard *Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens, 16. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1952.

Overmyer, Daniel L. *Folk Buddhist Religion: dissenting sects in late traditional China*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1976.

Parker, *Calendars* (1950) Parker, Richard A. *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*. SAOC 26. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1950.

Parker, Richard A. The Problem of the Month Names: A Reply, *Rd'É* 11, 85–107. Paris, 1957.

Parodie, Feasting for Prosperity (2001)
Parodie, James R. Feasting for Prosperity: A Study of Southern Northwest Coast Feasting, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 185–214. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.

Peden, *Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt* (2001)
Peden, Alexander J. *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt. Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100–332 BC)*. PAe 70. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 2001.

Peet, Ship's Log, *BIFAO* 30 (1931)
Peet, T. Eric. An Ancient Egyptian Ship's Log, *BIFAO* 30, 481–490. Le Caire, 1931.

Pestman, P. W. Who were the Owners, in the 'Community of Workmen', of the Chester Beatty Papyri, in R. J. Demarée & Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna, 155–172. EgUit 1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1982.

Peterson, Bengt E. J. *Zeihnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt eimem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung*. Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin, 7–8. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, 1973.

Petrie Museum Online Catalogue
http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk.

Van der Plas, The Veiled Image of Amenapet (1987)
Van der Plas, Dirk. The Veiled Image of Amenapet, in Dirk van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies Dei: essays on the history of religions*, 1–12. Studies in the History of Religion, 51. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1987.

Van der Plas, 'Voir' dieu, *BSFÉ* 115 (1989)
Van der Plas, Dirk. 'Voir' dieu. Quelques observations au sujet de la fonction des sens dans le culte et la dévotion de l'Égypte ancienne, *BSFÉ* 115, 4–35. Paris, 1989.

Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* II (1876)
Pleyte, W. and F. Rossi. *Papyrus de Turin* II: Planches. Koninklijke Brill, Leide, 1876.

Plutarch *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*. Edited with an introduction, translation and commentary by J. Gwyn Griffiths. University of Wales Press, Cambridge, 1970.

Polz, Daniel *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*. Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, 31. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007.

Porceddu et al., Evidence of Periodicity, *CAJ* 18 (2008)
Porceddu, Sebastian, Lauri Jetsu, Tapio Markkanen, and Jaana Toivari-Viitala. Evidence of Periodicity in Ancient Egyptian Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days, *CAJ* 18, 327–339. Cambridge, 2008.

Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I².1 etc.
Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I part 1. Second revised edition. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1960
Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I part 2. Second revised edition. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1973.
Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* II. Second revised edition. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1972.

Posener, *Ostraca littéraires Deir el Médineh* I etc.
Posener, Georges. *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* I (Nos 1001 à 1108). DFIFAO 1. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1938.
Posener, Georges. *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* II, 1 (Nos 1109 à 1167). DFIFAO 18, fascicule 1. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1951.
Posener, Georges. *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* II, 2 (Nos 1168 à 1213). DFIFAO 18, fascicule 2. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1952.
Posener, Georges. *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* II, 3 (Nos 1214 à 1266). DFIFAO 18, fascicule 3. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1972.
Posener, Georges. *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* III, 1 (Nos 1267 à 1409). DFIFAO 20, fascicule 1. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1977.
Posener, Georges. *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* III, 2 (Nos 1410 à 1606). DFIFAO 20, fascicule 2. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1978.
Posener, Georges. *Catalogue des ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* III, 3 (Nos 1607 à 1675). DFIFAO 20, fascicule 3. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1980.

Posener, Georges — La piété personelle avant l'âge amarnien, *Rd'É* 27, 195–210. Louvain, 1975.

Posener-Kriéger, Paule — Wag-Fest, *LÄ* VI, 1135–1139. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1986.

Preyes, René — La fête de Paophi et le culte des ancêtres, *Rd'É* 58, 111–122. Louvain, 2007.

Primiano, Vernacular Religion, *Western Folklore* 54 (1995)
Primiano, Leonard Norman. Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife, *Western Folklore* 54, 37–56. Los Angeles, 1995.

Quack, J. F. — *Die Lehre des Ani. Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfelt*. OBO 141. Universitätsverlag, Freiburg, 1994.

Quack, Saatprobe und Kornosiris (2007)
Quack, Joachim Friedrich. Saatprobe und Kornosiris, in Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie*, 325–331. IBAES 7. Golden House Publications, London, 2007.

Quaegebeur, L'appel au divin (1997)
Quaegebeur, Jan. L'appel au divin: le bonheur des hommes mis dans la main des dieux, in Jean-Georges Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité . Actes du Colloque de Strasbourgh 15-17 juin 1995*, 15–34. Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le proche-orient et la grèce antiques, 15. De Boccard, Paris, 1997.

Radwan, Ramesses II as Mediator (1991)
Radwan, Ali. Ramesses II as Mediator, in Edward Bleiberg & Rita Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage. The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, 221–225. Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, 1. Memphis State University, Memphis, 1991.

Radwan, Thutmosis III. als Gott (1998)
Radwan, Ali. Thutmosis III. als Gott, in Heike Guksch & Daniel Polz (eds.), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens Reiner Stadelmann Gewidmet*, 329–340. Zabern, Mainz, 1998.

Raven, Charms for Protection (1997)
Raven, Martin. Charms for Protection during the Epagomenal Days, in Jacobus van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, 275–291. Egyptological Memoires, 1. Styx Publications, Groningen, 1997.

Raven, Martin — Corn-mummies, *OMRO* 63, 7–38. Leiden, 1982.

Redford, On the Chronology, *JNES* 25 (1966)
Redford, Donald B. On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, *JNES* 25, 115–124. Chicago, 1966.

Rikala, Mia — Sacred Marriage in the New Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: Circumstantial Evidence for a Ritual Interpretation, in Martti Nissinen & Risto Uro (eds.), *Sacred Marriages. The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity*, 115–144. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 2008.

Römer, Malte — *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches. Ein religionsgeschichtliche Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen*. ÄAT 21. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1994.

Romer, John — *Ancient Lives. The Story of the Pharaohs' Tombmakers*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1984.

Roth, Silke — Der Herrscher im Fest. Zur rituellen Herrschaftslegimitation des ägyptischen Königs und ihrer Aussendarstellung im Rahmen von Festen, in Dirk Bröckelmann & Andrea Klug, *In Pharaos Staat. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 75 Geburtstag*, 205–249. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2006.

Routledge, *Ancient Egyptian Ritual Practice* (2001)
Routledge, Carolyn Diane. *Ancient Egyptian Ritual Practice: ỉr-ḫt and nt-ʿ*. Ph.D Dissertation, University of Toronto. Toronto, 2001. Published by the National Library of Canada. Available at ABZU, http://www.etana.org/abzu/abzu-displayentry.pl?RC=15875. Downloaded on April 11th 2006.

El-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars* (2000)
El-Sabban, Sherif. *Temple Festival Calendars of Ancient Egypt*. Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology & Oriental Studies. University Press, Liverpool, 2000.

Sadek, An Attempt to Translate, *GM* 71 (1984)
Sadek, Ashraf I. An Attempt to Translate the Corpus of the Deir el-Bahri Hieratic Inscriptions, *GM* 71, 67–91. Göttingen, 1984.

Sadek, Ashraf I. — An Attempt to Translate the Corpus of the Deir el-Bahri Hieratic Inscriptions (Part Two), *GM* 72, 65–87. Göttingen, 1984.

Sadek, Glimpses, *GM* 36 (1979)
Sadek, Ashraf Iskander. Glimpses of Popular Religion in New Kingdom Egypt I. Mourning for Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina, *GM* 36, 51–56. Göttingen, 1979.

Sadek, Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire (1990)
Sadek, Ashraf Iskander. Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire, in Wlodzimierz Godlewski (ed.), *Acts of the 3rd International Congress of Coptic Studies Warsaw, 20–25 August 1984*, 405–412. PWN - Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, Varsovie, 1990.

Sadek, Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire (1988)
Sadek, Ashraf Iskander. Les fêtes personelles au nouvel Empire, in Sylvia Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985, Band 3*, 353–368. SAK Beihefte, 3. Hamburg, 1988.

Sadek, Popular Religion (1987)
Sadek, Ashraf Iskander. *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*. HÄB 27. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1987.

Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteen Dynasty Tombs* (1957)
Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. *Private Tombs at Thebes I: Four Eighteen Dynasty Tombs*. Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1957.

Säve-Söderbergh, Nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibe*l 9 (1950)
Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. Några egyptiska nyårsföreställningar, *Religion och Bibel* 9, 1–19. Uppsala, 1950.

Sandman Holmberg, Maj *The God Ptah*. Gleerup, Lund, 1946.

Sauneron, *Ostraca Deir el Médineh* VI
Sauneron, Serge. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* [VI] (Nº 550 à 623). DFIFAO 8. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1959.

Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (1962)
Sauneron, Serge. *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*. Publications de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Esna V. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1962.

Sauneron, *Les prêtres* (1957)
Sauneron, Serge. *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte*. Le temps qui court, 6. Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1957.

Sauneron, Serge Villes et légendes d'Égypte, *BIFAO* 62, 30–57. Le Caire, 1964.

Sayed, Zeinab Ökonomie der Altägyptischen Feste, in Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie*, 301–305. IBAES 7. Golden House Publications, London, 2007.

Sayed Mohamed, *Festvorbereitungen* (2004)
Sayed Mohamed, Zeinab. *Festvorbereitungen. Die administrativen und ökonomischen Grundlagen altägyptischer Feste*. OBO 202. Universitätsverlag, Freiburg, 2004.

Schäfer, Heinrich *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos under König Sesostris III nach dem Denkstein des Oberschatzmeisters I-cher-nofret im Berliner Museum*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens, 4. J. C. Hindrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1904.

Schäfer, *Urk*. III (1905) Schäfer, Heinrich. *Urkunden der Älteren Äthiopienkönige. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, 3. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1905.

Schiaparelli, *Relazione* (1923)
Schiaparelli, Ernesto. *Relazione sui lavori della Missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (anni 1903-1920) I: Esplorazione della 'Valle delle Regine' nella necropoli di Tebe*. R. Museo di Antichità, Torino, 1923.

Schmandt-Basserat, Feasting in the Ancient Near East (2001)
Schmandt-Basserat, Denise. Feasting in the Ancient Near East, in Michael Dietler & Brian Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, 391–403. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C, 2001.

Schmidt, Heike C. and Willeitner, Joachim
Nefertari. Gemahlin Ramses' II. Mit Aufnahmen aus dem Königinnengrab von Alberto Silotti. Zaberbs Bildbände zur Archäologie, 10. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 1994

Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (1978)
Schmitz, Franz-Jürgen. *Amenophis I. Versuch einer Darstellung der Regierungszeit eines ägyptischen Herrschers der frühen 18. Dynastie*. HÄB 6. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1978.

Schott, *Festdaten* (1950) Schott, Siegfried. *Altägyptische Festdaten*. AAWMainz 10. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Wiesbaden, 1950.

Schott, The Feasts of Thebes (1934)
Schott, Siegfried. The Feasts of Thebes, in Harold H. Nelson & Uvo Hölscher (eds.), *Work in Western Thebes 1931–33*, 63–90. OIC 18. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1934.

Schott, *Das schöne Fest* (1952)
Schott, Siegfried. *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentals. Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*. AAWMainz 11. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Wiesbaden, 1952.

Schulman, Alan R. A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis, *JNES* 22, 177–184. Chicago, 1963.

Schulman, A. R. Some Observations on the *ꜣḫ ỉḳr n Rˁ*-Stelae, *BiOr* 43, 302–348. Leiden, 1986.

Scribner, Bob Introduction, in Bob Scribner & Trevor Johnson (eds.), *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800*, 1–15. Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1996.

Scribner, Ritual and Popular Religion (1984)
Scribner, Bob. Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35:1, 47–77. 1984.

Sethe, *Urk*. IV (1906–1909)
Sethe, Kurt. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 1–4. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 4. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1906–1909.

Shafer, Temples, Priests and Rituals (1998)
Shafer, Byron E. Temples, Priests and Rituals: An Overview, in Byron E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 1–30. Tauris Publishers, London, 1998.

El-Sharkawy, Ali *Der Amun-Tempel von Karnak. Die Funktion der Großen Säulenhalle, erschlossen aus der Dekoration ihrer Innenwände*. Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe Ägyptologie, 1. Dr. Köster, Berlin, 1997.

Shaw, Ian (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000.

Shehab el-Din, Oracles in Ancient Egypt (2003)
Shehab el-Din, Tahia. Oracles in Ancient Egypt, in Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamel & Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), *Hommages á Fayza Haikal*, 259–266. Bd'É 138. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 2003.

Shorter, Alan W. The God Neḥebkau, *JEA* 21, 41–48. London, 1935.

Van Siclen III, Charles Cornell
The Temple of Meniset at Thebes, *Serapis* 6, 183–207. Chicago, 1980.

Silverman, David P. The Nature of Egyptian Kingship, in David O'Connor & David P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 49–92. PAe 9. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1995.

Simpson, William Kelly Introduction, in William Kelly Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo, 2003.

Smith, *The Art of the Festival* (1975)
Smith, Robert J. *The Art of the Festival as exemplified by the Fiesta to the Patroness of Otuzco: La Virgen de la Puerta*. University of Kansas Publications in Anthropology, 6. University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1975.

Spalinger, Calendars: Real and Ideal (1994)
Spalinger, Anthony J. Calendars: Real and Ideal, in Betsy M. Bryan & David Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke*, 297–308. Van Siclen Books, San Antonio, 1994.

Spalinger, Chronological Analysis, *SAK* 20 (1993)
Spalinger, Anthony J. The Chronological Analysis of the Feast of *tḫy*, *SAK* 20, 289–303. Hamburg, 1993.

Spalinger, Festival Calendars (2002)
Spalinger, Anthony. Festival Calendars, in Robert B. Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak. A Guide to Egyptian Religion*, 124–125. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.

Spalinger, Anthony The Festival Structure of Thutmose III's Buto Stela, *JARCE* 33, 69–76. Princeton, 1996.

Spalinger, Anthony Festivals, in Robert B. Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak. A Guide to Egyptian Religion*, 125–132. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.

Spalinger, Limitations, *JNES* 57 (1998)
Spalinger, Anthony J. The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion, *JNES* 57, 240–260. Chicago, 1998.

Spalinger, The Lunar System, *BSÉG* 19 (1995)
Spalinger, Anthony J. The Lunar System in Festival Calendars: From the New Kingdom onwards, *BSÉG* 19, 25–40. Genève, 1995.

Spalinger, Notes on Calendars, *Or* 64 (1995)
Spalinger, Anthony. Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Calendars, *Or* 64, 17–32. Roma, 1995.

Spalinger, Parallelism of Thought (1994)
Spalinger, Anthony J. Parallelism of Thought, in Cathrine Berger, Gisèle Clerc & Nicolas Grimal (eds.), *Hommage à Jean Leclant*, vol. 4, 363–377. Bd'É 106/4. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1994.

Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists* (1996)
Spalinger, Anthony J. *Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt*. ÄA 57. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1996.

Spalinger, Religious Calendar Year, *Rd'É* 44 (1993)
Spalinger, Anthony J. A Religious Calendar Year in the Mut Temple at Karnak, *Rd'É* 44, 161–184. Paris, 1993.

Spalinger, Anthony J. A Remark on Renewal, SAK 17, 289–294. Hamburg, 1990.

Spalinger, Return to Ebers, *BES* 10 (1992)
Spalinger, Anthony J. A Return to Papyrus Ebers, *BES* 10, 137–144. New York, 1992.

Spalinger, Anthony Some Remarks on the Epagomenal Days in Ancient Egypt, *JNES* 54, 33–47. Chicago, 1995.

Spalinger, Sovereignty and Theology, *Saeculum* 47 (1996)
Spalinger, Anthony J. Sovereignty and Theology in New Kingdom Egypt: Some Cases of Tradition, *Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 47, 217–238. Freiburg, 1996.

Spalinger, Thoth and the Calendars (1994)
Spalinger, Anthony. Thoth and the Calendars, in Anthony Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics*, 45–60. VA(S) 6. Van Siclen Books, San Antonio, 1994.

Spalinger, Anthony John *Three Studies on Egyptian Feasts and their Chronological Implications*. Halgo, Baltimore, 1992.

Spalinger, Under the Moon of Earth (1994)
Spalinger, Anthony. Under the Moon of Earth, in Anthony Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics*, 61–83. VA(S) 6. Van Siclen Books, San Antonio, 1994.

Spalinger, Unexpected Source, *Rd'É* 42 (1991)
Spalinger, Anthony J. An Unexpected Source in a Festival Calendar, *Rd'É* 42, 209–222. Paris, 1991.

Speleers, *Recueil des Inscriptions* (1923)
Speleers, Louis. *Recueil des Inscriptions Egyptiennes des Musee Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Vanderpoorten, Bruxelles, 1923.

Spencer, Patricia Dance in Ancient Egypt, *NEA* 66/3, 111–121. Boston, 2003.

Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische Graffiti* (1921)
Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis*. Winters, Heidelberg, 1921.
Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes* (1982)
Spiess, Herbert. *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes.Untersuchungen zum Gott Thot bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches*. Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, 1991.
Stadelmann, Rainier Prozessionen, *LÄ* IV, 1160–1164. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982.
Stark, Laura The Folk Interpretation of Orthodox Religion in Karelia from an Anthropological Perspective, in Ülo Valk (ed.), *Studies in Folklore and Popular Religion 1: Papers delivered at the symposium Walter Anderson and Folklore Studies Today*, 143–157. University of Tartu, Tartu, 1996.
Stark, *Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises* (2002)
Stark, Laura. *Peasants, Pilgrims, and Sacred Promises. Ritual and the Supernatural in Orthodox Karelian Folk Religion*. Studia Fennica Folkloristica, 11. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki, 2002.
Stark, Laura Popular religion in Southern Europe: a survey of recent anthropological research, *Suomen Antropologi* 4/1994, 34–50. Suomen Antropologinen Seura, Helsinki, 1994.
Stephen & Dow, Introduction (1990)
Stephen, Lynn and James Dow. Introduction: Popular Religion in Mexico and Central America, in Lynn Stephen & James Dow (eds.), *Class, Politics, and Popular Religion in Mexico and Central America*, 1–24. Society for Latin American Anthropology Publication Series, 10. American Anthropological Association, Washington, 1990.
Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an Hathor* (1992)
Sternberg-el Hotabi, Heike, *Ein Hymnus an die Göttin Hathor und das Ritual 'Hathor das Trankopfer darbringen' nach den Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. RitEg 7. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1992.
Steward, *Egyptian Stelae* (1976)
Steward, H. M. *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection I. The New Kingdom*. (Modern egyptology series.) Aris and Phillips, Warminster, 1976.
Stracmans, Fêtes de la circoncision, *Cd'É* 60 (1985)
Stracmans, Maurice. Les fêtes de la circoncision chez les anciens Égyptiens, *Cd'É* 60, 293–297. Bruxelles, 1985.
Stricker, Spreuken tot beveiliging, *OMRO* 29 (1948)
Stricker, B. H. Spreuken tot beveiliging gedurende de schrikkeldagen naar Pap. I. 346, *OMRO* 29, 55–70. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1948.
Stroop-Kiraly, Eve L'Offrande du Pain Blanc, *BSÉG* 13, 157–160. Geneve, 1989.
Tacke, Das Opferritual (2003)
Tacke, Nikolaus. Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches, in Carola Metzner-Nebelsick et al. (eds.), *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart. Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 27–35. Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rahden/Westfalen, 2003.
Teeter, A Family of Priests (2008)
Teeter, Emily. A Family of Priests of the Deified Amenhotep I (Chicago OIM 11107), in Sue H. d'Auria (ed.), *Servants of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzani*, 235–241. PAe 28. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 2008.
Teeter, Emily Maat, in Redford (ed.), *The Ancient Gods Speak. A Guide to Egyptian Religion*, 189–191. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.

Teeter, Popular Worship, *K.M.T.* 4/2 (1993)
Teeter, Emily. Popular Worship in Ancient Egypt. Contrary to what is often written, Commoners had access to their deities, *K.M.T.* 4/2, 28–37. San Fransisco, 1993.

Toivari, Jaana — Marriage at Deir el-Medina, in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, 1157–1163. OLA 82. Peeters, Leuven, 1998.

Toivari-Viitala, Absence from Work (2006)
Toivari-Viitala, Jaana. Absence from Work at Deir el-Medina, in Andreas Dorn & Tobias Hofmann (eds.), *Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine. Socio-historical Embodiment of Deir el-Medine Texts*, 155–159. Schwabe AG, Basel, 2006.

Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001)
Toivari-Viitala, Jaana. *Women at Deir el-Medina. A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's Community during the Ramesside Period*. EgUit 15. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2001.

Tooley, Angela M. J. — Osiris Bricks, *JEA* 82, 167–179. London, 1996.

Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972)
Tosi, Mario and Alessandro Roccati. *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina n. 50001 – n. 50262*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Seconda - Collezioni, 1. Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo, Torino, 1972.

Toye, Natalie — Amon-de-la-Bonne-Recontre, *GM* 211, 89–105. Göttingen, 2006.

Traunecker, Claude — L'appel au divin: La crainte des dieux et les serment de temple, in Jean-Georges Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourgh 15-17 juin 1995*, 35–54. Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le proche-orient et la grèce antiques, 15. De Boccard, Paris, 1997.

Troy, Lana — Mut Enthroned, in Jacobus van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, 301–315. Egyptological Memoirs, 1. Styx Publications, Groningen, 1997.

Tzachou-Alexandri, *The World of Egypt* (1995)
Tzachou-Alexandri, Olga. *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*. Kapon, Athens, 1995.

Valbelle, *Les ouvriers* (1985)
Valbelle, Dominique. *'Les ouvriers de la tombe'. Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside*. Bd'É 96. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1985.

Valbelle, Dominique — Témoignages du Nouvel Empire sur les cultes de Satis et d'Anoukis à Élefantine et à Deir el-Médineh, *BIFAO* 75, 123–145. Le Caire, 1975.

Valbelle & Husson, Les Questions oraculaires d'Égypte (1985)
Valbelle, Dominique and Genevieve Husson. Les Questions oraculaires d'Égypte: Histoire de la recherche, nouveautés et perspectives, in Willy Clarysse (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* II, 1055–1071. OLA 85. Peeters, Leuven, 1985.

Vandersleyen, La Statue d'Amenophis I, *OrAnt* 19 (1980)
Vandersleyen, Claude. La Statue d'Amenophis I (Turin 1372), *OrAnt* 19, 133–137. Roma, 1980.

Vandier, Jacques — *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne IV: Bas-reliefs et Peintures. Scènes de la vie quotidienne*, 230–256. Picard, Paris, 1964.

Vandier-d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurés DeM* II etc.
Vandier-d'Abbadie, Jeanne. *Cataloque des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Medineh* II (Nos. 2256 à 2722). DFIFAO 2, fascicule 2. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1937.
Vandier-d'Abbadie, Jeanne. *Cataloque des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Medineh* IV (Nos 2734 à 3053). DFIFAO 2, fascicule 4. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire, 1959.
Te Velde, Herman The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut, in M. Heerma van Voss et al. (eds.), *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, 127–137. Studies in the History of Religion, 43. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1982.
Te Velde, Herman Erntezeremonien, *LÄ* II, 2–4. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977.
Te Velde, Herman The Goddess Mut and the Vulture, in Sue H. d'Auria (ed.), *Servants of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzani*, 242–245. PAe 28. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 2008.
Te Velde, Mut, the Eye of Re (1988)
Te Velde, Herman. Mut, the Eye of Re, in Sylvia Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985* Band 3, 395–403. SAK Beihefte, 3. Hamburg, 1988.
Te Velde, Herman Ptah, *LÄ* IV, 1177–1180. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982.
Te Velde, Herman Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut, *JEOL* 26, 3–9. Leiden, 1979–1980.
Ventura, *Living in the City of the Dead* (1986)
Ventura, Raphael. *Living in the City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis*. OBO 90. Universitätsverlag, Freiburg, 1986.
Ventura, Snefru in Sinai (1985)
Ventura, Raphael. Snefru in Sinai and Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina, in Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt. The Bible and Christianity*, 278–288. Magnes Press, Jerusalem, 1985.
Vernus, Pascal Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75, 103–110. Le Caire, 1975.
Verhoven & Derchain, *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque* (1985)
Verhoven, Ursula and Philippe Derchain. *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque. Ein Text aus dem 'Mutritual' des Pap. Berlin 3053*. RitEg 5. Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1985.
Vleeming, The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather (1982)
Vleeming, S. P. The Days on which the *Ḳnbt* used to Gather, in R. J. Demarée & Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 183–189. EgUit 1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1982.
Vrijhof, Conclusion (1979)
Vrijhof, Pieter Hendrik. Conclusion, in Pieter Hendrik Vrijhof & Jacques Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion. Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*, 668–693. Religion and Society, 19. Mouton, The Hague, 1979.
Waitkus, Eine Fahrt der Hathor, *GM* 135 (1993)
Waitkus, Wolfgang. Eine Fahrt der Hathor von Dendera nach Edfu im Monat Paophi?, *GM* 135, 105–111. Göttingen, 1993.
Waitkus, Zur Deutung von Besuchsfesten (1998)
Waitkus, Wolfgang. Zur Deutung von zwei Besuchsfesten der Göttlichen Stätte (*iꜣt-nṯryt*) von Edfu, in Gundlach & Rochholz (eds.), *Feste im Tempel. 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln 10.–12. Oktober 1996*, 155–174. ÄAT 33,2. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1998.
Van Walsem, Month-Names (1982)
Van Walsem, René. Month names and Feasts at Deir el-Medîna, in R. J. Demarée & Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 215–244. EgUit 1. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1982.

Wells, Re and the Calendars (1994)
Wells, R. A. Re and the Calendars, in Anthony J. Spalinger (ed.), *Revolutions in Time. Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics*, 1–37. VA(S) 6. Van Siclen Books, San Antonio, 1994.

Wente, *LRL* (1967) Wente, Edward F. *Late Ramesside Letters*. SAOC 33. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1967.

Wente, A Letter of Complaint, *JNES* 20
Wente, Edward F. A Letter of Complaint to the Vizier To, *JNES* 20, 252–257. Chicago, 1961.

Wente, *Letters* (1990) Wente, E. F. *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. Writings from the Ancient World, 1. Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 1990.

Wente, A Prince's Tomb, *JNES* 32 (1973)
Wente, E. F. A Prince's Tomb in the Valley of the Kings, *JNES* 32, 223–234. Chicago, 1973.

Wessetzky, 'Amulettes de Nouvel An', *Bulletin du Musée des Beaux-Arts*, 5 (1954)
Wessetzky, Guillaume. Les Problèmes des 'Amulettes de Nouvel An' Égyptiennes, *Bulletin du Musée des Beaux-Arts*, 5. Budabest, 1954.

Wiebach, Die Begegnung, *SAK* 13 (1986)
Wiebach, Silvia. Die Begegnung von Lebenden und Verstorbene im Rahmen des thebanischen Talfestes, *SAK* 13, 263–291. Hamburg, 1986.

Wiedemann, A. Notes on Some Egyptian Monuments VII, *PSBA* 36, 199–211. London, 1914.

Wikgren, The Festival Calendar (2005)
Wikgren, Heidi. The Festival Calendar at Deir el-Medina, in K. Piquette & S. Love (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2003. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Symposium University College London*, 179–200. Oxbow Books, Oxford 2005.

Wildung, Dieter Götterstandarte, *LÄ* II, 713–714. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1977.

Wildung, D. Review of Jan Broekhuis, De godin Renenwete Van Gorcum, Assen, 1971. *BiOr* 29, 291–293. Leiden, 1972.

Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony (1999)
Wilfong, Terry G. Menstrual Synchrony and the 'Place of Women' in Ancient Egypt (OIM 13512), in Emily Teeter & John A. Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise. Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, 419–434. SAOC 58. University of Chicago Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1999.

Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie* I–II (1995)
Wimmer, Stefan. *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie* I–II. ÄAT 28. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1995.

Wolf, *Das Schöne Fest von Opet* (1931)
Wolf, Walther. *Das Schöne Fest von Opet. Die Festzugsdarstellung im Grossen Säulengange des Temples von Luksor*. Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition in Ägypten, 5. J. C. Hindrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1931.

Yoyotte, Jean Études géographiques. II. Les localites méridionales de la région Memphite et le 'Pehou d'Héracléopolis', *Rd'É* 14, 75–110. Louvain, 1962.

Yoyotte, A propos Méresger (2003)
Yoyotte, Jean. A propos de quelques idées reçues: Méresger, la Butte et les cobras, in Andreu Guillemette (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: La vie en Égypte au temps des pharaohs du nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002*, 281-307. Editions Khéops-musée du Louvre, Paris, 2003.

Yoyotte, Jean Les pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne, in Anne-Marie Esnoul et al. (eds.), *Les pèlerinages. Égypte ancienne - Israël - Islam - Perse - Inde - Tibet - Indonésie - Madagascar - Chine - Japon*, 19–74. Sources Orientals, 3. Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1960.

Zandee, J. *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*. Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, 1960.

Zuesse, Evan M. Ritual, in Mircea Eliade et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 12, 405–422. Studies in the history of religions, 5. Mcmillan, New York, 1987.

Index of Primary Sources

Graffiti	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
	Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische Graffiti* (1921)	
1	3	244
15	4	244
61	8	279
71	8	86
265	24	141, 227, 228, 231, 233
609	49–50	279
774e	63	279
780	63	244
886	73	279
889	73	279
891	73	279
1018	85–86	94
	Černý, *Graffiti Thébaine* (1956)	
1139	pl. 11	279
1158	pl. 16	227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 287
1159C	pl. 16	227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 287
	Černý, Sadek & Shimy, *GMTh* III (1970–1977)	
1635	pl. 5	155
1696	pl. 10	42, 46, 48, 50, 53, 199, 200, 228, 230, 232, 235, 237, 238, 243
2054	pl. 60	244
2087	pl. 67	43, 48, 50, 53, 54, 68, 70, 114, 115, 116, 117, 124, 227, 228, 232, 233, 244, 270, 292, 294, 299
2654	pl. 142	279
2667	pl. 145bis	279

Figured ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
DeM 2603	Vandier-d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurés DeM* II (1937), pl. 82	113
Leipzig 1659	Brunner-Traut, Scherbenbilder (1956), pl. 31	86
MM 14134	Peterson, *Zeihnungen* (1973), pl. 23	244

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Ashmolean Museum	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957)	
4	pl. 27,3	98, 109
5	pl. 18,1	227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 236, 269, 273, 298
11	pl. 25,2	39, 42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 56, 66, 81, 82, 149, 151, 152, 172, 174, 175, 179, 180, 194, 198, 217, 218, 219, 220, 225, 227, 231, 232, 233, 265, 291, 294, 296
16	pl. 24,2	197
23	pl. 43,4	98, 137, 268
28	pl. 9; 113,1	1

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Ashmolean Museum	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957)	
37	pl. 26,3	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 61, 62, 129, 134, 227, 231, 233, 234, 247, 248, 249, 250, 253, 254, 282, 283, 292, 293, 295
49	pl. 7,1	142
50	pl. 27,2	227, 230, 233, 234, 247, 249, 251, 252, 253, 263
61	pl. 60,2	225, 227, 232, 233, 235, 247, 249, 252, 253
67	pl. 47,2	181
70	pl. 48,1	42, 47, 48, 53, 54, 76, 114, 118, 224, 227, 231, 232, 233, 237, 245, 291, 294
106	pl. 61,1	75, 76, 83, 118, 228, 230, 232, 235, 243, 245
113	pl. 73,1	42, 47, 53, 54, 192
115	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 283	42, 47, 51, 52, 97, 98, 202
124	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 68,4	42, 47, 53, 54
131	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 331–332	42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 127, 128, 129, 171, 178, 205, 227, 228, 231, 232, 235, 289
141	unpublished, see van Walsem, Month-Names (1982), 228	68, 70
148	unpublished, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 398	45, 47, 53, 54
152	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pl. 43	135
166	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pl. 46	126, 154, 177, 228, 231, 234, 255, 287, 295
167	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 242–243	45, 47, 51, 52, 156, 157, 181, 183, 219, 220, 254, 293, 295
178	unpublished, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 56	258
187	unpublished, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 472	42, 47, 52, 53, 54
	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957)	
301	pl. 93,1	1
307	pl. 96,1	138
315	pl. 95,2	138
362	pl. 107	68, 70, 92, 94, 96, 297
1945.39	pl. 72,1	228, 232, 235, 269, 273
O. Berlin P		
1120 + O. IFAO 177 + 178 + 179	Černý, Notebooks, 32.77; 102.97; *Deir el Medine online*	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 261
10631	Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III (1911), pl. 36	227, 231, 233, 235, 263, 274, 285
10637	*Deir el Medine online*	104, 105, 126, 177, 227, 232, 233, 235, 262, 263, 289, 290, 295
10655	*Deir el Medine online*	71, 72, 76, 83, 91, 110, 152, 228, 230, 232, 233
10663	*Deir el Medine online*	43, 45, 46, 48, 53, 54, 200
10664	*Deir el Medine online*	244
11248	*Deir el Medine online*	45, 47, 52, 199
11254	Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III (1911), pl. 39	43, 48, 53, 54, 100

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Berlin P		
12286	*Deir el Medine online*	227, 233, 235, 276, 278
12295	*Deir el Medine online*	45, 48, 54, 208
12406	*Deir el Medine online*	68, 70, 112, 132, 227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 247, 257, 262, 263
12629	*Deir el Medine online*	42, 45, 46, 47, 53, 54
12631	*Deir el Medine online*	42, 46, 47, 53, 54
12635	*Deir el Medine online*	43, 48, 54, 68, 70, 73, 93, 112, 114, 115, 117, 149, 195, 227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 236, 247, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 257, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 280, 281, 282
12654	*Deir el Medine online*	79
14214	*Deir el Medine online*	71, 72, 76, 83, 118, 228, 232, 233, 245
14263	*Deir el Medine online*	146, 154, 155, 228, 233, 274
14264 “K”	*Deir el Medine online*	274
14328	*Deir el Medine online*	227, 231, 233, 235, 258, 259, 264, 280, 281
23404	*Deir el Medine online*	45, 47, 48
O. BM EA	Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca* (2002)	
5624	pls. 7–8	304
5625	pls. 9–10	28, 137, 203, 268, 295
5634	pls. 25–26	45, 47, 51, 61, 128, 129, 130, 165, 171, 175, 185, 199, 212, 215, 216, 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233, 234, 242, 247, 248, 253, 254, 257, 260, 269, 270, 271, 276, 277, 280, 281, 288, 292, 295, 305
5637	pls. 30–31	43, 48, 54, 126, 176, 177, 228, 233, 265, 295
5672 + O. Cairo CG 25649	pls. 43–44	42, 47, 53, 54
29560	pls. 88–89	71, 72, 83, 84, 91, 96, 103, 110, 118, 125, 130, 140, 146, 227, 231, 232, 233, 262, 263, 265
50730 + 50745	pls. 127–128	45, 46, 48, 53
50733 + O. UC 32067	pls. 131–132	43, 46, 48, 53, 548
50744	pls. 145–146	43, 46, 48, 50, 53, 54, 212, 227, 230, 232, 233, 235, 276, 278, 292, 301
65602	pls. 165–166	86
65933[a]	pls. 179–180	94, 227, 230, 233, 234, 265, 266, 292, 301
65938	pls. 187–188	135
66409	pls. 211–212	42, 48, 52, 210
O. Brunner	Helck, Eine Zahlungsquittung, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 6–10	93, 96, 227, 231, 233

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Brussels E		
301	Speleers, *Recueil des Inscriptions* (1923), 48–49	45, 47, 53, 54, 218
6311	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pls. 24–27	228, 231, 233, 234, 269, 271, 285, 286
6781	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 200–201	227, 228, 231, 233, 234, 289, 298
O. Cairo CG	Daressy, *Ostraca Caire* (1901)	
25029	pls. 6–7	86
25052	pl. 11	164
25216	pl. 41	86
25234	pl. 46	43, 48, 53, 54, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 207, 224, 226, 227, 233, 237, 280, 291, 294, 301
25245	pl. 51	42, 47, 145
25247	pl. 52	42, 47, 53, 54
25248	pl. 52	44, 47, 48, 99, 100, 101, 102
25249	65; Černý, Notebooks, 101.29	44, 48, 51, 52, 57
25261	67	43, 47, 48, 53
25265	68; Černý, Notebooks, 101.23	42, 47, 53, 54, 66, 149, 151, 225, 227, 231, 232, 233, 265, 291, 296
25266	68, pl. 55	42, 47, 53, 54, 56, 80, 84, 188, 189
25270	pl. 55	43, 45, 48, 53, 54
25275	70	43, 48, 53, 54, 159, 161, 225, 227, 232, 233, 265
25276	71	43, 48, 53, 54, 159, 161, 225, 227, 232, 233, 265
25290	73	42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 218, 219, 227, 230, 232, 233, 235, 269, 270, 276, 277, 278, 292, 301
25290 bis	74	42, 47, 53, 54, 100
25291	pl. 57	218, 278
25292	74	43, 45, 48, 53, 54, 213
25297	pl. 58	42, 46, 47, 53, 54
25298	76; Černý, Notebooks, 101.30	42, 47, 201
25299	pl. 55	42, 47, 53, 54, 55, 109, 110
25304	pl. 58	44, 48, 52, 54, 213
25305	78–79; Černý, Notebooks, 101.53	42, 47, 53, 54, 55
25308	pl. 58	227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 289
25364	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 346–347 Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935)	28, 137, 268
25365 + 25624	pls. 58–59	227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 259, 260, 290
25503	pl. 1	42, 47, 50, 51, 52, 179, 227, 231, 232, 233, 265
25504	pl. 2	42, 44, 46, 47, 51, 98, 101, 102, 103
25505	pl. 4	227, 228, 231, 233, 234, 254, 285, 286
25506	pl. 3	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 84, 188
25508	pl. 5	42, 47, 51, 52
25509	pls. 4–5	39, 42, 47, 51, 52, 139, 145, 209, 210, 212
25510	pl. 7	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 210, 212

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Cairo CG	Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935)	
25511	8*	39, 44, 48, 51, 52, 145, 213, 241
25512	pl. 6	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 79, 185, 215
25514	pl. 7	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 61, 115, 192, 204
25515	pls. 8–9	39, 42, 43, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 56, 61, 62, 80, 84, 89, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 109, 114, 122, 123, 129, 130, 139, 151, 159, 160, 166, 175, 180, 183, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 209, 210, 217, 219, 220, 260
25516	13*–14*	39, 44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 61, 62, 122, 123, 130, 209, 256
25517	pls. 10–11	39, 45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 79, 97, 102, 143, 202, 256
25518	pl. 12	45, 47, 51, 52
25519	pl. 13	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 99
25520	pl. 14	45, 47, 51, 52, 109, 191
25521	pls. 15–16	45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 61, 62, 115, 134, 166, 167, 226, 227, 230, 231, 233, 234, 247, 249, 250, 253, 254, 255, 282, 283, 293, 295
25522	pl. 17	45, 47, 51, 52, 210
25523	pl. 18	45, 47, 50, 51, 52
25524	pl. 17	44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 57
25525	pl. 19	45, 47, 51, 52
25528	pl. 19	42, 48, 50, 56, 194
25529	29*, pl. 19	39, 42, 48, 50, 52, 56, 80, 82, 84, 90, 156, 174, 175, 177, 180, 183, 185, 188, 194, 199, 215, 216, 220, 260
25532	pl. 20	224, 227, 232, 233, 235, 236, 247, 248, 249, 253, 254, 302
25533	pl. 21	39, 42, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 56, 80, 157, 183, 194, 198, 221, 227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 247, 248, 249, 282, 283, 291, 294
25535	pl. 22	143, 192, 212, 227, 228, 231, 232, 236, 288
25536	pl. 23	39, 42, 46, 47, 51, 52, 61, 115, 192
25538	pl. 23	42, 46, 47, 51, 66, 151, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 265, 291, 296
25539	pl. 24	39, 44, 48, 51, 52, 56, 57, 80, 84, 89, 188, 194, 198, 199, 200
25540	pl. 24	39, 44, 48, 50, 51, 52, 57
25541	36*	39, 44, 48, 51, 52, 89, 90
25542	37*–38*	39, 44, 46, 48, 51, 114, 127, 130, 171, 192, 203, 205
25543	pl. 25	44, 48, 51, 52, 61, 62, 122, 123, 204
25544	40*	44, 48, 51, 52, 61, 62

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Cairo CG	Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935)	
25545 + JE 72454	41*; see also Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 146–147, 160–161	44, 48, 50, 51, 52, 109, 166, 190, 191, 203
25546	41*	44, 48, 50, 51, 52
25547	41*	44, 48, 51, 52
25552	pl. 25	44
25554	pl. 25	225
25555 + DeM 999	pl. 27; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003), 447	98, 109, 203, 268
25559	pls. 29, 31	28, 43, 48, 53, 54, 133, 138, 205, 207, 208, 227, 233, 235, 265, 266, 268, 292, 294
25563	pl. 32	45, 47, 53, 54
25565	pl. 30	44
25575	pl. 38	45, 47, 53, 54, 160
25581	pl. 42	45, 48, 52
25597	pl. 50	228, 232, 235, 236, 247, 255
25598	pl. 50	68, 70, 148, 152, 227, 230, 232, 233, 235, 247, 249, 251, 254, 263
25599	pl. 51	45, 47, 53, 54, 210
25609	pl. 53	39, 42, 47, 53, 54, 156
25636	pl. 61	42, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, 81, 82, 294
25643	pl. 62	227, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 241
25644	pl. 63	147, 227, 230, 237
25647	pl. 63	42, 47, 53, 54, 55, 175
25648	pl. 65	42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 55
25650	pl. 65	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 258, 261
25660 + JE 37649	pl. 69; see also McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 72–75	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 258, 259
25676	pl. 76	79
25680	pl. 78	42, 47, 51, 52, 57
25688 + O. DeM 1000	pl. 80; Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el-Médîneh* IX (2003),448	71, 72, 140, 227, 231, 233
25705 + O. IFAO 1322+O. Varille 38	85*; Černý, Notebooks, 62.24, 108.72	227, 231, 233, 235, 258, 259, 264, 280, 281
25779	101–102	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 90, 97, 99, 100, 101, 103, 160, 200, 201, 202, 227, 231, 233, 234, 254, 269, 271, 276, 277, 293, 295
25780	pl. 102	45, 47, 51, 52, 139, 211, 212, 227, 231, 233, 234, 254, 269, 271
25782	pl. 103	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 134, 145, 185, 213, 227, 228, 231, 233, 234, 241, 247, 248, 253, 254, 269, 271, 282, 286
25783	pl. 104	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 177, 215, 217, 219, 260
25784	pl. 105	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 220, 225, 227, 231, 233, 234, 254, 276, 277
25785	pl. 105	39, 45, 47, 51, 52
25786	pl. 106	39, 45, 47, 51, 52, 139, 140, 227, 231, 233, 234, 254, 276, 277
25788	pl. 106	42, 47, 51, 52, 196, 197, 198
25790	pl. 107	45, 47, 51, 52

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Cairo CG	Černý, *Ostraca Caire* (1935)	
25792	pl. 108	42, 47, 51, 52, 60, 61
25793	pl. 107	45, 47, 51, 52, 160, 227, 231, 233, 234, 247, 248, 253, 254
25794	112*	43, 48, 50, 52, 220, 227, 228, 231, 233, 235, 287
25803	pls. 108, 110	43, 45, 48, 51
25814	116*	44, 48, 51, 52, 217
25815a	pl. 113	42, 47, 51, 144, 213, 214, 215, 227, 231, 234, 237, 241
25816	pl. 114	44, 48, 51, 52, 57
25817	117*	44, 48, 51, 52, 57
25818	pl. 114	44, 48, 51, 52, 57, 61, 204
25821	pl. 115	197
O. Cairo JE		
72452	Kitchen, *KRI* IV (1982), 404	42, 43, 46, 47, 50, 51, 61, 62, 122, 123, 204, 256
72469	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 106.17	228, 230, 234, 276
72475 (old text)	unpublished, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 164	45, 47, 51, 52
O. Černý 7	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 243	45, 47, 51, 52, 61, 227, 231, 233, 234, 247, 248, 253, 254
O. Col. Campbell 6		see O. Glasgow D.1925.71
O. Col. Campbell 7		see O. Glasgow D.1925.72
O. DeM	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* I (1935)	
32	pls. 9–10	42, 47, 53, 54, 56, 195, 196, 197, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233
35	pl. 15	71, 72, 146, 152, 227, 231, 232, 233
38	pls. 18–19	42, 47, 53, 54, 172, 174, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 265
40	pls. 22–23	44
41	pls. 23–25	44, 102
44	pls. 30–31	42, 46, 47, 53, 54, 127, 178, 196, 197, 217, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 235, 289
45	pls. 34–35	42, 45, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 97, 168, 202, 227, 230, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 240
46	pls. 36–38	42, 44, 46, 47, 53, 54, 68, 70, 92, 96, 102, 103, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233
55	pl. 45	42, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 186, 215, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 265, 291
57	pl. 45	71, 72, 85, 91, 228, 230, 232, 233, 237
59	pl. 46	75, 76, 228, 231, 235, 243, 245
97	pl. 56	133, 227, 231, 233, 234, 237, 239, 242, 297, 298
108	pl. 60	228, 230, 231, 234, 243, 244
	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937)	
115	pl. 2	43, 48, 54, 212, 213, 227, 231, 233, 235, 238, 239, 265, 266, 299
122	pl. 5	275

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. DeM	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* II (1937)	
124	pls. 6–7	275, 298
127	pl. 8	147, 150, 227, 231, 233, 234, 237, 269, 299
132	pl. 10	227, 231, 233, 234, 265, 266, 299
133	pl. 11	98, 109, 137, 203
134	pl. 12	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 259
145	pls. 18–19	196, 197
153	pls. 28, 30	42, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 186, 208, 227, 231, 232, 233, 291
156	pl. 33	196, 197
158	pl. 35	196, 197
164	pl. 41	196, 197
188 + 373	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951), pl. 8	179, 273
	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* III (1937)	
200	pl. 4	117
204	pl. 6	138
206	pl. 5	196, 197
209	pls. 7–8	45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 56, 73, 74, 79, 82, 91, 155, 184, 194, 196, 197, 198, 220, 224, 227, 231, 233, 234, 237, 247, 249, 250, 253, 254, 291, 293, 294, 295
219	pl. 11	71, 72, 110
222	pl. 12	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 259, 260
230	pl. 18	154, 168, 227, 228, 231, 233, 234, 237, 240, 247, 249, 251, 253, 263, 285
	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* IV (1939)	
248	pl. 2	135
253	pl. 4	43, 47, 48, 53, 54, 206
282	pl. 11	258
297	pl. 16	68, 70, 121, 122, 124, 125, 132, 225, 227, 232, 233, 263, 265
339	pl. 33	42, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 99, 109, 115, 166, 193
	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951)	
340	pl. 1	42, 48, 50, 61, 62, 114, 122, 204
353	pl. 4	44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 101, 102
354	pl. 4	43, 48, 51, 216, 217, 227, 231, 233, 234, 237, 238, 298
389	pl. 13	45, 47, 51, 52, 213, 216
395	pl. 15	273
398	pl. 16	39, 45, 47, 53, 54
401	pl. 16	42, 46, 47, 53, 54, 124, 128, 129, 168, 169, 170, 171, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 237, 244, 270, 292, 294
410	pl. 18	196, 197
427	pl. 22	39, 42, 43, 47, 50, 53, 54, 56, 78, 80, 181, 183, 189, 196, 197, 198, 219, 220
433	pl. 24	91, 110, 152

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. DeM	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* V (1951)	
434	pl. 25	71, 72, 140, 227, 231, 233
446	pl. 27	227, 231, 233, 234, 237, 240
448	pl. 28	109, 203
	Sauneron, *Ostraca Deir el Médineh* VI (1959)	
551	pl. 1	227, 230, 233, 234, 276, 277, 299
570	pl. 11	284
586	pl. 19	113
594	pl. 22	45, 48, 52, 128, 171
603	pl. 25	68, 70, 85, 87, 88, 89, 227, 232, 233, 235, 269, 272, 297
604	pl. 25	42, 47, 53, 54
611	pl. 28	143
	Černý, *Ostraca Deir el Medineh* VII (1970)	
633	pl. 5	42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 89, 159, 201
634	pl. 5	45, 47, 53, 54
639	pl. 8	227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 258, 261
643	pl. 8	227, 231, 233, 235, 258, 259
645	pl. 10	71, 72, 76, 83, 147, 152, 228, 232, 233, 245
653	pl. 13	91, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233
655	pl. 14	42, 47, 53, 54
661	pl. 16	111
666	pl. 18	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 260
684	pl. 22	241
	Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el*-Médîneh VIII (2000)	
739	141	228, 230, 234, 237, 242
743	145	111, 179, 182, 279
744 + 745	145–146	106, 111, 273
753	153	227, 233
757	158	45, 47
758	159	45, 47, 53, 54
759	160	43, 48, 53, 54
760	161	42, 47, 48, 50, 205, 208
819	207	214
825	210	180
	Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el*-Médîneh IX (2003)	
886	291–294	61
890	300–302	80, 130
894	305	42, 47, 53, 54, 102
896	308	42, 47, 48
898	310–313	45, 47, 51, 52, 134, 177, 184, 227, 231, 233, 234, 254, 260, 276, 282, 283, 293
899	314–315	42, 47, 51, 52
900	316–319	45, 47, 51, 52, 207
901	319	45, 47, 50, 51, 52, 61
902	320	45, 47, 51, 52, 175
903	321	45, 47, 51, 52
906	325	45, 47, 51, 52
907	326–327	45, 47, 50, 51, 52, 61, 204, 227, 231, 233, 234, 247, 249, 250, 253, 254
908	328–329	78, 79, 143, 254
910	331–332	227, 231, 234, 247, 248

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. DeM	Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el*-Médîneh IX (2003)	
911	333–339	45, 48, 50, 54, 100, 128, 171, 207, 213, 221, 260
942	379–380	196
951	394	227, 231, 233, 234, 276
952	395–398	227, 230, 233, 234, 247, 250, 255, 263, 264, 280, 281, 282
	Posener, *Ostraca littéraires DeM* I (1938)	
1059	pl. 32	68, 70, 115
1080	pl. 45	86
1101	pl. 52	86
	Posener, *Ostraca littéraires DeM* II,2 (1952)	
1180	pl. 35	86
1222	pl. 52	185
1265	Posener, *Ostraca littéraires DeM* II,3 (1972), pl. 43	71, 72, 86, 91, 93, 111, 118, 125, 130, 140, 143, 211, 212
	Grandet, *Ostraca Deîr el*-Médîneh X (2006)	
10009	193–194	42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 61, 62, 124
10019	208–209	42, 47, 53, 54, 225
10041	231–232	227, 228, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 261
10051	241	42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 134, 176, 177, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 265, 282, 283
10052	242–243	42, 47, 51, 52
10053	244	45, 47, 51, 52
10119	317	138
O. DeM inv. no. 344		see O. IFAO 344
O. DeM reg. no. 1088		see O. IFAO 1088
O. Demarée H 6	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 30	116, 270, 299
O. Faulkner 1	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 31.79	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 259
O. Gardiner AG		
32	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 254–255	see O. DeM 907
57	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 314	227, 232, 233, 235, 237, 238, 247, 249, 251, 252, 254, 263
63	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 37.27	258
O. Geneva MAH 12550	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pl. 54–55	98
O. Glasgow	McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca Glasgow* (1993)	
D.1925.71	pls. 8–9	68, 70, 75, 132, 227, 232, 233, 263
D.1925.72	pl. 10	68, 70, 131, 227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 247, 257, 262, 263
D.1925.76	pls. 15–16	42, 46, 47, 53, 54, 207, 208
O. Hasany Abdel-Galil		see O. Brunner
O. IFAO		
[unnumbered] + O. Varille 6	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 107.47	45, 47, 53, 54, 100, 101, 102
252	unpublished, see Janssen, *Village varia* (1997), 96 note 56	42, 47, 52, 53, 54, 123, 124
290	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 103.120	68, 70, 120, 122, 228, 232, 233, 265
344	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 103.7	68, 70, 126, 227, 230, 232, 263

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. IFAO		
380	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 103.26	68, 70, 120, 122, 227, 230, 265
383	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 104.108	45, 48, 54
1026	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 110.20	258
1069		see O. DeM 952
1077	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 110.46	45, 47, 51, 52, 209, 254
1088	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 110.56	68, 69, 70, 74, 85, 89, 92, 104, 112, 120, 122, 141, 153, 225, 227, 228, 230, 265
1105	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 110.61	45, 47, 51, 52
1206	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 61.6–7	44, 48, 54
1254		see O. DeM 911
1255 + O. Varille 39	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 300–302	130
1262	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 61.47	43, 48, 54, 211, 227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 242, 296
1306	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 62.15	42, 47, 53, 54, 216
1308	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 62.17	258
1329	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 62.30–1	258
1357	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pl. 58	43, 45, 48, 52, 62, 123, 156, 283
1424		see O. DeM 825
1864		see O. DeM 886
2830	Gasse, Une *sbḫt* d'Isis, *BIFAO* 86, 171–175	214, 227, 232, 233
O. Liverpool 13625	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 63,3	68, 70, 104, 154, 192, 227, 231, 233, 234, 237, 240, 263
O. LACMA M. 80.203. 192 + M. 80. 203.211	Cooney & McClain, The Daily Offering Meal, *JANER* 5 (2005), 41–78	138
O. Louvre		
E 3262b	Koenig, Les ostraca hiératiques, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 109	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 260, 261
E 3263	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 65,2	71, 72, 140, 228, 231, 233
E 13160	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 65,1	45, 46, 47, 53, 54
i 2	Koenig, Les ostraca hiératiques, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 110–111	214
N 694,2	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 284	43, 48, 53, 54, 203, 227, 232, 233, 235, 265, 266, 268
O. Michaelides	Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962)	
12	pl. 64	68, 70, 126, 227, 232, 233, 235, 237, 238, 241, 263
13	pl. 46	173
33	pls. 67–68	42, 47, 48, 53, 54, 73, 104, 108, 109, 190, 225, 228, 232, 233, 265, 291, 294
40	pl. 59	42, 47, 52, 53, 54

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Michaelides	Goedicke & Wente, *Ostraca Michaelides* (1962)	
48	pls. 71–72	68, 70, 83, 104, 192, 227, 228, 231, 233, 234, 237, 240, 247, 249, 251, 253, 263, 285, 286
52	pl. 83	68, 69, 70, 124
71	pl. 69	42, 47, 51, 52
72	pl. 23	138
O. MMA 09.184.702	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 330	45, 47, 53, 54
O. MMA 14.6.217	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 64,1	39, 45, 46, 47, 51, 100, 101, 227, 230, 231, 233, 234, 254
O. Nash 11		see O. BM EA 65933[a]
O. OIM		
12073	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 77	91, 110, 152
13512	Wilfong, Menstrual Synchrony (1999), 419–434	227, 230, 233, 234, 285
16991	Wente, A Letter of Complaint, *JNES* 20 (1961), 252–257	172
17005	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 107.37–9	258
N. 160	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 65.40	227, 230, 233, 234, 263, 285
O. Petrie		
11		see O. UC 39614
21		see O. UC 39622
32		see O. UC 39631
O. Prague H 24	unpublished, see Černý, Notebooks, 26.31	258
O. Queen's College 1115	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957), pl. 31,1	38, 68, 70, 73, 131, 197, 214, 227, 232, 233, 235, 247, 249, 252, 253, 254, 262, 263, 264
O. Qurna 633	Burkard, "Die Götter gebären", *GM* 169 (1999), 5–15	143, 211
O. Strasbourg H 136	Koenig, *Les Ostraca Strasbourg* (1997), pls. 72–73	44, 48, 54, 99, 109, 190
O. Turin N.	López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978)	
57007	pl. 8	39, 42, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 62, 123, 124
57010	pl. 10	227, 228, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 259, 262
57020	pl. 12	45, 48, 54, 208, 241
57025	pl. 14	44, 48, 54, 160, 201
57026	pl. 15	45, 47, 50, 53, 54, 160, 201
57028	pls. 17–18	39, 45, 47, 50, 53, 54, 61, 62, 122, 123, 124, 130
57029	pl. 16	45, 47, 53, 54, 81, 189
57031	pl. 20	39, 42, 46, 47, 53, 54, 61, 62, 122, 123, 130
57032	pl. 21	42, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 80, 82, 201, 202, 227, 228, 231, 232, 235, 287
57033	pl. 22	42, 46, 47, 53, 54, 175, 186, 215, 217, 227, 230, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 241, 242, 269, 273, 297, 298

Ostraca	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
O. Turin N.	López, *Ostraca ieratici* I (1978)	
57034	pl. 23	39, 42, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 149, 151, 152, 174, 175, 215, 216, 225, 227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 265, 276, 277, 296
57039	pl. 25	45, 47, 53, 54
57043	pl. 25	42, 43, 47, 53, 54, 100
57044	pl. 28	42, 47, 48, 53, 54, 66, 149, 151, 174, 175, 225, 227, 231, 232, 233, 265, 291, 294, 296
57046	pl. 29	45, 47, 53, 54
57047	pl. 30	42, 46, 47, 53, 54, 109, 110, 190
57055	pl. 34	42, 47, 53, 54, 213
57056	pl. 34	45, 47, 53, 54
57062	pls. 39–40	134, 228, 230, 231, 234, 276, 278, 280, 281, 282, 299
57073	pl. 45	227, 231, 233, 235, 238, 243
	López, *Ostraca ieratici* II (1980)	
57125	pl. 58	42, 47, 53, 54, 241
57133	pl. 59	227, 228, 231, 233, 235, 257
57146	pl. 64	228, 230, 234, 243, 245
57153	pl. 68; IV, pl. 198	42, 44, 47, 53, 54, 213
57154	pl. 68	43, 48, 54, 166
57156	pl. 70	228, 232, 235, 247, 249, 251, 253
57168	pl. 75	227, 230, 233, 234, 237, 242
57191	pl. 79	227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 243, 245, 269, 272, 298
	López, *Ostraca ieratici* III (1982)	
57356	pl. 105	228, 232, 236, 269, 272, 285, 298
57388	pl. 125	45, 47, 51, 52, 130, 227, 231, 233, 234, 247, 248, 253, 254
57432	pls. 139–140	45, 47, 50, 53, 54, 127, 130, 171, 205
	López, *Ostraca ieratici* IV (1984)	
57458	pl. 156	71, 72, 76, 83, 110, 228, 232, 233, 245
57503	pl. 167	227, 230, 233, 234, 276, 277
57530	pl. 172	227, 230, 233, 234, 237, 239, 298
O. UC	Černý & Gardiner, *HO* (1957)	
39614	pl. 1	1, 300, 303
39622	pl. 16,4	98
39625	pl. 21,3	42, 47, 53, 54, 197, 198
39626	pl. 34,1	42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 102
39630	pl. 35,1	227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 258, 259
39631	pl. 29,2	275
39633	pl. 29,1	91, 110, 152
O. Valle delle Regine fig. 126	see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 244	45, 47, 53, 54
O. Valley of the Queens 6	Koenig, Nouveaux textes, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 120-121	42, 47, 53, 54
O. Varille		
24	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 341	227, 232, 233, 235, 236, 247, 249, 251, 254, 263, 264
26	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 236–237	42, 47, 51, 52, 90, 199, 225

Papyri	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
Great Harris Papyrus		see P. BM EA 9999
P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.111	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 99–100	275
P. Berlin P		
3053	Verhoeven & Derchain, *Le Voyage de la Déesse Libyque* (1985)	105, 119, 153
10007	see Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung* (1992), 44–47	68, 69, 73, 74, 79
10018	see *op. cit.*, 60–61	68, 69
10039	see *op. cit.*, 61–63	68, 69
10052	see *op. cit.*, 67–68	68, 69, 73
10069	see *op. cit.*, 81–83	68, 69, 73, 126
10092	see *op. cit.*, 88–89	68, 69
10130	see *op. cit.*, 99	68, 69
10166	see *op. cit.*, 103–105	68, 69
10206	see *op. cit.*, 105–106	68, 69
10218	see *op. cit.*, 107–109	68, 69, 74
10248	see *op. cit.*, 110–114	68, 69
10282	see *op. cit.*, 114–118	68, 69, 73, 104, 107, 108
10412	see *op. cit.*, 130–132	68, 69
10416	see *op. cit.*, 132–134	68, 69
14485b+c	Fischer-Elfert, Rest in Pieces (2000), 102–103	45, 47, 51, 52
P. Berol		see P. Berlin P
P. Bibliothèque Nationale		
27 Carton	unpublished, see Helck, *Die datierten* (2002), 388	45, 47, 53, 54, 128, 171
199,v-ix + 196,v + 198,iv	Černý, *LRL* (1939), 5–7; Janssen, *LRL* (1991), pl. 88–89	227, 232, 233, 236, 276, 278
237	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 339–340	98, 227, 230, 231, 232, 235, 265, 266, 267
P. BM EA		
9994	see Gardiner, *LEM* (1937), 99–116	122
9997	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 389–394	197, 228, 230, 232, 236, 238, 243
9999	Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (1994)	27, 73, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 267
10055	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pls. 84–85	228, 231, 234, 269, 271, 272, 284, 289, 295, 296
10335	Dawson, An Oracle Papyrus, *JEA* 11 (1925), 247–248	95, 96, 97, 99
10401	Janssen, Requisitions, *JEA* 77 (1991), 79–92	94
10430	Černý, *LRL* (1939), 62–63; Janssen, *LRL* (1991), pl. 45	227, 232, 233, 236, 247, 249, 252, 253, 269, 273
10689	Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri Chester Beatty* I–II (1935), 78–106	120, 138
P. Bulaq 19		see P. Cairo CG 58096
P. Cairo CG		
58030 + P. Turin CG 54041	Daressy, Rituel des offrantes, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 97–122; Bacchi, *Il rituale di Amenhotpe I* (1942)	137
58042	Mariette, Les papyrus egyptiéns (1871), pls. 15–23	300
58096	Kitchen, *KRI* VII (1989), 102–103	68, 69, 70, 153, 155

Papyri	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
P. Cairo JE 86637	Bakir, *Cairo Calendar* (1966)	35, 36, 57, 71, 72, 73, 78, 82, 83, 85, 103, 110, 124, 125, 130, 145, 152, 157, 170, 198, 214
P. Chester Beatty IX		see P. BM EA 10689
P. DeM	Černý, *Papyrus Deir el-Médineh* I (1978)	
2	pl. 17	68, 70, 74, 75, 83, 84, 225, 227, 228, 232, 233, 235, 247, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 257, 262, 263
3	pl. 18	227, 228, 233, 235, 243, 244, 245, 269, 272, 299
6	pl. 22	174
7	pl. 23	227, 231, 233, 235, 243, 245, 293
16	pl. 30	135
26	Černý, *Papyrus Deir el-Médineh* II (1986), pls. 12–15	98
P. Ebers	Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung* (1935), pl. 1	71, 83, 110, 118, 145, 157
P. Geneva D191	Černý, *LRL* (1939), 57–60; Janssen, *LRL* (1991), pls. 59–60	275
P. Geneva MAH 15274 + P. Turin CGT 54063	Massart, The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 172–185	43, 48, 50, 53, 54, 218, 219, 221, 227, 232, 233, 235, 236, 276, 278
P. Greg		see P. UC 34336
P. Lansing		see P. BM EA 9994
P. London XLI.1		see P. UC 32191
P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin Cat. 2074	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 608–609	42, 47, 53, 54, 55, 127, 159, 160
P. Nevill	Barns, The Nevill Papyrus, *JEA* 35 (1949), 69–71	33
P. Sallier IV	Leitz, *Tagewählerei. Tafelband* (1994), pls. 55–79	170
P. Salt 124		see P. BM EA 10055
P. Turin B	Gardiner, *LEM* (1937), 125–128	76, 110, 118
P. Turin Cat.		
1879 + 1899 + 1969 A I–II	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 335–339	135, 182, 185, 227, 230, 232, 233, 235, 269, 272, 273, 278
1880	Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* II (1876), pls. 35–48	76, 110, 118, 227, 230, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 241
1881 + 2080 + 2092	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pls. 108–110	108, 189, 275
1884 + 2067 + 2071 + 2105	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 644–650	42, 43, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 80, 82, 197, 198, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233
1885 vs. III	Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* II (1876), pl. 72 (II)	42, 45, 47, 53, 54, 89, 90, 294

Papyri	Published in	Referred to on page(s)
P. Turin Cat.		
1898 + 1926 + 1937 + 2094	Botti & Peet, *Il giornale* (1928), pls. c, 50–53	39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 68, 70, 73, 81, 82, 89, 127, 128, 133, 139, 145, 153, 155, 159, 168, 169, 170, 172, 174, 175, 176, 181, 183, 184, 186, 194, 196, 197, 198, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 224, 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 260, 265, 266, 267, 291, 294
1906 + 1939 + 2047	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 624–630	42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 55, 83, 132, 205, 227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 265, 266, 274, 275
1907 + 1908	Janssen, Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus, *JEA* 52 (1966), 81–94	169, 227, 230, 232, 233, 235, 237, 238, 263, 274, 280, 281
1932 + 1939	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 685–687; Černý, Notebooks, 15.31–3	274, 275
1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082+ 2083 rt.	Botti & Peet, *Il giornale* (1928), pls. b, 14–26	43
1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082+ 2083 vs.	Botti & Peet, *Il giornale* (1928), pls. b, 27-43	82
1946 + 1949 vs.	Černý, Datum des Todes, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 110–111	42, 46, 47, 53, 177, 218
1960 + 2071	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pls. 122–127	42, 46, 47, 53, 54, 55, 96, 167, 230, 232, 233, 265, 267, 275
1961 + 2006	Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* II (1876), pls. 98–99; Černý, MSS, 3.551–552; Černý, Notebooks, 15.82	42, 43, 47, 48, 53, 54, 127, 138, 205, 206, 227, 231, 232, 235, 289
1971	Černý, *LRL* (1939), 31–33; Janssen, *LRL* (1991), pls. 92–93	227, 276, 278
1999 + 2009 vs.	Botti & Peet, *Il giornale* (1928), pls. a, 4–7	39, 42, 47, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 79, 81, 82, 194, 196, 198, 232, 233
2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078 rt.	Botti & Peet, *Il giornale* (1928), pls. b, 44–48	39, 42, 47, 53, 54, 55
2002	Pleyte & Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* II (1876), pls. 102–111	274, 275, 294
2008 + 2016	Janssen, *Two Ship's Logs* (1961), 53–95	68, 69, 70, 119, 121, 122
2018	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 851–863	275
2044	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 340–343	43, 149, 227, 228, 231, 235, 265, 266
2070	Muszynski, P. Turin Cat. 2070/154. *OrAnt 16*, 183–200	42, 47, 53, 54, 55, 56, 79, 82, 173, 194, 196, 198, 232, 233
2071 + 2091	Kitchen, *KRI* VI (1983), 637–638	43, 56
2072	Allam, *HOP Tafelteil* (1973), pls. 128–130	42, 47, 53, 54, 55, 84, 189
P. UC		
32191	Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (1898), pls. 24–25	68, 69, 74, 104, 107
34336	Kitchen, *KRI* V (1983), 437–448	42, 43, 47, 51, 52, 89, 90, 162, 164, 166, 200, 203, 224, 227, 231, 232, 233, 237

Papyri	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
Ritual of Amenhotep		see P. Cairo CG 58030 + P. Turin CG 54041; P. BM EA 10689

Stelae	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
Stela Bankes	Černý, *Egyptian Stelae* (1958)	
1	1	78
2	2	120, 244
3	3	120
4	4	86, 93
5	5	78, 86, 93
6	6	86, 87
7	7	105, 106, 135
8	8	86, 214
9	9	120, 182
10	10	214
13	13	78
Stela Berlin 23077	Erman, Denksteine (1986), pl. 16	93
Stela BM EA	*Hieroglyphic Texts*	
153	XII (1993), pls. 56–57	120, 214
191	IX (1970), pl. 39	214
266	XII (1993), pls. 46–47	78, 86
268	IX (1970), pl. 33	78
271	XII (1993), pls. 38–39	78
273	X (1982), pl. 71	244
278	X (1982), pl. 86	120, 244
279	XII (1993), pls. 50–51	120, 244
283	IX (1970), pl. 42	120, 124, 244
284	XII (1993), pls. 36–37	155
286	XII (1993), pls. 40–41	169
316	X (1982), pl. 70	244, 277
320	X (1982), pl. 81	78
328	IX (1970), pl. 40	182
332	XII (1993), pls. 46–47	78, 93
355	IX (1970), pl. 42	214
369	IX (1970), pl. 37	244
371	XII (1993), pls. 34–35	244
374	XII (1993), pls. 50–51	244
444	X (1982), pl. 69	93, 94
446	XII (1993), pls. 40–41	164
470	V (1914), pl. 41	244
555	XII (1993), pls. 30–31	244
588	Janssen, An unusual Donation, *JEA* 49 (1963), 64–70	102
	Hieroglyphic Texts	
807	IX (1970), pl. 33	86
810	X (1982), pl. 88	117
814	VII (1925), pl. 32	244
916	X (1982), pl. 87	173
1248	X (1982), pl. 81	78
1347	XII (1993), pls. 38–39	173
1515	VIII (1939), pls. 45	173
8501	X (1982), pl. 88	244
Stela Bordeaux	Clère, Un Monument de la Religion Populaire, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 72–77	142, 144

Stelae	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
Stela Cairo JE 43571	Bruyère, Quelques stèles, *ASAE* 25 (1925), pl. 2	86
Stela Cairo JE 91927	Vernus, Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI, *BIFAO* 75, 103–110	95, 97, 99, 214
Stela Clère	Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929)	
1	pl. 1	78
9	pl. 2	137, 268
Stela found in the Hathor Sanctuary A	Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 124–125, pl. 45	214
Stela found in the Hathor Sanctuary C	Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 85–86, pl. 7	214
Stela from chapel 1190	Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), 52, fig. 21	214
Stela from the small shrines near the workmen's huts [4]	Davies, A High Place (1953), 247, pl. 4,3	93
Stela Glasgow	Bierbrier & de Meulenaere, Hymne a Taouêret (1984), 23–32	155
Stela Griffith Institute (after rubbing iv.62)	Malek, A Stela of Pashed, *JEA* 77 (1991), 176–180	78
Stela Louvre 338	Černý, Le culte d'Amenophis, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), fig. 15	137, 268
Stela Louvre C 86	Letellier, Autour de la stèle *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 150–163	214
Stela Moscow	Hodjash & Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae* (1982)	
5209	112–113	214
5613	133–134	214
5627	135–136	182
Stela National Archaeological Museum Greece 3356	Tzachou-Alexandri, *The World of Egypt* (1995), 126	137, 182
Stela Swansea W 1326	Bosse-Griffith, Baboon and Maid (1984), 743–748	86
Stela Turin N.	Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972)	
50012	266	164
51025	270	78
50027	271	106, 244
50028	271	93
50030	272	182, 244
50035	274	142
50039	276	244
50043	278	78
50044	279	86, 87
50045	279	86
50046	280	86, 87
50047	280	86
50048	281	78
50052	283	86, 87, 214
50058	286	244
50060	288	244
50066	290	214
50135	316	120, 121, 124, 244
50160	325	164
50188	333	107

Stelae	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
Stela UC 14439	Steward, *Egyptian Stelae* (1976), pl. 42,2	244
Votive stela found in the area east of the Ptolemaic temple	see Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–1940* II (1952), 150–151	86

Tomb inscriptions	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
	Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949)	
TT2	10–31	43, 48, 51, 62, 107, 121, 137, 162, 164, 165, 166, 194, 203, 205, 209, 224, 228, 231, 233, 234, 237, 268, 288, 296
TT4	44–50	43, 48, 51, 107, 194, 224, 228, 231, 233
TT6	58–63	107
TT8	66–68	92
TT9	69–74	62, 74, 117, 162, 164, 165, 166, 194, 203, 224, 228, 231, 233, 234, 288
TT19	Foucart, *Le Tombeau d'Amonmos* (1935)	131, 172
TT48	Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteen Dynasty Tombs* (1957), 33–49	141
TT50	Helck, *Urk.* IV (1955–1958), 2177–2179	163
TT71 (astronomical ceiling)	e.g. Leitz, *Studien zur Astronomie* (1989), 35–48	69, 74, 104, 112, 141, 153, 304
	Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique* (1949)	
TT211	87–90	107
TT216	102–110	107, 147
TT219	Maystre, *Tombe de Nebenmât* (1936)	164, 165, 244
TT299	Lepsius, *Denkmäler Textband* III (1897–1913), 292–301	200
TT341	see Schott, *Festdaten* (1950), 94	117
TT359	Bruyère, *Rapport 1930* (1933), 33–70	54, 200

Varia	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
Cairo Calendar		see P. Cairo JE 86637
Door jamb Cléré 14	Clère, Monuments inédits, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 199	162, 165
Door jamb Turin N. 50219	Tosi & Roccati, *Stele e altre* (1972), 344	121, 124, 142
Ex-voto from Chapel 1190	Bruyère, *Rapport 1929* (1930), fig. 21	120
Lintel BM EA 153	*Hieroglyphic Texts* XII, pls. 56–57	93
Medinet Habu Festival Calendar	The Epigraphic Survey, *The Calendar of Ramses III* (1934)	27, 39, 62, 66, 70, 73, 85, 88, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 100, 103, 104, 108, 126, 141, 144, 147, 150, 151, 152, 162, 170, 185, 200, 204, 209, 214, 216, 267, 303
Naos BM EA 597 + Turin N. 50220	Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (1930), 165	142
Offering table Bodlean	see Bierbrier, Paneb Rehabilitated? (2000), pls. 4–5	244

Varia	**Published in**	**Referred to on page(s)**
Statue Berlin 6910	Jourdain, *La tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet* (1939), pl. 29	244
Statue Cairo JE 72000	Bruyère, *Rapport 1935–40 II* (1952), 42, 56–57 + pls. XII, XXXV	224, 227, 230, 231, 233, 234, 269, 272
Votive figure BM EA 12247	*Hieroglyphic Texts* XII (1993), pls. 48–49	142