

Article

Papyrus Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095: A New Edition of an Already Known Papyrus

Martina Landrino

The article offers the first complete publication of the hieratic papyrus Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095. Very little information is available regarding its origin or its owner. However, as the article will show, the document originates within the community of Deir el-Medina during the 20th Dynasty.

ملخص

يُقدّم هذا المقال أول منشور كامل للنص البردي الهيراطيقي ذات رقم أرشيف Cat. 1883 و Cat. 2095، لا تتوفر لدينا معلومات وفيرة حول أصله أو مالكه، ومع ذلك، كما سيُظهر المقال، نعلم أن تلك الوثيقة كُتبت من قبل أشخاص من دير المدينة خلال فترة حكم الأسرة العشرين.

1. Introduction

Papyrus Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095 (<https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Object/detail.aspx?iid=c-c962347971e4c43a317c37bd2278281>) belongs to the papyrus collection of the Museo Egizio, Turin, purchased as part of the so-called "Collezione Drovetti" (Drovetti Collection) by the king of Savoy, Carlo Felice, between 1823 and 1824.¹ Little is known about the papyrus's find context and place of origin. However, various factors, such as content and palaeography, suggest that it originated from the Theban area, and possibly from the village of Deir el-Medina.²

Although this papyrus has been mentioned occasionally in Egyptological literature since 1876,³ no edition based on the original document complete with images of the papyrus has been published so far. The existing transcriptions and translations into English⁴ and German,⁵ though of undoubted value, are based on a facsimile provided by Rossi⁶ and on unpublished notes collected in Turin by Černý.⁷ This article aims to fill this gap, providing the first complete publication and edition of the text.

One of the features that has attracted the attention of scholars since 1876 is the name of the king that

appears in the first line of the verso. Various attempts have been made to read the name and thereby date the document to the reigns of Ramesses II,⁸ Ramesses VII,⁹ or Ramesses IX.¹⁰

This will be discussed in detail in the following pages, showing that Ramesses VII is the best candidate.

1.1. Physical description

The papyrus is made up of five directly adjoining fragments (Fig. 1). The larger fragment on the left side of the recto bears the inventory number Cat. 1883, while the four smaller ones on the right side of the recto are inventoried as Cat. 2095.¹¹ The bottom left corner of the larger fragment (Cat. 1883) is not correctly joined to the rest of the papyrus (darker green in Fig. 2). Thus, some of the signs are partially covered or not aligned properly. This becomes clear when looking at the verso, where the long horizontal sign that runs through line 8 drastically changes direction. In its current state, the whole document measures 235 mm in height and 410 mm in length. Two sheet joins are visible, the first one 145 mm, the second 385 mm from the right edge of the papyrus (recto side). Both are around 20 mm wide (21 mm for

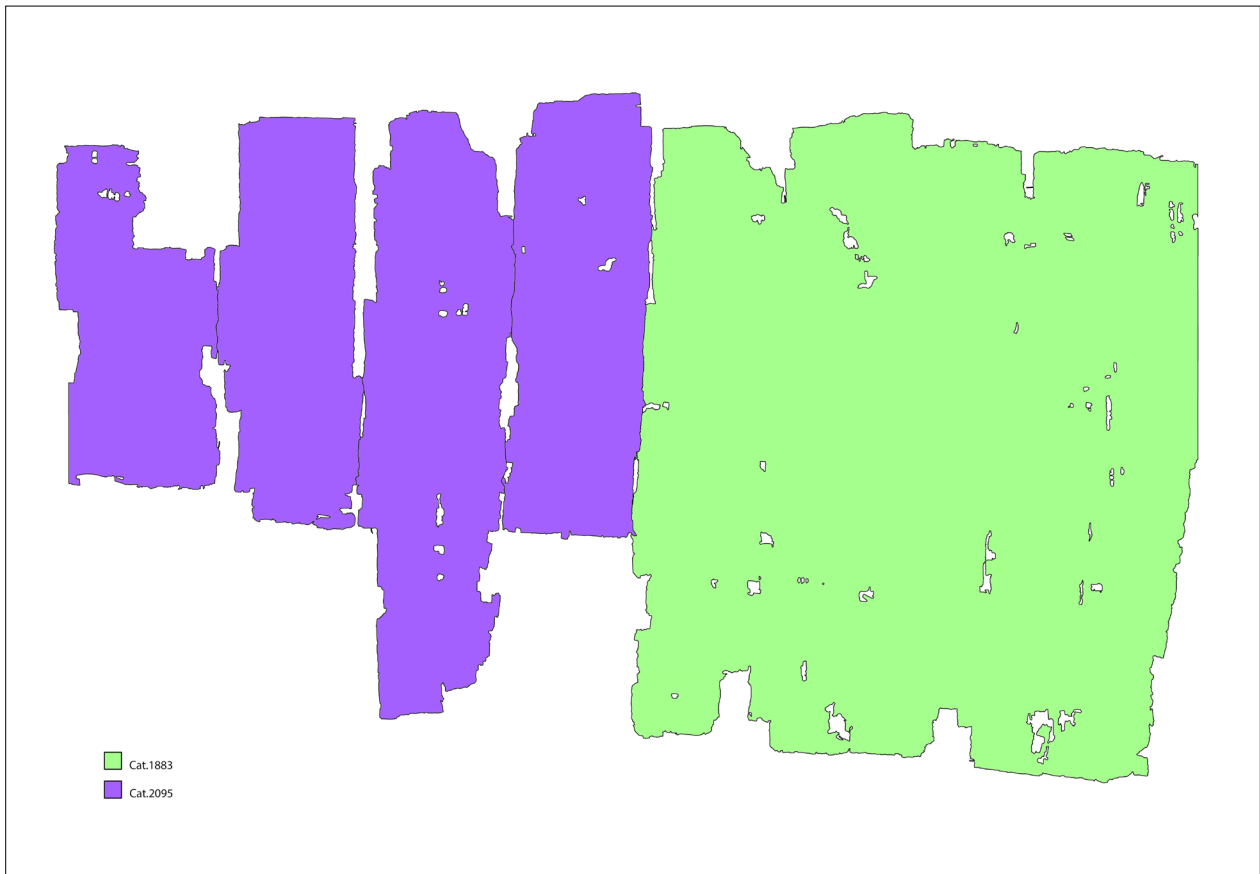


Fig. 1: P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, verso. The fragments inventoried under number Cat. 1883 are coloured in green, those under inventory number Cat. 2095 in purple. Digital drawing by Martina Landrino.

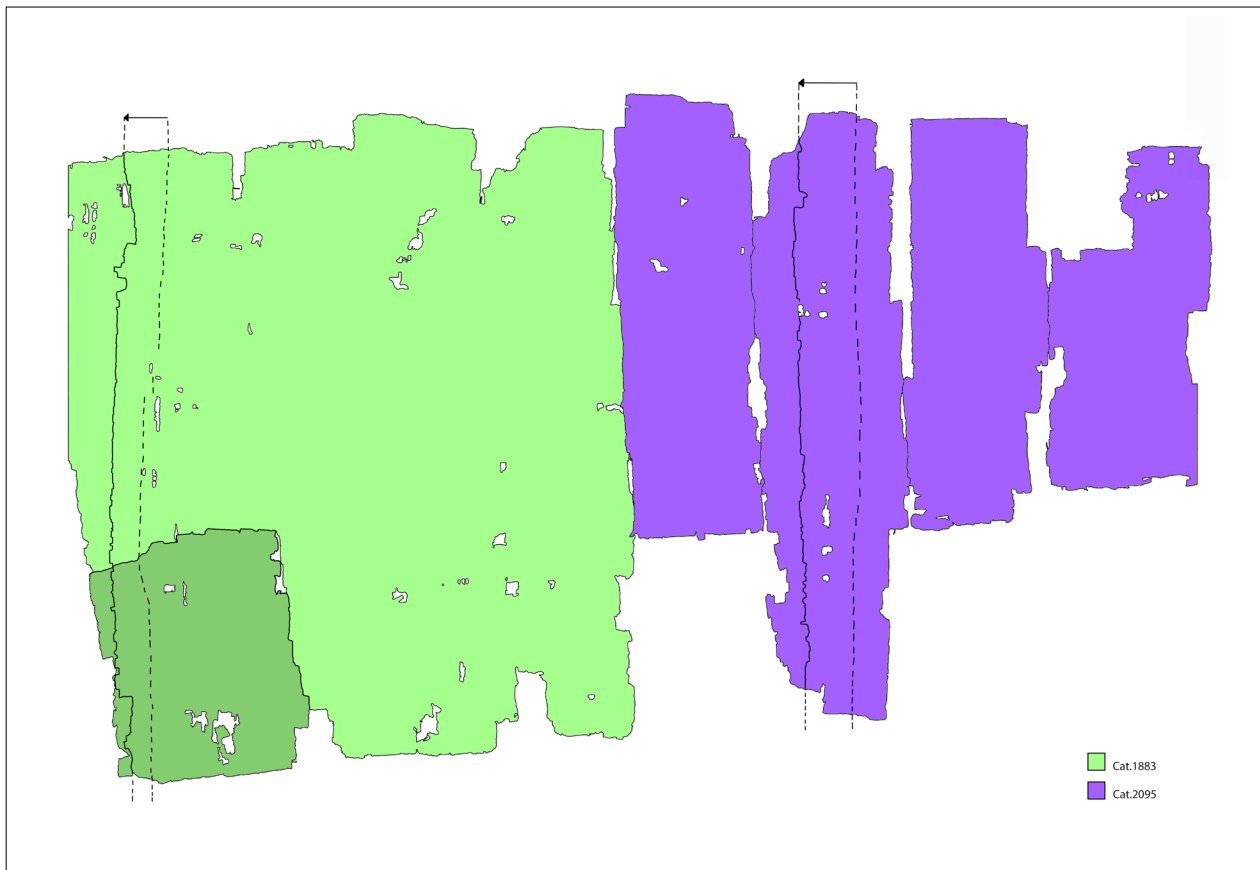


Fig. 2: P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, recto. Digital drawing of the two sheet joins by Martina Landrino.

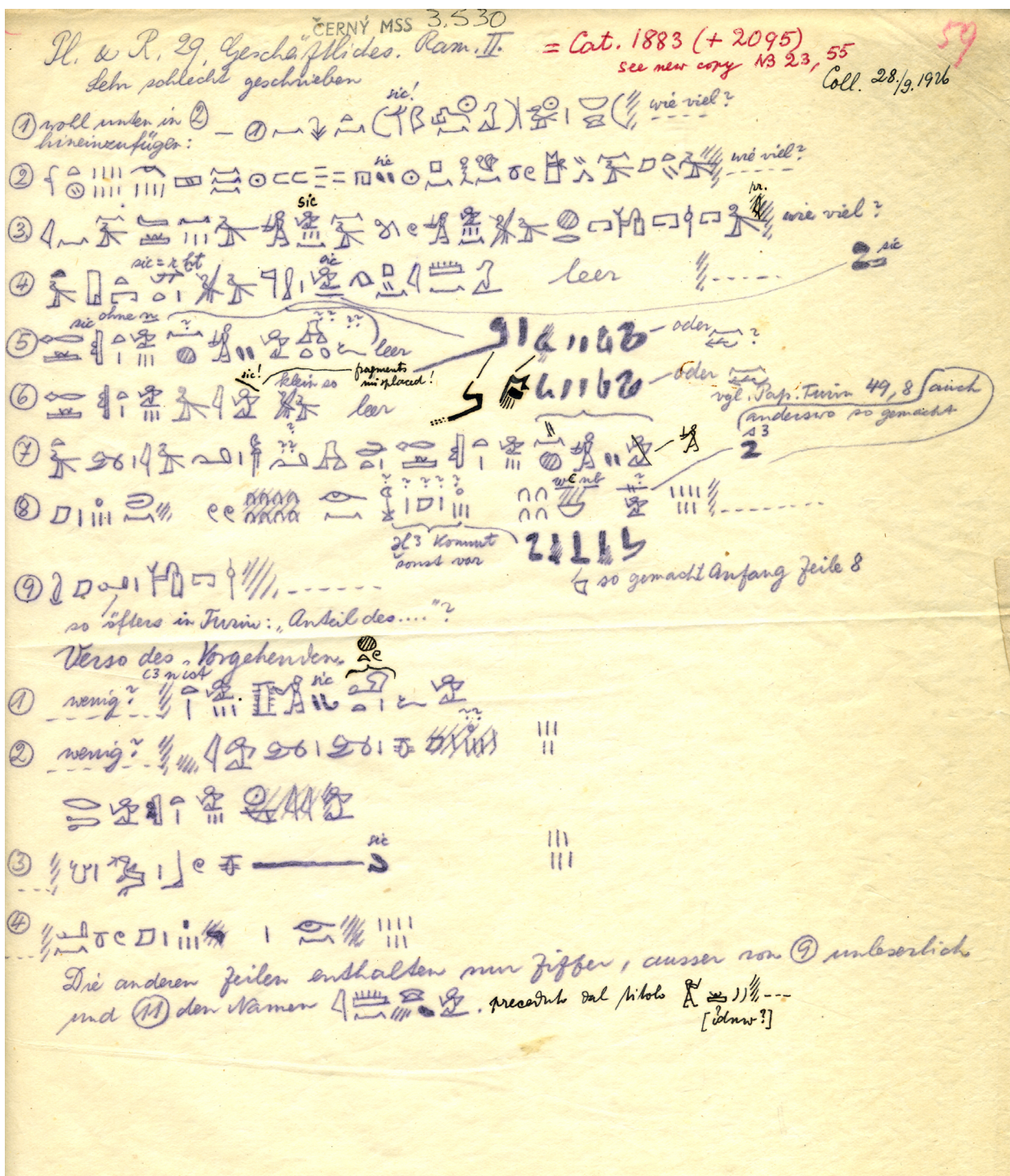


Fig. 3: Černý, MSS 3.350. ©Griffith Institute, Oxford.

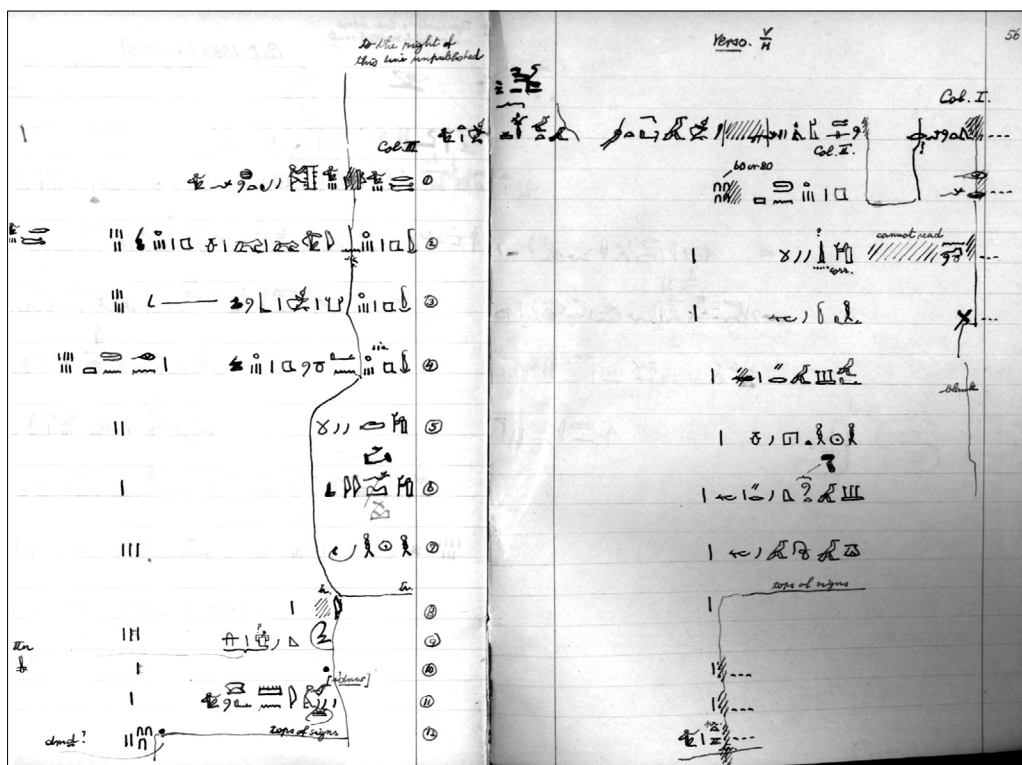


Fig. 4: Černý, NB 23.56. ©Griffith Institute, Oxford.

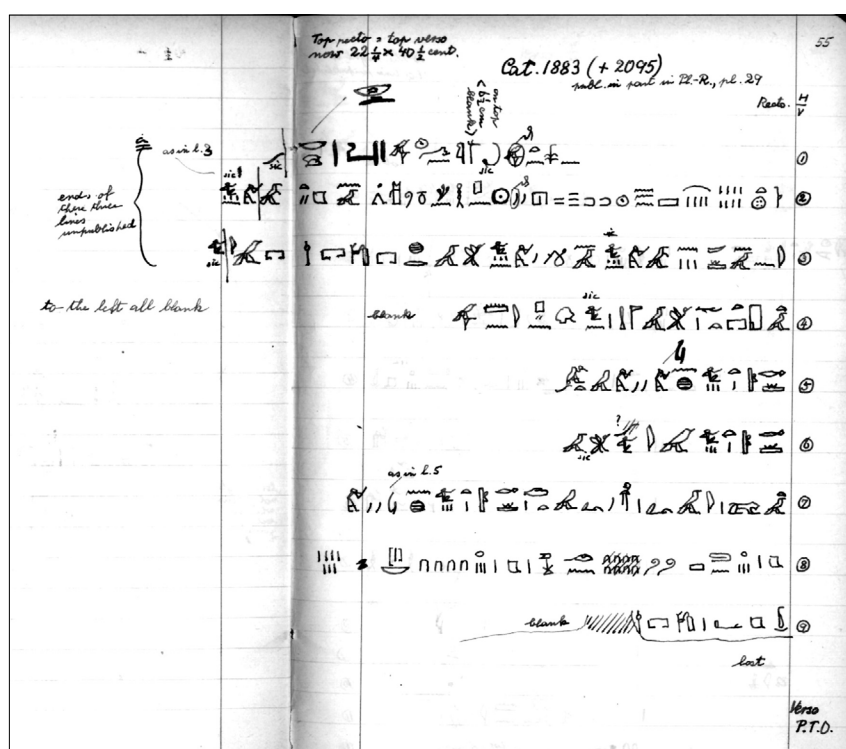


Fig. 5: Černý, NB 23.56. ©Griffith Institute, Oxford.

the left join, 18 mm for the right one), and the right sheet overlaps the left one (Fig. 2).¹² The sheet joins belong to Type IIIA in the classification established by Krutzsch. The short distance between them and the fact that they are sloppily done suggest that the scribe himself joined the sheets.¹³

It is uncertain when the fragments were joined and placed in a single frame. In 1926, Černý transcribed the larger fragment (Fig. 3).¹⁴ At a subsequent time, he added a red note to the transcription reading: “=Cat. 1883 (+ 2095) see new copy NB 23.55”. The new copy¹⁵ (Figs. 4, 5) is the transcription of the whole document, as clearly indicated by the measurements given at the top of the page: “now 22 ¼ x 40 ½ cent.”. Particularly interesting is the use of the word “now”, meaning that the second time Černý saw the text the four smaller fragments had been added to the larger one. Although Černý does not give the exact date on which he worked on the document, a note written some six pages earlier in the same notebook (page 49), mentions the date “19.7.1961”.¹⁶ It would seem likely that his notes on P. Turin Cat. 1883 date from a similar point in time, providing a rough terminus ante quem. Thus, the papyrus fragments were most likely joined between 1926 and 1961.

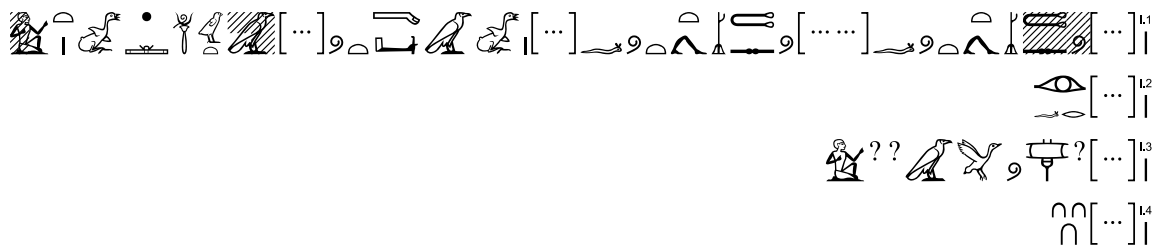
Today, the recto¹⁷ (Fig. 6, 7) preserves three columns of text. The first column is composed of four lines,

the first of which, with a preserved width of 210 mm, runs across the papyrus, extending above columns 2 and 3. Only the left uppermost part of the first column is preserved to a width of 65 mm; both the second column (63 mm wide) and the third column (224 mm wide) contain twelve lines, of which the bottom parts are only partially preserved. A 5 mm gap divides the first and the second column, while the second and the third are separated by a margin that measures 48 mm. The verso (Figs. 8, 9), written with the same orientation as the recto (meaning the papyrus was flipped over horizontally and not vertically to write on the other side), preserves one column of text with a width of 195 mm, containing nine lines, the first of which is indented by 75 mm. Traces of palimpsest texts are visible on both the recto and verso. An analysis conducted both with the bare eye and the image enhancement software DStretch did not allow for the identification of any specific signs. In the Ramesside period, the average height of a papyrus sheet was about 420 mm. If this is also true of the document at hand, then only its upper part is preserved. However, scribes often cut papyrus sheets in half or even into quarters for more convenient use.¹⁸ Since neither the text on the recto nor that on the verso can indicate whether this was a standard or half-height roll, it is impossible to reconstruct the exact dimensions of the papyrus.

2. Transcription, transliteration, translation and commentary

2.1 Recto

2.1.1 Col. 1



(l. 1) [...w₁ts].tw=f [... ...] w₁ts.tw=f [...][t₃=tw [...j] r z w.t
t₃ty

(l. 2) [...] jr=f

(l. 3) [...] t₃w/nfw ? p₃ ??

(l. 4) [...] 30

(l. 1) [...] He is raised (he is denounced?) [... ...] He is raised (he is denounced?) [...] one takes the office of the vizier.

(l. 2) [...] He did

(l. 3) [...] the ??

(l. 4) [...] 30

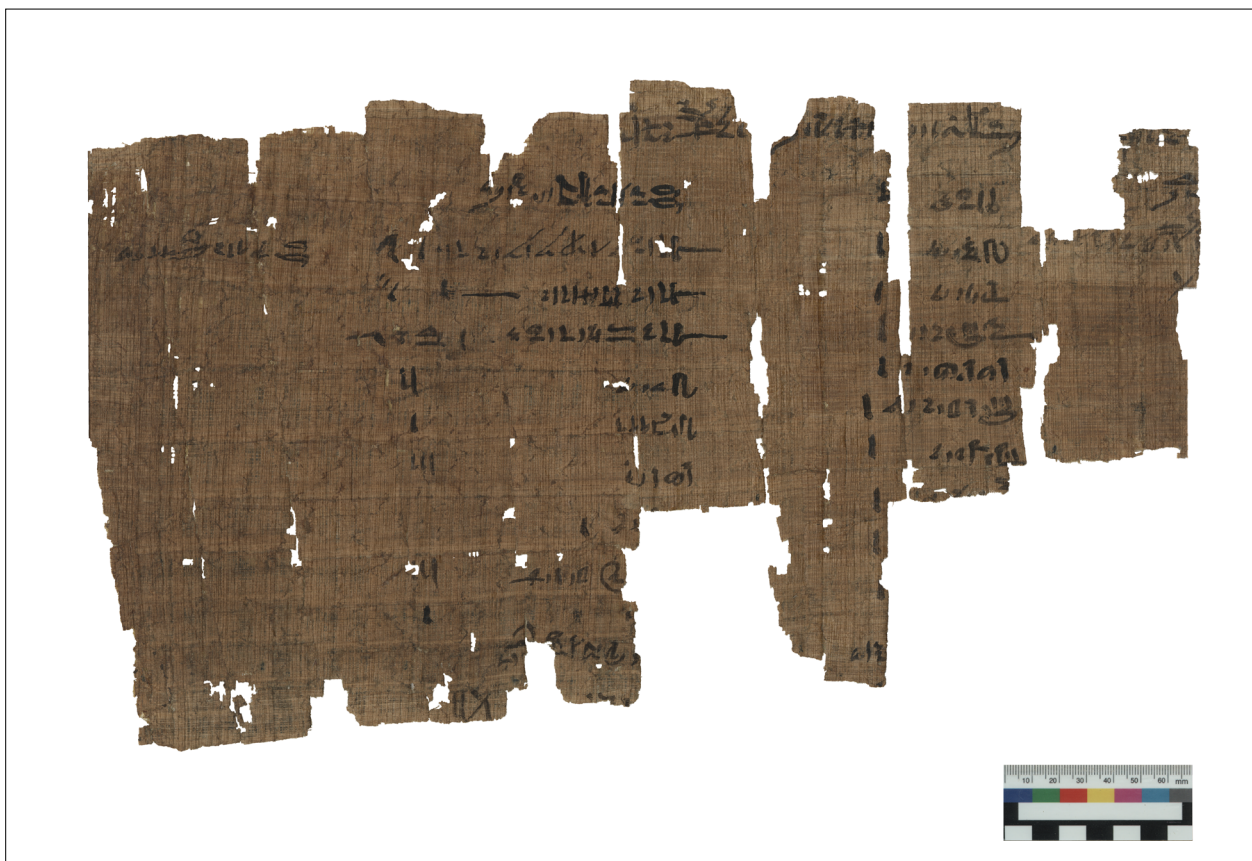


Fig. 6: P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, recto, as currently mounted. Scan by Museo Egizio, Turin. Digital processing by Martina Landrino.

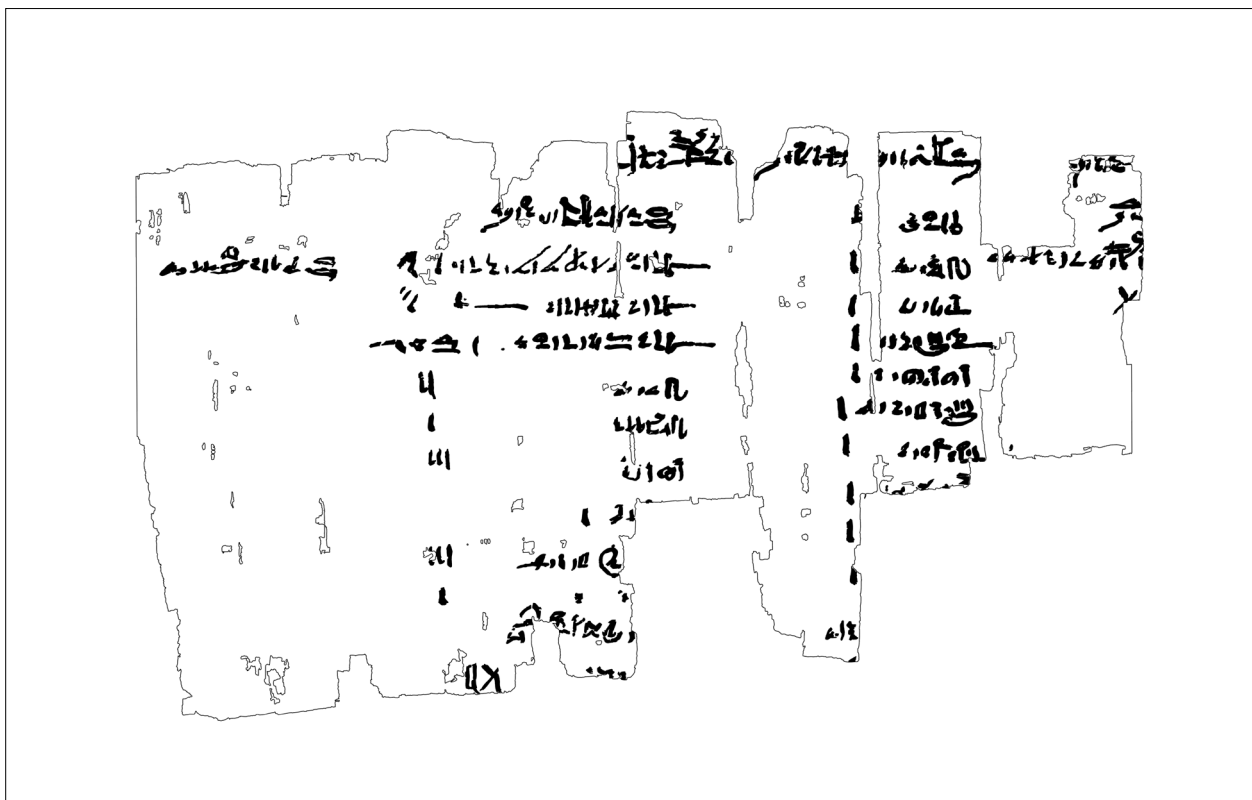


Fig. 7: P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, recto, facsimile. Digital drawing by Martina Landrino.

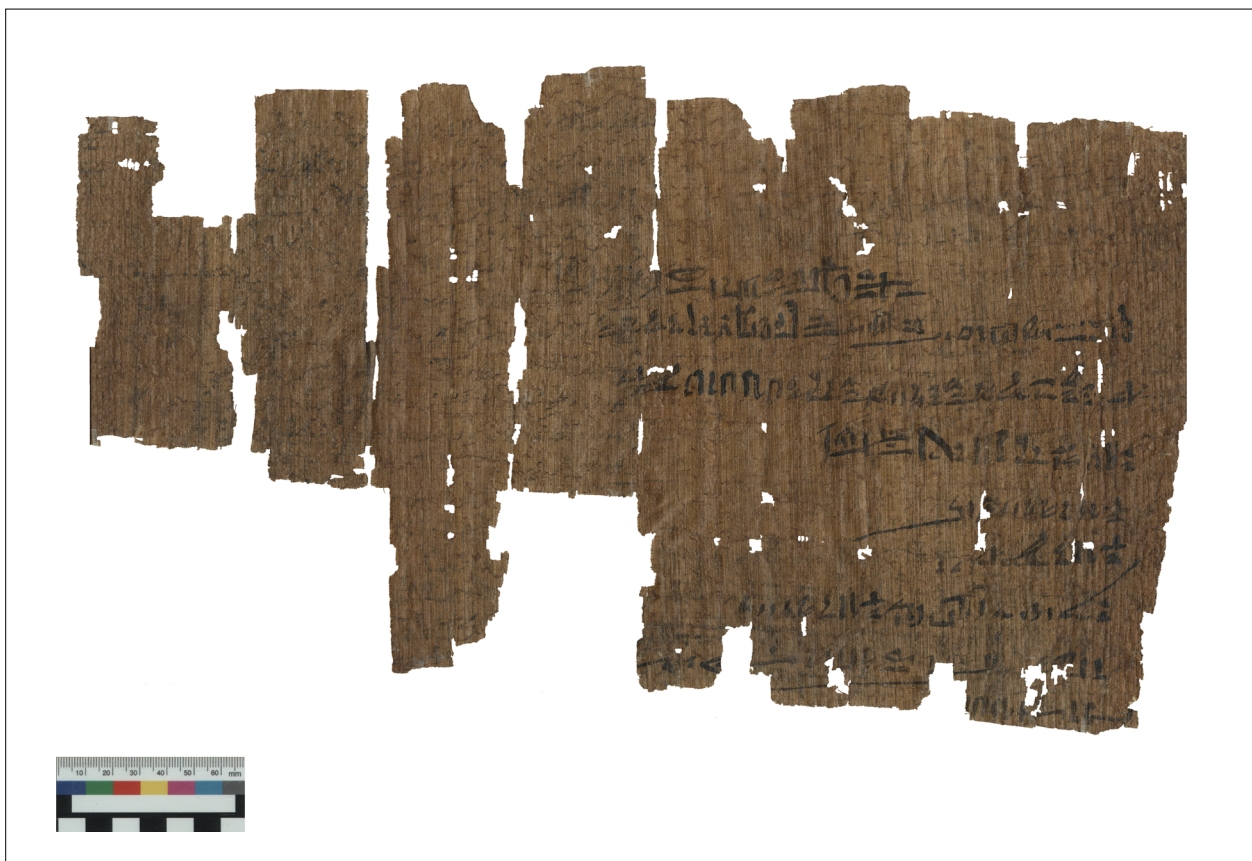


Fig. 8: P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, verso, as currently mounted. Scan by Museo Egizio, Turin. Digital processing by Martina Landrino.

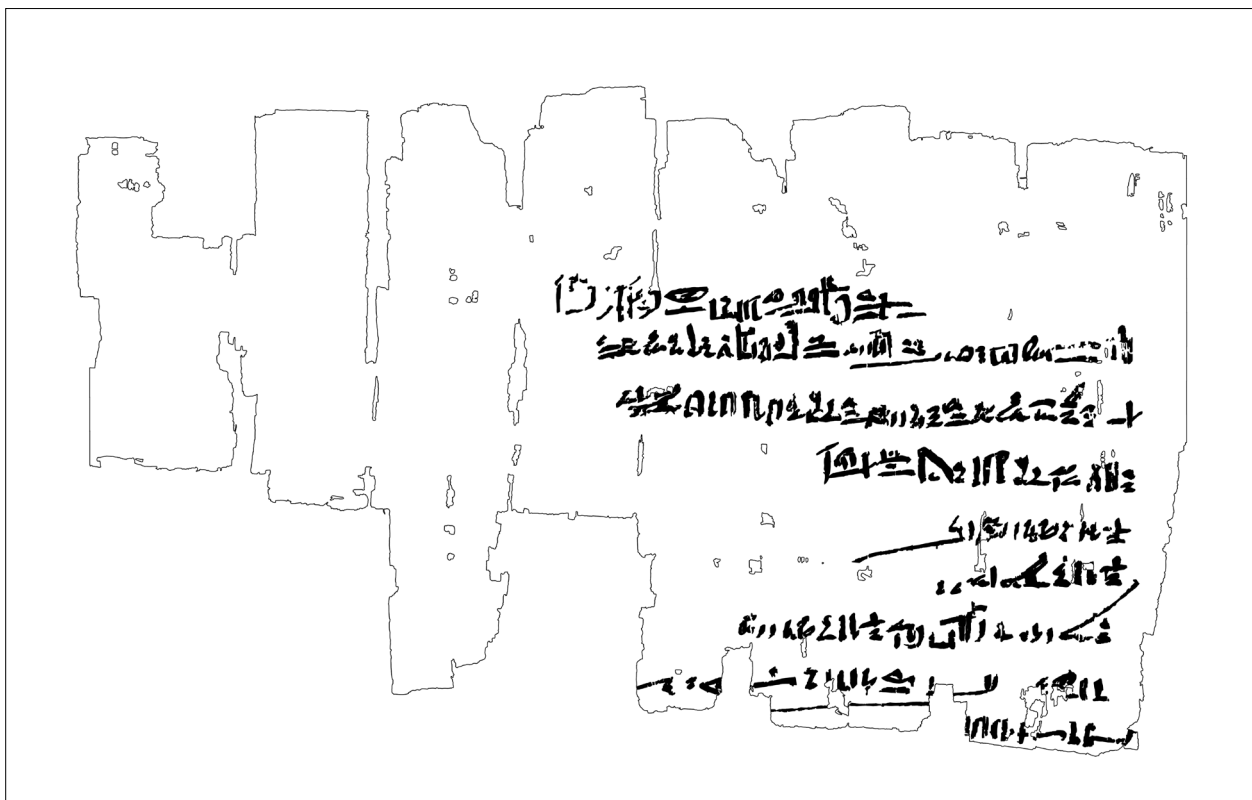


Fig. 9: Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, verso, facsimile. Digital drawing by Martina Landrino.

Line 1

The reading of the signs at the beginning of the line is debatable. The first word is completely lost except for the determinative of the “legs” (D54) followed by a pronoun. Since the same combination is repeated after the verb *włs*, I restored the missing word at the beginning as *włs*. The verb *włs* “to lift/to carry”¹⁹ could be a misspelling of *łsj* “to rise/to climb”.²⁰ The verb *włs* is also used in legal language meaning “to denounce”.²¹ If this sentence records a dismissal of the vizier from his office, it is possible that this latter meaning is intended.²²

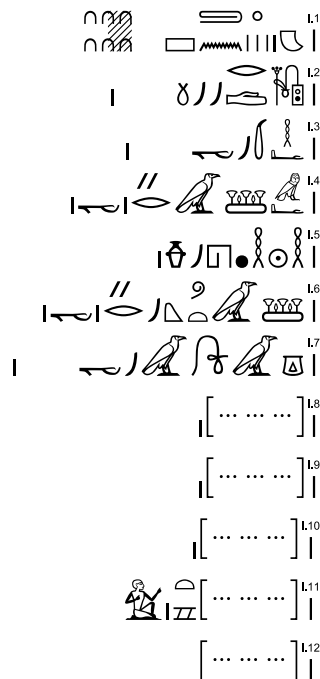
Line 3

If Černý’s judgement (“sehr schlecht geschrieben”)²³ seemed a bit harsh until now, this line matches the description perfectly. At first glance, the signs are clearly legible. Upon closer observation, it is difficult to identify them. It is even more problematic to make sense of them. I was unable to, so I must leave this line untranscribed and untranslated.²⁴

Line 4

Černý left this sign untranscribed. A comparison with the sign “30” written in Col. 3 – line 12 shows that the two signs look similar, hence the reading suggested here.

2.1.2 Col. 2



(l. 1) *hmt dbn* 60(+x)

(l. 2) *n^{cc} rwḏ.w* 1

(l. 3) *h^ctj* 1

(l. 4) *mšr* 1

(l. 5) *nḥḥ hnw* 1

(l. 6) *škr* 1

(l. 7) *gzw.t* 1

(l. 8) [...] 1

(l. 9) [...] 1

(l. 10) [...] 1

(l. 11) [...] ?

(l. 12) [...] (traces)

(l. 1) Copper, deben, 60(+x)

(l. 2) Smooth cloth, *rwḏ.w*-garment, 1

(l. 3) Bed, 1

(l. 4) *mšr*-object, 1

(l. 5) *nḥḥ*-oil, hin, 1

(l. 6) *škr*-container, 1

(l. 7) *gzw.t*-chest, 1

(l. 8) [...] 1

(l. 9) [...] 1

(l. 10) [...] 1

(l. 11) [...] ?

(l. 12) [...] (traces)

Line 1

The line is neither transcribed nor translated by Kitchen.²⁵

It has been interpreted either as a continuation of the second line of the first column²⁶ or as the first line of the second column.²⁷ It starts at the same height as the first line of Col. 3, and is aligned with the other lines belonging to Col. 2. Furthermore, before and after the lacuna (which splits Col. 1 – line 2 and Col. 2 – line 1) there are rather large blank spaces visible. Even though blank spaces are also evident in other areas of the text, they always occur between a word and a number. Therefore, I find Černý’s interpretation (first line of Col. 3) more likely to be correct. However, it is not possible to dismiss the other theory completely.

Line 2

After the scribal palette (Y3), the scribe made a correction, overlapping two signs onto others. Both the scribal palette and the determinative of the word itself clarify that the item mentioned is a textile or a garment of some sort. In his notebook, Černý suggested to read the first sign as *ḏz* (U28).²⁸ This reading seems to be paleographically unlikely, since the ligature con-

sists of two different signs, one above the other. The reading proposed here is *rwḏ.w*,²⁹ which designates a piece of garment rather commonly mentioned in both papyri and ostraca from Deir el-Medina.³⁰

Line 4

The word *mšr* is not frequently mentioned in the text. So far, it has been generally translated as “table”.³¹ In a recent contribution, Gabler and Müller suggest the translation “*mšr*-chair”.³²

Line 5

The word *nḥḥ*³³ is usually followed by the determinative of the jug (W23). It cannot be excluded that the dot following the word stands for such. However, since a clear dot was rendered by the scribe, I did not transcribe it differently. Furthermore, a comparison with the jug determinative written after the word following it and also in Col. 3 – line 6 shows that their shapes are different.

The word *hnw* is written in an abbreviated form. The scribe only wrote the signs essential to understand-

ing the word: the first sign (O4), an oblique stroke (Z5) indicating the abbreviation, and the determinative (W23).

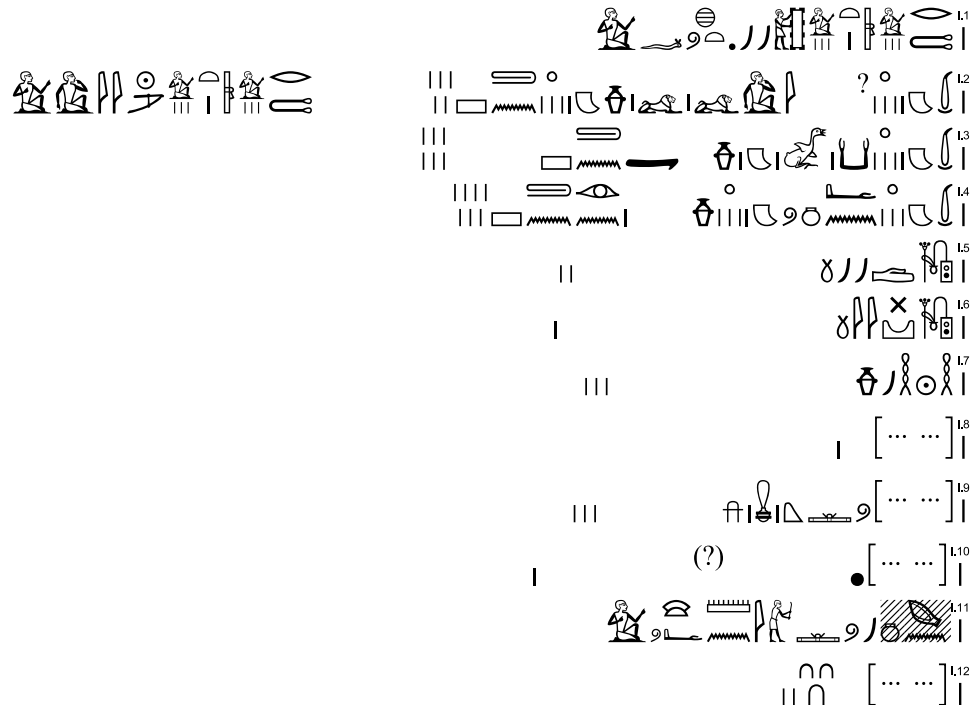
Line 6

The wooden container known as *škr* is often mentioned in the Deir el-Medina corpus.³⁴ This peculiar spelling though, is not common. It is attested only in one other instance.³⁵ Despite its common occurrence in written evidence, it is still not clear what kind of wooden container corresponded to this word.³⁶ Because of its low price, Janssen suggested that it should be an item of small dimensions.³⁷

Line 7

The last preserved word in the column is *gzw.t*. This item is not as frequently mentioned as the *škr*; thus, the identification of the actual wooden object is rather difficult. Lesko translated the word as “chest/box”.³⁸ Based on its attestations, Janssen thought that it should be a chest rather than a box, since its price is higher than those of the other containers.³⁹

2.1.3 Col. 3



(l. 1) *rmṭ-ḥs.t Ḳḏ-ḥh.t=f*

(l. 2) *ḥsmn ? jrr ḥmt dbn 5 rmṭ ḥs.t Mry-R^c*

(l. 3) *ḥsmn kt* ditto 6

(l. 4) *ḥsmn ḥn(.t) ds 1 jrj n dbn 7*

(l. 5) *n^{cc} dzjw 2*

(l. 6) *n^{cc} sd 1*

(l. 7) *nḥḥ (hnw) 3*

(l. 8) [... ...] 1

(l. 9) [... ...] *kmj* 3

(l. 10) [... ...]? 1

(l. 11) [*jd*n]w *Jmn-ḥ^c.w*

(l. 12) [... ...] 32

- (l. 1) Workman Qedakhtef
 (l. 2) Bronze, *jrr*-vessel, copper, *deben* 5, workman Meryre
 (l. 3) Bronze, *kt*-vessel, ditto, 6
 (l. 4) Bronze, *ʿn(.t)*-support (?), 1; making, *deben* 7
 (l. 5) Smooth cloth, kilt, 2
 (l. 6) Smooth cloth, loincloth, 1
 (l. 7) *nḥḥ*-oil, (*hin*) 3
 (l. 8) [... ...] 1
 (l. 9) [... ...] ? 3
 (l. 10) [... ...] ? 1
 (l. 11) [Depu]ty Amenkhau
 (l. 12) [... ...] 32

Line 2

The first word in this line has been interpreted as “bronze” or “chisel”.⁴⁰ Due to the presence of the combined mineral determinatives and the following word *jrr*, I find “bronze” a more fitting translation.⁴¹ The same construction is used elsewhere, for instance O. Cairo 25242, where another *jrr*-vessel is said to be made out of bronze.⁴² It is not clear what exact shape the *jrr*-vessel has. Janssen suggested it could be a drinking vessel.⁴³

Line 3

The same interpretation is applied to this line. Thus, the first word should be “bronze”, followed by a second metal container. Černý transcribed this word as *ktb*.⁴⁴ After a closer look at the original, I suggest that the signs Černý transcribed as a leg (D58) and a w (Z7) are followed by an untranscribed sign. These should be transcribed as the mineral determinative (N34), the ideogram stroke (Z1), and a jug (W23) for the word *kt*.⁴⁵ The *kt*-vessel seems to be designated by the same signs in other attestations.⁴⁶ This vessel is likely to belong to drinking crockery, but its exact shape is difficult to identify.⁴⁷

Line 4

So far, the object listed has been read as *ʿnw* with no attempted translation of the word, or as *ʿn(.t)* meaning “adze”.⁴⁸ The “adze” is mentioned in both ostraca and papyri and it is generally identified by the determinative of the adze itself (U19).⁴⁹ In this text, the word *ʿn(.t)* has the combined mineral determinatives and is followed by another word left untranscribed in the previous hieroglyphic transcriptions.⁵⁰ I transcribed the word as the hand (D46) on top of the latch (O34). An *ʿn(.t)* *ds* made out of bronze

is also attested elsewhere.⁵¹ This item is most likely a circular support for vessels and jugs.⁵² Its position within the text (right after the drinking vessels) could support the reading here suggested.

Line 5

Various translations have been proposed for the word *dʒjw*, such as “loincloth” or “kilt/skirt”. Following Janssen’s interpretation, the word is translated here as “kilt”.⁵³

Line 6

The *sd* is usually mentioned right after the *dʒjw*. For this reason, Janssen proposed that the latter should be identified as a kilt or skirt, and the former as a triangular loincloth.⁵⁴

Line 7

The *nḥḥ*-oil is followed directly by a number, with no indication of the capacity measure. However, this number should refer to the *hin* measure.

Line 8

The only sign legible is the number 1; the other traces are too poorly preserved to be legible.

Line 9

Due to the determinative (V19), this entry possibly lists a basket. I am not able to provide a suggestion regarding its name.

Line 11

The first word in this line is only partially preserved. Its position in front of a name suggests that it could be a title. I agree with Černý’s suggestion to read it as *jdñw*.⁵⁵

Line 12

The traces at the beginning of this line are too poorly preserved to be legible. The following number indicates a rather large amount compared to the other numbers present in the same column. Whether this is the indication of the total price of the objects listed above, it is difficult to say, since some objects are listed with their prices in *deben*, while for others only the quantity is given and not their worth.

2.1.4 Comment on content and writing

The beginning of the recto is highly damaged. From what is preserved it is difficult to understand if it is related to the commissioning of the tools described on the verso. Therefore, I treat them separately.

The meaning of Col. 1 is unclear, especially that of the first line. The suffix pronoun *-f* expresses the

subject. The person it refers to is lost. The sentence ends by mentioning the taking of “the office of the vizier”. The Egyptian verb used to convey this action is *jṯ* “to take, to remove”.⁵⁶ Perhaps it refers to a dismissal of the vizier.⁵⁷ The only other attestation of such an event is recorded in P. British Museum EA 10055, where it is said that a vizier “will be dismissed from his post”. Even though the term used to describe the discharge is *rwj*⁵⁸ instead of *jṯ*, it is possible that the same deed is intended. In this case, the two verbs preceding *jṯ*, i.e., *wṯs*, could have been used with the legal meaning “to denounce”. Due to the lack of parallels and to the state of preservation of the text, this is simply put forward as a suggestion.

The other columns contain an inventory of various items, such as garments, woodwork, and metalwork. In Col. 2, the objects are registered with their quantity and not their value. Perhaps the first entry, “X *deben* of copper”, indicates their total sum – although the sum is usually indicated at the end of lists and preceded by the word *dmd* “total”. In this document, the amount of copper could be an item itself. How long the list was and what other items were listed is hard to determine. During the New Kingdom, inventories appear on both ostraca and papyri. The latter are often reserved for more complex lists, recording great quantities of objects belonging or being delivered to institutions, such as temples or “The Tomb”.⁵⁹ The list preserved in P. Turin Cat. 1883 differs from those. The small quantity of objects listed, seldom more than one object per type, and the items themselves point towards a private transaction, namely payments or divisions of goods.⁶⁰ The text gives no indication regarding either the occasion on which the list was drawn up or the motivation.

At least three people were involved: two workmen named Qedakhtef and Meryre, and a deputy named Amenkhau. Possibly, another name was written in Col. 2 – line 1, but the traces are not legible. The deputy Amenkhau is the only one who is clearly identifiable. There is indeed only one deputy recorded under this name, Amenkhau (i).⁶¹ The identification of the two workmen is a more complicated matter. Four different workmen are recorded with the name Qedakhtef. Davies identified the one mentioned in

the text with either Qedakhtef (iii) or (iv), following Bierbrier’s interpretation.⁶² For Meryre, Davies lists four workmen under that name. He narrows the possibilities down to Meryre (vi) and (vii). However, neither seems to fit within the context, one being too early, the other too late.⁶³ The interpretations are based on chronological evidence. Davies dates the text on the recto to year 8 of Ramesses VII. Even though the verso is clearly dated to that period, the recto could be of a different date. The presence of the deputy Amenkhau could indeed be an indicator of this, as he was in office from year 17 of Ramesses III to year 7 of Ramesses IV.⁶⁴ Therefore the text on the recto could be earlier and mention the older Qedakhtef (i) or (ii), and Meryre (iv) or (vi). On the basis of the information preserved, their identification cannot be narrowed down any further.

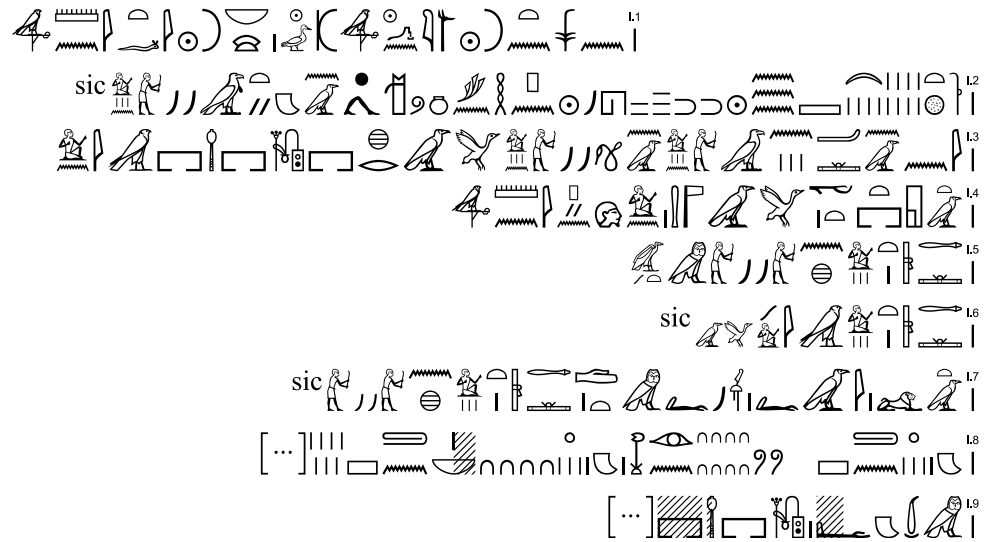
Similar texts, describing smaller transactions, are often written on ostraca rather than papyri.⁶⁵ The majority of these documents have been analysed under several respects as inexhaustible sources for the study of the daily life of the workmen of Deir el-Medina. As a result, not only their content but also their vocabulary is well-known, allowing a comparison with the text presented in this study. Among the items mentioned, some are commonly present in documents, e.g., the *ḥṯj*, while others are rare, for instance the *mšr*.⁶⁶ The latter is attested only a dozen times, one occurrence being on an ostrakon, part of which is held in the Museo Egizio, Turin (Suppl. 9765A) and the other part at the IFAO, (O. DeM 105).⁶⁷ The text preserved on this ostrakon has certain similarities with the one preserved on the papyrus of this study.

The first object listed in O. Turin Suppl. 9765A + O. DeM 105 is *ḥṯj*, followed by other items of which some also appear in P. Turin Cat. 1883, namely *mšr*, *šgr*, and *gṣw.t*.⁶⁸ The list then continues with entries about metal objects and garments. The two inventories seem to follow the same principle: first woodwork, then metalwork, and then textiles.⁶⁹ Even the objects in the first category are recorded in the same order. Exceptions to this pattern are the intrusions of the “*rwḏ.w*-garment” before the “bed” and of the “*nḥḥ*-oil” after the “table”. The same pattern is attested on another ostrakon, O. Ash. Mus. 204.⁷⁰ The first three items enumerated are *ḥṯj*, *mšr*, and *nḥḥ*.

Of course, three examples are not enough to prove the existence of a rule behind the enumeration of the objects in inventories. What we can say, in any

case, is that the inventory in P. Turin Cat. 1883 resembles the ones preserved on ostraca.

2.2 Verso



(l. 1) *n nswt (Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ Stp.n-Rꜥ) sꜣ Rꜥ nb ḥꜥ(.w)*
(*{Rꜥ}Jt-Jmn*)

(l. 2) *rnp.t-sp 8 zbd 4 šmw sw 25 hrw pn ḥn nꜣ ḥmtj.w*
{n}

(l. 3) *jn nꜣ ḥwtj.w {n} nꜣ rwdw.w n pꜣ ḥr sꜣ pr-ḥꜩ Ḥrj n*

(l. 4) *tꜣ ḥw.t <r>-ḥt pꜣ ḥm-nꜥr {n} tpy n Jmn*

(l. 5) *ꜥꜣ n js.t Nḥw-m-Mw.t*

(l. 6) *ꜥꜣ n js.t Ḥrj-ms pꜣ (sic)*

(l. 7) *tꜣ rj.t wnmj m ḏr.t ꜥꜣ n js.t Nḥw-<m-Mw.t>*

(l. 8) *ḥmtj dbn 280 jri n ḥnr 40 [wꜥ] ꜥꜥ nb ꜥꜥ dbn 7 [...]*

(l. 9) *mꜩꜣ.t (?) (ḥr)-ꜥꜥ sꜣ pr-ḥꜩ [...]*

(l. 1) Of the King Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Re,
Lord of Crowns, Itamun.

(l. 2) Regnal year 8, 4th month of *shemu*, day 25, this
day: commissioning the coppersmiths

(l. 3) by the captains and the *rwdw*-agents of The
Tomb, and the treasury scribe, Hori, of

(l. 4) the temple, <under> the authority of the high
priest of Amun,

(l. 5) the chief workman, Nekhemmut,

(l. 6) (and) the chief workman, Harmose, the (sic)

(l. 7) the right side, from the chief workman, Nek-
he<mmut>:

(l. 8) Copper, *deben* 280; making spikes, 40; each
[one], *deben* 7; [...]

(l. 9) Chisel (?), in the charge of the scribe of the

treasury [...]

Line 1

Its position indented by 75 mm in respect to the other lines clarifies that this is an addition to line 2, to be inserted after the date.⁷¹

In his notes, Černý described the document as “sehr schlecht geschrieben”.⁷² This applies particularly to the royal titulary, where the reading of some signs is still doubtful. For the convenience of the reader, the previous transcriptions are listed below in chronological order:

1. Černý (1st):⁷³

wie viel?

2. Černý (2nd):⁷⁴

? sic

3. Eyre:⁷⁵

sic ? sic ?

4. Kitchen:⁷⁶

sic ? sic ?

The first four signs can be read clearly; however, scholars differ on the transcription of the following



Fig. 10: P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, verso: detail of line 1.



Fig. 11: P. Turin Cat. 1891, recto: detail of line 1.

signs. With the exception of Černý (1st), the bottom part of the cartouche's opening has been rendered invariably as a simple dot. Possibly, this dot is a simplified writing⁷⁷ of the sun disk (Gardiner N5), a fundamental part of the *praenomen* which would otherwise be missing. The rest of the signs inscribed in the cartouche complete the name of the pharaoh *Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ Stp.n-Rꜥ*, ending with the divine standard (G7).⁷⁸

The hieratic signs that follow (Fig. 10) are more difficult to explain. Černý (1st) transcribed them as the closing of the cartouche and the epithet “Son of Re” with an ideogram stroke behind it $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$. In his second transcription he did not transcribe them at all, leaving the signs in their hieratic form. Eyre, followed by Kitchen, saw a defective writing of the name *Mry-Jmn* in this sign group. Hitherto these interpretations have been *per se* plausible; however, a papyrus stored in the same papyrus collection at Museo Egizio sheds new light on the matter. This document, P. Turin Cat. 1891,⁷⁹ contains an example of a better-preserved royal titulary written by the same scribe, as visible in Fig. 11.⁸⁰ After the *praenomen* of Ramesses IV, *Hkꜣ-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ Stp.n-Jmn*, again ending with the divine standard, the same problematic signs appear. Seeing as the name is complete here, the two vertical strokes can hardly be anything else than the closing of the cartouche. These signs and the group following are paleographically very similar to the ones discussed above in P. Turin Cat. 1883 and occupy the same position in the text. Therefore, I consider the reading “Son of Re” preferable to the solution that argues for a defective writing of the name *Mry-Jmn*, which seems impossible in this latter case.

Turin Cat. 1891 is also relevant for the interpretation

of the next hieratic group. Černý and Eyre presented two different transcriptions. The first recognized the signs as a badly executed writing of “Lord of Crowns”, the second as “Lord of the Two Lands”. The same group, at the end of line 1 of P. Turin Cat. 1891, has been read invariably as “Lord of Crowns”. This interpretation is proved true by two considerations: the title “Lords of the Two Lands” already appears earlier in the line, and the title “Lord of Crowns”, in combination with “Son of Re”, is expected as an introduction for the second cartouche.⁸¹


When Černý saw the papyrus for the first time in 1926, the document had not yet been joined together. He could only work on the larger fragment. His first transcription ends with the opening of the second cartouche. Indeed, after the *praenomen* of the Pharaoh one would normally expect the *nomen*. This hypothesis was strengthened by the presence of the epithets that normally introduce the second cartouche, i.e., “Son of Re” and “Lord of Crowns”. The second time he worked on the document, however, when the papyrus had been joined with the other fragments, Černý was confronted with a blank space instead of the expected cartouche.⁸² He consequently modified his first transcription, choosing not to read the title “Son of Re” and converting the opening of the cartouche into a simple oblique stroke followed by “sic” (Fig. 5).

Among the editors who worked on this text, Černý was the only one who saw the original document.⁸³

All other transcriptions are based on his notes. With the help of DStretch,⁸⁴ it has been possible to obtain an image with enhanced details, revealing traces of ink that are difficult to see with the naked eye. In particular, this investigation has revealed the second cartouche with the *nomen* of Ramesses VII



Fig. 12: P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, verso: detail of line 1. Dstretch(lbk) manipulation by Martina Landrino.

( (Fig. 12). The addition of the sun disk right after the opening of the cartouche, although not necessary, is a well-known phenomenon that occurs both on ostraca and in papyri.⁸⁵ The signs that follow are interfered with by some heavy traces of palimpsest.

Line 2

The verb *hn* is followed by the determinative of the “legs” (D54). This determinative is usually applied to the verb *hn* when it means “to hurry” or “to go”.⁸⁶ In this case, however, the content of the text indicates that the translation “to commission”,⁸⁷ normally followed by the determinative of the “papyrus roll” (Y1), is to be preferred.

The line ends with some faded, yet legible, signs. These are the determinatives for the word *hmtj.w*, i.e. “coppersmiths”: the “striking man” (A24), the “seated man” (A1), and two horizontal lines below. While the presence of neither man is surprising, the double horizontal lines are an unusual feature in this case. The same group of determinatives appears in the next line, used in the words “captains” and “agents”. Here, the first horizontal line stands for the three vertical strokes (Z2), marking the plural. The second line represents the preposition *n* that expresses the indirect genitive. I chose to apply the same reading to the hieroglyphs at the end of line 2, although grammatically nothing is needed between the noun and the preposition *jn* at the beginning of line 3.⁸⁸

Line 3

The word “captains” occurs with two different spellings: *hwtj.w*, and *hntj.w*. The peculiar form used here, with an intrusive *n*, is an indication that the text was composed after the middle of the 20th Dynasty.⁸⁹

Line 4

The scribe omitted the *r* in writing the preposition (*r-)**ht*, “under the authority”.⁹⁰ Gardiner notes that this preposition is used to introduce a person of higher rank.⁹¹

The scribe also inserted a superfluous horizontal stroke underneath the “seated man” (A1). Either the stroke represents the “water ripples” (N35) and should be read as *n*, or it stands for the three vertical strokes of the plural. Both readings however do not fit well with the translation. In the first case, a preposition or a genitive *n* would divide the noun and the adjective, which would be grammatically incorrect. In the second case, the three vertical strokes would make the noun plural, even though explicitly marked as singular by the article *p3*.

Line 5

The chief workman of the right side, Nekhemmut (vi),⁹² is a well-known character. His name is spelt here in a unique way. After the ligature *n + h*, the scribe inserted a “striking man” (A24), usually not present, followed by two oblique strokes and another “striking man”. The same spelling is used in line 7. This could be a writing specific to this scribe, since it also appears in another text by him.⁹³

Line 6

The name Harmose is composed of two parts. The first, a “falcon” (G5) followed by a “reed leaf” (M17) which is still preserved, the second, an “oblique stroke” (Z5) on top of a “seated man” (A1), the latter sign being damaged. The reading is complicated by the modern assemblage of the fragments. As already pointed out above, the two adjoining fragments are imperfectly joined.⁹⁴ Thus, the upper sign merges with the lower one.

The last two signs – aligned differently because of the misplacement of the papyrus fragments – are possibly what remains of the second part of Harmose’s title, the complete form of which is “chief workman of the Tomb”. While the first part is written before the personal name, the second one (*p3 Hr*) usually appears usually after it. In this instance, the scribe wrote *p3* and for some obscure reason left out *Hr*.⁹⁵

Line 7

The spelling of the name Nekhemmut is similar to the one analyzed in line 5. The first part is written


with the same peculiar spelling, while the second part is left out. However, the title preceding the name allows the latter to be restored in its complete form.⁹⁶

Line 8

I translate the word *hnr* as “spike”, following Jansen’s interpretation.⁹⁷

Line 9

This line is rather damaged and the reading proposed here is far from certain.

The word at the beginning of the line, , has been read as *mn* “remaining”, *mnḥ* “chisel”, *ḥsmn* “bronze”, or simply left out.⁹⁸ The combination is indeed problematic and none of these suggestions fits perfectly. The “pestle” (U32), with the meaning “remaining”,⁹⁹ which is often used alone in administrative texts, in this case is combined with the sign N34. If we interpret the word as “bronze”, the “pestle” (U32) would be followed by the combination of determinatives generally used to classify minerals (N33+N34), which for example appears in line 8 in combination with the word “copper”.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, a comparison of existing transcriptions¹⁰¹ with the original shows that an “owl” (G17), whose upper part is broken, precedes the “pestle” (Fig. 13). Thus, the readings “remaining” and “bronze” are less likely.

Although, the presence of the *m* would appear to confirm the reading *mnḥ*, two main issues make this reading problematic. Firstly, the *mnḥ*-chisel is usually determined by the “mortise chisel” (U22) or the “chisel” (U23).¹⁰² Secondly, this would be the only attestation of this word in the Deir el-Medina corpus. Possibly, in Deir el-Medina the chisels were referred to as *mqḏ.t*.¹⁰³ For this reason, I chose to read the word as *mqḏ.t* rather than *mnḥ*. This interpretation is also questionable, since it implies that the



Fig. 13: Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, verso: detail of beginning of line 9.

scribe confused the “fire-drill” (U28) with the “pestle” (U32).¹⁰⁴

The following signs, a long horizontal line and a vertical stroke crossed by a small horizontal stroke, have been invariably transcribed by the scholars who studied the papyrus as an “arm” (D36) followed by an “ideogram stroke” (Z1).¹⁰⁵ The identification of the vertical stroke as an “ideogram stroke” is not prevented by the presence of a horizontal line going across it.¹⁰⁶ The scholars who studied the papyrus translated the word *ʿ* as “in the hands of/with”, taking it to be a defective writing of the preposition *m-ʿ* or (*hr*)-*ʿ*(.wy), or the word “item”.¹⁰⁷ As the *Wörterbuch* states, a meaning “item” is used in connection with numerable nouns and it precedes the numbers.¹⁰⁸ Hence, in this text the stroke following the “arm” would have to be interpreted as the number one rather than an “ideogram stroke”, resulting in the translation “item, 1”. This translation is *per se* plausible, but it would leave the following title without a preposition or an article introducing it. For this reason, I chose to interpret the word *ʿ* as a defective writing of a preposition, namely (*hr*)-*ʿ*(.wy) “in charge of”/“in the hands of”. The absence of the *m* and the presence of the ideogram stroke make the reading *m-ʿ* less likely. The first part of the preposition (*hr*)-*ʿ*(.wy) can indeed be left out.¹⁰⁹

Little can be said on how the line continued. Most likely, the title was followed by a name. Perhaps another attestation of the scribe of the temple treasury, Hori.

The workforce of Deir el-Medina was equipped daily with state-owned tools for their tomb-construction work. The administration of the “Tomb” was responsible for the manufacturing, delivery, and collection of these tools. Once they were worn out, they were handed over to coppersmiths to be recast into new tools.¹¹⁰ This last activity is described on the verso of Pap. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095. Different authorities were present to oversee it: the captains and the *rwḏw*-agents of the Tomb, the treasury scribe of the temple, and the two chief workmen of the left and right sides. The mention of the captains followed by the two chief workmen is peculiar, since the captains consist of the two chiefs themselves and the senior scribe of the Tomb. Furthermore, to whom exactly the title “*rwḏw*-agents of the Tomb” refers is still



Fig. 14: Turin Suppl. 7514. ©Museo Egizio Torino.



Fig. 15: Turin Suppl. 7517. ©Museo Egizio Torino.

under debate. They could either be the very same people acknowledged as “captains of the Tomb” or “external agents acting as representatives of the vizier”.¹¹¹ The presence of a scribe of the temple treasury during this kind of activity is also attested elsewhere.¹¹² Among the myriads of scribes named Hori,¹¹³ it is difficult to understand which one exactly is mentioned here. The unusual title assigned to him, *sš pr-ḥd n t3 ḥw.t*, makes the identification even more problematic.¹¹⁴ Whether this official was part of the *smd.t*-personnel of the temple or not is still a debated question.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the identification of the other two people mentioned is certain. Both chief workmen, that of the “right side”, Nekhemmut (vi), and that of the “left side”, Harmose (ii), are well known.¹¹⁶

As for the amount of *deben* indicated in the text, do they represent the price or the weight of the spikes? The examination of different written sources relative to metal objects and tools led Janssen to the conclusion that the answer can vary depending on the text, some texts mentioning the price and others the weight. It should also be taken into account that

in the case of simple tools such as spikes there may be a small difference between price and weight.¹¹⁷ Due to their rather high weight, Janssen thought that the word *ḥnr* could refer to tools such as those that Petrie called “round bar chisels”.¹¹⁸ In 1905, during Museo Egizio excavations at Deir el-Medina, archaeologists found some specimens of these, for instance Turin Suppl. 7514 (Fig. 14) and Turin Suppl. 7517 (Fig. 15), both made out of bronze and weighing respectively 499.3 g and 502 g.¹¹⁹ Their weights fit well with those of the spikes described by Valbelle in her *Catalogue des poids*, where she pointed out that the average weight of these tools is 500 g, thus allowing one to identify them as “ciseaux au burin”.¹²⁰ Even though the items mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 1883 are slightly heavier, the interpretation proposed by Haring – i.e. it is the weight that is intended – seems most reasonable due to the context and wording.¹²¹ It is clearly stated that 40 spikes will be made out of the 280 *deben* of copper, 7 *deben* (about 637 g) of copper each.¹²²

The copper is handed over by the “chief workman of the right side”. His colleague, the “chief workman

of the left side”, despite being present, is not mentioned as an active part of the exchange. Perhaps the lost part of the document contained the commissioning of the coppersmith for the left side of the gang. Or perhaps, as suggested by Gabler, Nekhemmut was in charge of both sides of the gang. In that case, the number of spikes mentioned is to be referred to the entire gang, resulting in 20 spikes per side. This hypothesis is strengthened as other sources mention the reception of 20 spikes for each side of the workforce.¹²³ A final question needs to be addressed, regarding the place in which the commission took place. Following Gabler, there are two main options, namely the Valley of the Kings or the *h̑tm n pꜣ hr*.¹²⁴ The information preserved in the text does not allow us to narrow down the possibilities to a single option.

3. The date of the text

So far, the most debated question has been that of the date of the document. In 1876 Pleyte translated the heading as “Du roi (sutu) *Ra. usr. ma stp. n. ra anḫ ut'a snb*, seigneur des diadèmes”.¹²⁵ He recognized the *praenomen* of Ramesses II and therefore assigned the text to his reign. This theory was then accepted by the compilers of the first catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities housed in Turin.¹²⁶ However, the identification with Ramesses II already appeared problematic for scholars at the beginning of the 20th century.

The main issue was the presence of the two foremen, Nekhemmut and Harmose. They are attested as serving together only under the reign of Ramesses IX. Peet suggested that the document should be dated to this reign and that the first line is not part of the date.¹²⁷ He did not offer any explanation as to why the name of Ramesses II was present in the heading of a document drafted a hundred years later. For the next fifty years, this hypothesis was accepted within the scientific community. However, doubts remained. For instance, Janssen assigned the papyrus to Ramesses IX, pointing out, though, that “Year 8 can only belong to the reign of Ramesses IX – unless Ramesses VII also reigned more than 7 years, which is not impossible”.¹²⁸

A solution that accounted for both the *praenomen* and the people mentioned in the text was pro-

posed in 1980 by Eyre, who showed that the reign of Ramesses VII is the only plausible date for the text.¹²⁹ Contrary to what Peet thought, the first line of the text does belong to it and is part of the date. The confusion was generated by the correspondence of the *praenomen* of Ramesses VII with that of Ramesses II. It has been already discussed at length that the heading preserves not only the *praenomen* of Ramesses VII but also his *nomen*, leaving no doubt that the reference is to this king.¹³⁰

The recto did not attract the attention of the scholars as much as the verso did. Pleyte and Rossi did not spend much effort describing it – “les débris du revers sont de peu d'importance” – and no facsimile was provided.¹³¹ In previous studies, it has been assumed that the recto dates to the same period. This hypothesis is paleographically possible, since it appears indeed to be written by the same scribe.¹³² As already pointed out above, the relationship between the texts on the recto and that on the verso is not clear. Furthermore, it is difficult to understand whether the three columns on the recto belong to a single text.

Concerning the note on the vizier, the content does not provide any hints (e.g., regnal date or names) about the period it dates from. The inventory, on the contrary, does contain some scant information. For instance, the names of the people involved. The presence of the deputy Amenkhau is particularly interesting, his activity spanning the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.¹³³ It is reasonable to assume that this list was drawn up within that chronological span, specifically, from year 17 of Ramesses III to year 7 of Ramesses IV. The other two names preserved do not allow us to further narrow down the time span. Nevertheless, one should not overlook the possibility that the text is either a copy of an earlier document or mentions it, and was indeed written in the reign of Ramesses VII.

4. Scribal practice

As said above, the texts on the recto and verso were probably written by the same scribe, who is also the author of P. Turin Cat. 1891, as a comparison between distinctive signs shows (Table 1). One of the peculiar features of this scribe's handwriting is the *mnp*-sign (M4). Normally, it is written with a vertical stroke and an oblique one connected to it.

In our case, instead, the sign is executed with a single movement linking the two strokes. The *h^c*-sign (N28) in the title *nb-h^c.w* also stands out due to its unusually flat shape. Furthermore, the four examples of the *p₃*-sign (G41) listed in Table 1 show how the scribe traced the signs more carefully at times. The first *p₃* is written in a more refined way, with more attention to details such as the wings, whereas the other examples have a more basic shape.

On the basis of the dates of these papyri, it can be assumed that this scribe was active during a period that runs at least from the 2nd year of Ramesses IV to the 11th year of Ramesses IX.¹³⁴ It is tempting to try to assign a precise identity to the scribe comparing this time frame with the known chronologies of individuals bearing the title of “scribe of the Tomb”.¹³⁵ Such an attempt is not without risk. It is reasonable to guess that the author of texts such as the recto of both P. Turin Cat. 1883 and P. Turin Cat. 1891 would have served in the administration of the village as a scribe. One should also consider that at Deir el-Medina the percentage of literates was higher than in the rest of Egypt. The scribes were not the only ones able to read and write.¹³⁶ Consequently, it is impossible to be certain that the writer of the documents officially bore the title of scribe. Therefore, in this case an identification based only on the chronology of “scribes of the Tomb” is not a valid approach.

Finally, the last issue that should be addressed regards the materiality of the document itself. The papyrus, as we see it today, is the outcome of a writing and erasure process:

1. The recto was inscribed. It bears scant traces of a previous, erased text, especially in the upper-right corner and at the bottom. The original extension of the text(s) and their content are not identifiable. The verso was inscribed. The enhanced images obtained with DStretch (Fig. 12)¹³⁷ show the traces of a two-column palimpsest text that runs to full height, covering the entire surface of the papyrus. The surviving evidence does not allow an understanding of the original extension of the text or its content.
2. The recto was erased and used again. As already discussed above, the inventory on the recto dates to an earlier period than the verso,¹³⁸ suggesting

that the recto was reused before the verso was used. To date, the recto preserves two different texts. The layout can provide some hints about the order in which these texts were written. The 1st column is compressed and almost no space separates it from the 2nd. Contrary to this, the 2nd and the 3rd columns are divided by a rather large space. It is possible that the inventory was already present on the papyrus and the other text was written in the blank spaces around the existing text.

3. The last phase is the reuse of the verso, which is erased and written again. The newly written text occupies only a small portion of the papyrus sheet and a high margin is left blank at the top of the document.

The above recreated “biography” (Video 1) is hypothetical. We need to allow for the possibility, for instance, that the inventory was a later copy of an older text. In this case, it is not possible to determine if it was written before or after the verso. The reproduction of information from one source to another, especially from ostraca to papyri, is a well-attested process.¹³⁹ The possible reason for copying such information onto another writing surface is difficult to establish in this case.

The last question that needs to be addressed is how the papyrus was kept by its owner(s). A number of vertical breaks run in a “wavy” pattern throughout the surface of the papyrus at regular intervals, thus fitting into Krutzsch’s category B, “wellig”. According to Krutzsch, these traces are primary breaks caused by rolling up the sheet.¹⁴⁰ The papyrus preserves five windings:

- an incomplete one, measuring 24 mm;
- four complete ones, measuring respectively (from left to right) 80 mm, 90 mm, 96 mm, 105 mm.

Flattening the scroll onto itself caused the fractures that run in the middle of the windings. The increasing dimensions of the windings from left to right indicate that the papyrus was rolled up starting on the left side and leaving the right side exposed.¹⁴¹

In Video 1, each winding received a different color gradually getting darker when approaching the interior of the scroll. Based on the measurements of the breaks, the preserved sheet should have had a maximum circumference of 105 mm with an approximate diameter of 33.4 mm.¹⁴²





























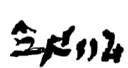





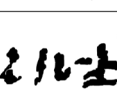
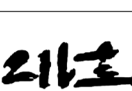




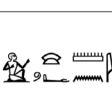
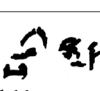
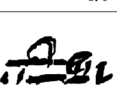

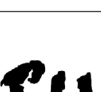


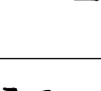


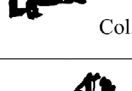


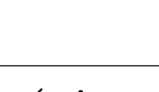
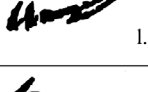
Sign	Cat.1883vs	Cat.1883rt	Cat.1891rt	Cat.1891vs
	 1.2		 1.1	 1.8
	 1.1		 1.1	
	 1.1		 1.1	
	 1.4	 Col.1 – 1.4	 1.3	 1.1
	 1.3		 1.3	 1.1
	 1.3	 Col.3 – 1.5	 1.7	 1.8
	 1.2	 Col.1 – 1.1		
	 1.3			 1.1
	 1.4			 1.2
	 1.5		 1.6	
	 1.7	 Col.3 – 1.2	 1.6	
		 Col.3 – 1.11	 1.8	
	 1.8	 Col.2 – 1.1		
	 1.9	 Col.3 – 1.4		
		 Col.3 – 1.2	 1.10	
	 1.5		 1.6	

Table 1: A comparison of significant signs in P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095, recto and verso, and P. Turin Cat. 1891, recto and verso.

Notes

- ¹ The present contribution is the first outcome of my PhD research, funded by Museo Egizio, Torino, under the supervision of Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert (Leipzig) and Ben Haring (Leiden). I thank Susanne Töpfer and the Museo Egizio for granting me permission to publish this papyrus. I am indebted to my supervisors and to Rob Demarée (Leiden), Koen Donker Van Heel (Leiden), Kathrin Gabler (Basel), Elena Hertel (Leiden-Basel), Myriam Krutzsch (Berlin) and the anonymous reviewers for improving the publication with their suggestions and comments. My gratitude also goes to Shenali Boange (Museo Egizio, Torino) for improving my English.
- ² The area of Deir el-Medina as the place of origin of the papyri in the Drovetti Collection has been suggested by several scholars, for example, Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, 1928, p. 7. Hagen, Soliman, in Bausi et al. (eds.), *Manuscripts and Archives*, 2018, p. 152. Haring, in Hoogendijk et al. (eds.), *The Materiality of Texts*, 2018, p. 44 n. 9.
- ³ Pleyte, Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1876, p. 41, pl. 29.
- ⁴ Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 23–24 (recto only). KRI VI, 1983, pp. 431–32.
- ⁵ Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, pp. 366–67 (recto only). Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti*, 2002, p. 461 (recto, verso col.1). Helck, *Materialien*, VI, 1969, p. 981.
- ⁶ Pleyte, Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1876, pl. XXIX.
- ⁷ A full study of Černý's work in Turin has not yet been published. The dates mentioned in this paper are extrapolated from his private notes, both Notebooks (henceforth NB) and Manuscripts (henceforth MSS). I am grateful to the Griffith Institute for granting me permission to publish images of Černý's notes, and to Hana Navratilova (Reading) for kindly providing me with more detailed information regarding Černý's visits to Turin. For reasons of time and space, an extensive study of his work at the Museo Egizio will not be undertaken in this paper, but I intend to investigate it in the future.
- ⁸ Pleyte, Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1876, p. 41; Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, 1882, p. 241; Helck, *Materialien*, VI, 1969, p. 981.
- ⁹ Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980); Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti*, 2002, p. 461; KRI VI, 1983, pp. 431–32.
- ¹⁰ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 96; Peet, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), p. 490; Valbelle, "Les ouvriers de la tombe", 1985, p. 39.
- ¹¹ In the catalogue edited by Fabretti et al. in 1882, twelve small fragments are recorded under the inventory number Cat. 2095, with sub-numbers from 247 to 258. Since no label is attached to these fragments, it is impossible to assign the correct sub-numbers to them. See Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 277.
- ¹² The measurements as well as the other physical features described here are available on the Turin Papyrus Online Platform, <http://papyri.museoegizio.it/> [last access: 17.03.2021].
- ¹³ Krutzsch, in Graf and Krutzsch, *Ägypten lesbar machen*, 2008, p. 97.
- ¹⁴ Černý, MSS 3.530.
- ¹⁵ Černý, NB 23.55.
- ¹⁶ Černý, NB 23.49.
- ¹⁷ Here the recto is identified as the side of the papyrus where the fibers run horizontally with respect to the writings, and the verso as the side where the fibers run vertically. Previous studies presented the actual recto as the verso and vice versa. Therefore, the identification and description offered here differ from existing publications. The material description of this papyrus was highly improved thanks to a one-month internship in the papyrus collection of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrus Sammlung Berlin. I am grateful to Myriam Krutzsch, who taught me a lot and helped me improve this paper.
- ¹⁸ Černý, *Paper and Books*, 1952, pp. 16–17; Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 2013, p. 24; Krutzsch, in Feder et al. (eds.), *Ägypten begreifen*, 2017, p. 216; Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 1927, p. 5.
- ¹⁹ Wb 1, p. 382.
- ²⁰ Wb 5, p. 405.
- ²¹ Wb 1, p. 384.
- ²² See "2.2. Verso – Comment on content and writing".
- ²³ "very poorly written".
- ²⁴ Small consolation, Černý wrote above this line: "cannot read" (NB 23.56).
- ²⁵ KRI VI, 1983, p. 432. KRITA VI, 2012, p. 333.
- ²⁶ See P. Turin Cat.1883 + Cat.2095 – 'Remarks' in the *Deir el-Medina Database* dmd.wepwawet.nl [last accessed 10.09.2020].
- ²⁷ Černý NB 23.56.
- ²⁸ Černý NB 23.56.
- ²⁹ Reading suggested by Rob Demarée.
- ³⁰ See the chart in Janssen, *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medina*, 2008, p. 458.
- ³¹ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, pp. 194–96. Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medina*, 2009, p. 12.
- ³² Gabler and Müller, in Gabler et al. (eds.), *Text-Bild-Objekte im archäologischen Kontext. Festschrift für Susanne Bickel*, 2020, p. 134.
- ³³ On the nature of the *nḥh*-oil see Müller, *Es werde Licht?*, 2014, p. 180, g), and Quack, in Landgráfová and Mynářová (eds.), *Rich and Great*, 2016, pp. 279–81.
- ³⁴ Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medina*, 2009, p. 40.
- ³⁵ P. Turin Cat. 1880, verso, Col. 5 – line 15. <http://papyri.museoegizio.it/!11> [last accessed 10.09.2020].
- ³⁶ The entry *škr* in Lesko's dictionary gives a general translation as "wooden container", with a question mark. See Lesko, *DLE*, III, 1987, 168.
- ³⁷ Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medina*, 2009, p. 84.
- ³⁸ Lesko, *DLE*, III, 1989, p. 52.
- ³⁹ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, pp. 198–99.
- ⁴⁰ "Bronze": KRITA VI, 2012, p. 333. "Chisel": Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, p. 381, n. 1507.
- ⁴¹ Wb 3, p. 163.
- ⁴² Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 179–81.
- ⁴³ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 423, n. 87.
- ⁴⁴ Černý, NB 23.56.
- ⁴⁵ Janssen already noted that to his knowledge no object named *kṯb* had been so far attested. Hence,

- he suggested to read this word as *kt*. See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 409. Neither the *TLA* nor *Ramses Online* nor Lesko, *DLE* contain any entry for a word *ktb*.
- ⁴⁶ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 408, n. 11.
- ⁴⁷ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, pp. 408–09. I thank Hans Fischer-Elfert for drawing my attention to the similarity between this word and the Ugaritic word *kt*, a measure of capacity. See Tropper, *Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen*, 2008, p. 61.
- ⁴⁸ *nu*: KRITA VI, 2012, p. 334. “Adze”: Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 321.
- ⁴⁹ *Wb* 1, p. 187.
- ⁵⁰ Černý, NB 23.56. Černý, MSS 3.530. KRI VI, p. 432.
- ⁵¹ *Urk.* IV, p. 639, 16–19.
- ⁵² *Wb* 1, p. 188.
- ⁵³ Janssen, *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medina*, 2008, pp. 52–55.
- ⁵⁴ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 273. Janssen, *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medina*, 2008, pp. 46–49.
- ⁵⁵ Černý, NB 23.56.
- ⁵⁶ *Wb* 1, p. 150.
- ⁵⁷ Interpretation suggested by Fischer-Elfert. As for the identity of the vizier, it is not possible to suggest a name since the date of the text is uncertain.
- ⁵⁸ KRITA IV, 2003, p. 293. The Egyptian sentence is *jw=f r rwj m jw.t-f*. See KRI IV, 1982, p. 413:7.
- ⁵⁹ For instance, P. Turin Cat. 2002 vs. P. Turin Cat. 2104 vs. and the “Great Harris Papyrus” (P. British Museum EA9999).
- ⁶⁰ For instance, O. Ashmolean Museum 0003, O. Ashmolean Museum 0044, and O. Turin Suppl. 6784.
- ⁶¹ Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, p. 281.
- ⁶² Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, p. 56; Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 212.
- ⁶³ Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, p. 231.
- ⁶⁴ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 202.
- ⁶⁵ Using the search function of the *Deir el-Medina Database* (criterion: classification = transfer) I found 288 examples, 15 on papyri, the rest on ostraca. Ostraca were possibly preferred to papyri because of their abundance and rather low cost.
- ⁶⁶ Gabler and Müller, in Gabler et al. (eds.), *Text-Bild-Objekte*, Hamburg 2020, pp. 117–50.
- ⁶⁷ Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, 1935, p. 27, pl. 58. Lopez, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57450–57568*, IV, 1984, p. 14, pls. 159–159a.
- ⁶⁸ For a complete transcription and translation of the text, see ramses.ulg.ac.be/text/legacy/2685.
- ⁶⁹ O. Ashmolean Museum HO 1187 contains the Akkadian loanword for trade *t-m-k-r-l-t*. The determinatives of this word (V6+M3+N34) represent the three categories mentioned above. See Fischer-Elfert, in Collombert, Lefèvre, Polis, Winand (eds.), *Aere Perennius* (OLA 242), 2016, p. 203.
- ⁷⁰ KRI VI, 1983, p. 258.
- ⁷¹ As already noted by the compilers of the *Deir el-Medina Database* and by Eyre. See “P. Turin Cat.1883 + Cat.2095” {dmd.wepwawet.nl/}; Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 170.
- ⁷² Černý, MSS 3.530.
- ⁷³ Černý, MSS 3.530.
- ⁷⁴ Černý, NB 23.55.
- ⁷⁵ Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 170.
- ⁷⁶ KRI VI, 1983, p. 431:12. Kitchen’s transcription is based on Černý’s and Eyre’s.
- ⁷⁷ See Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 1927, p. 27, nos. 303B.
- ⁷⁸ Two pharaohs, Ramesses II and Ramesses VII, chose *Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ Stp.n-Rꜥ* as their throne name. They can be distinguished thanks to the different *nomina* they adopted. See Beckerath, *Handbuch*, 153–57 (Ramesses II) and 171–73 (Ramesses VII).
- ⁷⁹ For the publication of the text see: KRI VI, 1983, pp. 76–77.
- ⁸⁰ See “4. Final remarks”.
- ⁸¹ For a discussion of the titulary and of the title that precedes the various Pharaoh’s names, see Beckerath, *Handbuch*, p. 2.
- ⁸² Černý did not indicate the presence of other hieratic signs in his second transcription. Possibly his eyesight problem prevented him from seeing them.
- ⁸³ Haring had the opportunity of seeing the original document while working on the documentation for *Divine Households*. He already noticed the presence of other signs behind the oblique stroke, also providing a facsimile of line 1. See Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, p. 233, 1.
- ⁸⁴ Fig. 6, manipulated with Dstretch (lbk).
- ⁸⁵ I would like to thank Rob Demarée and Hans Fischer-Elfert for drawing my attention to this fact. This feature was first noticed and analyzed by Sethe, *ZÄS* 41 (1904), p. 54; see also Fischer-Elfert, *BiOr* 74/3–4 (2017), 332, S. 150.
- ⁸⁶ *Wb* 3, p. 103. For a detailed analysis of the verb, see Peust, *GM* 212 (2012), pp. 67–80.
- ⁸⁷ *Wb* 3, p. 101.
- ⁸⁸ One wonders if the scribe wanted to link the “coppersmith” to the institution of the “Tomb” as he did for the “captains” and the “agents”. The title “coppersmith of the Tomb” is not attested before the sixteenth year of Ramesses IX. See Gabler, *Who’s Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, p. 360; Valbelle, “*Les ouvriers de la tombe*”, 1985, p. 128, (10). However, the presence of the logical subjects of the infinitive (*jn nꜣ ḥwty.w {n} nꜣ rwdw.w*) between the noun and the indirect genitive (*nꜣ ḥmty.w {n}...pꜣ ḥr*) makes this interpretation unlikely.
- ⁸⁹ Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, 2001², pp. 232–33.
- ⁹⁰ The omission of *r* is a feature attested elsewhere. See *WB* 3, p. 340, 12–16.
- ⁹¹ Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, p. 110.
- ⁹² Nekhemmut (vi), see Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, p. 299.
- ⁹³ P. Turin Cat. 1891, rt, l.8. However, in the same text the name Nekhemmut is written also in the conventional way (rt, l.6).
- ⁹⁴ See 1.1. Physical description.
- ⁹⁵ I would like to thank Federico Poole for this suggestion.
- ⁹⁶ For a comparison see Table 1, last line.
- ⁹⁷ Discussion on the possible translations of the word *ḥnr*, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 312.
- ⁹⁸ “Remaining”: Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, p. 233.

- “Chisel”: Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, p. 367. “Bronze”: Helck, *Materialien*, VI, 1969, p. (980); KRITA VI, 2012, p. 333. Left out by Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti*, 2002, p. 461.
- ⁹⁹ Wb 2, p. 60.
- ¹⁰⁰ Wb 3, p. 163.
- ¹⁰¹ Černý, MSS 3.530, NB 23.55; KRI VI, 1983, p. 431.
- ¹⁰² Wb 2, p. 84.
- ¹⁰³ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 318.
- ¹⁰⁴ Wb 2, p. 188.
- ¹⁰⁵ Černý, MSS 3.530, NB 23.55; KRI VI, 1983, p. 432.
- ¹⁰⁶ This feature does not appear commonly, but Wimmer included it in his palaeography nonetheless. See Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 1995, p. 413.
- ¹⁰⁷ “In the hands of”: Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, p. 233. “With” (translation from the German “beim”): Helck, *Materialien*, VI, 1969, p. (980); Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti*, 2002, p. 461. Even though the transliteration is not included in these volumes, it is plausible that the authors recognise ʿ as a defective writing of the preposition *m-ʿ* or *hr-ʿ*. See Wb 1, p. 156. “Item”: KRI VI, 2012, p. 333.
- ¹⁰⁸ Wb 1, p. 158, 8–10.
- ¹⁰⁹ Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 1984, p. 115. I would like to thank Katrin Gabler for drawing my attention to this feature.
- ¹¹⁰ The network created by the administration of the “Tomb” to closely manage the metal objects is described in detail in a different publication. For instance, Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), pp. 43–47; Davies, *Life Within the Five Walls*, 2018, pp. 342–43; Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 233, 263–68; Valbelle, *Poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, 1977, pp. 5–15.
- ¹¹¹ Davies, *Life Within the Five Walls*, 2018, p. 10.
- ¹¹² P. Geneva MAH 15274. For a more detailed analysis of the role of this official, see Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 232–34.
- ¹¹³ For an overview of the different scribes named Hori, see: Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, pp. 143–48.
- ¹¹⁴ In the Deir el-Medina Database, P. Turin Cat. 1883 + Cat. 2095 is the only attestation recorded for this exact title. Two other titles appear to be connected to it, namely *sš n pr-ḥd n t3 ḥw.t nswt-bity Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ Mry-Imn ʿnh wdz snb* and *sš n pr-ḥd ḥw.t Imn*, with one attestation each.
- ¹¹⁵ In her prosopography, Gabler mentions the temple treasury scribe Hori in connection with this papyrus. See Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, pp. 366–67. However, because of the ambiguity of both his identity and his title and since he is not part of the *smd.t*-personnel of Deir el-Medina, he is not present in the chapter devoted to the scribes. See Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, pp. 412–37.
- ¹¹⁶ For a detailed description of this office, see Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, pp. 2–61.
- ¹¹⁷ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 315.
- ¹¹⁸ Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 1917, p. 20, pl. 22 nos. 76–81.
- ¹¹⁹ Turin Suppl. 7514 and 7517 remain unpublished. This paper does not aim to study and document them. I have selected them instead of other already published objects of the same kind because I could have them weighed. Unfortunately, for the vast majority of New Kingdom spikes the (exact) weight is not included in publications. My gratitude goes to Martin Odler, who gave me this information.
- ¹²⁰ Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, 1977, p. 14.
- ¹²¹ Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, p. 233.
- ¹²² This seems to be a rather common indication, when comparing the other texts mentioned by Janssen. In a table relative to spikes in his *Commodity Prices* (1975, p. 315), four out of the seven sources he takes into consideration mention 7 *deben* of copper (see also Janssen, *JARCE* 31 [1994], p. 94). Of course, this is not an exhaustive list of the sources. For any conclusion to be drawn, a far more detailed study would be called for.
- ¹²³ O. Ash. Mus. 176. O. DeM 625. O. Hermitage 18067. O. Kairo CG 25811. P. Milan E 0.9.40127+. O. DeM 44. See Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, p. 364.
- ¹²⁴ Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, pp. 360–69.
- ¹²⁵ Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1876, p. 41.
- ¹²⁶ Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, 1882, p. 241.
- ¹²⁷ Peet, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), p. 490.
- ¹²⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 1975, p. 96, n. 11.
- ¹²⁹ Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 168–70.
- ¹³⁰ See ‘2.2 Verso – Line 1’.
- ¹³¹ Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1876, p. 42.
- ¹³² See “4. Final remarks”.
- ¹³³ Bierbrier, *CdE* 59 (1984), p. 202. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, p. 49. The title, however, is almost completely restored.
- ¹³⁴ The bottom text on the verso of Cat. 1891 has been attributed to the 11th year of Ramesses IX.
- ¹³⁵ Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 1999, pp. 283–84. Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, 2001², p. 231.
- ¹³⁶ Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, 2001², pp. 191–92; Janssen, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings*, 1982, p. 149; Valbelle, «*Les ouvriers de la tombe*», 1985, p. 336.
- ¹³⁷ Fig. 10 manipulated with DStretch (lbk).
- ¹³⁸ See “3. The date of the text”.
- ¹³⁹ Allam, *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 121–8. Donker Van Heel, Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village*, 2003, pp. 1–38.
- ¹⁴⁰ Krutzsch, in Graf and Krutzsch (eds.), *Ägypten lesbar machen*, 2008, pp. 73–74.
- ¹⁴¹ As one would expect since scribes normally wrote from right to left.
- ¹⁴² The diameter's measurement is calculated assuming a scroll with a perfect circumference. This is probably not our case, so the measurement is only approximate.

Bibliography

Allam, Schafik, “Sind die nichtliterarischen Schriftostraka Brouillons?”, *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 121–28.
 Beckerath, Jürgen von, *Handbuch der ägyptischen*

- Königsnamen (MÄS 49), Mainz 1999.
- Bierbrier, Morris L., "Notes de prosopographie thébaine", *CdE* 59 (1984), pp. 199–241.
- Botti, Giuseppe and Thomas E. Peet, *Il Giornale della necropoli di Tebe*, Torino 1928.
- Černý, Jaroslav, "Le culte d'Amenophis I chez les ouvriers de la Nécropole thébaine [avec 9 planches]", *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 159–203.
- Černý, Jaroslav, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* (DFIFAO 3), Caire 1935.
- Černý, Jaroslav, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* (DFIFAO 7), Caire 1951.
- Černý, Jaroslav, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at University College London*, 29 May 1947, London 1952.
- Černý, Jaroslav, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 50), Caire 2001².
- Černý, Jaroslav and Sarah I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4), Rome 1984³.
- Davies, Benedict G., "O. Berlin P. 11239 and the Coppermiths at Deir el-Medina", *GöttMisz* 137 (1993), pp. 39–47.
- Davies, Benedict G., *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographical Study of the Royal Workmen's Community* (EgUit 13), Leiden 1999.
- Donker Van Heel, Koenraad and Ben J. J. Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* (EgUit 16), Leiden 2003.
- Erichsen, Wolja, *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription* (BiAeg 5), Bruxelles 1933.
- Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow (eds.), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, I–VII, Leipzig and Berlin 1926–1963.
- Eyre, Christopher J., "The Reign-Length of Ramesses VII", *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 168–70.
- Eyre, Christopher J., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents), Oxford 2013.
- Fabretti, Ariodante, Francesco Rossi and Ridolfo V. Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino. Antichità Egizie*, I (Catalogo generale dei musei di antichità e degli oggetti d'arte raccolti nelle gallerie e biblioteche del regno, 1. Piemonte), Torino 1882.
- Fischer-Elfert, Hans-W., "In Praise of Pi-Ramesse – A Perfect Trading Center (including two new Semitic words in syllabic orthography; Ostr. Ashmolean Museum HO 1187)", in: Collombert, Philippe, Dominique Lefèvre, Stéphane Polis and Jean Winand (eds.), *Aere Perennius. Mélanges Égyptologiques en l'Honneur de Pascal Vernus* (OLA 242), Leuven – Paris – Bristol 2016, pp. 195–218.
- Fischer-Elfert, Hans-W., review of Navrátilová, Hana, *Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties 18 and 19 in Abusir and Northern Saqqara: With a Survey of the Graffiti at Giza, Southern Saqqara, Dahshur and Maidum*, Abercromby 2015², *BiOr* 74/3–4 (2017), pp. 328–34.
- Flinders Petrie, William M., *Tools and Weapons. Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London, and 2000 Outlines from Other Sources* (BSAE 30), London 1917.
- Gabler, Kathrin, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina. Untersuchungen zur Organisation, Prosopographie und Entwicklung des Versorgungspersonals für die Arbeitersiedlung und das Tal der Könige* (EgUit 31), Leuven 2018.
- Gabler, Kathrin and Matthias Müller, "A Vizier's (Maybe Not So) New Pieces of Furniture in the Renaissance Era", in: Kathrin Gabler, Rita Gautschi, Lukas Bohnenkämper, Hanna Jenni, Clémentine Reymond, Ruth Zillhardt, Andrea Loprieno-Gnirs, and Hans-Hubertus Münch (eds.), *Text-Bild-Objekte im archäologischen Kontext. Festschrift für Susanne Bickel*, Hamburg 2020, pp. 117–50.
- Gardiner, Alan H., *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (BiAeg 7), Bruxelles 1937.
- Gardiner, Alan H., *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, Oxford 1948.
- Hagen, Fredrik and Daniel Soliman, "Archives in Ancient Egypt, 2500–1000 BCE", in: Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockmann, Michael Friedrich, and Sabine Kienitz (eds.), *Manuscripts and Archives* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 9), Berlin 2018, pp. 71–170.
- Haring, Ben J. J., *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes* (EgUit 12), Leiden 1997.
- Haring, Ben J. J., "Material Matters: Documentary Papyri and Ostraka in Late Ramesside Thebes", in: Francisca A. J. Hoogendijk and Steffie van Gompel (eds.), *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt: New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period* (P.L.Bat. 35), Leiden–Boston 2018, pp. 44–51.
- Helck, Wolfgang, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches (Teil VI)* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz): Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1969 [4]), Wiesbaden 1969.
- Helck, Wolfgang, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh* (ÄgAbh 63), Wiesbaden 2002.
- Janssen, Jacob J., *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*, Leiden 1975.
- Janssen, Jacob J., "A Draughtsman Who Became Scribe of the Tomb: Harshire, son of Amennakhtē", in: Robert J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (EgUit 12), Leiden 1982, pp. 149–53.
- Janssen, Jacob J., "An Exceptional Event at Deir el-Medina (P. Turin 1879, Verso II)", *JARCE* 31 (1994), pp. 91–97.
- Janssen, Jacob J., "Visits to the Necropolis by Dignitaries", in: Jacob J. Janssen (ed.), *Village Varia. Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina* (EgUit 11), Leiden 1997, pp. 147–73.
- Janssen, Jacob J., *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medina: Words for Clothing* (Golden House Publications Egyptology 8), London 2008.
- Janssen, Jacob J., *Furniture at Deir el-Medina: Including Wooden Containers of the New Kingdom and Ostrakon Varille 19* (Golden House Publications Egyptology 9), London 2009.
- Jarsaillon, Carole, "Schiaparelli et les archéologues italiens aux bords du Nil : égyptologie et rivalités diplomatiques entre 1882 et 1922", *RiME* 1 (2017). DOI: [10.29353/rime.2017.1231](https://doi.org/10.29353/rime.2017.1231).

- Kitchen, Kenneth A., *Ramesside Inscriptions, historical and biographical*, IV, VI, Oxford 1982–1983.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A., *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, IV, VI, Oxford, Singapore 2003–2012.
- Krutzsch, Myriam, “Blattklebungen erkennen und dokumentieren”, in: Jörg Graf and Myriam Krutzsch (eds.), *Ägypten lesbar machen – die klassische Konservierung/Restaurierung von Papyri und neuere Verfahren: Beiträge des 1. Internationalen Workshops der Papyrusrestauratoren, Leipzig 7.–9. September 2006* (Archiv für Papyrusforschung – Beiheft 24), Berlin 2008, pp. 71–83.
- Krutzsch, Myriam, “Falttechniken an altägyptischen Handschriften”, in: Jörg Graf and Myriam Krutzsch (eds.), *Ägypten lesbar machen – die klassische Konservierung/Restaurierung von Papyri und neuere Verfahren: Beiträge des 1. Internationalen Workshops der Papyrusrestauratoren, Leipzig 7.–9. September 2006* (Archiv für Papyrusforschung – Beiheft 24), Berlin 2008, pp. 93–98.
- Krutzsch, Myriam, “Einzelblatt und Rolle: Zur Anatomie von Papyrushandschriften”, in: Feder, Frank, Gunnar Sperveslage, and Florian Steinborn (eds.), *Ägypten begreifen: Erika Endesfelder in memoriam* (IBAES 19), Berlin and London 2017, pp. 213–22.
- Lesko, Leonard H. and Barbara S. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, III, IV, Providence 1987–1989.
- Lopez, Jesus, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57450–57568* (CMT, Serie seconda – collezioni 3), I–IV, Milano 1978–1984.
- Möller, Georg, *Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der Fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, Leipzig 1909.
- Müller, Matthias, “Es werde Licht? Eine kurze Geschichte von Öl & Fett in Deir el-Medina in der 20. Dynastie”, in: Ben J.J. Haring, Olaf E. Kaper, and René van Walsem (eds.), *The Workman's Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EgUit 28), Leiden 2014, pp. 175–90.
- Peet, Eric T., “An Ancient Egyptian Ship's Log”, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), pp. 481–90.
- Peust, Carsten, “Die Konjugation des Verbs für ‚gehen‘ im Neuägyptischen”, *GM* 212 (2012), pp. 67–80.
- Pleyte, Willem and Francesco Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Leiden 1876.
- Quack, Joachim F., “Zur Frage der botanischen Natur des *bꜣk*-Baumes und des von ihm gewonnenen Öls mit einem Anhang: pBM 10085 ,2–3‘ rekto. Ein schnippischer Dialog zwischen Mann und Frau?”, in: Renata Landgráfová and Jana Mynářová (eds.), *Rich and Great: Studies in Honour of Anthony J. Spalinger on the Occasion of His 70th Feast of Thot*, Praha 2016, pp. 275–90.
- Ranke, Hermann, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, Glückstadt 1935.
- Reeves, Nicholas and Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Treasures of Egypt's Greatest Pharaohs*, London 1997.
- Sauneron, Serge, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh* (DFIFAO 13), Caire 1959.
- Schiaparelli, Ernesto, *Relazione sui lavori della Missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920), II: la tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha*, Torino 1927.
- Sethe, Kurt, “Der Name Sesostris”, *ZÄS* 41 (1904), pp. 43–57.
- Sethe, Kurt, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, III (Historisch-biographische Urkunden), Leipzig 1907.
- Tropper, Josef, *Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen* (Elementa Linguarum Orientis 4), Wiesbaden 2008.
- Valbelle, Dominique, *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh : n. 5001–5423* (DFIFAO 16), Caire 1977.
- Valbelle, Dominique, “*Les ouvriers de la tombe*”: *Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 96), Caire 1985.
- Van der Molen, Rami, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts* (ProblÄg 15), Leiden – Boston – Köln 2000.
- Wimmer, Stefan, *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie*, I–II (AAT 28), Wiesbaden 1995.

Online sources

- The Deir el-Medina Database*, <https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/>, compiled by Koen Donker van Heel; Robert J. Demarée; Ben J. J. Haring; Jaana Toivari-Viitala, Leiden 1998–2006.
- Deir el Medine online*, <http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/>, 2002–2009.
- Ramses Online: An Annotated Corpus of Late Egyptian*, <http://ramses.ulg.ac.be/>, 2015–.
- TLA, Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, <http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/>, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften Altägyptisches Wörterbuch, Berlin, 2004–.
- Turin Papyrus Online Platform*, <https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it/en-GB/search/>.