

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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The Egyptian Textile Industry: a socio-historical study of the value of textiles at the intersection of power and identity during the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1070 BCE)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Jordan Galczynski

2024

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Egyptian Textile Industry: A socio-historical study of the value of textiles at the intersection of power and identity during the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1070 BCE)

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This research focuses on the role of textiles and the textile industry during the Egyptian New Kingdom (c. 1550-1070 BCE). The aim of this study is to develop a holistic understanding of the New Kingdom cloth culture through a study of how textiles were valued, how textiles were produced, which institutions and individuals managed and controlled the industry, who were producing the textiles, and how textiles were consumed, exchanged and traded. The research is approached holistically pulling from artistic, archaeology, and textual sources.

The first chapter (Chapter 1) introduces the reader to the aims, previous approaches, methodologies, and theoretical approaches that are used throughout. Chapter 2 looks at the value of textiles from an ideological and social perspective to establish why the textile industry was so important to the structuring of New Kingdom society, focusing on ideological texts and rituals, in particular. Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive and up-to-date background into the

mechanics of textile production—the fibers used, the techniques from plying and spinning to weaving and post-production technologies, like dyeing and applique. The next two chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) tackle the textile industry during the New Kingdom period. Taking a larger institutional perspective, Chapter 4 interrogates how the textile industry is run and managed by the various institutions at the heart of New Kingdom society through a diachronic analysis of extant textual and art historical evidence. Focus is also placed on household-level production and the individuals overseeing and managing production. On the other hand, Chapter 5 highlights the labors of the marginalized and underrepresented individuals weaving from household to institutional levels. In almost all cases, the individual weavers are from marginalized background based on their gender, ethnicity, and/or socio-economic status.

Chapter 6 follows the textile industry to its logical end, examining consumption practices, again highlighting the socio-ideological value of textiles in New Kingdom society. Identity formation through dress is discussed here as well as textile recommodification and reuse. A major focus of this chapter is trade and exchange and the impacts such endeavors had on identity and dress practice. Finally, the concluding chapter (Chapter 7) summarizes the results of this study, as well as the possible avenues for further research. The concluding remarks are organized around the key themes of the study—value, power, and identity. Ultimately, this study concludes that given the high ideological and social valuing of textile in Egyptian culture, the production and management of them were governed by the highest institutions—the palace and temple—adding further value to the commodity through limited access and other restrictive consumption practices. Yet, these fabrics were produced by individuals often hidden in the textual record. Most of the weavers were individuals of marginalized status, usually women and children of lower socio-economic and/or foreign status, with many of them being captured prisoners of war.

The dissertation of Jordan Galczynski is approved.

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To my parents who always encouraged me to follow my passions

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ashmolean-	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, U.K.
BD-	Book of the Dead
BM-	British Museum
BM EA-	Egyptian Antiquities Department, British Museum, London
Brooklyn-	Brooklyn Museum of Art
Carter No(s).-	Howard Carter excavation find numbers for objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun
CG-	Catalogue Général, Egyptian Museum Cairo
CT-	Coffin Text
DeM-	Deir el-Medina
Denkmäler-	Lepsius, C. R. (1849-1859). <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Koenige von Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition</i> , 12 vols. Berlin: Nicolai.
EA-	El-Amarna (refers to the numbering of the Amarna Letter in Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 2/1
IFAO-	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
KRI-	Kitchen, K. A. 1975-1990. <i>Rammeside inscriptions, historical and biographical, I-VIII</i> . Oxford: B. H. Blackwell
KV-	King's Valley (Valley of the Kings) Tomb Number
Louvre-	Musée du Louvre, Paris, France
LRL-	Wente, E. F. (1967) <i>Late Ramesside letters</i> . University of Chicago Press.
<i>Medinet Habu-</i>	The Epigraphic Survey. 1930-2009. <i>Medinet Habu, Volumes I-IX</i> . Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
MMA-	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MFA-	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Černy <i>Notebook-</i>	Unpublished notebooks of Černy held in the Griffith Institute Archive
O.-	Ostrakon
P.-	Papyrus
Penn-	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia
PM-	Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss. 1927-1951. Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. 7 Vols. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
PT-	Pyramid Texts
<i>RITA</i> -	Kenneth Kitchen. 1933-2020. Ramesside Inscriptions, translations and annotated: translated, 8 vols. Oxford. Blackwell.
TT-	Theban Tomb Number
Turin-	Museo Egizio di Torino, Turin, Italy
UC(L)-	Petrie Museum, University of College London
<i>Urk-</i>	Kurt Sethe, Wolfgang Helck, Heinrich Schäfer, Hermann Grapow, and Otto Firchow (eds.). 1903-1957. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. 8 Vols. Leipzig and Berlin.
<i>Wb-</i>	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow (eds.). 1926-1963. Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Leipzig and Berlin.

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VITA

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Chapter 1

Building an Egyptian Cloth Culture

In order to gain and to hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence

The Theory of the Leisure Class (Veblen 1934, 36)

1.1 Introduction

When one thinks of New Kingdom Egypt, images of monumental architecture like the Temple of Amun at Karnak or the tomb of Tutankhamun may be conjured. Gold, silver, precious gems and larger-than-life statues made of hard stones are highlighted to convey the wealth and grandeur of the period. What one might not consider is the abundance of textiles – light as gauze linen fabrics wrapped around cult statues or tapestry-woven designs decorating the king’s apartments. A major aspect of Egyptian culture was its cloth culture – how the New Kingdom Egyptian thought about its fabrics, how the textiles were produced and consumed, who produced the textiles, and how textiles were used to convey identity. A Cloth Culture is how a group of people views and conceptualizes their social, ideological, and political worlds through textiles and the associated value that is embedded within the fabric due to these associations (Harris 2012). Further value is added through production and consumption practices and control and restriction by institutions and the elites. Every culture’s relationship with their cloth is different, and no cloth culture is static through time. The aim of this study is to develop a scholarly understanding of the New Kingdom Egyptian Cloth culture.

Textiles are omnipresent in the lives of humans. Ever since hominids created adornments and first plied vegetable fiber together over 50,000 years ago, dress has been one of our greatest expressions of culture (Hardy *et al* 2020). Not only serving a basic need of thermal insulation, but dress also serves a social, spiritual, political, and even cognitive role. In ancient

Egypt, these cultural connections started at the beginning of life. The Papyrus Westcar states that after a child is born and washed, he is to be wrapped in cloth (P.Berlin 3033:10-12). In the Old Kingdom, many inscriptions reference a coming-of-age ritual in which boys “tie the headband” to become a “man” (Kanawati 2007: 54). These expressions of dress also extend into death where the wrapping of the body is an integral process in the funerary ritual with bandages themselves referred to as parts of the goddesses Tayet or Nephthys (Riggs 2004; Pinch 2002: 171). As part of the rituals in Maiherpri’s *Book of the Dead* to ensure and safety in the afterlife, Maiherpri is instructed to “put on a garment as a product of Tayet,” one of the goddesses associated with weaving (Munro 1994, 199). In the afterlife, Horus provides protection by “weav[ing] his tent over [the deceased’s] head. (PT §690). Beyond protective functionality, the Egyptians thought of dress as representative of social order. In *the Admonitions of Ipuwer*, discussing times of unrest, the narrator says, “Look, the owners of linen are in old clothes, (yet) he who could not weave for himself is the owner of the finest linen” (Lichtheim 1976, 149-163). These are but a few examples to show the deep relationship the Egyptians had with textiles, dress, and the textile process.

The study of dress has lagged other material studies within Egyptology, as little work has been done outside of Ptolemaic, Roman and Coptic eras. This preference stems from the aesthetic desire and scholarly interest in both dyed and patterned textiles over plain (Pharaonic) ones more characteristic of the earlier periods. A look through the Oxford Online Egyptological Bibliography shows this disparity. Within the past five years, over 75% of the publications focus on 1c. CE textiles, with only a few articles looking at prior periods. Even the preeminent Centre for Textile Research’s most recent publication focuses on this period (Moor, A., C. Fluck and P. Linscheid (eds.), 2019). Suffice it to say, there is a large gap in the literature on a holistic study of pharaonic dress, but also with much of the current literature undertheorized. This dissertation will remedy this gap in the literature by bringing the study of dress in Egypt into conversation with the work being done elsewhere, such as at the Textile Research Centre at the

University of Copenhagen. Through the application of anthropological and sociological approaches, this research aims to construct a holistic understanding of the New Kingdom Textile industry from production of the fabric to the institutions and individuals who managed the industry, the individuals who labored to produce the vast textile stores, to various consumption practices from ideological to social.

1.2 Aims, Definitions, and Scope

The aim of this study is to develop a holistic understanding of New Kingdom cloth culture through a study of how textiles were valued, how textiles were produced, which institutions and individuals managed and controlled the industry, who was producing the textiles, and how textiles were consumed, exchanged and traded. All of these questions together will allow for a complete knowledge of the enmeshment of textiles and the industry in the lives of New Kingdom Egyptians. This study is composed of five main objectives:

1. How were textiles valued? I argue that prior to understanding the industry we must first understand how textiles were valued within New Kingdom culture, focusing specifically on textiles' ideological usage in temples, during rites of passage, and within funerary rituals. This is to demonstrate that textiles are not merely defined by their economic value, as much, if not most of their value, came from their ideological and social capacities.
2. How were textiles produced, specifically in relation to the time and effort that went into their production? What options were available for production and how did they contribute to identity display or value construction? An overview of how textiles were produced is also necessary to understand the amount of time and labor required to produce even a small yardage of textiles. The works of Vogelsang-Eastwood, though comprehensive and still highly accurate, will be updated with the most recent studies. Particular interest will be

focused on the dyeing and post-processing of textiles– topics that are often disregarded in other overviews.

3. How was the industry controlled and managed? Which institutions were involved? Where can we see individual involvement? Where was power held; who was allowed access and who was left out? I provide novel contributions to the study of Egyptian textiles specifically regarding how the industry was managed and who were the main producers. I will demonstrate the intense level of oversight provided by the state and temple institutions, with many high-status elite individuals from the Treasury to the vizierate directly involved in textile production and management. No study has thus far done such an in-depth analysis of the institutions involved, and some previous studies have even argued against intense state-level involvement (Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001; Warburton 2012).
4. Who produced the textiles? How did marginalized labor impact the value of textiles and how they were consumed? This study highlights the contributions of marginalized groups who were the majority producers of textiles. These individuals were often enslaved war captives who labored under the auspices of the temple and state with one of their main products being textiles. Most early studies never mentioned who the producers were besides relegating the work to the domestic realm of women. Though feminine labor is indeed a major aspect of the industry, the exploitation of thousands of foreign war captives and enslaved peoples is a facet of the industry that necessitates exposure and analysis. Such exploitation is related to the expansion of the Egyptian hegemony in the north and south, as well as to the growth of the Amun precinct.
5. Lastly, how were textiles consumed, exchanged, and traded, and how did consumption practice influence value? How were textiles used by the elites to compete and display their various identities? I argue that the consumption of textiles was highly context dependent and to understand consumption practices we must understand the “life” of the textile prior. Textiles were imbued with power hierarchies present during their production, and who and

how textiles were consumed were dependent on these as well. Temple and Palace institutions consumed textile for internal functions like Daily rites and festivals, distributed textiles to associated agents in the form of “wages” and dispensed textiles for mortuary assemblages. Most importantly for the New Kingdom dataset, textiles were a way for the elite to express their varying identities through “fashion.” The market exchange of textiles both domestically and internationally generated great conversation around textiles with the gifting, exchange, and trade of textiles comprising a major aspect of the market, even creating a multi-cultural elite dress “koine.”

1.2.1 Definitions

1.2.1.1 Dress

Following Roach-Higgins and Eichler (1992; Eicher & Tortora 2010, xiii), I prefer to use the term dress instead of costume or clothing, due to its inclusive nature, whereby clothing refers only to garments being worn on the body, and costume is dress worn for specific events, groups of people, or historical periods. Dress, however, encompasses all adornment and modification of the body. If the terms clothing or costume are employed, it is with these specific definitions in mind. They are not meant as synonyms of dress. Other non-clothing aspects of dress can be further described as body modifications or body supplements. Following Eicher and Roach-Higgins, these two aspects equally aid in forming the complete, social body (Nicklas & Pollen 2015, 1). Dress includes both of these as and the act of manipulating or transforming the body is dressing. Body modifications include manipulation of hair, skin, nails, teeth, and smell, for example. Body supplements can be enclosures of the body, attachments to the body, or hand-held items. Flügel (1950, 46) discusses how to qualify aspects of modifications and supplements, including vertical (height), dimensional (size), directional (body movement), circular (contours), and local (focus on specific parts of the body). Transformations or manipulations of any of these

aspects would in turn change the overall dress effect. Many of these aspects are preserved in the archaeological record, including color, shape, structure, size, and manner of wear.

1.2.1.2 Elite and Elite Culture

Elites are defined as a minority of individuals that possess a disproportionate share of resources or power within a group or society (Calhoun 2002a). Elite culture is defined as the production and consumption of aesthetic items under the control, and for the benefit, of the inner elite of a culture, including the rule and the gods (Baines & Yoffee 1998). Wengrow, building on the work of Gell (1992) uses the terms aesthetic labor to name the complex of techniques, forms of knowledge, and material objects through which society imbues the concepts it lives by with sensuous and psychological force, aesthetic labor (2001, 170). This stark separation between elite and non-elites has been termed “two cultures” by Jan Assmann (1991, 16-31). Elites appropriate resources, while restricting materially and symbolically what was available to others, an exploration of power creating value and social definition through style (Baines 2007, 305). Compared to elites, most Egyptians would have suffered from ‘aesthetic deprivation’ (Wengrow 2001, 170). Clothing, for example, along with all other artistic categories would have accentuated the division of the ruling group from other people. The king and the elites held hegemony over any artistic production that relied on scarce resources

1.2.1.3 The State

In this study when the term “state” is employed I am following Weber’s definition, which is a set of institutions that possess a monopoly on rulemaking and thus allow the rule of those institutions the legitimate use of force within a bounded territory, powers collectively termed sovereignty (Calhoun 2002b). When the word “state” is used in terms of the New Kingdom state I am referring to the collective institutions that organized power and the ability to exercise power– the king and the civil government.

1.2.1.4 Palace Institutions

The palace in Egypt is understood as a social, economic, and political institution representative of the king during a particular reign (Lacovara 1997). Palace institutions had associated land holdings, storage facilities, and workshops. The main office under its auspices at certain times was the Treasury, which also held close associations with the Amun precinct, at times being housed at the temple as well. These palace institutions are represented by archaeological examples like Amarna and Deir el-Ballas. Private palaces of the king also fall into this category. Often called 'harems' in the literature because such sites were the main habitation zone of the many wives of the king and the associated royal nursery.¹ Such sites, like Gurob, had important economic significance as well, particularly in textiles production.

1.2.1.5 Temple Institutions

The temple is here understood at its root as the literal home of a deity. Indeed, the Egyptian temple was described by Helck as essentially the same as a high official's personal household with the deity functioning at the patrimonial head of the household (*Lexikon*, 414). Temple institutions include but are not limited to the physical sacred or cultic space (the temple building proper), its associated buildings (workshops, storage facilities, priestly offices), but also the economic and administrative functions of the institution, the associated agents of the temple, and the activities that the temple institution and its agents are engaged in. Temples should not be seen solely for their ideological function but were also repositories of power in the form of physical material culture, as well as also social, political and military connections. By the New Kingdom, temple estates incorporated land, workshops, storerooms, ships, and vast numbers of personnel (Haring 1997, 1). Egyptian temple institutions often had a close relationship with the king and the associated palace.

¹ See section 5.1.6.1 for scholarly debate surrounding the use of the term 'harem'

1.2.1.6 Cloth Culture

The term cloth culture derives from the scholarship of Susanna Harris (2008, 2010, 2012) but was originally developed by social anthropologist Hauser-Schäublin (1996). A cloth culture is the idea that all cultures use cloth-type materials, but the way they do is specific to each society. This methodological approach questions why techniques, materials, and material culture exist in the form that they do, not only due to necessity, availability of raw materials, or technical knowledge (Harris 2012, 62). Additionally, there is a distinction between cloth culture and clothing culture. Cloth was used for more purposes beyond clothing as a form of larger cultural expression. For example, in the case of ancient Egypt, we shall see that cloth was highly important in ideological rites and functioned as a form of payment to the workmen at Deir el-Medina. This study uses the term cloth culture to encompass the specific way New Kingdom Egyptians from all spectrums of society interacted with cloth from production through consumption and beyond.

1.2.1.7 Can we speak of fashion in the past?

Within ancient dress studies, there is an ongoing debate about whether the term fashion can be used to describe the phenomenon of dress trends and traditions in the past. Most scholars, however, agree that the term is appropriate for ancient studies when used in its truest sense—as a complex societal structure-- but there should also be caution since fashion is such a loaded term in modern popular culture.

First, then, what is an academic definition of fashion? Following the seminal work by Simmel (1957, 323), fashion is defined as a complex structure adopted by a social group, which demands mutual imitation from that group's members and thus limits the possibility of individual expression. Dress would then be defined as the embodiment of fashion, and fashion is the context through which the outward appearance of an individual is socially evaluated. Simmel and Levine (1971) continue that fashion emerges from the tension between the desire to

be a part of the social whole and the need to be distinguished from that whole. If the socializing tendencies of a culture push against this need to be individual, then fashion does not exist, we are told. But, as we see in New Kingdom Egypt, in societies with greater social stratification, fashion emerges as a way to reinforce group boundaries and hierarchies. The elites control this restricted knowledge of how to be 'fashionable.' Changes to fashion, then, could occur to maintain these hierarchical differences, as individuals and groups continuously attempt to imitate these trends. Fashion is thus defined here as an outcome of social interaction and competition. These social interactions, in turn, are made visible through dress practices. Dress does not always have to reflect accurately what fashion is dictating at the time-- it can add, change, or even subvert it. Other aspects of identity like regionality or gender might affect dress' expression. Therefore, it is understood here that the relationship between dress and fashion is dynamic. Both are a response to the interaction between the wearer and the viewer, with in varying competing contexts.

In this study the term fashion will be used sparingly to avoid popular connotations, and only when these specific definitions are in mind. I will also remind the reader of these definitions when appropriate to try to avoid any conflation with the modern understanding.

1.2.2 Scope of the Study

This study will focus on the New Kingdom textile culture from the beginning of the 18th dynasty through to the end of the 20th. At times evidence will be pulled from earlier sources if there are no more contemporary sources available. Much of the study will be Theban in focus, given the nature of New Kingdom cemetery trends. Other cemeteries were not included due to the time constraints of the thesis, and the lack of relevant evidence from those sites from preliminary investigations.

See Section 1.5 for further information about the various data sets collected for this study.

1.3 Previous Scholarship & New Trends in Textile Studies

We have very little emic discussion by ancient Egyptians of their dress practices, like fashion decisions or sumptuary laws, for example. Indeed, textiles and other dress elements are mentioned frequently by the ancient people in a variety of contexts, but we have no “ethnographic” literature or commentary of dress customs of the ancient Egyptians from an ancient Egyptian perspective. We can see what was considered de rigueur and therefore the norm, but it is not until an outsider—Herodotus—comes to Egypt that we get more concrete mentions of Egyptian dress customs (Her.II.36-38; 82):

Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt, they are shaven. For all other men, the rule in mourning for the dead is that those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptian are shaven at other times, but after death they let their hair and beard grow...Every man has two garments, every woman only one...The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus: they may have no other kind of clothing or footwear...They wear linen tunics with fringes hanging about the legs, called ‘*calasiris*,’ and loose white woolen mantels over these. But nothing woolen is brought into the temple, or buried with them: that is impious...

Herodotus’ description has clouded the study of Egyptian dress particularly in the notion that the Egyptians’ abhorred wool (see also Genesis 46:33-34), which is still cited to this day in many publications. With an outsider’s perspective, Herodotus recorded what he found “peculiar” about Egyptian dress practices in relation to his own, but his discussion of Egyptian dress was neither encyclopedic nor contextualized in any regard.

Unlike the study of Greek and Roman dress which we can trace back to the Renaissance (Lee 2015:11), we do not see any European scholarly mentions of Egyptian dress again until the later decades of the 18th century with the increased interest in ancient social customs. Here we have attempts at encyclopedias of ancient dress, like *Costume des anciens peuples, a’ l’usage des artistes* by Michel Francois Dandre-Bardon (1784-1786). Dress customs are mapped out through a linear progression with Egyptian dress as the starting point for Western dress culture,

similar to notions at the time about the progress of Western civilization. Weiß' 1853 *Geschichte des Kostüms: die Tracht, die baulichen Einrichtungen und das Geräth der vornehmsten Völker der östlichen Erdhälfte* has a particular lengthy section on Africa focusing solely on Egyptian costume.

Later Erman (1894, 201) included a chapter on dress in his *Life in Ancient Egypt* noting that the Egyptian style was “just as much ruled by fashion as the dress of other nations.” This work performs a diachronic analysis of dress with an early attempt at classification by gender and status. Erman's work situates dress as part of Egyptian “daily life,” but lacks any real specificity which even Erman notes. It is not until the works of Hans Bonnet that we get publications focused solely on ancient Egyptian dress: *Die altägyptische Schutztracht* (1916) and *Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (1917). Around the same time, brief articles on Egyptian dress were published in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin taking a diachronic approach (1916a; 1916b).

I consider the study of dress as a marginalized topic within academia functioning at the intersections as well. The study of dress has suffered since dress, textiles, and fashion in general are treated as ‘mundane’ Even as late as the 1990's, feminist sociologist Angela McRobbie (1998, 15) felt the need to justify her interest in dress, explaining that her work “is based upon the assumption that fashion despite its trivialized status, is a subject worth of study.” Lou Taylor (2002,1-2), preeminent dress historian, further relates this to the attitudes that were dominant in the largely male academic world of ‘real’ history where dress was considerable to be a frivolous and ephemeral characteristic of society. As such, the study of dress was viewed as an unworthy vehicle for ‘serious’ academic research.

Within the past twenty years, dress history has broken free (mostly) of such critiques, bleeding into studies by ethnographers, consumption historians, textile specialists, economists, and material culture experts. With the critical analyses by Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne Eicher, as well as Joanne Entwistle, the study of dress broadened even further. These

studies focus on the experience of the dressed body and the role dress plays in crafting individual and group identity, as well as its communicative ability.

Within Egyptology, dress and textiles were often delegated to women scholars by their male counterparts. In many cases, these individuals were textile specialists not Egyptologists. This resulted in numerous studies being highly technical for audiences in the textile field, but not as understandable within Egyptology. As such, these studies were often not in conversation with related Egyptological literature. Currently, studies of Egyptian dress and textiles frequently are discussed in more popular media, or in manuscripts focused on ‘daily life’ or ‘women.’ (Brier & Hobbs 2008; Hall 1986; Tyldesley 1994; Watterson 1994). However, there are several Egyptological textile specialists that require acknowledgement for their advances in the study.

Grace Crowfoot requires special recognition. Crowfoot was a pioneer in the study of archaeological textiles working in Egypt, Sudan, and Palestine. She published widely on the technical aspects of dress production including *Models of Egyptian Looms* (1921), *Methods of hand spinning in Egypt and the Sudan* (1931) and is best known for her study of the textiles from the tomb of Tutankhamun, “The Tunic of Tutankhamun” (1942). Crowfoot brought the study of dress out of the art historical sphere and incorporated new sources of evidence – archaeological materials. With this, scholars began to save scraps of textiles from excavations, which previously were discarded or grouped together losing all context. Elizabeth Riefstahl (1944) also requires a special note as she wrote the only account of patterned textiles, until the work of Renate Germer (1992).

The next major set of studies concerning Egyptian textiles comes from the work of Rosalind Hall, later Janssen. Hall (1986) published *Egyptian Textiles* which, though small and rather cursory for today’s scholarship, was the first full investigation into the *chaîne opératoire* of textile production in Egypt. This publication remained so until Vogelsang-Eastwood’s 1992 publication (see below). Hall, as associate curator of the Petrie Museum, published much of the textile collection there (1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b 1982). Later, partnering with Jac Janssen,

Hall (now Janssen) published works focusing on textile terminology and economics (Janssen and Janssen 2000; Janssen 2008).

Contextual analyses of dress in Egyptian society were few and far between prior to the last fifty years with the emergence of the implementation of social-cultural approaches to ancient cultures. One of the first rigorous academic studies of ancient textiles was Elizabeth Barber's (1991) *Prehistoric Textiles*. Barber's command of archaeological, art historical and linguistic evidence to elucidate the foundation of textile production and consumption is a seminal work in the field of ancient dress studies. Barber was the first scholar to convey the importance of textiles to early cultures— textiles were produced earlier than ceramics, textiles required more time to produce than both pottery and food production combined, and that much of this work was done by women (see *Women's Work*, 1995). The work focuses on many of the earliest cloth cultures in Africa, Europe, and west Asia with a chapter dealing specifically with Egypt.

The foremost research into the subject of Egyptian textiles, specifically, is the work of Vogelsang-Eastwood. Starting her work at the site of Amarna and Quseir al-Qadim (1987, 1990), her first major publication reworked and updated Hall's earlier mentioned manuscript on textile production (1992). Even to this day this work needs very little update and provides a comprehensive overview of both the production process and the catalog of different people of Egyptian dress. Specifically, Vogelsang-Eastwood and Kemp's (2001) joint publication on the textiles of Amarna stands out as an outstanding study in the field. Not only does the work compile and analyze all the textile evidence from the entirety of Amarna (from fiber to whole textiles), but it also contributes significantly to the understanding of the textile industry in the New Kingdom (2001: 427-476). Certainly, the two most important scholars on Egyptian dress are Elizabeth Barber and Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood.

A small number of dissertations have been published on ancient Egyptian textiles within the past twenty years. Amy Calvert's (2011) work on the regalia of Ramses III took a more

quantitative approach looking to understand how costumes were developed tracking the incorporation of its component parts. Calvert's database and method of image analysis was a novel approach in the early 2010's, and which I am sure we will see more of with the development of application and software for image analysis and the incorporation of A.I.

Aleksandra Hallmann's (2015) work looks at the representation of private costume from the 25th to 31st dynasty. Hallmann's study fills a major gap in the literature, specifically in her distinction between two- and three-dimensional art and the work's focus on an understudied period of Egyptian history, the Late Period. The dissertation was recently published (2023).

Another recent dissertation by Elizabeth McGovern (2019), *Fashioning Identity in Eighteenth- Dynasty Egypt: Costume, Communication, and Self-Presentation in the Tomb of the Nobles* looks at the representation of costume and the expression of identity. One clear critique is the work focuses on only two tombs, Nebamun and Menna. Any analyses of trends, for example, are not possible with such a specific dataset. This dissertation was still embargoed at the writing of this section.

Chiara Spinazzi-Lucchesi's recently published dissertation, *The Unwound Yarn. Birth and Development of Textile Tools between the Levant and Egypt* (2018) looks at textile production tools and strategies in the Levant and Egypt. This comprehensive study contributes to the field greatly but focuses mostly on tools from the Museo Egizio di Torino's collections and does not look at the individuals and institutions involved in textile production like that which is proposed here.

Most recently, Alistair Dickey's (2021) study looked at thread technology and weave quality over the Neolithic, Predynastic, and Early Dynastic periods. Dickey found that spliced thread technology had a much larger role than previously indicated and that by the 1st dynasty, the production of woven cloth became highly technical with cloth having high thread densities with fine diameters. This work is illustrative of the need for continued work on the study of

archaeological textiles and the reexamination of older assumption of production. Unfortunately, this dissertation was still embargoed at the writing of this work.

If we widen our review to beyond Egypt, we will find many innovative and insightful studies that can provide useful frameworks for the Egyptian data. The dress in other ancient cultures has been more widely studied than within Egyptology, and of focus here are works by Baadsgaard (2008), Dighton (2018), Shumka (2001), and Sare (2011). The study has grown rapidly especially in European academic circles with many dissertations coming out of the University of Copenhagen, in particular, and textiles related post-docs supported by projects like EuroWeb. Within the past decade more dress scholarship has been published, much of it a part of the Ancient Textile series out of the University of Copenhagen, but again pharaonic Egypt is never the sole nor main focus. To name a few, of focus here are: *Tools, Textiles, and Contexts: Textile Production in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age* (2015), *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East and Aegean: From the Beginnings of Sheep Husbandry to Institutional Textiles Industry* (2014),” and *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East; archaeology, epigraphy, and iconography* (2013). From a more theoretical perspective there are a number of influential edited volumes, including those by Cifarelli & Gawlinski (2017) and Cifarelli (2019) who have pushed for the use of new approaches like assemblage theory and sensory archaeology to the study of ancient dress cultures.

1.4 Understanding the Textile Industry

To understand how New Kingdom Egyptians conceptualized textiles in their society, this study will utilize two different schools of approach- theories of value and intersectionality– to better interpret the data enumerated earlier. A brief overview of the two theoretical frameworks will be provided below with more specific discussion occurring in each individual chapter.

1.4.1 The Value of Textiles in New Kingdom Society

Typically, value is understood in the economic sense, the relation of a one commodity/good to others (exchange value), or the amount of wealth set to a monetary standard. Within neoclassical economic studies commodities become impersonal things whose value is solely allocated through the market, rather than the goods being embodiments of the social milieu of which they derive. However, studies of material culture lean more and more towards understanding an object's value through an anthropological or social lens. This notion is defined succinctly by Graeber (2001, 1): Value is 1) the economic value meaning “the degree to which objects are desired particularly, as measure by how much others are willing to give up getting them” and 2) the sociological value referencing the “conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable; what is ‘important’ in life.

This study will utilize an approach to value developed by Appadurai (1986). His work developed from the work of Simmel (2016 [1908]) who understood that “objects are not difficult to acquire because they are valuable, but objects [are] valuable that resist our desire to possess them (*ibid*, 67). The object does not have value as a result of the demand for it, but the demand, as the basis for real or imagined exchange, gives the object value. For example, in regard to textiles, the ideological demand for cloth in the Daily Temple Ritual endows textiles with a value given their requirement in certain ideologically charged rites. Humans encode things with significance, with these “things” illuminating their humans and social contexts. Through a study of the textile industry in New Kingdom Egypt we can begin to build an understanding of their society– their cloth culture.

Value is not only ascribed by the human actors, but value results from the interactions between the human agents with others. Appadurai (1986, 15) sees commoditization at the complex intersection of temporal, cultural and social factors. Meaning that to understand an object's true value you must take into consideration the context, the cultural, and other specific social factors involved, with how value is developed *because* of exchange, not the other way

around. Through gift-giving, consumption practices, and trade, for example, value is added to a product. Indeed, this is what has been noted for textiles in the New Kingdom context. As Warburton states (2012), textiles are one of the only goods that increase in economic value from raw material to finished product, unlike metals, for example, whose economic value is solely based on their weight. Flax, much like raw ore, holds less value than the transformed product. In the case of this analogy—linen and a forged metal object. However, beyond this stage, the forged metal object's value is solely based on its weight, while linen's value is dependent upon form, quality, or condition, for example.

Matrices of power (or *politics* to Appadurai) is what links value and exchange in the 'social life of commodities.' The inherent tension between the desire to restrict and control a product, in this case textiles, with the desire of those in power to consume and display their power results in this value (Appadurai 1986, 57). How this value is then used or exploited by those in power is better understood through an intersectional approach.

1.4.2 An Intersectional Approach

This study will take an intersectional approach as a way of understanding how the value of textiles in New Kingdom society was developed and used by institutions and individuals as a means to affirm social hierarchies and as a display of power. Intersectionality is defined thus (Sirma & Collins 2002, 2):

“Intersectionality investigates how intersecting power relations influence social relations across diverse societies as well as individual experiences in everyday life. As an analytic tool, intersectionality views categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, class, nation, ability, ethnicity, and age – among others– as interrelated and mutually shaping one another. Intersectionality is a way of understanding and explaining complexity in the world, in people, and in human experience.”

Intersectionality grew out of social movements in the 1960's and 70's by Black women activists who realized their need for better frameworks to address social problems. Previous social movements only elevated one aspect of identity– race, feminism, unions, for example. With

these single-focused movements, it was realized that issues specific to Black women were not always being represented best by the antiracist movements nor the feminist. In modern applications of the approach, intersectionality is mainly used as an analytic tool to solve problems. For example, college campuses might employ the understanding to build more inclusive and fair classroom experiences by examining race inequity in combination with disability, for example. How, then, can intersectionality be applied to commodities and their producers in the ancient world and why is it a useful approach?

Scholars of the ancient world have used intersectionality to understand marginalize or subaltern groups (Shizha & Makwarimba 2023; Sulosky Weaver 2022), feminism and masculinity studies (Campbell & McMaster 2024; Claassens & Sharp 2017); gender (Surtees & Dyer 2020), to name a few. Application of intersectionality to a textile-based study is rarely focused on the institutions and the individuals involved in production, as proposed here. This study aims to investigate the institutions controlling the textile industry and specifically forefront the marginalized weavers laboring in these institutions.

One of the main assumptions at the foundation of this study is the role dress plays in identity construction, negotiation and competition, both individually and within a group. Identity is best defined as “characteristics of an individual or group that are assigned and assumed by the group and others as a result of perceived differences from and similarities to others” (Stig Sørensen 1997:94). This study sees identities as multiple, overlapping, and as a continuous process (Clark & Wilkie 2006; Casella and Fowler 2004; Meskell 2001; Meskell and Preucel 2004; Voss 2006; Wilkie and Hayes 2006). Identity is often broken down into aspects: gender, age, class, rank, status, ethnicity, with individuals having multiple competing identities which are fluid and constantly evolving. Archaeologically speaking, objects, including dress, have been seen as “emblematic” or “citations” of an identity (Insoll 2007: 15; Fowler 2004: 110. This also reflects the use of semiotics in both identity and dress studies). An intersectional framework is useful to foster a more expansive understandings of collective identities and

complexifying individuals (Sirma & Collins 2020, 166). The study of identity has moved from something one has to something one does – identity is performed. And as the reader will see through this study, one of the main ways identities are performed visually is through dress. Rather than being fixed, identities are “donned” and exchanged constantly depending on the social context (Hall 2017, 16). Identity is adaptation.

The recognition and reconstruction of identities as shown through dress has long been a subject of study within archaeological circles (Meskell 2001; Joyce 2005; Sørensen 2007). As Sørensen demonstrates in her study of Bronze Age European dress, appearance has social significance since social roles are learned from and expressed through dress and its fittings (Sørensen 1997). How a society constructs appearance is part of that community’s system of communication (Schwarz & Cordwell 1979).

But seeing intersectionality structurally is important in the Egyptian contexts where personal identity or strategies are harder to glean from the preserved evidence. Intersectionality is just not about managing identities; it also speaks to its’ linkage to power systems, like social inequality, intersecting power relations, social contexts, and relationality (Sirma & Collins 2020, 224-241). By looking at dressed identities in this regard we can also speculate on the lived interactions between social hierarchies inherent in Egyptian culture, not just the obvious like overseer to laborer, but specifically within status levels and through differing social contexts. Individual and group relationships can be seen through relationality where one might not have expected previously.

According to Bourdieu, elites want to remain elites and therefore, will attempt to control multiple types of *capital* and impose a hierarchy of taste and preference. Capital can be social, cultural, or symbolic, with “cultural capital” providing the means for a “non-economic form of domination” (Bourdieu 1977). Taste, in turn, is socially conditioned and reflects a symbolic hierarchy that is determined and maintained by the socially dominant (Bourdieu 1984; Allen and Anderson 1994, 70). Dress is one such way to reflect this hierarchy and maintain social

norms. The Egyptian elites used dress to affirm their position in society, compete inter-group, as well as demarcate themselves from others. Additionally, they were both the overseers of the production of dress objects and the main consumers of such. This not only imbues dress objects with great social value, but also great economic value as well.

An intersectional framework provides a way to access these marginalized groups in relation to the overly represented elites in the Egyptian evidence. As Chapter 4 will show, marginalized groups were the main producers of textiles, often “hidden” in the material and textual record. Intersectionality provides an understanding of how marginalization is experienced and reproduced precisely in order to uphold rank and social difference. It provides language to study those that have no power or are purposefully left out of attaining it. It is at the intersection of the different modes of oppression by the powerful that marginalized individuals can be found. An intersectional approach forefronts both the systems that perpetuate exploitation and the individuals who experience it. Essentially, intersectionality allows for a contextual understanding of identity taking into consideration the systems and people that maintain those social structures.

1.5 Studying Ancient Egyptian Textiles

Working with ancient Egyptian material is a blessing in many respects, but a curse in others. The arid environment preserved many forms of material that in other contexts and locations would not have survived. On the other hand, almost all urban contexts are unavailable under meters of Nile silt and thus not preserved. The study of ancient Egyptian textiles is the study of the mortuary and ritual spaces, which in turn skews scholars’ interpretations, assuming what they see in the mortuary sphere to be reflective of lived reality. From this skewed evidence, I will try to pull from a multitude of contexts and use corroborating evidence to convey that an observation or argument is not solely related to one realm or the other.

This study relies upon data from artistic, archaeological and textual sources to build as holistic an understanding of the New Kingdom textile industry as possible.

1.5.1 Artistic

I will utilize artistic sources in order to understand an elite's role in the industry based on scenes included in their tomb, including questions about textile production and changes thereto, like the adoption of the vertical loom, to trade and other consumption practices, and lastly to fashion and dress trends.

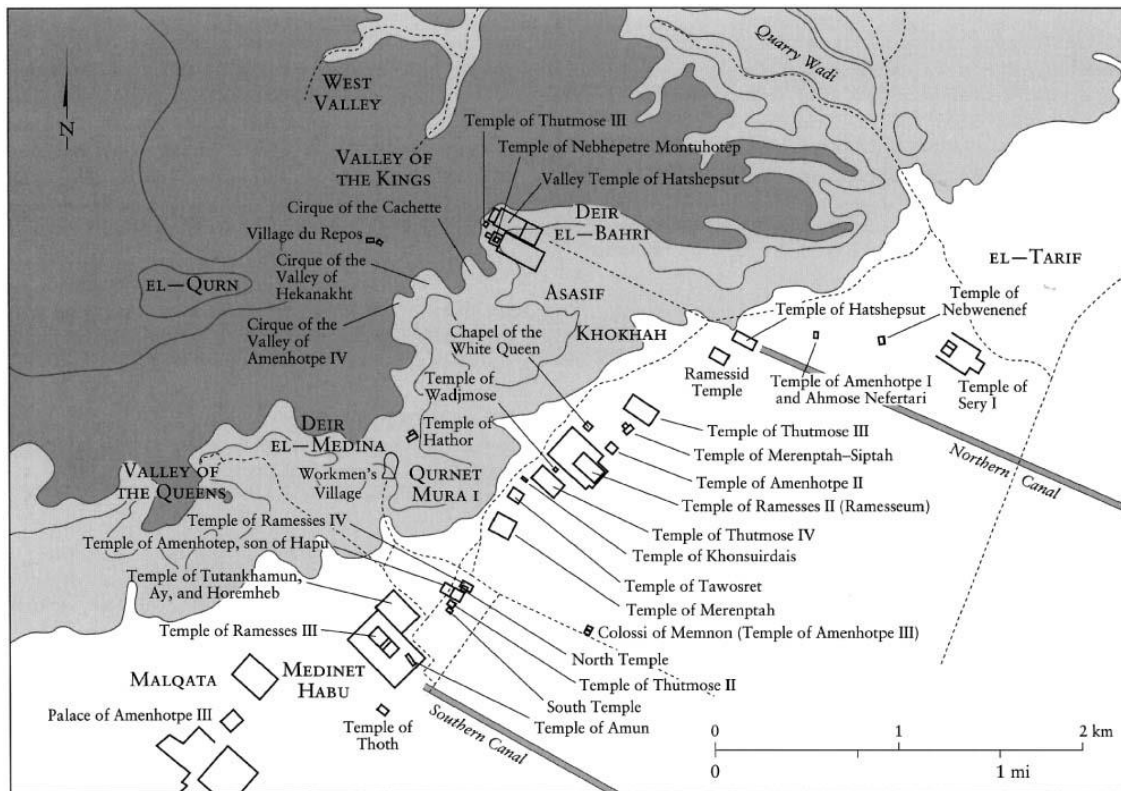


Fig. 1.1- Plan of the central area of Western Thebes (Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt 2001).

It is well understood that a culture confers meaning onto their material culture, and so, through an investigation of this symbolic system we can understand aspects of that culture's logic and value system, as well as how they constructed identity (Lemonnier 2013). For this study of textile culture in New Kingdom Egypt, the main dataset is composed of two-

dimensional painted scenes from tomb contexts from the elite cemeteries of western Thebes, including Qurnet Murai, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, El-Khokah, El-Assasif, and Dra Abu el-Naga (Fig. 1.1).

Most tombs from these cemeteries cluster around certain time periods, which will skew their representation in the data, meaning the textile industry, and cultural expression, as represented in tombs will be more demonstrable in these reigns. These times include Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, and Ramses II. Another limitation of the tomb scenes is that many tombs that are undatable to a specific reign. Kampp (1996, table 1) records nineteen tombs to the 19th dynasty, thirty-four to the 20th dynasty, 118 to the Ramesside as a whole, and fifteen to the 20th/21st dynasties. Additionally, this study relies upon evidence from tombs that are either well published or physically accessible to the author. A series of research trips were taken by the author to acquire additional photographs and information on these tombs.

This study will use Baines' (1994, 68-70) definition of art, namely that it is "social more than an individual phenomenon and works of art have their primary significance as an interpretation in their originating society." Indeed, Baines argues that all art was "created for a purpose," and could "serve multiple functions and express the order and aesthetic organization beyond the function." This means that the art of New Kingdom Egypt can be understood as an expression of a specific social context with full awareness of the social dimension.

Tomb depictions curated the idealized version of the deceased's life and desires for the afterlife. These depictions are useful in many ways to provide background information on the deceased, details of their responsibilities of their office(s), prosopographic data, for example. This study will pull from tombs from the West Theban corpus spanning the 18th dynasty through the end of the 20th. There are four distinct cemeteries that are used within the literature: Qurnet Murai, Shekh Abd el-Qurna, El-Khokah, and El-Assasif (from South to North). I will be following Kamp's designations for necropoleis and tomb's locations. As

mentioned above, there are certain times of peak construction in the region coalescing around the reigns of a few kings: Thutmose III-Amenhotep II; Amenhotep III-Thutmose IV, and Ramses II.

1.5.1.1 Idealized Dress

It has been noted by several textile specialists that artistic representations of dress show a marked degree of idealization, making it difficult to compare them to archaeological remains (Baadsgaard 2008: 91; Vogelsang Eastwood 2001: 165; Janssen 1975:249-50). Baines correlates idealization with status: the higher someone's status, the more they are idealized. This is important to keep in mind for this project since the main dataset focuses on the high elites and their projection of themselves to society. Janssen (1975, 149-50) describes this idealized environment as people in their "Sunday best," in reference to people wearing both their best quality and more conservative dress to religious functions. Or as others have suggested, the clothing depicted in tomb scenes needed to be appropriate to the role of the tomb owner in an ideological space (i.e. the tomb was an ideologically charged space, so one therefore dressed in your 'religious' clothes). But how accurate are such statements? The archaeological record is useful here. Both Janssen (1975) and Vogelsang-Eastwood (1991) argue against relying solely upon the artistic record due to these 'unrealistic' depictions, however if one turns to the archaeological record like these scholars suggest one finds this same conservative nature reflected to a certain degree. However, work by Gansell (2018 has) convincingly shown that both mortuary and artistic dress can be used to construct an individual's possible ensemble worn in life.

The degree of idealization present in artistic depictions and the archaeological record must therefore be kept in mind. Where innovation occurs first is of importance here. Depictions of innovations in dress (i.e. fashion) will take longer to appear in the artistic record given the other demands on the depiction, namely functionality and decorum. So, when I identify

innovation in dress from these tomb scenes, I am neither claiming that these innovations occurred here first nor that the innovations in tomb scenes parallel real-life innovations. The archaeological material is thus useful here to aid in clarifying any of the positions above.

Take the tomb of Kha and Merit as an example. About fifty loincloths, twenty-six medium-sized untailed 'skirts,' four larger untailed 'shawls,' and seventeen tunics (one of heavier cloth), many with fringe, were found in the tomb (Schiaparelli 1927). For the most part these garments square with the artistic depictions from the time of Kha and Merit. However, Hall in her review of Schiaparelli's publication remarks that the garments differ in slight ways from the statues and paintings (Hall 1928, 203), namely that these garments were the 'heavier' tunics which she sees were worn in the cooler months, there were decorated borders on some of the tunics, and there is long fringe on many of the pieces. Why don't we see these characteristics in the artistic evidence from Kha and Merit's tomb?

Nonetheless, the types of garments Kha and Merit are depicted wearing and those placed in the tomb seem to be rather similar. If we see the tomb scenes as highly idealized, one explanation for this concurrence is that the same cultural laws that governed how one was to be depicted on the walls of their tomb also controlled what types of goods were placed in the tomb and that the actual dress objects placed in the tomb also needed to reflect the conservative nature of a tomb. However, the differences noted by Hall should not be ignored.

We do have one significant example of depicted reality and archaeological reality not matching—namely, in the various garments from the tomb of Tutankhamun compared to his depiction on his tomb walls. Tutankhamun's textiles provide a unique collection of a king's funerary wardrobe—much of which we never see depicted visually lending further credence to the notion that tomb scene depictions were just subset of what would have been available for the elites and royalty in lived textilen reality. The tomb scene depictions show ideologically conceived, mortuary appropriate costumes, whereas Tutankhamun's garments found in the tomb reflect a much messier, more nuanced, and diverse reality.

Baine's concept of decorum is important to the understanding of idealized and/or imagined reality within funerary spheres. Baines defines this concept of decorum as "the set of rules or practices defining what may be represented pictorially with captions, displayed, and possibly written down, in which contexts and in what form... based upon practices of conduct and etiquette" (Baines 2007:15). Similar to Bourdieu's *habitus*, *decorum* serves to legitimize the social actor through a network of constraints. Decorum is one means by which people negotiate relations amongst themselves, between themselves and the royal, and between themselves and with the divine (1977: 19). For example, in visual depictions prior to the 19th Dynasty, the king was the only one who could be shown in direct interaction with deities, whereas non-royal priests actually performed many of these functions. In this study, by examining the textile industry as an idealized depiction as well as a lived reality, one can conclude there were rules and values that governed personal preference. Sometimes and for some people, these rules and value were flexible; for others, the rules were strict. Material culture does not just reflect a fixed but was itself instrumental in creating and influencing social relationships and connections (Bourdieu 1977; Gell 2013; Hodder 1989; Shanks and Tilley 1987; 2006).

1.5.1.2 Working with Depicted Identities

Two forces act upon how individuals are depicted in tomb space: decorum, or cultural mores, and individual choice (which in most cases is still a reflection of decorum. When working with visual depictions of dress in mortuary spaces, the following considerations should be kept in mind:

Tomb paintings are idealized scenes where the tomb owner(s) has power over the way in which they are visually represented in the space, including the dress they are shown wearing, the activities they are participating in, and the texts that adorn the walls. When we are looking at dress through art, we are already one step removed from the actual objects themselves.

However, building on Baines' (1994, 68) emphasis that art is “social more than an individual phenomenon and works of art have their primary significance as an interpretation of their originating society,” which means that the art of a specific time, in our case the New Kingdom, is an expression of a specific social context. Further, Baines (*ibid*, 69) clarifies that all pieces of art, especially in ancient Egypt, were functional, served multiple purposes, and expressed the order and aesthetic organization beyond the functional. This is important because it allows us to show that visual depictions can be used to reconstruct social personas and identities. The art was made in full awareness of this social dimension

1.5.2 Archaeological

Archaeological sources will often be used as corroborating evidence for both the artistic and textile sources. The archaeological evidence will be used in discussions of how textiles were produced, where they were produced, and how textiles were worn on the body. Due to the mortuary context and dry environment, Egyptian textiles are much better preserved as compared to their contemporary counterparts. From Greece and West Asia, for example, textiles rarely remain preserved. For these cultures, modern scholars must depend on visual evidence or associated archaeological data like spinning and weaving tools or economic documents. This study will supplement the visual evidence with actual archaeological materials whenever possible.

Major collections of archaeological textiles include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the British Museum, The Victoria and Albert Museum, the Museo Egizio di Torino, the Cairo Museum, and the Luxor Museum. Many of the collections are well published online, like the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Victoria and Albert Museum while others have been visited and documented by the author.

1.5.2.1 Applications and Limitation of Using Mortuary Dress

Since this work relies almost completely on the evidence of dress from mortuary contexts, it is necessary to discuss how using mortuary assemblages might impact the results of reconstructing dress practices. The first issue that arises is the use of funerary evidence as representative of lived experience and actual dress norms, similar to the idealized dress we see in artistic depictions. The visual and archaeological material comes mainly from tomb contexts, given its preservative nature. It can be asked how representative of 'real life' are the textiles that are placed in the tomb? Within processual archaeological practices, it is the presumption that burial assemblages are reflective of individual roles, social frameworks, and economic systems (Rakita 2008).

It has been established in other archaeological contexts that the dress of the dead differs greatly from that worn in living contexts, adhering to more conservative traditional styles (Baadsgaard 2008, 91). Egyptian context does seem to include 'used' dress, perhaps indicating they are more reflective of lived practice. Many of the loincloths from the tomb of Kha and Merit, for example, show evidence of being worn and mended. Drawing from Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971), scholars recognized that mortuary practices and assemblages are connected to the deceased's social identity and to the larger socio-political organizations involved (Brown 1995; Binford 1971; Saxe 1970). Within processual archaeological practices, it is the presumption that burial assemblages are reflective of individual roles, social frameworks, and economic systems. However processual approaches do not address all the issues. Realizing these limitations, post-processual approaches were developed (Hodder 1980, 1982, 1984; Shanks & Tilley 1982) Post-processual approaches emphasize the dynamic nature of mortuary practices; as an arena for displaying, negotiating, and transforming social relationships (Chesson 2001; Miller & Tilley 1984; Joyce 1999). Mortuary symbols do not merely inform us about vertical social divisions, but also other categories like gender and age.

As mentioned, the dead do not bury themselves nor have the final say in the mortuary assemblage. It must be recognized that in most cases, the tomb owner would have been a part of the decoration of the tomb which would have started while they were still alive. Presumably, they also would have had some say in what was 'supposed' to be included as grave goods. As enumerated early, tomb scenes are regarded as displays of idealized existence; what is hoped for in the afterlife (Baines 2015, 10). Regardless of whether these depictions 100% accurately reflected lived experience, they still can be used to convey what the culture at that time valued and found aesthetically appealing. What limited how these styles could be represented and constructed is built into this cultural system, Bourdieuan habitus sense.

For example, in tomb TT45, the tomb owner is displayed wearing the dress that was 'in-style' during his life, while the previous tomb owner was left wearing the style of the mid-18th dynasty (Davies 1948). Whether or not these two fashions co-existed in life is unclear. Yet, varying aspects of that individual's identity is still communicated to the viewer, and dress practices of each respective time can be discerned. Additionally, textual and archaeological materials support the use of mortuary dress as a category of evidence. Certain texts refer to tombs being looted for their goods to be used by living members of society (P.BM 10375; *LRL* 28). Given the Egyptian preference for untailed garments, textiles from tomb contexts are highly fungible and could be easily put back into circulation. Many garments from mortuary assemblages also show use-wear and evidence of mending and laundry marks, indicating that the item was used in life (Personal observation of Turin S.8578). With certain caveats in mind, the connection between the social and dress of an individual supports the use of mortuary evidence in reconstruction of New Kingdom involvement in and consumption of textiles.

1.5.3 Textual

Another integral corpus to the study of Egyptian dress is the textual. This spans the range from literary texts to economics documents. Textual evidence is the best way to get an emic

understanding about textile production, use, trade, importance, and demand. For the purposes of this study, textual evidence will play a large role when discussing the ideological value of dress objects and textiles, the production and consumption practices especially in regard to palace and temple institutions, the role of the elites in the industry through their preserved titles, and trade and exchange.

Textual sources will be read from the original languages whenever possible. I will provide an English translation, however, to be more inclusive and accessible. Key words in Egyptian will be provided in parentheses. Unlike other Late Bronze Age cultures, Egypt has comparatively fewer textual records concerning textile production and consumption practices. At times I will use comparative methods based on other contemporary cultures are used to provide insights where the Egyptian record is silent.

Another limitation is that most of the textual records that are helpful in elucidating institutional involvement in the textile industry come from unique contexts. There has been much debate about how representative the texts from Deir el-Medina are for “village” life and economies because Deir el-Medina represents such an unusual community of royal artisans. Additionally, many of the civil papyri dealing in land tenure and the distribution of textiles date to a time of crisis at the end of the 20th dynasty. In both of these cases, it is harder to claim that they illustrate the a “typical” situation.

1.5.3.1 Words for Dress Objects

One important issue when looking at textual evidence for dress objects is the unclear translation of many of terms. There have been attempts by a few scholars to remedy this lexicographical issue, but ultimately many of the terms remain unclear (see Appendix 4). Additionally, in texts that are written in non-Egyptian languages, like the Amarna letters, the equivalences between Akkadian and Egyptian dress terms are unclear as well. For the Amarna letters, for instance, I

will be working from English translations as well since I do not have a background in the Canaano-Akkadian script or language.

1.6 Chapter Overviews

After this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 constructs the value of textiles through their ideological and social functions. Textiles played a highly important role in Egyptian rituals. Through a study of ideological texts and temple scenes, I demonstrate that textiles' importance revolved around their ability to provide protection at liminal times during rejuvenation and (re)birth. Textiles were a key component of wrapping and layering necessary in many rites of passage, and forms of social ordering and status marking. The expression of emotions like love and caretaking incorporated textiles due to their physical closeness to the body and how textiles can be used as clothing to provide warmth or bandages to heal. Beyond the economic value of cloth, the ideological and social power contributed significantly to how textiles were conceptualized and valued in New Kingdom society.

Chapter 3 provides an in-depth analysis of the textile production process, from the sowing of the flax crop through to post-processing activities. I discuss the Egyptian attitude towards wool versus linen, ultimately arguing that our temple and tomb scene evidence is skewed against wool for ideological reasons, as explained in Chapter 2, but there is a fair amount of evidence for wool use in actuality. This chapter is foundational to understanding Chapters 5 and 6 given both the time required in the process, the amount of land and space for workshops, and the types of individuals involved in the weaving arts.

Chapter 4 provides a novel investigation into how the textiles industry was managed and controlled. Temple and palace institutions arguably controlled the textile industry more than other scholars have suggested, with domestic production being a minor area. The debate of the farming-out of labor for textile manufacture will also be discussed in relation to this institutional

control. A diachronic approach is used here given the textile industry changed greatly over the course of the New Kingdom. The offices and individuals involved in their oversight are tracked to develop a complete understanding. This chapter also details how land was managed for flax production.

Chapter 5 highlights the labors of the marginalized workforce of weaving artists working under the temple and palace institutions. An intersectional approach is important here to contextualize the various hierarchies at play. Most weavers of textiles in the New Kingdom were women, but the women came from a variety of backgrounds, some elite, some enslaved, some war captives. Their background, not just their gender identity, plays into their marginalized status. These individuals were the foundation for the power the institutions held over the textile industry, and these marginalized groups, in most cases, were not the main consumers of these luxury products.

Chapter 6 constructs how textiles were consumed by both institutions and individuals, and how those consumption practices contributed to how textiles were valued. Temples and palaces controlled the circulation of textiles through redistributive practices for both life and the funerary realms. Textiles were often used as a form of compensation for state workers. Another major aspect of consumption was how textiles were used to express identity through dress, which is explored through a series of case studies. Lastly, how textiles were exchanged both domestically and internationally is discussed, especially regarding the development of a cross-cultural elite identity through dress practice.

Chapter 7 summarizes the various conclusions from the preceding chapters circling back to the discussion of textiles vis-a-vis hierarchies of power, access, and control providing a definition for the New Kingdom Cloth Culture. The majority of textile value stems from its ideological and social functions, creating a commodity that communicated status, wealth, and identity. Unlike other commodities, textiles provide a lens throughout to better understand New Kingdom Egyptian society, and even an avenue to investigate marginalized groups.

1.7 Notes on Translations

Unless otherwise stated, the translations are my own. I have chosen to prioritize translations in the text so as to make it more equitable and accessible to readers, many of whom might be textile specialists outside of the Egyptological sphere. I provide transliterations of key terms when applicable in parentheses next to their translation. For my transliterations I use the Unicode keyboard provided by JSesh. This study uses the Leiden Unified Transliteration system, recently adopted at the 13th Annual Meeting of International Association of Egyptologists (2023). Proper names are rendered into English, maintaining their structure as much as possible. Certain phrases or concepts are italicized and written in the typical American Egyptological spelling (*maat* and *isfet*, for example). I use Gardiner's Sign List (2001) to reference specific hieroglyphic signs.

I have taken liberties at times to render the Egyptian language into proper legible English. Brackets [...] are used to denote a break in the text, while (xxx) denotes the addition of mine not present in the Egyptian to provide a better English rendering. Curly brackets {xxx} are used whenever I have amended or edited the text, usually for subject or tense.

In certain appendices, I have provided full transliterations as well as translations.

Chapter 2

The Value of Textiles: Ideology and Society

Her raiment is the idmi-cloth from the arms of Tayt...the god approaches his god, that he may array the god in this his own name of idmi. Isis has woven it; Nephthys has spun it.

(after David 1981, 71)

2.1 Value of Textiles

The role textiles played in New Kingdom society must first be established before understanding how textiles were produced, by whom, and how they were consumed. Textiles, unlike any other commodity, were integral to the ideological function of many rituals in Egyptian society. The value of textiles will first be established through an investigation of the ideological, social, and economic realms. This chapter will argue that textile not only held important economic value in relation to other commodities, but that their true value also came from their ideological and social functioning. Textiles were intimately connected to ideas of protection and rejuvenation, and textiles in the form of dress were the major way of expressing outward identity and reaffirming social ordering.

Textiles obviously fulfill a basic necessity of humans. They provide warmth and protection from the environment, but many early scholars have pushed back against this simplistic understanding about the invention of clothing. Some scholars have posited that textiles were created not only for physical protection, but that the social value was also embedded within them from the beginning. That adornment of the body was present since the Middle Paleolithic, even in contexts where clothing was not needed for warmth or protection, therefore making its creation not purely utilitarian (El Mehdi Sehasseh et al. 2021).

As enumerated in Chapter 1, value is not only economic but also social in what a society deems ideologically significant. Textiles express this distinction perfectly. They held economic value, but their main value arguably comes from their function in ideological ritual and stages of

life associations. Egyptian society was structured around textiles, from the way one dressed to how a deity was to be cared for and how funerary rites were properly undertaken. Cloth had no single meaning or *value*. In order to better contextualize how textiles were valued by the Egyptians, this chapter explores textiles' use in ideological and social spheres.

The economic value of cloth will not be described here because scholars have already sufficiently described it (Janssen 1975). Janssen's (1975) study of the prices of various commodities including textiles offers a complete economic study of the value of textiles. In summary, cloth in comparison to other goods spanned the gamut of economic value. A garment from the Amarna Letters could be very "expensive" while a used loincloth could be relatively "inexpensive" in comparison to other goods. I would argue that this is due to other contextual circumstances that are lost to modern scholars, like a textile's ideological or social value. Thus, the ideological and social value of textiles is focused on here to complement the work already completed by Egyptologists.

Textiles are mentioned in scholarship concerning temple rituals but have never been the sole focus of any research. Most works detailing textiles in Egyptian society focus on how they were produced, the tools used, the techniques, and technologies, all of which are important (Chapter 3), but to understand the efforts taken in production, the role of textile within Egyptian society must first be explored. The intersection between textiles and society through the matrices of domination relates directly to the high value textiles held in Egyptian society. A commodity that is valued is one to be retained, stored, and withheld from others deemed less than.

Looking outside of Egyptological scholarship and society, much work has been done on the role of textiles and other dress elements in ritual. Cecilie Brøns (2016) *Gods and Garments* introduces textiles into the study of ancient Greek religion and illuminates the role textiles played in the performance of ritual. The edited volume, *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2017) by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, investigates the connection

between textiles and cult through their use as votive, religious attire, decoration, or commodity, for example. Cultures from ancient Greece and Rome to Assyria and Babylon are covered in this volume, but, interestingly, there is no contribution from Egyptological scholars. The aim of this chapter is to align Egyptological scholarship with the efforts already made in neighboring ancient studies.

This study will mostly be focused on a textual analysis with some support from artistic arenas as well. For ease of reading, full translations of certain texts will be provided in the relevant appendices.

2.1.1 Textile-Based Figurative Speech

Like in English and other Indo-European languages, ancient Egyptian words and phrases concerning weaving and textiles became idiomatic expressions or figures of speech used to convey meanings. For example, one might “weave a story” or “spin a yarn.” Why are there so many textile-related idioms in most languages? For example, for the phrase for “spin a yarn,” is linked to nautical industry and has been used in the figurative sense since the early nineteenth century, presumably linked to the telling of stories during the construction of rope and sails (Ayto 2009). The connection between textile work and time is reflective in many idioms. This not only conveys the long hours spent working but also the availability of the mind while one’s hands are busy.

Within cognitive linguistics, a conceptual metaphor refers to the understanding of one idea in terms of another. For example, to *spend* time uses a term in relation to money to discuss time (see conceptual metaphor; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Textile-related metaphors fall within this categorization as well. “To weave a story” references the act of weaving to discuss the construction of a tale. According to Lakoff (1990), metaphors are not just figures of speech but also represent ways of thinking. Which words appear in figures of speech and how those are used are important indicators of a culture’s way of being. Metaphor references what a culture

deems important or universal enough that, when said, others will understand the connotation. Referring to the “spending time” metaphor, it has argued that it relates to modern western cultures’ capitalist background with time being viewed as something that can be “spent,” “saved,” or “wasted.” That conceptualization is so embedded in culture that it becomes difficult to see it any other way. What then can textile-based metaphors tell us about how the ancient Egyptians thought?

Egyptological explorations into figurative speech are defined by the works of Grapow (1920; 1924), Brunner (*in* Helck and Otto 1975), Osing (*in* Helck and Westendorf 1977), and Di Biase-Dyson (2016). Other important studies of metaphor ranging from iconographic to semiotic approaches are by Goldwasser (1992; 2002; 2006; 2009), Fecht (1970), Parkison (1992; 2006), Landgráfová (2008), and Hsu (2017). Studies into conceptualizations of the body through metaphor (Nyord 2009), metaphors of dominion (David 2011), and notions of death (Hsu 2021), to name a few, explore such ideas further. However, there has been no such study on the role of textile and textile-related terms to an Egyptian ontological understanding of their world.

Such a study becomes all the more difficult when studying word play and idiomatic expression in ancient (dead) languages. Just as English idioms are hard to grasp for non-English speakers, what might do scholars, who have varying degrees of fluency and who are completely removed from said culture, miss? Care must be taken to render such figurative language correctly into English. Take the Egyptian phrase of this section, “[k]nit together your limbs” from the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts (PT §369). The Egyptian word used is *tz* meaning “to tie” but Faulkner chooses the English word “to knit,” referencing a textile-related word. But was this meaning also conveyed by the Egyptian? As translators, we must keep such matters in mind and try not to add or take away figurative language.

Turning to the textual sources, a number of figures of speech based on textile-related terms can be understood in the ancient Egyptian. The first figure of speech is the relation

between having an issue or a problem and the lack of clothing. One phrase that repeatedly occurred in private texts is “there is no loincloth/clothing for my backside” (Anastasi III, 6.2; Anastasi IV, 9.12; LRL 197; LRL 264). This phrase was solely used in letters between private individuals to reference the individual being in a predicament. The reference to being without clothing is clearly euphemistic given the context. For example, in one letter, an individual complains that they “were sent as far as the east side to the vizier in order to collect taxes of his agents who are in the fields. And last year’s balance is due. There is no loincloth for my rear... please give your personal attention...” (Wente 1990, no. 197). This does not mean the man was literally naked, but that within the Egyptian understanding, being in a precarious position is like being naked, an unwanted situation that causes one to reach out to their betters to get aid, with the implicit understanding that one’s superior, or patrons are meant to keep you clothed.

A number of verbs relating to aspects of the textile production process have interesting double-meanings that build their polysemy, namely *tz*, *hnkt*, *šht*, *sšn*, *sṯ* and *kn*.

The term *tz* or “to knit or tie” is used frequently in regard to the rejuvenation of Osiris and the reformulation of his corpora, such as Osiris’ body being stitched back together through the mummification process, linking together the whole wrapping endeavor with regeneration and rebirth. A euphemism meaning to solve a problem is *wh’ tzzwt*, literally meaning to “untie what is knotted” (Wendrich 2006, 248).

Another term that has a variety of meaning and usages is *hnkt*. For textiles, it can be used to refer to the process of weaving or braiding, but interestingly it is also used to refer to the presentation of gifts, offerings, or donations. The connection between the two uses could come from the frequent donation or presentation of cloth or the woven baskets in which most goods are held. Another possibility is its connection to braided hair, also called a *hnkt*, with Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor known as the “ones with Braided Hair,” and they are also goddesses connected to the weaving arts (Section 2.2.1).

The most intriguing verb is *šht*. This is the most commonly used verb to describe the weaving process. However, it can also mean “to mold” or “to assemble,” referencing the procreative aspects of weaving. When you weave, you create something anew. For example, Unas’s tent is woven (*šht*) from rushes (PT §210). But statues could also be *šht*. In reference Hatshepsut’s obelisk, it was a single block, “without being put together (*šht*).” Bricks of mud or clay are *šht* as well. In the Great Nile Hymn, there is even a pun on the various uses of this word: “[m]ay your hand weave [*šht*] with gold, but do not form [*šht*] a brick with silver” (P. BM EA 10182). This term also can reference ensnaring or trapping, referencing the weaving of a net for fishing or fowling.

Another term to denote spinning or twisting is *sšn*. Just like knotting, spinning or twisting was an important ritual action mentioned in many magical texts. For example, one protective amulet was composed of “seven flax fibers, spun and twisted with the spindle, by the one who gives birth” (P. BM EA 10756). The seven numbers relate to the seven Hathors who protect mother and baby during childbirth.

Another term, *stʿ*, is used to reference spinning or weaving, stemming from the root to pull, drag, or flow. We can see this play on definitions in PT §519 where “a bandage of green and red linen... was spun/pulled [*stʿ*] from the eye of Horus.”

Last, *kn* can mean “to weave” but also has the connotations of “to repel (evil)” or “to be strong.” The act of weaving provides protection and strength to the individual. With each throw of the shuttle or tamping of the warp, a protective netting is woven, repelling evil. This connection will be referenced repeatedly in the ideological texts.

In summary, through an examination of figures of speech and the polysemy of certain terms, we can understand better how the Egyptians understood and organized their world view. Textile terms not only related to the production of textiles, but also were references to the creating, protecting, and deriving of them. To be without your clothes became a euphemistic way of expressing you were in a dire situation.

2.2 Ideological Textiles

The ideological role or the set of beliefs or ontologies of New Kingdom (elite) Egyptian society concerning textiles comprises the largest section of this chapter due to the lack of discussion from any other source. As we shall see, a commonality among many of these texts and rituals involving textiles builds off the following notions: textiles are a basic necessity, even for the gods; textiles are connected with rebirth and rejuvenation through reference to Osiris and his wrapping; textiles are connected to change, and, in relation to that, textiles provide protection, sometimes physical and sometimes metaphorically, in reference to *Wadjet* or the Eye of Re, for example. Indeed, Osiris' wrapping is akin to a cocoon of sorts, in which a transformation did occur.

All of these aspects of textiles—the rejuvenation and protection they instill or provide—was an integral, necessary aspect to the functioning of many of the rituals performed in the temple and funerary realms. Interestingly, as will be shown, the textiles consumed in their highly charged performances were produced by war captives or enslaved individuals “donated” to the god, reaffirming the hegemonic right of Amun and the king. Amun literally wore the labor of those conquered on his behalf.

2.2.1 Ideological Texts

All of the important ideological texts mention the importance of weaving, wrapping, and textiles in the transition of the deceased into the afterlife. These help to establish the ontological understanding the Egyptian had for their world and the role textiles played in ritual. For the purposes of this section, I will highlight the important aspects from them. For a complete list of mentions, see Appendix 1.

There are several ideological texts that feature textiles. The Pyramid Texts are the first written ideological texts preserved from ancient Egypt. These texts were solely the prerogative of

the king and detail a series of “spells” for offering and recitation but also instructions and protections for the king in the afterlife. Already by the codification of these rituals in the Pyramid Texts in the Old Kingdom the ideological function of textiles is well established. This means that textiles presumably played a similar role even earlier in time prior to just rituals being recorded. For example, for the king to be recognized and established before the gods, the proper dress elements are required:

O King, take your bright tunic, take your cloak upon you, be clad in the Eye of Horus which is in Weaving-Town, that it may make a shout for you before the god, that it may make your cognizance before the gods, that you may assume the *wrrt*-crown by means of it before the gods, and that you may assume the *wrrt*-crown by means of it before Horus, Lord of Patricians (PT §414; Faulkner 1969, 136).

Additionally, the king’s responsibility in providing clothing to the gods as replicated in the Daily Temple Ritual (Sect. 2.2.4.1) is evident:

...I have come to you, Osiris; I will wipe your face, I will clothe you with the clothing of a god, I will do you priestly service in Djedit... I have come to you, my lord, I have come to you, Osiris; I will wipe your face, I will clothe you with the clothing of a god, I will do your priestly service of Iadi, I will eat a limb from your foe, I will carve it for Osiris... (PT §477; Faulkner 1969, 165).

The relationship between the protective abilities of the Eye of Horus and weaving is also present through the locating of the Eye in “Weaving-Town” (PT §414; 597; 635). This protective ability is also referenced through the various goddess’s connection to weaving and cloth. For example, “[y]our mother Tayt clothes you, she lifts you up to the sky in this name ‘Kite.’ He whom she has found is her Horus, here is your Horus, O, Isis; take his hand to Re at the horizon” (PT §417; Faulkner 1969, 137).

By the end of the Old Kingdom, these once tightly restricted texts became more accessible, resulting in what is termed the Coffin Texts. Now, instead of only being present in kings’ burial chambers, these texts are written on coffins. Though this is the first time we find just texts inscribed on the funerary equipment of the elites, the connection between textiles and

the afterlife was already established in elite circles as well, as evidenced by elite funerary practices (Sect. 2.2.3.3).

The Coffin Texts follow much of the established pattern set by the Pyramid Texts with textiles, making more explicit the necessity of textiles in the afterlife and their protective capabilities. Clothing is compared to the “breath of life which issues forth to me from the mouth of Amun” (CT §75; Faulkner 1973, 76). To be a man-spirit in the realm of the dead, effective and powerful, “a pair of white sandals and clad in a kilt and sash of red linen” was required (CT §149; Faulkner 1973, 127).

The syncretism of Hathor with textile and death/rebirth are ever present within the Coffin Texts, something lacking in the Pyramid Texts. Hathor provides clothing for the deceased (CT §44), and the deceased is spoken of as the child of Hathor, the “unclothed one,” (CT §271), with the deceased’s body parts being aspects of her garments (CT §334). The establishment of the mummification process with Hathor as the Goddess of the West with her protective, mothering capabilities are connected through the rebirth of the deceased. The deceased are wrapped with textiles, protected by Hathor, and reborn into the afterlife.

The effective nature of the deceased in the afterlife is also referenced through textile metaphor where the individual must be properly “equipped” to be efficacious

O N, I have clad you in the Eye of Horus, which is the garment in which he clad his father, in which he clad Osiris; provide yourself with it and it will equip you as a god... O N, take all the clothing which is in the chapel of Lower Egypt, for the gods have given to you what is in it. It will cause you to appear from its egg, it will place you as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, for you are Lord of its god... O N, take these pieces of linen which are in the Mansion of Ptah, which are great and might for this Ernutet, the Mistress of dread, greatly majestic, so that she may cause your foes to fear and dress, so that you may be potent through her in her name of Linen, fine garments which he who is in the temple brings to the Eyeless One for everything which Horus has given to his father (PT §862; Faulkner 1969, 40).

Through donning the proper garments, the deceased will become a god like Osiris, their foes in fear of them, and they will be potent or effective in the afterlife.

By the time of the New Kingdom, the previously discussed ideological functions of cloth were still present in the various religious texts. Textiles were still explicitly linked to protection. In the 9th Hour of the Amduat from the tomb of Thutmosis III, the protective power of textiles is stated:

Who belongs to cloths; who is clothed; linen-clothed remaining on their clothing as linen clothed and as images made by Horus. Re says to them: you are adorned with our clothing; you are protected by your dress! Horus has adorned you with them when he hid his father in the Netherworld which conceals the gods (Warburton 2007, 282).

Given the perilous nature of the journey to the afterlife, the bright, lightening nature of linen is referenced to banish darkness and evil. It is said that “they stay in their clothes, those who illuminate the darkness in the chamber containing Osiris” (9th Hour, Amduat; Hornung and Abt 2007, 291). From Chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased is “the one who ties the fringed cloth of Nun, the white one of light, ornament of his forehead, illuminating the darkness, joined by the Two Goddesses” (BM EA 10470; Quirke 2013, 190).

Indeed brightness, lightness, and purity get linked as well. Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead relates the proper way of being in the Hall of the Two Truths where the deceased received judgment.

This is the way to act toward the Hall of the Two Truths. A man says this speech when he is pure, clean, dressed in fresh clothes, shown in white sandals, painted with eye paints, anointed with the finest oil of myrrh. One shall offer to him beef, fowl, incense, bread, beer, and herbs. (Lichtheim 1976, 131).

In summary, from this brief examination of how ideological texts incorporate textiles, a number of observations can be made. Textiles were connected to protection via the physical binding or wrapping of the item around the deceased. Cloth and the Eye of Horus are often paired in spells. Textiles are also related to rebirth and rejuvenation through their mythological function in the restoration of Osiris whose limbs were bound back together. Last, the color of textiles features frequently and relates to either purity and light (white) or power (red). Color symbolism will be discussed more in Section 2.3.1. A study of the ideological texts provides an

emic understanding of how Egyptians conceptualized textiles throughout their history in a metaphorical manner. Much like the section looking at textile-based figurative speech, ideological texts also provide an avenue to understanding ontology the Egyptian had with textiles and other more metaphysical notions like morality, purity, goodness, and protection.

2.2.2 Deities Associated with Weaving and/or Textiles

Numerous gods and goddesses are associated with weaving or the textile arts. A brief discussion of them is required given that they are frequently mentioned in the ideological texts, and their connection to the production of textiles is intimately linked to their role in rejuvenation or protection. As with most of Egyptian religion, syncretism is a major aspect in understanding the deities connected to weaving. For example, in the Formula for the Presentation of a Garment (BM EA 10020), the syncretism of the many deities associated with cloth is evident:

Formula for giving cloth to a transfigured spirit. Words spoken by N. The woven comes, Tayt comes. The woven comes, Tayt comes from afar, emerging from the weave. There comes what Isis has spliced, there comes what Nephthys has spun, there comes what Neith had pummeled, there comes what Serqet has woven, there comes what Ptah has made successful, there comes what Tanen has brought, there comes what Horus has given his father Osiris to cloak him in, when he was bound together his flesh, when he has tied together his limbs to give him bone (Quirke 2013, 511).

Tayet, Nith, Serqet, Ptah, Horus, and Osiris are all implicated in this garment presentation scene. Multiple female deities are involved in the garment production, and Ptah as masculine craft deity, ultimately with Horus placing the garment onto his father, “binding” his flesh together. For the purposes of this discussion, I will organize the discussion by deity, but the syncretistic nature should be noted.

2.2.2.1 Tayt

Tayet is the goddess solely associated with spinning and weaving. She is thought to be connected with the town of Tait(t) in Lower Egypt, later connected with the site of Buto (PT §414, §597,

§737, §1642, §1794; Wb. V, 231). For example, The Eye of Horus is said to reside there: “O King, take your bright tunic, take your cloak upon you, be clad in the Eye of Horus, which is in Tait [“Weaving-town],” or “O King, come, don the intact Eye of Horus which is in Tait [“Weaving-town]” (PT §414 and §597). Given this, most scholars assume that Tayet’s place of origin and main cultic worship is at Buto (Dep) (el-Saady 1994, 213). Another support for this comes from the use of the Gardiner M36 sign in both the name of the town and the name of the goddess thought to represent a bundle of flax. Since the flax plant requires a lot of water to grow, it would make sense that flax would be a main crop of Lower Egypt. A further text, the so-called “Hymn of the Diadem,” situated Tayet at Buto and again links the Eye of Horus also at that location. El-Saayed (1994, 213) also posits the connection between the Temple of Dendera and Tayet based on texts in that temple that insinuate thusly (Chassinat 1934, 225). However, even in Dendera, Tayet’s connection to Lower Egypt is maintained since the aforementioned text appears in the *pr-nw* shrine of the temple (Gauthier 1925, 90).

Much of her role in the funerary texts revolves around her fashioning of the necessary funerary bandages—*tʿyt*. This word sometimes translates as canopy, awning, or tent to reference the temporary locations established for embalming and purification, for Horus “makes ready [the] tent for [the deceased]” (PT §363; Faulkner 1969, 118), very much like Hathor’s name also mean ‘Enclosure of Horus.’ Osiris of the Bandages (*wsʿr tʿy.ty*) is also a frequent appearance (e.g., P. Cairo CG 51189). Given the connotations between wrappings and protection, Tayet’s functions extend past this to be a goddess of protection for the deceased. She appears in the 7th Hour of Amduat (Hornung 1963, 114). She becomes the *drt*-bird to carry the deceased to the heavens to be in the company of Re in the horizon:

While the Great One sleeps upon his mother, Nut, your mother Tayet clothes you, she lifts you up to the sky in this her name of “Kite” [*drt*]. He whom she has found is her Horus; Here is your Horus, O Isis, take his hand to Re at the Horizon (PT §417; Faulkner 1969, 137).

Tayet functioning as the “mother” of the deceased is further referenced in other Pyramid Texts. This will explain later syncretism with Isis. Relatedly, she is closely associated with the divine family of Osiris, Isis, and Horus (see Isis or Osiris sections). Concerning Horus, Tayet’s amalgamation with the Eye of Horus is of note. In many texts, cloth is mentioned in close relation to the Eye of Horus, presumably in reference to the injury inflicted upon Horus and cloth’s connection to healing, rejuvenation, and protection. Pyramid Text §519 (Faulkner 1969, 208) states, “so that I may ferry across in it together with that headband of green and of red cloth which has been woven from the Eye of Horus in order to bandage that finger of Osiris which has been diseased.” The Eye of Horus is said to reside in “Tayet-town” (PT §597, §635; Faulkner 1969). In a later utterance, the Eye of Horus is directly equated with cloth:

Ho N! You are clad in the Eye of Horus which belongs to your body. Ho! I have given it to you, it having appeared and having been seen on your flesh and having been joined to your flesh in this its name of Red Linen. You are clad in it in this name of Cloth... It is joined to your flesh in this name of Red Linen. Here comes Tayet. Here comes Tayet... Here comes the cloth of Nephthys... Here comes the woven stuff of the two Sisterly Companions. Here comes what Horus gave to his father Osiris to clothe him in it. Ho N! Prove yourself with the Eye of Horus which belongs to your body. Provide yourself with the woven Eye of Horus (CT §607; Faulkner 1977, 197).

She also gets connected to Wadjet given the ritually protective functions of cloth especially in relation to the king. Wadjet as the uraeus on the king’s brow gets called Tayet in certain instances, and *wꜣdt* itself is present in certain temple rituals where green linen is presented to the cult statue. Later in the Greco-Roman Period, Tayet is marked as the king’s nurse at the temples at Edfu and Dendera (el-Saady 2006, 216).

Other references to the connection between Tayet and funerary wrapping can be seen in Sinuhe where he is promised “the wrappings made by the hands of Tayet” (Lichtheim 1973, 229). The Harpers’ Song from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) equates all the good things in life with aspects of the gods, it is said that “your clothing is the work of Tayet (*ḥbs.k m kꜣt tꜣyt*).” In a number of funerary papyri, Tayet is mentioned as well as providing the ritual cloth for the dead:

- *wnḥ.k ḥbs ḥry tḥyt*, “May you put on the clothing that is made by Tayet” (Maiherpri, P. Cairo CG 2409; Nu, P. BM EA 10477)
- *Dd rn.ḥn tḥyt*, “The saying of my name by Tayet” (Maiherpri, P. Cairo CG 24095; Tyuya, P. Cairo CG51189)
- *Wnm.k t' hr [...] ḥdī sḥt tḥyt ds.s*, “May you eat bread upon the sheet that Tayet wove herself” (Nebseni, P. BM EA 9900)

The connection between protection, bandages, and the goddess extends into the magico-healing realm as well. In the London Medical Papyrus (P. BM EA 10059), there are two spells that involve the invoking of Tayet in coordination with knots. The first one is to ward off blood while the second deals with protecting against the bad influence of a dead person or a god:

Another spell to ward off (spilled?) blood. Anubis may come out to prevent the flood of the Nile from entering the sanctuary of Tayet. What is inside is protected. (This saying is to be spoken over a knot made of *r-ḥt*-cloth)

Warding off the bad influence of a dead person or a god through the power of Anubis (b) Anubis, go! The Nile flood is at the sandals of Tayet. Whatever is inside is left alone. Words to be spoken having given two ties of knots of *i't*-cloth to the opening of the inside of her flesh to ward off what was done against her (author's translation).

Another spell from P. Berlin 32027 relates to the protection of mother and child, in this instance the mother's milk:

She said: “You recognize the Lord of Maat by this, what that enemy, an undead, an undead, etc. does against my milk... My arms are turned away, my breasts are in the hands of Tayet.” (author's translation)

Interestingly, Tayet was never represented visually until the first millennium BCE. She is only mentioned textually—first, in the Pyramid Texts, then in the Coffin Texts, and later in the Book of the Dead (Section 2.2.2). The first representation of the goddess comes from the Osiris chapel of *ḥq³-dt* at Karnak (Legrain 1900; Imbert 2003). On the east wall of the innermost chapel, before Osiris and Isis, she is depicted as the fifth deity in line with fecundity figures (Baines 1985, 308). Sadly, the depiction is in a poor state of preservation, but the presence is clear from the text above (*...tḥyt dī mnḥt*) (Legrain 1900, 134). El-Saady (1994) notes the

peculiarities of the representation in that Tayet is one of the only deities that is represented purely in anthropomorphic form, like Ptah and Min, and that it was not until the Third Intermediate Period that we first receive a representation of the goddess.

Depictions of her develop rapidly, however, and she makes frequent appearances in later Greco-Roman temples, like Dendera, Edfu, and Kom Ombo. In Dendera, she makes frequent appearances inside room X, 'The Chamber of Cloth,' to the east of the inner vestibule (PM VI, 57). Here she is called the 'mother of gods,' and the text relates her to Isis (Chassinat IV, pl. 276). She also appears in the "Chapel of the New Year Court" where she is offering *m'r*-garments to Hathor and Horus (Chassinat IV, 179). At Edfu Temple, she makes two appearances: one in the 'Chamber of Cloth' and one in Room X (Cauville 1987, 42-4; PM VI, 140, 148-9). At Kom Ombo, Tayet appears twice, in the main court of the temple and in the Birth House with the beer goddess Menket (PM VI, 182, 199).

2.2.2.2 Neith

The other main deity associated with weaving and textile in Egypt is Neith. Neith is the other main deity connected to weaving and cloth. Neith's patron city of Sais was known as a 'mansion of weaving.' Neith is typically represented with the Gardiner R24. This sign has been interpreted as a bilobate object, either a shield with bows or crossed bows. It is very similar in appearance to Gardiner's V36 which is interpreted as a spool. The sign is perhaps meant to convey both meanings. Given the Egyptian propensity for word play, two readings of a similarly shaped sign is very possible. El-Sayed (1982, 80) supports this notion. From Esna, as creator, Neith is said to have divided the comb of her loom among the individuals who inhabit heaven and earth (1042, 1048). She wove into existence the gods and goddess and men and women, and she maintains her weaving work, now creating the linen cloths that will have the deceased become reborn anew.

Neith appears very early in Egyptian textual history. However, Alamansa-Villatoro (2019) argues that the cross-arrow sign should be read as *hemsit* (*hmst*) instead of Nieth in the Early Dynastic Period, making her early identification less clear, but, by the Old Kingdom, Neith's identity is fully articulated.

Linen workshops were attached to the temple of Neith at Sais with numerous personnel weaving linen used for the funerary cult (el-Sayed 1975, 180-193). A stela (Louvre c. 218) dating to the reign of Ramses II names one Min-mes, the Chief of the Products which were Made in the Two Houses (*hry iht irtt m prwy*) and the Works of the Weavers of Neith (*r-uy hndt Nt*). Neith's close association with mummy bandages is further evident from the tomb of Amenhotep where it is stated that "we [the offering bearers] give you your mummy bandages woven by the weavers of Neith. You will wrap yourself in pure fabric; you wrap yourself in another cloth from the arms of Tayet" (el-Sayed 1982, vol II, Doc. 300). A similar text comes from a contemporaneous tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57) which discusses the bandages of Sais "woven by the weavers of Neith so that you may shine among the gods in the sky" (el-Sayed 1982, Doc. 302). Coffins from the Saite Period also make similar allusions, with this also extending into the Ptolemaic Period (el-Sayed 1982, vol I, 77).

In a similar manner to Tayet, Neith is connected to the wrapping and rebirth of Osiris. In one ritual against Seth, a text states, "[y]ou hit the weavers who do the work of Tayet to swaddle the divine body. The two sisters of Sais curse you! They are sitting with the weavers" (el-Sayed 1982, Doc. 704). Here, the overlap between Tayet and Neith is clear with them presumably being the "two sisters" mentioned. The syncretism of Tayet and Neith is clear by later periods. From Edfu Temple's Sokar Chapel, Osiris is being offered "the work of Tayet and the Eye of Horus which comes from the enclosure of Neith" (el-Sayed 1982, Doc. 908d). From the Osiris chapel at Luxor Temple, the Roman emperor Augustus is shown offering to Osiris with the text above indicating "[i]t comes from Sais, from inside the palace of the king of Lower Egypt. He

{Augustus} beautifies you with linen strips... you are the precious egg hatched from the waters, nourished by Neith in her bosom” (el-Sayed 1982, Doc. 883).

Neith’s association with protection and motherhood is also denoted through her weaving associations. “The mother comes to N bearing life, just as Neith comes to him bearing a loincloth” (CT §663; Faulkner 1977, 235). From the funerary papyri of Nesmin, there are multiple allusions to Sais and to Neith’s “swaddling” of the deceased (P. Louvre I.3079; Haikal 1970, 79-80). From Dendera, in the basement of Terrace Room 2, Neith is captioned as the one who “ensures your protection by means of the linen cloth for this mummy” (el-Sayed 1982, Doc. 881). Further, from Philae Temple, she “comes with her weavers to weave the cloth for your body and to cover the nakedness of the body” (el-Sayed 1982, Doc. 886).

Neith is also paired with Ptah and Khnum through her productive capabilities. Ptah being the Lower Egyptian god connected to craftsmen and is associated with royal workshops while Khnum is the “potter god” associated with Esna (with which Neith also has associations), known for creating the royal *k’* on his potter’s wheel. Assman connects all the creator gods together, deriving from their ability to *iri*. In later times, she becomes syncretized with Athena, given Athena’s warrior and weaving associations.

2.2.2.3 Hathor

Like Neith, Hathor became associated with textiles and weaving through her association with Tayet, given Hathor’s connection to the west and aid during the funerary process. Hathor becomes responsible for the presentation of bread to the deceased in the afterlife, which pairs with cloth as the two basic necessities, therefore, pairing Hathor and Tayet. The Book of the Dead papyrus of Nebseni (P. BM EA 9900) confirms this connection; “[m]ay you eat bread upon the sheet that Tayet wove herself” (*wnm.k t’ hr [...] ifdi’ sht tyt ds.s*). This pairing of bread and linen became further intertwined with any funerary offering when Hathor received the name of Tayet in the Greco-Roman Period (*Wb* V, 332).

Hathor has another interesting connection with textiles through the form of votive offerings. A number of decorated votive textiles either excavated from the environs of Deir el-Bahri or purchases from the antiquities market exist. Pinch (1993, 102-134) performed the first catalog and analysis of the textiles. Later, two unpublished pieces from the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) collections were studied by the author for her master's thesis (2016). The cloths all date to the New Kingdom and are believed to have been votive offerings at the Hathor shrine at the site of Deir el-Bahri. The votive cloths resemble stelas in many ways, including the form and the inclusion of the names and titles of the donors. Some scholars have argued that cloth was used as a more inexpensive material rather than stone (Yoyotte 1960, 61). Following Pinch (1993), I disagree and have argued that fabric was more expensive than certain stones, such as limestone, and that linen was chosen specifically due to its connection to the deity and the gendered nature of the donors. Most of the donors were women, and it is possible that the votive offerings are connected to protection during childbirth. As will be discussed, textiles and the associated terms are clearly connected to protection in the ideological literature.

2.2.2.4 Other Deities

Weaving and the goddess Tayet are also connected to other deities due to the syncretistic nature of Egyptian deities. Isis became associated with weaving and textiles due to her associations with Tayet. Tayet's form as the *drt*-bird, which Isis also is, is one association as well as Tayet's protective mothering aspects. From this, Tayet has also been linked to Nephthys who with Isis forms the paired goddesses of the dead and the other kite. To return to the Formula for the Presentation of a Garment, Isis is said to have spliced (P. BM EA 10020).² Later in the New Kingdom, we see a syncretism of the two as Isis-Tayet (Hornung 1963). Isis is the goddess often charged with making the garment for a number of goddesses (el-Sayeed 1994, 216). Osiris, being

² The process of splicing was to create thread. This was very common in Egyptian linen textiles due to flax's propensity to adhere and the ability to garner initial long piece of fiber, as compared to wool or cotton, for example, where the initial fibers are quite short.

the deity of the underworld, a god who died and was mummified and who is often depicted mummiform, is also closely associated with textiles and the ritual act of wrapping. One of his names is Taity (Wb V, 231), a *nisbe*, meaning “One that is Woven.” referencing his association with that goddess and the funerary wrapping and the act thereof. This epithet was also used for the deceased, too, as they became an Osiris (CT 372). Hedjihotep is considered to be the masculine compliment of Tayet. He is regarded as Tayet’s consort in later attestations of the goddess at Edfu and Dendera (el-Sayeed 1994, 218). Hedjihotep is connected to both Tayet and the Eye of Horus, who are together responsible for the bandages offered to the deceased. From Luxor Temple’s east wall, first register, the king is said to “bring the god Hedjihotep who is brilliant in his form by means of the linen from the House of Neith... you shine by means of the *hdt*-cloth and you are rejuvenated by means of the *w’dt*-cloth, your *dmit* is *idmit*-cloth. They [the clothes] near you to you for you are the master of clothing...” (el-Sayed 1982, Doc. 946).

2.2.3 Stages of Life

As with many other cultures, cloth was used to signify and denote the stage of life of the Egyptian person. Beyond dress signaling age, gender, status, or occupation, for example, (or an intersection of identities), textiles helped to mark the varying stages of life from birth to age of adulthood to death. How the ancient Egyptian defined these various life stages is understudied and obviously differs from our modern conceptions, but, through a textual analysis, various stages can be denoted in relation to changes to dress. Through the incorporation of a commodity into an important life stage, the good is imbued with the importance of that event. For example, in Christian practice, young babies often wear a christening gown during baptism. These gowns are then often kept and cherished as a memorial to that event and passed down to be used by future generations.

2.2.3.1 Childbirth and Early Childhood

At birth, a child was to be washed and wrapped in cloth immediately. This is referenced on the Obelisk of Senwosret I to describe his birth and endowment from Amun. Senwosret I states, “I lorded in the egg; I controlled it as a youth. He [Amun] enriched me, to be the lord of my two shares as a lad, not yet loosened from the swaddling clothes” (Parkinson 1991, 41). Here Senwosret I is referring to enrichment through Amun even as a child—that even he, as a baby still swaddled, had the trappings of kingship. Other kings’ births are referenced in this way from Papyrus Wester (P. Berlin 3033) which recounts the labors of Redjedet. With each birth of each of her sons, one of the goddesses—Isis, Nephthys, Meshkenet, and Heket—attending the births would step forward, and “they washed him, after his umbilical cord has been cut, and he [the baby] was placed on a sheet [*ȝd*] in a bed of bricks” (10.11-12; 10.19-21; 11.2-11.3). A similar refrain exists in Horemheb’s coronation inscription where it is states that “he issues from the womb clothed in awesomeness” (Murnane 1995, 230).

The swaddling of a baby, *sštʿ* (Wb 4, 296-297.18; Meeks AL 79.2785), is etymologically related to *sštʿ*, “to make secret.” Interestingly, other meanings of the word can be egg, womb, mine, and tomb—all locations of transformation, the birth of a human, ore into precious metal, and the rebirth into the afterlife. The connection between “making something secret” and “swaddling” a newborn through the wrapping process is similar to how individuals are wrapped for death and statues are wrapped during temple rituals. These liminal transformative times much be kept concealed through a physical barrier, like cloth. Mothers would wrap a newborn infant to protect them from natural and supernatural dangers. Being in swaddling clothes is also referenced in medical texts as an age designation:

What must be prepared for a child who suffers from wetness: *tjehenet* boiled [and made] in the form of a ball. If the child is already big, he will ingest it [as it is]. If he is still in swaddling clothes, it is to be ground up in milk by his nurse, and he will suck on it for four days. (P. Ebers 262, 48.18-21; Marshall 2022; 196).

P. Turin CGT 54050 appears to be a purification ritual after the birth of a newborn equating each part of the body with a deity for protection:

I have come to save N, whom N gave birth to from all the terror and all wrath from the power of every god and every goddess... Every part of the body is complete. Every member of his body is healthy... his kneecaps are Tayet... No bad or evil thing should concern him. (author's translation)

2.2.3.2 Coming of Age Rituals

Another stage of life involving cloth was the coming-of-age ceremony for boys called the *tꜣz mdh*, “binding of the band, fillet” (Wb 2, 189.11; 5, 397.5). This ritual appears to mark the occasion when a boy entered adulthood. From the autobiography of Weni (Cairo 1435), he states: “I was the one who tied on the headband of youth under the majesty of King Teti, my office being that of custodian of the storehouse, when I became inspector of tenants of the palace...” (Urk. I 98-110; Lichtheim 1973, 18). Another example also from the Old Kingdom from the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi uses a similar formula: “I was one who tied the headband under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt...” (Kanawati 2007, 54). An architrave of the tomb of Tjeti from Akhmim also mentions the coming-of-age ceremony; “I was a youth when I tied the headband under the Majesty of Pepi” (Kanawati 1986, pl. 15). The ceremony apparently continues into the Middle Kingdom. The Stela of Sa-Montu (BM828), dating to the reign of Amenemhat, recounts the same event— “I was a child who tied the fillet under His Majesty, the one who departed in peace, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sesostris I, who lived forever” (PM VIII/3 78-79). Attestations after the Middle Kingdom appear to drop off, with the only attestations of the term used in a few medical texts and the term transitioning to refer to crowns and other head adornments in the Ptolemaic Period (Sauneron 1963, 1-3, 18-31, for example). However, the Pyramid Texts help clarify this ceremony further.

Looking to other attestations of *mdh* we can see that the term appears to always be connected to children. In PT §519, Isis ties the headband onto the child Horus to prepare him for a trip to go see his father, Osiris. This text relates Horus becoming an adult to take his rightful place as the heir to the throne of Osiris. Perhaps the coming-of-age ceremony for boys

was meant to reference this divine scene where Horus is prepared for adulthood through the tying of a band.

The relationship between this stage of life ritual and others, like the “cutting of the forelock,” is unclear. Marshall (2022, 166-7) discusses other ‘rites of passage’ but does not mention this one, unfortunately. Given the linkage between the event and the mention under which king it occurred, perhaps there is a connection to the attainment of an office. Indeed, Weni does link his position as Custodian of the Storehouse with him being “one who tied the headband of youth.” Instead of this event being purely connected to age, this ceremony might have been linked to social group and status as well.

Another stage of life denoted through cloth was again related to young boys reaching adulthood. *The Teachings of Dua-Khety* recounts how “[t]he scribe begins to flourish when he is a child; he will be greeted, and will be sent to do mission, before he has arrived at the age to wear a kilt” (Parkinson 1997, 275). From this text, it is clear that boys started their scribal training prior to reaching full adulthood (i.e., the donning of a kilt). Boys are often represented visually nude (Marshall 2022, 56), so it would make sense that certain types of clothing, like the kilt, would be linked to increasing age and maturity. The kilt also being linked to male virility and movement (Robins 2008) would also reference a young boy’s maturation. As a boy becomes a man the length of the kilt lengthens also as a display of wealth, as well. The age(s) these stages of life occurred at is unclear. If we go off the texts, it occurred later in adolescence, a time when scribal schooling began and when a youth obtained their first offices.

These expressions extend into death where the wrapping of the body is an integral process in the funerary ritual with the bandages themselves being referred to as parts of the goddesses Tayet or Nephthys (Riggs 2014; Marshall 2022, 171). Even when Sinuhe is called to return to Egypt, he is told to “think of the day of burial... a night is made for you with ointments and wrappings from the hand of Tayet. (Lichtheim 1973, 229).

2.2.3.3 Funerary

The final stage in life is death. The funerary aspect of cloth requires its own section due to the amount and nature of the evidence. As is the case with most Egyptian evidence, it is skewed toward the funerary sphere due to what was preserved to us. Additionally, cloth being such an important aspect of funerary practice from tomb goods to mummification makes it necessary to focus specifically on this sphere.

2.2.3.3.1 Invocation Offering and Offering Formulae (*ḥtp di'nsu*)

The most ubiquitous mention of cloth in funerary rites comes from the standard invocation offering. This offering formula spanned Egyptian history and became fossilized in form, with very little change over the course of thousands of years. This formula can appear on a variety of artifacts from funerary stelae and false doors to coffins and even as graffiti. The *ḥtp-di'nsu* and *ḥtp-di-(god's name)* can be understood to be a formulaic description of the transitional custom and so-called “reversion of offerings” whereby after the offering is made and the god is “satisfied,” the offerings are then gathered and re-offered to humans living and deceased (Franke 2003, 40). Many scholars have studied how the formula changes over time and the grammatical attributes (see Barta 1987; Bennett 1942; Franke 2003; Günther 1986; Leprohon 1990), but, for the purposes of this discussion, the objects being offered are the focus.

The standard form is “[a] thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand ointment jars, a thousand clothing, a thousand of everything good” (*ḥꜣw t ḥꜣw ḥnqt ḥꜣw kꜣw ḥꜣw šs ḥꜣw mnḥt ḥꜣw ḥt nbt*) (Stela of Indi; Lichtheim 1973, 92). In many cases the king, Osiris, and/or Anubis are called with the addition of “an invocation offering which the King and Osiris give...” (Stele of Tjetji) (see Appendix 1 for other examples).

These offerings indicate the basic necessities a deceased individual requires for continued life in the netherworlds as well as continuance to be an “effective” spirit for the living propitiating them. For example, one Letter to the Dead questions why the deceased acts against

the writer since he “had given him funerary clothing” (UC 16163). Clothing is one of life’s basic necessities and, as we shall see, is highly integral to the functioning of the king and the gods and to any deceased person. The provisioning and equipping of an elites’ tomb, especially in the Old and Middle Kingdoms but arguably also in the New Kingdom, ostensibly derived from the king and the gods. The offerings mentioned in the formula are thought to come from the royal estates and magazines (Franke 2003, 40). Indeed, we can see this corroborated from the tomb of Kaipure:

An offering which the king and an offering which Osiris give that invocation offerings may be made for him in the form of a prepared offering at the monthly and half-monthly festivals for the eternity of eternity; so that he may be given grain from the granary, clothing from the two treasuries, and pieces of meat from the Gate-Chamber, so that he may be among the *imakhu* in the sight of the god (Penn Museum E15729; PM III, 455-56).

The threat of not participating in an invocation offering is also evident. One expedition inscription of an individual named Shemai states:

O, you who live and who shall come to this desert and desire to return to Upper Egypt laden with their tribute for their lord, you should then say: “A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand clothing, and a thousand of every perfect thing...” (Strudwick 2005, 143).

The implied threat here is that, if you do not say the invocation offering, you will not return to the valley laden with riches. For a deceased individual, the anxiety about possibly not getting the necessary offerings is palpable from the texts. Cloth not only held high ideological value, as we shall see, but also held deep social significance as well. The deceased wished to have all aspects of their lived existence in the afterlife as well, and cloth was a major mode for expression of their various identities and social standing in life. Wishing and aspiration for the continuity of life involves clothing as well. For example, one text near the entrance of the tomb, states, “May you purify yourself and put on clothing after the fashion of when you were on earth” (Murnane 1995, 188). To be *naked* in the afterlife would have had major ideological repercussions (See Section 2.3.2.3 for significance of nudity).

Turning to the main funerary rite that would have been performed on the deceased—the Opening of the Mouth Ritual—cloth played an integral role here via its protective and regenerative properties.

2.2.3.3.2 Opening of the Mouth Ritual (Appendix 2.1)

The Opening of the Mouth Ritual is attested since the Old Kingdom and is largely based on other statue-based rituals and other rites related to offering, embalming, burial, and slaughter. No consistent Opening of the Mouth Ritual exists; all known examples differ from each other to some extent but overall follow a similar enough pattern that we can speak of “one” Opening of the Mouth Ritual (see Otto 1960 for a summary of the events and Fischer-Elfert 1998 for a complete analysis). The ritual can be found in the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies 1943), the tomb of Seti I (Lefebure 1890), the tomb of Tausret (Schiaparelli 1890, 299ff), the coffin of Butehamon (Cavillier 2018), the chapel of Amenirdis at Medinet Habu (Ayad 2004), the tomb of Peduamenap (Dümichen 1884), and the Papyrus of Sais (Schiaparelli 1890, pls. 19-49). Otto’s 1960 publication creates a comprehensive compendium of all the rites of the ritual with the text variations. Here (Appendix 2.1) I provide transliteration and translation of the most complete versions. This section will demonstrate further the ideological beliefs the Egyptian had concerning textiles.

Much like the Daily Temple ritual (Section 2.2.4.1), the statue (or sarcophagus) is cleansed with water, natron, and incense. Then the various rites are performed. After the *sm*-priest has the “vision” of the statue, they are dressed in the *qni*-garment, and the craftsmen fashion the statue. This is followed by ritual slaughter, with select cuts being offered to the statue followed by the “Opening of the Mouth” using specific ritual instruments (see Roth 1992; 1993). After which, the statue is offered *nms*-cloth and food items before another sacrifice occurs. Again, these are offered with each iteration of the Opening of the Mouth, performed

again with a different ritual instrument. The statue is then dressed in different textiles like *idmi* and other regalia. To complete the ritual, incense is burned, and libations are poured.

Cloth's function in the Opening of the Mouth Ritual mirrors what was detailed earlier in how it is discussed in other ideological texts. From these depictions we can see that cloth has a connection to protection via its relation to brightness and its ability to banish evil. For one example, Scene 48 (Otto 1960) states,

[s]peech of the *hry-ḥb*: *sm*-priest, taking the *nms*-cloth; Cloth with the *nms*-cloth; Clearing the mouth and eyes; Opening the mouth and eyes of N thus once. Say: Oh, N! Here comes the *nms*-cloth! Here comes the *nms*-cloth! The White One is coming! The White One is coming! Here comes the Eye of Horus, the White One that emerged from Elkab. It clothes the Gods with its name of *nms*. It clothes you; it adorns you, in its name, the White One, that comes from Elkab. Oh, N! Take the Eye of Horus! The bad things around you will be swept upon the earth (author's translation).

Here cloth is equated with “the White One” and the “Eye of Horus” resulting in “bad things [being] swept upon the earth.”

Additionally, cloth is used to ritually transform the deceased into a god. In the Presenting of the *idmi*-robe scene (Scene 53; Otto 1960), cloth is both protective and transformative:

[w]ords spoken by the *hry-ḥb* priest: *sm*-priest, give the cloth of *idmi*. Words to be spoken: N seize.... of *idmi*-cloth the arms of Tayt are on her flesh; a god joins with a god; a god is bound upon a god. The sweat is washed by Hapy. Her face is illuminated by the Akhs and gods. The *mnḥt*-cloth was spun by Isis and woven by Nephthys. They made the shining garment of N as she triumphs against her enemies (author's translation).

The cloth as the arms of Tayet binds the deceased to be reborn as a god in the afterlife (see Section 2.3.2.3 for discussion of the significant of wrapping). The relation of the cloth being connected to the two protective goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, is also telling in that the garment is the manifestation of their power, the literal armor, which will protect the deceased.

Roth (1992; 1993) has argued that the ceremony is related to rites for childbirth, given that the statue or coffin is “birthed” in a sense. This is based upon the *psšf*-implement connection to childbirth. Many of these implements found in archaeological context were

wrapped in cloth. Interestingly, as seen in Section 2.2.3.1, children were also wrapped in cloth in combination with other acts of protection. As Roth (1992, 147) notes, the ancient Egyptians saw birth and rebirth after death as closely related events, both of which were regarded as dangerous transitions. The ritual wrapping of cloth, or “dressing of the statue” was one such way to provide aid in this process.

2.2.4 Temple Rites and Ritual

One of the major functions of textile in Egyptian culture was its involvement in temple ritual. Textiles were a major component of the Daily Ritual, festival events, and other donation and propitiations. Textiles, with bread and beer, were one of the main necessities of life and were integral to the functioning of ritual. Ritual acts related to clothing and dress objects were a major aspect of the Daily Ritual and Ritual of the Royal Ancestors in temples (Eaton 2013). For the purposes of this section, we will focus on the role that textiles played in the ritual and the ideological value applied to them. The two best surviving sources are the Temple at Abydos of Seti I and a series of papyri dating to the 21st Dynasty detailing the full ritual for both Mut and Amun (P. Cairo 3014 and 3052; P. Berlin 3055). The Temples of Dendera and Edfu also provide evidence for these rituals but won't be consulted here due to this study's focus on the New Kingdom period.

Moret (1902) first compiled the various rites and other sources into an outline. This is followed by the work of Blackman (1918) who looked at the liturgy in detail while David (1973; 1981) provides a comprehensive analysis of the events at the Abydos Temple of Seti I.

2.2.4.1 The Daily Temple Ritual (Appendix 2.2)

As Blackman (1918, 28) argued many years ago, the preparation of the king's body for burial, the Opening of the Mouth, and daily funerary rites were all based on the ceremonial “toilet” rites that the king performed each morning at the “House of Morning” (*pr-dw't*). He argues that the

reason for the resemblance is that all these rites imitate the daily rebirth of Re each morning. With each morning, Re is reborn. Just as mentioned earlier with the swaddling of newborn babies (Section 2.2.3.1), Re and, as his earthly representative, the king, require concealment (*sštʿ*) during this transformative period, hence the involved morning toilet rites. However, no representations of this rite were preserved earlier than the 18th Dynasty, during which the rite transformed into a purification ritual prior to the king's entrance into the temple. Not only was clothing and other preparatory events important to the daily effectiveness of the living king, but similar actions needed to occur both to a recently deceased king or to a statue of a king or god as their physical embodiment on earth. Just as the king needs to be purified and clothed, statues in which the god's reside require similar rites as well. We will look at the scenes and text preserved at the Seti I Temple at Abydos, the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus, and other texts to fully elucidate the role of textiles in this ritual.

2.2.4.1.1 The Daily Temple Ritual: Temple at Abydos of Seti I

One of the best-preserved depictions of the clothing rites comes from the Seti I temple at Abydos. David (1981) provides a suggested reading of the scene from the six chapels that will be followed here. The priests had spells for entry, the opening of the shrine, the initial adoration of the god, the initial purification ritual, and then the daily preparation of the god, followed by two sets of robing rituals prior to exit and post-exit purification (David 1981, 60; Table 2.1). The shrines of Ptah, Isis, Horus, and Re-Horakhty are more or less identical. The shrines of Osiris and Amun show some differences in regard to content and positioning of scenes. The shrine of Osiris has no entry or exit scenes, and there are additional episodes that are not shown elsewhere while the shrine of Amun has a different ordering of scenes (David 1981, 60).

The first textile-related rite involves the sweeping of the dais on which the god is enthroned (Calverley *et al* 1935, pl. 15). Here Seti I is depicted with a length of cloth wiping the dais, while censuring. Next, the clothing and other paraphernalia from the previous day's rites

were removed. The unguents were wiped off, and the clothing was removed (*r n sfht mnht*), followed by censuring of the god. For example, from the shrine of Re-Horakhty, the king is depicted unwrapping the cloth from the divine statue while saying:

Your beauty belongs to you, your *m'r*-cloth is around you, Re-Horakhty, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaatre. I have seized for you this Eye of Horus. Adorn yourself with it. You possess your beauty, you possess your raiment, you are a god, oh Re-Horakhty. (David 1981, 66; Fig. 2.1).

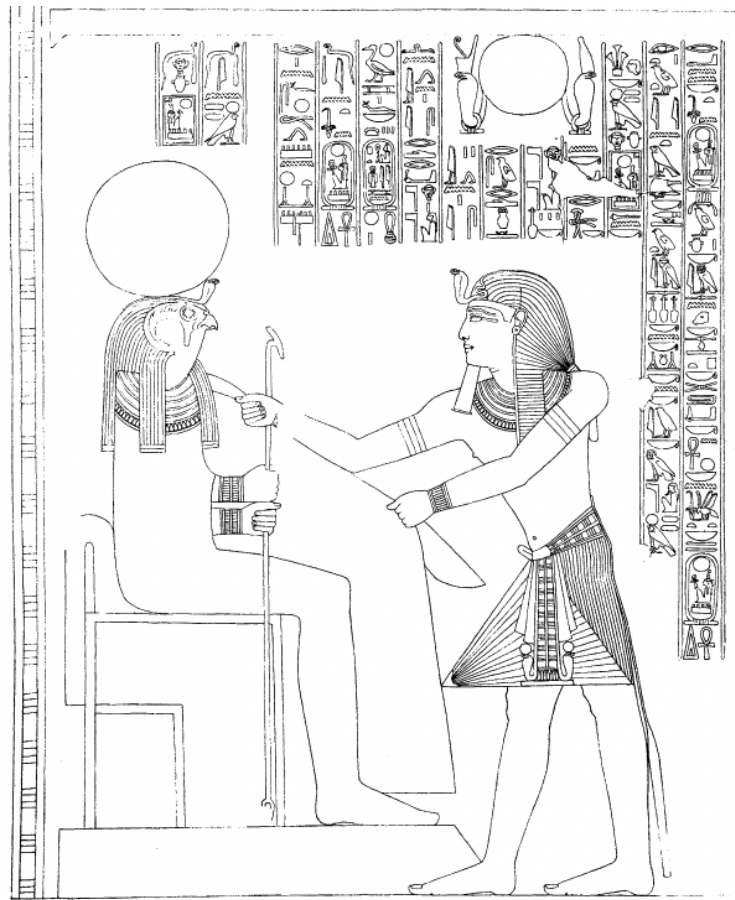


Fig. 2.1- Seti I wrapping cloth around Re-Horakhty (Calverley *et al* 1935, pl. 15)

Now that the statue was prepared, the daily clothing rituals could commence (non-textile-related rites will not be recorded here, but see David 1981, IV for complete rites).

In between each addition of cloth, natron from different locals were censured to purify the god further. Afterward, the various pieces of jewelry were added. Taking the shrine of Re-Horakhty as an example, each of these scenes depicts the king kneeling before the god, offering lengths of cloth. David (1981, 67) notes that the god was thought to absorb all the qualities

pertaining to the cloth. Some observations from these rites include the use of colored fabrics (Sect.2.3.1) and again the rejuvenative and protective qualities of cloth.

Table 2.1- List of spells involving cloth in Seti's Abydos Temple		
Ritual Description	Transliteration	Location in Shrine
Spell for putting on the white cloth	<i>r n ḏbʿ mnḥt ḥḏt</i>	South Wall
Spell for putting on the green cloth	<i>r n ḏbʿ mnḥt wʿḏt</i>	South Wall
Spell for putting on the red cloth	<i>r n ḏbʿ mnḥt insy</i>	South Wall
Spell for putting on the <i>nms</i> -cloth	<i>r n ḏbʿ nms</i>	West Wall
Spell for putting on the great cloth after these	<i>r n ḥbs mnḥt ʿḥr sʿ nn</i>	West Wall

See Appendix 2.2 for the cloth related scenes with image and complete translation.

2.2.4.2 Other Rituals Involving Cloth-The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus (Appendix 2.3)

The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus (P. BM EA 10610.1-5) dating to the late Middle Kingdom, end of the 12th Dynasty, records a series of vignettes for a supposed coronation ritual (Geisen 2012). Early work on the papyrus argued that the text recorded a ritual for the accession of Senwosret I to the throne (Sethe 1928; Frankfurt 1969). Later, other scholars (Helck 1954; Altenmüller 1965; Barta 1972) instead viewed the papyrus as a record of a *sed*-festival of Senwosret I. However, Quack (2006) rightfully argued that the ritual discussed could not have been the *sed*-festival, with their opinion siding with Sethe's original interpretation. Lorand (2009) argues that the text should be viewed as propaganda used to strengthen Senwosret's kingship, with which Geisen (2012) ardently disagrees. Ultimately, this work will follow Geisen (2012, 243)'s argument that the papyrus records the rites held in connection with a statue "burial" given the rite's similarities to the Daily Temple Ritual, Opening of the Mouth Ritual, and Morning Ritual of the King where the presentation of linen is a key aspect of these events.

Following Geisen (2012), the presentation of linen was not only important in the Daily Temple Rituals but also in the decommissioning of a statue, or “burial,” which might reference the actual burial of a statue in a tomb or the deposition of a number of statues in a cachette, or, as Geisen (243) thinks more likely, the bringing of a cult statue into a temple for the first time. The papyrus is broken down into a series of vignettes divided by a number of scenes and associated events. Looking at the textile-related scenes, we have Sequence 14 (Scene 37) and parts of Sequence 15 (Scenes 42 and 43) (See Appendix 2.3 for complete translations).

2.2.4.2.1 Clothing the Statue (Sequence 14, Scene 37)

Sequence 14 details the feeding and clothing of the statue (scene 37; Geisen 2012, 194). In addition to 12 *qni*-garments (called “bibs” by Geisen), 4-fiber-linen, 6-fiber-linen, *idmi*-linen, and fine linen are mentioned. The linens mentioned are also differentiated by the location from which they were taken: the Treasury and the Embalming Place. As for the “Crocodile” in the place of location for the *idmi*-linen and fine linen, Geisen (2012, 194) links it to a mythological reference of Horus in the form of a crocodile searching for the lost limbs of Osiris. The textiles mentioned here are to serve as the vehicle through which the limbs are reattached, ritually played out through the ritual wrapping of the textiles around the statue. The accompanying vignette shows a lector priest (*hry-hb*) with a text that reads: “[w]ords to say: 12 *qni*-garments, beer, 6-fiber-linen, 4-fiber-linen, and clothes of *idmi*-linen and fine-linen were brought” (*dd mdw inüw qni 12 srmt sš ifd hbs idmi sf*).

2.2.4.2.2 Bringing of a staff and *ifd*-linen (Sequence 15, Scene 42 and 43)

Geisen (2012, 196-7) interprets this scene as the linen from the previous Sequence 14 and the staff being given to the “ones who embrace the Akh” who then use them in the final rite for the statue. The text references the mythological event where the Children of Horus and Thoth—the ones who embrace the Akh—embrace (*shni*) Osiris. The embrace encloses and surrounds much

like cloth. Similar to the wrapping of the linen used to metaphorically reference the reattachment of Osiris's limbs, the embracing by the children of Horus of Osiris could be referenced through the encirclement of the statue by the *ifd*-linen. The accompanying image shows an individual named as the "ones who embrace the Akh" carrying the statue with a staff wrapped in 4-fiber-linen.

2.2.4.3 Other Rituals Involving Cloth-The Sed-Festival

Another ritual where cloth is a ritual implemented is the *sed*-festival. The main sources for the *sed*-festival come from Niuserre's Sun Temple (Bissing and Kees 1923), the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192, Fakhry 1943), and the hall of Osorkon's temple at Bubastis (Naville 1892). Uphill (1965) and Hornung and Staehelin (2006) should be referenced for features of the entire event. This event is significant for the numerous garment changes throughout.

In one action of the ritual, the king lies down on one of four beds with certain regalia and cloth placed under the bed, which the king will receive after he is rejuvenated. The participants in front offer *idmi*-linen (Uphill 1965, 379). Throughout the ritual, the king changes garments. He begins the events in a cloak with a white crown, is nude/semi-nude during the ritual run, and changes into the *sed*-festival garment clothing after the ritual run. The change of garments represents the ritual rejuvenation of the king as they were used to bind Osiris back together, causing him to live again. Geisen (2012, 219) links the donning of cloth to the rejuvenation of the king, in a similar fashion to the Morning Ritual of the King, where clothing and other paraphernalia represent the beginning of a new day, linking back to the birth of Re each morning.

2.2.4.4 Other Ritual Involving Cloth- The House of Morning Ritual

As discussed in relation to the development of temple ritual, there was another ritual that the king performed prior to entering a sacred space—the House of Morning Ritual (Blackman 1918b). From the famous stela of Pianky, the king is said to:

[proceed] to the house of Ptah, his purification was performed in the *pr-dwʿt*, there were performed for him all the ceremonies that are performed for a king. Then he entered the temple. The Rite of the *pr-dwʿt* was performed, the *sdb*-garment was fastened on, and he was purified with incense and cool water (*Urk* III 1-56).

In Blackman’s study (1918b) of the Old Kingdom attestations of the building, the titles of the individuals mentioned in reference to the *pr-dwʿt* are all closely related to clothing activities:

- Ti, the Director of the wigmakers of the King (Steindorff 1913)
- Khenu, the Superintendent of the *sšrw*-linen and the Superintendent of the *tmt* of the King (Mariette 1899, 135)
- Enkheftka, the Superintendent of the King’s Linen (Mariette 1899, 307)

Instead of viewing the locale as the House of Adoration, Blackmann (1918b, 154) argues we should instead translate it as House of Morning with reference to the sun god’s rebirth, and, as the king is the earthly manifestation of the sun god, he, too, must go through lustrations every morning. I would argue to leave it untranslated, keeping the many vested meanings of the word present—the dawn, adoration, the netherworld, the womb, and initiation. This rite appears to fall out of use in the Old Kingdom, but most of its component activities continue in the Opening of the Mouth and the Daily Temple Ritual. Later in the New Kingdom, the *pr-dwʿt* becomes the place where the deceased was cleaned and prepared for burial (e.g., tomb of Rekhmire). Indeed, a 19th-Dynasty text concerning the burial of an Apis bull mentioned the House of Morning as the location for where the Opening of the Mouth Ritual occurs (Chassinat 1899, 72).

Given the derivative nature of all of these rituals, cloth played a similar rejuvenating and protective role, in its references to the gods Re and Osiris, the symbolic reference to color, and the metaphorical allusions to purity, encirclement, wrapping, and sanctity. Each of these will be discussed in Section 2.3.

2.2 Social Textiles

Another avenue to explore the value of textiles is through a study of textiles' connections to the social. This section will look at how textiles were used to express status and social order, notions around cleanliness and nudity, and metaphorical relations to love, care, and other emotions and actions. This section will contribute to the understanding of how textiles were valued by the Egyptians, contributing to Appadurai's (1986, 15) outline of value that is dependent on temporal, cultural, and social factors. This section will explore the social evaluation of textiles through their ability to convey status and social order, the denigration of nudity and uncleanness, and textiles' conveyance of emotions. For further examples than what will be discussed below, see Appendix 3.

2.2.1 Status and Social Ordering

The Egyptians conceptualized dress as representative of social order. In *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, discussing times of unrest, the narrator says, “[I]ook, the owners of linen are in old clothes; (yet) he who could not weave for himself is the owner of the finest linen” (Lichtheim 1975, 149). Those in the position to have the finest linen did not weave it for themselves but coopted the labor of the have-nots for its production. An elite's responsibility of feeding the hungry, ferrying the boatless, and clothing the naked appears countless times in tomb contexts where the deceased is pledging their goodness before the gods (Appendix 3). *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* further this sentiment, claiming that the king's storehouse should have “white cloth, fine linen, all good woven products” (Lichtheim 1973, 159). And the awful nature of the events described in the Admonitions is best described as “those who owned robes are in rags, He who did not weave for himself owns fine linen” (Parkinson 1996, 183). This was a time where the correct social order was turned upside down. The elites are wearing rags, and the poor are wearing fine linen. It is as if the garments they wear *are* their social status.

Another responsibility of an elite man was to properly provide for his household. Being a good husband included feeding your wife and clothing her back, so says the Teachings of Ptahhotep (Parkinson 1997, 257). Being an elite, and their associated uniform, was exalted above other occupations, as well. One schoolbook exercise records the perks of being a scribe as compared to a soldier: “[y]ou are dressed in fine clothes; you own horses, your boat is on the river; you are supplied with attendants... The Soldier may not rest, there are no clothes, or sandals” (P. Lansing; Lichtheim 1976, 171). The edict of Horemheb also describes the regulations for rewarding state employees and court protocols. It states:

{One} shall observe custom with respect to the guarding of {the king} ... He enters the council chamber, dressed in fine clothing, shod in sandals, with a staff in his grasp like a herdsman. {The King has} arranged the protocol of the inner palace, the custom of the inner quarters of the king’s companions (Murnane 1995, 240).

However, overly ostentatious behavior is warned against. The above quote from *The Instructions of Amenemope* that cautioned against overconsumption is the closest reference to any Sumptuary Law we have from Egypt. Being morally corrupt might be externally signaled through the overconsumption of luxury products. This is furthered by cautioning against being obsessed by status: “[d]o not incline to the well-dressed man and rebuff the one in rags. Don’t accept the gift of a powerful man and deprive the weak for his sake” (Lichtheim 1976, 158).

The fine line between clothing’s ability to display status and maintain social order and individuals taking advantage of that ability is clear from the textual sources. Textiles were a basic necessity that the elite were expected to distribute, and the lack of clothing or the reversal of sartorial roles was a common way for pessimistic literature to express *isfet*, or chaos.

2.2.2 Clothed vs Nudity

Nudity as a concept has been studied by a number of Egyptological scholars (Asher-Greve and Sweeney 2006; Goelet 1993; Marshall 2022; Robins 1988; Serova 2019). To summarize, the main conclusion is that clothing was linked to a display of status, with nudity relegated to

individuals of lower status or rank, or children. Nudity as costume played a role in specific ritual cases, like for the *hnr*-troupes and ritualized dance (Galczynski 2023; Galczynski and Price 2023).

From the textual sources, it is apparent that the social equation linked clothing to “normalcy,” *maat*, and goodness. The Admonitions of Ipuwer make this clear. The normal ordering of society is turned upside down; “they are stripped of clothes, anointed with oil, everyone is saying, there is nothing” (Parkinson 1997, 177). The sixth petition from the Eloquent Peasant creates a series of metaphors to describe the function of clothing; “[c]lothing removes nakedness; as the sky is serene after a storm, warming all who shiver, as fire cooks what is raw, as water quenches thirst” (Lichtheim 1973, 179). Clothing provides security and safety, and it is a basic necessity like food and water. The Tale of Sinuhe equates his existence outside of Egypt to being naked and his return to “having bright clothes, fine linen” (Lichtheim 1973, 228). From the story of Setne, the audience is told Setne is unable to raise himself “because of the shame that he had no clothing on him,” with the situation only being solved by the king giving him new clothing (Simpson 2003, 467).

From these examples, the social value of clothing is clear. Clothing displays your elite rank and status, with the lack of clothing indicating the opposite. The semiotics of clothing is useful to convey these dichotomies in the Egyptian understanding of social identity.

2.2.3 Dirty vs Clean

Last, the prizing of cleanliness over dirty textiles aid in our understanding of the intersectionality of the value of textiles. Textiles were not just socially valued for their ability to display identity, but textiles also needed to be clean to further emphasize an individual’s high rank or status. Given the fact that most individuals would have had to wear the same textiles repeatedly, a fabric being clean indicated that either the individual had multiple pieces of clothing or that their occupation afforded them the ability to not get dirty. As discussed earlier,

white linen had significant ideological power. *The Admonitions* further the connection between white with goodness; “O, but the people are like black ibises, and filth is throughout the land. At this time, no one eats all in clothes of white” (Parkinson 1997, 173). The same text also equates goodness with the time “when one is clothed in clean robes” (Lichtheim 1973, 160).

This distinction is further applied to conceptions of outsiders with cleanliness being applied to Egyptian contexts, and uncleanness to outside, foreign ones, as evidenced in the *Tale of Sinuhe*. When Sinuhe returns back to Egypt he is given:

“clothes of royal linen, myrrh, and the choice perfume of the king...Years were removed from [his] body. {he} was shaved; {his} hair combed. Thus was {his} squalor returned to the foreign land, {his} dress to the Sand-Dwellers” (Lichtheim 1973, 233).

The efforts that the elite went through to maintain clean textiles is also indicative of its importance. *The Teachings of Dua-Khet*y relates the harsh reality of being a launderer. The launderer is described as having “no limb of his is clean,” yet they are laboring to create clean garments for the elites (Lichtheim 1973, 184). The irony is not to be lost on the audience. The P. Lansing school text further relates the struggles of the launderer; “[t]he washerman’s day is going up and going down. All his limbs are weak from whitening his neighbor’s clothes every day, from washing their linen” (Lichtheim 1976, 171). Great efforts went into maintaining clean, white linen at the expense of the individuals performing the labor.

2.2.4 Love and other Emotions

On a more personal level, clothing is referenced for its ability to convey love and other emotions. The instability of love and the “craziness” it makes one feel is referenced through the lack of ability to get dressed. In one love poem, the author states, “I think of my love for you; it lets me not act sensibly, it leaps from its place. It lets me not put on a dress, nor wrap my scarf around me; I put no paint upon my eyes; I am even not anointed” (Chester Beatty I; Lichtheim 1976, 182). Love makes one feel reckless “like a runaway, snapping all ties, with my bundles of old clothes over my shoulder” (P. Harris 500: Song Cycle 1). Love envelopes like clothing: “O ruler,

clothed with love like the Aten, who makes the eyes of the land, by means of whom they see” (Murnane 1995, 175).

Silky, luxurious bed sheets are frequently mentioned in relation to the body of the beloved, conjuring up sensory experiences. One love poem mentions a couch decked with close-woven bedclothes, and a young lady “restless {*nb*’} among them” (P. Chester Beatty I, Recto; Foster 1974, 14). Another makes a request to the maid of his love, “arrange your whitest sheets about her dark skin (above, below, behind, between), for her no bedtime in mere royal linen, beware coarse common cloth, then grace her in her sheerest tunic, touch her with the rarest perfumes” (O.Cairo 25218). Here the writer’s beloved is so special that no common textile is to touch her body. Here sheer, fine linen is linked to the lust and desirability of the women depicted in the poem. The ability for fabric to assume the smell of the wearer is also conveyed within love poetry. One author declares:

[i]f I could just be the washman doing her laundry for one month only, I would be faithful to pick up the bundles, sturdy to beat clean the heavy linens, [b]ut gentle to touch those finespun things lying closest to the body that I love. I would rinse with pure water the perfumes that linger still in her tunics, And I’d dry my own flesh with the towels she held yesterday to her face. The touch of her clothes, their textures, her softness in them... Thanks for the body, its youthful vigor! (Lichtheim 1976, 189).

Clothing and the associated sensorial experience are vehicles for these authors to convey their various feelings about their beloved. Given clothing’s closeness to the body, it retains the perfume of the person and physically comes in contact like the author wishes.

2.3 Conclusions

The social valuing of cloth relates to its ability to display aspects of identity like rank and status. Cloth is one way of conveying the normal social order and maintenance of *maat*. The elite were supposed to have clean, white linen and also provide clothing for those that are in need. The social prizing of being clothed or nude is clear in relation to this. Clothing was a basic necessity, and, therefore, not being clothed related to an individual’s low status or rank (except in a few

circumstances; see Galczynski 2023). From this study, we can see that textiles aid in the Egyptian conceptualization of order (*maat*) versus disorder (*isfet*) through its inclusion in most didactic and pessimistic literature. Fabric was also a way of conveying emotion, especially love, given its physical closeness to the body of an individual.

Textiles played a vastly underestimated role in Egyptian rituals. Textiles are presented in all iterations of ideological texts from the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts to spells in the later Book of the Dead and Book of the Underworld, etc. In the Daily Temple Ritual, *šsp*, *nfr*, *mnḥt*, *ḏmī*, *ʿt*, *šmʿt* linen are mentioned. In the Opening of the Mouth Ritual, *mnḥt šsmt ḥns ḏmī* linen are used. In the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus, *ḏd*, *sš*, *sf*, and *ḏmī* types are required. *Idmi*-cloth is the only type that is mentioned in all rituals.

2.3.1 Color Significance

A ubiquitous characteristic of textiles in all of the ideological texts and rituals explored was the role of colored fabrics in specific contexts. As in any culture, meaning and symbolism becomes attached to color. For example, “green with envy” in English equates the color green with jealousy. Color-emotion or color-valence, as it is termed by psychologists, is culturally constructed and context-dependent and should be viewed intersectionally, as well (Fox 2022; Hamphill 2010; Lakens et al. 2013). Given that a human’s eyesight is arguably the sharpest sense, color is imbued with a great deal of importance.

For discussions about color symbolism and meaning in ancient Egypt see Baines (1985), Corcoran (2023), Schäfer (1974); Warburton (2016). This section will add to the discussion through the references of specific-colored textiles and the associated meanings available for how the colored linen is used.

2.3.1.1 Red (*dsr/rwdw*)

Red was a very powerful color, linked to the solar eye goddesses and blood. Chapter 164 of the Book of the Dead relates “[h]ail Sekhmet-Bastet, who gives the Nine Gods and ties the Headband, lady of the red cloth, mistress of the White and Red Crowns, great in terror” (Quirke 2013, 399). Red had both positive and negative connotations due to the power linked to the color. For example, from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, when red cloth is offered to the deity, the Eye of Re is invoked: “the ruler of the island of Flame, great of rage, Mistress of her Maker”; she “appears on his brow” as the uraeus “to protect him” (David 1981, 68). The Guardians of Upper Egypt are clad in red linen (PT §440; Lichtheim 1973, 45). One of the seven spirits mentioned in the Coffin Texts is “the Bloody one who is preeminent in the Mansion of Red linen” (CT §335; Faulkner 1973, 261). Re is frequently also given the epithet “the Great One who is in Red Linen” (CT §619, §622; BoD §115), and Osiris is often depicted in a red shroud as well (Pinch 2001, 182). The wearing of red by the deceased gave protection. Chapter 149 of the Book of the Dead states that the deceased must be pure and “robed in a garment of red cloth” prior to proceeding (Quirke 2013, 338). Many funeral shrouds are dyed red as they were draped over the sarcophagus to protect the deceased (Turin Suppl. 5227.2; MMA 20.3.203A). These all might be in reference to the womb and (menstrual) blood’s connection to rebirth and fertility in many cultures. The color red’s protective abilities were utilized in coffin construction at the joins (Caroline Arbuckle MacLeod, personal communication) and can be seen used at door jambs and other liminal spaces to mark protected areas.

2.3.1.2 Green (*wʾd*)

Green was a color associated with growth, rebirth, and regeneration. From the Daily Temple Ritual preserved in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, green cloth is offered to the deity, with references to Wadjet with the result that the god “bec{a}me young again like fresh plants” (David 1981, 67). The color green is also mentioned in PT §519 where “the headband of green”

was used to help heal the finger of Osiris (Faulkner 1969, 208). Here again green is linked to regrowth, regeneration, and rejuvenation.

2.3.1.3 White (*ḥd*)

We must be cautious to overly assume the color white's association with purity based on modern biases (Cleland 2017, 26). However, from the available sources, white or bright textiles were related to purity, protection, and effectiveness. For example, from the Daily Temple Ritual from the Temple of Abydos, the scene revolves around the "white cloth" with the "Eye of White Horus," causing the god to be shining and splendid, the desire that the god will "cleave for you" (David 1981, 67). In Chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased "who ties the fringed cloth of Nun, the white one of the light," who illuminates the darkness (Quirke 2013, 190). From the Ptah temple, a purity rite is recorded that states equated purification with "clothing of fine white linen" (*mnḥt m p³kt ḥdt*) (*Urk.* IV 766). The textiles themselves are important in their roles, but by attaching color symbolism to them as well, their role as manifestations of protection, goodness, and rejuvenation is further clarified.

2.3.2 Themes

Throughout many of the texts mentioned, certain thematic characteristics could be observed. These include the dichotomies of clean versus dirty and nude versus clothed and conceptions around wrapping, tying, and knotting.

2.3.2.1 Cleanliness vs Dirty

An important aspect of the social order and temple ritual was purity and cleanliness. Eaton (2013, 45) stresses the precision required for the daily temple ritual all while "wearing loose, flowing linen garments which had to be kept absolutely white to maintain ritual purity." As

discussed earlier, white's connection to purity and linen is referenced frequently in the texts.

Chapter 125 from the Book of the Dead conveys the connection wholly:

This is the way to act toward the Hall of the Two Truths. A man says this speech when he is pure, clean, dressed in fresh clothes, show in white sandals, painted with eye paints, anointed with the finest oil of myrrh. One shall offer to him beef, fowl, incense, bread, beer, and herbs. And you make this image in drawing on a clean surface in red paint mixed with soil on which pigs and goats have not trodden (Lichtheim 1976, 131).

From the Book of the Heavenly Cow, we are told how an individual is to purify himself:

pronounce this text over himself, rubbed down with olive oil and salve while holding a censer containing incense in his hands. The backs of his ears should be cleansed with natron, and natron pellets should be in his mouth. As for his clothing, it should be two fresh linen garments after he has bathed himself in flowing water, and he should be shod with sandals of white leather (Simpson 2003, 295).

The purity of the ritual is visually represented and conveyed through the white cleanliness of the garments worn to perform the rite.

2.3.2.2 Nudity vs Clothed

Being clothed was linked to the proper order of society. Clothing was a basic necessity of life, and it was expected that the elite would provide clothing to those unable to provide it for themselves. It is a common phrase in many tombs that the deceased “gave clothes to the naked.” (e.g., Autobiography of Harkhuf, Lichtheim 1973, 24; Autobiography of Ankhmeryremeryptah, Strudwick 20005, 267; See Appendix 1). Nudity was linked to individuals of lower rank or status, or to children. During the reign of Akhenaten, the Aten's breath is compared to being clothed, “pleasant is the utterance of your name: it is like the taste of life, it is like the taste of bread to a child, a loincloth to the naked...” (Murnane 1995, 208).

Within ideological texts, nudity is used to convey times of liminality, change, and insecurity while being clothed was equated with preparedness and protection. While you are in the womb you are clothed or wrapped with blood/bodily fluids, during life you don clothing, and at death you are wrapped again. The beginning of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual begins with a reference to being unclothed (Appendix 2.1) in a state of flux, ready for the priest to begin the

ritual. But, before that can happen, the *sm*-priest must also dress and undress, having first donned the *qni*-garment to then take it off and don the panther skin. Being clothed is equated to being ready or prepared. For example, the deceased is instructed to “take your bright tunic, take your cloak upon you... to make you cognizant before the gods” (PT §414; Faulkner 1969, 136). In order for the deceased to pass successfully into the afterlife and be recognized by the gods, they must be clothed.

2.3.2.3 (Un)Wrapping, (Un)Tying, and (Un)Knotting

Another major theme from the ideological texts and rites relates to the actions of wrapping, tying, and knotting and their associated reversal. Though in some circumstances the ritual power is similar between wrapping, tying, and knotting, I have chosen to separate them into different categories.

The ritual power of wrapping is one of the most important actions performed using textiles. Riggs’ (2014, 152) important work has already detailed the importance of wrapping in Egypt, arguing that the cloth that wrapped a sacred statue or human remains “was its new skin, muscle, and tissues, so that textile and objects—or textiles and body—became a unity.” Be it a cult statue or a human body, the rituals (Opening of the Mouth, *sed*-Festival rites, Daily Temple Ritual) all reference the same rebirth and rejuvenation through ritual wrapping. The act of wrapping induced a sacred state of being, ritually protecting the object, human, or cult statue while they are in this liminal reality.

The act of wrapping symbolized protection and imbued the wrapped object with the ability to be reborn, all referencing the first mummification rite of Osiris and his rebirth through the ritual binding together of his body parts: “O Cloth, arouse Osiris on his throne, for he has recovered his senses, and has presented N to himself. Arouse N on his throne, for he has received his senses and has presented Osiris to himself” (CT §728; Faulkner 1977, 277). The female goddesses play an important role in many of the wrapping rites. Not only were the female

goddesses connected to weaving, but, as the producers of the linen wrappings for the deceased, their protective capabilities were referenced through the physical action.

Human remains were not the only things wrapped, but also cult statues and funerary objects. The Daily Temple Ritual described earlier depicts Seti I wrapping the statue of Amun-Re to enable the god's rebirth and rejuvenation. Riggs (2014, 191) notes that, since the wrapping actions had to be undone and redone every day, or even at different times, this suggests that the repetitive performance was integral to the rite. Statues, canopic jars, and other funerary elements were also wrapped for their protection and effectiveness but also to indicate their unspoiled state. Chapter 145 of the Book of the Dead references this wrapped state; "I am pure with those waters with which Ra is pure... I am anointed with first-rate cedar oil. I am wrapped in cloth, my scepter in my hand is of hardwood" (P. Aeg. 10207; Quirke 2013, 334). The deceased is ready to be transformed into an effective dead.

The state of being wrapped connotes power and effectiveness. Gods with creative or regenerative power were also exclusively depicted in the state of being wrapped—Osiris, Ptah, and Min. The king during the *sed*-festival would also enter a wrapped state to aid in his rejuvenation. The ancestors are depicted wrapped to convey their ability to be effective. The Ennead are "enwrapped with sheets of linen" (CT 260; Faulkner 1973, 199).

In addition to wrapping, tying and knotting held important significance in Egyptian ideological thought. The ideological significance of tying or knotting (*tz*) has already been noted by many scholars (Pinch 1994; Ritner 1993; Staehelin 1970). Wendrich's (2006) study detailed a framework of how knotting worked (Table 3). Fabric and thread can be knotted or tied. Amuletic knots are known to have protected the owner from evil (Pinch 1994, 108), with the knotting action imbuing the fiber with the power of the incantation (Wendrich 2006, 252). The word for protection *z'* is represented using the tie sign (Gardiner V17). Unlike other cultural associations with knotting, the Egyptians appear to have viewed the actions as solely positive (Wendrich 2006). Knotting and tying provide protection and block evil. For example, one spell incorporates

knots to protect against snake venom, where the knots are thought to “imprison” the venom (Chester Beatty VII; Pinch 1994, 83).

The coming-of-age ceremony discussed earlier, “tying the headband of youth,” might also relate to the protection imbued to the child as they navigate a liminal age, going from child to adult. The notion is also connected to construction and building, through the tying together of the two lands of Egypt or the binding of Osiris’ body parts to revive him. “There comes what Horus has given his father Osiris to cloak him in, when he bound together his flesh, when he tied together his limbs to give him bones”

The act of untying or unknotting is also significant in that it can remove restriction, perhaps referencing the possibility of umbilical cord issues at birth or rebirth for the deceased. The gods associated with tying and knotting overlap with the gods associated with protective wrapping, mummification, and the weaving arts.

Whether it be wrapping, tying, or knotting, all ritual actions involving cloth served to protect in some manner. Liminal states of being—birth and death—involved such ritual acts to provide protection and guard against evil. The wrapping of a cult statue, the king during ritual, or the newly deceased prepared them to be reborn and rejuvenated, with their state of existence changing. The gods and the ancestors are depicted wrapped to convey this sacred, effective state of being. Textiles were the vehicle through which the Egyptians engaged these rituals. To an Egyptian, cloth held these powerful capabilities. The ritual power ascribed to textiles bled over into other aspects of their culture as well, like the social.

Chapter 3

Textile Production & Technology

*...It is his might that creates everyone, and none can live without him.
People are clothed by the flax of his fields,
he who makes Hedj-hotep [i.e. the weaver god] serve him...
If he is sluggish, the people dwindle...
Fabrics are wanting for one's clothes...
Oh, Joy when you come, O Hapi.
Oh, Joy when you come.*

Hymn to Hapi (Lichtheim 1975)

As we explored in Chapter 2, dress not only held economic value, but much of its value was constructed through its role ideological and socially. Following Appadurai (1986) the value of an object is defined by how it is commoditized through temporal, cultural, and social factors. Part of construction textiles' value in New Kingdom Egypt is understanding the processes involved in its production. Dress is culturally embedded into its associated society, laden down with the history of its one production, the processes required, the individuals who labored, the institutions that managed— all of this becomes embedded within the dress itself. In turn, when the dress is then donned, that history of the dress becomes enmeshed with the wearer's identity as well. Taking such an approach to dress, allows us to analyze how intersecting power relations produced social inequalities. An individuals' identities are shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. One such factor was the production of the dress objects themselves. Most might not think about the construction of a garment when viewing an individual, we inherently know garments that are constructed poorly or well; whether a garment was made by hand or mass-produced by low-income workers. We might consciously choose to purchase a product because of the way it was manufactured. The New Kingdom Egyptians did not have such an availability of choice but were more intimately aware of the processes required to produce a single garment.

This chapter will explore how textiles were produced during the New Kingdom, starting from the sowing of the flax through preparation, spinning, weaving, and post-processing. The amount of knowledge, time, and labor involved in textile production was immense, adding further value to the finished product. Through this, we will look at how dress production created avenues for power in New Kingdom Egyptian society. This chapter will also investigate how technologies were transferred both through time and spatially through trade, conquest, and other forms of interaction. There is a marked change in New Kingdom textile processes—a new loom type, dye techniques, and weave types, to name a few. The individuals behind these transfers—captives, enslaved peoples, and bridal entourages will be explored in Chapter 4. In addition to a background into the textile production processes, I will also update the existing literature with the most recent studies and analyses. This would not be possible without the seminal studies by Barber, Roth, and Vogelsang-Eastwood. Last, this chapter will look at the words used to describe certain textile products to understand how the Egyptians conceptualized their textile culture. The aim of this section is to convey to the reader the knowledge, value, and social relations that are embedded within these sartorial products. The next chapter will focus on the institutions managing and the individuals laboring in the industry to further understand how power relations are present in the textile industry during the New Kingdom, and how, in turn, dress was a useful medium to display social inequalities.

3.1 Textile Production

It would not be possible to understand the Egyptian textile industry without the foundational studies by Barber (1991, 1995), Vogelsang-Eastwood (1992, 1993) and Kemp & Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001). One of the first rigorous academic studies of ancient textiles was Barber's (1991) *Prehistoric Textiles*. Barber's command of archaeological, art historical, and linguistic evidence to elucidate the foundation of textile production and consumption is a seminal work in

the field of ancient dress studies. Barber was the first scholar to convey the importance of textiles to early cultures—textiles were produced earlier than ceramics and required more time to produce than both pottery and food production combined, and much of this work was done by women (Barber 1995). The work focuses on many of the earliest cloth cultures in Africa, Europe, and west Asia with a chapter dealing with Egypt specifically.

The foremost research into the subject is the work of Vogelsang-Eastwood. Starting her work at the site of Amarna and Quseir el-Qadim (1990), her first major publication reworked and updated Hall's earlier mentioned manuscript on textile production (1992). Even to this day, this work needs very little updating and provides a comprehensive overview of both the production process and the catalog of Egyptian dress. Specifically, Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood's (2001) publication on the textiles of Amarna stands out as an outstanding study in the field. Not only does the work compile and analyze all the textile evidence from the entirety of Amarna (from fiber to whole textiles) but more importantly contributes significantly to the understanding of the textile industry in the New Kingdom (2001, 427-476).

But with over thirty years passing since the publication of these works, an update is required. Additionally, for the reader who is not familiar with the textile industry during the New Kingdom, this chapter will provide a concise background of the processes involved. All terminology or processes described are based on the foundational work of Irene Emery; please consult her 1966 *The Primary Structure of Fabrics* for fuller definitions and/or descriptions, if needed.

3.1.1 Fibers

The Egyptians had a variety of fibers available to them, yet much of the dress culture focused on the fiber of the flax plant—linen. There is also evidence of other fibers used less frequently, including animal fibers like sheep's wool and goat hair and other vegetable fibers like palm fiber,

grass, and reeds. No other fibers, like hemp or ramie, have been definitively identified in the pharaonic record.

3.1.1.1 Flax

The earliest evidence for flax production in Egypt comes from the Neolithic Fayum from non-domesticated varieties of the *Linum* species (Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934). The earliest identifiable use of domesticated flax comes from the predynastic site of Badari (UC10059). The crop is not native to Egypt and was first domesticated in northwest Asia before being brought to Egypt for cultivation. Contra earlier genetic evidence (Barber 1991), recent studies have shown that flax was first domesticated for fiber with an intermediate fiber/oil function coming in later (Karg et al. 2023; 2018). The study mainly relied on flax sources from the Theban region where earlier studies samples derived were from the north. Perhaps there was regional variation to which type of flax was grown. It would appear that flax first came to Egypt in its wild form first. It is not clear then if the Egyptians domesticated the crop independently or if the domesticated varieties also were brought in from the northeast.

Two types of flax species were available to the Egyptians. The older one, *Linum Bienne Mill.*, grows to about a meter in height and has small, white flowers. The other type, *Linum usitatissimum*, grows to the same height but produces small, light-blue flowers.

3.1.1.2 A Note on Animals Fibers

It has been regurgitated ad nauseum in the literature that the ancient Egyptians abhorred wool. However, this is a complete misconception and not substantiated by the evidence. This notion was propitiated through comments made by several classical authors—Plutarch and Herodotus, to name two. Plutarch writing in the first century CE in *De Iside et Osiride* 4 states that:

[the Egyptians] abstain from their wool as well as their flesh... For it is not lawful (as Pluto saith) for a clean thing to be touched by an unclean...It would be therefore an absurdity for them to lay aside their own hair in purgations... and yet in the meantime to wear and carry about them the hairs of brutes [i.e., sheep].

As mentioned in Chapter 1, it was Herodotus who stated “it was contrary to religious usage to be buried in a woolen garment, or to wear wool in the” temple (Hist II. 82). One could add further evidence and argue that no woolen garments have been found in mortuary contexts and, since these contexts are supposed to include all necessary items for sustained life, that wool must not have been a part of Egyptian cloth culture.

First, the abolition of woolen garments seems to have only been a practice of those with a priestly occupation. Priests had a myriad of prescriptions they had to follow while fulfilling their priestly duties. Priests had to be pure (*wʿb*) which included abstaining from intercourse, shaving their body hair, and restricting which foods they ate. It would seem then, too, that priests did not wear animal fibers into ideologically charged spaces. And if one continues to read Herodotus, he goes on to state that men usually wore “a linen tunic with a fringe hanging around the legs with... a white woolen garment on top.” This could have been an innovation of Herodotus’ time, but we have further evidence from pharaonic times to show this was not the case.

As early as the Predynastic Period, Petrie and Quibell (1896) claim to have found wool fragments at Naqada, and Saad mentions a woolen cloth around human remains at Helwan dating to the 1st Dynasty. Notably, Petrie also found lumps of wool from the Middle Kingdom town of Lahun (Petrie, Griffith, and Newberry 1890, 28), but Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, 269) that they actually date from the Roman Period based on radiocarbon dating (2000, 269). The MET has a ball of wool (22.1.1206; Fig. 31) from excavations at el-Lisht dating to the Ramesside Period, but further information concerning the provenance is missing.

More recently, we have clear undeniable evidence for wool use at the site of Amarna published by Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001). Forty-eight samples of wool were found from the Workmen’s Village with a smaller unrecorded number from the main city. Though a comparatively small sample size, Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood do note that there were a large

number of pits and trenches at the Workmen's Village made by looters, with each pit having textile remains inside (2001, 35). Perhaps there was more wool originally from the site.



Fig. 3.1- Ball of Wool from Lisht North Cemeteries dating to the Ramesside Period (MMA 22.1.1206; public domain)

One woolen artifact group is of note. From a building between the King's House and Great Temple, Pendlebury found "a sack containing wool, carded wool, and woolen garments" (1951). The sack is 1.15 meters in length and .63 meters in width, making it a rather large amount of wool. The sack contained a mass of unspun sheep's wool, five balls of wool yarn spun in an S-direction (!), and a fragment of a woolen garment (Ryder 1972; Ryder 1983; Germer 1992). Given the S-spun nature of the yarn, a typically Egyptian method (see below), this is further proof of wool use.

From artistic evidence, we have depictions of sheep and goats even in tombs which would seem to discount the notion that these animals are considered unclean. From Tomb 3 at Beni Hasan from the Middle Kingdom, there are sheep depicted of two types—one with spiral

horns and other with coiled horns (Newberry 1893, pl. XXX; Fig. 3.2). Earlier depictions typically showed the spiral horned variety, but the coiled horns with flat tails typically indicate sheep domesticated for wool production (Breniquet & Michel, 2014, 34). Interestingly, sheep with coiled horns get associated with both Khnum and Amun in the Egyptian pantheon.

Zooarchaeological remains indicate how sheep were being consumed as well. This falls across age and gender lines. A mix between young and old females and old males indicate the sheep were consumed for meat. Old females with young males indicate milk consumption, while old females, old males, and old wethers indicate the sheep were used for wool (Killen 1964; Vila & Helmer 2014). A good wool flock will be mainly castrated males, with adult females for wool and breeder, and just enough rams for breeding only. Lastly, Mourad (2021, 330-332) notes the presence of wool-sheep in Egypt from the 12th dynasty onwards. Faunal remains from Tell el-Dab'a record the presence of both types of sheep (Mourad 2021, ft 1127).

From textual evidence, we have a possible reference to wool as *šnw*, typically translated as “hair.” P. Bologna 1094 mentions “50 woolen loincloths” (*n'šnw d'ñw 50*). The donation stela of Ahmose Nefertari mentions “a sheet of wool.” P. Koller 1.2 mentions bags of “hairy fabric,” *šnz rpw* in relation to equipping an expedition to Syria (Caminos 1954, 431). Needler also notes an early 18th-Dynasty reference to 80 *īfd* of wool (*šnw*) (1977, 248). P.BM EA 75018 records a request for clothing to be made of wool. The chantress of Amun-Re, Henutnetjeru, asks her “sister” Tadiese for the five measures of yarn that she will be given to be made “into clothes for these 3 women-servants” (*b'kw st-ḥmt*) “... and let them be made of wool” (*šnw*) (Demarée 2006, 13). There is also mention of a garment of wool in a list of items that were stolen (P. Leiden I 352, 11; Černý 1937).

P.BM EA 75018 records a request for clothing to be made of wool. The chantress of Amun-Re, Henutnetjeru, asks her “sister” Tadiese for the 5 measures of yarn that she will be given to be made “into clothes for these 3 women-servants (*b'kw st-ḥmt*) ... and let them be made of wool (*šnw*)” (Demarée 2006, 13). This letter is a fine example not only of internal

commerce and market, but also of clearly displays the trade of wool with other common goods like bricks and fish. This term continues to be used in Demotic texts dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, where wool is more commonly used by the colonizing cultures.

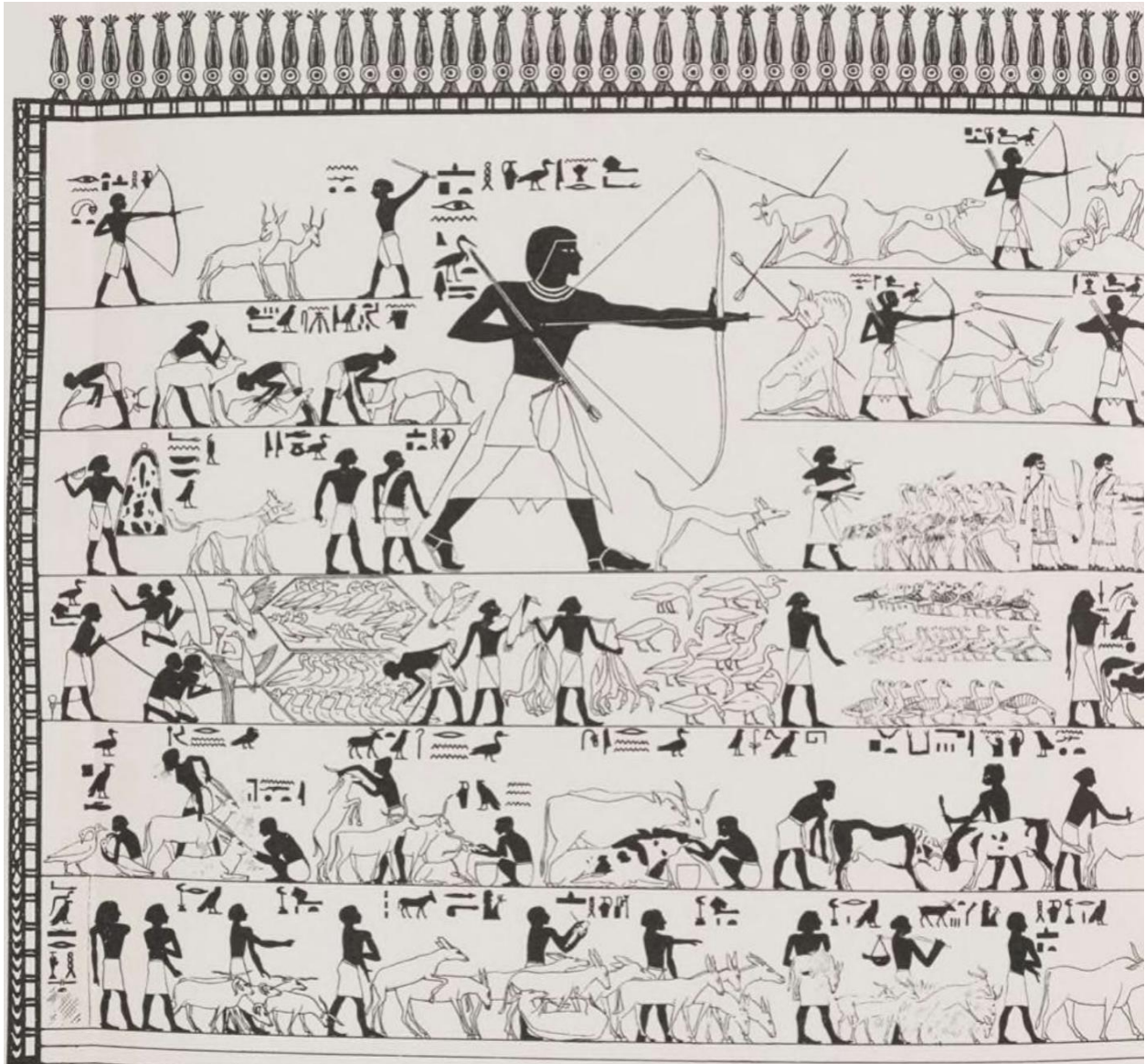


Fig. 3.2- Scene from tomb of Khnumhotep depicting the two different sheep breeds in the bottom left corner (Newberry 1893, pl. xxx)

The Egyptians additionally adopted the semitic word for wool, *s'rt* (Hoch 1994, 256). From P. Anastasi VIII, a missive is recorded from a Ramesu to a Dhutyemhab concerning riverine commerce. Ramesu asks for wool amongst other items. Specifically, he inquired about the whereabouts of the wool of the god (*n p' n ntr*) from the dockyard of Pi-Ramessu-Miamon.

Later, he references the barge that habitually carries the wool not being sent as well as the barge that goes each year to the town of Usermaatre-Setepenre not arriving on time (Wente 1990, 120). This letter is a fine example not only of internal commerce and market, but it also clearly displays the trade of wool with other common goods like bricks and fish. This term *šꜣrt* continues to be used in Demotic texts dating to the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, where wool is more commonly used by the colonizing cultures.

It is also known that sheep were part of the normal agricultural industry of New Kingdom Egypt. For example, the Mayor of Elkab, Reneni, is described as owning over 100 sheep and 1,200 goats (*Urk IV:7514-15*), and the Aten Temple at Karnak lists the maintenance of herds of sheep and goats as well (Smith and Redford 1976). It is illogical to argue that sheep and goats were not being used for their fleece and hair as well.

From this, we can make three conclusions—woolen textiles were restricted to domestic contexts, appear more frequently in relation to sites with foreigners, and appear more frequently in the New Kingdom. Regarding the first conclusion, we should mention the idea of Janssen’s “Sunday best” (Janssen 1975, 249-50). Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993, 3-4) in her discussion of how representative textiles from tomb context were refers to Janssen’s idea that the textiles placed in the tomb were not to be taken as daily wear but instead were the highest quality, ideologically charged clothing that the tomb owner would need in the afterlife. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the tomb contents and wall paintings fulfilled a certain ideological role, and woolen textiles, given their lack of use in other ideological settings like the temple, also did not have a purpose in the tomb sphere. This is supported by the second conclusion.

It is not that we do not have any evidence of wool or woolen textiles. The evidence, instead, comes solely from domestic context, of which we have far fewer than funerary or temple. Textiles also do not preserve as well in domestic contexts. Compare, for example, linen textiles from the Workmen’s Village at Amarna to the well-preserved textiles from Kha’s tomb. The Amarna examples are fragmentary, small, and highly eroded while Kha’s are in almost

pristine condition. Barber (1991, 49, fn. 6) argues that, unlike linen, wool was used for non-ritual purposes and was “cheaper” than linen, explaining its appearance in town sites. The price of woolen garments is unclear, but as was highlighted in Chapter 2 linen not only could fetch a high price but had ideological value as well.

Even though the Egyptians did and could work with wool, it was outside of Egypt where weavers specialized and mastered wool cloth production. The connection between wool and sites of foreign interaction is also relevant. Lahun is a known location where foreigners and, more importantly, foreign weavers were present. A number of “foreign” types of ceramic were found at the site, some with pot marks which are believed to be linked to proto-alphabetic script. Such marks can also be seen on a heddle from a horizontal loom found at the site (Petrie 1921, 10; Gallorini 2009, 118–119). Many of the weights and measures found at Lahun are not Egyptian, as well (David 2003). Many of these items could have been brought through trade, but we also have textual evidence to support the presence of foreigners at the site.

P. Brooklyn 35.1446 verso records a legal document of a Senebtisi who is establishing her legal rights over 95 servants. A list of the ninety-five individuals is recorded with their title, name, and occupation. Forty-eight have “foreign” names, with thirty women listed with textile-related occupations (Hayes 1955, 90-91). The only titles shared between the Egyptian-named individuals and the west-Asian are weaver, warper, and house-servant (Hayes 91). Further, the occupations are specified with the type of cloth produced. Nine *ḥmw*-women were “weavers of the *ḥatyw*-cloth,” and “five women were warpers of the *ḥatyw*-cloth” (Hayes 1955, 105). This insinuates that these were crews of women working together with about two women to a loom, with one woman aiding in the warping process. Both *ḥatyw*-cloth and the other cloth being produced by the women—*šsr*-cloth—were higher quality, luxury products, as well. Whether this cloth was wool, or linen is not stated. Given that foreign weavers were working at Lahun and Lahun was a place where wool was preserved, it is a possibility that this cloth was woolen.

Amarna is another such site where we know foreigners were present. The Amarna letters provide evidence not only of foreigners at the capital (EA 16; Rainey 2015) but also of a huge exchange of textiles, mainly of wool being gifted to the Egyptian king as part of marriage negotiations (e.g, EA 22; Rainey 2015). For example, Tushratta of Mitanni gifted Amenhotep III many luxury products including hundreds of garments like “1 pair of leggings of shaggy wool” and “1 garment of blue-purple wool, 1 pair of shirts, Hurrian-style...” (Rainey 2015, 161-183).

Individuals from both the Aegean and west Asia whose cloth cultures focused on wool at sites in Egypt where woolen objects appear is perhaps connected. Egypt as early as the Old Kingdom, but especially by the Middle Kingdom, was highly interconnected with its neighboring cultures, and it is illogical to argue that there was no trade between the regions (see Chapter 6). With the largest number of wool objects from the New Kingdom, it could be argued that these items are representative of the greater interconnectivity of the time. As enumerated above, the Amarna Letters show the exchange of many colored, woolen garments. We never see depictions of the king wearing such “wooly leggings” or “Hurrian shirts,” nor should we expect as much. Egyptian art was governed by decorum (see Chapter 1), and we should not assume it to depict lived reality. But we also should not expect them to not have worn the clothes at all, either. Given the international flavor to most of the luxury products at the time, we should also assume fashions reflected this as well (Feldman 2006).

In summation, it is clear that the Egyptians did not abhor wool. Rather, wool did not fit into their ideological framework for funerary practice. In turn, wool is then relegated to the secular, domestic spheres where objects do not survive as well, with fewer domestic sites known in comparison to funerary. Additionally, wool appears or becomes linked with foreigners in Egypt which might contribute to its lack of ideological power in specific contexts (see Chapter 2). Last, this discourse is more proof that the artistic evidence from tomb scenes is not wholly illustrative of lived dress practice but instead depicts dress from a certain context and perspective—another rationale for the use of an intersectional approach.

3.1.1.3 Other Fibers

Beside flax and wool, goat hair and palm fiber are also known (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1992). From the Workmen's Village at Amarna, goat hair textiles were found with Vogelsang-Eastwood noting the variation in color similar to depictions of a ram from the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan (Vogelsang-Eastwood *in* Nicholson and Shaw 2000, 269; Newberry 1893). From the Workmen's Village at Amarna, palm fiber was woven into loops and attached onto a cloth base (Eastwood 1985, 192). Cotton, silk, and other fibers are not known in Egypt until much later in Egypt's history; Herodotus mentioned Amasis sending a cotton and gold corselet to the Temple of Athena (III.47). Scholars have claimed to have identified bast fibers like hemp and ramie, but without modern scientific analysis these identifications are dubious (Brunton 1937; Lucas 1962; Midgley 1911). Further work needs to be done on the scientific identification of fibers from Egypt.

3.1.2 From Fiber to Thread

The basics of linen production are well understood and thoroughly detailed by Barber (1991) and Vogelsang-Eastwood (1992; 2001). An overview will be provided to enumerate the amount of time and energy required in the production of this product and the wide variety of qualities that are possibly in its production. This process can be securely dated back to the Predynastic Period. Evidence from Abydos includes spindle-whorls, loom-weights, and needles (Peet & Loat 1913) while Omari yielded flax seeds, spindle-whorls, needles, and cloth (David 2003, 229). Recent work by Dickey (2021) has expanded our understanding of textile production from the Neolithic to Early Dynastic Period. A similar micro-analysis of the stages of the textile process has been undertaken by Spinazzi-Lucchesi (2020a; 2020b; 2022) for the New Kingdom evidence.

3.1.2.1 Sowing and Growing Flax

Flax seeds are sown in the middle of November after the inundation recedes. The sowing of flax is distinguishable in tomb scenes from other crops by the underarm movement for flax seeds by the farmer versus an overarm approach for grains (e.g., tomb of Urarna; Davies 1901, pl. XVI). Flax plants take about three months to mature, after the flower has died away and the seed head appears. It is important to note that the timing of the harvesting varies depending on the type of fiber required. For finer textiles, the plant will be harvested younger. This, though, significantly reduced the yield of the crop since it is harvested prior to its full length. For average quality textiles, harvesting would take place with the plants more mature while for a rough, coarse fiber harvesting would happen when the plants were old. Additionally, it should not be forgotten that flax plants were also grown for their seeds, producing a nice quality oil—linseed. Flax was harvested by both men and women, according to tomb depictions (e.g., Paheri; Naville, Tylor & Griffith 1894, pl. III) with the plant being pulled from the ground rather than cut like other crops in order to preserve as much length of the fiber as possible (e.g., Senemiah, TT127 or Fig. 3.3). The stems were then tied in bundles and dried in the sun.

3.1.2.2 Fiber Preparation

Afterward, the bundles were stripped of their seed heads, also known as “rippling” (e.g., Menna, TT 69; see Hartwig 2013; Fig. 3.4). The flax was then prepared for plying through a series of steps: 1) “ret” or rot the flax to remove the hard outer cortex of the stem; 2) beating or bruising of the stems to separate the fiber from the woody outer layers; and 3) “scutching” (e.g., TT103 and TT104; Figs. 3.5) or combing of the now softer fibers to remove any resistant coarser plant materials.



Fig. 3.3- Scene from the Book of the Dead of Aaner, Priest of Mut, pulling flax. Note the blue flowers; Third Intermediate Period (Museo Egizio di Torino Cat. 1771)

3.1.2.3 Spinning, Splicing, and Plying

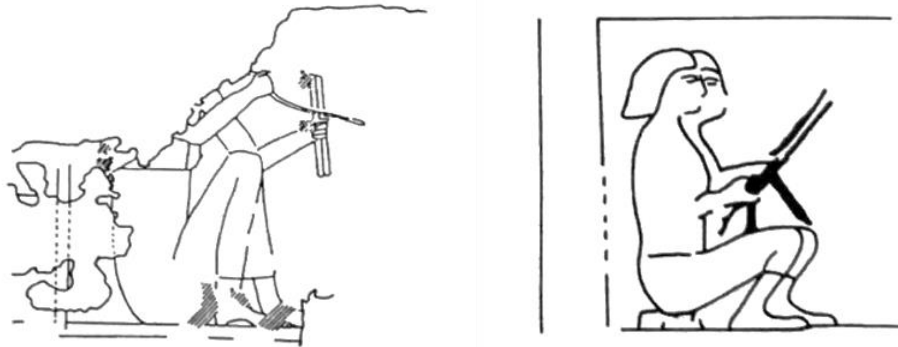
With the fibers prepared, two processes could occur next: spinning, splicing, or plying to join the fibers together in order to create a longer cohesive yarn suitable for weaving. The fibers were then either rolled against the thigh or on a round form to create orderly combined lengths (tombs of Dagi and Thutnofer; see Davies 1913, pl. XXXVII, and Davies 1927, fig 1, respectively). Then, they would be roughly wound together into balls or coils as seen in the tombs of Khety or Thuthotep (Newberry 1894, pl. XIII; Newberry 1894/5, pl. XXVI). The length of thread is then either passed through a spinning bowl (Kemp & Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, fig. 8.15) or through the mouths of the spinner themselves. Flax, unlike other fibers, is usually moistening to create a more consistent thread. Spinazzi-Luchessi (2018, 131) found that spinning bowls were used as early as the Predynastic Period.

Then, the action of spinning or splicing takes place. In ancient Egypt, most spinning took place using the hand-spindle. The spindle is composed of the shaft or spindle and the whorl. The

whorl is the weight that creates momentum and pulls the threads down and together. Whorl materials, size, and weight all impact the type of thread being produced. In contrast to other nearby cultures, Egyptian whorls were usually placed at the top of the shaft, known as a high-whorl spindle. This is perhaps best represented by the spindle-whorl hieroglyph (Gardiner U34). Sparks (2004) discusses the introduction of the dome-shaped spindle whorl, a typically Levantine style. Examples first appear in the Middle Kingdom and become used across Egypt by the New Kingdom. Dome-shaped whorls appear in the Levant as early as the Early Bronze Age, indicating a migration of the technology into Egypt.



Fig. 3.4- Rippling scene from the Tomb of Menna (TT69) (© Osirisnet)



Figs. 3.5- Scutching scenes from TT103 (right; Davies 1913, pl. xxxviii) and TT104 (left; Davies 1929, 239)

Based on tomb depictions and archaeological evidence, there are three methods of spinning: grasped spindle spinning, support spindle spinning, and drop spindle spinning (Fig. 3.6). For more information about each of these techniques, see Vogelsang-Eastwood (1991) and Vogelsang-Eastwood *in* Nicholson and Shaw (2000).

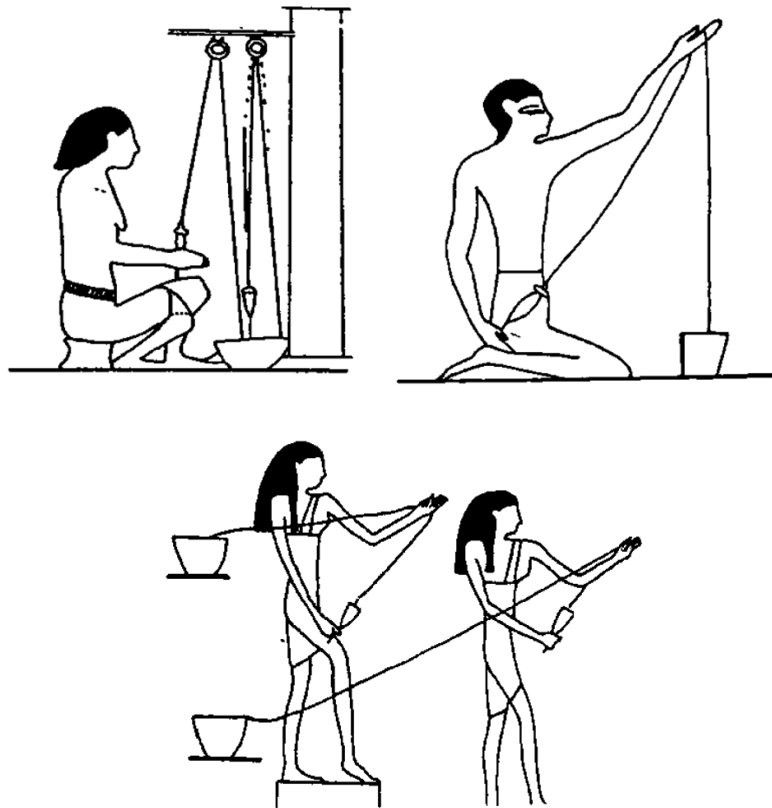


Fig. 3.6-Depictions of the various spinning techniques: grasped spindle (left; Davies 1929, fig. 1a); support spindle (center; Newberry 1894, pl. xiii) and drop spinning (right; Davies 1913, pl. xxxvii)

Barber (1991, 48) notes, however, the Egyptians were not employing true spinning in the European style but were merely adding twist or plying the thread, also known as draft-spinning. The threads were joined through splicing that occurred earlier in the process, similar to silk thread production. As Barber (1991, 48) states, the Egyptians conceived of the flax as already a thread prior to the spinning process. If it is not long enough, one adds another piece. If it is not strong enough, one adds twist or ply. The material properties of flax keep it held together even without proper spinning that is needed in wool or cotton, for example. Once saliva or water was added to the fiber, the linen fiber comes gluey, adding the necessary hold. This is highly

interesting given that wool or other animal fibers behave completely differently and would require different methods that do not appear evident in tomb scenes (Section 3.1.1.2).

Egyptian yarn is typically S-spun and Z-plied, marking it distinct from west Asian textile traditions. Such matters are important when investigating whether a textile is locally produced or a foreign import (or produced locally by a foreigner or produced outside of Egypt with an Egyptian audience in mind). Various theories abound for the reasons for the difference in spin. Spin adds “tenacity” or strength to the fiber, but too much spin can weaken the fiber. Bellinger (1962; 1963) argued that it was all about the type of fiber. Linen naturally twists S-direction when damp while hemp and cotton twists Z-direction. When Bellinger was conserving ancient textiles from Gordion, they found that textiles that employed the natural twist of the fiber stood up better to washing than those that did not (1950). This explanation does not work for wool, however. Wool has no twist and, therefore, can be spun in either direction, yet we find most cultures employing a Z-direction. One would assume a statistical 50/50 divide. Barber (1991, 67) argues that this is due to handedness. Most humans are right-handed, and, when using a low-whorl spindle, they invariably twist in the Z-direction. The Egyptians using the high-whorl spindle, rolling it down the thigh, for example, can only produce a S-spin, coincidentally what flax fiber prefers. Last, twist direction can create certain anesthetic effects once woven. Using fibers of the same spin will create a nesting effect versus fibers of different spin that will lay differently with each other. This can change how weaves like twills show to the naked eye. Spinazzi-Lucchesi (2018, 131) notes in a technical study of the whorls housed in the Museo Egizio di Torino that the dimensions, morphologies, and weights are standardized. This is not as relevant to pharaonic Egyptian textiles but important later in Egyptian history. Overall, this discussion is a fine example of how the material itself affected the methods of production. Once the fiber was spun and plied, if necessary, the threads were bundled together into skeins ready to be woven into cloth or used for a variety of other purposes like as wicks for the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.

3.1.2.4 Dyestuffs

The study of dyed textiles is in its infancy, especially with the use of non-destructive methods. However, a little can still be said on the topic (Barber 1992; Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001; Nicholson and Shaw 2000; Vogler 1982). It is known that linen does not take a dye as well as animal fibers, like wool. It was not until the nineteenth century CE with the advent of synthetic dyes that linen could be made 'fast.' From the evidence, dyeing took place during various stages of the textile process— prior to spinning, after spinning, or after weaving was completed. No known dye works has been found dating before the Roman Period in Egypt. We know dyers must have existed since we have dyed textiles all the way back to the Early Dynastic (if not earlier). Some scholars have argued for the *stnwy* in the *Satire of the Trades* to be translated as a dyer since there is reference to “his fingers are rotted; the smell of them is as corpses” (Lichtheim 1973, 188), which some have attributed to the urine used in the initial stages of the dyeing process. Most however interpret this word as charcoal-burner (Helck 1970; Lichtheim 1973). Vogler (1982, 162) instead argues that the priests or individuals attached to temple workshops would have overseen the process since colored textiles seem to have been restricted to ideological and elite spheres. Indeed, Petrie's (1908) Roman Period dyeworks was found next to a temple at Athribis.

Pfister (1937) performed the first chemical analysis of dyed Egyptian textiles on a textile from the tomb of Tutankhamun, finding the use of a madder dye stuff. Later studies were performed by Vogelsang-Eastwood (1992) and Germer (1992). Vogelsang-Eastwood conducted a test of visibly dyed samples of textiles from Amarna and found that, out of the 132 samples, 13 were blue, one yellow, and 118 red or degraded forms of red. Forty-eight of the samples were further analyzed by Germer for the type of dye stuff used. He (1992) found the presence of the use of indigo (65), iron-oxide (67), madder (68), and double-dyeing to produce purples (70).

3.1.2.4.1 Recent Studies

Of late, there have been many studies using different methods to study the use of dyes on linen textiles dating to various time periods (Dyer et al 2018; Elnaggar et al 2017; Gulmini et al 2013; Peruzzi et al 2023; Tamburini et al 2021; Tamburini et al 2019). Non-invasive techniques, such as broadband MSI (multispectral imaging) and FORS (fiber optic reflectance spectroscopy), help distinguish intentionally dyed areas. MSI is especially useful in differentiating between various sources of reds. Organic sources of red colorant, like madder, will luminesce under UV irradiation; the level of luminescence can be indicative of the dye source. FORS was useful in identifying red ochre while organic dyes were analyzed by HPLC-ESI-Q-toF (high performance liquid chromatography electrospray ionization quadrupole time-of-flight), like safflower and tannin-based dyes. Micro-XRF is also useful to detect the presence of iron (Fe) that would indicate the use of ochre for colorant (Tamburini et al 2019). Another study had success using gel-supported micro-extraction to non-invasively extract dye remnants that then tested positively for both madder and indigo (Peruzzi et al 2023). With the growth of non-invasive techniques, the study of how the ancient Egyptians dyed their textile can only become better understood.

3.1.2.4.2 Blue

Textiles dyed blue use an indigotin-based dye. Indigotin can originate from either true indigo (*Indigofera*) or woad (*Isatis tinctoria L.*). Woad does not contain indigotin, but the *isatic* compound turns into indigotin when exposed to air. True indigo is native to the Indian subcontinent while woad is indigenous to southern Europe and southwest Asia. True indigo has a higher concentration of the dyestuff and allows for a much deeper blue than woad. For the Amarna textiles that tested positive for indigotin, it was not possible using the available methods to verify from where the indigotin came since the chemical signature is the same. A prime example of this is Tutankhamun's blue kerchief (MET 09.184.217). It is often used as proof for

Egyptian-Asian interactions, that the Egyptians were importing indigo from southeast Asia, but it is impossible to know for sure. Now woad is grown in Egypt, but it is unclear if the ancient Egyptians were cultivating the crop or importing the dye from the Aegean or west Asian worlds. Blue dye is one of the more popular dye colors since it does not require a mordant and is color fast by itself; this is along with murex purple. Germer's early analyses also proved the use of indigo in non-royal context (1992, 65).

3.1.2.4.3 Red

Red can be achieved through a variety of sources making it one of the more common textile dyes in ancient Egypt. The first option to achieve a red dye is through the crushing of the unlaidd eggs of an insect (*Kermococcus vermilio*). Earlier sources claim that Egypt used such a dye (Forbes 1956, 103-4; 144-45); attempts have been made to relate Egyptian words to the insect, but the philology needs reassessment. No scientific analyses performed on textiles have found proof of the use of kermes-dye. The next option is any iron-rich mineral, like ochre. Ochres can produce dyed textiles in yellow to red ranges. Other reds could be produced by soaking cloth in any tannin-rich solution—like from the leaves of madder, henna, or alkanet. Madder was positively identified on linen from Tutankhamun's tomb (Pfister 1937, 209). Safflower could also be used to produce reds or yellows, but textual references to the plant might be to the oil, not to the dye (Barber 1992, 232).

3.1.2.4.4 Yellow

As mentioned, safflowers could be used to produce a yellow color. Other options for the Egyptians included saffron, turmeric, pomegranate rind, and onion skins (Forbes 1956). Safflower has been positively identified scientifically on a number of textiles (Tamburini *et al* 2021).

3.1.2.4.5 Other Colors

Other colors like green or purples would have been produced through double-dye where colors of red, blue, or yellow were mixed to achieve the desired color. The use of murex shell for purple dye is unknown in Egypt at this time. White could be achieved through bleaching the thread or whole cloth.

3.1.2.5 Summary

In summary, it should be clear the large amount of time and labor required to produce just the thread prior to the weaving process. Flax is noted to be a very fussy crop to grow which requires a lot of hard labor. Anderson-Strand (2010) calculated yields from a flax harvest in rural Denmark in the twentieth century based on a 100 meter-squared field. It took one working day to pull the flax stems by hand, with the field only yielding about 25 kilograms of basic quality fiber. 25 kilograms of fiber is about 287,500 meters of thread. Spinning the thread takes about seven to ten times longer than weaving as well (Barber 1994, 87). For a textile woven with a thread count of 11 centimeters-squared that produces a fabric of 130 meters-squared Days and days of work hours would have been spent to produce a single loincloth or tunic, with extra fine quality fabrics taking even longer. How did such a long, labor-intensive process affect how the Egyptians valued cloth? Though, it should be noted that modern Western cultures conceptualize time using capitalistic terms—time spent, time saved, time budgeted, time wasted. We should be careful not to anachronistically apply such notions onto the ancient world.

3.1.3 Looms and Weaving

Weaving is the culmination of the textile process with a lot of technological innovation and skill embedded within the loom and the weaver. To create the super fine linen textiles preserved to us in museum collections, the Egyptian weaver would have worked with a huge number of warp threads and an impossibly tight tension requiring sturdy, heavy looms (Fig. 3.7). The low

elasticity of the flax fiber would have also required a small shed to reduce misshaping and warping the piece. Weaving *nfr nfr* cloth was nothing like wool or later cotton weaving processes. It has been noted by modern linen weavers that the linen is notoriously difficult to weave. Flax fiber has little elasticity which can result in breakage, uneven tension, and a visibly uneven beat in the finished product. The fiber becomes very brittle when dry, which can result in fraying or breakage during the weaving if the wrap is not kept damp.³ A variety of factors must be considered (humidity of the room and tension of the warp and bobbin, for example), and a large amount of on-the-ground practice and knowledge is required to successfully weave a very fine cloth. All needs to be kept in mind when we view Egyptian textiles in museum collections, for example.



Fig. 3.7-Sheet from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer of a very fine quality (MMA 36.3.112; Public Domain)

3.1.3.1 The Horizontal Loom

There were two types of looms known to the ancient Egyptians: the horizontal ground loom and the vertical, fixed two-beam loom (for detailed analysis, see Kemp & Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001).

³ Modern linen weavers, for example, with mist the fibers while they are weaving with a water bottle, especially if they live in a dry environment.

The first type, the horizontal loom, consisted of two fixed beams upon the ground where the warp would be wound. Though very simple in design, complex weave patterns can be performed on these types of looms. The mobile nature of these looms would also be advantageous. An Egyptian could set this loom up in the courtyard or a room of their home to catch adequate light, or, for nomadic or pastoral groups, horizontal looms are easily packed up and moved. The only limiting factor to these looms is that the product is bounded by the size of the loom. The cloth being woven cannot be longer or wider than the loom itself, unlike with a vertical loom where the length is adjustable. Additionally, to produce a wide cloth, multiple people might have to work together, which we do see in the Egyptian evidence. As Barber (1991, 81) notes, the Egyptians frequently wove very wide sheets of linen, up to 2.8 meters, and adopted the method of multiple individuals working the loom together.

The earliest depiction of a ground loom is on a bowl found in a woman's tomb from the Predynastic Period (Brunton and Caton Thompson 1928, pl. 38; Tomb 3802; UC 9547; Fig. 3.8). This depiction shows a top-down view of a horizontal loom with four corner pegs holding two beams upon which the warp would be strung. It is unclear the relationship between the tomb owner and the bowl. Perhaps the woman was a weaver, and the bowl was somehow involved in the process. Bowls are useful in the spinning of the thread and even in the weaving process itself to provide humidity to the cloth. Optimal linen weaving humidity levels are 40-50%, with most linen weavers opting for basements rather than attics to achieve this (P. Baines 1989, 109). This is especially interesting given Egypt's dry climate.



Fig. 3.8-Earliest depiction of a ground loom from an Egyptian context (UC 9547; Cameron & Sun 2022)

By the Middle Kingdom we have many more artistic depictions of horizontal looms in both tomb models and two-dimensional paintings (Table 3.1).

Name	Date (Dynasty)	Citation
Dagi	End of 11th/ early 12th	Davies 1913
Djehutyhotep	12th	Newberry 1894/1895
Amenemhat	12th	Newberry 1893
Khnumhotep	12th	Newberry 1893
Khety	12th	Newberry 1893
Baqt	12th	Newberry 1893
Sarenput	12th	Müller 1940

The tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan provides one example (Roth [1913] 1951, 6-15). Here we see two women working a horizontal ground loom together. There are three *laze* rods visible near the bottom warp beam and another two more in the middle of the loom. Roth ([1913] 1951) argues that these rods served as heddle and shed bars while Barber (1991, 84) sees them as *laze* rods, which is followed here. It is unclear how the weft was secured prior to weaving—whether in a bobbin or shuttle, like more modern examples, or as a small ball. Given the fact that most

wefts are regularly only two rows long, a bobbin or shuttle was seemingly not necessary (de Jonghe 1985, 10, 19).

Tomb models typical of a Middle Kingdom burial assemblage provide further information about horizontal ground looms and the other processes of weaving (JE 46723; MFA 21.89; MMA 30.7.3; Liverpool 55.82.4; Tata 1986, 133-6; Fig. 3.9). It is important to remember that these models are artistic and ideological in nature, and caution should be taken when using them to reconstruct weaving practices. That being said, tomb models are helpful in providing a three-dimensional depiction of many actions. Many of these are helpful in reconstructing the various parts of the horizontal loom—like the heddle and heddle jack (MMA 30.7.3), for example. Indeed, Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, 330-1) in her reconstruction of a Middle Kingdom ground loom found following these examples difficult. Certain parts did not make sense, or there appeared to be aspects missing. The relationship between actual weavers and the artisans who constructed the tomb models is unclear. Was a weaver consulted, or did these artisans have a basic understanding of the process but lacked the nuanced knowledge that a textile expert like Vogelsang-Eastwood? Probably the latter.



Fig. 3.9-Example of a weaving model workshop depicting spinning (left) and two women weaving on a horizontal loom (right) (Liverpool 55.82.4)

Archaeological evidence for horizontal looms is surprisingly scarce given the dry, preservative nature of the Egyptian climate, but some parts have come to light. Looms have never been found within a burial context and only within towns, explaining this lack of preservation since settlement archaeology in Egypt is not well documented with poorer preservation. Archaeological evidence for horizontal ground looms comes solely from Lahun. Indeed, archaeological materials from Lahun span the textile production process. Most objects are now housed at the Cairo Museum, Petrie Museum, British Museum, and the Manchester Museum. Comparing the archaeological evidence with the artistic helps verify the accuracy of the depictions.

An interesting object that has gotten a lot of attention due to its possible connection to foreigners is a set of heddle jacks from the site of Lahun (Petrie 1912; Fig. 3.10). As we will discuss later, there was much cross-cultural interaction between Egypt and its neighbors—one such group being peoples from the Levant. These jacks get involved in this discussion due to the presence of a script on them which has been interpreted as a West Semitic proto-syllabic script (Haring 2020; Hamilton 2006; Sass 1988). Similarly, spindle whorls found at the site now in the British Museum have markings as well. Incised markings are known, perhaps best, from Deir el-Medina. Haring (2018) has labeled them identity marks, perhaps marking ownership by non-literate individuals.

It has been argued that, along with textual evidence, these heddle jacks were owned (?) or operated by a person from the Levant region. Gallorini (2009, 118) has contested the Middle Kingdom date of the object; the object could have originally been from then but was incised later. Adding to this further, many of the weaving objects from the site are made on non-local woods (Cartwright, Granger-Taylor & Quirke 1998; Gallorini 1998; Quirke 2005). Rather than being brought with the individual from abroad, what is more likely is that the weaving parts were made using scraps of luxury, imported wood for coffin or furniture construction.

Regardless of the dating, if we are to understand the heddle jack to be incised with a proto-alphabetic script of a Levantine person, this is one such glimpse of the types of the more ‘hidden’ people engaged in textile production, as will be discussed later.



Fig. 3.10-Wooden heddle-jack and associated incised markings (Gallorini 2009, fig. 4)

In summary, the following is important to understand about the horizontal loom. The horizontal loom is known from the earliest periods of Egyptian history as soon as domesticated flax shows up in the archaeological record. Arguably, we should assume looms were around prior to flax, evolving from basketry traditions (for example, the so-called ‘Venus’ figurines sport woven clothing, with firm evidence of woven textiles dated to the first half of the 7th millennium BCE; Jørgensen, Rast-Eicher, and Wendrich 2023). Last, the output of cloth on horizontal ground looms is bounded by the size of the loom. A very wide loom would require more than one individual to make the weaving easier and smoother. The amount of space a horizontal loom required should also be considered. They require more space than the vertical varieties.

3.1.3.2 The Vertical Loom

Moving to vertical looms, this technology is typically understood to have come into Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period with the so-called Hyksos (Riefstahl 1944; Ellis 1976; Barber 1991; Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001; Table 3.2). Interestingly, the first identifiable proof of the loom is from an Egyptian context, the tomb of Djehutynefer (TT104) during the mid-18th Dynasty (Fig. 3.11). Most argue for a Levantine origin due to the presence of warp-weighted

vertical looms there already and the looms' effectiveness for a tapestry weave, a known weave type of that region that we only see in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty as well. However, Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, 335) cautions that vertical fixed-beam looms as the type we see in Egypt and the Levant and the warp-weighted vertical looms known from Anatolia and southern Europe are distinct entities, representing significant cultural differences. Therefore, the exact evolution of the fixed-beam vertical loom is unclear.

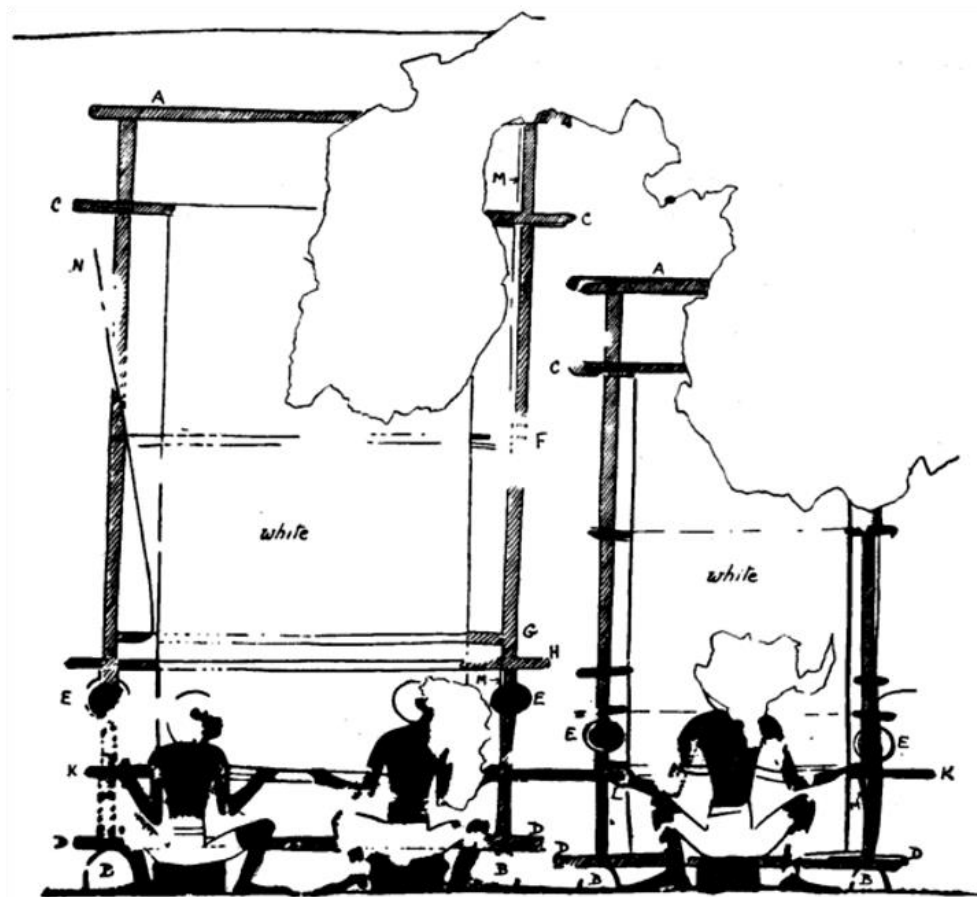


Fig. 3.11- Vertical looms depicted in the tomb of Djehutynefer (Roth 1951, fig. 9)

The technological innovation of the vertical loom allowed for the Egyptians to increase textile output. The cloth beam, which is debated in use for the horizontal loom, was used for the vertical, allowing for the weaver to wind the length of the cloth as they were weaving as to weave an infinite length of cloth, if they wished. Additionally, the vertical loom could be worked by one individual (we do see some depictions where two individuals are working together on very wide

vertical looms, like from the tomb of Djehutynefer). The vertical loom also took up less space. It only required the width of the loom and a wall space for it to lean against. This would allow for an “industrialization” of production. Workshops could construct and man many more vertical looms in the same amount of space. Indeed, the artistic depictions back this up. Where the tomb models from the Middle Kingdom rarely showed more than one horizontal loom, the tomb depictions of vertical looms always show multiple, with even one showing four vertical looms under the watchful eye of Neferrenpet, the “Overseers of Weavers.” For a discussion of the artistic depiction of vertical looms see Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, sec. 9.7).

Table 3.2- New Kingdom tombs with weaving and other textile production scenes		
Name	Date (Reign)	Citation
Djehutynefer (TT 104)	Thutmose III to Amenhotep II	Davies 1929
Neferhotep (TT 50)	Akhenaten, Aye, Horemheb	Davies 1933
Neferrenpet (TT 133)	Rameses II	Davies 1948

One last depiction can be added to this group from a non-tomb context. A *talatat* block from Amarna and now in the Mallawi museum depicts a vertical loom leaning against a wall. Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, 338) interpret the building as an elite home, given the individual on the same level grinding grain and the presence of home-related goods on the lower register. Again, it is unclear whether it is a two-story building or the aspective representation of rooms next to each other.

Archaeological evidence for vertical looms is scarce like the horizontal ground loom. In most cases, all that is preserved for us are the stone socket blocks that would have held the beams of the vertical loom in place. One such object was recently found at the site of Deir el-Ballas in House E (Object 58; Brown 2021, pl. 2.7). Others have been found at Deir el-Medina and Amarna (see Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, sects. 9.16 and .17). From Amarna, pieces of vertical looms include warp spaces, heddle supports, shed sticks, and other parts

(Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, sec. 9.8-9.18). For example, 26 socket blocks have been found from the Workmen's Village (Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 374). From all of this evidence, Vogelsang-Eastwood was able to reconstruct how vertical looms were used. The loom would have been set up in the front room of the house, taking up a significant amount of space (see Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, fig. 9.60), but not as much as a horizontal loom.

In summary, the following is important to understand about the fixed-beam vertical loom: The vertical loom is assumed to have been a technological import from the Levant, first appearing in the mid-18th Dynasty via artistic representation. Concurrently, this is when we first have archaeological evidence for tapestry-woven textiles. From the tomb of Neferhotep, Wilkinson (1837-1841, III, 135) records the cloth on the vertical loom having a colored border or selvedge. Artistic depictions all agree that the vertical loom has a rigid rectangular outer frame with fixed beams— not a warp-weighted loom. In the earliest depiction of the vertical loom (tomb of Djehutynefer), it is solely operated by men. In the latest representation from the reign of Ramses II, we see both men and women working the vertical looms (TT 133). All of these observations will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

3.1.3.3 The Warp-Weighted Loom

The question as to whether the warp-weighted loom was utilized in Egypt is ongoing mainly due to the implications. Warp-weighted looms are mainly used in wool-dominant cloth cultures and aid in tapestry weaves. If they were using such a loom, this would support the argument that the ancient Egyptians were utilizing more wool than that which is preserved in the funerary record (Sect. 3.1.1.2). To convincingly argue that the warp-weighted loom was used, one would look for loom weights—ceramic, stone, or other material weights that provide the tension on the warps. In western Asia and Europe, there are plenty of examples of loom weights, some even falling and being preserved in situ, making their use crystal clear. However, Egypt lacks such evidence. Many of the objects that could be classified as loom weights are usually typed as net weights or

sinkers for fishing. Objects made of unfired clay would lean towards a loom weight classification since they would not be durable enough for an aquatic environment. Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001) conclude that they do not feel warp-weighted looms were utilized by the Egyptians. Mourad (2021 314) records “objects akin to loom weights” appearing at a number of sites in northern Egypt: Tell el-Dab’a, Tell el-Maskhuta, Tell Hebwa I, ‘Ezbet Helmi, Tell el-Retaba, el-Lisht, Kom Rabi’a, and Tell el-Yahudiyah.

Sites that are near bodies of water make an argument for net weights or sinkers more viable, but the Workmen’s Village at Amarna is far from the water. However, that does not preclude them from creating and fixing nets for use along the riverbank. Additionally, many of the weights from the sites that Mourad (2021) listed do not have in situ contexts. Mourad notes that most of the weights from Tell el-Dab’a are surface finds. Additionally, the weights from Tell el-Retaba date to a Third Intermediate Period layer (Rzepka et al 2014, fig. 14). However, these are more convincingly loom weights since they were found next to a spindle whorl (though the shapes do not correspond to known types in the Levant of the Iron Age I; Boertien 2009).

The most convincing evidence for loom weights the author has found comes from Mace’s (1922, 75; fig. 1) excavations at el-Lisht. Mace found them “by the dozen” at el-Lisht made of mud and stone. The types shown in his Figure 1 also follow known types—variations of the horizontal perforated types. The fact that some of these weights were also of ‘mud’ makes their use as net weights or sinkers dubious since they would disintegrate in the water.

Overall, there still has not been a systematic study of all the evidence to convincingly show that warp-weighted looms were used in Egypt. I am of the opinion that they did, but only for specialized textiles or by peoples from different cloth cultures. It is foolish to assume that the large number of immigrants, forced or otherwise, into Egypt did not bring with them their ways of weaving. Now, whether that technology caught on enough to make itself manifest in the super elites’ tomb depictions in Thebes is another story altogether. Just as Mace (1922, 75) said over a hundred years ago, “Egyptologists have been strangely diffident about the loom weights that

have been found in Egypt; almost apologetic as though the weight were objects that had no right to be there and were for that reason to be ignored or explained away.”

3.1.3.4 Weave Types

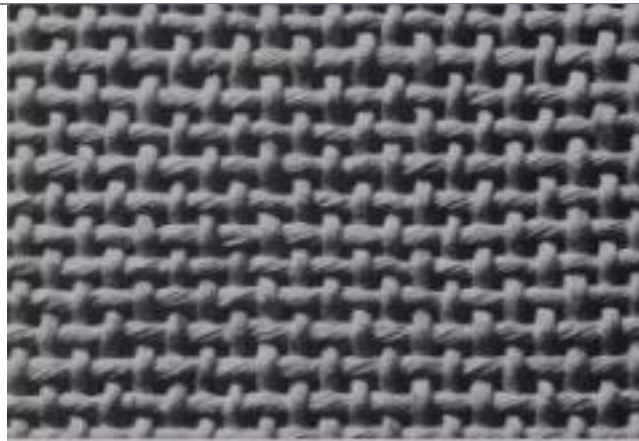
Pharaonic textiles tend to consist of ‘simple’ weaves—tabby or basket. It is not until the New Kingdom that we have evidence for other weave types like tapestry (weft-faced) or warp-faced, presumably introduced into Egypt with the vertical loom by cultures of west Asia.

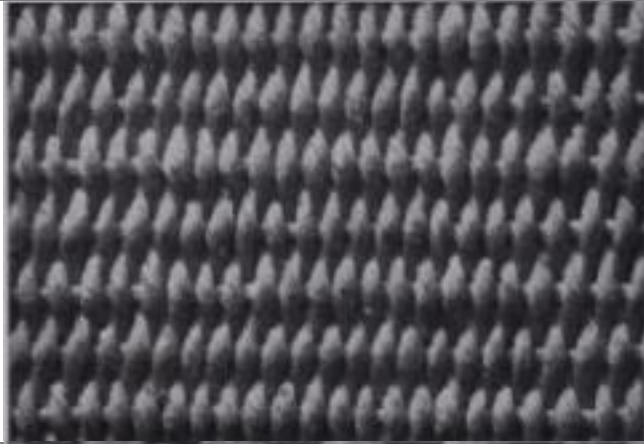


3.1.3.4.1 Simple Plain Weaves

The simplest weave type is known as plain weave (also called tabby, linen weave, taffeta weave, or checker weaver). This is the passing of one weft under alternatively over or under one warp. There are slight variations on this as well (after Emery 1995, figs. 85, 86, 87, 89; Table 3.3).

Table 3.3- Basic Weave Types

Balance plain weave



Warp-faced plain weave	
Weft-faced plain weave	
Basket weave	

The earliest sort of textile patterns we have in Egypt is not a change in weave type but a change in thread color or texture. Textured stripes are known from Tarkhan from the 1st Dynasty, while red- and blue-striped edges were found on cloth from the pyramid complex of Unas (Landi and Hall 1979; Riefstahl 1944). Later in the Middle Kingdom, there are examples of cloth with inlaid threads to create stripes, fuller weft-fringes, and weaver's marks (e.g., Winlock 1945). It is with the advent of the New Kingdom that we start to see experimentation weave patterning.

3.1.3.4.2 Supplemental Wefts

One way of creating a pattern is to insert discontinuous, supplementary non-floating pattern wefts during the weaving process (Emery 1995, 140; Fig. 3.12). This is less intensive than a true tapestry weave but would leave floating weft threads throughout.

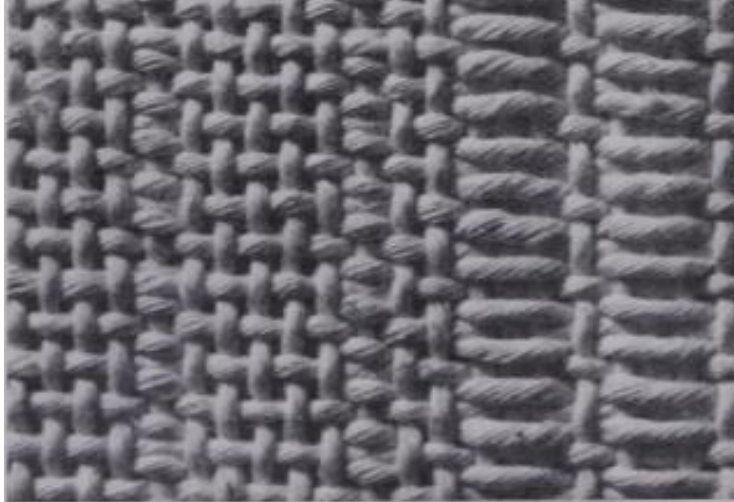


Fig. 3.12- Example of supplemental weft threads (Emery 1996, fig. 223)

An example of this is the fourth fragment found in the tomb of Thutmosis IV mentioned below (Carter and Newberry 1904). Many of the so-called weaver's marks are actually supplemental threads. We can see it on the cloths from the tombs of Maiherpri, Kha, and Tutankhamun (Daressy 1902, 58; Schiaparelli 1927; Riefstahl 1944). From the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer, extra thick wefts laid over multiple sheds to create a long "hairpin" snaking-type design (MMA 36.3.95; Fig. 3.13). Many of these are white-on-white additional designs.

In the New Kingdom, we also start to see supplemental dyed wefts being added to either color or stripes to a cloth. One of Tutankhamun's tunics have additional wefts of blue and brown weft threads to create alternating stripes with natural linen in between (JE62656; Barber 1992, fig. 5.8). Around the edge is a band with two alternating hieroglyphs also done through supplemental wefts in the shapes of ducks and geese.

3.1.3.4.3 Loops or Pile Weave

Another weave technique is known as loop or pile weave, where either loops or pile are added during the weaving process to produce a “shaggy” cloth, which would have been warmer, cushioned, and/or more absorbent. Most examples of this type seem to have been used for furnishing covers or seat covers. The tomb of Kha and Merit provide key examples of these (S.8521; S.8528; S.8529; S.8519=f; S.8520; Fig. 3.14).

Examples are also known from the Workmen’s Village at Amarna (Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 149). Winlock uncovered a few examples in the Deir el-Bahri region, one now in the Cairo Museum which not only has looping but also has the loops form a zig-zag pattern and stripes of different lengths (1945, 32; 1942, 206, pl. 37).



Fig. 3.13- Fragments of a sheet inscribed with the name of Neferure from the tomb of Hatnofer and Ramose with supplemental wefts to create a subtle border striping (MMA 36.3.149)

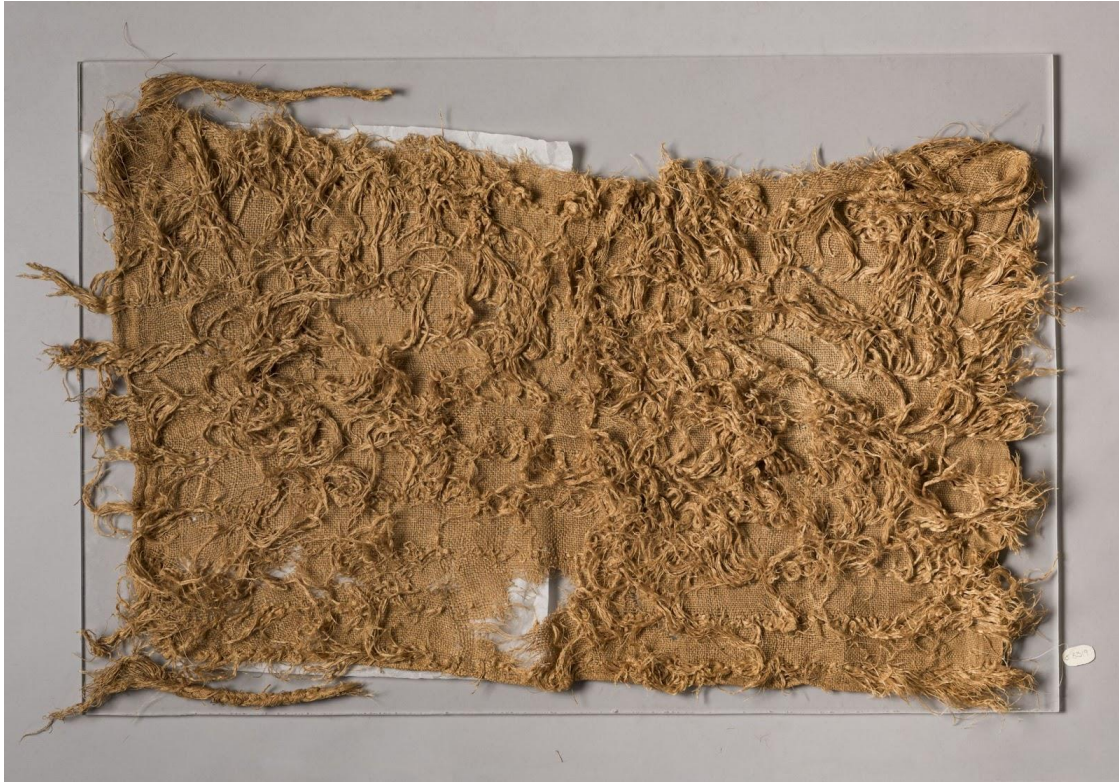


Fig. 3.14-Seat Covering with pile weave from tomb of Kha and Merit (Turin S.8519=f)

3.1.3.4.4 Tapestry Weave (Weft-faced weaves)

Tapestry weaves mosaic-like patterning with discontinuous wefts in a weft-faced weave (Emery 1995, 78). Tapestry weaving usually involves packing the weft threads so tightly that warps are completely covered. Tapestry weaves can be slit, dovetail, or interlocking. These all reference how the weaver changed over to a new thread or color.

There are a number of examples of tapestry-woven textiles extant, most coming from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Given that Tutankhamun's tomb is the only tomb that was preserved to us mostly intact, it is hard to know how representative it is of a king's burial assemblage (Lacovara 2022). Regardless of whether Tutankhamun's assemblage was an amalgamation of multiple Amarna royals, tapestry-woven textiles are still in a relatively low percentage to indicate their high relative value.

Some of the earliest tapestry-woven textiles were found in the tomb of Thutmosis IV, numbering four fragments in total (Carter and Newberry 1904, 144; Figs. 3.15 and 3.16). The first piece is labeled as a fragment of a robe of Amenhotep II, which features a border of lotus flowers preserved on the left side in colors of red, blue, and green. The background of the fragment is composed of open lotus flowers and closed papyrus buds in red, blue, yellow, brown, and black. To the left of this floral background is a large cartouche with the praenomen of Amenhotep II with two uraei wearing the crowns of upper and lower Egypt along the left and right side of the cartouche. Below is a large *nbw* sign worked in red, blue, green, and yellow threads. Above the cartouche are the glyphs *ntr nfr nb h'w*.

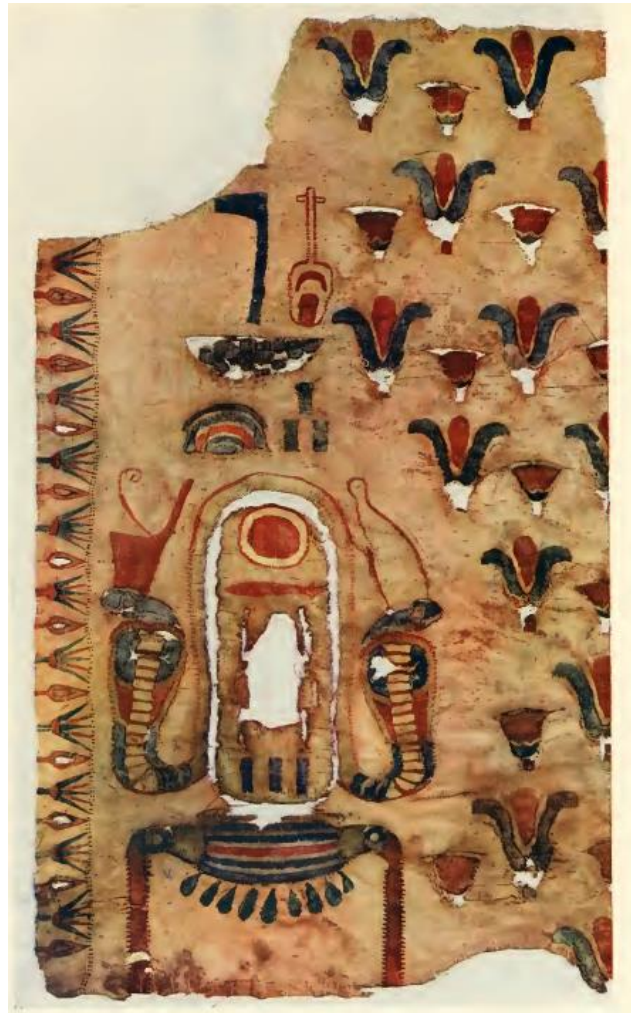


Fig. 3.15-One of the tapestry woven pieces found in the Tomb of Thutmose IV (Carter & Newberry 1904, pl. 1)

All four fragments were found in Chamber 3 of the tomb, a side chamber to the main burial, arguably their original burial location. Given that two of the pieces bear the cartouches of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II (the grandfather and father, respectively, of Thutmosis IV), it can be assumed that they are valuable heirloom pieces; these two pieces being over 50 years old at burial. In both the Carter and Newberry (1904) and Hall (2001 [1986]) publications, the fragments are discussed as parts of ritual garments, but that has no support. The fragmentary nature of the pieces does not support their function. I am assuming the aforementioned authors argue for ceremonial robes based on later comparanda from the tomb of Tutankhamun.



Fig. 3.16-Another example of tapestry weaving from the tomb of Thutmose IV (© Jordan Galczynski)

The tomb of Kha and Merit, who were buried during the reign of Amenhotep III, contains three pieces of tapestry-woven textiles. The first object (S.8530) is a highly well-preserved tunic with a tapestry-woven collar, sides, bottom, and armholes. The other two examples are of furnishing covers, seat-covers in Kha's case. The tunic is composed of plain heavier linen with a decorated border along on the bottom sides, around the arm holes, and around the collar. The decorative band is made of stripes of red-brown-red. Along the collar there appears to be some sort of decorative pattern in the middle brown segment. The bands are expertly attached to the body of the tunic so as to look as if they were woven as one. Riefstahl (1944, 22) argues that the collar and bands are not true tapestry but instead are a warp-faced weave similar to the Senenmut saddlecloth and Ramses girdle (see below). I have only been able to visually inspect the garment through the vitrine, and it remains unclear whether it is warp or weft faced. Considering this, I have chosen to keep it in the tapestry section.

The other two pieces are clearly tapestry-woven (S.8528; S.8529; Fig. 3.17). Both are seat covers with internal rectangles of loops or pile that would have added to the comfortability of the seat cover. The first (S.8528) has lotus blossoms and buds woven in dark red or brown thread. The other (S.8529) has lotus blossoms and buds in dark red/brown and blue. On both pieces, between the flowers are horizontal bands of blue and brown. The use of tapestry or other complex weaves for furnishings, belts, or for areas of increased wear—like the collars and borders—would seem to indicate that the Egyptians understood the method to increase durability of the fabric and used it not only for aesthetic purposes.

The tapestry-woven textiles from the tomb of Tutankhamun display the apogee of the New Kingdom Egyptian faced weaves (Table 3.4). Many of these garments are the only representative of such in the Egyptian context and provide a wealth of information for textile researchers. For complete discussion of this material, see Crowfoot 1941, Pfister 1937, Germer 1992, and Vogelsang-Eastwood 1997. The best preserved and published objects will be discussed here.



Fig. 3.17- Tapestry woven seat cover from the tomb of Kha and Merit (Turin S.8529; Creative Commons)

Table 3.4- Textiles from Tutankhamun's Tomb that exhibit a faced weave to some degree		
Carter No.	Accession Number	Description
O21m	JE62642	Tapestry woven garment
O21o	JE62642	Collar band
O21v	Temp. 29.3.34.72	Fragmentary tapestry woven cloth
O21x	JE62641	Fragmentary tapestry woven cloth
O21aa	JE62640	Collar band
O21cc	Temp. 29.3.32.03	Head covering
O21ff	JE62645	Belt
O21gg	JE62646	Belt
O46bb	-	Quiver
O46cc	JE62674	Glove
O48x	JE61570	Quiver

050a	JE62656	Tunic
050u	JE62669	Gauntlet
054a	-	Fragment of a tapestry woven cloth
054f	Temp. 29.3.3405	Tapestry woven garment
054p	-	Fragment of a band
092g	Temp. 30.3.34.16	Gauntlet
100f	JE62647	Belt
367f	JE62675	Gloves
367i	JE62625	Tunic
367j	JE62626	“Syrian” Tunic

*Note: Faced weave was used here since the weave structure of some of the items (especially the collar and belts) are unclear. For the following discussion, only garments that are clearly tapestry woven will be discussed.

Gloves (JE62674, JE62675): Many of the garments placed in Tutankhamun’s tomb revolve around his engagement in chariotry and hunting activities. Gloves and gauntlets reflect this, but it also should be noted that gloves might have also been used in ritual activities as well. One glove (JE62674) is composed of two pieces of tapestry-woven cloth cut to shape and sewn together with a strip of plain weave linen. The pattern consists of a *rishi* feather-like design with a triangular- and circular-shaped design at the bottom border. The next pair of gloves (JE62675; Fig. 3.18) is similarly constructed with a feather pattern of colored threads with a bottom border of pomegranates and lotus buds.

Quivers (JE61570, O46bb; Fig. 3.19): Tutankhamun had a number of quivers in his burial assemblage, and a couple of them were done in a tapestry weave. The first one, JE61570, is composed of alternating bands of tapestry-woven cloth with plain, coarsely woven linen culminating in a leather bottom. The tapestry design consists of varying plant designs from lotus flowers, buds, and leaves. The other quiver (O46bb) that was apparently never accessioned was made of a series of zig-zag decorative bands in various colors.

Duck Tunic (JE62656 Fig. 3.20): This garment consists of a yellow-dyed base linen with two tapestry-woven bands of flying ducks in green across the chest. There are another two bands at the bottom and along each side with walking duck or geese, outlines only. On the back, a similar band is across the shoulders, down the sides, and at the bottom. At intervals down the shirt, there are inwoven stripes of green and dark brown thread.

Blue and Red Rosette Tunic (JE62625; 3.21): This tunic is of a tapestry-woven fabric with inwoven ornamentation of different colors with a long bottom fringe. The base of the tunic is blue with decoration consisting of a vulture hieroglyph at the back of the neck, a rosette pattern at mid-back, side borders of stripes and flower buds, a bottom border of lotus buds and *wadjet*-eyes, cartouches at breast level, and a middle strip of glyphs and cartouches across the front. The garment was also covered in rosettes across the fabric.



Fig. 3.18-Linen gloves (JE62675) (photo by Kenneth Garrett)

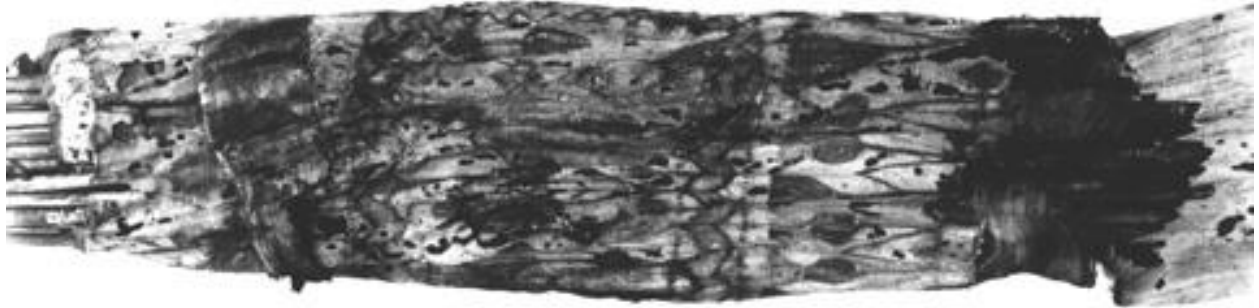


Fig. 3.19- Tapestry woven quiver (JE61570; Reproduced with permission of Griffith Institute, Oxford University)

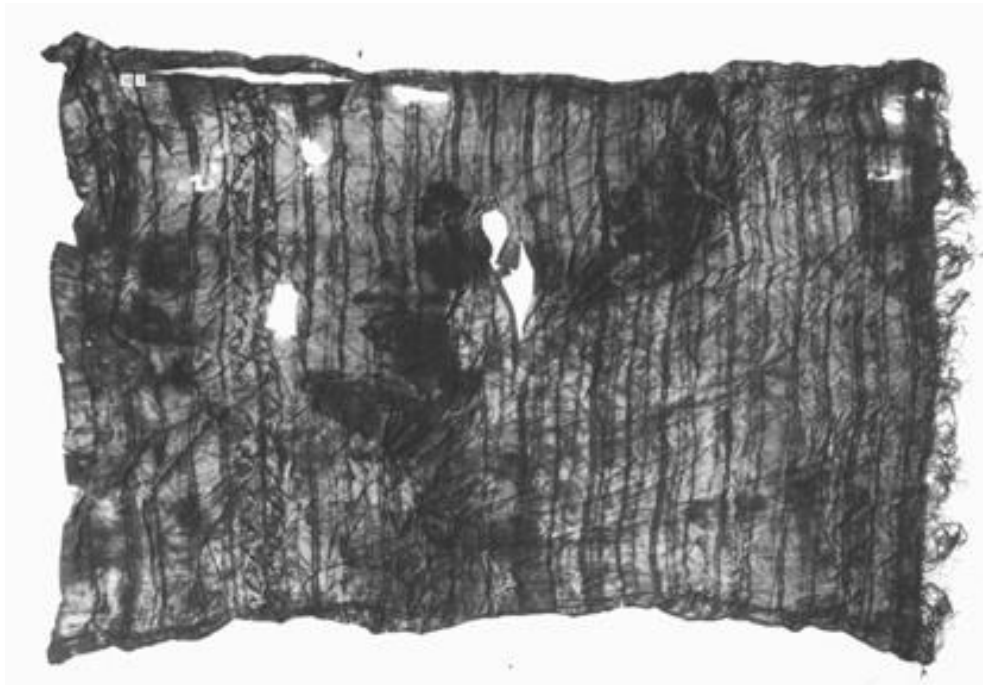


Fig. 3.20- the so-called Duck Tunic (JE 62656; Reproduced with permission of Griffith Institute, Oxford University)

The “Syrian” Tunic (JE62626): A possibly tapestry-woven textile comes from the tomb of Nefertari (QV66) found by Schiaparelli (Museo Egizio S.5155). From the photograph, the piece appears to be tapestry-woven and possibly double-faced, similar to the Ramses III girdle. Without further investigation, any other conclusions are impossible. Daressy (1902) lists three tapestry-woven textiles in the *Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois—24987, 24988, and 24989* with plates of the objects. The second (24988) appears Coptic in date and will be discarded from this discussion.

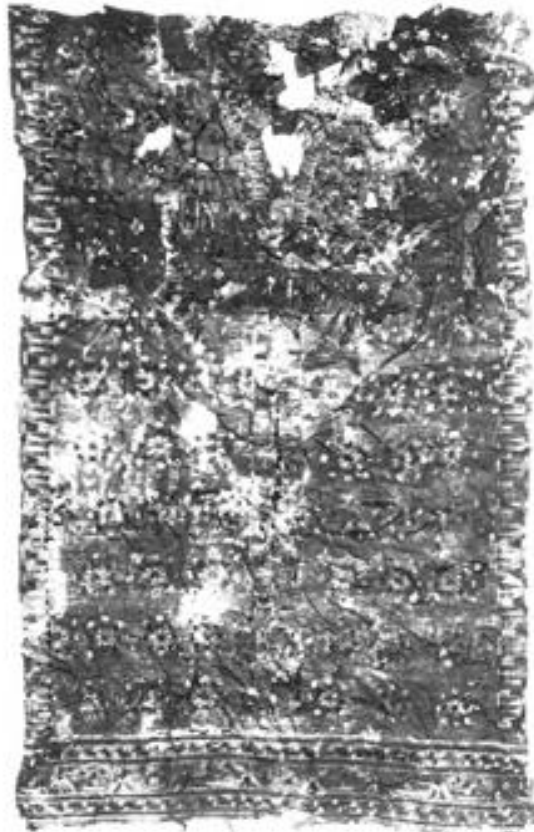


Fig. 3.21-Blue and Red Rosette Tunic (JE 62625; Reproduced with permission of Griffith Institute, Oxford University)

The first (24987) is described by Daressy as a piece of fabric that may have been used as a carpet or curtain. It is unclear how he came to that conclusion. Daressy describes the piece as having partially preserved glyphs in a vertical column as well as tapestry-woven prisoners with

hands tied behind their backs with a large arch under each one. He notes that each prisoner had a different costume, but none are preserved in full to identify them at all. At the bottom there are multicolored bands of rectangles in different colors in the order of blue, green, blue, and red (1902, 302). It is hard to make out much from the image provided, beside the fact that it looks very similar to the Thutmose IV examples. The other piece (24989) is a fragment of a sash, reminiscent of examples from Tutankhamun's tomb. Daressy describes this piece as a strip with a narrow border with purification vases outlined in blue. Above each vase are some glyphs also traced in blue (Daressy 1902, 303). Without updated photographs or a visual inspection of these pieces, it is difficult to say anything further beside their similarity to New Kingdom examples. Daressy does not provide dates for these pieces nor any provenance information.

The latest example recently uncovered by the University of Basel's Kings' Valley Project working in KV 31 is a colored tapestry-woven piece with the cartouche of Ramses III, now in the Luxor Museum (Bickel 2018; Fig. 3.22). Bickel and his team argue that the piece 'fell' into the tomb at some point, probably during a looting in antiquity, since everything else in the tomb dates to the 18th Dynasty. The piece shows a border along the bottom edge of chevrons in red and blue and the left areas of a grid of red and blue squares. In the middle is the cartouche of Ramses III—*nṯr nfr ḥkḥ [////]r' mss ḥk' ḥwnw dt* in a variety of colored threads. Above this is a partial Nekhbet-vulture holding a *shen*-ring in feathers of both red and blue. The piece is yet to be published, so further information is lacking. The piece is very similar in appearance to the earlier Thutmose IV examples with discontinuous wefts (a.k.a. tapestry slips), visible in the now separated areas. Why they chose not to interconnect their wefts is intriguing. One supposition is that it is easier to get the angled shapes of the hieroglyphs without interconnecting your weft threads.

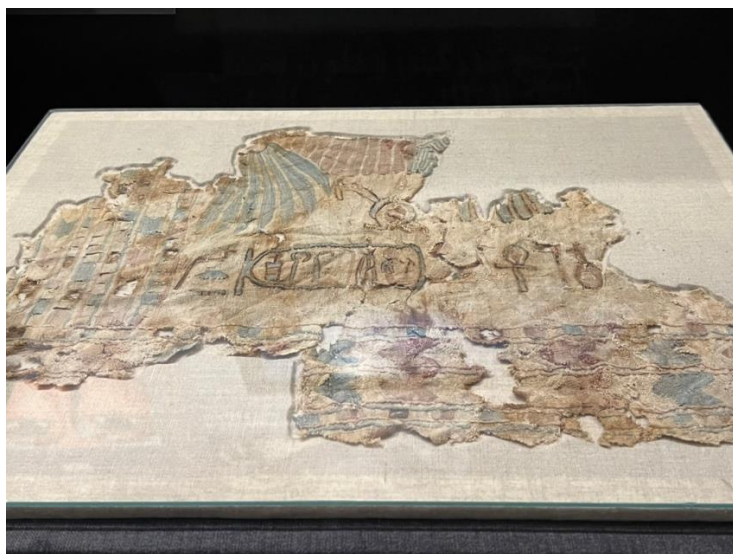


Fig. 3.22- Recently excavated tapestry woven textile with the cartouche of Ramses III (Luxor Museum; © Jordan Galczynski)

3.1.3.4.5 Warp-Faced Weaves

Another complex weave type is warp-faced weaves where the warp threads completely cover and decide the design. This is usually seen with belts or sashes. It is hard to tell on weave types, especially warp- versus weft-faced weaves, if the textile is fragmentary or only examined through photographs, or by a non-expert. Within the Egyptological literature, there is much misuse of “tapestry” to mean any textile with an in-woven pattern, but we should distinguish between the two types. Of warp-faced weave, we have but only two clear examples from Egypt.

Dating to the reign of Ramses III is the so-called Ramses Girdle (M11156; Fig. 3.22), now housed in the World Museum, National Museums Liverpool. This is the only example of its kind (except a possible saddlecloth braid from the tomb of Senenmut) because of both its girdle-form and the unique warp-faced double-weave structure. The method of construction has been highly debated since its discovery, with some arguing for tablet weaving (Barber 1992; Staudigel 1961), others against (Roth and Crowfoot 1923), and most recently (with which I concur) for a double-weave technique (Collingwood 1982). Double-weave produces a fabric with two separate layers connected by interlacing weft threads. The weaver simultaneously weaves two separate layers of fabric on the loom at the same time to achieve a two-faced cloth. Belts or sashes, like this piece,

are often done in this manner because double-faced weaves are stronger and more durable than a single face.



Fig. 3.22- Close-up of the warp-faced weave of the Ramses Girdle (Liverpool M.11156; ©National Museums Liverpool)

Crowfoot demonstrated that the piece could be woven on a horizontal ground loom, which she reconstructed, and estimated would take months to weave (1923; first argued by Lee 1913). From other cultural contexts, warp-faced double-weaves are often performed on simple horizontal ground looms. The piece is 5.2 meters in length with the cartouche of Ramses III written in ink on both sides, though now almost not visible to the naked eye. The sash consists of a pattern of zigzags, dots, and rows of ankh-signs in five colors—blue, red, yellow, green, and natural linen. It uses an exceeding number of warp-threads—counted at 1689, with the borders consisting of 657. The double-faced nature of the sash is difficult to weave. Having done experimental archaeology weaving double-faced textiles, it requires much skill and expertise as well as a lot of mathematics to keep your weave pattern correct and organized on both faces. The ‘girdle’ corresponds to depictions of Ramses III wearing a similar long sash wrapped around his torso in a herringbone-like fashion, usually in military scenes, like the example from the tomb of Amenherkhepeshef (QV 55).

As for the saddlecloth of Senenmut, which was found upside down on the mummified horse remains outside of TT71, it is also of a “compound” cloth with a geometric pattern formed of colored warp threads. Hayes records “the underside of the saddle was reinforced and at the

same time decorated by another tape with an intricately woven colored pattern” (1937, 10; fig. 14). The saddlecloth resembles the horses on both Thutmosis IV’s chariot-body (Wreszinski 1935, pl. 1) and Tutankhamun’s painted wooden box. This strap of the saddle cloth highly resembles the Ramses III girdle, but without visual analysis I am not able to confirm it is of a double-weave structure. However, given the military-affiliated nature of both these cloths—military paraphernalia for both man and horse—I would argue for a possible non-Egyptian origin to the technique or even the pieces themselves. Indeed, the Amarna Letter EA 22 records the gifting of sashes of red dyed wool from Mitanni to Egypt (EA 22; Moran 1992). Horses were first imported into Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period (Mourad 2021, 231; Wegner 2021). With the introduction of horses, the necessary equipment like saddle cloths, bridles, etc. would have also been imported. The incorporation of the horse and chariot might have been a complete package with the associated weaving technology adopted at the same time to continue to make the associated horse’s kit, later being adapted to make other types of sashes like the later king’s girdle.

Many of the tunics from Tutankhamun’s tomb have applied bands of a complex weave of some sort (21aa, 44r, 46gg, 50d, 50h, 50o, 50p, 101f, 101p). They have not been studied by a proper textile specialist for the exact weave type to be clear. Carter and team describe them as “braided bands.” The “braided” description might refer to a double-faced weave of some sort that then was sewn onto the base linen garment. At the very least, the bands were a faced weave of some sort since they are portraying a pattern. Given the bands’ width, a warp-faced weave makes the most sense. Double-faced weaves are known from other cultures of the eastern Mediterranean. In the *Iliad*, Homer recounts that the cloth Helen weaves is a *diplox*, which has been translated to mean a double-faced weave (Nagy in Fitzgerald 1992). The double-faced weaves are also known from cultures further east from much later periods and become prevalent in Coptic textiles.



Fig. 3.23- a unique warp-faced textiles fragment (T.251-1921; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

The only piece of complex or tapestry-woven textile found outside of a royal context is a patterned cloth now found at the Victoria and Albert Museum (T.251-1921; Fig. 3.23). It is believed to be a furnishing covering similar to those represented in Amarna art and was gifted to the museum by Howard Carter, him having found it in a tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna—the Tombs of the Nobles. There is no further information available and without an in-person inspection the exact weaving technique is unclear but would appear to be tapestry-woven from the photographs. Given the unclear provenance of this piece, I would still argue that these weave types were either restricted to the royal family or were so expensive that only royals could afford to commission such pieces. Another idea that will be explored later is whether these pieces were made outside of Egypt by west Asian cultures and gifted to the Egyptian king, ones with evidence of warp-weighted looms and experience with tapestry weaves.

3.1.3.4.6 A Note on Beadwork

An ongoing problem of squaring archaeological textiles with two-dimensional depictions is decorated or patterned garments. We can see depictions of elaborately patterned garments in temple and tomb settings, yet we never find such garments in the archaeological record (beside the Tutankhamun examples above). Nancy Arthur Hoskins in publications (2011, 2021) and a conference presentation (ARCE 2022) has argued that the depicted decorated garments were woven. Being a skilled textile artist herself, she even wove the patterns to prove the fact. Beside the fact that they could, there is no other evidence to support this argument. I argue that we have a better option already at hand to understand these decorated garments—beadwork (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5- Tutankhamun's garments with applied beadwork		
Carter Number	Accession Number (if given)	Description
021d	JE62634/5	Decorated Tunic
021t	JE62631/2	Leopard-skin cloak
021cc	Temp. 29.3.32.03	Head covering
044q	JE62629/30	Leopard-skin cloak
044t	Temp. 29.3.34.02	Decorated Tunic
044w	JE62653	Decorated Tunic
101p	JE62639	Decorated Tunic
256.4t	JE62699	Beadwork skullcap
367i	JE62625	Tapestry woven tunic with applique
547a	-	Beadwork cap

As presented, there are a number of garments that had varying degrees of applied beadwork, from minor decoration like JE62639 which has applied gold discs around the neck opening and on the attached panel added to the bottom of the garments, to major appliqué constructions like Carter nos. 021d, 044t, 044w, and 367i. Carter No. 021d is a tunic elaborately

decorated with beadwork and gold sequins. Border bands of tiny glass disc beads of white, green, yellow, red, and blue were arranged in a zig-zag pattern. The body of the garments was covered in beads and sequins attached to the linen base. Carter No. 021t is a faux leopard-skin cloak which would have been worn for priestly duties. Instead of the leopard spots, however, small gold stars are sewn onto the garment base. This is duplicated by Carter No. 044q which also has a body covered in appliqué stars, discs, and cartouches. Carter No. 021cc is a head-covering of some sort representing a protective bird with its wings hanging down the sides. On the body of the garment are sewn gold discs. Carter No. 044t is another ornamental tunic with sleeves. A bottom border with long fringe and applied gold sequins is attached. The body of the garment has a series of rosettes applied.

Next, Carter No. 044w (Figs. 3.24 and 3.25) is the most elaborate beadwork garment from Tutankhamun's entire mortuary assemblage. The linen base of the tunic was so delicate that Carter was not able to save it. But his team was able to record how the beadwork decoration was prior to removal. The body of the garment was composed of a network of diamond shapes, made up of long cylindrical beads with smaller double cylindrical beads. In the center of each diamond was a gold rosette. The bottom border was composed of a series of beadwork drop pendants that were attached to the base linen. Faience plaques with the king's cartouche were also sewn onto the bottom border. A reconstruction of this piece was done by Vogelsang-Eastwood (Fig. 3.25). There were even whole beadwork objects like the beadwork cap (547a) and skullcap that was found on the body of Tutankhamun (JE62699).

Given that many of the linen bases turned to dust once touch, one wonders how many other applied beadwork garments might have existed but whose linen decayed and left only a mass of beads for excavators to then reconstruct as a pectoral or other piece of jewelry instead of garment appliqué work. The option is also available that the depictions are not meant to reflect actual garments but are amalgamations of garment techniques and pattern styles. Giving a goddess a garment that is so beyond the realm of possibility would reflect her elevated standing.

Given this evidence from the tomb of Tutankhamun, the likelihood of elaborate patterned garments in temple and tomb depictions being applied beadwork is more probable than them all being very complex weave types.



Fig 3.24-Left: Remnants of Carter No. 44w (© Jordan Galczynski)

Fig. 3.25-Right: Reconstruction of the garment; Part of TRC-led project on the study of Tutankhamun's wardrobe. Photograph courtesy Textile Museum of Sweden (Vogelsang-Eastwood with the help of Jolanda Bos)

3.1.3.5 Summary

Looms and strategies of weaving are instructive for investigations into the types of industry occurring, who is laboring, and cultural interactions as evidenced by the adoption of the vertical loom and tapestry weaves post-Second Intermediate Period. The horizontal loom first makes its appearance in the Badarian Period but is presumably older. The vertical loom first appears in the New Kingdom, an adoption from western Asia. The interactions between loom types are unclear. Was the horizontal loom replaced by the vertical? Was a certain type used more in a

household setting versus industrialized zones like temple workshops? Who was the weaver who worked these devices? All of such will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1.4 Post-Processing

3.1.4.1 Dyeing and Bleaching

As mentioned above, dyeing or bleaching could occur at various stages in the textile process. The ‘fastness’ of dyes is of interest here. Given that we know the Egyptians engage in laundering of their clothes, many of these dyed textiles would have not stood up to water or light. One argument is that dyed textiles were solely for a burial context where they would not be subject to either element (Huebner 1909, 225); alternatively, textiles were repeatedly dyed for an occasion. The first argument is interesting given the nature of tomb depictions where everyone is wearing bleached white garments. If the argument is that the color white has special ideological significance, then why would dyed textiles only be found in a funerary context? Certain other colors are known to have ritual significance or protective elements, like red, which might indicate their purpose in the tomb as shrouds, for example. The other issue with both of these claims is that we have many textiles from Tutankhamun’s tomb which are dyed linen and are claimed to have been from his childhood based on their size. Presumably, these were used in life and later put in the tomb after he died. Pfister (1937) did find large amounts of aluminum and calcium on the colored linens from his tomb, which he argued were early mordants. This has not been confirmed by more recent analysis. Aluminum or calcium salts would make a cloth somewhat fast but not boil fast. It is unclear whether the Egyptians used boiling water when laundering their clothes. Mentions of laundering being down on the river shore (*Teachings of Dua-Khety*) implies the use of cold river water. If they were not washing that frequently nor using boiling water, the dye would have lasted longer. Based on textual documents, Hall and Janssen (1985) found that undergarments were washed more frequently than outer with outer garments being more likely to have been dyed. Barber (1992) ultimately settles that the

Egyptians had some form of mordant that we have yet to concretely observe, most probably lime, potash, or alum. Assyrian texts mention alum specifically as a mordant for dyeing, and Neo-Babylonian texts mention the importation of alum from Egypt. Much later, Pliny mentions Egypt as having the best alum sources (*Nat. Hist.* 35.52, 183-4).

Bleaching was performed to obtain a pure white that was both socially and ideologically valued. This was also linked with cleanliness and laundry since the natron used to clean the clothes would have also bleached them (Hall 2001 [1986]). Garments would have been laid out in the sun after washing to finish their bleaching by UV radiation. Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, 159) lists natron along with potash, soapwort, or ammonia from urine as possible bleaching agents. It is hard to tell on archaeological textiles if they were bleached due to the degradation of time. Vogelsang-Eastwood sent a small sample of twenty-three textiles to be analyzed with nine coming back with evidence of bleaching. The textiles all came from the Workmen's Village where the individuals were not of an elite status, further the supposition that bleached linen was a luxury of the elites and royalty.

3.1.4.2 Embroidery

Many textiles are misidentified as having embroidery given the lack of textile knowledge of most excavators. Just glancing through the inventory cards of the Carter Archive now at the Griffith Institute makes this clear. The excavator employs terms like “added in,” “sewn in,” and “stitched in” for many objects. Were these true embroidery, supplemental threads, or appliqué? In many cases, without seeing the objects in person, we cannot know for sure. Following Barber (1982), there is only one piece that clearly indicates the use of embroidery—the so-called Syrian Tunic of Tutankhamun. This tunic will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6 but suffice it to say that it is the tunic's border containing embroidered scenes. Barber concludes that embroidery was a way of decorated fabric that was not typical of Egyptian workmanship and indicates either

weavers of foreign background, an imported garment, or Egyptian weavers trained in a foreign technique.

3.1.4.3 Beadwork and Appliqué

Beadwork and appliqué are other techniques that added decoration to garments that might otherwise have been “plain.” Appliqué refers to the stitching of another often-decorated piece of fabric to a base cloth. Beadwork refers to the stitching of beads to a base cloth. Oftentimes the term appliqué is used in reference to beadwork as well and not solely to the joining of two fabric pieces. As discussed earlier in Section 3.2.3.4.6, Tutankhamun has many examples of beadwork and applied borders as well. I will speak to the examples that were not covered in that section now.

Again, as with many of the other post-processing techniques, many of these appear restricted to the royal family since we have no non-royal examples. There are a couple votive cloths with beadwork (Victoria & Albert 730-1907; 729-1907). Perhaps there is a clear ideological function to the beadwork since they appear on votive cloths, depictions of the gods, and on kingly ceremonial wear.

3.1.4.4 Cutting, Hemming, and Stitching

Most of the Egyptian garments were wrap-around and not cut-to-sewn. However, there are some consistent types of clothing that are cut-to-sewn. One of the most important uses of cutting which will be discussed in the next chapter was in cloth reuse and repurposing. Given the long amount of time and labor that went into the production of each textile, none would ever go to waste. From textual evidence, textiles were used and used until threadbare.⁴

⁴ *išw* meaning “rag” derived from *iš*, “old.” See also O. Varille 019. This is also known from the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, 7, 11: “See, those who owned robes are in rags” (Janssen 2008, 71, 78).

Triangular Loincloths: From the multitude of loincloths from both the tombs of Kha and Merit and Tutankhamun, all were made in the same method. All triangular loincloths are constructed from a rectangular piece of fabric that has been cut into triangle, flipped around, and sewn.

- Gloves: Each glove would be cut from a piece of cloth and then sewn together with a strip of linen along the whole edge. Examples from the tomb of Tutankhamun include JE62673, JE62672, JE62675, JE62670, and JE62674.
- Sleeves: Sleeves were constructed separately from the body of a garment and were later attached. Sleeves were cut from pieces of cloth and sewn down an edge (Carter No. 044jj; JE62626).

Hemming and stitching were further modifications (Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 283; 2001, 172). Certain patterns of hem and stitch styles are discernible. Loincloths always employed a rolled and whipped hem along the sides where it would rub on the legs, simple hem along the top edge, and a lap over seam to join the two-triangular piece down the middle. Tunics, too, incorporated simple seams mainly while sleeves use a rolled and fell seam. It would seem that rolled hems and seams are used in areas where there would be more tension and friction on the fabric.

3.1.4.5 Other Modifications

A major modification of cloth that was performed throughout pharaonic history was pleating (the famous pleated dresses of the Early Dynastic Period in the Museo Egizio and Petrie Museum; MMA 25.3.258). Pleats could be produced via a few methods. All would be performed post-laundering while the cloth is damp. The first would be to simply twist the cloth and let it dry. Due to the chemical composition of the cellulose in linen, it is known to wrinkle easily (Gocek, Erdem, and Ackigoz 2013). The pleats that would be achieved in this manner would be more 'accordion' in form and less regular than other methods. Modern weavers in Ethiopia

perform a similar pleating method for outer coverings. Depictions of laundry scenes could show this process. From the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan, we can see launderers twisting cloth on a pole (Newberry 1893, pl. XXIX). Above the scene is the caption *if* meaning to wring, twist, or squeeze. The verb is only used for clothing or grapes, seeming to emphasize the expulsion of fluids from the items. These scenes also might be interpreted as the washers wringing out the laundry as well. But perhaps the pleating arose as a byproduct of the wringing and was aesthetically appealing and purposefully kept.

Another tomb scene furthers the argument that twist cloth was set to dry to produce pleats. The scene (S.1344/1; Fig. 3.26) now on display at the Museo Egizio di Torino shows a launderer handing over twists of cloth to a woman. Some of the clothes laid below also appear dyed. To the left of that woman (S.1344/2) appears another woman who is holding a pleated, wrinkled cloth. This provides rather definitive evidence for the use of the first method.

The other method could be done either by hand or mechanically using a pleating board. An individual could gather up sections of the cloth and fold them accordion style to achieve regular even pleats. Hall argues that the tomb of Ipuy shows a man sitting on a stool pleating the garment hanging above him on the line (Hall 2001 [1986], 52). The same could be achieved using a pleating board that has grooves carved into the wood where the cloth could be pressed into the indentations to achieve the same look (BM35908; Turino 635-636). Hall (2001 [1986], 52) performed the process herself and achieved evenly spaced pleating but cautions that it only works on very fine quality linen.

How the pleats were retained is unclear, and many scholars have published many hypotheses over the years. It was always assumed that some type of starch was used, much like today where starch is used to stiffen the collars of dress shirts (Jones 2014; Riefstahl & Chapman 1970). Some archaeological examples also have stitching present to secure the pleats (Hall 2001, 52). It was not until recently, however, that scientific analyses have provided proof. A new recent study by Poulin, Paulocik, and Veall (2022) found the presence of carbohydrates

on a number of pleated textiles dated to the 12th Dynasty. The presence of two polysaccharides supports the supposition that the pleats in the cloths were reinforced and stabilized through the use of applied solutions of starch and plant gum (Poulin, Paulocik, and Veall 2022, 17).



Fig. 3.26- Laundry scene (Museo Egizio di Torino S.134/1-2)

3.1.4.6 Summary

The textile production process did not stop after the fabric came off the loom. In fact, further modifications were often made—in many cases adding further value to the object through the dyeing of the fabric, adding beadwork or appliqué, or through the creation of specific garment types like loincloths and other cut-to-shape clothing. The dyeing process is still significantly understudied for the pharaonic contexts, specifically the methods of dyeing and the provenance of dyestuffs and fasting salts. Last, many luxury garments would have included applied beadwork and appliqué that accounts for the multitudes of tomb depictions of elaborately

patterned garments that typically are not represented in the archaeological records due to the degradation of the textile base.

3.2 Words for Types of Cloth

There are a variety of ancient Egyptian words for textiles ranging from quality, condition, and type. What remains rather elusive is a direct modern translation for many of these terms. Fabric-related words almost always are determined by Gardiner V6. The determinative, however, is not helpful in conveying what type of cloth it is. Another complicating factor is the Egyptian propensity for untailed garments. A rectangular piece of cloth could be used in a number of ways—from a wrap-around garment during the day to your bedsheet at night. We must change our thinking from modern cut-to-fit garments constructed solely in a sartorially orientated way. How then can we investigate textile terms during the pharaonic period? To aid in this mission, we need examples and context. The most complete lexicographic study of textile terms was completed by Jac Janssen (2008). Janssen looked at textual evidence from Deir el-Medina to develop an equivalency system. Though many questions remain, some observations about the terminology used by the Egyptians are clear. This provides an understanding of how the Egyptian thought about their sartorial system, which in some cases differs greatly from other textile cultures (for a collated list of all words related to textile, see Appendix 4).

The first observation is that, given the profusion of plain weave linen, the greatest distinction in textile words is related to quality. At least ten different words exist to describe different grades of linen from threadbare, to fine, to royal (Table 3.6). Words related to condition are also plentiful, especially in relation to the reuse and repurposing of fabric. As evidenced by Deir el-Medina texts, a whole industry existed in relation to the reuse of old textiles into wicks and bandages.

Egyptian (in transliteration)	English Translation
<i>šht</i>	woven; (home?) woven
<i>n pr ʿ</i>	of the king
<i>nʿ</i>	smooth; cheapest quality
<i>šis</i>	six-weave thread
<i>šmʿ</i>	Thin
<i>šmʿ nfr</i>	Fine, good thin
<i>sšr nsw</i>	royal linen
<i>sg</i>	sackcloth (loanword; Hoch 1994, 269)
<i>hʿtyw</i>	fine, soft cloth; luxury (used in relation to garments of magically or funerary purposes)
<i>hmnī</i>	Eight-weave thread

Janssen (2008, 13; Fig. 3.27) charts which garment types appear most frequently with which qualities, which provides further support for certain garment translations (see Appendix 4). For example, *rwḏw* is usually listed as *nʿ* rather than *šmʿ* which Janssen (2008, 13) links to its translation as a shawl, a fabric you would want to be coarser and more protective.

One criterion you would assume would be helpful is prices. But, as Janssen has shown, the price lists actually confuse matters more. One would assume that the more fabric used in a garment the more it would cost, but the Deir el-Medina evidence contradicts this. For example, if we translate *mss* as “tunic” and *sdw* as “loincloth,” then loincloths cost two to three times more than tunics as evidenced from the textual record. Was the price difference based on the quality of the material instead on the volume? However, O.IFAO 764 records a *dīw*-garment in both *nʿ* and *šmʿ* qualities, costing the same amount. Thinking about prices with a more industrialized, capitalist mindset obfuscates the Egyptian evidence.

Frequency of Quality versus Garment Type

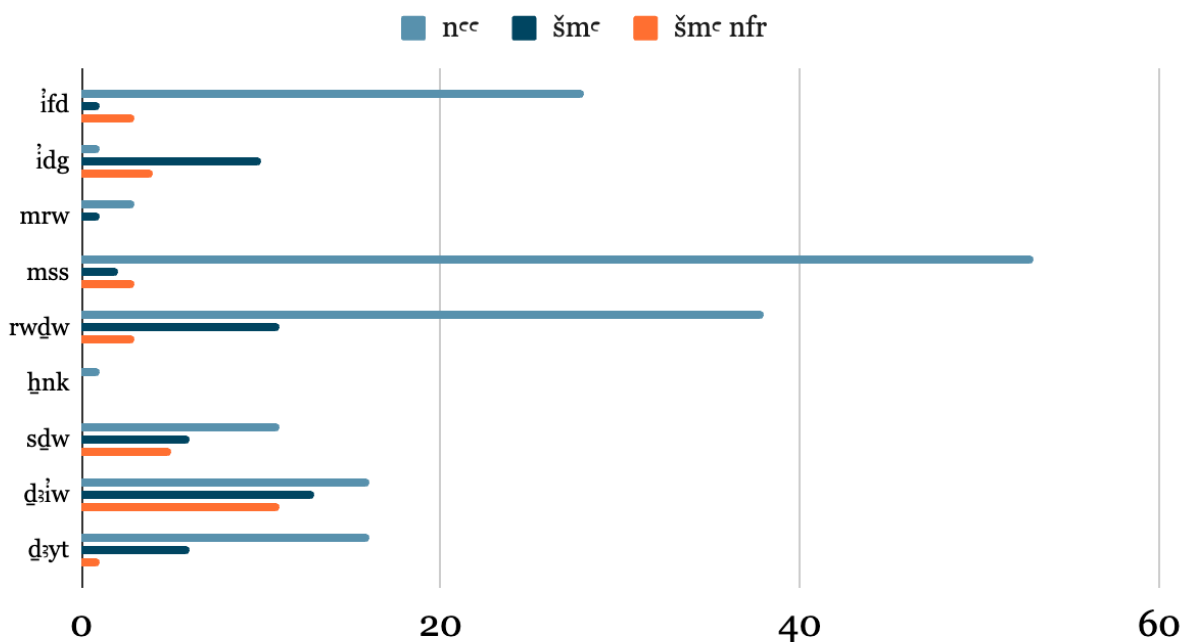


Fig. 3.27- Chart depicting the frequency of quality per garment type from the Deir el-Medina evidence (after Janssen 2008, Table II)

In many dictionaries and editions of texts, translators often choose to leave garment terms untranslated, using simply *dšiw*-garment for example instead of making a claim to a translation. And, as Janssen cautions, terms for a garment might change depending on the associated identity aspects of the wearer—gender, status, occupation, etc. Take for example skirts versus kilts. Technically they are very similar in form and function, but the terms denote widely different meanings.

From the Deir el-Medina evidence, eleven words for garments appear more than ten times, with Janssen (2008) labeling them as common. Another eleven terms which occur less than ten times are labeled as uncommon (see Appendix 4). There was also no clear order of garments when written in lists. One might assume largest to smallest or smallest or largest, but Janssen (2008, 79) found no clear pattern overall though the Deir el-Medina evidence seems to have a slight tendency (Fig. 3.28). When comparing the frequency of the types of garments from the Deir el-Medina evidence to the Papyrus Harris I, we find different consumption patterns

(Figs. 3.29). Given that P. Harris I records donation lists by Ramses III to the temples of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, it makes sense that the garment types included are different from the profane wardrobes of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina (Fig. 3.30).

Garment Attestations from Deir El-Medina

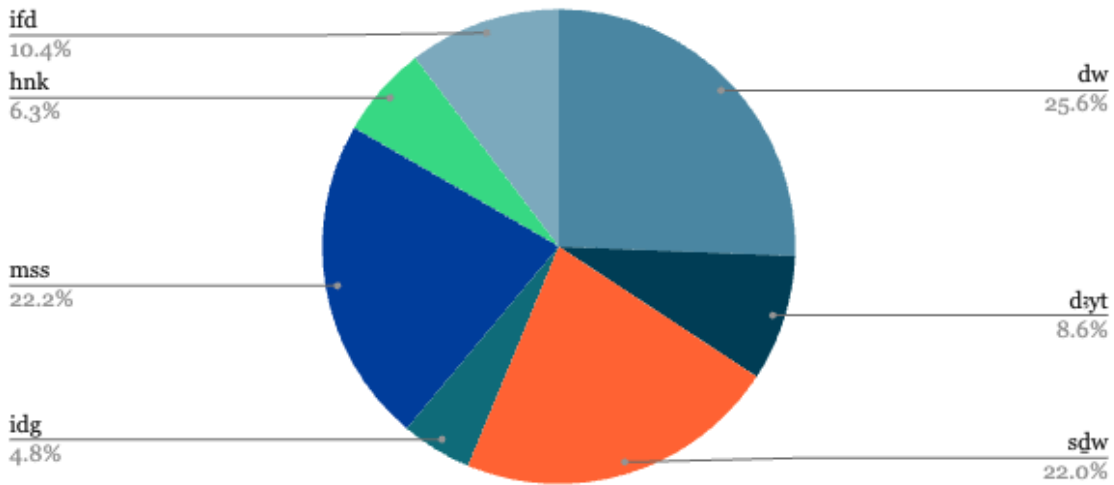


Fig. 3.28- Chart depicting the percentage of garment attestations from the Deir el-Medina textual records (after Janssen 2008, 80)

Garment Attestations in P. Harris I

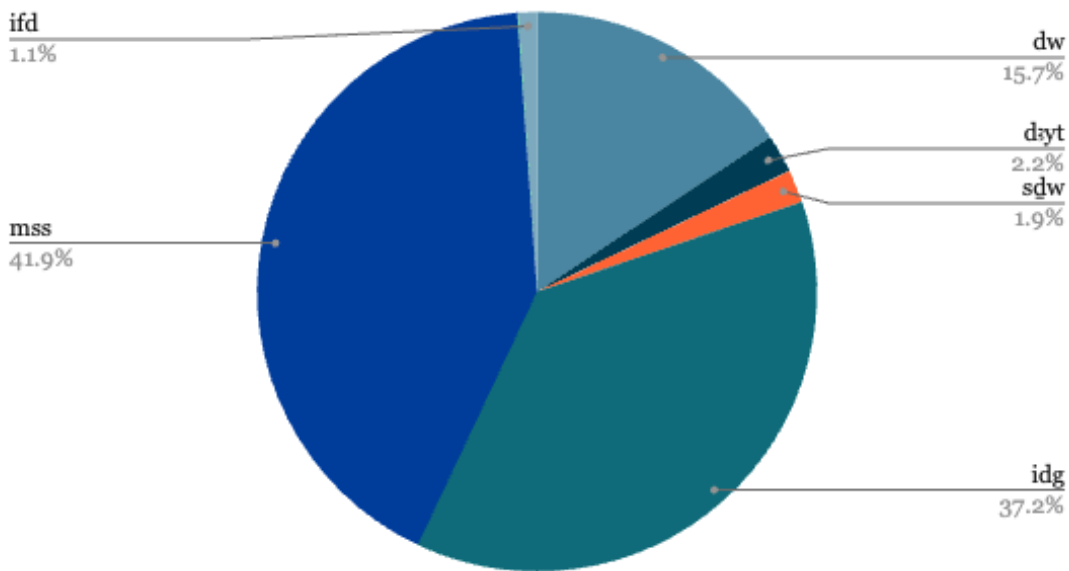


Fig. 3.29- Chart depicting the percentage of garment attestations from P. Harris I (after Janssen 2008, 80)

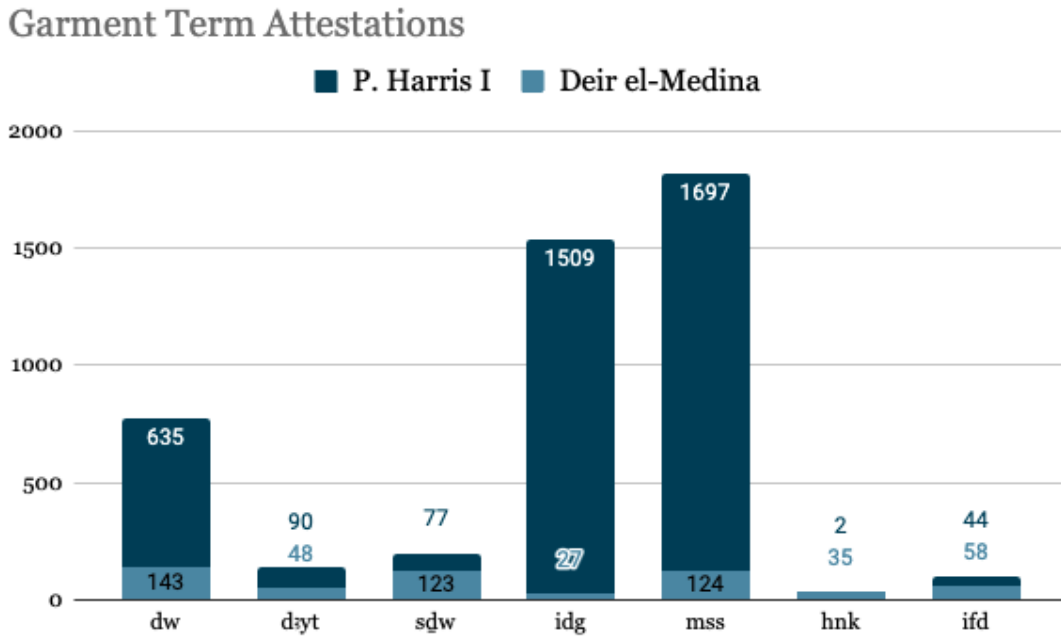


Fig. 3.30 - Chart comparing garment attestations between the textual evidence from Deir el-Medina and P. Harris I (after Janssen 2008)

In summation, the lexicography of Egyptian terms and their English equivalency remains a thorn in the side of the study of Egyptian textiles. Though we can be sure of most of the more common terms, the cultural and societal distinctions remain elusive still. A lexicographical study of the Amarna Letters would be a fruitful endeavor for those who know the Akkadian language. A correspondence between the garments and other items mentioned in those letters to the Egyptian terms would be worthwhile.

3.3 Conclusions

This chapter traced how linen textiles were produced during the New Kingdom in Egypt. Linen was the favored fabric, but I argue that wool and other animal fibers were more common than has been previously thought. How flax was grown, harvested, and prepared for spinning as well as the dyeing process was detailed. Next, the types of looms available and the weaving techniques used were discussed with a heavy reliance upon the textiles recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun since so many of them stand out as the only attestation for a particular weave-

type. Post-processing (dyeing, bleaching, beadwork, cutting, and hemming) were explored, especially beadwork and appliqué, a widely understudied aspect of textile production. Last, I discussed the various Egyptian words for the types and grades of cloth. This was to reinforce the value the Egyptians placed on linen as expressed by the highly specific terminology developed.

This chapter laid the foundation for the next two chapters which will look at the institutions that managed the textile industry and the individuals who produced these textiles. Given the complicated, arduous, and labor-intensive nature of linen production, textile production is a beneficial lens to look at the construction and maintenance of power hierarchies

Chapter 4

The Textile Industry, Institutional Production and Domestic Manufacture

“Rekhmire conducts an inspection of the workshop of Karnak and the laborers that his Majesty brought back from his victories... for the manufacture of linen...”

(Davies 1943, pls. lvi, lvii, lxxiii)

4.1 The New Kingdom Textile Industry

The Egyptian economy was agriculture-based, including the production of flax for textile production. The fertile land sustained by the annual flooding of the Nile provided for a large population size, with the temple and the palace managing and benefiting from surplus. Land was administered both on an individual and institutional basis (Section 4.5) with the large institutions being the main landholders during the New Kingdom. As was shown in Chapter 3, flax required a large amount of resources and labor to produce the thread required to weave the fine textiles for dress, the daily clothing of the cult statue, or trade with the other great cultures of the Late Bronze Age.

Markets were open to both individual and institutional trade (Chapter 6) but there is argument over the role the market played in the larger economy (Römer 1989; Warburton 1991). Institutions exchanged their stocks internally and externally, and it is clear that producers and craftspeople engaged in side-economies for personal gain (Cooney 2007). As summarized by Haring (1997, 15), there were two ways of making a living in ancient Egypt: by cultivating privately held fields or working for a larger household or institution, with much overlap between the two options. Working for an institution required the delivery of goods (*b'kw*). “Wages” were delivered to the employees by the institutions (the workforce at Deir el-Medina, for example). Consumption practices, like market and trade, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The New Kingdom textile industry was subsumed under two branches of the state apparatus: the temple and the palace. We will discuss the local subsistence economy later on in this chapter. As succinctly stated by Redford (Smith & Redford 1976, 123), the temples were “repositories for the revenues from the empire.” As we shall see, the temples not only housed the booty taken during the campaign but also the peoples captured, in our case ‘employed’ at the temples as textile workers. These workers fell under auspices of the *pr-šn*’, literally the “house of enclosing/wrapping.” In the past, this was interpreted as a place of detention, an *ergastulum*, or slave prison (Gardiner 1947, 209-210). However, recent studies have pushed back against this, given the lack of support to the former. Papazian (2012, 139) prefers “a place in which a variety of supplies are prepared and stored, and in addition, the totality of officials and workers assigned to labor there...a supply depot, or storehouse.” Instead of the *šna* being interpreted as “to restrain,” as in the confinement of humans, they prefer *šn*’ meaning “to enclose or wrap,” as in the packaging and storage of goods.⁵ Perhaps the “wrapping” referenced by the term refers to how use of one of their major products—textiles. The *pr-šn*’ produced the textiles that enclose and wrap the elite bodies and the statues.

Older studies focused on the temple as competitors to the state, best evidenced in early discussion of the Amarna interlude where Akhenaten changed the religion in a Henry VIII-style reorganization to seize power from the ever-growing Amun priesthood (Breasted 1920; Helck 1961). However, more recent studies have shown this was not the case, with some even arguing for the temple being a branch of the state apparatus (Janssen 1975; Trigger, Kemp, O’Connor & Lloyd 1983; Kemp 2006 [1989]; Warburton 1997). This study sees the state and temple administration as integrated and cooperative, following Haring (2007), often sharing similar interests and requiring the other entity for existence. For example, many elite individuals held both civil and temple titles concurrently. Other scholars of the Egyptian economy, like Eyre

⁵ See Papazian 2012 for a complete lexicographic study of the term and its various attestations through time.

(1998, 180), have argued that “the manufacture of cloth, spinning and weaving is unlikely to have been heavily ‘industrialized’ or centralized, despite the existence of institution workshops for both men and women.” This chapter will argue directly against that supposition.

For the purposes of this study, the New Kingdom administration apparatus *vis-à-vis* the economy can be divided into two main entities—the temple and the palace. The term “economy” is used here in a general sense to represent the production, distribution, and consumption of goods, stressing the inseparability of economic processes from the social, political, and religious aspects of society (Haring 1997, 12).

The study of temple economies builds on the contributions of Eichler (2000), Haring (1997), Bleiberg (1984; 1988; 1995), and Janssen (1979; 1993). The various economic functions of both temples and palaces have been thoroughly studied, but specific focus on the role of the temple in textile production has not yet been detailed (except very briefly in Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 432-4). Haring’s (1997) *Divine Households* details the administrative and economic functions of the memorial temples as well as provides a novel understanding to the relationship between memorial temples and the main Amun precinct and other temples in Thebes. Important to the discussion here is that memorial temples had associated workshops and participated in textile production. Eichler’s (2000) *Haus des Amun* is an invaluable work charting the development of the Temple of Amun administration through the entire 18th Dynasty with a focus on titles. A major discussion of this work is both the development of the *pr-šn*’ and the Treasury, the two main entities involved in the direct oversight and management of textile production. Unfortunately, Eichler’s study is solely focused on the 18th Dynasty, forcing one to turn to other sources for the study of the Amarna interlude and the Ramesside Period. Other prosopographic works, like Shirley (2005), are helpful in charting certain titles known to be either directly related to temple textile production or tangentially. Like Eichler (2000), Shirley (2005) is limited to the 18th Dynasty.

For Ramesside temple economies, textual sources like Papyrus Harris become highly relevant, detailing the economies of the Ramesside temple structure (Grandet 1994). The explosion of textual sources in the Ramesside Period in comparison to 18th Dynasty materials might reflect maladies in the system. Regardless, whether the texts record normal Ramesside functioning or not, they still provide a glimpse into the economic structure. Titles become even more important during the Ramesside Period where we find further demarcation of the civil and temple bureaucracies. Development *vis-à-vis* textile production will be detailed below.

One of the main issues that arises when studying temple economies is the overreliance on data relating to Thebes. Almost no evidence survives from the other major temple institutions at Memphis and Heliopolis, for example. This is even more frustrating, given that linen was ostensibly a production most specialized in the Fayoum and Delta regions. From textual evidence, like the Papyrus Harris, we know these precincts engaged in textile production as well (see Section 4.5). Given that most of the funerary evidence relates to those who worked at the Amun precinct at Thebes and the textual evidence follows along the same lines, it must be acknowledged that the complete picture of the textile industry is not possible to reconstruct. We can assume that what happened at Karnak similarly happened at Memphis and Heliopolis and the other small temples across the whole of the country, but we can never say for certain.

Turning to palace economies, the situation is hampered by the lack of evidence in many regards. Not many palace sites are known, with the most important, like Memphis, being under meters of alluvial silt. From this, much of what we can say about palace economies come from either short-lived sites like Amarna or non-capital palace locations like Gurob. The subsequent analysis follows the work completed by Lacovara (1993; 1997a; 1997b; 2006; 2008), Kemp (1978; 2001; 2013), and Hodgkinson (2014; 2018). Unlike the study of temple economies whose data mainly stemmed from funerary and textual sources, the data concerning the economy of royal palaces deals heavily with the archaeological record. The continued excavation of many

royal sites like Deir el-Ballas, Gurob, and Amarna continue to revise our understanding of the role they played in the larger economy.

As we will see, the palace, much like temples, had associated workshops and industries where high-status goods were produced, like textiles. Palaces much like temples managed and stored textiles and engaged in both internal and foreign exchange. The internal structuring of palace industry is less clear. Gurob provides the best textual data to delineate the oversight and management of production. Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood's (2001) study of the textile industry at Amarna provides a comprehensive analysis of where at the site textile production was occurring, specifically detailing both palace- and household-level production (Section 4.3.1), evidence that has not been preserved at other locations. Hodgkinson's (2014; 2018) study looks at the distribution of high-status materials, including textiles, and the evidence for their production at the royal cities of Amarna, Gurob, and Malqata. One of Hodgkinson's contributions details the connection between industries and hypothesizes a series of models for each industry. Amarna, though a short-lived city, remains the leading site for understanding New Kingdom royal city industries.

This chapter seeks to fill a gap in the literature by providing a synthetic analysis of how the textile industry functioned in the New Kingdom, which institutions were involved, how it was managed, and the role of the temple and palace. After institutional production is analyzed, the question of household-level and cottage industry-level production will be addressed. Last, how the temple, state, and elite households procured flax for textile production will be examined to further the argument that flax cultivation and textile production was a major economic activity of the major institutions of New Kingdom Egypt. Before delving into the data about how the textile industry functions in the New Kingdom *vis-à-vis* the temple, two entities of the New Kingdom administration must first be clarified—the *pr-šn'* and the Treasury.

4.1.1 The *Pr-šn'*

Textiles produced under the temple administration were manufactured under the direction of the *pr-šn'*. The temple workshops seem to have been relegated to the production of other goods like statuary, furniture, military paraphernalia, and jewelry, etc. The main distinction between a workshop and the *pr-sn'* was how the goods are consumed. Eichler (2000, 97) argues that all *pr-šn'* finished goods were returned to the temple for the use in the temple rituals and furnishing of the temple personnel and family. The workers of the *pr-šn'* were called the *mrw/mrt* (Chapter 5). Eichler (2000) separates management into upper and lower statuses. The *šna* installations have two major production areas: textile manufacture and food processing (Eichler 2000, 104). Fabric production was administratively closer to the treasury since the goods were of a high value and were stored in the treasury post-production (see Rekhmire example below). For example, Piuemre functioning as the “Scribe of the Treasury of the God” (*sš htmt-ntr*) is depicted receiving goods from a number of men entitled the “Chief of the *Mrw*” (*hry mrw*). Eichler (2000, 112) argues that it is in the reign of Thutmose III with the huge influx of foreign captives that the *pr-šn'* facilities became further defined as a separate entity, separate from the Treasury, as evidenced in the tomb of Rekhmire.

Fabric manufacturers were either supervised by their specialized foremen or the overseer of the *šn'* (*iry šn'*). Above that person was the *imy-r' šn' n imn* who oversaw the delivery of finished goods including fabrics and managed the supply and allocation of the *mrw*-workforce. The administrative structure is very similar to that of workshops. In the middle hierarchy, scribes are absent, replaced by specialized foremen. Since the *pr-šn'* is so closely linked to the Treasury, it differs greatly from more independent temple administrative areas like the Granary. The *šn'* are also in no way connected to the state-owned *šn'w*-workshops, clearly distinguished from civilian administration within the temple (Eichler 2000, 112-113). Given the first group of textile producers, the *mrt*, we know they were under the auspices of the *pr-šn'*. Titles related to

the *pr-šn'* are extremely prevalent during the Old Kingdom. By the New Kingdom, however, titles directly related to the *šn'* are much less apparent. Polz (1990, 47) argues this was due to the members of the *šn'* self-identifying through other professional titles related to the temple or their relation to the *ḥmw* or *mrt*. The *šn'* itself becomes subsumed under the temple hierarchy by the New Kingdom, and the titles seem to reflect this to a certain extent. That is not to say that titles related to the *šn'* completely disappear.

This term is different from other terms for craftspeople like *ḥmw*, “skilled labor” (Laboury & Devillers 2022, 173) or *qsti*, “sculptor,” for example. There appears to be a hierarchy of artistic production within New Kingdom society. Sculptors, like the famous Thutmose from Amarna receive individualization; they are named in the sources and produce ritually ideologically charged objects. We can assume that Thutmose was specifically sought out for his workshops’ abilities. As for the weavers attached to the *pr-šn'* almost all remain unnamed in the record (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the textile producers). The evidence would seem to indicate that the producers of more utilitarian goods, even those of high value, were not as valuable as craftspeople in comparison to other endeavors.

In the New Kingdom, there are twenty-two titles mentioning the *šn'*. Seventeen hold *imy-r šn'* and five *ḥry šn'*. Though, in the Ramesside Period, the proportion inverts—four have the *ḥry šn'* title, while twenty-two have *ḥry šn'*. Polz (1990) accounts this seeming reversal in number to the movement of high-status officials north during the Ramesside Period, skewing our Theban evidence toward middling elites instead. Of officials working under the *pr-šn'*, many employ a title indicating their oversight of the *mrt*. In most cases, the *mrt* are specified as being attributed to the Temple of Amun.

Archaeological evidence for the *pr-šn'* is almost absent. The best-preserved evidence comes from Amarna where extensive reams of glass and faience factories are present (Petrie

1894). Petrie (1894) also found an area of the site where the funerary furniture was built, and we have the famous sculpture studio of Thutmose. From the Central City, in the area south of the Great Aten Temple a total of 84 objects were found, consisting of needles, loom weights, bone pointers, spindle whorls, and spools (Hodgkinson 2018, 176-7). The nearby “Records Office” also held a large number of textile-related objects. Given the prevalence of textiles mentioned in the Amarna Letters which were housed in the “Records Office,” it is tempting to relate the two. Hodgkinson (2018, 177) concludes that the bulk of the textile evidence from the Central City is related to industries of an administrative nature or for storage purposes. This fits well with what we know from the textual record.

When thinking about weaving workshops, what would we expect to see archaeologically? As Eyre (1987, 193) already noted, weaving workshops are rarely “recognized;” it is not that they do not exist. They probably would have been located closer to the Nile given the necessity for a more humid environment to work the flax fiber at optimal conditions. There is more evidence for small-scale household production (Section 4.4), but institutional, large-scale production existed as well, as shown in the artistic evidence.

4.1.2 Treasury (*pr ḥd*)

Closely related to the *pr-šn* is the Treasury. As mentioned previously, all the textiles that are produced by the *pr-šn* are stored in the Treasury. The Treasury held a vast array of high-valued goods from hard woods, fine stones, and metals. From the tomb of Rekhmire (see below), we can see a depiction of the Treasury and its various associated rooms. Products appear to be grouped in their respective chambers based on their origin to a degree. Interestingly, the textiles are grouped with the items from northwest Asia, perhaps referencing the backgrounds of the producers. One of the responsibilities of the Overseer of the Treasury was to receive textiles (Eichler 2000, 128). The so-called “Foreign Tribute” scenes would fall into this responsibility. In many of these scenes, we can see the receipt of textiles brought as “tribute” to the Treasury.

Eichler cites nineteen tombs from the 18th Dynasty containing such scenes, emphasizing the intense involvement of the elites in the maintenance of both the civil and temple treasuries. Of those nineteen, seven have titles directly related to treasury function while the other twelve have titles that do not have a clear connection but must have somehow been related (Eichler 2000, 129). Textiles might not be explicitly mentioned in certain depictions, but it is imperative to remember the close connection with the *pr-šn* whose main product was textiles. In many cases, however, individuals with direct ties to the Treasury via titles also had tombs that contained scenes directly related to flax and/or textile production and storage. Given the high value of textiles, the accounting and storage of these goods in secure locations was imperative.

4.2 Textile Production under Temple Administration

This section provides a detailed examination into how the textile industry functioned in relation to temple administration. It should be noted that oftentimes temple and civil administration overlapped with individuals holding titles in both, making a separation between the two arbitrary. The author chooses to do so mainly to separate out the palace-focused economies that will comprise the subsequent section. Ultimately, as will be argued, the Amun precinct managed most textile production during the New Kingdom and were the main benefactors from the wealth produced through the storage, distribution, and trade of those fabrics.

4.2.3.1 The Eighteenth Dynasty

With the reconstitution of Lower and Upper Egypt by Ahmose I, the central government was reinstated and reorganized. The early 18th Dynasty kings installed new officials and created new offices, all with a focus on Thebes. The office of the vizier was reinstated under Thutmose I (Shirley 2013, 577). The state, Amun precinct, and provincial administration at Thebes all developed and expanded in tandem. From funerary evidence, viziers at this time held domain over many aspects of textile production (see Rekhmire, TT 100). As Eichler (2000) notes,

officials held high offices in both the temple and civil administration. Shirley (2013, 578) argues that the Amun administration began to develop its own non-religious administration in the wake of Thutmosis I's move of the capital back to Memphis. This section will focus largely on the Amun Precinct at Karnak and its involvement in the larger textile industry of the New Kingdom. The main cult centers at Memphis and Heliopolis would have also been major players, but the textual and archaeological evidence are lacking in respect to those locations leaving a large gap in our understanding. Additionally, much of what we can say about the temple involvement in textile production comes from funerary evidence in the form of titles and tomb scenes, unlike Ramesside evidence which is skewed toward the textual.

The main temple at the heart of the textile industry during the New Kingdom was Karnak. As the Amun administration expanded, the provincial administration of Thebes became intertwined with the secular side of the temple. This continued into the mid-18th Dynasty. Here we continue to see an overlap between high-level civil offices and the Amun temple. Many officials within the temple administration were also given high-ranking titles within the state as well—Hapuseneb, Useramun, and Ineni, for example.

By the time of Hatshepsut, the bureaucracy of the Amun temple expanded with more officials and new titles appearing (Eichler 2000). It is at this time that we have the first attestation of a “Chief of the Weavers of Amun” title (Amenemhat, TT82; Davies and Gardiner 1915). It is at the same time that trade and greater regional interaction are seen, best exemplified by the expedition commissioned to Punt with textile being one such high-status good delivered as tribute (*b'kw*). Hatshepsut did the same with goods procured from Punt, including textile and individuals to work in textile production (*Urk* IV, 331).

The Treasury gains more prominence at this time as well, appearing in the tomb of Djehuty (TT11) detailing its involvement in the new construction activities at Karnak, including the donation of cloth. The temple treasury is still embedded within the general treasury and has yet to develop its own administration (Eichler 2000, 217). Interestingly, there is little

documentation about the provisioning of the temple domain as we will see in later reigns (Eichler 2000, 216). Thutmosis I invested in the temple, assigning all products, including cloth, brought from foreign lands to the temple (*Urk.* IV, 55), and Hatshepsut assigned all products from the Punt expedition to the temple as well (*Urk.* IV, 334). These two investments pale in comparison to later kings, specifically Thutmosis III. This might have been because of the early 18th Dynasty kings' focus on construction projects rather than temple economy.

The control over the textile industry during the early 18th Dynasty fell under the oversight of both the Overseer of the Treasury, Djehuty, and the Superintendent of the Cattle and Fields of Amun, and Overseer of Works, Piuemre. Regarding the *pr-sn'* staff, the Overseer of Weavers is subordinate to the Treasury Overseer. As mentioned, Amenemhat (TT 82) holds the title of Overseer of the Weavers of Amun, but, following Eichler's (2000) study of temple hierarchy, Amenemhat would have fallen in the middle-range of officials within the *pr-šn'* structure.

Amenemhat (TT82; Davies and Gardiner 1915), as mentioned earlier, held the first attestation of Chief of the Weavers of Amun in the 18th Dynasty. His other main titles were "Scribe who Reckons the Grain in the Granary of the Divine Offerings of Amun" and "Steward of the Vizier." Of note, Amenemhat's wife Baketamun's grandfather, Djehutmes, called Aa, held the title "Chief of the Weavers of Amun." The tomb is badly damaged, and no scene is preserved that displays Amenemhat's oversight of the weavers of Amun. It should be noted that the title is used in almost every mention of Amenemhat, only second to "the Scribe who Reckons the Grain," again showing the clear relationship between agriculture and textile production under the auspices of the *pr-šn'* institution.

Piuemre (TT39; Davies 1922) held the titles: "Second Priest of Amun," "Overseer of Works," "Superintendent of the Temple of Amun," "Superintendent of the Annexes of the Temple," and "Overseer of the Cattle and Fields of Amun." Part of one of his duties was the inspection and accounting of "tribute" (*b'kw*) from all the provinces of Egypt. On the lower half

of the southern end of the west wall, Egyptian weavers are shown on the third register bringing linen to Piuemre bearing the caption “the registration of the linen (*mnht*) for Amun” (Davies 1922, pl. XLII, XLIII). Above the figure of Piuemre reads the caption “[receiving the tribute] of gold, ivory, ebony, and various offerings... and all kinds of linen besides” (Davies 1922, pl. XLII, XLIII). The row shows an “overseer of weavers” bearing textiles with fringe along one hem (Fig. 4.1).

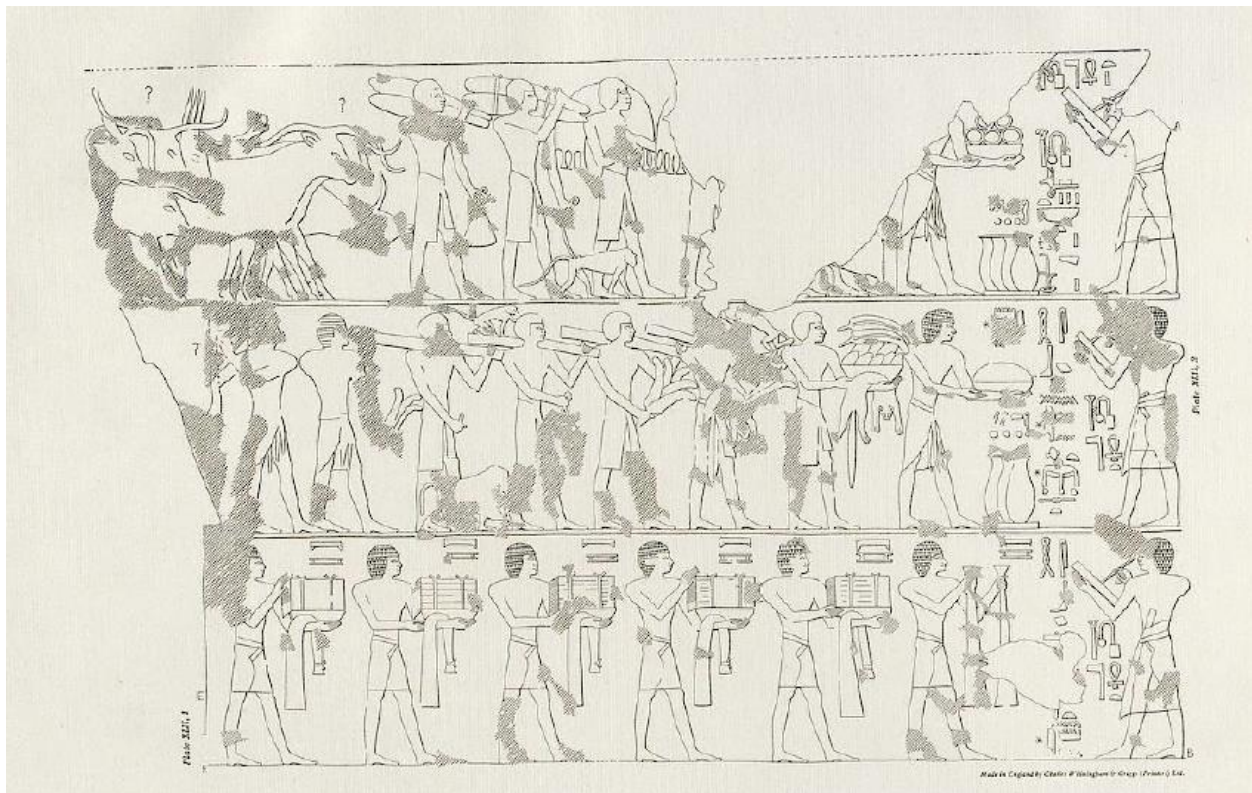


Fig. 4.1- Tribute of cloth being brought before Piuemre, off to the right (West wall, south end, lower registers; Davies 1922, pl. XLIII)

This corroborates well with Hatshepsut’s donation of cloth from the Punt expedition. As a priest high up in the Amun administration, part of his duties involved the inspection of goods from conquered provinces. It would appear that the goods delivered as tribute were put to direct use. The tomb records how the goods were distributed among the other Theban temples, following a precedent seen earlier in the tomb of Ineni (TT81). Gold that was gathered, for example, was used in the temple furnishing (Davies 1922, 98). Presumably, the cloth collected was used in temple ritual (see Chapter 2) or as wages for the temple administration.

Djehuty (TT11; Galán and Díaz-Iglesias 2020) held the titles “Overseer of the Treasury” and “Overseer of Works.” Djehuty’s biography on the outside facade of his tomb, also known as the Northampton Stela, recounts his career and involvement in many construction projects including the furnishing of the altars with “the noble chests worked from copper and electrum, every vessel and cloth with every precious stone for the god’s body” (Galán and Díaz-Iglesias 2020, 155). Many of these activities mirror the works listed on the Speos Artemidos, leading Galán and Díaz-Iglesia (2020, 157) to argue that Djehuty was the one to oversee these other temples as well. If this is accurate, this would establish that the provisioning of cloth for the daily ritual was under the auspices of the Treasury and Overseer of Works during the reign of Hatshepsut.

Last, most importantly and rather enigmatically, Senenmut also held the title Overseer of the Weavers of Amun (*Urk.* IV, 408). On a quartzite statue from the Temple of Mut at Karnak, Senenmut’s titles are given, including the last on the list *ḥry mrwt n ïmn*, “the Chief of the *mrt*-Weavers of Amun” (Cairo Museum O579). This author knows of no other reference to Senenmut in this role beside this statue.

As the 18th Dynasty continued, the temple and palace administration continued to expand and grow, often aided by the additional economic power gained from military campaigns. The goods and people seized during these campaigns were donated to the Amun precinct in many cases (Chapter 5). With the loot from Thutmose III’s campaign, the Amun precinct swelled not only with new construction projects but also in its treasury stores. His reign is particularly marked by the expansion of the *šna* with Thutmose not only donating arable land but also labor in the form of war captives.

The temple administration became intensified as well. It is during Thutmose III’s reign that the “Overseer of the *šn*” title is first attested (Eichler 2000, 220). Four individuals with this title are known to his reign while afterwards there are only seven. Eichler (2000, 22) connects the huge growth in *šna* operations to the increase in construction projects, the captive labor

from campaigns that need management, and intensified work in sectors under *šna* control like baking, brewing, and weaving. The proliferation of “Overseers of Weavers” titles is representative of this (Appendix 6). During the reign of Thutmosis III, we start to see many titles become hereditary. Menkheperreseneb I passed his role as High Priest to his son, Menkheperreseneb II; Minnakht, Overseer of the Double Granary, to his son Menkheper; and the vizierate from Useramun to Rekhmire. The control over aspects of the textile industry can be seen in each of these official responsibilities as well.

Menkheperreseneb I (TT86; Davies 1933a) held the titles “Overseer of the King’s Granaries,” “Overseer of Foreign Lands,” “High Priest of Amun,” and “Overseer of Weavers.” In accordance with his title related to granary oversight, flax cultivation fell under his auspices as well. On the east wall, southern side, third register, Davies (1933a) notes the possibility of flax being harvested. On that same wall, the tomb owner’s role in textile production is explicitly stated: “the one who made an assessment of realities and an estimate of facts through the North and the South, the Superintendent of Granary, the Superintendent of Weavers of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt...” (Fig. 4.2).

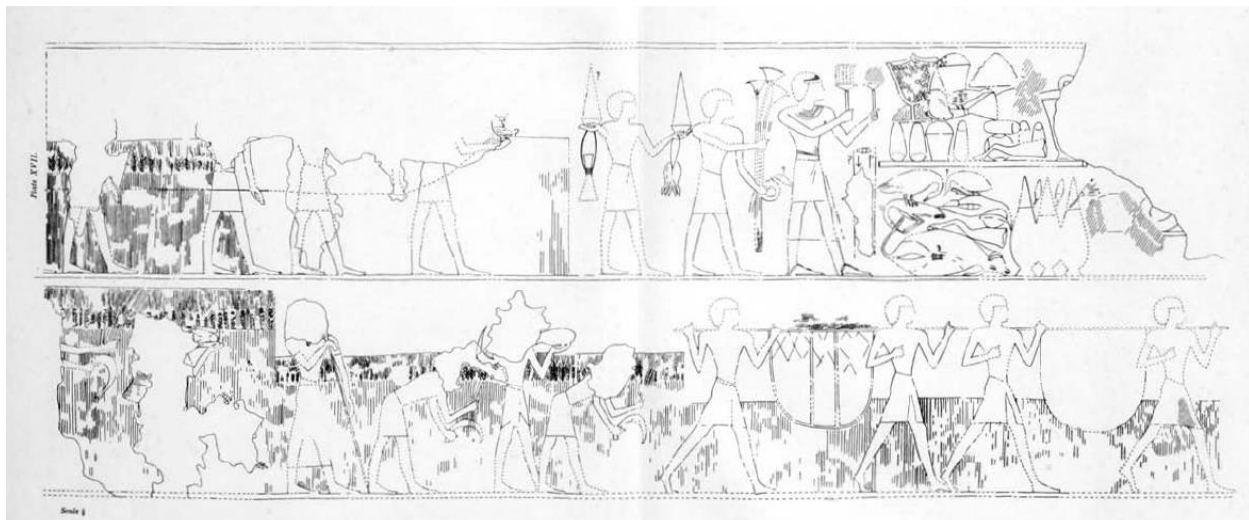


Fig. 4.2- possible depiction of flax cultivation in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (Davies 1933, pl. xviii) Menkheperreseneb’s son of the same name, known in the literature as Menkheperreseneb II (TT 122; Davies 1933a), inherited his father’s titles, but, unlike his father, his tomb does not

reference any textile production connection but instead focuses on interactions with foreign dignitaries.

Minnakht (TT87) held the titles “Superintendent of Granaries” and “Overseer of the *šn*,” being one of the most important posts in the administration, second to the vizierate (Bryan 2006). He held other positions related to the Amun precinct which, following Eichler’s hierarchy, placed him in the upper echelons of the Amun administration (Eichler 2000, 5-7). His career began during the Hatshepsut-Thutmose III coregency and extended into Thutmose III’s sole reign. He constructed a shrine at Gebel el-Silsilah where he employs the title “Chief of the Weavers of Amun” (Caminos and James 1963, 75-6). Shirley (2005, 124) argues that he held these titles and others prior to gaining “Superintendent of Granaries.” Many of his earlier-held titles relate to *pr-šna* activities—wine and textiles—perhaps indicating that Minnakht performed well in these roles to be internally promoted to the Superintendent of Granaries position. Minnakht in his role as Overseer of the *šna* and Chief of the Weavers would have had considerable involvement in the textile production occurring for the Temple of Amun.

Continuing trends from earlier in the dynasty, textile production still fell under the auspices of the vizier and temple and treasury officials. We will explore the exact nature of the textile industry during the reign of Thutmose III through a close examination of the individuals who managed the various processes. There appears to be a concerted effort by Thutmose III to wrest power from the Amun precinct as evidenced by the dearth of titles connected to the priesthood during his reign (Shirley 2013, 583). The vizierate took on many of the responsibilities of overseeing the Amun administration. Rekhmire serves as the choice example to see how the responsibilities of the vizierate changed to include textile oversight as well.

Rekhmire was an upper-elite official during the reigns of Thutmose III through Amenhotep II. He functioned as Mayor of Thebes and Vizier. His uncle, User, previously held the position of Mayor and Vizier during the reign of Hatshepsut. His tomb (TT 100; Davies

1943) provides a microcosm to see textile production *vis-à-vis* the vizierate and temple institutions.

On the eastern side of the longitudinal hall, Rekmire is depicted in his role as vizier. The wall can be split into four sections—Rekmire monitoring the delivery of goods into the Treasury of Amun, Rekmire rewarding the servants and their labor, Rekmire overseeing the craftsmen of Amun, and Rekmire inspecting construction and statuary manufacture. The first two sections provide interesting pieces of evidence in regard to the textile industry. In the third register, the contents of the treasury buildings are indicated through their depiction next to the buildings. The third treasury building is shown to contain flax in bales and rolls, clearly indicating produce of temple lands (Davies 1943, pl. XLVIII; Fig. 4). These treasuries might have held the taxes levied in cloth enumerated in another part of the tomb (Davies 1943, pl. XXIX-XXXV).



Fig. 4.3- the delivery of textiles along with gold rings to be accounted by Rekmire (© Jordan Galczynski)

Rekhmire's responsibilities in linen production start from the cultivation of the flax. Flax being one of these crops is clarified by both the accompanying text, "[t]his field is in very good condition... May its cloth turn out excellently..." and the depiction of men pulling out flax (Davies 1943, pl. XXXIX, row 1, 2; Fig. 4.4).

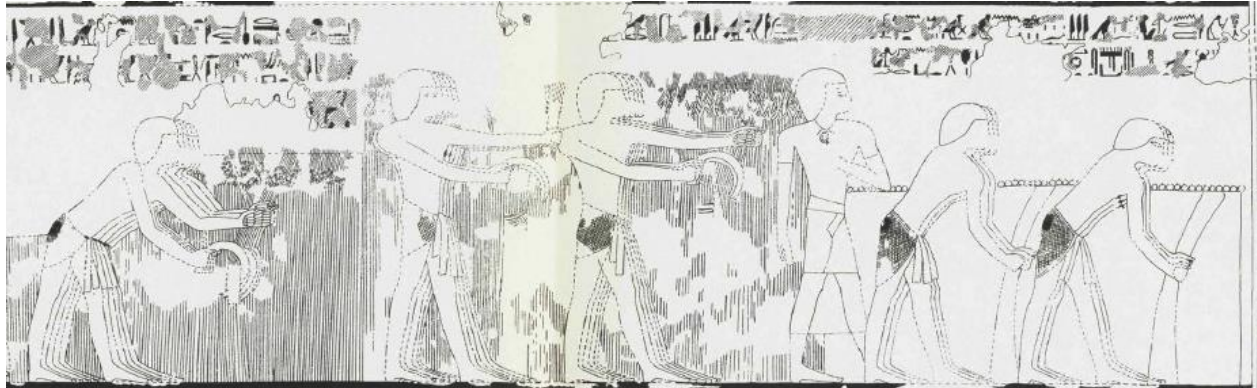
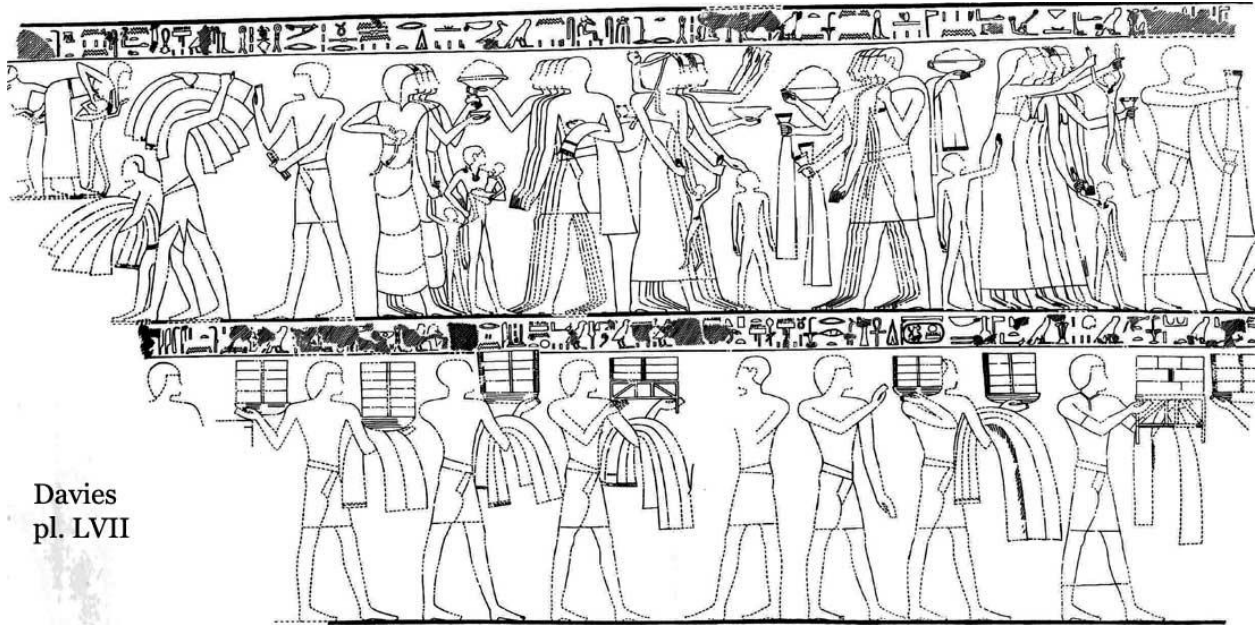


Fig. 4.4- The harvest of flax (far right) from the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies 1943, pl. xxxix, row 1, 2)

Another responsibility of Rekhmire was his oversight in the management of textile production through the Amun precinct. At this time, it would appear that the vizier held oversight over the *pr-šn* production, perhaps related to Rekhmire's duties to inspect the workshops and see that the goods are properly stored in the Treasury. In the second section where Rekhmire is rewarding the servants for their labors, the text recounts how Rekhmire gave them "balls of linen, ointments, and clothes as their annual supplies." Further on, "Rekhmire conducts an inspection of the workshop of Karnak and servants (*mr.ut*) that his Majesty brought back from his victories...for the manufacture of linen..." (Davies 1943, pl. LVI, LVII, LXXIII; Fig. 4.5). Here we can see that immigrant groups captured by Thutmose III are working in the weaving workshop connected to the Temple of Amun at Karnak with Rekhmire in charge of their oversight and provisioning (see Immigrant section below). This distribution is shown below the text with individuals in Egyptian garb handing out linen in various forms to the foreign captive women who are distinguished by their clothing. Davies records Hittites marked by their long hair, Nubians with panniers, and Syrians with their flounced skirts (Davies 1943, 48; pl. LVI).



Davies
pl. LVII

Fig. 4.5- Depiction of captured foreigners brought to Rekhmire to serve as *mrt*-weavers for the Temple of Amun (Davies 1943, pl. lvii)

Rekhmire's tomb provides a microcosm of the textile workshops connected to the Temple of Amun at Karnak. During the reign of Thutmose III, the vizier oversaw the accounting of goods including flax and linen in the temple treasuries. Part of his role also included management of the weavers, who in this case were foreign captives of Thutmose III's wars. Taking this in addition to the foreign tribute scenes from the transverse hall, we can clearly see that textiles, especially foreign ones, were considered luxury resources that fell under the purview of the vizier and were couched together with other high value goods like metals and semi-precious stones.

As mentioned earlier, the vizier—a title that seemingly has nothing to do with textile manufacture—was overseeing part of the industry. How titles can mask the duties and responsibilities of a job must always be kept in mind. Given that Eichler (2000) couches the overseers of weavers as “middle” management, perhaps we should not expect them to be as present in the nobles' cemeteries. Those that do hold that title have other more prestigious ones that might have garnered them a tomb. Relatedly, the Treasury continues to play a role in textile management. Tomb depictions of flax production scenes support the notion for the control of

textiles, at least in part. Baki (TT 18), Djehuty (discussed earlier), Min (TT 143?, *after* Shirley 2005), and Ineni (TT81) all hold titles connected to the Treasury and depict scenes of flax production.

Baki (TT18; Gauthier 1908) served as the Chief Servant who weighs the silver and gold of the estate of Amun—an associate of the Treasury, as evidenced by the scene in the main hall where Baki is shown weighing metal vases and recording the weights of jars for storage (PM I, 32). Concerning his role in the textile industry, there is a granary scene and the remains of a flax cultivation scene (Gauthier 1908, 170).

Min served as Treasurer (*imy-r htmt*) under Thutmose III and is only known from his shrine at Gebel el-Silsilah and a funerary cone (Caminos and James 1963, 19-21). Luckily, his son Sobekhotep's monuments record relevant information about himself and his father. Sobekhotep (TT63) inherited his father's title as well. We will return to him later. Following the argumentation by Shirley (2005, 158) that TT143 is Min's tomb, then we have further evidence about his role as Treasurer and his connection to the textile industry. In this tomb, much like the other tombs of individuals connected to the Treasury, we have scenes of flax cultivation (PM I, 255). There is also a tribute scene from Punt shown with the many luxury goods from the south being presented to the tomb owner. All of these strongly indicate that the tomb owner is related to the Treasurer, and the dating of the tomb in the latter half of Thutmose III's to Amenhotep II's reigns fits well with the timeframe for Min.

Ineni (TT81; Dziobek 1992) is another such Treasury-related individual whose tomb holds evidence for Ineni's involvement in textile production. Ineni's career spans the first half of the 18th Dynasty, from Amenhotep I through to Thutmose III. He was the Overseer of the Granaries of Amun (*imy-r šnwty n Imn*) and Overseer of the Treasury (*imy-r pr.wy ḥd*), among other titles (he was also highly involved in construction projects). As previously stated, the Overseer of Granaries was one of the most important positions at this time. Again, similar to other individuals involved in the Treasury, there is a large agricultural scene in Ineni's tomb

with flax cultivation taking up the entire lower register (Dziobek 1992, Tafel 13 and 14). The measuring and recording of the crop would have fallen under the responsibilities of the Treasurer.

Further, Ineni is directly linked to the accounting of linen for the Treasury. On the south side of the portico, Ineni is depicted inspecting the products for the Temple of Amun. On the third and fourth registers, linen is brought before scribes taking an accounting (PM I, 159; Fig. 4.6). Much like in Rekhmire's tomb, the *mrt*-workers are mentioned in connection to linen production (*Urk* IV, 71-2).

Other individuals perhaps involved in flax cultivation during the reign of Thutmosis III include: Amenmessi (TT318), Nebamun (TT24), Amenemhat (TT53), Senmiah (TT 127), and Nu (TT144). All these tombs have scenes that depict the cultivation and harvesting of flax (Appendix 8). Senmiah and Nu are particularly interesting examples in that Senmiah's title includes "Overseer of All that Grows" and Nu's "Head of Field Laborers."

During the reign of Amenhotep II, the powerful familial hold of the vizierate office falters, and with that the power of the vizierate over the temple of Amun (Eichler 2000). At that time, the high priest of Amun and the Mayor of Thebes wrest control from the vizier. One would then assume the control over the textile production would fall to these two individuals, but any supporting evidence are lacking from their tombs, a markedly different situation than during the reign of Thutmosis III.

Shirley (2013, 586) connects this dip in power of the Amun precinct to Amenhotep II's military focus and promotion of close "friends" or members of the *kꜣp*, the "nursery" at the palace. Presumably, textiles were still under the auspices of the *pr-šn*; the benefits of displaying such a connection appears to wane, however.

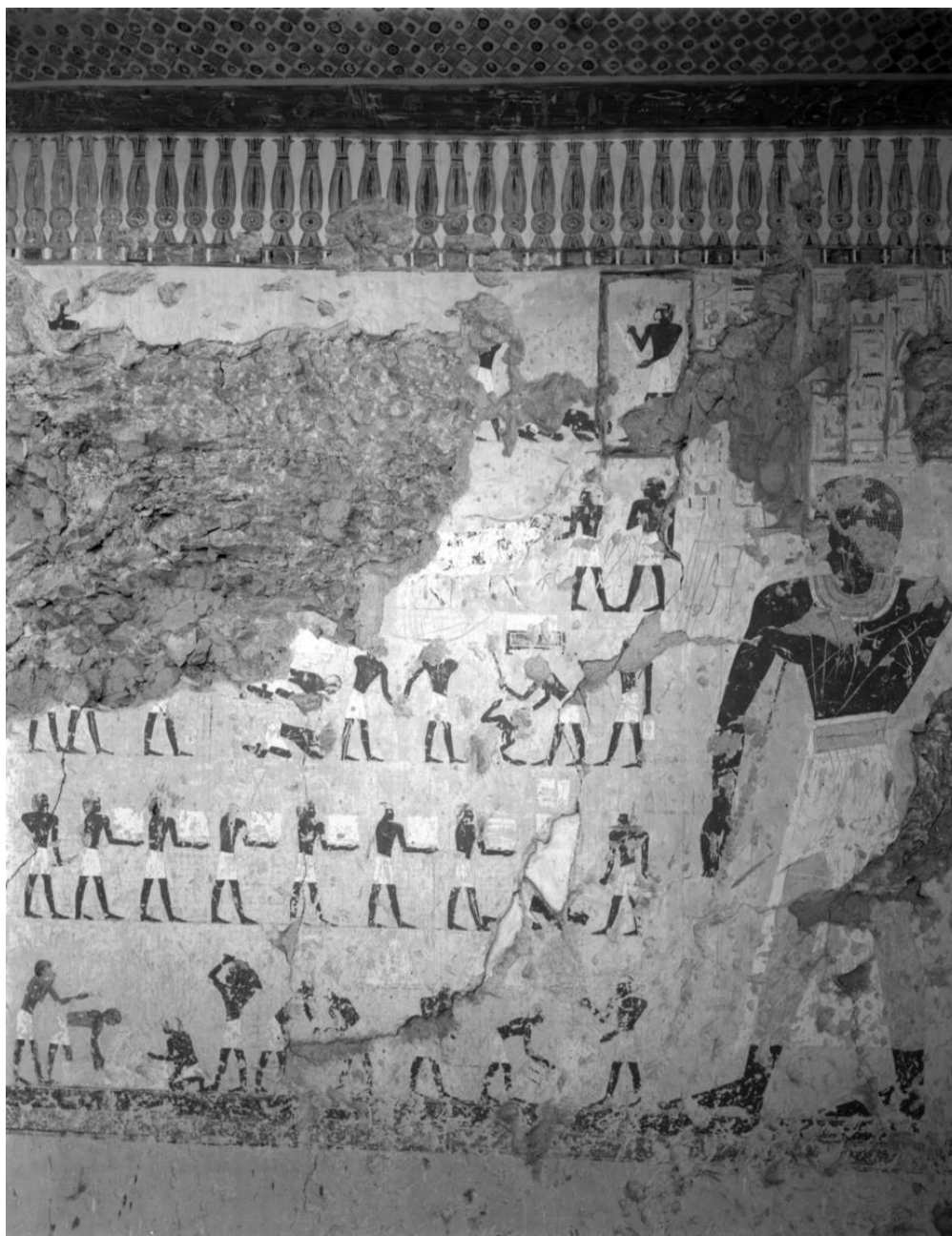


Fig. 4.6- Individuals bring linen before Ineni on the second from the bottom register; Tomb of Ineni (TT 81; Epigraphic Survey Negative 2908)

Djehuty (TT45; Davies 1948) is the penultimate holder of the “Overseer of Weavers” title in the 18th Dynasty, indicating a lessening of the bureaucracy of the *pr-šn*’. I would argue that at this time the Treasury appeared to have more control over the textile industry as evidenced by the tombs of Djehutynefer (TT80 and 104). This tomb was usurped in the Ramesside Period by a Djehutyemhab, another Overseer of the Weavers of Amun (Section 4.2.3.2). This usurpation

was rather extensive, with only a few areas untouched or less altered. Having said that, there are no associated textile production-related scenes preserved.

The tombs of Djehutynfer (TT80 and 104) are a different story. The Treasury and those associated appear to have continued their role in textile management and, I argue, to an even greater extent during the end of the mid-18th Dynasty. Djehutynfer held the title Overseer of the Treasury and Royal Scribe. His Tomb 104 is more important for the discussion of textile production. In the main transverse hall, there is a preserved scene of his “townhouse” where textile production is depicted from spinning to weaving (Davies 1929, fig 1A; Fig. 4.7). This has been interpreted as evidence for a cottage industry (Section 4.4), where Djehutynfer had labor either from the state or temple or of his own producing textiles in a domestic context. As the “Overseer of the Treasury”, is it interesting that one of the main industries pictured as occurring in his private household is textile production.

Beside Amenhotep II’s focus on the military, another possible reason for the lack of titles directly related to the textile industry during the latter half of the 18th Dynasty is the skewed nature of the data. Given the Theban nature of the evidence rather than Memphite, the textile industry will feel especially linked to the Amun precinct and temple production. We must keep in mind, however, that we are seeing only one branch of the larger textile industry during the New Kingdom. We will attempt to remedy this through an examination of palace involvement as non-Theban sites where we can get glimpses of other characteristics of the industry.

After the reign of Thutmose IV through to the early 19th Dynasty, textile-related titles are no longer attested. The last attestation of the holder of that title is Nebseny. This correlates well with the dearth of titles overall attributed to his reign. From Bryan’s (1991) study on the reign of Thutmose IV, we can say that control over the Syrian-Palestinian region continued marked by a decrease in active military campaigns and that there was an accompanying change in the composition of the bureaucracy with many military-related individuals finding high-status positions as well as a marked increase in focus given to other deities beside Amun. No

donations of war captives or enslaved peoples are documented from his reign (Eichler 2000, 227).



Fig. 4.7- The house of Djehutynefer with textile production occurring on the ground floor or basement (Davies 1929, fig 1A).

We have new individuals displaying their involvement in the textile industry—Nakht (TT 52), Menna (TT 69), and the now unknown owner of TT148. Nebseny (TT38; Davies 1963) is mentioned in the tomb of his father, Djoserkaraseneb, who lived during the reign of Thutmosis IV. Nebseny is entitled “Chief of the Weavers of Amun.” It is of note that Nebseny never received his own tomb, and his sole mention is in his father’s tomb who functioned as the “Scribe,” “Counter of the Grain of Amun,” and “Steward of the Second Priest of Amun.” It will not be until the reign of Ramses II that we will see the “Chief of the Weavers” title return.

Nakht (TT51), Menna (TT69) and an unknown owner (TT148) all incorporate flax cultivation scenes in their tombs. Menna also has an additional scene where flax is being combed to prepare it for thread production (Fig. 4.8).

Amenemopet’s tomb (TT276) as the Overseer of the Treasury of Gold and Silver continues to show evidence for management of textile under the Treasury (*PM I 352*). Again, similar to other “Overseer of the Treasury” tomb scenes, Amenemopet is shown in a scene from the transverse hall receiving tribute from Nubians, specifically baskets of gold and cloth. Rolls of cloth and trays of cloth are both shown (*PM I 352*; Fig. 4.9).

Eichler (2000) argues for a decentralization of the Amun administration starting during the reign of Thutmosis IV, where the high priest’s duties became more ideological and less administrative. Scholars have connected this to the beginnings of Aten worship and the eventual shift during the reign of Akhenaten to Atenism, with the Amun precinct losing influence and power.

It would appear that during the reign of Amenhotep III the Amun temple’s administrative oversight no longer fell under the auspices of the Mayor of Thebes, yet there is still an overlap between the two in that many individuals hold offices in both administrations (Shirley 2013, 594). Haring (2013, 622) argues that by the time of Amenhotep III more and more military-background individuals were joining the ranks of the temple administration. Prior to this, the temple was more or less closed to functionaries from the outside. The only

tomb preserved that records the cultivation of flax is of Khnemmessi (TT233, PM I 337) who was the Counter of Grain under Amenhotep III.



Fig. 4.8- Flax pulling and combing from the Tomb of Menna (TT69; © Osirisnet.net)



Fig. 4.9- Individuals bringing cloth in multiple forms before Amenemopet, Overseer of the Treasury (Epigraphic Survey Negative 10388)

Additionally, post the reign of the last high priest Mery, the ‘power’ of the High Priest was destabilized, with no one individual holding all high-ranking positions concurrently ever again. This is what Eichler argues leads to the Amarna interlude. What happens to textile production at this time is unclear. By the reign of Akhenaten, we know textiles were produced at Amarna in connection to the palace economy and through a cottage-industry at the workmen’s village (see Section 4.4.2). The fashion of the time also reflects changes with alternations to the royal kilt and an increase in pleating which Bassir and Fahim (2016) links to an emulation of the sun’s rays. The only illustrative document dating to this time is a taxation decree from the Aten Temple at Karnak. Akhenaten imposed a tax on temples and municipalities throughout the land to support his new temple. One group of domains, each described as “House of the Divinity X, Lord of City Y” was assessed for the same amount:

Silver	1 deben
Incense	1 <i>mn</i> -container
Wine	2 <i>mn</i> -containers
Thick Cloth	2 rectangular lengths

Murnane 1995, 30

Another section records donations made by municipalities and royal domains to “the House of Aten in Southern Heliopolis”

Cloth: Plain Cloth	1-3 coverlets
	1-3 wraps
	3-7 shawls
	3-7 shirts
	3-7 underclothes
Total assorted pieces:	11 to 27

Murnane 1995, 31

Another very fragmentary papyrus records clothing donated to the Aten Temple at Thebes (Murnane 1995, 35). Presumably these goods are for the Daily Cult Ritual for Aten, with each of these temples providing the sustenance needed for the new cultic establishment.

At Amarna, the most evidence for textile production comes from an area just south of the Great Aten temple, with a probable textile production storage area in the southwestern corner of the

magazines there (Hodgkinson 2014, 200). The Small Aten temple also has a high concentration of textile-related materials, including pierced discs which would suggest loom weights for a warp-weighted loom, an imported technology.

The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun indicates that the resumption of 'normal' activities concerning the cult of Amun. It states that Tutankhamun

...filled their workrooms with male and female slaves from the tribute of His Person's capturing. All [the [possessions] of the temples and cities increased twice, thrice, fourfold, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, every precious stone, as well as royal linen, white linen, fine linen... Murnane 1995, 214.

The phrasing of this text is remarkably similar to what is said in Thutmose III's *Annals*, and one wonders if the earlier text provided inspiration of an Egypt at its height. Later, during the reign of Horemheb, his edict preserved at Karnak displays the most extensive examples of pharaonic legislation, including the condemnation of the improper requisition of flax (Murnane 1995, 238). Individuals were apparently traveling to the various districts, levying taxes fraudulently.

The only individual that is illustrative of the textile industry after this time is Neferhotep (TT49; Davies 1933b). He was the Chief Scribe of Amun during the reign of Ay. We can see the storerooms of the Temple of Amun with a scribe accounting goods including gold, grain, papyrus, wine, oil, and linen (Davies 1933b; pl. XLV). Women are depicted with baskets full of bread and linen, making deliveries to the storeroom (pls. XLV, XLVI). At the lowest part of the wall, the temple workshop scenes are depicted. A carpentry shop, bakery, and weaving workshop are depicted (pls. XLV, XLIV). The weaving workshop show an upright loom, similar to those seen in Tombs 103, 104, and 133 (Davies 1993b, 38). Unfortunately, this part is the most degraded, but line drawings done by Hay and Wilkinson are available (*Additional MSS*, British Museum 29824, 11-15). The looms are upright with the weaver sitting on a stool before it (Fig. 4.10).

It is unclear why the Chief Scribe of Amun is shown managing the textile workshops at the Amun precinct, but perhaps, given the reorganization occurring post the upheavals of

Akhenaten, such activities fell under the Chief Scribe's auspices given the necessities of accounting and storage. From this we can see that, even after the Amarna interlude, the Temple of Amun and those associated with it still controlled many weaving workshops with linen being stored in the temple storehouses.

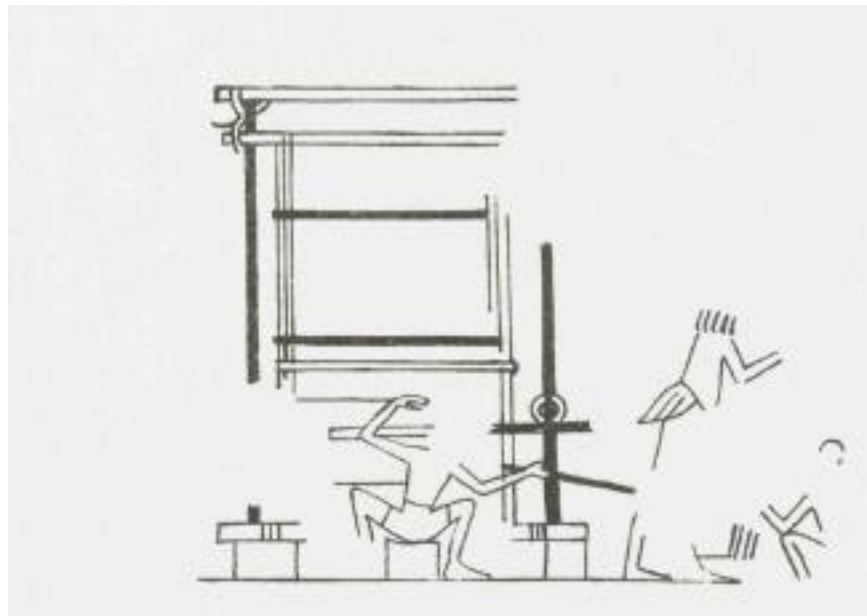


Fig. 4.10- The very fragmentary image of a weaving workshop from the Tomb of Neferhotep (TT49; Davies 1933b, Pl. LX C)

4.2.3.2 The Ramesside Period

It is with the onset of the Ramesside Period that we begin to see a further delineation of titles and oversight of the industry. It is at this time as well that the memorial temples on the West Bank of Thebes grew in economic and administrative power with their own attached storerooms and workshops. Early in the 18th Dynasty, these temples were small and economically very dependent on the major temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, as discussed above (Haring 2007, 166). By the reign of Amenhotep III, the memorial temples became significantly larger, and by the Ramesside Period their storerooms were the ones providing offerings at Karnak (Haring 1997). Overtime, however, the foundations of memorial temples were rarely extended or protected. A later king would often concentrate their policy on their own memorial temple rather than the

previous kings'. The main temple of Amun-Re at Karnak always remained the king's true focus of endowment policy (Haring 2007, 167).

At the end of the 18th Dynasty, during the reign of Horemheb, there is evidence to support the cultivation of flax under the control of the Amun priesthood again. Roy, the "Royal Scribe" and "Steward of the Estates of Horemheb and Amun," has a flax cultivation scene included in his tomb to depict aspects under his responsibility (TT255; PM I 339; Fig. 4.11)



Fig. 4.11- Scene of Flax pulling from the tomb of Roy (TT255; Epigraphic Survey Negative 10326)

The Treasury is still lush with textiles and other goods as evidenced by the Nauri Decree of Seti I: "[t]he Treasuries are full of riches, silver in heaps from the earth, royal linen and textile in every quality, millions of moringa oil, incense, wine, honey, beyond measure..." (Griffith 1927; Warburton 1997, 190). A letter dating to the reign of Ramses II records the status of fields in the delta that are under the control of the Estate of Amun with the specific mention of "goods brought for the Treasury, an abundance of silver, gold, copper, and clothing (O. Gardiner 86; Wente 1990, no. 141). Given the mention of assessment of taxes earlier in the letter, the cloth mentioned here is probably related to that.

In the Ramesside Period, textile-related titles became more specific. If one solely did a search for overseers or heads of weavers, you might be led to assume that they only existed in

the Ramesside Period since prior governance of the industry fell under different auspices in the 18th Dynasty (minus a few exceptions—TT45, Djehuty, for example). Djehutyemhab, who usurped the tomb of Djehuty (TT45), was the “Head of the Weavers of the Temple of Amun,” and he also states that his father Wennefer was also the “Head of the Weavers of Amun” before him. Neferrenpet (TT133; Davies 1948) was the Chief of the Weavers of Amun during the reign of Ramses II, and Khaiemener held the Chief of Weavers title at some point in the 19th Dynasty (BM10568; Demaree 2006, 114).

Djehutyemhab (TT45; Davies 1948) is an interesting example of title affiliation and tomb usurpation. TT45 was discussed earlier during the section of Thutmosis III as Djehuty was the original occupant of the tomb and held the “Overseer of Weavers” title. Interestingly, about two hundred years after Djehuty lived and died, Djehutyemhab usurped his tomb. What makes it all the more compelling is that Djehutyemhab also held the “Overseer of Weavers” title. It would be romantic to conceive of a familial connection between these two individuals, but what is more likely is that Djehutyemhab or the power that he chose the tomb to usurp because of this titulary connection. Djehutyemhab’s father, Wennefer, was also engaged in the oversight of textile production as the “Chief of the Weavers of the Fine Linen of Amun,” indicating specialized linen production by the 19th Dynasty under the direction of the Temple of Amun. The tomb scenes themselves do not display Djehutyemhab’s role in textile production, but his awareness of fashions of the time is present.

In multiple instances, the painters for Djehutyemhab updated the outfits of the earlier Thutmocide Djehuty and wife. In one scene of Djehuty’s wife, you can see the original two-strap sheath dress in style during the mid-18th Dynasty (Fig. 4.12). It had been updated to reflect Ramesside fashions through an overcoat of white paint to add the billowing sleeves common during Ramses II’s reign. In another instance, white paint was added to nude younger women in the banquet scene, again reflecting changing fashions between the 18th and 19th Dynasties (Fig. 4.13).

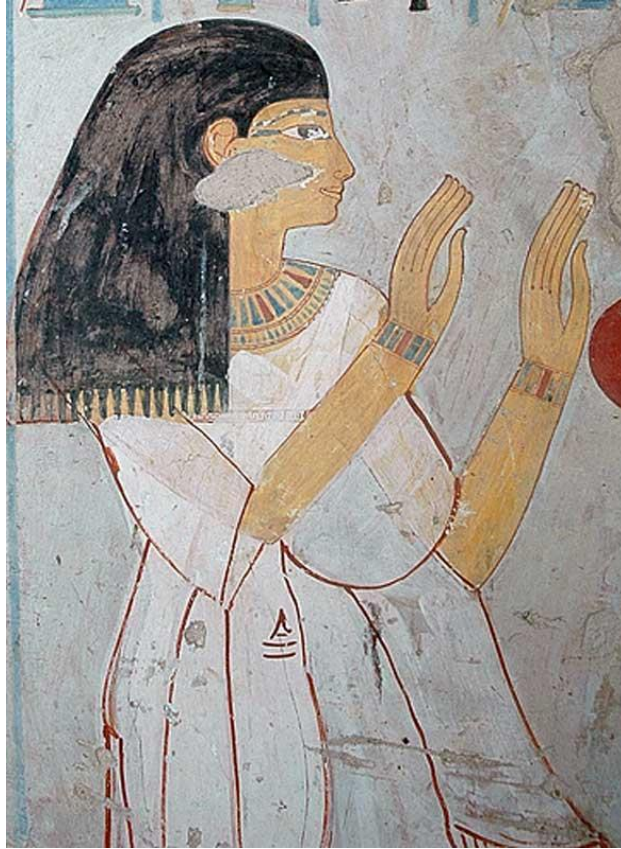


Fig. 4.12- Note the style changes between 18th and 19th dynasties (TT45; © Osirisnet.net)



Fig. 4.13- White paint was added over the originally nude young women to reflect changing fashions (TT45; © Osirisnet.net)

Perhaps given the restrictions of usurpation, Djehutyemhab did not wish to or could not completely erase the prior occupants' paintings. In lieu of that, Djehutyemhab decided to show his sartorial connection not through a workshop scene or accounting of cloth but through a keen eye toward consumption practices—the distinction between fashions of the past and present.

On the other hand, other individuals directly involved in textile manufacture fell back to other techniques of displaying this connection. The tomb of Neferrenpet (TT133; Davies 1948) is particularly illustrative. The tomb is rather poorly preserved, but fortunately the scenes of textile manufacture are preserved well enough to recreate Neferrenpet's role during Ramses II's reign. Neferrenpet was the "Head of the weavers in the House of Usermaatre-Setepenre (Ramses II) in the estate of Amun (the Ramesseum)" and "The Head of the Weavers of the Two Lands." On the outer eastern wall, southern side, Neferrenpet is depicted overseeing a weaving workshop (Davies 1948; pl. XXXV; Fig. 4.14). Here we can see men, women, and children engaged in textile production. In the upper register, individuals bring what appears to be linen of various hues. There is also a balance weighing the linen where the hanks are being placed. In the lower register, to the left, individuals are seated cleaning or winding thread. Next to them to the right, women are shown laying the warp, with four upright looms depicted to their right. As discussed earlier, these two loom types allow for different types of fabrics to be woven. Though the scene is rather abbreviated given the deteriorated nature of the tomb, a few conclusions can be drawn. By the time of Ramses II, the textile industry had become sub-divided. No longer are the Chief Scribes or Chief Treasurers overseeing the industry as in the 18th Dynasty. Now it would appear that each temple had its own separate overseer and labor structure as evidenced by the increasing of specific titles. Following the precedent established in the 18th dynasty, the Treasury held management over textiles still.



Scale 2 : 7

Fig. 4.14- Depicting of a weaving workshop from the tomb of Neferrenpet (Davies 1948, pl. xxxv)

Neferrenpet, called Kenro (TT178; PM I 284), was the “Scribe of the Treasury in the Estate of Amun-Re” during the reign of Ramses II. The Treasury of Amun is depicted in full, subdivided into five structures—workshops and storage rooms. Neferrenpet as the scribe of the Treasury is shown assessing and weighing certain luxury goods for the Treasury including textiles, with a label noting the “Chief of the Weavers” (Fig. 4.15). Neferrenpet is seated next to this activity labeled as the “one who received the works of the weavers of the house of Amun.”



Fig. 4.15- Neferrenpet, called Kenro, seated before an accounting and weighing scene of textiles before storage in the Treasury © Jordan Galczynski

With the onset of the 20th Dynasty, the temple's involvement in textile production continued, with much of our evidence coming from textual documents relating to the memorial temples on the west bank of Thebes. The so-called Tomb Robbery Papyri record the involvement of many weavers from the memorial temple of Ramses II, the Ramesseum (Table 4.1):

Table 4.1- List of Weavers implicated in the Tomb Robbery Papyri			
Transliteration	Translation	Name	Source
<i>šḥty n pr ïmn</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Bukhaaf	BM 10068, r. 4.24; r. 6.14
<i>šḥty n wsr-m³t-r' stp n r'</i>	weaver of the temple of Usermaatse Setepenre	Paiukhef	BM 10068, r. 5.1
<i>šḥty n pr ïmn</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Kharu	BM 10068 r. 5.7
<i>šḥty n pr ïmn</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Khonsumose son of Thewnozem	BM 10053, ro. 2.2
<i>šḥty n pr ïmn</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Pehesi	BM 10053, ro. 2.3
<i>šḥty n pr ïmn</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Thewnozem	BM 10053, ro. 2.4
<i>šḥty n pr ïmn (under the chief priest)</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Thayamenemimu	BM 10053, ro. 2.6
<i>šḥty n t' ḥwt</i>	weaver of the temple	n/a	Turin Necropolis Journal, vs. A3:6
<i>sš n šḥty n pr ïmn</i>	scribe of the weavers of the Temple of Amun	Shedsukhons	BM 10053, ro. 4.3
<i>ïmy-r šḥty n pr ïmn</i>	Overseer weaver of Pairsekher, scribe of the Temple of Amun	Penwenhab	BM 10053, ro. 4.6; 6.10
<i>ḥry mrw</i>	Chief of the Weavers	Iriperet	BM 10053, ro. 4.15
<i>šḥty n pr-ïmn (under the chief priest)</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Pezez	BM 10053, ro. 4.17
<i>šḥty n pr-ïmn (under the chief priest); šḥt.y hms=f n pr-³ rwit ḥnw ïm mnḥyt</i>	Weaver who lives in the house of Pharaoh, inside the temple of Mehit	Pamedushepsinakht	BM 10053, ro. 4.19; ro. 7.14
<i>ḥry mrw n šm'y ïmn</i>	Overseer of the Weavers of the Chantress of Amun	Sauipedmi	BM 10053, ro. 5.3

<i>sh̄ty</i>	Weaver	Keniminu	BM 10053, ro. 5.6
<i>sh̄ty n pr-imm (under the chief priest)</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Ruteti	BM 10053, ro. 6.8
<i>sh̄ty n pr-imm (under the chief priest)</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Pesept	BM 10053, ro. 6.18
<i>sh̄ty</i>	Weaver	Taty	BM 10403, 11
<i>sh̄ty</i>	Weaver	Twtw	BM 10403, 14

The mention of individual weavers, unprecedented in earlier periods, is linked to the judicial nature of the papyri where individuals' names, titles, and relations were necessary for justice to be served. Not only were fourteen individual weavers named as participants in royal tomb robbery, but also four overseers or scribes of the weavers as well, indicating how these tomb robberies utilized individuals from all levels of temple bureaucracy. Tomb robbery and textile reuse will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Interestingly, instead of being listed as *mrt*, the term used here is *sh̄ty*. So, instead of the weavers being laborers under the *pr-šna*, individuals appear to be employed solely as weavers at this time (see Chapter 5). This term is sparingly used but attested throughout all of Egyptian history.

Beside the judicial nature of these texts, they also depict the role of memorial temples in textile production during the 20th Dynasty. Haring (1997, 205) notes that, as Papyrus Harris shows, precious materials like silver, copper, and textiles were obtained and produced in greater quantities by the personnel of the temple itself (more on Papyrus Harris I in Section 4.5), textiles being the one good that is “easy” to produce in-house. No great expedition is needed to be launched like for precious gems or metals. And as mentioned earlier, Neferrenpet was the “Chief of the Weavers of the Ramesseum,” the only known instance of a memorial temple overseer of weavers. However, given the prevalence of weavers in the Tomb Robbery Papyri, we

should expect many more “Overseers of Weavers” in existence, or the oversight fell to others with titles that mask their textile management role.

We know from other texts that textiles as a form of wages came from these temples for the workpeople of Deir el-Medina, and it is to these temples that the workers go when a “strike” is initiated. On day 12 of their strike, the workmen walked to the Ramesseum to conduct a “sit-in” saying that they came because they from “hunger and thirst, for there is neither clothing nor oil” (P. Turin Cat. 1880, col. 1 line 7-col. 5 line 5).

A series of letters preserved in Papyrus Anastasi VI, which date to the reign of Merneptah, record the continued involvement of the Treasury in textile production concerns; the scribe Inena was writing to the Scribe of the Treasury about the kidnapping of weavers under his direction (see Section 4.4.4). Here it is clear that the Treasury is managing the weavers who are actually under the auspices of the Temple of Ramses III. This again shows the highly entangled nature of many of these positions in the major institutions—the civil and temple administration. Another letter even mentions “the weavers of the Treasury of the King” (Caminos 1954, 297).

The dearth of titulary evidence from the 20th Dynasty is directly related to the lack of clearly dated 20th Dynasty tombs from western Thebes. Instead, most of our evidence comes from administrative texts which discuss the provisioning of arable land and textiles between many of the temples of the whole of Egypt. This is discussed in more detail in Section 4.5, but to summarize: by the time of the writing of these papyri (Amiens, Baldwin, Wilbour, and Harris), the temples essentially owned most of the land of Egypt, with a small percentage dedicated to the cultivation of flax for textile production; the major temple precincts produced textiles that were documented and recorded, with the king’s estate also involved in production and exchange of textile resources between temple institutions.

The temples are recorded as provided the following numbers of garments:

	Thebes	Heliopolis	Memphis	Smaller Temples	Summary
Garments	3,722	1,1019	133.5	n/a	4,8742 +

At the same time, Ramses III is said to have “gifted” a huge number of garments in return to the temples:

	Thebes	Heliopolis	Memphis	Smaller Temples	Summary
Garments	9,116	18,793	7,025	2,947	37,882

However, one indication of the continuance of temple involvement in the textile industry during the 20th Dynasty comes from the so-called Late Ramesside Letters recording the correspondence between the necropolis scribe Djehutymes, called Tjaroy, and his son Butehamon. In one letter written by the general of the pharaoh, Piankhy asks for Djehutymes to send him cloth in the forms of many strips (Wente 1990, no. 300). Djehutymes and his son Butehamon resided within the temple encore at Medinet Habu. Clearly, Piankhy knew they had access to textile perhaps either from the stores at Medinet Habu itself or elsewhere. Since the crew of the workmen were living at Medinet Habu then, domestic weaving was almost certainly taking place as well. In another letter, there appears to be some miscommunication concerning the delivery of clothes and the timing of Piankhy’s departure to the south, with Djehutymes concerned about being declared derelict of duty (Wente 1990, no. 315).

4.3 Palace Textile Production

The palace economy is inexorably linked with the temple by the New Kingdom, making even a separate categorization as such almost pointless. One example of this is the Treasury. The Treasury, though a part of palace/state functions, was housed at the Temple of Amun during the New Kingdom. The textiles produced through the Temple of Amun were stored in the Treasury overseen by the Vizier, an official of the state. The artificial separation of “church and state” that Western cultures espouse is untenable in the Egyptian context; instead we need to think in

terms of institutions. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the palace economies seem to indicate some separation of the textile industry under different management and organizational processes, albeit in close ties with the temple organization. Eyre (1987, 194) cautions against the clear divisions between the temple and palace economies. Officials and workers could have been shared. It can be assumed that the largest body of the best artists were based at the palace at the capital (Eyre 1987, 194).

Given the lack of evidence from main palace sites at Memphis and Thebes for the textile industry, we must turn to the secondary palace of Gurob and the short-lived site of Amarna for further clearer evidence for the relationship between textile artists and the palace administration.

4.3.1 Gurob

One of the best preserved and most excavated “harem” sites is at Gurob, known in antiquity as *Mi-Wer*. It was first excavated by Petrie (1890, 1891), followed by Loat (1905), and then Engelbach and Brunton (1927). Excavations were begun again in 2006 by the University of Liverpool and lasted until 2015 and have been under the direction of the IFAO since 2017. The site is composed of a palace structure, industrial area, “fort,” dock/riverine area, and north town (Picton 2016, fig. 16.1). The earliest date of the site comes from a stamped brick and inscribed temple lintel naming Thutmosis III. Use is confirmed through the reign of Ramses II where a number of commemorative stelae of administrators of the site are known. The palace is smaller than Amarna and Malqata in size and decoration, but elements of royal architecture still remain as well as evidence for elite occupation—high status ‘palace ware’ is present (Petrie 1891, pl. XX; Gasperini 2014).

Both archaeological and textual evidence support the argument that the site was used for the production of textiles, specifically royal linen. Gurob Fragment G (Gardiner 1948, 20-21) lists a number of garments withdrawn from the storeroom of “this house for the “Opening of the

Year Festival,” which is presumably the palace at Gurob. The garments include “royal linen, *mk*-cloth, *mk*-linen, double fine thin dresses, double fine thin tunics, thin dresses, thin tunics, and thin loincloths.” Although there is damage to the text at the beginning of the second list, it seems to reference these garments given as gifts (*inw*) to a scribe, Seti. On the verso, there are two lists of garments that are sent to “where the king is” (Pi-Ramses?) where the scribe Seti is mentioned again.

Gurob Fragment T (Gardiner 1948, 22) is very poorly preserved, but the text that is visible mentions garments with one set being given to a male member of the palace. Griffith’s Gurob Papyri II, 1 (1898, 92-93) records a deal during the reign of Amenhotep III made between the custodian Mesu-Amen with the female citizen Pikay and her son, the priest Menua. Mesu-Amen is hiring Pikay as a maidservant for a number of days in exchange for a number of garments totaling 15 *deben*. Gurob 2 records a similar transaction with garment exchanges for maid service (Griffith 1898, 93).

Gurob Fragment Y (Gardiner 1948, 24-26) is a letter listing garments belonging or delivered to various houses. For example, from *recto*, column 2:

House of... House of... House of Djedsu: *mss* [//]; House of Heref: *idg* 1; House of Sekhepertay: *mss* 1; House of Aanakhtu: *mss* 1; House of Meryherishef: small *mss* 1; House of ...: *mk*-cloth, *mss* 1; Total: *mk*-cloth... *idg* 4, small 1, *mss* 4, small 1, *šndyt* 2... Gardiner 1948, 24-26.

On the *verso*, column 2, there appears to be an account of quantities of loom production. For example, the House Djedsu mentioned earlier on the *recto* is listed as producing “*šm*‘-cloth 30; *šm*‘cloth 34, on the loom: 9; *šm*‘-cloth 132, n“-*sp*-cloth...” (Gardiner 1948, 24-6). It is unclear why the specific *šm*‘cloth is listed four times. Perhaps this represents the four looms working in that house or a specific period of time under which those quantities of cloth were produced by the house.

Gurob Fragment Y is the best support for a ‘farming-out’ of labor by the palace to associated elite households, also known as a cottage industry (see Section 4.4). The palace received flax either in its raw or processed form which was then given to households to produce into either measured unit of specific quality cloth or into specific garment forms that were collected and overseen by the palace administration.

The largest area of textile production comes from the central and northern area of the palace itself and in the industrial area to the north outside of the palace confines. A great number of textile-related objects have been found at Gurob, many of which are stored in the Petrie Museum. These include bobbins, spindles, spindle whorls, spacing bars for looms, and needles (UC 7809, UC 7810, UC 7714, and UC 7807, to name a few). Since many of the textile tools originate from the 1888-1920 field seasons, the problem of the lack of provenance is at the forefront. For Gurob, a slight concentration of textile manufacturing tools can be seen from the palace area which fits with other evidence from other harem palace sites and the known types of work occurring there. There are also a small number of objects coming from the 1A1 Industrial area to the northeast of the palace area. Hodgkinson (2018, 203) argues that the main textile production area has not been uncovered as of now. Spinazzi-Lucchesi (2020) completed an analysis of the textile tools recovered from the site, now housed in UCL, and they were able to trace 30 spindles, 75 whorls, 95 pin beaters, 5 warp spaces, two weavers slays, and one squared pool probably for fixing a vertical loom to a wall.

The textile tools preserved at Gurob are different from other spinning tools from other pharaonic contexts. The spindle whorls are smaller and lighter than those found at Amarna or Deir el-Medina. The shafts are long and thin, with one complete spindle only weighing 5 grams (UC7809). A more “regular” version would weigh around 8 grams. The whorls are also different shapes—domed or conical—where usually they are cylindrical. Spinazzi-Lucchesi (2020, 468) suggests that this is due to the type of spinning occurring at the site. The very lightweight and thin spindle shaft would have been needed to weave the extremely fine textiles at the site. This is

probably correct but is also probably related to the number of foreigners at the site from diplomatic marriages (Chapter 5).

It would seem the long history of looting at the site and poor early excavation might be to blame lack of archaeological context. Petrie's first season at the site went unsupervised, unmapped, and unrecorded (Serpico 2008, 20-21). At the end of this season, farmers stripped the site of mudbrick for fertilizer, the stone for building construction, and antiquities for sale with a number of objects from the site appearing on the antiquities market in Cairo (Chassinat 1901). Picton (2016, 230) recounts a photograph in the Petrie Museum of the site strewn with human remains, textiles, and potsherds. Indeed, Petrie recorded the large quantities of textiles discovered in the tombs, including some of exceptional fineness (1890, 34-35). Wooden objects related to textile production do not preserve as well or might

Recently, Picton *et al* (2016) reported on the textile finds from the site, noting a huge range of quality, with most in a highly deteriorated state. A few pieces are worth mentioning. GU12/SF246 is a very fine quality child's tunic in almost complete condition. Based on the size, it is estimated to be for a three or four-year-old. The textile preserved a blue border about the bottom, left, and right edges of the tunic. This can be added to the 17 other pieces of blue-banded textiles they have from the site as well as a red-and-blue banded textile (Picton *et al* 2016, 3). GU12/SF314 is a very large *mss*-tunic made of the finest creamy-white linen. It was originally made for a very tall individual as it measured 1.45 meters from shoulder to hem.

4.3.2 Amarna

Amarna has been extensively excavated with the first major expeditions under Petrie (1894), the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (DOG) under the derelict of Borchardt (1907, 1914), the EES (Egyptian Exploration Society, formerly the Egyptian Exploration Fund [EEF]) (Peet and Woolley 1923; Newton 1924; Pendlebury 1931; 1932; 1933; 1934; 1935; 1936), and most recently by Barry Kemp, initially under the EES but then through an independent entity, the Amarna

Project.⁶ For the purposes of this section, the two palace areas of the site will be examined to look at the evidence for textile production occurring in those locations. Amarna is a unique example in that it is the only example where we have palace structures within a larger urban site. The exact demarcation between palace-associated industries versus non-palace is more difficult. This I would argue is for a reason—the reason being that the categorization followed in this study, separating temple, palace, and domestic contexts, does not reflect the reality of textile production. Production and exchange of resources, raw materials, and finished products flowed unhindered between palace and temple institutions and between household or village production. The categorization is constructed here to allow for an organizational structure, but we will return to the overlapping nature of these systems involved in textile production in due time. The North Palace and the Central City are the two areas under study for this section.

4.3.2.1 North Palace

The North Palace is a large structure at the north of the site and is usually believed to be the household for the women of the royal household, especially the king's daughters, given the number of inscriptions referring to them and his second wife, Kiya (Reeves 1988, 93-7). Unfortunately, Hodgkinson states that no textile-related items were found at the site though restoration work has begun with new materials being found. An examination of any textile tools from this area will have to await further publication. If we follow Gurob's example, this is the area that we expect to see the most textile activity.

4.3.2.2 Central City

The Central City comprises the North Palace and associated administrative and royal buildings as well as Amarna's two main temples, the Small and the Great Aten Temples. The distribution

⁶ See Kemp 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017 for survey and excavation reports.

of textile related finds throughout this royal complex is rather even, with concentrations in the Magazines and the Records Office.

The Records Office yielded over 23 textile-related tools—seven spinning implements, five pin beaters, and 11 needles. It is not surprising to find so many textile-related implementations here given the vast numbers of textiles being gifted back and forth as evidenced in the Amarna letters (Chapter 6). Given this evidence, the New Kingdom overlap between temple and palace industry appears to have continued in the Amarna Period. The distribution is unsurprising and follows established patterns (Fig. 4.16).



Fig. 4.16- Distribution of textile-related tools in the Central city. Note the high concentrations in the palace and King's House (Hodgkinson 2014, fig. 96).

4.3.3 Other Palace locations

Other palace locations like Malqata or Pi-Ramses (Quantir), unfortunately, do not show any evidence for textile production as of yet. Given the ephemeral nature of textiles, their preservation in Delta is not to be expected. From the above-mentioned texts from Gurob, we know of Pi-Ramses' involvement. Malqata requires more excavation prior to a full assessment.

In Hodgkinson's (2014) examination of palace industries, they do not note any evidence for textile production at either site due to insufficient archaeological record.

4.3.4 Conclusions

The evidence of palace-managed textile production is rather unsatisfactory, overall. Gurob provides a wealth of textual evidence, giving some hints at the textiles produced at the site, but the evidence for production itself and any associated weaving installations are still missing from the site archaeologically. Amarna, on the other hand, provides evidence for some palace production, yet the data is skewed given the overlapping nature between temple and palace storage contexts in the Central City. Additionally, the lack of any textile evidence from the North Palace is suspicious. Is this an issue of early excavators being overzealous in their clearance practices, or was the palace emptied in some manner before the site was abandoned? My hypothesis is the latter. Indeed, the early report on the excavations of the North Palace mention no small finds at all (Newton 1924). In summary, the evidence is present to conclude textile production was occurring in palace contexts, but the nuances of that production are still yet to be clarified. However, all of this could serve as further proof for a cottage industry-type approach to textile production, where the large institution "farmed" out labor to elite and other households.

4.4-Household Level Production and Outsourcing Labor

On a smaller scale, individual households engaged in textile production, too, as part of the larger industry, for personal consumption, and for sale. Visual, textual, and archaeological evidence support the household production of textiles. This section will explore those avenues of evidence while also discussing how exactly this domestic production functioned in reference to the large industry. Ultimately, the evidence would appear to support both household-level production for

personal consumption and exchange as well as interaction with the larger state level institution through a cottage industry.

Elites having weavers in their households is supported by various forms of evidence. In one text that references the awards Amun will grant an elite individual, among other forms of wealth and abundance, the individual will also be given “weavers (*mryt*) who flourish” (Caminos 1954, 138). This would indicate that the holding of *mrt*-weavers by an elite individual was a common enough occurrence that they are an expected part of elite households like wine, beer, bread, and fish.

One of the main questions concerning the textile industry is the degree of cottage-level production. A cottage industry, sometimes also known as domestic industry or home production, is defined as an industry whose production takes place within the worker’s home using the worker’s own tools (Routledge Dictionary of Economies 2013). In a cottage industry, an institution provides the raw materials to the worker to produce the finished product, usually meeting a quota. Anything over the quota the worker gets to keep. The key characteristics of a cottage industry are 1) that the raw materials are provided by the state/institution/industry and 2) that the labor is performed in a domestic setting. Throughout this section, we will assess the level of evidence to support this theory and will return to this issue in Section 4.4.2.5

Turning to the visual depictions of domestic production, a number of tombs record scenes of weaving activities occurring within elite households. The tomb of Nebamun (TT17) depicts men, women, and children of Nebamun’s estate bringing sacks of cloth or yarn and pieces of linen (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. XXII). That these individuals are either enslaved or indentured to Nebamun’s estate is clear from the nearby depiction where one individual who has not brought their quota is receiving punishment.

Similarly, the tomb of Djehutynefer (TT80 and 104; Davies 1929) depicts scenes of household textile production. In both of his tombs, his home is depicted including the textile production occurring in the basement (indicated by the considerable thickness of the walls and

ground level above). Multiple stages of the process are visible—from the scutching of the fiber to spinning and weaving (Davies 1929, fig. 1A; Fig. 4.7). The lack of windows would have made this space very dark and difficult to work in. The identities of the women and men depicted in this scene are unclear, but it is probably safe to assume that they are either servants or enslaved peoples of Djehutynefer's household. A limestone *talatat* was also uncovered at Amarna that depicts a vertical loom within a domestic context (Messiha and Elhitta 1979, pl. XXXI).

Many texts from Deir el-Medina support the household production of textiles, especially in forms of exchange and bartering between inhabitants of the village. For example, one letter from Isis to Nebuemnu asked for her to “[p]lease pay attention and weave for me this shawl, very, very, quickly, before the god Amenhotep comes, because I am completely naked” (McDowell 1999, no. 15). There are many ostraca that record the exchange of goods including textiles that were presumably made within the home or were obtained as payment for work (e.g., O.Ashmolean 0286 and O.Ashmolean 0103 reverse).

The strongest textual evidence in support of a cottage-like industry approach is P. Anastasi VI, a letter from the Scribe Inena to the Scribe of the Treasury Kageb (Caminos 1954, 280). The letter is somewhat difficult to understand, but Inena is leveling accusations against a steward Seba. Seba supposedly on numerous occasions removed a number of male and female weavers who were assigned to Inena, with Seba arguing that he felt he had a claim on them:

Then he proceeded to register the weavers in the scroll in my name, he had taken the weavers away, and they were in his village. He then proceeded to register the scroll in my name in the temple of Ramses III...He also took away the weavers in the Domain of Nebethotep after he had taken away from me another two girls... And when the registering of the weavers in my name was complete, he set set people in pursuit of me, saying, “Produce the output of the weavers,” so he said, although I had already handed over the output of the weavers to the Overseer of the Treasury... He also took away the woven fabric which I would have brought to the Overseer of the Treasury. Caminos 1954, 280.

Inena continues with a list specifying exactly the woven fabrics that Seba took from him. Later in the text, the local army commander Huy is brought forth to pass judgment on the accusation. The result of the accusation, unfortunately, is not told to us. This text provides us with a

microscope look at one individual's role in the larger textile production system. It would seem that Inena, a scribe, was in charge of cultivating land as well as supervising a number of weavers that were assigned to him. His association appears to be with the Temple of Ramses II given its reference while Seba's is with the Domain of Nebethotep. Inena would receive a number of weavers from the temple which he "signed out" under his name, with a quote given to him by the temple with the expectation being that, after a certain amount of time, the finished product would be turned over to the Overseer of the Treasury, who we know was highly involved in textile management. Through Seba's kidnapping of Inena's labor and finished product, he puts Inena at risk of punishment. This in turn leads Inena to write to the Overseer of the Treasury, Kageb, to explain his situation. In doing so, the letter preserved to us a specific inner working of the textile industry.

This is but one letter, but there is corroborating evidence from the archaeological record that demonstrates that textiles were being produced within domestic contexts. The sites of Deir el-Ballas, Amarna, and Deir el-Medina all have yielded data to support an ongoing, collaborative, and intensive relationship between the major institutions and domestic contexts for the production of textiles.

4.4.1 Deir el-Ballas

From the site of Deir el-Ballas, House E provides evidence not only for domestic production of textiles but also support for a cottage textile industry. Evidence for textile production on the site comes exclusively from House E. In Room 5a of the house, finds include a collapsed wooden beam, a saddle-shaped limestone block, a spinning bowl, a spindle whorl, spun woolen threads, a line cord, raw wool, textile fragments, and an open-work leather kilt (Lacovara 1990, 7). In the other rooms of the house (3 and 4), other textile fragments were uncovered during the 1983 and 1985 seasons. During the 2019-2020 season, another limestone block was uncovered that appears to be a socket to support the upright loom (Brown 2021). Given that this house is

surrounding the main palace structure, could this weaving installation in this house function similar to what the Gurob papyri is describing? House E provides evidence for each phase of production of textiles. This would indicate that this household was receiving unspun flax from the palace to produce textiles.

The other interpretation is that House E was part of the cottage industry and was merely domestically producing textiles for the consumption of the household. Did the household have its own landholdings upon which flax was grown? From Chapter 2, we know that flax was a very water- and time-intensive crop to promulgate, making small-scale rearing unlikely. The household could have purchased flax from a market perhaps to then process at the home. Connecting the archaeological evidence from this home with the textual from Gurob is the most tempting, however. The relationship between House E and the other elite households surrounding the palace at Deir el-Ballas is yet to be firmly established.

4.4.2 Amarna

Textile-related artifacts have been uncovered in every part of the city, concentrated in three main areas: households, attached workshops to temples, and the Workmen's Village. The possible temple workshops were discussed earlier in Section 4.3.2.

Most textile-related objects came from the North Suburb, with Main City North and South having a similar proportion (Fig. 4.17). Over half the objects listed as textile-related in Hodgkinson's work (2014) are metal needles. Being metal and smaller, these items preserve better in the archaeological record than other objects of a textile-production nature. Many of the industries at Amarna are co-present. For textile production, much of the evidence coincides with evidence for glass production leading Hodgkinson to conclude that these industries overlapped in some way. Many textiles as shown in Chapter 2 had additional beadwork, perhaps hinting at this connection.

Percentages of Textile-Related Artifacts by Zone

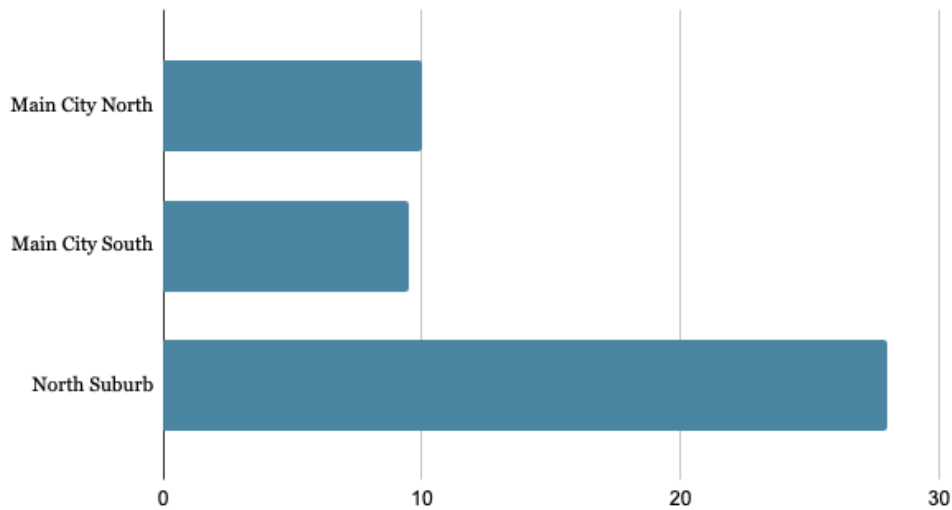


Fig. 4.17- Graph representing the distribution of textile-related artifacts by region at Amarna (after Hodgkinson 2014).

4.4.2.1 Main City North

From the Main City North, the production of textile fits a similar pattern to metals. Looking at the distribution of textile tools across households, 26% of smaller houses contained textile-related tools compared to nearly half (48%) of larger houses (>900 m²) The largest textile production zone in that region is the area just south of the Thutmose artist studio—P47.4. Here a total of seventeen pierced clay objects were found, which have been interpreted as loom weights (Hodgkinson 2014, 193). The three largest houses in the area also contained the highest number of textile-related artifacts with evidence for the various stages of the textile production process from spinning to weaving. Another three larger houses also provide evidence. Another concentration of textile objects was found in a group of smaller houses near Q45. Twenty-one small houses contained at least one object related to textile production. The last area of concentration is a series of smaller houses which, in comparison to house size, have a high density of objects.

Only 23 objects related to spinning were found in the Main City North, with Hodgkinson (2014, 195) concluding that there were no significant clusters of spinning activity in the area. If

what we are seeing is a cottage industry, the spinning might have been occurring elsewhere prior to the thread being given to the households to turn into finished products. Most of the weaving activity, however, appears to have taken place in the northern half of the Main City. There should be caution with this interpretation given the lack of preservation of wooden looms and the possible misinterpretation of stone loom sockets. From the preserved evidence, weaving appears to have been concentrated in the large households (Hodgkinson 2014, 195-6).

4.4.2.2 Main City South

From the Main City South, there is an overall even distribution of textile-related objects across the area. The highest concentration of objects of textile production is found at the center with both small and large houses containing evidence, with smaller houses having slightly more relevant artifacts.

The relationship between the large and smaller houses in the Main City is unclear. Hodgkinson (2014, 199) offers that the smaller houses functioned as “workshops” in a way for the larger elite houses. Perhaps the larger elite houses received the raw materials from the state, in turn “farming out” the labor to their dependents living in the smaller houses. The high concentration of textile production does support a cottage industry rather than simple household production. Both were probably occurring.

4.4.2.3 North Suburb

The North Suburb contains the highest concentration of textile-related objects of all the regions. Concentrations were indicated in the larger houses with the highest concentration in a series of smaller houses in the southern area of the region (Hodgkinson 2014, fig. 97). Of note, the largest area of smaller homes (T36) does *not* contain the highest concentration of textile-related production as we would expect from the trends in the other areas of Amarna (Hodgkinson 2014, fig. 202).

4.4.2.4 *Workmen's Village*

An area not covered in Hodgkinson's (2014) study was the Workmen's Village, which arguably provides the best evidence for textile production in relation to the larger state administration. Evidence for all aspects of textile production can be found at the Workmen's Village. Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2000, 473) caution, however, that the rich artifact record is probably related to the unusual degree of survival of wooden objects in the Workmen's Village in comparison to the city. Taken at face value, it would appear that all the spinning was occurring at the Workmen's Village, but this is probably only due to preservation bias.

The only higher percentage of objects at the Workmen's Village that is statistically significant is the presence of worked stone loom sockets. Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2000, 473) argue that this is not related to more weaving occurring at the site but in fact to the distance the Workmen's Village is from the rest of the site, so when the site was abandoned, heavier objects, like stone sockets, were left behind.

Unlike the rest of the city, the Workmen's Village did not engage in the production of other goods. One of the main economies of the Workmen's Village was in the production of textiles. Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood posit that the Workmen's Village might have been an actual *pr-šn'*, but the argumentation is rather unsatisfactory. We know the Workmen's Village was, first and foremost, for the construction of the royal and elite tombs. I would argue that the prevalence of textile production at the site is related specifically to the gendered nature of the industry and the geographic location of the site.

Given the nature of the Workmen's Village with the men going to work on the construction of the tomb(s), the women of the site were then left to engage in other activities, including weaving. We know that weaving was a predominantly women's activity, an activity that was easy to fit around other tasks like home-keeping, child-rearing, and food preparation. If indeed we see the Workmen's Village fitting into a cottage industry, raw flax or finished thread

could have been delivered to the site for the inhabitants to weave into finished products then to be returned to the state or temple administration.

Textile-related tools, except looms, are also highly portable, making the geographic location of the site suited to the industry. Beside the large limestone sockets, which could have been sourced locally, all the other implements are rather small and/or lightweight. The only product that would have been heavier and not locally available would have been the wooden beams of the looms, which could have been brought in on donkey.

Other industries like metal working or glass production required heavier materials, making it not worthwhile to trek such objects out to the desert for manufacture when it could be completed within the city limits. And as we shall see with Deir el-Medina, women were engaged in textile production for personal use and local market economies, which might have also been occurring at the site as well. Given the state-organized nature of these workmen's villages, it is logical to assume that the other 50% of the population not engaged in the construction of tombs—the women and children—would have been engaged in other productions, in this case textiles.

4.4.2.5 Conclusions

Hodgkinson's (2014) comprehensive study of the various industries at Amarna concludes that the industrial output of the smaller houses in the North Suburb and the Main City can be seen as "lesser status" with figurine, textile, faience, and low-scale glass productions being the primary industries while the larger house workshops like those in the Main City appear to be more organized industrial centers. Each of these houses are organized with several other related industries in the surrounding buildings, with their output related to higher value products like royal sculpture or raw glass. Textile, however, is the only industry that appears in near similar concentrations at each of the regions. Certain areas specialized in certain industries, but textile production was ubiquitous.

The ubiquitous nature of textile-related objects provides further support for both home-based and cottage industry production. All larger households engaged in the production of textiles for their own consumption and perhaps for the smaller local market economy. In addition, larger households engaged with the state administration for the production of a variety of goods, one of which was also textiles. The Workmen's Village, unlike the other area of Amarna, appears to have been solely engaged in textile production. The exact relationship between this site and the state is unclear given that it does not follow the same model that the other regions indicate. The other workmen's site, Deir el-Medina, where a robust textual record exists, provides an apt comparison to the Workmen's Village at Amarna and will help elucidate its role further.

4.4.3 Deir el-Medina

The site of Deir el-Medina has undergone multiple excavations from Schiaparelli in the early 1900s to Bruyere from 1922-1951, with the IFAO retaining the concession of the site and focusing on conservation and study of the excavated materials (see Gobeil 2015 for a complete site history and citations). Deir el-Medina is composed of a village, two cemeteries, and religious area. The workmen and craftspeople involved in the construction of the kings' tombs in the Valley of the Kings were housed there. The site provides a unique testimony of the life of the workmen and their families throughout the entirety of the New Kingdom with both archaeological and textual evidence. Though, like the Workmen's Village at Amarna, we must keep in mind that these were not organically developed sites but state-sanctioned, and, therefore, how common was what was occurring there is unclear. How comparable was the textile production near in comparison to an organically derived village in Akhmin, for example?

Unlike Amarna where archaeological evidence abounds for the production of textiles at the site, evidence from Deir el-Medina skews toward the textual. Bruyere (1939, 49, pls. XLI, XLII) does mention finding some textile-related tools. Nagel (1938, 183-8) notes several

spinning bowls and a limestone socket block from one of the houses at the southern end. The most comprehensive study of the textile-related tools from Deir el-Medina is by Spinazzi-Lucchesi (2018). They note the presence of spinning bowls (2018, 49), spindles (2018, 107-8), spindle whorls (2018, 109-115), needles (2018, 118), and other weaving tools like beaters (2018, 119-20). Spinazzi-Lucchesi (2018, 115) notes that the archaeological documentation shows spinning tools and other implements coming from the village and the main dump but are not concentrated in a specific area that would insinuate a weaving workshop. Instead, the labor is more evenly distributed through the households, supporting domestic-level production. Combining all this evidence together, we can conclude that the complete textile production process was occurring at the site. Unfortunately, unlike Amarna where find spots are noted, most of the objects from Deir el-Medina do not have such specific records, making a geographical analysis impossible.

The textual evidence, on the other hand, is rich in documenting the various textile-related processes at work (Appendix 7). Given the non-official nature of these documents, many written on limestone fragments, the exact scenario the texts are referencing can be difficult to glean. Many are lists of different types of textiles (O.DeM 087). Some examples include a possible list of quotas from the state that they would like produced by the weavers at the site (O.Ashmolean 0210), a list of garments to be exchanged for another good, which we have plenty of evidence for occurring at the site (O.Ashmolean 0286), or a laundry list (O.Ashmolean 0194).

O.Ashmolean 0210 (Černý, *Notebook* 31.13) has typically been interpreted as a laundry list, but another interpretation of the list of clothing and sheets with values is a record of a household meeting a specific quota. The same could be said for O.Ashmolean 0223 where three men are listed with a number of garments connected to each individual (Černý, *Notebook* 31.26). There are numerous other examples of these lists of clothing produced/received (O.DeM 085, 086, 087, 088, 090, 0210, 0211, 0212, 0283, 0404, 0452, and 0583, to name a few). All

texts typically interpreted as laundry lists that do not make mention of the launderer himself could be re-evaluated in this regard.

Other evidence for domestic production concerns the infamous Paneb. Of the numerous accusations against him recorded in P. Salt 124 (BM EA10055), one concerned his kidnapping of wives of the workmen in order to weave clothes for him (Černý 1929, 246; recto 2.19). Is this a similar situation to Inena and Seba, where Paneb is co-opting the labor of these women to meet certain quotas, or is he co-opting their labor for his own personal economic gain?

4.4.4 Conclusion

Archaeologically, houses from Amarna, Deir el-Ballas, and Deir el-Medina provide support for textiles produced in domestic contexts. However, the question remains about how these households relate to the larger industry. Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001) in their foundational study of Amarna textiles argue for a cottage industry approach to textile production during the New Kingdom. A cottage industry, sometimes also known as domestic industry or home production, is defined as an industry whose production takes place within the worker's home using the worker's own tools (Rutherford 2013). In a cottage industry, an institution provides the raw materials to the worker to produce the finished product, usually meeting a quota. Anything over the quota the worker gets to keep. To summarize—the key characteristics of a cottage industry are 1) that the raw materials are provided by the state/institution/industry and 2) that the labor is performed in a domestic setting.

The letter preserved in Papyrus Anastasi VI discussed earlier arguably provides the clearest evidence for the employment of a quota system (Camino 1954, 280; discussed in detail in Section 4.4). Important here is the term *b'kw*, typically translated as tribute or quota, references goods produced under obligation. In the text mentioned, this term is used in reference to the cloth produced which seems to support the notion that the weavers were producing goods that were not to their own personal economic benefit. Another letter preserved

in Papyrus Sallier I also supports this, referencing the “weavers who carry off their daily quota consisting of the gleanings of yesterday” (Caminos 1954, 307). This would indicate that the weavers received a ration of grain from the king in return for their labor.

Another text from Gurob (Papyri Fragment Group Y; Gardiner 1948, 24-26) is highly fragmentary but appears to support a cottage industry-level of textile production as well. This fragment has two columns of text on recto and verso. Much of the text is lost, but what remains is a list of households with their associated textile outputs. The reconstructed formula for each line is “Household X: [list of textiles].” For example:

House of Heref: idg-cloth 1
House of Sekheptawy: mss-cloth 1
House of Aanakhtu: mss- cloth 1
House of Meryherishef: small mss-cloth 1”

Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 431.

There is also mention of fabric that is “present” versus “on the loom still,” seeming to indicate cloth that is still under production. We know that textiles were being produced at Gurob in relation to the large number of weavers at the palace, but this text would indicate that local households were also engaged in the industry. I argue that the palace at Gurob engaged in both its own production with the king’s household and associated workshop producing textiles (as discussed above) and “farmed out” labor to elite households in the vicinity of the palace.

From Deir el-Medina, there are numerous texts that both inventory lists of textiles and also discuss the delivery of textiles to the site. Concerning the inventory lists of textiles (Table 4.2), these texts record different types of cloth and usually the amount. To what purpose did the scribes of Deir el-Medina record these lists of textiles? They could be lists of what the households were producing, keeping a record of the amounts produced and by whom. For example, O.Ashmolean 0265 has a list of textiles on the obverse, with a list of associated names on the reverse (Černý, *Notebook* 31.68). Are these the textiles that these individuals produced? The very need to record such production would indicate a more administrative function.

Another text could be interpreted to support the recording of production of a single individual by an institution (O.DM 0769):

Year 7, month 4 of *Shemu*, day 1
In order to cause to know the output of clothing of Tatouy:
n^ꜥ-*sḏr* 1
n^ꜥ- *dʿiūw*- cloth 1
n^ꜥ *rwḏw*- cloth 1

the repeating from her hand in Year 8
šm^ꜥ *nfr* *dʿiūw*- cloth 1
n^ꜥ *rwḏw* 1. Grandet 2001, 55.

O. IFAO 6313 and 6263 (Bruyère 1937; 1953, pl. XVIII) has been interpreted by some as a laundry list since it shows different depictions of types of garments with tally marks. However, given the rarity of literacy in the New Kingdom context (Jay 2020), this ostrakon could also be interpreted as a pictorial quota list, with the tally recording the number of garment types produced, with the producers being non-literate. A letter would appear to corroborate the production of textiles on site (O. UC 39668/O.Petrie 82) which records instructions about deliveries or payments of clothing and yarn (Wente 1990, no. 240). In another document (O. Brussels E 6311), a court proceeding is recorded regarding garments that were produced by yarn procured by a certain Patjawemdi with a dispute being made to the “Chief of the Workmen.” This sounds similar to the dispute recorded in Papyrus Anastasi VI.

The delivery of textiles to the site was also an important theme within the textual record. Many of the deliveries are for payment to the inhabitants and workers at Deir el-Medina, where we know textiles were one such good used to compensate labor (see Chapter 6). Many of the so-called Necropoleis Journals now housed at the Museo Egizio di Torino record the delivery of garments by officials, sometimes even by the vizier to the site. One (P.Turin Cat. 1906) even mentioned the weaving of garments during a “regnal year 12.” Some deliveries are not from the state to the site but mention individuals delivering textiles, which could indicate an accounting of individuals meeting their quota (O.DeM 00769). The initial phrasing seems to support this (*r rīdt rḥ.tw nʿ ḥb ḥbsw tʿ-ywy...*). It was necessary “to cause that one knows” of the production of

the textiles by this weaver. What follows is a list of different garments, their linen quality, and how many were produced (Grandet 2000, 51).

One series of ostraca (W.DeM5162-5) records weights of textiles that were delivered to the site. This has been interpreted by Valbelle (1972, 179-94) for the production of wicks for lamps. This might be possible, but it might also be that the weights were provided so the overseer could estimate the output from weaving the material into the finished product. Another text discusses the provision of flax to the site (O.Turin N.575508).

Table 4.2- List of west Theban Texts that mention textiles or the delivery of textiles	
Inventory Lists of Textiles	Delivery of Textiles
O.Ashmolean 0193	O.Brussel E 304
O. Ashmolean 0210	O.CG25258
O.Ashmolean 0223	O.Cairo CG 25721
O.Berline P 15294	O.Cairo 25756
O.DeM 00086	O.DeM 00341
O.DeM 00087	O.Dem 00769
O.Dem 00088	O.Edgerton 02
O.DeM 00210	P. Turin Cat. 1881
O.Dem 00211	P. Turin Cat. 2080
O.DeM 00212	P. Turin Cat. 2092
O.DeM 00283	P. Turin Cat. 1883
O.Dem 00404	P. Turin Cat. 2095
O.Dem 00452	P. Turin Cat. 1884
O.Dem 00583	P. Turin Cat. 2067
O.DeM 00865	P. Turin Cat. 2071
O.DeM 00866	P. Turin Cat. 2105
O.DeM 00925	P. Turin Cat. 1898
O.DeM 10067	P. Turin Cat. 1926
O.Qurna 625/1	P. Turin Cat. 1937
O.Qurna 632/1	P. Turin Cat. 2094
O.Qurna 632/5	P. Turin Cat. 2004
O.Turin N. 57061	P. Turin Cat. 2007
O.Turin N. 57415	P. Turin Cat. 2057
O.Turin N. 57464	P. Turin Cat. 2106
O.Vienna H. 15	
W. DeM 5162	
W. DeM 5163	
W. DeM 5164	
W. DeM 5165	

There is a bi-fold opposition to the idea of a cottage industry within the larger New Kingdom industry; 1) many of these texts could be interpreted in another way, and 2) the preponderance of textile deliveries by the state and temple institution. Concerning the ambiguity of the texts, though many of the texts are just inventory lists or mentions of names and textiles, the fact that these inventories were written down is telling. The state was documenting the textiles for a reason. Additionally, the number of textiles produced are way too large to be produced solely by a single household weaving textiles on the side. As for the textile deliveries, we know that Deir el-Medina was closely linked with many of the memorial temples on the West Bank especially in the late Ramesside Period. The textiles produced at the site of Deir el-Medina might have been of a different type or quality than the ones delivered for payment to the workers. Both the larger textile workshops attached to the temple and the state could have coexisted with the outsourcing of production to domestic contexts as well.

Also, most texts mentioning textiles discuss their exchange on a local level (see Chapter 6). As has been seen with other side economies at Deir el-Medina (Cooney 2007), textiles appear to fit within this more localized exchange network. While the outsourcing of labor by the state or temple (i.e., a cottage industry) can be rationalized with the archaeological and textual evidence, I emphasize that this was just one such avenue of production available. Contra Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001), I press that the temple and state production played a much larger role than cottage production. Last, due to the types of sites preserved in Egypt, we are left with sites that skew the evidence toward state involvement—state-built and -run workmen's villages and a (quickly) purpose-built and abandoned capital. It is of interest how more local provincial towns produced textiles.

In summary, household production of textiles directly relates to the larger institution production. From evidence at Amarna, it is clear that elite households produced textiles in relation to the state and in coordination with the smaller houses or associated dependents. These smaller households typically produced more of the average-quality linen and engaged in

spinning and weaving while the elite centers oversaw production and distribution and produced higher-quality products, all of which would be delivered back to the state for storage, exchange, or consumption (Fig. 4.18; Hodgkinson 2014, fig. 189). The Workmen’s Villages at Amarna and Deir el-Medina appear to have functioned in a similar manner to the large state or temple institutions. We know the individuals housed at these villages were of a higher artist status and therefore might have also been producing higher quality textiles possibly for funerary consumption. All the other funerary goods from coffins to shabtis and furniture were constructed there, so why not the textiles as well? The texts indicate frequent and close interaction with the state and the continual distribution, exchange, and delivery of textiles to and from the site. Within household production, textile artists were also producing textiles for their own benefit, engaging in exchange in the local economy.

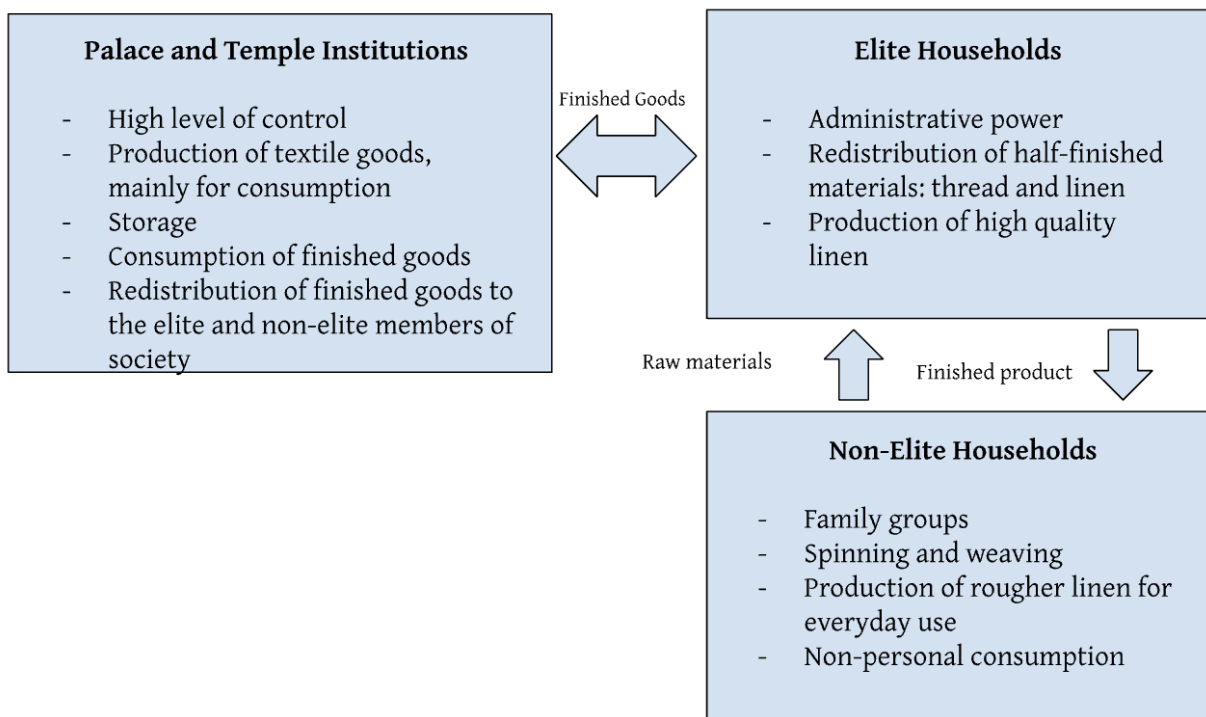


Fig. 4.18- Proposed model for the production of textiles (after Hodgkinson, 2014, Fig. 189)

4.5 Landholding and Supply of Flax

With the large number of textiles produced, the large institutions of the palace and the temple required ample supply of land for flax cultivation. According to Butzer (1976, 82), with the introduction of the shaduf in the 18th Dynasty, available arable land increased by 10-15%. Though most of the land was presumably for cereal cultivation, a proportionate increase in flax fields in comparison to Middle Kingdom levels must have also occurred. Tomb representation reflects this as well. Many New Kingdom tombs include flax cultivated in the stereotypical farming scenes (Fig. 4.19; Table 4.3)

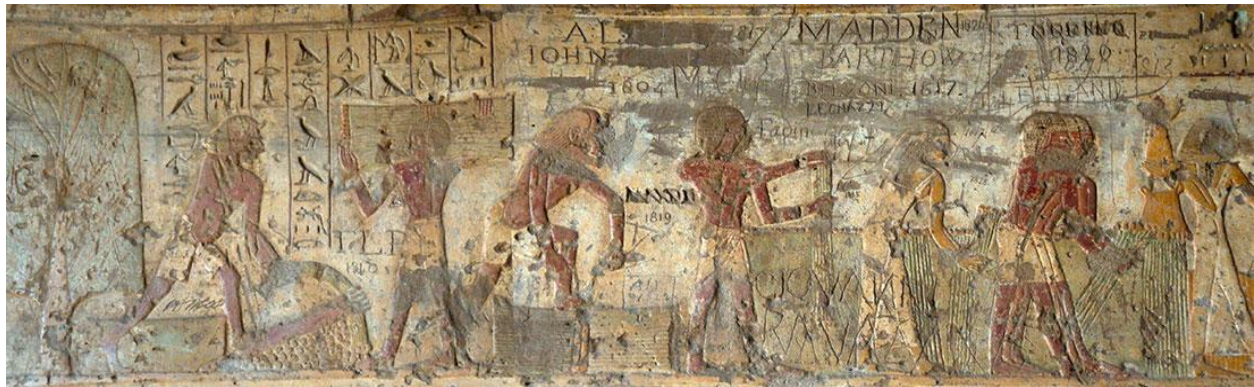


Fig. 4.19- Flax Harvesting Scene from the tomb of Paheri, El-Kab (© Osirisnet)

We know that during the New Kingdom the temple's landholding significantly increased. Much of the temple land was farmed on a share-cropping basis which was an advantageous practice for state, temple, and individual (Haring 1998). Textual evidence abounds to describe the situation of state and temple landholdings. Only those specifically mentioning flax cultivation will be examined. The Amiens, Baldwin, Wilbour, and Harris Papyri provide further clarification for how temple land was cultivated and assessed. All of these date to the 20th Dynasty, making it unclear if we can project a similar situation back to the 18th and 19th. The only earlier record of similar actions taken is the Decree of Horemheb. It records the reestablishment of order through the payment of *b'kw* in the various districts across Egypt. Specifically, the king instituted "taxing (*m št*) in the southern and northern districts extracting grain and flax..." (Warburton 2012 188).

Table 4.3- New Kingdom Tombs with Scenes of Flax Cultivation			
Name	Date	Location	Citation
Baki	18th	Dra Abu el-Naga, TT 18	PM I, 32
Nebamun	18th	Dra Abu el-Naga, TT 24	PM I, 41
Amenemhet	18th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, TT 53	PM I, 102
Nakht	18th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, TT 52	PM I, 99
Userhet	18th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, TT 56	PM I, 111
Senmiah	18th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, TT 127	PM I, 241
Amenmose	18th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, TT 318	PM I, 391
Menna	18th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, , TT 59	PM I, 134
Rekhmire	18th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, TT 100	PM I, 209
Anonymous (Min?)	18th	Dra Abu el-Naga, TT 143	PM i, 255
Nu	18th	Dra Abu el-Naga, TT 144	PM I, 257
Anonymous	18th	Dra Abu el-Naga, TT 147	PM I, 258
Mentiywy	18th	Khokha, TT 172	PM I, 279
Khaemhat	18th	Tombs of the Nobles 57	PM I, 113
Khnemmose	18th	Khokha, TT 253	PM I, 337
Roy	18th	Dra Abu el-Naga	PM I, 339
Paheri	18th	Nekheb	PM IV, 177
Hatiay	19th	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	PM I, 395
Amennakht	19th	Deir el-Medina, TT 266	PM I, 347
Kaha	19th	Deir el-Medina, TT 360	PM I, 424
Sennedjem	19th	Deir el-Medina, TT1	PM 1, 1
Ipuje	19th	Deir el-Medina, TT 217	PM I, 315
Ramses II	19th	Valley of the Kings	PM I, 501

It has been argued that these papyri exist because of the unrest during the 20th Dynasty and therefore reflect changes to the landholding situation of the Domain of Amun (Haring 1997). For the purposes of this discussion, however, it is sufficient to use these texts to demonstrate the large landholdings of these temple institutions across the whole of the Egyptian state and that flax was one such crop being cultivated and taxed in a similar regard as to cereals. We know a similar situation was occurring in the Middle Kingdom, so it is safe to assume a continuity from the Middle Kingdom through to the end of the New Kingdom. A 12th-Dynasty letter from Nehyeni to Hori alerted him to the fact that “[t]he flax from here is available... here I like every tax” (P. UC 32214).

The Amiens papyrus (Musée de Picardie Inv. MP 88.3.5) records over twenty ships under the authority of the House of Amun sailing up and down the Nile, stopping along the way to collect agricultural produce (Gardiner 1941; Janssen 2004). All the lands visited were temple “owned” lands that were being cultivated by individuals throughout the whole of Egypt. The Baldwin Papyrus (BM EA 10061) records a similar grain transport using twenty ships bringing back agricultural produce to the Domain of Amun (Janssen 1988; 2004). Flax is not mentioned specifically, but presumably it was collected along with cereals since we know the two crops were often grown together. From the reign of Hatshepsut, another personal correspondence refers to the cultivation of flax along with grain— “I sowed much grain for you and then it grew... the grain which is in the corn of the field along with your flax” (P. Louvre 3230). Another text discusses all the crops an elite individual would have on their country estate. Amongst barley, emmer, chickpeas, and lentil is flax (P. Lansing; BM EA 9994). A much-degraded section of Papyrus Sailer IV (BM EA 10184) also cites “copy of the flax delivery of the area [///] 1000 units” in its discussion of collection of grain tax from temple holdings.

The Wilbour Papyrus (Gardiner 1948; Haring 1997, 283-326) dates to the reign of Ramses V and documents the cooperative structure of landholding between the temples, government institutions, and private individuals. For example, in this papyrus we see how one

plot of land was assigned to a temple estate's care with a splitting of the crop. Another field of the same temple was actually owned by a wealthy individual who paid a small portion of the crop to the temple, but the land was worked by field laborers leasing the land (Haring 2007, 165). Flax is mentioned here as a product of individuals' domain's taxable production:

"[m]easurement made in the island west of Ninsu: The Overseer of Cattle Aashaemhab[*sed*?] ... another measurement in flax .10.40" (Gardiner 1948). At another point where the text is highly damaged, there is another mention of flax of an individual (Gardiner 1948, 8.14).

Though sparse, the cultivation of flax appears to have also included the "renting" of land. For example cited above, Aashememhab(*sed*?) is cultivating land that is owned by another individual whose name and title is lost (6.15). All of the entries lie within the same area, the so-called Zone 1, which represents land from Heracleopolis through to the entrance of the Fayum and into the Fayum itself (Gardiner 1948, Map II). Flax fields are measured in land-cubits (*mh-t'*) instead of aurora (*st't*) like cereals. This smaller measurement was used for vegetables for example, which makes sense for flax since more care was needed to produce a good product. Kemp (2001, 450) argues that most of the flax cultivation would have occurred in the Delta which is not mentioned specifically in Papyrus Wilbour.

Another location of possible flax production was Nubia. Text from the tomb of the regional governor of Lower Nubia, Peanut, at Aniba supports this. The text describes the donation of land to support the cult of the statue of Ramses VI (Helck 1961-5, 295-7). The fields are denoted as "flax fields of Pharaoh," with amounts of land being higher than those mentioned in Papyrus Wilbour. Flax and linen are usually not mentioned in relation to the products of Nubia.

The best-known source for the study of temple landholdings is Papyrus Harris (Breasted 1906; Grandet 1994). The papyrus records in great detail the endowments by Ramses III to temples throughout Egypt by his successor Rameses IV. The large list of temple holdings attests to the economic wealth that such institutions held at the time. Regarding flax production, unlike

the other papyri, Papyrus Harris does provide specific amounts of assessed flax bundles from temples throughout Egypt. The papyrus separates the document in a series of lists. The first looks at the Theban, Heliopolitan, and Memphite temple holdings. The second section lists the yearly dues, and the third section looks at the endowments given by Ramses III to provision the temples. As Breasted (1906) notes, the papyrus records the inventory of the whole estate of a particular temple allowing a reckoning of the total wealth held by the Theban, Heliopolitan, and Memphite temples, along with smaller ones, during the reign of Ramses III (Table 4.4).

	Thebes	Heliopolis	Memphis	Smaller Temples	Summary
Garments	3,722	1,1019	133.5	n/a	4,8742 +
Yarn	3,795 deben	n/a	n/a	n/a	3,795 deben
Flax	64,000 bundles	4,000 bundles	n/a	3,000 bundles	33,350 bundles

Turning to the second section of the papyrus which details the gifts given by Ramses III to the temple, vast numbers of finished garments were provided (Table 4.5).

	Thebes	Heliopolis	Memphis	Smaller Temples	Summary
Garments	9,116	18,793	7,025	2,947	37,882

Ramses III also donated 265 measures (sh³t) of flax to newly established festivals (Breasted 1906, 137).

For figures of yarn held in Theban temple holdings, the papyrus records 120 *deben* worth, or 11.1 kilograms. Kemp (2001, 450-1) remarks on the apparent sparsity of flax mentioned and given this, argues for flax production outside of institutional ownership. However, there is also little evidence for this unless you take the visual tomb representations as proof for personal flax production. I, however, would argue that the discrepancy comes in the purpose of the papyrus. Haring (1997) sees the papyrus in relation to the economic holdings lost

by the temple during the tumultuous period at the end of the 19th Dynasty. So, these totals would represent rectifications with these temples by Ramses IV to secure his reign after the murder of his father. Grandet (1994) even goes as far as to argue that the 42 meters papyrus was displayed at Medinet Habu to achieve this very purpose.

Additionally, if you compare the garment, yarn, and flax holding to the other goods held by the temples, they are in similar proportions. For example, Thebes is listed as only having 866 head of cattle. If you follow Kemp's methodology, that would mean that Thebes only held about 28 head of cattle yearly, which clearly is not the case. Indeed, if you look at the specific text, it is noted that these numbers are "their yearly dues" (Breasted 1906, 127).

4.5.1 Conclusions

In summation, the textual evidence provides some clarification on the economics of flax production in some areas, with others still clouded by lack of data. Flax was clearly being grown throughout the country. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, flax is a water-intensive crop, and, with the intensification of cultivation with the introduction of the shaduf in the early New Kingdom, yields would have increased as well. Elite tomb scenes record the cultivation of flax along with cereals indicating the normality of cross-production of the different types of crops. This, too, is reflected in the textual evidence where we see grains and flax assessments done jointly (P. Wilbour, for example).

What remains unclear is the nature of who owned the land and directly saw the profits of its production. The textual evidence suggests that land was held in a variety of ways. Temples controlled vast swathes, but so did the king, with the king often "donating" more land for temple control. Temples could also own land, which were tended by elite individuals, who then "rented" out land to lower status individuals. Individuals could also own and manage their own land. Based on the data from Papyrus Harris, the major temples (Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis)

produced many bundles of flax and garments, further indicating that at least some of the production was within a closed-temple system.

4.6 Management & Oversight

The management and oversight of the textile industry was discussed throughout this chapter, but a specific section is also required to delineate how management changed over the course of the New Kingdom. Titles clearly related to textile production are present starting in the mid-18th Dynasty (Table 4.6).

The data is skewed toward the 18th Dynasty given the higher proportion of 18th Dynasty tombs. However, it does appear clear that the weaving industry was firmly under the auspices of the Temple of Amun during the mid-18th Dynasty. This concurs with what we know about the Temple of Amun at Karnak and the expansion of the institution especially during the reign of Thutmosis III. Of the known titles, there are two peaks: during the reigns of Thutmosis III and Ramses II. This however coincides with the dating of the tombs, which I do not believe is a coincidence. Textile production via the temple workshops likely did not decrease during times when we do not have prosopographic evidence.

Having said that, there might be some connection between the reign of a king, the number of titles, and the number of foreign captives donated to the temple(s). Both Thutmosis III and Ramses II had many foreign campaigns and brought back many captives, which we know were “given” to the temple workshops for agricultural and textile production. Perhaps the increase in titles at these times reflect the influx of captive peoples. The industry of war during heights of Egyptian hegemonic expansion was directly linked to the growth of the textile industry.

One distinction between the 18th Dynasty and Ramesside Period evidence is the further differentiation of titles. With the growing strength of the memorial temples in the Ramesside

Period, we see more and more evidence for individuals connected to those temples instead of the main temple of Amun. From the Tomb Robbery Papyri, many of the individuals implicated were weavers of the Temple of Usermaatse Setepenre (the Ramesseum). Neferrenpet held that title in the 19th Dynasty during the reign of Ramesses II, but no named individual is known from the reign of Ramses IX.

Table 4.6- New Kingdom Individuals with Textile-Related Titles			
Name	Date	Title in Transliteration	Title in Translation
Amenemhat	Hatshepsut/Thutmose III	<i>ḥry n mr.w [n ïmn]</i>	Chief of the weavers of Amun
Djehutymes Aa	Thutmose III	<i>ḥry n mr.w n ïmn</i>	Chief of the weavers of Amun
Djehutymes	Thutmose III	<i>ḥry n mr.w n ïmn</i>	Chief of the weavers of Amun
Minnakht	Thutmose III	<i>ḥry n mr.w n ïmn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of Amun
Puyemre	Hatshepsut/Thutmose III	<i>Imy-r mr.w</i>	(Overseer of Weavers)
Djehuty	Amenhotep II	<i>ḥry n mr.w n ïmn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of Amun
Menkheperreseneb	Thutmose III	<i>ïmy-r šnwty n Imn šm'w mḥw</i>	Overseer of the Weavers of Upper and Lower Egypt
Nebseny	Thutmose Iv-Amenhotep III	<i>ḥry n mr.w [n ïmn]</i>	Overseer of the Weavers of Amun
Wennefer	19th	<i>ḥry ïr nrf.w mr.w n pr ïmn</i>	Chief of the weavers of fine linen of Amun
Djehutyemhab	19th	<i>ḥry mr.w n Imn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of Amun
Neferrenpet	19th	<i>ḥry mr.w n ws-m' - r' stp-n-r'</i>	Chief of the Weavers of the Ramesseum

Penwebhab	20th	<i>ḥry mr.w Pꜣsꜣr sš n Imn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of the Scribe of Amun, Paseker
Iriperet	20th	<i>ḥry mr.w</i>	Chief of the Weavers
Sauipedmi	20th	<i>ḥry mr.w n šmꜣ Imn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of the Chantress of Amun, Iner
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parentheses denotes a textile-related title in the tomb, but not of the tomb owner 			

It is clear however that other officials were engaged in the textile industry even when their specific title(s) might not reflect it. Take the Rekhmire example enumerated above. Rekhmire has no textile-related title, but from the tomb scene evidence we can clearly see that he was in charge of the collection, recording, and storage of textiles. Another example comes from the tomb of Piuemre who was the “Scribe of the God,” but is shown receiving individuals labeled as the *ḥry mrw*. Again, since the *šnꜣ* activities, including weavers, were under the auspices of the temple, many individuals with temple-related titles would have been involved in the management, storage, and distribution of the finished products. Flax production, textile manufacture, and management were subsumed under other office responsibilities in many cases. If we take this as the case and look for instances of textile production in tomb scenes as indicators of a tomb owner’s involvement in textile production, then we can expand the number of named individuals of which we know. From the earlier discussion, many viziers and Treasury officials had direct involvement in the textile industry. I argue that this is because of textiles being a high-valued good requiring close recording and storage (Chapter 2).

4.6.1 Gendered Aspects of Management

One area where we see women in positions of power in relation to the textile industry is as overseers (*imy-r*). Interestingly, the largest corpus of female overseers comes from the Old Kingdom, with the title largely falling off by the time of the New Kingdom. This could be due to a

multitude of reasons. First, it has been argued that, like with other industries, once an industry becomes more “industrialized,” men take it over. This has happened many times in various cultures and places—the brewing industry in Medieval Europe, for example (Bennett 1996). A similar idea has been argued for Egypt (Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001). As I will discuss in Chapter 5, men are not engaged in textile production until the New Kingdom with the increase in production in temple and palace institutions. Given men’s access to both of these, it makes sense that in certain contexts and settings textile production was more of the male domain, especially as a managerial position. The names of weavers related to events happening at the memorial temple of Ramses III are all men as well (Haring 1997, 450-4).

Second, the title that designated such a domain might have changed. The overseeing of textiles by women might have been subsumed into another category. As discussed earlier, textiles were produced by women in “harem” (*hnr.t* or *ip.t*)-institutions. We have many examples of women working as heads of harems to both the king and Amun. One example is Hutaiy, the aunt of Amenemope (TT 148) who is listed as the head of the *hnr.t* of Amun (*wrt n hnr t n imn*) (*KRI*. III, 378:8). Haring (1997, 446) references Helck’s assignation to her as the “hörigenoberst,” (Overseer of Serfs) again here with *mrt* referencing weavers.

One of the fragmentary letters from Gurob hints at the elite women managing the textiles produced there. A woman wrote to Seti II about the management of foreigners and how she will not “allow fault to be found there.”

For those that are here are big children, (even) the people who are like those people whom my Lord has caused to be brought, (both) those who are able to to the work and those who are able to take instruction, they being foreigners like those who used to be brought in the time of Usermaatse Setepenre, the great god, thy good father... Gardiner 1953, 146.

Whether the woman wrote the letter herself or dictated it to a scribe, the elite status of the individual is still indicated given the recipient of the letter, the king himself. Though the type of work is only hinted at, with the preponderance of other evidence for foreigners engaged in textile work at the site, the “instruction” of weaving is not too far a leap. Was this one of the

wives or women of the harem of Seti II at the site that was in charge of managing the textile production? From Gurob Fragment G (Gardiner 1948, 20-21), we know textiles were being sent to Pi-Ramesses where the king was staying. Gurob Fragment U (Gardiner 1948, 22-24) provides the clear support of elite, even royal, women's involvement. One of Ramses III's foreign wives, Maathorneferure, is mentioned in this text, stating: "Maathorneferure, may she live, the daughter of the great king of Haati...*d'yt*-garment...royal linen, *idg*-garment, royal linen, *mss*-garment, royal linen *sdw*-cloth..." The back records the movement of deliveries in reference to the members of the palace of women. The involvement of elite and royal women in textile production is interesting via the intersection of gender and social rank. Though they are women in a patriarchal society, in certain contexts elite or even royal women were able to receive power and economic benefit from their involvement in the textile industry. The intersectionality of textile labor will be the sole focus of the subsequent chapter.

4.7 Conclusions

The Amun Precinct held a disproportionate control over the textile industry during the New Kingdom. As discussed above, the temple and palace collaboratively managed textile production from the cultivation of flax to the weaving of fabric, to the storage and consumption of these high-valued goods. The temple was the main consumer of the goods (see Chapter 5), so it makes sense that they had a high level of involvement as well. Individual palace sites like Gurob also display a close relationship with textile production, producing a finer quality good for an increasingly smaller pool of consumers.

On the other hand, household production of textiles is also apparent from the material and textual record. The urban contexts of Deir el-Ballas, Amarna, and Deir el-Medina provided more than sufficient evidence to conclude that individuals either associated with elite households or workmen's villages produced textiles in a cottage-like industry. This was

happening concurrently with institutional production, which was producing at a much higher level. Some of the domestic production would be given in the form of *b'kw* to the state, but anything produced over the quota could be kept for personal consumption or exchange.

Another integral aspect to understand the textile industry is how flax was supplied. Given how many textiles we know were being produced, there must also have been large swaths of land under cultivation to supply the flax for said textile production. As stated in Chapter 3, a 100 meters² field of flax yields about 25 kilograms of basic quality fiber. Twenty-five kilograms is roughly 287,500 meters of thread (Anderson-Strand 2010). Using modern skein measurements, that would be roughly 2,600 skeins of thread. To produce one of Kha's tunics which is around 250 x 100 centimeters, slightly shorter than a twin-sized sheet (191 x 97 centimeters), one would use roughly 20 skeins of yarn. So, with one flax harvest of a 100 meters² field, an institution could create 130 tunics. Now, this does not take into consideration the harvesting of young flax for a finer quality or older flax for rougher quality fiber for sails or rope, for example. This very rough calculation shows that flax cultivation was not a secondary consideration of land management but would have been a major consideration along with cereal grains.

The oversight of the textile industry fell under temple and palace auspices, specifically within the *pr-šn'* and the Treasury. Throughout the entirety of the 18th Dynasty, individuals of mid-rank held the "Overseer of the Weavers" title under the *pr-šn'* organization. At the same time, upper-rank individuals like the Vizier and Overseer of the Treasury managed many aspects of the industry from the flax cultivation to finished product, mainly dealing with the accounting, distribution, and storage of the product during its stages of production. By the Ramesside Period, the "Overseer of the Weavers" title expanded to also encapsulate the memorial temple on the West Bank of Thebes, where they had their own weaving workshops. Most of these positions were held by men, but in private palace economic situations women were able to exert their control of textile production.

Throughout the New Kingdom, there was an intersection between the rise of new weaving technologies and the explosion of the textile industry under the auspices of the major institutions of the palace and the temple. At the root of all this growth, however, was an influx in war captives and enslaved individuals who were “given” to state- and temple-run workshops to produce these textiles. This will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Textile Producers & Marginalized Labor

*The weaver lives inside the weaving workshop
He is worse off than a woman with his knees up to his stomach,
Unable to breathe in any air.
If he wastes any daytime not weaving, He is beaten with fifty lashes.
He has to give a sum to the doorkeeper,
To let him see the light of day*

Teachings of Dua Khety (Papyrus Sallier II, VII.2-4).

5.1 Textile Producers

Textile art was omnipresent in an elite Egyptian's cultural sphere, from their clothing and their furnishing coverings to wall decorations and funerary offerings. The Egyptian world was one lush with fabrics. Yet, the producers of these goods were not the main consumers. The producers were marginalized members of society—immigrants, captives, enslaved peoples, and women. By highlighting the hidden labor of these marginalized groups from the Egyptian evidence, we can bypass the inherent social inequities and power differentials meant to obfuscate. Ultimately, we will see that immigrants, captives, lower-status peoples, and women were at the heart of the textile industry—some even from elite backgrounds—but all of whom were not the main consumers of the high-value goods which they produced.

Textile production was dependent in large part, on women. Women could be commodified to make commodities, in this case-- textiles. The circulation of women in the eastern Mediterranean through marriage, war, or emigration functioned to transmit new technologies, fashions, and values (Gleba 2014). A woman's economic value has often been tied to their skill in handiwork in many ancient cultures (Lyons 2003, 100). Enslaved women were taken during Neo-Assyrian campaign and employed by the state in textile production (Pomponio 2010). At Mycenaean Pylos, enslaved women from Asia Minor were involved in the

textile arts (Chadwick 1988). And later, enslaved women were used in the Roman empire for similar pursuits (Harper 2011). The same can be seen in New Kingdom Egypt.

Typically, textile production is relegated to women's work in ancient Egypt (Barber 1995) with little other discussion of the facets of the industry. There has been an overreliance on certain data—like the model weaving workshop from the tomb of Meketre—that has been applied wholesale to the entire industry. Women are shown doing all the work in this model, and therefore weaving must have been women's work. Yes, women were highly involved in the textile industry, but to discuss women as a homogenous group ignores the varied experiences of these textile producers. An intersectional approach is important here to understand the various groups of people at work: we have lower-status women, elite women of the palace, immigrant women, and women in the home, for example. It is not simply enough to say textile production was women's work (Barber 1995), but the specific contexts in which these clothes were produced helps us illuminate the underrepresented persons at the heart of the industry. In turn, these various social factors became embedded within the cloth itself, adding further economic distinctions and social differentiation.

5.1.2 Subaltern and Marginalized Labor

A closely aligned concept with approaches to intersectionality is the study of the subaltern or marginalized. The study of subaltern groups developed out of postcolonial studies and critical theory. Originally the term referenced groups of colonized peoples who are socially, politically, and geographically excluded from hierarchies of power (Gramsci 1971). In Gramsci's seminal "Prison Notebooks," he argues that the southern Italian peasantry represented a subaltern class given their exclusion from the hegemonic culture. They were dominated by the wealthy landowning elite who exploited the peasant labor, in much a similar manner to Egyptian elite control over textile artists. The terminologies have since developed a wider meaning and, therefore, a broader application, referencing any group that is excluded from hierarchies of

power. The study of subalternity was picked up by post-processual archaeologists who sought to bring attention to the diverse experiences of the past. Within archaeology and studies of the ancient past, their theories have mainly been applied to colonial contexts (Hamalakis 2016; Lemnos and Budka 2021).

Expanding outside of colonial frameworks, other scholars have applied these ideas to explore labor and economic exploitation in the ancient world. As mentioned earlier, the highlighting of these “weaker voices” (Matzner and Harrison 2019) within labor relations has been more widely studied in Greek and Roman Classics, with less work done in the Egyptological field, except in regard to the Egyptian hegemony in Nubia (see Lemnos and Budka 2021). Other studies have focused on the “voicelessness,” or the lack of visibility of subaltern groups in both the archaeological and textual record (Zuchriegel 2017, 7). This study seeks to address this absence through an investigation into the marginalized groups at the foundation of the New Kingdom textile industry.

Who is defined as marginal or subaltern is context-specific and does not automatically equate to a lower class since not all lower-status groups are conceptualized as marginal in hegemonic social discourse (González-Ruibal 2022, 369). As the words suggest, these terms refer to individuals on the fringes, more specifically groups who are excluded from certain social systems, especially access to power. Clear examples of marginalized or subaltern groups are the Roma, undocumented migrants, or unhoused people. In the ancient world, commonly studied groups would be enslaved peoples, women, or nomadic groups, for example. For this study, marginalized or subaltern will be used to describe individuals or groups who are hierarchically positioned as subordinate within a system—political state, patriarchy, heteronormativity, occupation, status, etc. (Gidwani 2020).

Intersectionality explains how subalternity is experienced and reproduced. Marín-Aguilera (2020, 566) reminds us that subaltern groups are neither (only) colonized people nor homogenous. The term is an invented concept and has never been claimed as the identity of said

groups. It is a useful concept to study those purposefully left out from social systems and power hierarchies. It is at the intersections of different axes of oppression in specific historical contexts that constitutes the subaltern. Meaning, an individual is always situated within different domains of power. Intersectionality looks at the overlapping layers of oppression that work together to produce unique individualized experiences for a given person (Collins 2022). For example, in ancient Egypt, women were a marginalized group, kept out of positions of power. Yet, elite women, who were technically economically and socially advantaged, still perpetrated similar “matrices of domination” or overlapping domains of subordination (Collins 2022, 227), to others, be it lower-status individuals, enslaved peoples, or even other women. We will see such power dynamics at play within the textile industry.

Given that marginalized groups are “hidden” often within the official record, new approaches to textual analysis and material culture studies emerge as useful tools to study such groups, the goal being to bring attention to the in-between—the areas in the textual record where individuals are unnamed or are mere numbers that previously have been ignored to construct stereotypical histories of a powerful king. Consider the Annals of Thutmose III which mention thousands of captive and enslaved individuals who are often overlooked by scholars focused on Thutmose III’s empire-building strategies.

Within material and archaeological studies, material culture is the key method of studying subaltern or marginalized groups. In Zuchtriegel’s (2017) study of Greek subaltern groups, their methodology framework focused on examining the locations where these groups lived, worked, and died to piece together their experience. This chapter will focus on a similar approach, pairing the archaeological record with any textual references. All humans leave things behind, and, through looking at the types of objects discarded, attempts can be made to give a voice back to these groups that are typically left out of the official record. Within the textile industry during the New Kingdom, this could look like objects that indicate foreignness—wool, a non-Egyptian spindle whorl, or foreign weaving techniques, for example. Such considerations

should be kept in mind as we look at the data for the role marginalized groups played in the textile industry.

First, we will look at both the lower- and elite-status weavers connected to temple and palace institutions to elucidate the hidden labor at the foundations of the textile industry. Work done in the home will be discussed here as well in reference to cottage industry discussed earlier in Chapter 4. Last, this chapter will end with a brief excursus into the role of men and children in the textile industry—two often overlooked groups.

5.1.3 Lower Status Weavers

Most individuals working in the textile industry during the New Kingdom were of a lower status. These could include enslaved peoples or captives from war working under palace or temple institutions. The largest group and most frequently mentioned are the *mrt*, which is both a social category and occupational reference. The *mrt* were housed under the auspices of the *pr-šn'*, which was the main body in charge of agricultural and textile production within temple administration (Chapter 4). As we saw in the previous chapter, most of our information for these groups comes from titulary evidence of the elite overseers of these groups of individuals. The other piece of evidence for their experience comes from royal propagandistic texts where large groups of war captives and enslaved peoples were given as *mrt* to the temple of Amun by a number of kings (see Section 5.1.4).

5.1.3.1 *Mrt*-Weavers

5.1.3.1.1 *Mrt* as Social Category

The nuance of Egyptian social categories is still largely understudied. Which groups of people made up the *rmṯ*, *rḥyt* or *mrt*, for example? Most weaving artists were from lower-status groups. These could be enslaved people or individuals laboring under the palace of temple institutions.

The issue that arises is in how scholars translate this term into modern languages. Historically, the term has been translated as “slave” or “serf” with no reference to their weaving activities. The *mrt* have been largely defined as enslaved individuals laboring under the *pr-šn*‘ organization. Early work on the topic by Bakir (1978) addressing slavery in ancient Egypt actually showed the lack of clear slavery in a Roman law sense of the term. He notes that the Egyptian evidence is ambiguous, ultimately concluding that they “may be regarded as slaves [sic] put to work especially on land and given other work attached to the *šn*” (Bakir 1978,27)

Eichler (2000) sees the translation of the term as interchangeable between weaver and slave, depending on the context. If weaving activities are mentioned, the term “weaver” is applied, but otherwise a broader translation of “serf” or “enslaved person” is best. He defines them as workers employed under the *pr-šn*‘ institution, with the *pr-šn*‘ solely engaged in agriculture and textile production. Further, Papazian (2012, 196) argues against the use of the translation weaver *except* for the enslaved foreigners or prisoners of war that become prevalent in the New Kingdom, of which some were called “*mrt*” as we shall see.⁷ So, from this it is clear that *mrt* was not a clear-cut social category; it encompassed both enslaved and free individuals who labored under the auspices of the *pr-šn*‘. These individuals were of a lower status, tied to the land and the *pr-šn*‘ institution with little mobility.

5.1.3.1.2 *Mrt as Weavers*

As shown, almost all interpretations of the term *mrt* relate to them as broad-category laborers, further obfuscating their work as weaving artists from the record. However, the textual record provides a clear demarcation between the two types of work done by the *mrt*—agricultural labor and textile production. From linguistic evidence, it would appear that there were two different meanings denoted from the word *mrt*. The differences come from the use of different

⁷ The typical phrase is “*mḥ ḥmw/ḥmwṯ/mrt*” (Thutmose III: *Urk.* IV, 742; Amenhotep III: Petrie 1897; Tutankhamun: Cairo Stela CG34183; Ramses I: KRI I, 2, 15; Merneptah Stela).

determinatives placed at the end of *mrt*. For weaving arts, the determinative Gardiner N36 \equiv is used while for agricultural pursuits Gardiner U6 \Leftarrow is used. In most secondary literature, only the transliteration is given, making a clear study of the determinatives difficult. As already noted by Gauthier this term should be translated as “weavers” based on the verb *mr*, “to bind” (Bakir 1978, 26, ft. 5) Bakir (1978, 26) adds that this term (with Gardiner N36 \equiv) is never mentioned in connection to land or cattle and is frequently assigned to a *pr* (estate) of a god, citing the Grand Dedicatory Inscription of Ramses II (Gauthier 1912):

1.72	<i>smn=f ḥb.t=f m ḥ.wt mry.t</i> \Leftarrow <i>mnmn.t</i>	...through his establishing of his festivals with fields, <i>mrt</i> workers, and cattle...
1.88	<i>wnw.t-ḥw.t-ntr=k mḥ=ti m tpy.w</i> <i>mr.wt\equiv ḥtr ḥr sšr r mnḥ.t=k</i>	... <i>mrt</i> workers being accessed for linen for your (the god's) wardrobe...

This clearly juxtaposes *mr.t* with the Gardiner N36 sign from *mr(y).t* with Gardiner U6 as being two separate entities, with the latter being related to the textile industry and the former with agriculture production.

From the tomb of Rekhmire, there is another instance of the use of *mrt* that helps clarify its specific meaning. In the scene of Rekhmire inspecting the captives of Thutmosis III assigned to the Temple of Amun for work, they are labeled as *mr.wt* with the canal sign (Davies 1943, pl. LVI). These captives are further defined as being for the “manufacture of king’s linen, bleached linen, fine linen, [///] linen, and close-woven linen...” (Davies 1943, pl. LVII). In the Davies publication of the tomb, these individuals are mistranslated as “serfs,” but from this examination it is clear that *mrt* with the Gardiner N36 sign should be understood to be weavers. This is corroborated by Thutmosis III’s Annals where the king provided *mrt* to the god Amun specifically for textile production:

...to fill his *pr-šn* 'to be weavers to make for him fine linen, white linen, *shrw*-linen, and thick cloth...the total of male and female Asiatics (*sic*) and male and female Nubians whom my majesty gave to my father, Amun... 1,588... Redford 2003, 138.

However, there does seem to be some flexibility with the interchangeability between the words when the individuals are assigned work within an estate (*pr*) of a deity. Bakir (1978, 27) refers to the Annals of Thutmosis III where *mr(y).t* is used with the Gardiner N36 determinative with the individuals assigned to weaving different types of linen, in addition to the land work they were assigned. Given that any worker under the *pr-šn* 'was referred to as a *mrt*, maybe the larger social category was “employed” rather than the more specific “weaving.” Additionally, perhaps the *mrt*'s responsibilities shifted—growing flax during the appropriate season to spinning and weaving. Or, collectively, a family was responsible for a variety of tasks from sowing and growing agricultural produce to baking, brewing, and weaving. Even if you choose to take *mrt* as a larger term for any of the laborers in the *pr-sn* ', a large proportion of those would be weavers. For the purposes of this study, I will be emphasizing the weaving connotation of the term over the broader category, especially in cases when the Gardiner N36 = is employed in the writing of the term.

The *mrt* appear in a number of titles and tombs beyond the ones mentioned. For example, Dhejuty (TT45, reign of Amenhotep II) was the “Head of all the Weavers of Amun” (*hry mr.wt nb n imn*) (see Chapter 4; Table 4.6). All of these positions were under the auspices of the *pr-šn* ' with Eichler (2000) placing the title in the middle range of hierarchy in Amun temple administration.

Turning to the “matrices of domination” inherent in temple administration, if we follow Eichler's (2000) categorization of overseers of the *mrt* as mid-range elites, they, too, were then subject to those in higher positions of power like the vizier and the Overseer of the Treasury. Indeed, in the tomb of Piuemre, who was the “Second Priest of Amun,” “Overseer of Works,” “Superintendent of the Temple of Amun,” “Superintendent of the Annexes of the Temple,” and

“Overseer of the Cattle and Fields of Amun,” is shown receiving tribute from a number of “Overseers of Weavers” who are depicted as insignificant and undistinguished. Their lower status in comparison to Piuemre is clear (Fig. 5.1).

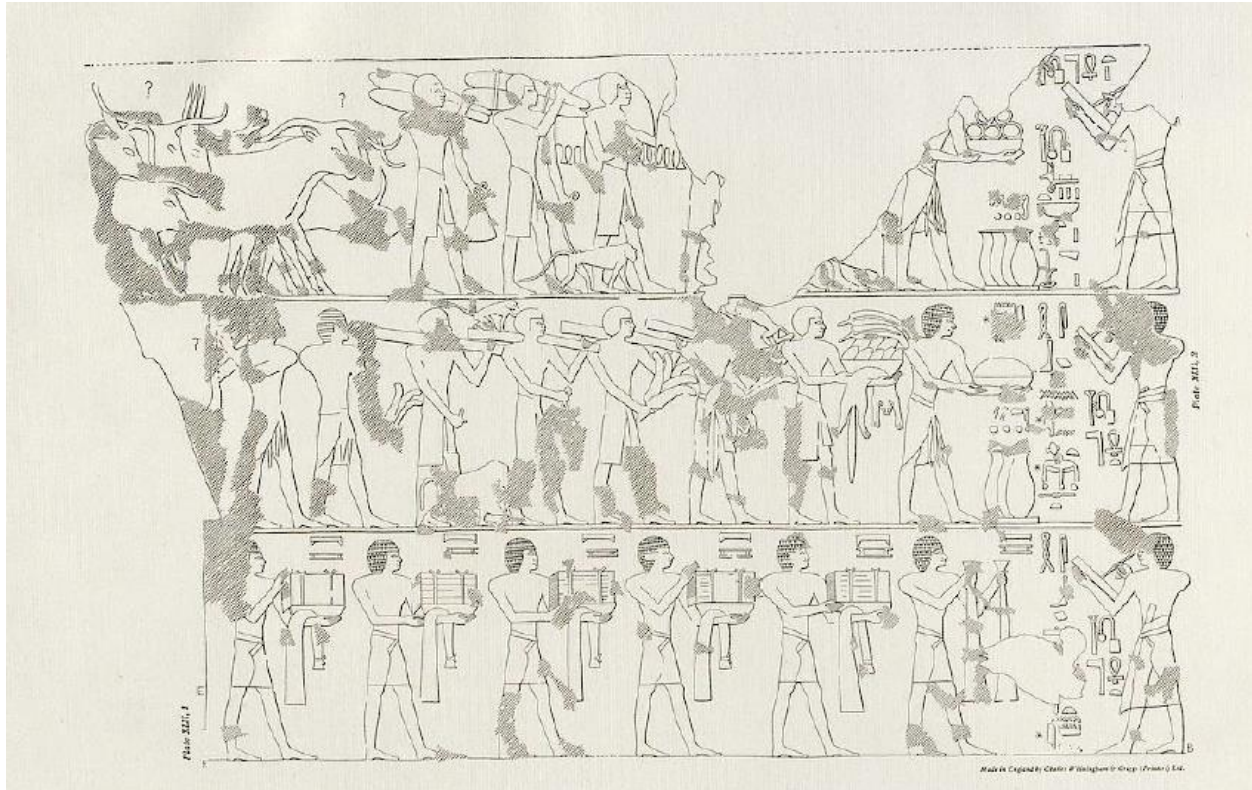


Fig. 5.1- Tribute of cloth being brought before Piuemre, off to the right (West wall, south end, lower registers; Davies 1992, pl. XLIII)

These “Overseers of Weavers,” though in a lesser position of power than other elites who pressed social hierarchies onto them, would then have also perpetuated established hierarchies onto the lower-status groups and enslaved peoples under their management. In each of these instances, these overseers would have been managing many textile artists with clear power hierarchies constantly being affirmed and reaffirmed. The *mrt*- or enslaved weavers are never individually named nor given any credit for their artistic production. They are always mentioned as a collective unit. The composition and identities of the *mrt*-weavers will be discussed in more detail below in Section 5.1.4, since most if not all of them were forcefully transported into Egypt as war captives through the many campaigns of the New Kingdom kings.

5.1.3.2 *Sh̄ty*-weavers

Another group of lower-status weavers are the *sh̄ty*-weavers. Deriving from the verb *sh̄t*, “to weave,” the *sh̄ty*-weavers were engaged by the various temple institutions. Their distinction from *mrt*-weavers is unclear. As with other temple-related documentation, we only get references to weavers when there is interaction with the outside world. Weavers of the memorial temple of Ramses III are mentioned as thieves, receivers of stolen property, or as witnesses in legal inquiries (P. Mayer A 2, 17 [Peet 1920]; P. BM 10053 ro. 7, 1 [Peet 1930]; Giornales yr. 17-B rt. 6, 7; yr 17A vs.2, 7 [Botti and Peet 1928]). From P. BM 10053 (rt. 7,1), we can see that the one weaver is not housed at Ramses III’s memorial temple but is stated to live in Thebes (*hms=fm niw.t*) (Table 4.1).

This term is attested as early as the Early Dynastic Period on a seal from Cemetery B at Umm el-Qaab, Abydos (Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire E.0178). By the mid-13th Dynasty, the term was being used to describe foreign women weavers (P. Brooklyn 35.1446; Mourad 2015). Overall, the term does seem sparingly used, with an uptick of usage in the 20th and 21st Dynasties.

As opposed to the *mrt*-weavers who are never named and also spoken of as a collective, the textual record includes personalizing information about the *sh̄ty*. Perhaps this is due to the judicial nature of the document where the individual’s name and title are important in identifying them in the record. The other interesting feature of the *sh̄ty* is the fact that they all appear to be men. Does this mean that, by the 20th Dynasty, the *sh̄ty*-title becomes gendered, or does the text merely reflect the gendered nature of tomb robbery? No women are mentioned in the Tomb Robbery Papyri.

Another characteristic of the *sh̄ty* is the identification of some of the weavers as serving under the “Chantress of Amun” or of the “Scribe of the Temple of Amun.” These are the only two instances where weavers are listed as serving under a direct office of an individual instead of

larger institutions. The “Chantress of Amun” and the “Scribe of the Temple” are elite upper management positions, which by the 20th Dynasty appear to have held enough power and wealth to garner their own subset of weavers.

5.1.3.3 Other Lower Status Groups

Another lower-status group that gets translated as “enslaved person” in the literature is the *hm/hm.t*. This is a much broader category in comparison to *mrt*. In certain instances, especially regarding women, *hmt* weaving is mentioned as one of the activities in which they engage. Enslaved or indentured individuals could also be “hired” by others for specific periods of time and work.

Papyrus Berlin 9784 dates to the reign of Amenhotep III from the area of Medinet Gurob, a location where we know textiles were being produced (Gardiner 1906). This document records how Nebmehy, a herdsman of Amenhotep III’s palace, came to another herdsman, Mesi, to “rent” his female slave (*hm.t*), Herit, for two days because he is “naked” (*hʿy.kwi*) (3-6).⁸ Of note is the high price paid, equaling the price of a bull (Gardiner 1906, 44). Gardiner makes a less-than-subtle suggestion that, since the slaves were all women, maybe the high prices were for sex work (1906, 44), but I instead would like to offer that the higher price was due to their specialized skills in textile production.

This is corroborated by a text dating from the reign of Ramses II which records a dispute over the purchase of another enslaved foreign woman (P. Cairo 65739). Dating to the reign of Ramses II, there is the record of a dispute about the payment for an enslaved foreigner. Irynefret, wife of the Overseer of the District, appears to have had a lucrative home textile “business” based on the value she was able to afford for the enslaved person:

⁸ Gardiner notes that the name Herit is the feminine form of the word for Syrian (Gardiner 1906, ft.7). Given the provenance of the papyrus and the number of foreign women at Gurob might this Herit been one of them?

Statement by the lady Iryt-neferet: “I am the wife of the Overseer of the District Samut, and I came to live in his house, and I was working on weaving, and I provided my clothing. And in year 15, seven years after i had entered the house of the Overseer of the District Samut, the merchant Raia approached me with the Syrian female slave (sic) Gemeniherimentet, she being a little child, and said to me “Buy this girl and give me her price!” So, he said to me, And I bought the little child, and gave him her [price], and look, I am declaring the price I have in respect of her before the magistrates... (Eyre 2024, 91-2).

Iry-nefret purchased a Syrian female slave, Gemeniherimentet, for 4 *deben* and 1 *qite* of silver, about 365 grams (about \$300 USD in 2024’s silver value). Eyre (2024, 90) notes the exceptionally high price, equivalent to about eleven years of subsistence grain rations. Given this, I would argue that the Syrian woman was specifically valued for her skills in weaving to participate in Iry-nefret’s cottage industry weaving establishment. Part of the purchase was products of her weaving business valued at around 25 *qite* of silver. Taking this text with Papyrus Berlin 9784 described above, it would appear that women with expertise in the weaving arts would garner a higher price. It is interesting that the young age of the child is mentioned, which would seem to contradict the idea that the individual had a high degree of weaver prowess and/or investment in future weaver abilities (Section 5.1.11).

Another text furthers the argument that enslaved weaver artists are highly coveted. P. Bankes (BM 75015; Demarée 2006) records the possible abduction of an enslaved female (*hmt*) Tintuendjedet. The writer, a Wenamun associated with the Temple of Amun-Re, claims that a merchant of the Temple of Amun-Re, Amunkha, was entrusted with the care of a few enslaved individuals who were at some point lost. Wenamun states,

This female person was taken illegally... I bought this female person from the Chief of the Weavers Ikhterpay, so you said to them, ‘And I paid her money!’...When my letter reaches you, you will deal with the case of the female slave... the people who took her... you find out that she is a stolen slave and it is the Overseer of Weavers who stole her (Demarée 2006, 7).

Another papyrus from Gurob dating to around the reign of Ramses II records a dispute over the control over the work of female enslaved people (P. BM EA10568, col. 1; Eyre 2024, 113). The chief of the Weavers, Khaiemtener, states that they are “dividing some servants”

between two women, with the one woman claiming to have lost her female slave Rennutet to the Chief of Weavers, Khaemtener, in a previous exchange. There is also a brief reference to a “house of female slaves” in Papyrus Harris I (47.8-9).

Given the evidence enumerated above, there appears to have been a side industry of the engagement of enslaved peoples for the production of textiles. However, in some instances, it would appear that these weavers are somehow connected to the *pr-šna* given the inclusion of Overseers of Weavers in multiple mentions. This could be further proof of a ‘farming-out’ of labor to elite households, where weavers are “rented” for a specific period of time.

5.1.4 Low Status Foreign Weavers

The identities of the individuals engaged in the weaving industry of the New Kingdom were layered and multiple. The intersectional nuances of many of these individuals being of both a lower status and having a foreign background are necessary to understand the matrices of power that developed surrounding the textile industry. This section will provide an overview of the foreign policies of New Kingdom kings which resulted in the capture and enslavement of thousands of people to the textile workshops under the auspices of the Temple of Amun. Having most of the textiles that were consumed by the elites and used in highly charged ideological ceremonies made by captives from campaigns further emphasized the power hierarchies at the root of the textile industry. These lower-status enslaved war captives were truly marginalized in the strongest sense of the word, working collectively as the *mrt*, described above.

Before engaging with the New Kingdom evidence, a summary of the early Middle Kingdom is necessary to understand how foreign and immigrant people’s engagement in the textile industry developed. A number of papyri mention textile work, specifically work performed by foreign/immigrant persons.

Brooklyn Papyrus 35.1446a-e (Hayes 1955) is the best reference for foreign involvement in the textile industry during the Middle Kingdom in Upper Egypt. This papyrus, in particular,

dates to the 13th Dynasty. The *recto* of the papyrus includes copies of a series of government decrees issued to the prison (*hnrt wr*) at Thebes, one authorizing the transfer of a group of household servants (*hnmw*) to a new “owner.” The *verso* records a list of such servants with names, ethnonym, and occupation. Of what is preserved, a list of seventy-nine servants is given—thirty-three are listed as “Egyptian” while forty-five are “Asiatic,” and one individual with undetermined ethnicity. Only twenty of the individuals were men—fifteen Egyptians and five Asiatics, while forty-three were women—twelve Egyptians and thirty-one Asiatics. Interestingly, six were female children—two Egyptian and four Asiatic (Fig. 5.2)

Identities of the Individuals mentioned in Brooklyn P.35.1446 a-e

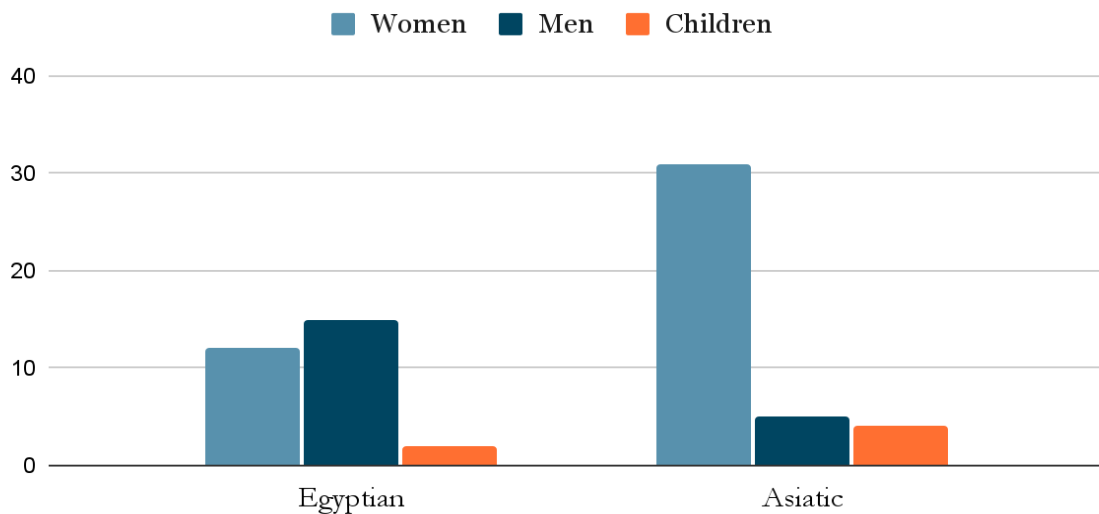


Fig. 5.2- Comparison of identities from Brooklyn P. 35.1446a-e

Of the individuals listed as “Egyptian,” one of them is listed as a weaver (*shtyt*). Of the occupations listed, the only ones that are shared are those of house servant (*hry-pr*) and weaver. Looking at those denoted as west Asian (*ꜥm/t*), Hayes (1955, 93) notes that the foreign individuals,

...seem to have been more highly regarded from that fact that as prisoners of war or descendants thereof they belonged to a stratum of society superior to that of the Egyptians, most of whom were probably either the descendants of criminals or had

themselves committed crimes of a more or less serious nature. [Indeed], the occupations assigned to the Asiatics are for the most part of a skilled... nature while the dirty, back-breaking work... was reserved for the Egyptians

Their names span from purely Egyptian, to a mix, to purely west-Asian (Hayes 1955, 93-99). Hayes concludes that the ones with purely west-Asian names must have been “recent” immigrants. We now know that name equivalences to ethnicity and naming traditions are much more complicated than this (see Candelora 2019; Menu 2012; Schneider 1987). Interestingly, the individuals with west-Semitic names were given Egyptian names in the second column of the papyrus, using the typical *ddw/t.n=f* construction. Alas, the higher ratio of women to men might indicate that they were captives from foreign campaigns, or that the papyri itself is skewed toward more gendered labor. At the time of the writing of this papyrus, there are no known campaigns into Syria-Palestine, however. Foreign captives would presumably have been the property of the state and would not have made their way into private hands, as we will see with the later New Kingdom evidence. As Hayes (1995, 99) surmises, there might have been a trade in enslaved individuals at this time. As discussed earlier, we must be wary about terms like “servant” or “slave.” Some of the individuals are listed as deserters (*tšw*) or fugitives (*wʿrw*), perhaps working off their criminal punishments. The Egyptian evidence is unclear to the level of bondage or reason for many of the other individuals. Perhaps these were recent immigrants either indentured to an Egyptian household or nominally “employed” in some capacity. However, given the fact that they are included in a legal document transferring ownership from one individual to another, the lack of choice or freedom of movement is clear.

Turning to their occupations, of the titles preserved there are fifteen different occupation types, with six exclusively held by men, and nine exclusively by the women. Concerning textile production, twenty of the twenty-nine occupations noted were weavers, especially in the production of two different grades of fabric—*šsr* and *hʿtyw* (*šht hʿtyw* and *šht šsr*). Of the individuals listed as textile-workers, eighteen are mentioned as “Asiatic,” with only two “Egyptians” engaged.

Foreign women are also mentioned as workers of the *šn'*, which as discussed previously was engaged in textile production. The separation between *šn'*-work and private work is interesting in this papyrus. Was the individual who “owned” these workers in charge of people both for private and state manufacture? Were foreign weavers sought after for their skills in textile production? It would seem the cottage-industry manufacture of textiles began as early as the Middle Kingdom, if not earlier.

Continuing trends that began earlier, there is a plethora of evidence to discuss the involvement of low-status foreigners in the textile industry of the New Kingdom. However, by this time, the foreign policies of the kings of the New Kingdom institutionalized the practice of taking the enslavement of foreigners to new heights. Many of these individuals were seized in campaigns and “given” to the temple of Amun to serve as *mrt* to produce the many textiles to economically grow the temple’s coffers and to produce the cloth required for the many cultic rituals. The king, in his bid to satisfy (*hṭp*) Amun, reaffirmed the normative structuring of Egyptian society—the king with Amun’s support providing *maat*, throughout their control over *isfet*—the outsiders of Egypt, resulting in the huge number of war captives to serve in Amun’s workshops. In essence, the huge numbers of fabrics produced through the temple institution contributes to the propaganda for the success of Egypt, the king, and the temple.

As early as the Old Kingdom, there is evidence for captives and prisoners of war being mentioned (Matić 2021, 88). By the New Kingdom, bringing back prisoners of war and enslaving them to either temple or palace institutions was a well-established practice. There is a plethora of evidence to support the seizing of huge numbers of war captives by New Kingdom kings while on campaigns. Amenhotep I records the seizing of almost 90,000 prisoners from campaigns in Years 7 and 9 (Amer 1984). From Thutmose III’s Coronation Inscription, he supposedly “filled it [the temple] with captives from the south and north countries, being children of the chiefs of the *Retenu* and children of the chiefs of Khenthennofer, according to what my father commanded” (Breasted 1906, 67). Thutmose IV claimed to have taken Hurrian

captives and settled them as workers at his memorial temple (Bryan 1991, 336-47). In the first campaign against Nubia, Amenhotep III seized “tens of thousands” (Helck 1957, 1666; O’Connor and Cline 1998, 262). In the second campaign, Amenhotep III took 740 captives, two thirds of whom were women, children, and their servants, in his 26th Year as recorded on his Semneh Stela (Kozloff 2012, 167). Ramses III records 342 adult women, 65 *nfr.t* girls, and 151 *šry.wt* girls (KRI V 53.5). Further, Ramses III speaks of bringing back a “great number [of] those that my sword spared... their wives and children in tens of thousands... branded and enslaved, tattooed with my name their wives and children being treated in the same way” (P. Harris I, 77.4-6; Grandet 1994). Redford (1993, 209) records the regular arrival of enslaved people into Egyptian ports with textual references of “stocking the [temple’s] workhouse with male and female slaves of His Majesty’s captivity.”

The kings also rewarded elites with these war captives as well. Ahmose, son of Ebana and Ahmose-Pennekhet are two such examples. They both received enslaved people post-campaign (Matic 2020, 89). Ahmose, son of Ebana recounts that he was “rewarded with gold seven times before the entire land, and with male and female ‘slaves’ (*ḥmw ḥmw t r-mitt-iry*) as well” (*Urk* IV). Under the campaigns of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, and Thutmosis I, Ahmose, son of Ebana, actively served and was “rewarded” afterwards with enslaved peoples. There are seven episodes where Ahmose was awarded with individuals captured from these campaigns (*Urk* IV, 1-13):

Then Avaris was captured, and I brought booty (*ḥʿqt*) from there: **one man and three women, altogether four people**. And His Majesty gave them to me as slaves (*ḥmw*)...Then Sharahen was besieged for three years, and His majesty captured it. Then I brought booty (*ḥʿqt*) from there: **two women** and a hand... and I was given the captives (*ḥʿqt*) as slaves (*ḥmw*)... to destroy the Nubians and His Majesty carried out a large massacre among them. Then I brought booty from there: **two living men (s ‘nh)** and three hands. I was rewarded with gold once more, and **two women (ḥmt)** were given to me...Then Aata came to the South...I was given **five “heads” (tp)** and five aurorae of land in my town, and the same was done for the whole crew...Then that enemy called Tetian came... then I was given **three “heads” (tp)** and 5 aurorae of land in my town... sailed southward to Kush...Then I brought away **two women (ḥmt)** as booty (*ḥʿq*) in addition to those I had presented to His Majesty...[Total] I was given by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: 60 aurorae [//] **list of the names of the male and female “slaves” from the booty given to me:** Pamedjai, Payabdju, Senebnebef, [///],

Qenpaheqa, Djehutysenebu, Sobekmes, Kharai, Paam, Taa, Sedjemesni, Baket, Kaisy, Taametju, Wabenta-Sekhmet, Istaraiwmi, Itnefer, Hadetkush, and Amunkhersedeneb.

In total, nine male individuals and 10 female individuals are named. How Ahmose, son of Ebana “used” these individuals is never mentioned, but presumably they would have been working the 60 auroras of land that he was given, with the women possibly engaged in textile work as well. If we extrapolate the rewards of Ahmose to other high-ranking individuals within these campaigns, the number of captive and enslaved people brought into Egypt during the early 18th Dynasty campaigns is huge. Another autobiography confirms this. Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet recounts (*Urk.* IV 32-37):

I followed Amenhotep I, triumphant; I captured for him in Kush a living prisoner. I captured for him in Kush two living prisoners, beside three living prisoners, whom I brought off in Kush, without counting them...I followed Thutmose II, triumphant; there were brought off for me in Shasu very many living prisoners; I did not count them...

It is not until the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III that we get depictions of captives at work, including those engaged in textile production (Morris 2014, 362). From the tomb of Rekhmire, we have explicit evidence for captive foreign women being given to the Temple of Amun at Karnak for textile work. From the longitudinal passage, southern wall, east half, we have Rekhmire inspecting the *mrt*-weavers belonging to the Temple of Amun and workshops belonging to the temple. The text continues defining the workers as “those that the king brought as prisoners and their children as tribute... the *mrt* that his majesty brought back from his victories in the south and the north country... For the manufacture of royal linen, white linen, fine linen, close-woven linen” (Davies 1943, pl. LVII).

Indeed, the Annals of Thutmose III discuss similar events. From the sixth pylon at Karnak (south, east face), Thutmose III “gave [Amun] to fill his workhouse (*šn*), to be weavers (*mrt*) to make for him fine linen, white linen, *šhrw*-linen, and thick cloth...” (Redford 2003, 138). The text continues, ending with a tally of the individuals given to the temple; “[t]ally of the

male and female Asiatics and male and female Nubians whom My Majesty gave to my father Amun... 1,588” (Redford 2003, 139).

A contemporaneous tomb—Piuemre (TT 39)—contains further details about the practice of foreign captives in the Egyptian textile industry. On the lower half of the southern end of the western wall (Davies 1923, pl. XLII, XLIII), “tribute” of the south is shown. The lowest row shows the “registration of linen (*mnḥ.t*) for Amun.” At the front is a scribe tallying the amount of linen with six men before him, each holding a bundle of linen, and a linen sheet draped over an arm. Each individual is labeled as an “Overseer of Weavers (*imy-r mrt*).” Given its location in the “tribute of the south” scene, Davies (1923, 104) surmised that this is a depiction of the Egyptian colonists in Nubia overseeing the coerced labor for the benefit of Amun. Perhaps not all the captive labor of Thutmose III’s campaigns made it back to Egypt but were left in place and put to work locally, still under Egyptian oversight, with the products being sent to Egypt, much the same as Rekhmire.

Another official Minmose received 150 *mrt*-people, presents, and clothes from the king as a reward for having contributed to the establishment of numerous temples (*Urk* IV, 1444.1-8). The tomb of Paheri, also from the time of Thutmose III, supports the argument of foreigners being engaged in textile work. In this case, it is foreign (as distinguished by their hair) men and women engaged in the harvesting, bundling, and rippling of flax (Morris 2014, 371; Tylor and Griffith 1894, pl. 3). As discussed earlier, many individuals involved in the Treasury engaged in and benefited from the textile industry.

It was common practice at this time for kings to “donate” prisoners of war to temple workshops (Morris 2014, 368). As Rekhmire’s tomb records, most prisoners were donated to the *šnʿ*, or workhouse, which received bulk raw materials from donations, taxes, and the temple lands, to be transformed by the captive laborers into finished products. These goods, in our case textiles, were stored in the temple treasuries and magazines, as is shown in Rekhmire’s tomb. Given that textile production in northwest Asia and Nubia was typically women’s work, it makes

sense that most prisoners of war we see assigned to textile work are women. Given the gendered nature of the evidence, I argue that it is reasonable to assume that any women captured in the campaigns can be assumed to have been forced into textile work once in Egypt.

Turning to the Ramesside evidence, the seizing of war captives appears to become less common though Ramses III does record one such event. In Papyrus Harris, Ramses III retrospectively recounts the “filling with captives, which [Amun] gave to [him] among the Nine Bows, classes which I trained by the ten thousand” of his memorial temple, Medinet Habu (Breasted 1906, 114). Later in the papyrus, lists of the people attached to the various temples are detailed (Table 5.1) Syrians and Nubians are specifically mentioned as being given to the House of Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu, totaling 2,607 individuals.

Table 5.1- People Attached to Temples in Papyrus Harris I				
	Thebes (total)	Heliopolis (total)	Memphis (total)	Smaller Temples
Individuals	74,434	12,963	3,079	5,811

I argue that there is a direct correlation between the growth of the foreign campaigns, seizure of war captives, and the growth of the textiles industry in the 18th Dynasty and the lack of foreign campaigns and war captives, the growth of other weaving titles (*sh̄ty*), and a furthering of evidence for a cottage-industry approach in the Ramesside Period. In the New Kingdom, large institutions backed by “free” labor from foreign campaigns were able to industrialize the production of cloth. By the Ramesside Period, the influx of labor slowed, so other avenues, like the “farming-out” of labor, needed to be explored further.

5.1.5 Experience & Treatment

Since so many of these individuals are unnamed, it is hard to learn more about their experience as a lower-status weaver during the New Kingdom. There are some textual sources that provide us with useful details to aid in reconstructing some aspects of their existence. From a

Rammeside-era instruction text, *Teachings of Dua-Khety*, we can see how such workers were treated:

The weaver lives inside the weaving house; he is worse off than a woman, with his knees up to his stomach, unable to breathe any air. If he wastes any daytime not weaving, he is beaten fifty lashes. He has to give a sum to the doorkeeper to be allowed to go out to the light of day. Lichtheim 1973, 188.

Given what we know about the captive status of many of these individuals, the experience described in the *Teachings of Dua-Khety* does seem realistic. We know instruction literature is highly biased, written by a scribal elite for other scribal elites, but some reality must permeate, though probably exaggerated. The weaving workshop being stuffy, and dark is interesting given that weaving requires a lot of light. From the one depiction from the tomb of Djehutynefer (TT104), the weavers are possibly housed in the basement of the elite's house. Did they work by lamplight, then? Weaving in the dark would have contributed to weakening of eyesight and possibly blindness.

The mention of being “locked away” would seem to indicate the employment of a quota system where they had to produce a certain amount in a day before they were allowed to leave. The subtle way of subverting power is evidenced as well. The weavers could “waste time” to show their displeasure and as a subtle sign of revolt though it would earn them a physical punishment (Scott 1985).

The Tomb Robbery Papyri are another source of information that helps add details to the lives of a lower-status weaver (Peet 1915). All of the instances for the *sh̄ty*-weavers discussed earlier come from lists of individuals implicated in the tomb robberies of the late 20th Dynasty. In the deposition lists of the individuals culpable, there are nineteen weavers mentioned, both workers and overseers. These individuals were driven to involve themselves in the robbery of the kings' tombs to subsidize their wages. They were in a unique position with knowledge of the king's valley. The reward outweighs the possible risk of punishment. And the punishment was severe. Torture was employed upon those to elicit confessions (pBM10051 8.19). Mention of

another earlier instance clarifies that the punishment was death. “I saw the punishment which was done to the thieves in the time of the vizier Khaemwas. Am I the man to go looking for death when I know what it means?” (pBM10053, 8.19-20).

The *mrt*, enslaved weavers, and other lower-status textile artists led difficult lives, lives otherwise hidden from the textual documentation, tomb depictions, and temple spaces. The exploitation of both enslaved and captive foreigners was the foundation of the larger textile industry during the New Kingdom. Looking at networks of power, the individuals from lower-status groups engaged in textile labor never saw the economic fruits of their labor. They were producing high-valued goods for the benefit of the temple, the palace, and the higher-ranking staff. These garments might have even been the clothing used in the Daily Temple Ritual for clothing the cult statue—cloth that was ritually pure and necessary for the functioning of the cult of a deity yet woven by enslaved or virtually enslaved individuals for the larger temple system.

5.1.6 Higher Status Weavers

Weaving is one of the only occupations in New Kingdom society that spans the gamut of social status. Having covered the lower-status local and foreign weavers, we will now turn to the high-status individuals, almost always women, engaged in textile production. To investigate this, we will take as a case study the site of Gurob, a palace inhabited through the New Kingdom by the wives of the king and their children as well as associated industries. One of the major industries was textiles (Kozloff 2012). Gurob provides the best evidence for the palace’s involvement in textile production, but we should assume similar occurrences at other known palace structures—Amarna, Deir el-Ballas, and Malqata, for example. These sites, like Gurob, provide evidence for textiles of the finest form—embroidery, dyeing, the finest luxury linen, and possible textiles of a non-Egyptian flair.

It should be cautioned, however, that, even though these women were of an elite status, that still does not necessarily mean they were not exploited by the palace and temple

industries—did they wear the objects they produced, or were they consumed in another fashion? Where did the profits from such productions go? What social profit was earned?

5.1.6.1 *Hnr* Institutions

Before delving into the categories of individuals working in textile production at these palace sites, we will discuss the Egyptological literature on these sites regarding their designation as harems (Bryan 1981; Nord 1981; Troy 1986; Yoyotte 2015; 2018; Ward 1983). There are a number of ancient Egyptian terms that get translated as “harem” within the literature. The first term is *ipt nswt*. As Yoyotte (2015, 26) notes it can be hard to define and can designate a place of royal residence where women, royal children, and non-royal children live, its inhabitants, or the institution itself. From the documentation, it would appear that mainly the *nfrwt*, the young women who have not yet given birth, and the *ipt nswt*, the collective residents, lived at the *ipt*. Other translations for the phrase are “royal private quarters” or “royal apartment/storage.”

The other term used is *pr hnty*, which is also translated as ‘harem.’ *hnr* derives from the verb meaning “to restrain” or “to confine” which led scholars to assume its similarity to the Ottoman-style harems in the Western imagination. We know the term *hnr* also refers to musical troupes or units associated with a king or deity for cultic activities (Bělohoubková 2022; Morris 2011). From this, it is clear that the term is not solely in reference to a location or women under the king’s control. Men are also known members (Guegan 2020). There appears to be a divide between the *hnr* of musical cultic activities and the *pr-hnr* of private king’s household. Perhaps they both stem from the *hnr* musical troupe that by the New Kingdom amalgamated into the king’s household since often members of the *hnr* were wives of the king. Further evidence into the specific uses of the term over time would need to be performed. The *pr hnty* appears to be always in reference to the institution solely for a *ipt nswt n pr hnty* (Reiser 1972, 77-78). The appearance of the term *pr hnty* coincides with more abundant documentation concerning the harem and diplomatic marriages between the king and outside foreign princesses (see below).

Following Lacovara (1997a), New Kingdom 'harem' sites largely followed a standardized plan with each harem palace probably consisting of a pair of adjacent buildings each divided into two by partition walls, with one side being the residential quarter and the other half for storage and workshops. Malqata and Amarna are two other such sites, beside Gurob. From textual evidence, Gurob is referred to as “*hnr m-wr*” (Gardiner 1948, 26).

These locations were fully autonomous economic entities with real-estate holdings. The Wilbour Papyrus indicates that Mi-Wer owned large tracts of land, along with a harbor and a temple (Gardiner 1948, 30-33). The location is even mentioned by Diodorus (*Bibliotheca Historica* I, LII) who indicates that the king “gave the income from the lake fishing to his wife for her perfumes and clothes.

Many scholars argue that the use of the term 'harem' is too highly fraught and harkens back to Orientalizing notions (Bělohoubková 2022). Disagreements about the use of the term harem tend to argue that a comparison is Orientalizing and anachronistic, but in many ways, there are commonalities between the two, especially as economic bodies (Peirce 1992; 1993). This study will define it as an independent institution and administrative unit of economic significance constituting royal and elite women, sometimes, but not always, married or related to the king.

5.1.6.1.1 Gurob Palace (Mi-wr)

As enumerated in Chapter 4, archaeological and textual evidence confirms that Gurob is a residence for women associated with the royal court and an administrative and production center in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, specializing in the production of fine royal linen using both Egyptian and non-Egyptian women as a workforce (see Chapter 4). Some scholars have even been so bold as to claim that Gurob was specifically for the foreign wives of the king (Kemp 1978). The implications of this are important for the textiles being produced on site. We will return to this supposition later.

Clear evidence of the presence of royal women has been found at the site. This includes the famous dark-wood head of Tiye (Berlin 21.834/17851), a silver ring of Amenhotep III (UC12320), a faience lily with the name of Tiye in a cartouche (UC12439), a silver ring of Akhenaten (UC12429), a gold scarab (UC7866), a cubit measuring with the names of Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun, a travertine vase (UC16021) with their names again, an offering table with Tiye and Amenhotep II's names, and some other royal materials (Picton 2016, 233). A small group of wooden statuettes dating to Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV found on the antiquities market are also thought to have come from the cemetery at Gurob (Chassinat 1901). The statuettes record the names of the individuals they represented: Tuty, Mi, Maya, Nebetia, Tiya, Tama, and Resi (Fig. 5.3). Kozloff (2012) also surmises that Amenhotep III's mother, Mutemwia, resided at the palace of *Mi-Wer* engaged in textile work, given the large number of portraits of her from the area.

Further, there is direct evidence that these women were directly engaged in the textiles being produced at the site. Gurob Fragments U (UC32795) records the bringing of textiles to a wife of Ramses II, Maahorneferure (Gardiner 1948, 22-24).

The King's Wife Maathorneferure, may she live, the daughter of the great ruler of Khatti.

[///] *d̄y.t* garment of 28 cubits, 4 palms, 4 cubits [///] of 14 cubits, 2 palms, breath 4 cubits [///] royal linen *īdg* garment, royal linen *mss* garment, royal linen, *sdw* cloth of first quality...

Dispatch from Heracleopolis [///] filled, which are in the house of the deliveries [///] arrival of the king's scribe Meh at the house of [///] member of the palace of women (pr *hnyt*) Wen...

Meh, the king's scribe of the palace of Gurob delivered goods from Heracleopolis to Maahorneferure, queen of Ramses II. From this piece of evidence, it would appear that Maahorneferure was at least involved in a supervisory way in the collection and exchange of textiles.



Fig. 5.3- Wooden statuette of Lady Tiye, believed to be from Gurob (MET 41.2.10; Wiki Commons)

Other textual evidence refers to other women on site involved in the management of individuals for textile work. P. BM EA 10568 discusses the production of textile at Gurob in connection with Pi-Ramses in the Delta (Eyre 2024, 114). The Overseer of the Town and Vizier Rahotep writes to the head council at Gurob inquiring about the transfer of weavers. “The Chief of the Weavers Khaiemtener [said], ‘I am dividing the servants with the lady Hatshepsesy and

the lady Tabakperep...” (Allam 2001, 89-96). The Chief of Weavers in the Delta capital is sending weavers to two women in Gurob for textile work. It is unclear who these two women were and whether the work was in a household, temple, or palace establishment, but, given the administrative nature of the document and reference to the vizier Rahotep, presumably this is part of institutional production at the site.

5.1.7 High Status Foreign Weavers

In a similar regard to lower-status weavers, many high-status weavers also came from foreign backgrounds—not usually as war captives (though this is still possible, see below) but as members of bridal retinues and diplomatic marriages. We must then imagine these palaces not only as key locations for textile skill exchange and development but also as a microcosm of the larger textile industry where a strict hierarchy is maintained even though all individuals are marginalized in some regard. The experience of an elite foreign wife versus a captive enslaved female weaver is starkly different. Single or even multiple identity categories (ethnicity and gender, for example) are not enough to adequately describe the individuals comprising the “weavers” of New Kingdom Egypt.

Some scholars have argued that high-status weavers at these palace locations would have been engaged in the production of more luxury textiles (Kozloff 2012). What remains unclear is whether certain textile specialists, like those skilled in embroidery, dyeing, or other more demanding skills, were sought out during the campaigns, or whether the main goal of the campaigns the quantity of captives instead. Captives from Thutmose III’s campaigns were also ‘given’ to his *Mi-wer*, the harem-palace (Kozloff 2012, 19). Another text records foreign servants located at Gurob. UC32784 lists every servant (*sḏm* §) at the palace (Griffith 1898, XXXIX):

People whom my lord I.p.h.! causes to be brought, those who know how to do, those who know how to receive instruction, being foreigners, like those who used to be brought to us in the time of Ramesses II, I.p.h.! the great god your good father, and who would say

to us "We are wealth [*inwt*] in the workshops [*ǹyt?*] of the nobles and who received instruction and were able to do whatever they were told.

I argue that these women were more highly skilled, separating them from the more “mass-produced” textile workshops connected to the temples. Women of a higher status in the land where campaigns were happening might have been seized and “given” to the royal household for specialty textile production and also as a form of guarantee. We can again reference the one textual source mentioning the sale of an enslaved foreign woman who went for a much higher price than average, which Eyre (2024, 90) argued was connected to her textile skill. We know the elite young men were taken to be raised in the nursery (*kꜣp*) which was housed in the *hnr* confines as well (Mathieu 2000). Would young women be enlisted into textile production at that time by the women of the *hnr*? Highly skilled textile artisans might have come into Egypt another way—as brides. These women lived at the intersection of the social and the economic. Their reproductive and childrearing capabilities were required by the king as a display of his fertility, gender norms, and the maintenance of *maat*, and their ability to contribute to the royal coffers through their craft production aligned well with their identity to be both wife and mother.

The earliest evidence for a king marrying foreign royal women dates to the reign of Thutmosis III (Lilyquist 2003). These three women, based on their names, are believed to be from one of the city-states of Syria-Palestine. As we know, Thutmosis II conducted many campaigns in that region, and textual evidence supports the taking of elite women as wives. It is compelling to think that the three wives whose tomb we found in western Thebes might have been one if not all of the women mentioned in the texts. From the sixth pylon at Karnak (*Urk* IV 668, 3-4),

{List of Tribute} [*inw*] brought to His Majesty’s power by the chiefs of the Retenu in regnal year 40...

Tribute of the chiefs of the Retenu:

Daughter of a chief and her equipment of gold and lapis lazuli of her land; attendants, servants, and male and female slaves belonging to her: 30

This text dates too late in Thutmose III's reign to be referring to the foreign brides mentioned above, but it is clear that a daughter of one of the city-states in Syria-Palestine was sent with a retinue of thirty people to "marry" the king of Egypt. Two other texts also corroborate this occurring multiple times in the reign of Thutmose III. Another text mentions the plundered wives of the enemy of Qadesh (Breasted 1906, 236).

Last, and most telling, is a text on the seventh pylon at Karnak recording Thutmose III's campaign at Megiddo (*Urk* IV, 185). This text mentions the seizure of elite foreign women and children for textile manufacture:

My majesty got the women of that fallen one [the leader of Megiddo] and children, and the women of the great ones [*wr*] that were with him and all their children. Then My Majesty gave the women and children to the storehouse [*šn*] of my father Amun as *mrt*

Instead of the institutionalized workshops of the *šn* discussed in Chapter 4, the elite and royal women captured from foreign campaigns resided in private palaces, like Gurob, where their movements were still highly restricted. In both of these situations, however, the captive women, elite or not, had little choice in their seizure and placement in Egyptian society.

Other evidence of foreign women marrying the Egyptian king include one of the marriage scarabs of Amenhotep III (EA68507) which records how negotiations "brought to His Majesty Gilukhepa, daughter of the Naharin [Mitanni] Shuttarna II, and 317 women of her palace (*hnr=s*)" (Blakenberg-van Delden 1969, pl. 34). Amenhotep would later also marry Tadukhipa, Gilukhepa's niece, the negotiations for which are preserved in Amarna Letter EA 19, discussed below. Another example is the mention of Maahorneferure, queen of Ramses II, who was originally from Hatti. From the papyri (UC32795) that mention her name, she was clearly at Gurob and involved in the textile industry at the site working along with the king's scribe. Another example is the mention of Maahorneferure, queen of Ramses II, who was originally from Hatti. From the papyri (UC32795) that mention her name, she clearly was at Gurob and involved in the textile industry at the site working along with the king's scribe.

The Amarna Letters are also very illustrative of not only diplomatic marriages but also of the large exchange of persons that were included in the negotiations and dowries. When a foreign wife would come into Egypt, she would not come alone.

In Amarna Letter EA 3, Kadašman-Enlil, the Kassite ruler of Babylon, in his continuing marriage negotiations with Amenhotep III, plans to celebrate the construction of a new house and sends to Egypt 25 women and men in his service (Moran 1992, 7). It is unclear if these individuals are there to stay or are there for another person. However, after this sentence, gifts proceed consisting of chariots and horses, possibly indicating these are all for the Egyptian king's keeping. In another letter, this time from Tushratta, in an attempt to solidify relations between two courts, Tushratta sends 30 women and men along with the other gifts (EA 19; Moran 1992, 45).

The most illustrative letter (EA 25) provides an inventory of gifts from Tushratta to Egypt. Amongst the gifting of many textiles (see Chapter 6), two "ladies-in-waiting" (*tārītu*) with 270 women and 30 men as the dowry-personnel, as well as goods provided for the dowries of the women are also included (Moran 1992, 78-81).

Another letter indicates the Egyptian king requested women from one of the governors of the Syrian-Palestinian city-states, an individual by the name of Abdi-Ashtarti (EA 64; Moran 1992, 135). "I heed all the orders of the king, my lord. I herewith send on ten women." In EA 369, Amenhotep III requests women from one of his vassals, Milkilu, the ruler of Gazru. "Forty female cupbearers, 40 [shekels of] silver being the price of a female cupbearer. Send extremely beautiful female cupbearers in whom there is no defect, so the king your lord will say to you, 'This is excellent, in accordance with the order he sent to you'" (Moran 1992, 366).

Archaeologically, there is a lot of support for foreign presence at the site. During Petrie's excavations at Gurob, he recorded a number of tombs with non-Egyptian elements. Tomb 20 was for a man named Saidamu which is believed to be Hittite. Tomb 21 was Anen-tursha, another foreign name but buried in typical Egyptian fashion. Petrie also uncovered at the site

human remains of women with blonde or light brown hair, with one even wearing a black wig overtop (Griffith, Newberry & Petrie 1890, 41). Petrie and others have taken these women to be non-Egyptians, though such conclusions about origin and hair color and texture can be fraught with uncertainty and even racism. Other foreign objects like Mycenaean stirrup jars and Canaanite wares could indicate either imports or the presence of Aegean people at the site (Shaw 2017, 185). A number of weights were found at the site that do not correspond to the Egyptian standard (*kʿt*) possibly indicating a different standard of measurement was present on site (Petrie *et al* 1891, 41). To the author’s knowledge, no one beside Petrie has attempted to relate these weights to other cultures. Figurines with Hittite hairstyles have also been found at the site (Petrie *et al* 1891, pl. XVIII).

Foreign practices are also attested. Politi (2001) in their study of the “Burnt Groups” of objects convincingly argues that the burnt goods were related to a Hittite ritual based on Law 27 of the Hittite Law Code. The law stipulates that, if a woman dies, you are to burn all of her personal possessions:

As for the possibility that Gurob was mainly or specifically for the housing of foreign brides, the segregation of foreign wives of the king is not without evidence. A depiction of the royal apartments at Amarna shows foreign women, marked by their hairstyles, in separate rooms from the Egyptians (Manniche 1991; Bryan 1991, 118; Fig. 5.4).

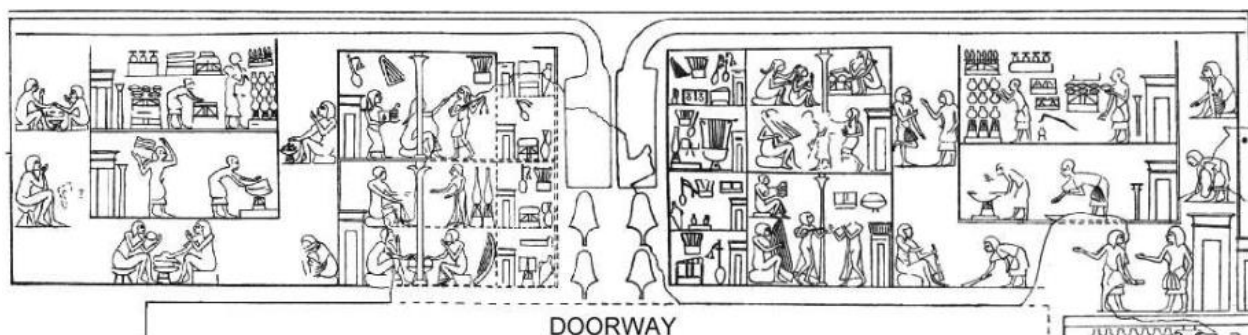


Fig. 5.4- Amarna Palace from the Tomb of Ay (© Osirisnet)

Since we already have evidence for textile production occurring inside the palace and outside in the one industrial area, and, given the large amount of evidence for foreign elite women at the site, the main or majority of producers of textiles, therefore, must be these foreign women.

To add further clarifying evidence, a textile tool indicates the production of a non-Egyptian style of spinning. From Grave 11, a spindle with a low whorl was found as part of the burial assemblage. This is in comparison to the stereotypical Egyptian high whorl variety (see Chapter 3). This would have produced thread with a Z-spin, not the typical S-spin of Egyptian practice. Many have disregarded this single spindle whorl. The wood is of local origin, indicating that the spindle was produced onsite under the direction of an individual with a non-Egyptian textile culture background. Petrie also cites finding wool on site, some that is partially dyed and unspun (Petrie *et al* 1891, 28).

Last, toggle pins were also found on site (Petrie *et al* 1891, 19, pl. 22; Gasperini 2018, 13; Fig. 5.5) indicating the presence of non-Egyptian dress customs. Toggle pins are ubiquitous in west Asian cloth culture; they are a clear marker of non-Egyptian identity and were gendered markers of woman in west Asian cultures (Michel and Kulakoğlu 2021, 183).

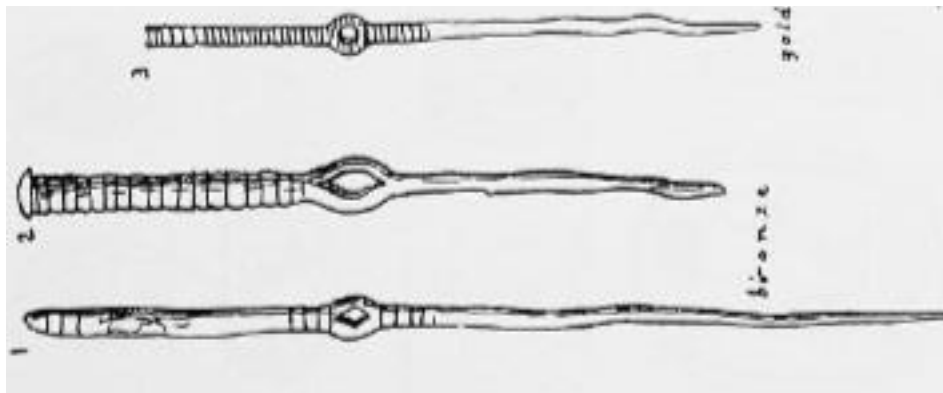


Fig. 4.5- Toggle Pins from Gurob (Petrie *et al* 1891, pl. 22)

5.1.8 Conclusions

Gurob and other private palaces of the king serve as a unique zone of interaction of textile producers in the New Kingdom. Even if we suppose that most of the individuals at Gurob were

of foreign persuasion, the site would have housed individuals from so many backgrounds and identities, a majority revolving around the production, management, and exchange of textiles. Foreign women captives from the campaign and foreign brides with their huge retinues along with the household staff and management all would have lived and worked on site. It is compelling to relate the introduction of new weaving techniques and processes to the foundation of Gurob by Thutmosis III. At the very least, the trend of the king marrying foreign elite women started then and contributed to the growth of the textile industry in cooperation with the state- and temple-run processes.

Within Egyptian society, all of these individuals are marginalized to varying degrees, with the elite foreign women having more access to power, though considerably less in comparison to an Egyptian man. Though women in general were a marginalized group when compared to men, higher-status women ultimately had more avenues to power than other marginalized groups *vis-à-vis* relationships with men in their lives. This explains how individuals who themselves are marginalized can perpetuate hierarchies and power differentiations onto others. Higher-status women presumably felt themselves both at the whim of the patriarchal system yet better-placed in comparison to others. Such intersections are well evidenced in the textile industry. The only women who are named as the royal wives of the king like Maahornefure who is the only individual shown in a higher position overseeing textile exchange between the site and the capital.

5.1.9 Women in the Home

Home-based production as discussed in Chapter 4 was a significant zone of production for textiles both in regard to the “farming out” by large institutions and for more local production and exchange. This section focuses on the women involved in home-based production. As to this author’s knowledge, beside a few possible instances (Section 5.1.10), most home-based

production was done by women in the New Kingdom. Following the work of Cooney (2007), Warburton (2007), and others (Drenkhahn 1976; Shortland 2000), there is evidence for independent craftspeople under no control of an institution or state. We discussed elite males in positions of management and oversight for cottage-industry type production in Chapter 4, but this section will focus on domestic production for personal consumption, which centers on women in the household.

Archaeologically, we can refer to the evidence enumerated in Chapter 4 discussing home-based production, but what can be said about the actual producers? We know textiles were being produced in the homes at Amarna and Deir el-Medina, for example. From the distribution of materials at Amarna, we know that textiles were being produced in the larger elite homes and the smaller associated homes as well. Hodgkinson (2014) argues that elite households would have engaged in the production of higher-quality linen either by individuals living in the house or people forced or hired to work in elite homes. The non-elite households would have consisted of family groups engaged in the production of rougher linen, with much of what they were producing for non-personal consumption. Sadly, Amarna does not have the textual record like Deir el-Medina to provide us more specific glimpses into the individuals actually producing, exchanging, and using the textiles.

We can assume that in many of these elite households there were individuals in a forced labor situation, either enslaved or bonded to these elite households. I refer back to the several instances enumerated above (Section X) about the purchase of enslaved women for textile production in home-based situations. Iry-nefret as the wife of the Overseer of the District was an elite individual who herself appears to have been managing a prosperous textile “business” out of her house (Eyre 2024, 90). She was not only able to purchase a very expensive enslaved Syrian girl for weaving purposes, but she also paid for her with textiles of the home’s production (Eyre 2024, 91):

“Fine linen: cover 1, makes silver, *qite* 5

Fine linen: sheet 1, makes silver, *qite* 3 ½
Fine linen: kilt 1, makes silver, *qite* 4
Superior fine linen: loincloth 3, makes silver, *qite* 5
Superior fine linen: kilt 1, makes silver, *qite* 5...”

Eyre (1998, 180) notes that cloth was an important form of capital that the substantial household could manufacture itself on the basis of its land and household labor.

Again, the best evidence to investigate the individuals involved in personal home-based production of textiles comes from Deir el-Medina, where we have a plethora of ostraca which record the minute interactions between the inhabitants. These texts give a glimpse into the more mundane textile production occurring at the site. From this we can extrapolate that similar interactions were occurring at the other Workmen’s Village at Amarna. I would argue that the textile interactions we see at Deir el-Medina are not unique and can be taken as reference to how Egyptians were interacting in village and city spaces across Egypt.

The wives of the workmen are known weavers. Paneb, of the many accusations against him, was accused of kidnapping wives of the workmen and forcing them to weave clothes for him (P. Salt 124; Černý 1929, 246). The women involved in the situation are not mentioned, but given the accusation, it appears that the men in their lives are angry not only for the kidnapping of them but specifically for the loss of textile production. Jannsen (1975) remarks that the households might have significantly relied upon the wealth produced by the women in the form of textiles. Given that we know they reached a high price on the market, women could have brought a fair amount of wealth to a household through their weaving prowess.

Textiles were the main good women were producing and bartering in the village (O.Leipzig 3, O.Prague H22, O. DM116). For example, one records “[w]hat is to her as garments” (*nty n.s m nʿ ḥbsw*), following with the copper *deben* total being 29 (O.DM 185; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 127). One records a woman Nebuhermaatchau writing to Nebiunt requesting a tunic in exchange for vegetables (O.DM 117); another from Isis to Nebuemnu requests Nebuemnu to weave a shawl very quickly since a festival is occurring soon (O.DM 132). As McDowell (1999,

41) notes, of the roughly 470 “letters” received from Deir el-Medina, roughly one in seven are to or from women.

Given the preponderance of textiles involved in economic transactions on site by everyone, can we assume that most of them were locally produced? For example, in an exchange between the draftsman Menna to the water carrier, Thai, Menna rented a donkey in exchange for many textiles (one kerchief of thin cloth, one shawl of smooth cloth) totaling 20 *deben*. Who produced these textiles for Menna? Women in Menna’s household would be an appropriate assumption.

The experience of these women involved in domestic textile production is difficult to glean. No text records an individual treatment or the feelings of those engaged in the economy. Presumably, since this was more for personal benefit, there was a desire by the women involved in home production to engage and produce, especially if it contributed heavily to the household’s wealth. Enslaved or bonded persons would have had a rougher existence more akin to other lower-status weavers discussed earlier (Section 5.1.5).

5.1.10 Men in the textile Industry?

As noted by Barber (1994) in their seminal work *Women’s Work*, textile production from spinning to weaving is one industry that is amenable to other activities within the home. The activity can be started and stopped and is mobile. These are just some of the reasons textile work became analogous with women, and much of the Egyptian evidence supports this. Indeed, many textile specialists affirm that ancient Egyptian textile work was predominantly women-driven (Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1992; Barber 1991). I do not disagree that women made up a vast portion of labor, but we should be more nuanced in our discussion, temporally, spatially, and institutionally. I would argue that as textile production became further industrialized, temple-based men took over much of the labor roles. This phenomenon is well attested. Women dominated brewing during the early medieval period only

to be replaced by males as the industry became more industrialized and lucrative (Bennett 1996). This section will provide an overview of the evidence we have for men in the textile industry, ultimately arguing that men were more involved than in other cultures (city-states of Greece, for example), participated in certain processes of production, like flax cultivation and managerial positions, and with time engaged in more and more textile-related activities.

In the Middle Kingdom tombs of Baqet III (Tomb 15) and Khety (17) from Beni Hasan, we can see men engaged in spinning (Newberry 1893, pls. IV and XIII). From the tomb of Baqet (Tomb 15)—on the northern wall, register two, we can see a number of men engaged in spinning using the drop-spinning and spinning bowl with rings methods. On the next register, we can see a number of women engaged in spinning using the drop-spinning method and then multiple women engaged in weaving on a large horizontal loom (Newberry 1893, pl. IV). The textiles scene from the tomb of Khety (17) are almost exactly identical except with the addition of a weaving scene by a male next to the male spinners (pl. XIII).

It has been argued by Barber (1991, 286) and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, 266) that they are making rope or matting since they are separated from the women-dominated weaving scene. However, the methods used for producing the rope or matting, if we take it to be that, are the exact same as the methods used to spin fiber for textiles. Further, Vogelsang-Eastwood even states that the making of rope follows different methods (2001, 266). I argue that the Egyptians would not have made a semantic distinction between the two practices—spinning fiber for ropes, matting, or textiles were one in the same, presumably only differentiated by the quality of the flax used. Additionally, the Egyptian artistic perspective of register lines might indicate that these activities were happening either in the same location or nearby to each other. Last and most convincing is the fact that the individual overseer of the male spinners' work is labeled as the *sd³.w n hnk.t*, “sealer of the linen,” in both tombs.

By the New Kingdom, there is more evidence for male involvement beyond managerial positions. As discussed earlier, with the adoption of the vertical loom from west Asia, in the

post-Second Intermediate Period we have artistic depictions of men working the looms. Dating between the reigns of Amenhotep II to Thutmosis IV, the tomb of Djehutynefer (TT 104) has the earliest depiction of a vertical loom in Egypt (Davies 1929, fig. 1.A; Fig. 4.7). Depicted here is Djehutynefer's home with the various floors and daily activities represented. The lowest register is either meant to indicate the first floor of the house or the room closest to the observing given Egyptian aspective art. In one of the rooms, we can see textile production occurring. Women are shown preparing and spinning flax, and next to them men are weaving on vertical looms. On the larger loom, two men are working while one man operates the smaller. The only other depiction of a weaving installation from the New Kingdom also depicts a man working the loom. The tomb of Neferhotep (TT49; Davies 1933) has a scene of a weaving workshop, now highly fragmentary. Much like Djehutynefer's depiction.

This is best supported by evidence from the Ramesseid period. As discussed earlier by the Ramesside period much of the linen production was overseen by temple institutions. Many titles reflect this. The temples also managed most of the farmable land upon which flax was cultivated. From this time period we have a variety of textual sources showing men working in textile production, both within temple institutions and without.

From this period only one tomb records a depiction of men involved in the textile industry alongside women and children. The tomb of Neferrenpet (TT133; Davies 1948) depicts a scene where four women, a few children, and a man carrying flax to a nearby scale. On another register, men are shown working the upright looms alongside women (Petrie 1948, 50; pl. XXXV; Fig. 5.6).

One of the clearest examples was already mentioned earlier in the discussion on the *sh̄ty* weavers. From the Tomb Robbery Papyri, we have mentions of male individuals involved in the crimes of looting the kings' tombs (Peet 1930). Of these individuals, weavers are mentioned by name, most from the "temple of Amn," *n pr ïmn*. For example, from P. BM 10068, eighteen individuals are mentioned as "weavers of the temple of Amun," *sh̄ty n pr ïmn*. All the names of

these individuals are male (Appendix 6)—Bukhaaf, Pehesi, and Khaur, to name a few examples. As discussed earlier, the exact distinction of the occupation of *shty* versus the *mrt*-weaver is unclear, but from the textual evidence all are men employed by temple institutions.

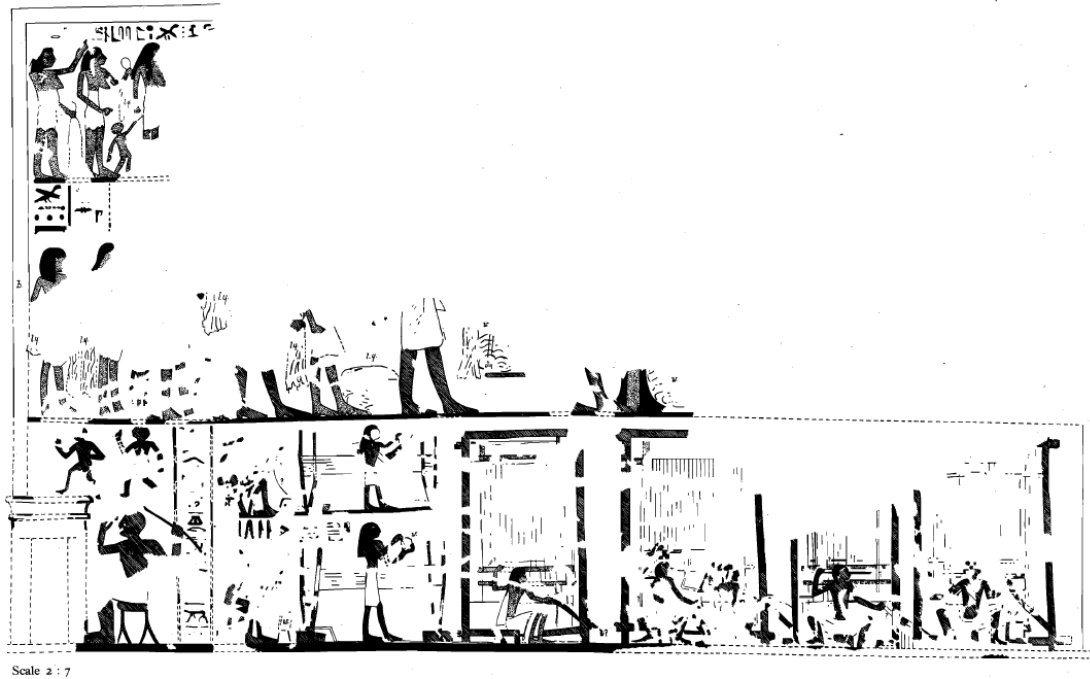


Fig. 5.6- Textile workshop scene from the tomb Neferrenpet. Note the number of men and children involved in the scene. (TT133; Petrie 1948, pl. XXXV)

One letter from the 20th Dynasty, Year 10 of the Renaissance from Dhutmose to Butehamon, Shedemdua, and Hemesheri, discusses Dhutmose’s sojourn in Nubia and his desire to come back to Egypt (Wente 1967, 313). Among other matters, Dhutmose requests the weaving of many kilts for him. He dramatically describes Nubia as a “far-off land” and requests Amun to “rescue” him. Perhaps he is lacking in clothing as well. Later, he references a matter back in Thebes that has yet to be settled. He requests that the policeman Kas not be ignored but rather be ordered to weave cloth for Dhutmose. This letter both indicates that Kas the policeman 1) knows how to weave even though he is not a weaver by title and 2) that it is ‘normal’ for men to weave. Dhutmose gave this order in a long list of orders, from finding donkeys to managing the field laborers. Does this indicate that most individuals had at least a basic understanding of

weaving? Or did the ordering of Kas to weave mean the ordering of his household including the women and children therein?

An ostrakon (O. UC 32054) from western Thebes records an individual Pennenenut swearing to give a shirt to an unnamed individual in ten days, or the amount owed is doubled (KRI VI, 143):

3 prt

What the district watcher Pennenenut said:

By Amun and the ruler! If I let 10 days go by without giving the shirt to Mermenu, I will get double-charged for it. Done in front of the foreman Nekhuemut.

Now, whether Pennenenut was weaving the shirt himself or would procure it from a woman in his household or from the marketplace is unclear. However, the possibility remains open that he himself would be weaving the shirt within the time frame.

Another letter from the 21st Dynasty from Horpene, the god's father priest and temple scribe, to the captain of the shield-bearers Shepti mentioned male weavers as well (Wente 1967, 335). Horpene requests that men from el-Hiba be punished and no one be allowed out of the garrison; specifically, "do not send anybody out to the countryside, be he a soldier, weaver, or any person." The weaver mentioned is not gendered technically; however, the "be he a..." phrasing would indicate that all the professions listed afterwards are men especially since it is mentioning a garrison of soldiers. Perhaps men in military contexts functioned as weavers rather than women? Though, we know women were often at these garrison communities, making this hypothesis weak. Relatedly, another letter from Horpene references a message he received from Besbes, "this weaver," that discusses the military garrison at el-Hiba (Wente 1967, 334). Taking these both together, the evidence indicates that the textile industry, at least by the Third Intermediate Period, is not as gendered as it used to be, or that men dominated in certain contexts—temple and military.

Papyrus Anastasi VI also provides evidence for male involvement in the textile production process. The scribe Inena wrote to the scribe of the Treasury Kageb about a criminal

incident involving the registering of weavers in Inena's name by another individual (Caminos 1954). Inena claims that the individual

Register[ed] the weaver in the scroll in [Inena's] name, he having already taken the weavers (mr.t) away, and they were in his village. He then proceeded to register the scroll in [Inena's] name at the temple of Ramses Mery-Amun, although he had the men [i.e. the weavers] in the village without having contended with [Inena] before the magistrate. P. Anastasi IV, 13-16.

It is clear that the weavers being taken to the perpetrator's village and the men in the village in the next clause are one and the same. The textile workshop at the temple of Ramses Mery-amun is also interesting, given the aforementioned Tomb Robbery Papyri where we have many male weavers employed there as well.

From this evidence, a few conclusions about men's roles in actual textile production can be gleaned. Temporally, it would appear that, as the New Kingdom progressed, men became more present within both the textual and artistic records. Men also appear more dominant in workshops run out of temple institutions while women remain dominant in palace, town, and home-based situations. Last, men seemed to engage in textile production within a military setting as well where perhaps there were specialty textiles being produced or women were less present. Gendered parts of the *chaîne opératoire* appear, too. We have some depictions of men engaged in both the spinning of thread and weaving, but only on vertical looms. A similar gendered dynamic was present even in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with Blackman (1927, 162-3) noting that men were often the spinners in Egypt. Perhaps, too, we should reconsider male captives from campaigns as also being engaged in textile production. Rekhmire's tomb shows both men, women, and children below the caption mentioning their incorporation into the weaving workshops of the Temple of Amun (Davies 1943, pl. LVII).

5.1.11 A Child workforce

From a variety of cultural contexts, children are often engaged in textile production, usually starting first as spinners, moving to more complicated practices as they get older. Within home production, textile production was often a family affair, with children learning the trade fairly early in life.

There are modern analogies for this as well. Good Weave, a nonprofit organization committed to stopping child labor in global supply chains, found that many textile factories globally engage child labor for their good eyesight, nimble fingers, and docile acceptance of terrible working conditions. In a Harvard 2014 report “Tainted Carpets: Slavery and Child Labor in India’s Hand-Made Carpet Sector,” it was found that children as young as six to ten were individually working looms. We then should not be so surprised by the purchase of the “little girl” Gemeniherimentet, a Syrian female slave, by Iry-Nefret for her weaving business.

The concept of childhood as a period exempt from labor is a thoroughly modern Western concept (Arbuckle MacLeod 2023, 140). Indeed, Marshall (2022, 120) children and adolescents would have helped in domestic work, agricultural labor, and artisanal pursuits. Young people would have participated in the textile industry as well. Not only would children have helped in domestic production, but enslaved or bonded children to temple and palace establishments also would have toiled to produce textiles. A number of textual sources and artistic depictions confirm this.

From the earlier Middle Kingdom textual evidence (Brooklyn P 35.1446; Condon 1984; Menu 2012), eight children are listed along with their parents. Those children are not given an occupation, like their parents, with Condon (1984, 107) claiming they are too young to work. It is not beyond the realm of possibility, however, that they might have helped with easier textile production processes, like spinning, for example.

The individuals captured by Thutmosis III and given to the temple of Amun as *mrt*-weavers included children. From the depiction in Rekhmire's tomb, women and small children are shown before Rekhmire with the caption "Rekhmire inspects the *mrt* belonging to the temple of Amun, and workshops belonging to the temple, those that the King brought as prisoners and their children as tribute... for the manufacture of royal linen" (Davies 1943, pl. LVI, LVII, LXXIII; Fig. 4.5).

Foreign children taken as war captives from campaign is surprisingly common. Matić (2017, 57) lists ten examples from Amenhotep II to Ramses III recording the bringing of children as captives to serve Amun. For example, the Nubian campaigns of Ramses II claims to have taken 2,200 children as captives from Irem (KRI II 222). Other documents clarify how the children were exploited once in the Egyptian setting, following the example from the reign of Thutmose III "to fill the *šn* 'workshops.'" (for a list of those source see Matić 2017, 58).

One of the fragmentary letters from Gurob records foreign adolescents under the direction of one of the elite women at the site (Gardiner 1953, 146). The tomb of Nebamun (TT17) also depicts children engaged in textile production in a more agricultural capacity bringing sacks of cloth, yarns and pieces of linen before Nebamun (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. xxii). The tomb of Neferrenpet dating to the Ramesside periods depicts men, women, and children engaged in textile production (Matić 2017, 56-7).

Lastly, the aforementioned letter by Inena to Kageb complaining about kidnapped weavers includes the mention of both young girls and boys. Inena accused Seba of taking away "the weavers in the House of Nebethotep after he had taken away from [him] another two young girls" (P.Anastasi IV; Caminos 1954, 280). Later, Inena continues discussing the procurement of a "slave boy." It would appear that these adolescents were "available" to be taken for labor by Inena and illegally by Seba.

On the other side of matters, we know the nursery (*k'p*) was housed at the *hnr* where textile production was occurring as well. Might the children, especially the young girls have

apprenticed with their mothers, aunts, sisters, and grandmothers to learn the high-cost textile trade. Was weaving part of a young woman's elite upbringing? We have no evidence to discuss any gendered nature of upbringing. There are many texts that discuss the raising of young men, but little to no mention of young women.

Though the Egyptian evidence is rather sparse, we know from contemporary societies in the eastern Mediterranean and west Asia that women and children were the main producers. Breniquet and Michel (2014, 2) reference thousands of textile workers, primarily women and children, supervised and sustained by central authorities. Maekawa (1980) discusses the deliberate gendering of workshop space through the assignment of mothers and their female offspring to weaving workshops, with any male offspring working elsewhere. Similar to Egypt, in Ur III texts, children are shown working in slavery conditions, which Biga (2014, 145) argues was also occurring in Ebla weaving houses. Mycenae, too, engaged through a corvee system (*ta-ra-si-ja*) the labor of women and both male and female children for textile production, clear from the food rations given to the workers (Nosch 2014, 375). Much like we see in the Egyptian evidence, children were more involved in fiber processing but sometimes also in weaving due to their keen eyesight and nimble fingers.

Children across societies during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and arguably much earlier—since weaving technologies were developed—were engaged in textile production from home-based industries to their forced labor under palace and temple institutions. Children are another marginalized group in New Kingdom society who were denied access to power, not only because of their age but also because of their enslaved or bonded status.

5.2 Conclusions

This chapter investigated who was producing the textiles for the temple, palace, and home-based economies. Using the concepts of marginalization or subalternity from post-colonial theory, the “weaker voices” of the textile producers were highlighted to bring them to the fore.

An investigation into the textile industry of the New Kingdom could simply be focused on the processes and systems that governed the industry, but it is also integral to magnify the marginalized groups who in most cases did not benefit from their labors.

Most individuals were women from low-status backgrounds. There is a plethora of evidence to support that many of these weavers were enslaved or bonded war captives from the many campaigns by the kings throughout the whole of the New Kingdom period. Thousands of individuals from both the north and south were “given” as tribute to the *šn*‘ of the temple of Amun to labor as *mrt*—weaving the fine linen that would contribute to the vast wealth of the Amun precinct. These individuals are never named and are only ever mentioned as a collective unit—the *mrt*. Little can be understood of their experience and treatment, but presumably their existence would have been tough, spinning and weaving for ten hours a day, every day, to meet a quota (*Teachings of Dua-Khety*). All individuals, regardless of social status, involved in textile production would have experienced the process bodily as well. Recent work has begun to explore the sensorial experience of spinning and weaving, (Sauvage 2022, 36- 52) from the sounds accompanying the work, the weight of the spindles or other tactile sensations of the fabrics.

Along with the *mrt*, *šhty* is another occupational term for weavers, who are also of a low status but are higher than the *mrt*. From the evidence we have concerning them, they labored also in relation to the temple of Amun or to one of the memorial temples on the West Bank. We only know of them due to their involvement in criminal activities—the robbing of the king’s tombs (Tomb Robbery Papyri). From these texts, we can put names to their weavers and find that all of them are male. It would seem that *šhty* was an occupation title while *mrt* was more a social category that with it came specific activities that were under the auspices of the *pr-šn*‘.

This chapter also looked at the gendered assumption of the textile industry, concluding that there is an abundance of evidence for the inclusion of men in textile production, especially in more industrialized settings and as time went on, for example in the 20th Dynasty. Children are another topic of discussion. The Egyptian notion of childhood is different from modern

societies, and children would have been engaged in work very early on, apprenticing with their parents. Indeed, we do have evidence of children engaged in textile production as well in both home-based and institution production. In certain cases, children were preferred for their nimble fingers and good eyesight.

For the New Kingdom textile industry, women, captives, enslaved peoples, and children were exploited by palace and temple institutions to build their textile stores. Royals or elites donning these textiles woven by captives from foreign campaigns, for example, made a clear statement of who held power in Egyptian society, how the elites wish to be perceived by their social equals, and the show of might by the temple and palace institutions who controlled and benefitted from production. Given that textiles were such a highly valued good in Egyptian society, these marginalized individuals—these textiles artists—were a main source for the power that these institutions wielded.

Chapter 6

Consumption Practices, Donning Identity, & Exchange & Trade

Amun, lend your ear to the lonely in court,
He is poor, he is not rich, for the court extorts from him:
"Silver and gold for the clerks, clothes for the attendants!"

Prayer to Amun (Lichtheim 1976, 111)

6.1 Textile Consumption

After the sowing, growing, and cultivation of flax, the preparation of thread, and the physical weaving of textiles by the many low status, enslaved, and/or captive individuals under the control of palace and temple institutions, we have finally arrived at the consumption stage. Here, the matrices of power are at their most evident, for those who produced the textiles are almost never involved in their consumption. The clothing of the cult statue of Amun, for example, would have been performed by the high priest using purified cloth produced by an individual that was captured by the king and “given” to the god to labor in his honor. The physical consumption of textiles manifested the power hierarchies of New Kingdom Egyptian society with the god(s), the king, and the elites as benefactors. The cloth distributed in festivals, given as a form of compensation to the tomb workers, or gifted to the other great kings of the Late Bronze Age was embedded with the intersectionality of its production.

How a product is consumed is directly related to the inherent value it has in a specific society. Following Graeber’s definition of value as discussed previously, this approach is useful to apply to the textile evidence to examine how textiles were held, consumed, or exchanged, in what situations or events, and how these textiles embedded with their inherent value were used by both individuals and institutions to further their hierarchical control. Many economic theories divorce the objects from the cultures of which they are a part (Douglas and Isherwood

1979). In light of this, many scholars have turned instead to social scientists to help understand ancient consumption practices and trade (Heilbrunn 2010; Lury 2011; Veblen 1995). I will follow a similar approach building on value theory, as enumerated in Chapter 1.

Graber (2001, 1) defines value as following two tenets: 1) the economic value meaning “the degree to which objects are desired particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up to get them,” and 2) the sociological value referencing the “conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable,” what is ideologically important in life. Consumption practices, however, are not only related to the laws of supply and demand, but as Appadurai suggested are “eminently social, relational, and active” with “demand emerg[ing] as a function of a variety of social practices and classification” (Appadurai 1986, 29). As the preceding chapters have shown, textiles were not solely the sum of their economic value. Consumption practices or trade and exchange are never disconnected from the social meaning of the garments. The same piece of fabric could have totally different values depending on how it was procured, consumed, used, etc.

Scholars have made attempts to connect modern economic theories to the ancient world with mixed results. Older scholarship of the Egyptian economy and trade focused on the redistributive model where the state controlled much of the exchange with very little support for market-based laws of supply and demand, based on the work of Karl Polanyi (Janssen 1975; 1981; Bleiberg 1995). Others have argued for a middle ground between redistributive and market economies (Helck 1961a; 1961b; 1963; 1965; Eyre 1987; 1998; Kemp 2006). Warburton (1997) in particular has contributed to this mixed-economic approach. Warburton (1997, 128-130) sees the Egyptian economy as a “pre-capitalist market-economy” where there are high levels of state involvement in the form of taxation and land governance that affected supply and demand but also avenues of more localized market exchanges through the form of barter and trade. Cooney (2007) convincingly demonstrates that a market economy was extant in Egypt during the New Kingdom, proposing a mixed economic structure, following Warburton, where

the state engaged in redistributive activities, but individuals could also earn additional income through a private, sector, pre-capitalist market economy. The workers of Deir el-Medina, employed by the state to construct the king's tomb, also exchange in personally lucrative local market-based economies, producing goods for non-state actors. Textiles as both media for redistributive and market exchange fits within this economic model.

This chapter will explore first how institutions consumed textiles via the redistributive model. Textiles were used in a variety of ways in ideological rituals (Chapter 2) but also in the form of wages and remuneration for institutional agents. The often-overlooked military consumption of textiles will also be discussed. Textiles in strategies of reuse and recommodification will be discussed in light of other current studies surrounding reuse to further understand textiles' value in Egyptian culture. Next, we will explore how textiles were exchanged and traded both domestically and internationally. I argue that textiles were a highly exchanged commodity due to their value and fungibility. Textiles' role in diplomatic gift exchange will be covered as well.

6.1.1 The Palace and Temple Institutions

One of the largest consumers of textiles would have been the palace and temple institutions, not only in actual use of the textiles but also in accumulation and storing as a form of capital. In a redistributive economy, palace and temple institutions exchanged textiles through reciprocal relationships with individuals "employed" under their auspices. As discussed in Chapter 2, we know temples consumed textiles in a variety of ways because of the ideological value textiles had in rituals acts through their connection to protection and rejuvenation. The king and his court would have also been a main consumer, especially of the finest textiles produced. Last, evidence indicates that the major institutions supplied the textiles pulled from circulation and placed in funerary assemblages for the deceased's function in the afterlife.

6.1.1.1 Daily Rites, Temple Dedications, & Festivals

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, textiles played an important role in many rites and festivals throughout Egyptian history. They held symbolic importance related to their connection to protection and rebirth. Just as the god Osiris's body was tied back together using textiles prior to his re-awakening, the deceased is mummified and wrapped to enact their journey to the afterlife. A statue must go through a similar process where they must be dressed prior to their ritual activation. Textiles played a pivotal role in the functioning of most major rituals.

The Daily Temple Ritual represents the daily rites that happened for each cult statue (Chapter 2). The high priest, as the king's personal representative, would have been the individual to enter the innermost shrine and perform many of the daily rites. Cloth was utilized to clothe the cult statue of each deity daily. It is unclear if the cloth was truly changed daily and if a new, purified garment was used each time. Alliot and Sauneron (1949-1954, 90-1; 1988, 84-5) thought that much of the toilet activities, like changing the gods' clothing and jewelry, were not actually performed daily. However, if we do believe it occurred daily, this would mean over three hundred garments per cult statue per year. Given the hundreds of temples throughout the Nile Valley, that would add up to thousands of garments solely for the clothing of the cult statue per year.

The individuals who were in charge of clothing the statues of the gods were the *hry sšt*, "Master of Secrets." For example, the Middle Kingdom stela of Ikhernofret says,

I adorned the breast of the Lord of Abydos with lapis lazuli and turquoise, fine gold, and all costly stones as ornaments of the god's limbs. I clothed the god in his regalia, in my office as Master of Secrets, my function of Stolist. I was pure of hand in adorning the god, a priest whose fingers are clean (Lichtheim 1973, 124).

Sauneron (1960) described the role as the officiants who care for the body, clothing, and the ornamentation of the divine statues and to maintain these objects in the appropriate rooms in the temple. The position also seems to have been responsible for the god's statue during festival days. As the Middle Kingdom stela of Sehetepibre states, "I clothed the god as his processions by

virtue of my office as Master of Secrets... I was one of those whose two hands were pure in adorning the god” (Lichtheim 1973, 127).

It is also clear that not only the god’s cult statue received clothing but also statues of the king. Many of the king’s statues had their own associated cults and endowments. For example, a statue of Ramses III was dedicated to the temple of Merenptah in the precinct of Ptah which came with its own endowment of offerings including “clothing for this god from the Treasury of Pharaoh (l.p.h.) of good, fine clothing—2 kilts; of fine cloth—1 kilt” (*RITA* V, 211). This indicates that cult statues could be endowed separately from a space with their own textiles for the daily clothing ritual.

It was an expected responsibility of the king to make sure the temple and the treasuries were full, symbolically representing the maintenance of *maat*. Seti I’s Abydos Decree at Nauri describes such a situation where “the treasuries are full of valuables, silver and gold in heaps on the ground, royal linen and clothing in full amount, millions of measures of oil, incense, wine and honey, without limit...” (*RITA* I, 41). Seti follows this with one of his dedicatory inscriptions from his Abydos temple where he and his son are shown offering to the ancestors “1000 fine linen and cloth” (*RITA* I, 153).

At Abydos, Ramses II follows Seti’s example, stating, “I have provided your temple with every post. My majesty caused your temple staff to appear with full complement, servants assessed for linen for your clothing and serfs of the field in every district...” (*RITA* II, 172). This is in reference to *mrt*-weavers Ramses endowed to the temple, with those individuals’ weaving linen for the temple’s utility. Ramses II continues Seti’s responsibilities, and, in the 2nd Octostyle Hall of the Abydos Temple, Room 8 Ramses describes that “he has made his monument for his father Osiris Chief of the Westerners, residing in the Temple of Ramses II, ‘United with the Thinite Nome,’ the making for him of a linen-store, to clothe the limbs of the gods” (*RITA* II, 353).

This is reiterated at Karnak where Rameses II is depicted offering cloth to Amun-Re with the caption “presenting clothing that he may attain the status of given life” (*RITA* II, 369). In an endowment stela from Thebes dated to the same reign, textiles are included in the offerings to be provided: “60 per year [///] garments of red linen, 1; *mkw*-garments, 1; kerchief, 1; *mk* tunics, 1; good, thin cloth, kerchiefs, 1... [///]” (*RITA* II, 468). This along with the other ritual actions were required of the king to receive Amun-Re’s favor.

Later, this sentiment is echoed at Ramses III’s memorial temple at Medinet Habu where the king claims, “I filled it [the temple] and I completed it with my victories, which I accomplished in every country with my great force. Its treasuries contain gold, silver, all types of linen, incense, oil, and honey, like the sand of the shore...” (Haring 1997, 49). Indeed, “Clothing Rooms” are known from a number of temples. For example, at Medinet Habu, this room depicts the king about to clothe the statue of a god with a length of cloth (*Medinet Habu* VI/2, pl. 444). The Daily Temple Ritual as well as the sustained endowment of textiles to both cult statues and the temples themselves were an important responsibility of the king and high priest. This resulted in vast temple stores of textile of their own creation or endowed to them through the king or other state institutions.

Festivals would have also been a time of major textile consumption in palace and temple spaces. This could be a time where palace or temple elites redistributed textiles to others. For instance, the Wag Festival was a time when the deceased was supposed to receive a headband from a god. On a statue of Amenhotep, it states,

“The cast-off cloths of the forehead of the god. May I receive the *sšd*-headbands at the Wag festival, namely, green cloths with red cloths, so that I will go to the *neshmet*-barque as a beneficial *ba*” (Fukaya 2019, 86).

Much earlier in the Old Kingdom, linen was distributed to temple attendants at the Wag and Thoth festivals (Fukaya 2019, 86). Festivals are a unique time for gift-giving and the redistribution of goods. Other festivals also incorporated fabrics into their programs.

The earliest New Kingdom evidence for a New Year ceremony comes from Thutmose III's calendar at the Akhmenu at Karnak where it reads, "clothing in linen and using oil in the entire house, as is done at the New Year Festival, together with letting out removed garments" (Fukaya 2019, 89). The New Year Festival would have also included the procession of chests of clothes, "the box containing clean clothes to adorn the Golden One of the gods with her beautiful clothes on this beautiful day of the New Year" (Fukaya 2019, 90). Later attestations indicate that the renewal rites of the temples and the gods was performed at the New Year Festival where the "presenting of cloth, using of oil, and performing of every ritual at the first festival" occurred (Fukaya 2019, 93).

Calendar of Festivals preserved from both Medinet Habu and the Ramesseum elucidate how textiles were used and what the quantities were (El-Sabban 2000). The 1st Month of Shemu, Day 10, was the "Feast of Clothing" for Anubis (*RITA V*, 151), and the 8th Day of the Opet Festival was the "day of all clothing" for Amun-Re (*RITA V*, 125). For both the Valley Festival and the New Year Festival, the changing of the clothes of tomb statues was performed. Schott (1970, 47) argues that the trend to bring cloth to private individuals' statues originated from the clothing of divine statues, referencing the rites of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (Chapter 2). From the tomb of Piay (TT 263) we can see how tomb statues were adorned with new cloth at the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. The text to the left of the door jamb reads, "[m]ay he let me receive one clean cloth and remove another following this god at his journey to Djeseru at his annual festival" (Lichtheim 1992, 178). The textiles from prior temple rituals were given away to private individuals during festivals, imbued with the god's divine power, and were a useful gift from relatives to their deceased family member in the afterlife.

The Treasury played a key role in the running of festivals. From the tomb of Imseba (TT 65), goods including cloth are shown being taken from the Treasury for use in the New Year festival also depicted in the same scene (PM I, I, 130). Imseba's responsibilities included not only attending religious ceremonies but also maintaining regular supplies to the temple. As

Fukaya (2019, 136) succinctly summarizes, “cloths were used to secure not only the renewal of kingship but also that of the divine power on a mythological level. They were destined to adorn the main god of each temple and then delivered to the king and people, dead or alive.”

There is a possibility that special garments were required for festival occasions. One ostrakon records the request from one sister to another asking for her “to weave a garment for her as Amenhotep will not come because [she] is naked” (O.DeM 132; Jauhiainen 2009, 299). Another text records one individual borrowing a garment for a temple rite and that he would return it after (P. DeM 3; Jauhiainen 2009, 299). Priests during the Festival of Min are shown covered in fringed cloth, unlike the usual pure white clothes (Moens 1985; Jauhiainen 2009, 66).

The exchange and flow of textiles between the temple store, the king’s stores, and the consumption of these textiles through daily rites accounts how textiles were redistributed at least through the elites of the state. Given that textiles, unlike perishable goods, would still remain available after their use in ritual, their constant re-consumption or recirculation is possible. Would certain rituals be performed to decommission or recommission a textile into cultic use? The afterlife of textile, especially from cultic ritual, like festivals and the daily rites, is unclear. A number of tombs, however, mention the reception of cast-off garments of the gods. For example, Paser (TT 106) asks, “[m]ay I receive one clean cloth and remove another like all your blessed ones.” Neferhotep (TT 49) echoes the sentiment; “[m]y body is pure for receiving a removed cloth and seeing Ptah-Sokar.” The above inscription from Piay also referenced the same action. During the Beautiful Feast of the Valley and New Year Festival, the “cast-off” garments of the gods would be distributed to the deceased to renew their statues. This would appear to indicate that individuals could be given the god’s discarded garments after daily rites or festival days.

6.1.1.2 The King and the Court

The king and his court would have also been a primary consumer of textiles within the New Kingdom cloth economy. The king would have gifted clothing and other textiles to his court, and the furnishing of the king and royal family's wardrobe would have been immense. If we take the garments from Tutankhamun's tomb as comparison, he was buried with 145 loincloths, ten tunics, two aprons, a number of kilts, a few sashes, a number of short mantles and shawls, various headgear, numerous sandals and gloves, a leather cuirass, and priestly apparel (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999). Vogelsang-Eastwood (1999, 15) argues that there would have been a tunic for every loincloth and that the robbers stole the other tunics. There are two possible explanations for this. Were those ten tunics that were not stolen so "unique" that the robbers felt they could not be easily recommodified? Or contra Vogelsang-Eastwood's argument were only ten tunics included due to their high quality (a quality over quantity argument)? I would fall more on the side of commodification. The robbers were looking for high value fungible goods. A king's tunic, though high quality, is not fungible in its value is in its relationship to the king, not a value that is necessarily transferable on the open market.

Looking at an elite wardrobe, Kha and Merit were buried with seventeen short-sleeve tunics, about fifty loincloths, twenty-six kilts, four shawls, and two fringed cloaks (Schiaparelli 1927). Hatnofer and Ramose provide another secure context where textiles were preserved. Found in their tomb were three wooden chests containing a total of seventy-six fringed sheets of linen ranging in length from fourteen to fifty-four feet (Fig. 6.1). Many of the sheets show wear, and some have even been mended (Section 6.2).

Whether these numbers are truly representative of what textiles were available to them in life or were collected for the funerary assemblage and thus disproportionately represent their wardrobe is unclear. Since Tutankhamun died early, can we assume his wardrobe is smaller than say the wardrobe of his grandfather Amenhotep III? I would argue yes, but, unfortunately,

we have no other undisturbed royal tomb to which to compare Tutankhamun's. As for Kha and Merit, I would propose that the textiles included in their funerary assemblage is rather representative of the textiles available to them in life. Perhaps some extra were provided by the couple or family to bolster their supplies in the afterlife, but many of the garments indicate use, showing they were worn in life.



Fig. 6.1- Large number of textiles preserved from the tomb of Hatnofer and Ramose (MMA 36.3.56,54,.111,.140-related; public domain)

From this, we can conclude that the king would have had a large wardrobe from which to choose and that many of the garments would have been for unique and special purposes. From preserved textiles and their locations in the chests of Tutankhamun, we can delineate a number of discrete “outfits”—festival garments (Carter 44t, 54k, 123, 124, 125), hunting gear (Carter

21Vvv, 46o, 50u), priestly vestments (Carter 21t, 44q, 22t, 43i, 367f), a military outfit (Carter 587), and “foreign” specialty pieces (Carter 256.4n, 50d, 367j, 367l). For the elites, their wardrobe options would have been significantly limited in comparison to the king or royal family but still larger than the average Egyptian who probably had only a couple garments available to them. What remains unclear is the frequency of replacement. Presumably, the king and the elites would dispose of a garment and pass it along faster than the average person, but it remains impossible to calculate the average amount of fabric one might have used their entire life.

The fabrics used in the decoration of the palace and court settings is also something to consider. Textiles were used for cushions, furniture, window covers, room dividers, and wall decoration. From the depiction of the Amarna royal family, we can get an idea of all the fabrics that would have been utilized in the palace and king’s bedrooms (Fig. 6.2).

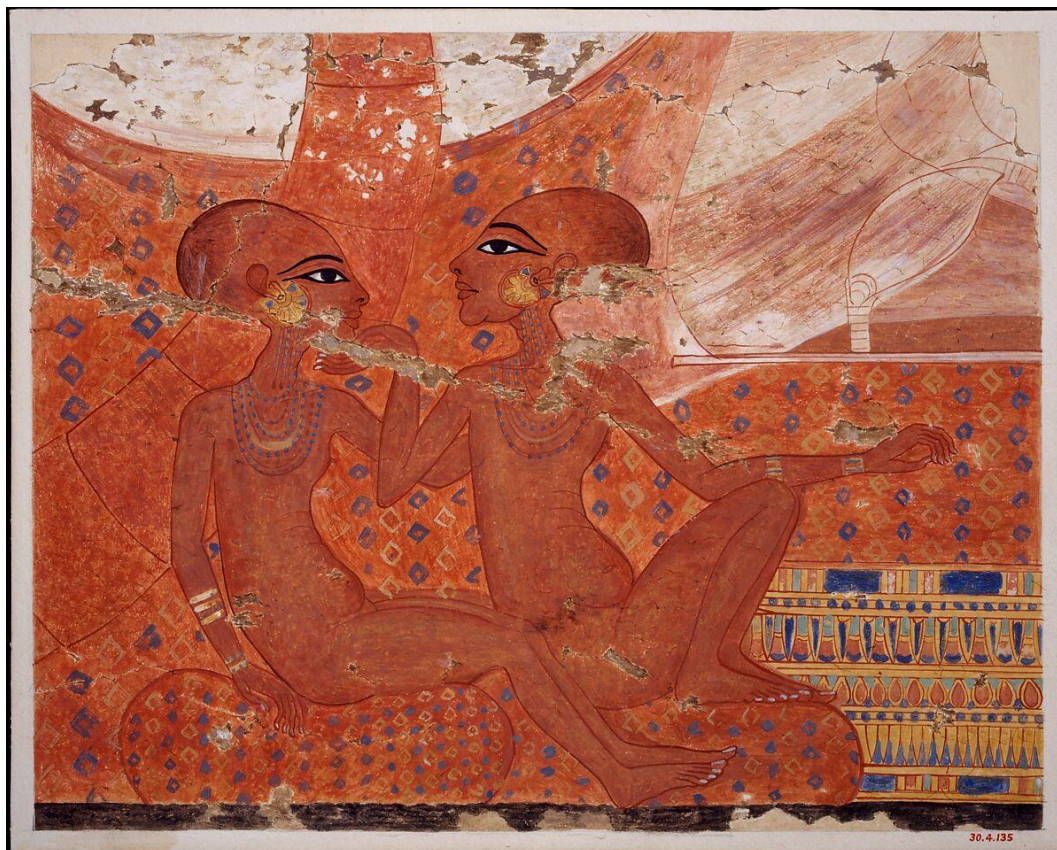


Fig. 6.2- Depiction of the royal apartment from Amarna (MET 30.4.135; public domain)

For this section, instead of exploring the composition of the garments that the king and the elite wore, we will explore consumption practices through an investigation of titles related to clothing maintenance. Many elite individuals were given titles that seem almost honorific but in actuality had a great utility and responsibility associated with them. The frequency of these titles and their role relate to closeness to the king's physical form, indicating that individual's elite status and also the importance of clothing and garments to the king's effectiveness.

Analogies from a variety of other cultures and times, such as the development of the "King's Wardrobe" or "Great Wardrobe" in England or "Maison du Roi" and "Gentleman of the Bedchamber" in France, allow for some comparison. For example, Henry VIII's "Great Wardrobe" was an office that maintained a permanent staff of keeper, clerk, porter, and tailor (Hayward 2007). The personnel of the royal wardrobe, by the nature of its function, brought its staff into close personal contact with the king, and consequently they had a great degree of influence that others did not. As Henry's wardrobe grew, the number and distribution of the standing wardrobe staff rose from four to fifteen (Hayward 1998, 151). The very presence of elite individuals with such titles, therefore, indicates the king's large accumulation of clothing.

From the Egyptian contexts, one of these titles was the "Controller (*hrp*) of Clothing (or Kilts)." This title first appears in the Old Kingdom and is held by individuals at the highest ranks of the state. For example, Paser, vizier and mayor of Thebes, was also the "Controller of Clothing," a clear reference to his closeness to the king and his control over a luxury resource (Cairo CG 42164). Rahotep also as Vizier is listed with the title "Controller of Clothing" (Cairo JE 48845). Panehsy, a vizier from the reign of Merenptah, also holds this title (Silsilah Decree, Year 2; Kitchen RITA IV, 61). Similarly, Neferrenpet, also the city-governor and Vizier, lists himself as the "Controller of all Clothing" (Berlin 2290; RITA III, 33). The elevated level of this title is clear by the fact that Khaemwaset, the king's son, held the title of "Controller of Clothing" (Kitchen RITA II, 568). Using the analogy from early modern English history, the mere presence

of so many individuals as heads of wardrobes of the king indicates a large number of unnamed staff and a wardrobe that requires maintenance, security, and oversight.

Not only were the king or the god and their associates the major consumers of textiles, but such consumption practices also developed whole offices that revolved around the garments' tending, laundry, and care. This furthered the ideological value of the garments, especially those connected to the king or a god, and reaffirmed hierarchies of those who had enough clothing that needed individuals to care for it versus those who could only afford laundry, which itself would have been a luxury.

6.1.2 Fashion & Donning Identity

One of the main forms of consumption was through the physical donning of cloth in the form of clothing. As discussed in Chapter 2, clothing was the main way the Egyptians conveyed their rank and status and maintained their social order. The value with which textiles were imbued is necessary to understand prior to a study of how textiles were consumed through fashion. In such restrictive systems, as is the case with New Kingdom Egypt where textiles were designed to protect the status system, we see what Appadurai views as "fashion" (1986, 25). Instead of textiles not just being physically restricted, they are also restricted and controlled through taste. Sumptuary laws, for example, play a role as a consumption-regulating device often seen in societies devoted to stable status display in exploding commodity concepts. There are no evident sumptuary laws in ancient Egypt to control elite consumption, but arguably this was done through strict unwritten 'decorum.' Here instead of laws being written down, the 'rules' were known to players in the elite social circles. Similar to Appadurai, Baines (2007, 70) sees style as the "crucial vehicle of discourse and of the maintenance of a society's identity... [and] the development of and rupture with styles are matters of great importance." Thinking in terms of dress, changes to dress norms are therefore reflective of changes in the larger elite culture. This chapter will test this definition through two case studies.

6.1.2.1 The Egyptian Wardrobe

As discussed in Chapter 6, most Egyptians did not have a large wardrobe, and decorum dictated what they wore and when. Egyptian dress should be considered more for elite group identity rather than a way to express personal taste or aesthetic. Dress was a way of communicating various aspects of your identity. This section will provide a summary of the types of garments available to establish what dress norms were for individuals in the New Kingdom. For a complete overview of the types of garments the Egyptians wore, see Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993; 2000) and Hallmann (2024).

Egyptian dress can be broken down into two basic types: 1) untailed garments, and 2) tailored garments. Untailed garments refer to the use of large pieces of cloth that would be wrapped and layered in various manners around the body to form the garment. Tailored garments, on the other hand, refer to garments that are cut and sewn to create a specific, unchangeable dress element—like almost all modern Western clothing items. Untailed garments were (Roman toga, for example) and continue to be popular in many cultures (the *sarong* of southeast Asia or *kanga* of east Africa). Between these two options, the Egyptians appear to have been more inclined to untailed garments as evidenced by not only artistic representations but especially from the archaeological record. A visit to any museum with Egyptian textiles will make this abundantly clear. Further, from the few intact tombs that have survived to modern times, untailed garments vastly outnumber tailored. For example, Kha and Merit's tomb had over thirty untailed garments and only seventeen tailored (Schiaparelli 1927).

Untailed garments include kilts, skirts, some dresses, cloaks, and shawls. The exact correlation between a length of cloth with the named garment types is often difficult. As discussed in Chapter 2, translating the Egyptian terms into English remains difficult due to the prevalence of untailed garments. These garments would have been multi-purpose—a cloak

during the day, your bedsheet at night, for example. The method of wrapping and tucking would have held significance similar to sari construction in southeast Asian cultures. The number of pleats and wraps around the body could denote status, rank, or occupation. Different drape styles are associated with specific culture or ethnic groups, and professional draping services exist to provide their expertise.

Tailored garments include loincloths, bag-tunics, and some dresses. Bag-tunics and dresses would start as a rectangular piece of textile folded in half, then sewn up the side, leaving space for the arm holes, and a slit cut for the neck of the garment. At times, sleeves could be added to the tunic or dress. Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001, 198) argues that the attachment of sleeves would not be common and is usually regarded as a sign of foreignness. As for dresses restricted to women, no actual archaeological example has been found. Perhaps the body-hugging form we find in visual depictions was not representative of reality, with both men and women wearing the tunic. Loincloths were cut triangular pieces of cloth with a stitched hem to keep the textile from unraveling. Given the high number found in the tomb of Kha and Merit and in the tomb of Tutankhamun, the loincloth was one of the garments worn by all segments of society (Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 194). Sashes were another tailored form of dress that was fairly ubiquitous. They would have been worn over a tunic to cinch the waist, or over a kilt to act as a belt. They vary in complexity, from plain woven, with fringe, to tapestry, with dyed yarns.

For the purposes of this section, we will explore the intersectionality of dress through two case studies. The first will look at gendered dress during the 18th Dynasty where we see a greater level of uniformity and restriction between the garments of men and women. The second case study will look at status and dress during the Ramesside Period, examining the excessive wrapping and layering practices.

6.1.2.1.1 Gender, Status and Dress during the 18th dynasty

Dress of the 18th Dynasty has been noted for its conservative nature and uniformity. Due to its deemed 'blandness,' little comment has been made on it beside its use as dating criteria. However, looking at the intersection of gender through dress through ephemeral and sensorial aspects, I argue that in actuality 18th Dynasty dress is anything but conservative and uniform and that these characteristics are only conveyed through a specific medium. Many aspects of dress are not conveyed through visual representations—the many sensory aspects that would have contributed to an individual's experience and how the dress was received by others (Galczynski and Price 2023; Sauvage 2021). It is only through a holistic approach to dress studies that we can see the varied nature of the garments to express identity.

The conservative nature of 18th Dynasty dress is comparable to the modern concept of 'quiet luxury' defined by pieces that evoke timelessness and minimalism. Rather than conspicuous consumption that uses excess cloth or unusual cuts, it is refined consumption where the elites display their wealth through the avoidance of branding and ostentatious luxury (Korducki 2023; Trebay 2023). Discretion is the ultimate sign of wealth. Such debates about fashion can be traced to the 'Gilded Age' where old-moneyed families sought to distinguish themselves from the upstate nouveau-riche. This is comparable to the elite competition during the mid-18th Dynasty, where we have Hatshepsut's new elites, promoted from provincial background to elite positions versus the older established families of the earlier Thutmose era.

This 'quiet luxury' is best described through specific attributes like movement, weight, and construction quality of the garments. These ephemeral and sensorial aspects would have made the difference within the Egyptian contexts as well. This "sensitivity to discrimination," the practice and knowledge of in-group members, is lost to experts conducting a purely visual study, but an approach to sensory studies allows a researcher to develop their "tactile vision" (Wingate and Mohler 1984, 36).

6.1.2.1.1.1 Sensory Aspects of Dress

Movement/constriction and weight are two sensorial methods to explore gendered dress in the 18th Dynasty. The pliability and degree of lightness to heaviness would affect the wearer. When looking at women's dress during the 18th Dynasty, the stereotypical garment is the sheath dress. From visual depictions, the tightness is noted which would have limited the movement of the wearer. On the other hand, loincloths, kilts, and wraparounds offer almost unrestricted mobility. One of the arguments for the function of nudity for dancers was the necessity for mobility (Galczynski and Price 2023). Such constriction would have affected the way the (woman) wearer could move and act. Similar to above cited work on the Roman toga, the constriction offered by the garment influenced the development of oratory techniques and styles. In a similar way, the restrictive sheath dress influenced feminine identity (see Section 6.1.2.1.1.4). The weight of a garment would have had similar effects. Linen is rather light overall, but a woolen garment would have been heavier. Heavier linen tunics are known from the tomb of Kha and would have provided more protection from the winter chill. The weight of a garment could provide comfort and security. The layers of fabric would have contributed to overall weight, with weight affecting the wearer's freedom of movement. Age plays a role in this as well. Older more established men were able to wear the longer kilt. A longer restricted to those of higher office and status. This then could relate to various aspects of identity.

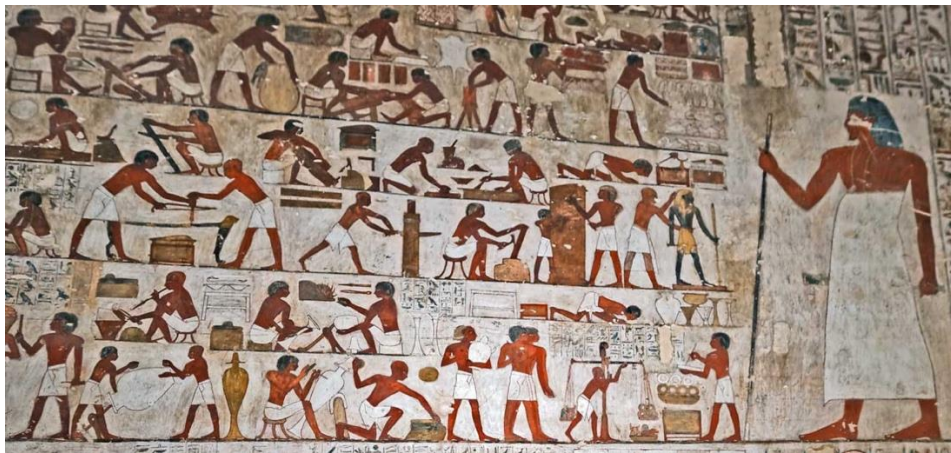


Fig. 6.3- Scene from the tomb of Rekhmire displaying sensorial aspects of dress (© Osirisnet)

For example, from the tomb of Rekhmire, he is depicted in typical Vizier garb overseeing workers of the temple of Amun (Fig. 6.3). Rekhmire's clothing is clearly heavier and more restrictive, fitting to his position of oversight, versus the workers who wear simple kilts that allow a freedom of movement.

Quality is another example that is not expressed well in artistic depictions but would have been one of the main methods of expressing status and gender identity. Quality can be expressed in softness, smoothness, and luster or shine. From textual evidence, we know that quality was the main distinguishing characteristic of cloth. These quality determiners reference the fineness of the thread, and the overall thread count of the fabric. Due to the presence of a natural vegetable-waxy coating to the fiber, linen had a natural sheen. The finer the quality and the younger the linen plant when harvested would have created a superior quality and sheen. Compare for example the fineness of this linen sheet (Fig. 6.4) and the coarseness of another (Fig. 6.5).



Fig. 6.4- Super fine guaze quality linen sheet from the Tomb of Hatnofer and Ramose (MMA 36.3.274)



Fig. 6.5- Lower grade linen sample from the Tomb of the Slain Soldiers (MMA 27.3.94)

When looking at an 18th Dynasty tomb, therefore, these more ephemeral aspects must be considered in light of identity display.

6.1.2.1.1.2 Establishing Femininity and Masculinity

Studies of femininity and masculinity and degrees in between have been conducted by scholars of Egyptology (Diamond 2023; Matic 2016a 2016b; 2018; Sweeney 2015; Parkinson 2008; Ridealgh 2008; Robins 2008). I would like to contribute to this discussion through the addition of the function of dress and its sensorial attributes.

Given the patriarchal nature of Egyptian society, an intersectional approach allows for an understanding of power hierarchies through dress. Women's dress was constrictive and reduced movement, furthering the ascription of movement, strength, and existence outside of the home to traditional patriarchal domains. Men's fashions were suited to display their physical strength and ability for movement epitomized through the traditional kilt. The sheerness of the garments,

especially women's dress, allows for the visual conveyance of her reproductive capabilities through her breast and vulva. The tightness of the garment achieves this as well. Robins (2008) argues that, instead of sheerness, a man's reproductive capabilities were represented via his apron and other associated accoutrement weighted heavily where his genitalia are. The fowling scene from the tomb of Nebamun depicts all these characteristics well (Fig. 6.6).



Fig. 6.6- Note the various gendered aspects of dress from the Tomb of Nebamun (BM EA37977; © Trustees of the British Museum)

The physical characteristics of the dress communicate to the viewer the correct social ordering of the genders. Women are to be static, men active. Men and women are coded for their reproductive capabilities in different ways—women through tightness and sheerness, men through localized weighted accessories. The quality of the garments can only be assumed from visual depictions. Gauzy sheerness, a higher quality fabric, can be represented and is frequently

done so for both genders (Fig.6.4). The application of oils and fats would have also communicated wealth and the ability to launder said garment after wear.

18th Dynasty dress practice should not be disregarded for its seemingly stable nature. Through a sensorial understanding of the quiet luxury of these dress elements and application to understand elite gendered dress, we can see that 18th Dynasty elites were conscious of the sensorial aspects of their dress and relied upon them, usually implicitly, in their tomb decoration.

6.1.2.1.1.2 Status and Dress of the Ramesside Period

It has been remarked by many that Egyptian dress is highly conservative in design with very little change over its vast 3000+ year history. While fashions did change much more slowly in pre-industrial times than today, styles still did very much change. Then, given the conservative nature of Egyptian dress, innovation is even more important when it does make an appearance visually. By the Ramesside Period, the style is characterized by layered and wrapped styles as a form of conspicuous consumption.

Once we get to the Ramesside Period, gone are the ‘scenes of daily life,’ desert hunting, fishing and fowling, and banquet scenes. Agricultural scenes are reduced as well. Ideologically-charged scenes, however, increase, specifically scenes from the Books of the Underworld—Book of Gates and Book of the Dead especially (Manniche 1987, 64). Important to the study of identity, scenes showing the office of the tomb owner are reduced, but scenes showing the tomb owner in religious roles are increased. Therefore, the evidence will skew toward expressing the tomb owner’s ideological identity. Relating back to the textile industry during the Ramesside Period where we know temple institutions governed the industry, I propose that the change in fashion toward a more conspicuous consumption of fabric is directly related to these individuals’ roles in temple institutions and the trend toward display of that relationship in tomb spaces.

6.1.2.1.1.2.1 Changing Fashions

The beginning of this layering trend started earlier in the 18th Dynasty and existed concurrently with the more conservative, typical dress emblematic of stereotypes of male and female dress established in the Old Kingdom, if not earlier—the kilt and sheath dress. For example, by the reign of Thutmose IV, we already see layered tunics and wraparounds, as evidenced in the tomb of Djoserkareseneb (TT 38). Djoserkareseneb was involved in the granary of the Temple of Amun, and his son, Nebseny, was the Overseer of Weavers of Amun (TT 75). Perhaps his relation to the temple and his son's involvement in textile production allowed him more access to textiles, resulting in his layered consumption. We know this trend can be seen across elites at the time and so was not an individual choice but rather a response perhaps to changing availability of textiles and the constant desire by elites to compete against each other and mark themselves apart from others of lower status.

One of the main theories for style change is trickle-down, as defined by Veblen (1899), where a particular style is first adopted by the elite and then gradually becomes accepted by those in the lower strata, in this case lower elites causing higher elites to adopt a new style to mark themselves as different. In Egyptian contexts, where style was governed by rules of decorum, elites best dealt with differentiating themselves through displays of their access to textiles through conspicuous consumption.

6.1.2.1.2.2- Characterizing Consumption

Given the restrictive nature of aesthetic choice in Ramesside approaches to dress, the main way to display your wealth and ability to procure fabric was through the physical donning of those textiles. The Ramesside elite's strategy to increase displays of textile consumption was connected to their desire to show their expendable income and their connection to the Amun priesthood.

Take for example the tomb of Userhet (TT 51), who depicts this evolution in style well. Neferrenpet was the “First Prophet of the Royal Ka of Thutmosis I” during the reigns of Ramses I through Seti I. Both him and his wife are shown wearing extremely fine-quality garments, layered and wrapped in various manners (Fig. 6.7). The gauzy, sheer nature is clear from the visual depiction. The fineness of the pleating is another indicator of quality. This is elaborated upon with the other dress elements like the heavy wigs, large pectorals, headgear, and other jewelry. Userhet’s addition of a leopard’s pelt communicates not only his role as a priest but his exalted position in the priesthood.



Fig. 6.7- The lavish outfits from the tomb of Userhet (TT51) (© Osirisnet)

In countless scenes, Userhet's status and rank is explicitly conveyed through the increased expenditure on dress elements. In comparison to the understated subtlety of the 18th Dynasty elites, Ramesside elites engaged in competition through a clear conspicuous display of their wealth through their dress.

These two case studies served to convey how elites displayed their varied identities through textile consumption practices. These practices were not static throughout the New Kingdom but vastly changed from more conservative dress to more overt, exaggerated uses. How textiles were consumed relates directly to the institutions that controlled their production and the elite relationships with those institutions and themselves. The 18th Dynasty required a reaffirmation of elite practice given the large number of "new elites" during the reign of Hatshepsut. Ramesside elite dress practice, on the other hand, was characterized by increasing competition within a single sphere—the Amun precinct. This required the elites to change how dress was used to depict identity through more conspicuous consumption of fabric.

6.1.3 Funerary Sphere

The inclusion of textiles within the funerary assemblage relates to the Egyptian belief that clothing was a basic necessity required in death (Chapter 2). The ubiquitous offering formulae from the Old Kingdom through to the New Kingdom includes "clothing" as one of the necessities for a deceased spirit to be satisfied. For example, from the tomb of Khonsu (TT 35), the deceased is presented with offerings: "they are pure, pure, for your spirit, and may your spirit be satisfied with them, many bread, beer, oxen, fowl, clothing, incense, unguent, and offerings of all kinds for your spirit" (*RITA* III, 292).

Another consumption found that can either relate to temple and palace redistribution or private consumption is the furnishing of an individual's tomb. Luckily, many of the textiles from funerary assemblages are marked with where the textile originated from, or, as I would argue, who provided or gifted that cloth to the deceased. Here is yet another method of consumption,

where textiles that were stored in temple or palace storerooms are taken directly out of circulation through their inclusion in funerary settings. This section will explore the mortuary consumption of textiles through a study of the linen inscriptions or docketts.

The tomb of Wah immediately comes to mind, with its over 845 square meters of linen, almost all of which is inscribed. Many of the inscriptions mention Wah, who worked under Meketre, the Treasurer under Mentuhotep II. Given the inclusion of models of textile production, Meketre's title, and the inscriptions on the textile, I would argue that the textiles from the tombs of Meketre and Wah were directly provisioned from their estates.

This practice continued into the New Kingdom. Of the many meters of linen placed in the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer, twenty-nine have an inscription mentioning the Treasury, indicating that they came from the royal storerooms (*m't pr ḥd*) (see MMA 35.3.150 for example, Fig. 6.8). In Ramose's coffin, there were many layers of linen sheets and a shirt, and two of the bandages were marked with the name of Neferure, perhaps coming from her personal linen supply (MMA 36.31.48). Around Hatnofer's body were eighteen shawls and other sheets of linen. Two of the finest shawls bore an elaborate inscription in black ink in cursive hieroglyphs, saying, "[t]he good Goddess, Maat-ka-Ra, below of Amun, may she live," indicating that Hatshepsut herself supplied these garments (Lansing and Hayes 1937, 19).

Later in time during early Third Intermediate Period, the kings of the 18th and 19th Dynasties were removed from their tombs, their goods recommodified, and ritually reburied in caches (DB 320; Cooney 2024). The royal cache from DB 320 stands as a useful case study to understand the provisioning of funerary textiles (Maspero 1889; Reeves 1990; Thomas 1966). When the royal remains were rewrapped, the new linen held information about its provenance. Reeves (1990, 230) argues that KV 49 was used as a location for the rewrapping of royal remains prior to their caching in DB 320. From the graffiti outside of KV 49, it is clear that textiles were being brought to that location. One reads "coming and bringing the *byssus* cloth, 20. Mixed *hyrr*, 5; shawls, 15; total, 20"; another, "[c]ompletion on the second occasion: bringing clothing,

3 prt 5. The men who brought it... *byssus*, shawls, 45; long shawls, 5; total, 50” (Reeves 1990, 169).



Fig. 6.8- Examples of textiles marks from the tomb of Hatnofer and Ramose indicating the Treasury’s involvement (MMA 36.3.99; Public Domain)

Much of the linen used is labeled with inscriptions like the following: “linen which the high priest of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Pinedjem, son of Piankh, made for his father Khonsu

in Year X,” “linen which the high priest of Amun-Re Menkheperre made for his father Amun in Year X,” or “[g]ift by the first great one of the harem of Amun, the priestess of Amenkhenwast Neskhonsu,” “[n]oble linen which the dual king, lord of the two lands, Shoshenq made for his father Amun in Year X,” “[l]inen for Min, Horus, and Isis which the first great one of the harem, Isiskheb made” (Reeves 1990, Table 10). Others mentioned the command by the highest priest or the overseer of the double-treasury to rewrap the deceased (Reeves, Table 10, no. 13), indicating again the control the Treasury has over the distribution of linen. These all indicate that prestige was linked through the offering of textiles for their use in royal mummification. Individuals and institutions could also be involved.

Other re-interments follow a similar strategy. In the rewrapping of the 18th Dynasty queen Meritamun by the High Priest of Amun, Masaharta, linen was used from the Treasury of Amun’s holdings. The inscription on the bandage notes, “[l]inen made by the High Priest of Amun, Masaharta” (MMA 30.3.12; MMA 30.3.13). The high priest himself was not actually weaving the linen, but rather the institution under his command was, and therefore he could take part in its use to wrap the royal remains. The rewrapping of the royal mummies in the DB 230 cache and other locations symbolically connected those high priests with the royalty of the past (Cooney 2024).

Textiles were not only a major commodity to be included in burial assemblages through either the deceased’s own collection or through distribution and gift-giving. From the analysis of textile-based inscriptions, it is clear that textile would be marked with their individual or institutional affiliation, allowing us to know from where the textile originated. This indicates that textiles were often coming from the Treasury and were seemingly more tightly controlled. Textiles would have been distributed to the elites to complement their own holding prior to burial.

6.1.4 Military

By the New Kingdom, a standing army and navy can be found in Egypt, post the wars of reunification during the Second Intermediate Period. Kings of the New Kingdom are especially well known for their many campaigns north and south to expand the Egyptian hegemony over traditionally non-Egyptian regions (see Spalinger 2005 for an overview). The military as an important consumer of textiles has yet to be explored. The redistributive aspects of the Egyptian economy would have been necessary in supplying and compensating the soldiers, especially while on campaign. Studies of the provisioning of the Egyptian military hardly, if ever, mention the clothing of the soldiers. For example, Spalinger (2024) investigates the costs and rations required for a military unit, never mentioning textiles or garments as a necessary item. However, textual records do include textiles in the standard provisioning of the military. Provisioning the troops was an expected responsibility of the king. On a quarry stela from Gebel Silsilah, Seti I recounts, “[h]is majesty, L.P.H. increased that which was furnished to the army... every man among them had 20 *deben* of bread daily, bundles of vegetables, a roast of meat, and linen garments monthly.”

Additionally, soldiers or mercenaries were rewarded with clothing. One letter from the Chief of the Medjay Police to the Vizier Khay records how this individual was promoted to Chief and “was rewarded with clothing through the goodness of his arrangements” (O.Toronto A.11; *RITA* III, 29). Another letter preserved from the reign of Ramses IX (P. Cairo C-D; Wente 1990, no. 38) records how Ramessesnakht sent military supplies to a number of Nubians who appear to have been hired to dispatch a number of Bedouins in the region:

[l]ist of the supplies which are destined for the feather-wearing Nubians and Nubians of the land of the Akuyta who went as an escort troop against those Bedouin enemies of Muked to case the energetic arm of the Pharaoh, l.p.h. to cast them to the ground:
25 kilts of thin cloth
25 tunics of smooth cloth...

The so-called Late Ramesside Letters offer a unique glimpse into how the military was provisioned. P. BM EA 75019+10302 records a letter from General Pianky to a now missing individual requesting supplies. Among bows, arrows, quivers, spears, and other military paraphernalia, he also requests “smooth clothes, good ones!” (Demarée 2006, 14). With the advent of a standing military in the New Kingdom, the furnishing of the soldiers and mercenaries would have been necessary, including the garments that the soldiers were to wear.

In addition to the army, the navy would have been a major consumer of linen and leather through the rigging of their ships and the outfitting of their sailors. There has been little to no discussion of the use of textiles in the outfitting of the many boats employed by the Egyptian administration and private individuals. Egypt, being a river-based culture, would have consumed large quantities of linen for sailcloth. Research into sailcloth production is non-existent within Egyptological scholarship; however, scholars working in the Scandinavian Iron Age had built a robust series of studies that are informative for our discussion.

Andersson Strand (2021) reconstructed the amount of fabric required to outfit a ship that was 61 meters long (for comparison, Khufu’s ceremonial boat is around 43 meters long). Along with the dimensions of the fabric, Andersson Strand also estimates the person-hours and land required to create a single sail. If the sailcloth was produced from linen, it would have required over 43 kilogram of raw material, 61 meters² of fabric, and about 3,447 hours of spinning and weaving (Nørgård 2016). Over 700 square meters of land would have needed to have been cultivated (Frøier and Zienkiewicz 1991). That is to outfit a single ship. Substantial amounts of fabric would have been required to outfit a navy or merchant vessel. The use of wool is also an issue here, where wool outperforms linen in air-capture (Cooke, Christiansen, and Hammarlund 2002). It is clear that linen was used in at least some Egyptian contexts. In one inscription by Ramses III at Karnak, “boats with sails of fine linen” are mentioned (*RITA* V, 191).

Members of the navy are shown to have worn a particular type of loincloth made of a leather net which Save-Soderbergh (1946) argues was to protect against friction while rowing

(for example, see the tomb of Rekhmire; Davies 1943; Fig. 6.9). Another possible form is the clearly ceremonial variety preserved from the tomb of Maiherpri (Boston MFA 03.1035).



Fig. 6.9- Leather loincloth of Maiherpri (BM EA21999; © The Trustees of the British Museum)

In summation, the military realm of the Egyptian state would have consumed a significant proportion of fabric stores in the form of linen and leather. Sails for navy ships would have been an especially fabric-intensive commodity.

6.1.5 Compensation & Wages

Textiles were a known form of remuneration within the Egyptian economy. Cloth was included in the basic necessities along with food, beer, and oil, being so pervasive that the notion of these basic necessities spanned into the funerary realm with the standard offering formula covering the same products. Roth (1994, 236) already suggested the use of cloth as a form of

compensation in the Old Kingdom. Part of the compensation for the soldiers would have included the standard necessities as well, as we can see from a Stela of Seti I from Silsilah. The king increased the wages of the army to 20 *deben* of bread, vegetables, meat, and linen garments monthly (Brand 2000).

A papyrus records the compensation of bakers and weavers from Memphis during the reign of Seti I (P. BN 209; *RITA* I, 223). Here, individual enslaved women are listed with the remuneration given to them as part of the redistribution of goods. From Papyrus Harris, we can see that Ramses III also supplied clothing and grain to the “foreigners” he settled in the strongholds in the eastern Delta (Spalinger 2005, 274).

Multiple ostraca from Deir el-Medina mention deliveries of clothing to the workers and their families (O. UC39668; O. Valley of the Queens 11; P. BM EA 75019 + P. BM EA 10302, for example; see Appendix 7). Papyrus Turin Cat. 1903 records the account of wages (*htri*) for the gänge issued by the deputy of the royal treasury: “253 smooth *rwd*-garments” (Helck 2002, 571). In another letter to the vizier, it is clear that clothes are a common compensation to the crew: “to let my lord know that as regards the wood, vegetables, oil, fish, clothing, tallow and rations, my lord himself has provided for us...” (O. Gardiner 59; Wente 1990, no. 58).

Our best source to investigate this further comes from the so-called Necropolis Journal and other official administrative documentation concerning the provisioning of the workers of Deir el-Medina. One particularly detailed account provides more information (P. Turin 1881; *RITA* VI 443). The account begins with a list of garments supplied to the workforce: “fine cloth shawls, 62, fine cloth tunics, 62 [///] total, assorted garments, 172” (*recto*, 1.1-1.2). Later (1.12), another sum of 147 garments is numbered, probably for another day, now missing. On 1 *Peret* 20, a receipt of deliveries is recorded, including “of smooth cloth 4 kilts; of smooth cloth 16 shawls; of smooth cloth 58 tunics. Total: 78” (3.2). The following month (2 *Peret* 7), more goods were received including “of smooth cloth 2 kilts, worth 30 *deben*, of smooth cloth, 1 shawl making 10 *deben*” (6.5). Later in the following Year 8, 2 *Peret* 3, another “receipt of the clothing

for the men of the tomb by the captains of the tomb” is recorded: “of smooth cloth tunic and shawls 44, linen, 154 *deben*, making 10 tunics... of smooth cloth 2 kilts; total clothes 56” (*verso*, 1.3-1.5).

O.Cairo 25504, vs. I, 4 mentioned the distribution to the crew of eighty garments of various types, all made of fine linen cloth (*šm' nfr*). P. Turin 1881, III, 2ff (Caminos 1954, 465-474) recorded seventy-eight garments. Janssen sees these numbers in reference to the size of the crew at the time, with each member receiving one garment. P. Turin 2004 records how each man, fisherman, and other *smdt* received a single garment. The administration clearly was providing clothing to the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. What is not clear is the frequency and regularity of the distribution. A common phrase “the *d'iw*-garment which was given to me of the *pr-ꜣ*” presumably refers to this action of distribution (O.Cairo 25725, for example).

From this Necropolis Journal entry, we can see that garments were regularly delivered to the workmen. Further, we know the clothing was an expected form of compensation, for when the workers are not receiving these goods along with food, they went on strike. The Turin Strike Papyrus records (P. Turin Cat. 1880):

[t]hey told them that they had turned to them from hunger and thirst, for there is neither clothing nor oil, neither fish nor vegetables, they should therefore write to the Pharaoh, their good lord, and to the vizier, their boss, to provide for them their livelihood. The rations for the first month of *peret* were made available to them on the same day (Recto 2, 2-5; Gardiner RAD, 54, 14-54, 4).

P. Chester Beatty III, vs. 4-5 records another request for clothes to the Vizier related to the strikes. The crew was low on certain supplies which was delaying their work. Included in this is a request for textiles: “[s]end [...] kilt of good quality smooth cloth, one shawl of good quality smooth cloth, [...] loincloths of good quality smooth cloth, [...] clew of yarn from the citizens, Heret, your sister...” (Wente 1990, no 52). This is interesting in two regards. The crew is feeling “disregarded so as to prevent [their] voices from being heard” with the disregard relating to the lack of furnishing of clothing (Wente 1990, no 52). Second, the textiles are requested to come from the Vizier’s sister, Heret, indicating again a woman’s involvement in private textile or

cottage industry-level production. Is flax production disrupted due to the ongoing conflicts across the Nile Valley?

A similar form of distribution and compensation should be expected for any individual “employed” by the state or temple institutions. Indeed, from the Strike Papyri evidence, the state and temple economies overlap (see Chapter 4) since the workers headed to the memorial temples on the west bank to demand remuneration. Since the state was not providing their wages, the workers went to the temples which perhaps at this time were better off economically to aid the workers. As with any other redistributive aid, any excess could be exchanged for other required or desired goods. Cloth being a highly fungible commodity is clear from the types of exchange which we will look at in the upcoming sections.

6.2 Reuse and Recommodification

Another aspect of textile consumption that has not been discussed is reuse and recommodification. Studies of reuse and recommodification have covered various Egyptian material cultures, from statues (Simon 2022; Thomas 2022) to coffins (Cooney 2023; 2024) and tombs (Barbash and Cooney 2021; Betrò 2023; Kaczanowicz 2023). Along with metals, textiles were one commodity that could be easily repurposed. Due to its inherent value, the apparent lack of supply, and fungibility, there is a plethora of evidence to support the reuse and recommodification of textiles. Unlike modern conceptions around clothing and textiles that make them highly discardable, textiles in the past were often used until they were threadbare and ratty. Garments that were too worn would be cut down and repurposed for a variety of functions—to make loincloths, rags (possible for menstruation), wicks for lamps, bandages for medical and funerary purposes, and nappies for infants, even. No textile ever went to waste.

A number of terms exist that are used to describe old or worn clothes (Janssen 2008). The word *Iswt/īsw/īsy* references “old” or “worn out” (O.DeM 90; O.Varille 19) and *š’d* was

used to indicate torn or ripped textiles (O.DeM 790) while *thn* (*rwḏw*) referred to damaged cloth (P. Turin 1885). The phrase *m sḥ* meaning “used” or “cast off” items (P. Leiden I 352). The appearance of these terms all indicate that cloth was being reused and repurposed rather than simply discarded. The importance of laundry also indicates the level of care and support that went into clothing. Many archaeological examples of fabric also support the notion that textiles were repaired or reused (Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 232-4).

Again, texts from Deir el-Medina are illustrative of how textiles were reused. In a letter from Anherkhau, a workman at Deir el-Medina, to the Vizier, the workman requests, among other pigments and oil for lights, “old clothes for wicks” (O.Toronto A 11, vs. 1-13; Wente 1990, no. 59) A similar request for old cloth for wicks can be seen in a number of texts (O. Cairo 25756). Another text records the instruction from the draftsman Pay to his son Preemhab to “take this rag of a kilt and this rag of a loincloth in order to rework the kilt into a red sash and the loincloth into an apron” (O.Cerny 19; Wente 1990, no. 218). The general Piankh writing to the scribe Tjaroy requests old clothes in the form of bandages to be used to wrap up his men (LRL no. 20; Wente 1990, no. 300). Either he is referring to injured soldiers requiring dressings or to deceased soldiers requiring mummification to be brought home.

Another possible recommodification was through theft. As noted already in Chapter 5, one of the main corpora of weavers is from the Tomb Robbery Papyri which includes not only the involvement of weavers in the robberies but also the theft of textiles from the various looted tombs. Papyrus BM. 10068 (*RITA* VI, 374), for example, records the “list of what was found in the possession of the thieves and great criminals, on this day...” followed by each individual thief and what was found on them with the according *deben* value of the goods:

[f]ound with the thief and great criminal, the tomb workman, Moses son of Pentaweret, as his share... good quality fine cloth, bound—2 sheets, cut, 6; *mk*-linen, found, good quality, fine cloth, cut—6; *mk*-linen, bound, 2 kerchiefs. Total, of good quality fine cloth, various garments—10

In the testimony of the tomb robbery (Papyrus Mayer B; Kitchen RITA VI, 383), the thieves recount, “[w]e opened 2 chests which were full of clothing. We found fine, good quality cloth, kilts, shawls, and kerchiefs—35 garments of which 7 each of fine, good quality cloth fell to the share of each man.” Clothing was a clear target of the thieves due to the fungible nature of the product.

Outside of the Tomb Robbery Papyri, one ostrakon records the stealing of cloth from the storeroom of the temple of King Akheperkare by the wife of the man in charge of watching the storeroom. That man lost his job while the punishment of the wife is not listed (O. Ashmolean 1945.37 + 1945.33; *RITA* II, 211). Another text (P. Leiden 352) records the theft of the property of the charioteer Pekhair by his female servant (Černý 1937). The only goods stolen were vessels of copper and bronze and textiles, both highly valuable and fungible goods. Metals can be melted down and textiles resold or cut and repurposed.

From the evidence enumerated, textiles were reused and recommodified for a number of reasons: 1) their inherent value, 2) the lack of supply, and 3) their fungibility. Textiles were a high-value good. Most individuals did not have a large supply of textiles, and the production of a new textile took raw materials, labor, and time. All textiles would be reused or recommodified if necessary. The terminology extant indicates that individuals were aware of the various conditions of textiles, and specific activities can be linked to these conditions. Worn textiles would be torn into rags for wicks, damaged textile resewn into loincloths, or ragged cloth turned into bandages. Last, the fungibility of textiles allowed for their recommodification. From Tomb Robbery evidence, we know textiles were one of the frequently stolen items. These were high-value items that could be exchanged on the local market without arousing suspicion. Textiles from the king’s tombs could have been cut down and repurposed quickly and exchanged later. Textile reuse was not only an economic endeavor, but there were larger social implications as well.

6.3 Textile Exchange & Trade

Another contributing factor to the economic value of textile can be seen in how they were exchanged both domestically and internationally. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, following Graeber's (2001) definition of value, a major aspect is how much demand there is for objects and what others will give up to achieve a specific object—otherwise its “economic” value. But a good's value is not solely developed from its relation economically to other products but also the social value it has in the community and outside it. The social value of textiles also impacts how textiles were exchanged. Just as in Egypt, textiles held ideological and social importance to the various contemporary cultures with which Egypt interacted. Graslin-Thomé (2016, 74) notes that the Babylonians imported linen from Egypt specifically for their cult statues; linen made in Babylon was not appropriate. The added value of the textile coming from a foreign place known for its linen quality made it the only fabric good enough for the god. The garment was all the more worthy of the gods when the populace could infer its history from the fabric itself (Gaslin-Thomé 2016, 74).

This study follows the economic work by Warburton (1997), Cooney (2007), and others who see Egypt's economy as a mixed redistributive pre-capitalist market economy. Textiles were one of the commodities involved in both redistributive exchanges given their production in the major institutions but also market exchange due to their production in domestic contexts. While the prior section explored the redistributive side, this section will look at the evidence for market-based exchange, with evidence even for state engagement at times.

6.3.1 Domestic Markets and Interpersonal Exchange

Much of the exchange of textiles produced in domestic settings would have occurred in small regional markets. This section will discuss not only interpersonal exchange but also domestic

markets both at the local village level and at the institutional. This would have been the main method for the spread of textiles from the producers to the rest of the country. One of the major debates is the degree of involvement the state had in the “redistribution” of textiles. Warburton (2012, 310) concludes that “there is no reason to believe the state was engaged in the sale of ‘surplus’ textiles... with the role of the state in the marketplace, but also in increasing demand through commission or taxes.” As discussed earlier (Section 6.1.3), we know textiles were part of the wages of workers at state-run facilities, like Deir el-Medina, but Warburton (2012, 310) does not see this “redistribution” of goods as consistent enough to warrant that label. Rather, the evidence supports the argument that the Egyptian economy was a market economy with textiles playing a significant role as commodities.

Deir el-Medina, once again, provides the best evidence for interpersonal exchange of goods, especially textiles. Many of the prior examples discussed in Chapter 5 to convey domestic-based production also are useful to reference to discuss interpersonal exchange. For another example, an ostrakon records the requests between two female individuals, one the chantress of Amun-Re Henutnetjeru, the other Tadiese. Henutnetjeru sends “5 measures of yarn” to Tadiese and requests that she “cause them to be made into clothes for these 3 women-servants” (Demarée 2006, 11-14). Women taking control of handling affairs is well represented from the textual record; Tadiese was clearly functioning as a weaver in this regard and was engaging in an interpersonal, non-state affiliated exchange with Henutnetjeru. Another text records one individual instructing “if you are broke, can’t you sell your clothes and send that about which I’ve written to you?” (P. DM6; Wente 1990, no. 211).

Marketplaces, or areas that are delineated for economic or commercial exchange, are rather elusive in the Egyptian data. Much has been written on the marketplace from Old Kingdom tomb representations (Livingstone-Thomas 2011), but New Kingdom evidence is varied. Just as most towns and cities are not preserved in ancient Egyptian contexts, we should not expect the evidence of markets to survive as well. Markets also would have been rather

ephemeral on the landscape—any large open area—or, as we will see with the Egyptian evidence, the bank of a river would suit for a temporary marketplace. From Deir el-Medina, we know that the local community would go down “to the riverbank” (*r mryt*) to exchange goods (for the complete discussion of the term, see Černý 1973; Janssen 1980; McDowell 1990, 219). From the textual evidence, we know textiles were being exchanged there. One interesting record of a divorce proceeding mentioned how he attempted to help his ex-wife sell her cloth in the marketplace but was rejected for its quality (O. UC19614; McDowell 1990, 43-44):

[a]nd she gave me a sash, saying, ‘Offer it at the riverbank; it will be bought from me for an *oipe* of emmer.’ I offered it, but people rejected it, saying, ‘It is bad!’ And I told her exactly that, saying, ‘It has been rejected’...

Another ostrakon records some shady dealings involving textiles from the market (O.Gardiner O197). The scribe Qenherkhepeshef arrived at the riverbank and received garments, giving a sheet (*ifd*) in return, in front of named individuals. Then it is said that Qenherkhepeshef’s head is shaven as punishment (?) by Rahotep for swindling him with a loincloth and balls of thread (Helck 2002, 89). The exact context is unclear, but needless to say this apparent hustle occurred at the riverside marketplace where textiles could be exchanged in both directions.

The so-called “Ship Log” papyri are illustrative of the types of internal exchange occurring. One text, P. Brooklyn 35245A, logs the itinerary of a ship from dock to dock (*mryt*). Of interest for this discussion is on the verso where there is a list of women’s names, their parent’s names, and their hometown. These women are recorded as exchanging textiles and honey at several places along the riverbank, near the town of Dendera, according to Condon (1984, 58). The B fragment of the text records the arrival of linen goods and the names of two men and their parents (Condon 1984). The text is very similar to fragment A. For example, the boat docked at “the shore of *Hapy-Aa*” and Re-tawy received “linen of the first grade and finely woven, 5 white, 1 black, total 6” (P. Brooklyn 35245A, line 3). Later at “the shore of Per-Baku,” Tuy received “1 small *satu*-garment, linen of the first grade and fine woven, black 10, white 2”

(P. Brooklyn 35245A, line 13). The relationship between the temple staff manning the boat and the deliveries and the women receiving the deliveries is unclear.

The other ship logs (P. Turin 2009 + 2016) published by Janssen (1961) also record the exchange of many textiles. For example, on Day 25 of the 1st Month of Winter, Year 7, the ship is docked at Memphis for nine days. Here they are receiving a delivery of goods gathered by the guard Amenkhau who is sailing on the boat (Janssen 1961, 71; Rt. col. II 9-17):

3 *d'iw*-garments of the finer Upper Egyptian cloth, each with 22 *hin*, makes 66 *hin*; 31 *mss*-garments of smooth cloth each worth 3 *hin*, makes 93 *hin*; 1 *d'iw* garments of fine Upper Egyptian cloth.... 6 *idg* garments of fine Upper Egyptian cloth... each worth 20 *hin*, Received 262 *hin*. Reaming 20 *hin*

Another section details an inventory of “freight which is in the ship of the first prophet of Amun under the authority of the scribe of the treasury Hori, the scribe Praemhab and the guard Amenkhau” (Janssen 1961, vs. col. I, 18). What follows is a list of goods—cereals, wine, fish, and oils, tallying what has been used and what remains. Does “used” here mean exchanged, as in bartered for, along the trip? Following this is a list of textiles exchanged for some of the goods mentioned previously by the high priest (Janssen 1961, vs. col. I, 18- col. 11, 1):

of the goods mentioned previously by the first prophet (Janssen 1961, vs. col. I, 18- col. 11, 1):

[oil] *msh*-jars containing 350 *hin*... makes *d'iw*-garment of fine Upper Egyptian cloth: 17; *d'iw*-garments of Upper Egyptian cloth: 20; *mss*-garments of smooth cloth: 2

Emmer: 38 sacks, makes *idg*-garments of fine Upper Egyptian cloth: 20; *d'iw*-garments of Upper Egyptian cloth: 2; *mss*-garments of smooth cloth: 30

Janssen (1961, 65) interprets this as a “receipt” of the sale of these garments produced by the temple by the high priest to someone in exchange for the jars of oil and sacks of emmer. Later, a tally of textiles is provided, detailing “garments which remain, being not in the ship...” (vs. col. III, 1-6):

d'iw-garments of fine Upper Egyptian cloth: 2
idg-garments of fine Upper Egyptian cloth: 2
d'iw-garments of Upper Egyptian cloth: 4
mss-garments of smooth cloth: 12
Total of various garments: 20

Taking all the evidence together, it is clear that these logs record ships manned by temple personnel exchanging goods throughout Egypt using the textiles that the temple produced. Temples employing merchants (*šwtj*) to engage in such trade are known from multiple texts (P. Harris I, 46.2; Nauri Decree, 40; P. Bibl. Nat. 209, rt. II, 10). Who exactly these ships were exchanging with is unclear. They were probably not individual sales but exchanges with other wholesale suppliers. One text even instructs such a trade (O. Cairo 58070; Peet 1934, 190).

Some interpret these “ship logs” as evidence of the distribution of basic necessities by the temple or state—clothing, for example, presumably manufactured in the temple workshops (Zingarelli 2010, 47). However, it is clear that redistribution was not the only goal but rather the exchange of goods that the temple produced for other products. The logs record the inventory on board the ship, what goods were exchanged for what, and their relative values compared to each other. Even if the main exchange was occurring between institutions or major suppliers, we can only assume that small individual exchanges might also have occurred with temporary ‘pop-up’ markets following the ships as they sailed down the Nile to take advantage of the people these ships attracted. It also should come as no surprise that the individual in charge of the ships is one “High Priests of Amun under the authority of the scribe of the Treasury Hori” (CITE). Given the relationship between the Treasury and textile production and management, we can now add exchange to the list of responsibilities entitled to the Treasury officials.

New Kingdom tombs also provide visual depictions of marketplaces to help reconstruct how these locales of exchange would have functioned. Only two tombs, Khaemhat (TT 57) and Kenamun (TT 162), dating to the reign of Amenhotep III and Ipuw (TT 217) from the reign of Ramses II preserved depictions of inter-Egyptian trade.

The tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57, Attia 2022; Pino 2005) displays such a riverbank exchange of goods with small market scenes as groundless vignettes to the right of the boats. The scene depicts several Egyptian cargo boats docked at a port. The wall is in a rather fragmentary condition, but it is still possible to make out some cattle emerging from the ships.

To the right of the boats are several marketplace vignettes depicting an exchange of goods. Unfortunately, there are no accompanying texts to reveal the type of goods being exchanged. Of note, however, is the presence of women on boats in the lower register (Fig. 6.10). The individual seated in the lower market scene also appears to be a woman from the presence of a breast. Both Attia (2022) and Pino (2005) reference “Nubian” features of some of the individuals in the scenes that are not evidenced to this author. Contra Pino (2005) and Attia (2022), I do not see these boats as Nubian, but rather as Egyptian vessels engaged in interregional exchange.

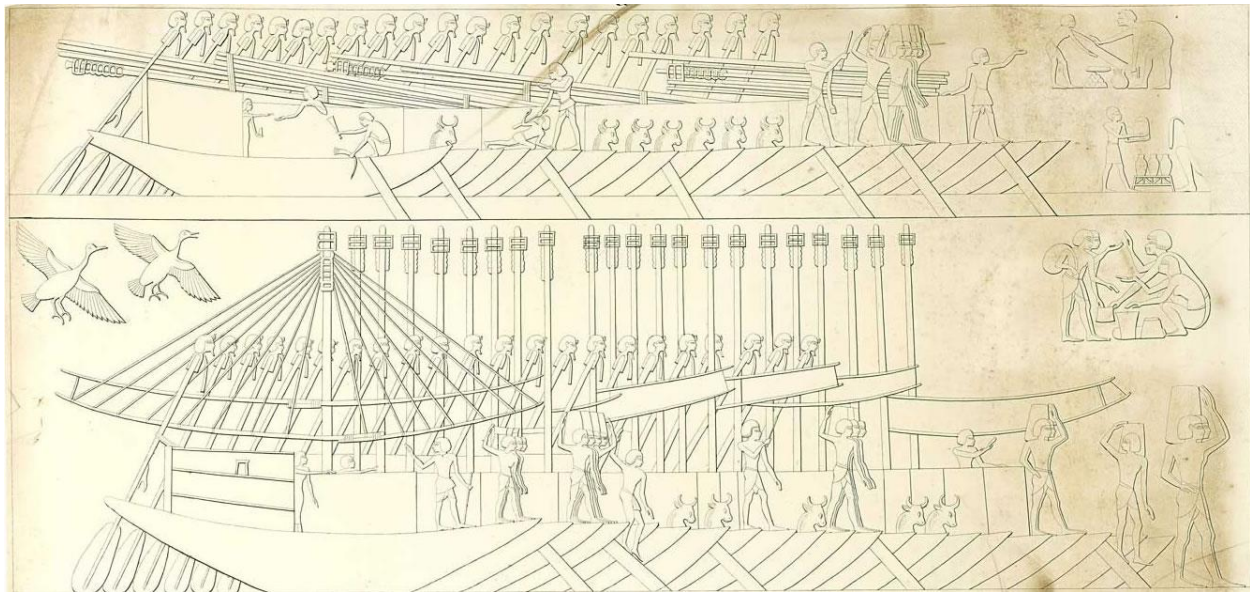


Fig. 6.10- Dock and marketplace scene from the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57; *Denkmäler III*, pl. 76).

The tomb of Kenamun (TT 162; Davies and Faulkner 1947) provides further clarity as to how markets function, specifically with textiles. Kenamun was Mayor of Thebes and Overseer of the Barns of Amun during the reign of Amenhotep III. Details of many of the scenes have been lost, but luckily early photographs and facsimiles exist by Davies and Faulkner (1947). The market scenes depict a number of ships which appear to be foreign, given the dress of the individuals aboard them (this will be discussed in the subsequent section). To the right of the boats is a clear market scene, with three registers with stalls selling their associated wares. In all three of the stalls, textiles are clearly displayed alongside sandals and other goods. On the

bottom register, you can even see the fringe on the hung cloth. Given the similarity of each of these stalls, they probably serve to represent goods that are most commonly available at these marketplaces, textiles being one of them (Fig. 6.11).

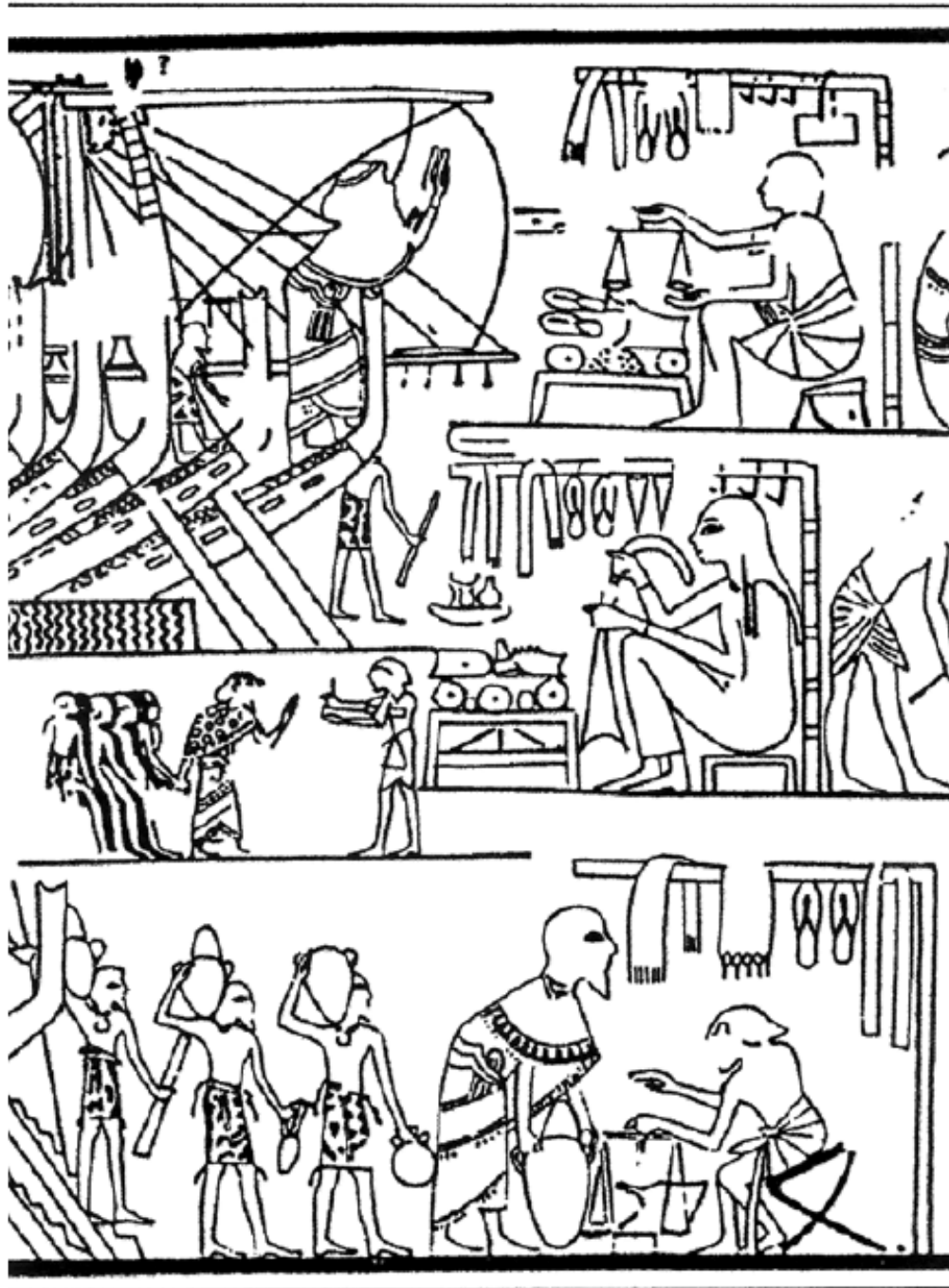


Fig. 6.11- Detail of dock and marketplace scene from the tomb of Kenamun (TT162) (Davies and Faulkner 1947, pl. 8)

From the Deir el-Medina evidence we know that individuals went to the riverbank to exchange in private transactions. The state and private individuals could have partaken in similar dockside exchange situations, just on different scales.

A similar pattern of exchange appears to have continued into the Ramesside Period, as corroborated by the visual sources. The tomb of Ipuw (TT 217; Davies 1927), dating to the reign of Ramses II, provides similar scenes of marketplace exchange. Ipuw was a sculptor living at Deir el-Medina and was buried in the cemetery west of the village. In the scene, a riverine-style boat is pulled up to a dock with men unloading goods. To the right and left of the boat are various registers where women exchange with the men from the ship. Some of the goods are ambiguous, but others are sacks of fish (Davies 1927, pl. XXX; Fig. 6.12). Again, from this depiction, it appears most of the individuals who are selling goods to the sailors are women.



Fig. 6.12- Details of the market scene from the Tomb of Ipuw (TT217) (Davies 1927, pl. xxx)

On a larger institutional level, we also know of the local exchange and transfer of textiles. As was just discussed, some of the ship logs appear to show the exchange of textiles for other goods by officials of the temple. Administrative papyri also record the delivery of textiles to the temple (P. Harris; Grandet 1994; 1999). Were these textiles being exchanged for other goods, or were textiles being delivered to the main temple of Amun for other purposes—as taxes or tribute, for example?

Additionally, the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) depicts an internal exchange of goods, including textiles. Most scholars view this scene as a tax collection. The scene depicts the 40 tax districts of the north and south of Egypt (total of 80), each official bringing its contribution. Above each

individual is a caption with their title, district, and contribution value expressed in *deben*. Textiles are included within some of the district's contributions. Register 2 depicts the presentation of fringed cloth (Fig. 6.13, Davies 1943, 34-5). In register 3, one of the two officials are depicted presenting gold rings and fringed textiles (Fig 4.3).



Fig. 6.13- Delivery of textiles to Rekhmire (© Osirisnet)

The captions above both registers relate that the products are from Elephantine (*'bw*). If these are to be seen as a form of “taxation” of the various districts by the state, these goods can still be seen in the light of domestic exchange. Presumably, these goods were stored in the Treasury, like the textiles produced by the *mrt*-weavers at the Temple of Amun. This provides further support that textiles along with metals were a highly valued, fungible product that were sought after by various actors and institutions engaged in the New Kingdom economy.

Overall, there is a lack of information regarding internal exchange or trade by large institutions. This was probably due to the fact that they were the main consumers of the textiles

they produced. Another major consumer of the goods also appears to have been international elites. As the next section will discuss, textiles were traded and exchanged on a large scale.

6.3.2 International Exchange and Trade

The trading of textiles in the larger eastern Mediterranean and west Asian landscape is well documented and studied (Breniquet 2008; 2013; Lassen 2010; Lumb 2013; Michel 2017; Graslin-Thomé 2016). Though the Egyptian documents do not relate trade to the degree of the Kanesh textile market, for example, we can speculate on the amount of trade. David Warburton (2012, 305) briefly notes some features of the larger economic aspects of textiles in the ancient near east which are helpful to recount—the Babylonian need to export textiles for other high value goods. Textiles were relatively inexpensive to produce but would fetch high prices postproduction. Textiles were second only to metal and precious stones in relative value (Warburton 2012, 308). Two sources are useful to explore this further—tomb scenes and the Amarna Letters. Textiles were also a major luxury product imported into Egypt. From the early 18th Dynasty, we find scenes representing large envoys of foreigners bringing luxury goods, including textiles, to the Egyptians.

The Tale of Wenamun records an Egyptian expedition to Byblos to obtain lumber to build a new boat. After the timber was shipped, the messenger brought payment for it from the Egyptian court, including “ten garments of royal linen, ten *hrd*-garments of fine linen, five-hundred smooth linen sheets” (Lichtheim 1976, 227). Though this is slightly later than the New Kingdom, the procurement of lumber and other goods from Syria-Palestine started in the Early Dynastic Period, supporting a retroactive ascription of similar practices. This indicates that Egyptian linen was a valuable sought-after resource by other groups and a possible source of income for the Egyptian state.

The exact nature of the relationship between the Egyptian officials and foreigners in these exchanges is varied and context dependent. Whether the foreigners are offering tribute, taxes, gifts, or trade is sometimes unclear and is widely debated (Anthony 2017; Bleiberg 1984; Brock 2000; Martin 1998; Mourad 2015; Polański 2000; Wachsmann 1987). It appears in most of these cases *inw* is being offered, which Bleiberg (1984) concludes represents a form of gift-giving that recognized the Egyptian king's superiority rather than a tribute which would display the other groups' dependence/reliance upon the other. I group all of these in other forms of exchange. It suffices to note that the luxury textiles are entering the Egyptian domain. What happens with them after they are received is unclear, but we can speculate based on some actual archaeological remains (Section 6.3.2.2).

Anthony (2017, Appendix 1) records twenty 18th Dynasty tombs with "tribute" scenes. We will look more closely at those that display the exchange of textiles—Rekhmire, Piuemre, Menkheperreseneb, Kenamun, and Amenemopet. Almost all of the so-called "foreign tribute scenes" date to the reign of Thutmose III which should not be surprising, given the number of campaigns and other interactions that were present during his reign.

Rekhmire's (TT 100) tomb once again provides the evidence for the reception of products from foreign delegations and perhaps textiles. As discussed in Chapter 4, Rekhmire was vizier during the reign of Thutmose III, and, as part of his responsibilities, he oversaw "tribute" of goods from foreign delegations. The scene depicts the presentation of *inw* by delegations from Syria-Palestine, Nubia, Punt, and the Aegean. No individual is actually shown presenting textiles to Rekhmire. However, I would argue that the textiles are represented on the bodies of the individuals instead of being presented in folded amorphous shapes. This then provided the Egyptian artist a way to not only depict the textiles in full form but also visually represent the differences between the foreigners and the Egyptian style of dress. Scholars have commented on the accuracy of these garments (Matić 2012), but perhaps accuracy was not what the Egyptian artists were trying to achieve. If the garments are meant to represent the possible

types of clothes presented as *inw*, the artist might have amalgamated patterns and styles to visually display such garments. Instead, if we look at the garments worn by the foreigners in the scene, we see an array of textiles, patterns, and garment types—many of which we know were gifted into Egypt (see Section 6.3.22; Fig. 6.14).



Fig. 6.14- Collation of the various fashions represented in Rekhmire “foreign tribute scene” (© Osirisnet)

If we assume the garments that the foreigners sport in tribute scenes are representative of gifted garments, then we can apply the same logic to the other tombs with foreign tribute scenes where textiles are not explicitly presented. These include: Amenmose (TT 42), Sobekhotep (TT 63), Senenmut (TT 71), Ineni (TT 81), Nebamun (TT 90), Useramun (TT 131), Antef (TT 155), Penhet (TT 239), Nebenkemet (TT 256), and Amenmose (TT 89). This would explain why we see presented cloth in the Egyptian tax collection. Since the textiles visually represented by the standard bearer were the typical Egyptian kilt, it would not signal to the viewer in the same way as the foreign dress that textiles were being brought. In the Egyptian examples, the artists chose to actually show the bearer holding bolts of cloth.

Turning to the tombs that do include textiles as foreign *inw*, there are only four tombs where textiles are clearly depicted as gifts—Piuemre (TT 39), Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), Amenedjeh (TT 84), Amenemhab (TT 85), and Kenamun (TT 162).

The tomb of Piuemre (TT 39), who was the “Second Prophet of Amun,” “Superintendent of the Temple and its Annexes,” and “Superintendent of the Cattle and Fields of Amun” during the reign of Thutmosis III, also contains a scene of foreign gift exchange. We already discussed his involvement in internal textile production (Chapter 4), but his responsibilities also included “receiving the tribute of *Retenu* and also the tribute of Wat-Hor, also the tribute of the southern and northern oases, which the Sovereign assigned to the temple of Amun” and Punt (Davies 1922, 79). Piuemre’s tomb is intriguing for the inclusion of goods brought by people of the oases, with textiles being one of the major goods (Anthony 2017, 80; Davies 1922, 83). On another wall is the tribute of the south scene, but, given the colonial endeavors in the south by the Egyptians, the tribute bearers are visually depicted as stereotypically Egyptian. Piuemre is captioned as “receiving tribute of gold, ivory, ebony, and various offerings [///] and numberless cattle and all kinds of linen” (Davies 1922, 103; Fig. 4.1). The lowest register depicts “overseers of weavers” delivering linen to Piuemre for accounting. Davies (1992, 104) sees these men as “colonists of Nubia” or “dwellers” on the southern front of Egypt (see discussion in Section 4.2.3.1).

Menkheperreseneb (TT 86) was the son of Minnakht (discussed in Chapter 5) and inherited the titles of his father, “Overseer of the King’s Granaries.” He was also the “Overseer of Foreign Lands,” which is referenced in the number of foreign tribute scenes from his tomb. People from Syria-Palestine, the Aegean, and the oases are represented (Davies 1933, pls. IV, V, VII). Both the Syrian and Aegean delegations bring cloth among their gifts (Fig. 6.15).

That cloth is one of the products that was chosen to exchange should be noted. Looking at the gift assemblages together, all the other goods are either of an extremely high value or show off the technological and artistic ability of that specific culture. There are chariots, archery paraphernalia, and metal rhyton so detailed that scholars can typologize them. The textiles in these exchanges are rarely remarked upon, but these should be seen in a similar vein. These fabrics might have introduced new technologies and had social ramifications, by affecting and

changing elite styles (see Section 6.3.2.2). It is during the reign of Thutmosis III that we first find tapestry-woven textiles in Egypt, a technology that was first developed in west Asia.



Fig. 6.15- Tribute scene from the Tomb of Piuemre. Note the similarities between the garment and the textiles held by the second individual (MMA 30.4.55)

Amenedjeh's (TT 84; Davies 1941) tomb is mostly ruined, but fortunately part of the front hall has preserved a "foreign tribute scene," which includes the presentation of textiles. The scene depicts Amenedjeh, "Royal Herald" and "Steward of the Palace," receiving a delegation of individuals from Syria-Palestine, with the caption "the chief of the Naharin prostrates himself, while giving praise to His Majesty because of the greatness of his might

throughout the north land” (Davies 1941, 97). Four men follow, with two of the men holding fabric draped over their arms (Fig. 6.16; Davies 1941, pl. XIII).

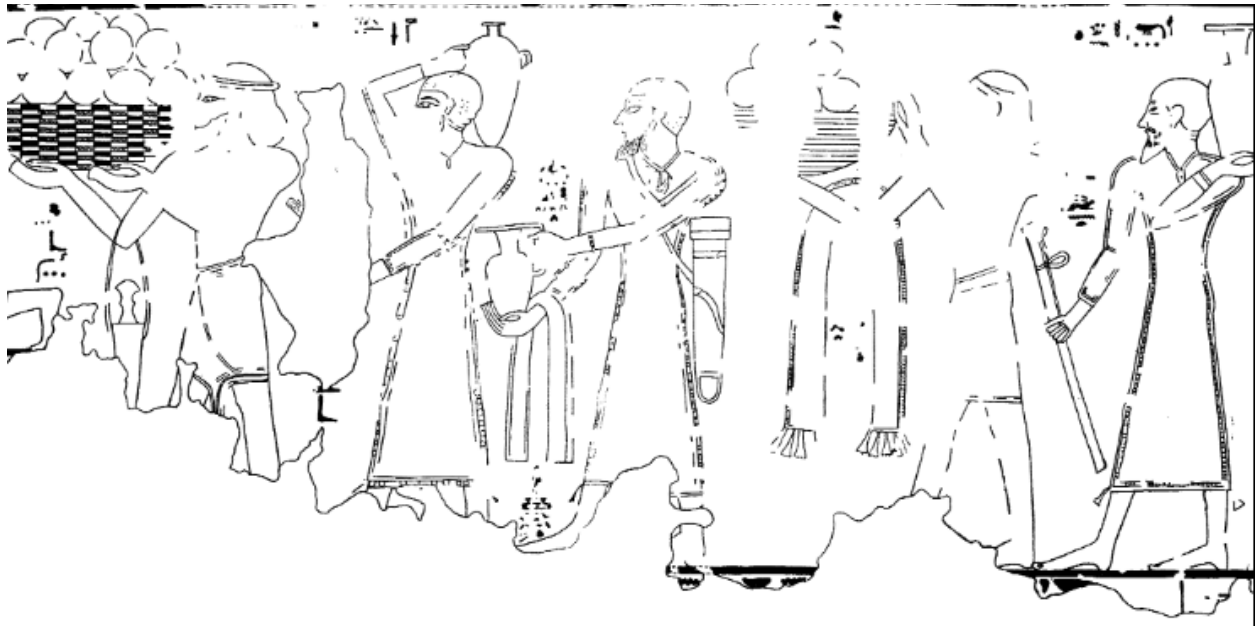


Fig. 6.16- The reception of “foreign tribute” including cloth (Davies, 1941, pl. xiii)

Another tomb also depicts people from northern Syria presenting textiles. Amenemhab (TT 85; Davies 1934), a high official in the military during the reign Thutmosis III, records a presentation captioned thus:

[t]he chiefs of every foreign land giving praise... with their tribute on their backs consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise in blocks, lead, oil, wine, clothing, cattle, incense... all the chiefs of the Upper *Retenu*, all the chiefs of the lower *Retenu*, Keftiu-lands, and Mennus (?) and every foreign country...

Here we have the only instance where textiles (*ḥbsw*) are directly named in the tribute list and depicted visually (Fig. 6.17).

We should not be surprised that textiles were one of the luxury products brought by individuals from Syria-Palestine. The vast Assyrian textile trade in Anatolia at the site of Kanesh from the nineteenth century BCE has been widely studied, given the preservation of so many textual documents (Michel 2017; Warburton 2012). Local rulers used them as diplomatic gifts internally in the region, and, as we shall see, they were also one of the many prestige goods in the Amarna letters. Though the Ebla archive provides evidence from about 400 years earlier

than the reign of Thutmosis III, we can only assume that the textile trade expanded, as evidenced by these tomb scenes.



Fig. 6.17- Text mentioning the delivery of clothing (*hbsw*) in the second column from the left (Davies 1934, pl. xxv)

Textiles were brought in from international locations via overland routes on donkey back but also via shipping. Kenamun (TT 162) was the Mayor of Thebes and Superintendent of the Granaries of Amun under the reign of Amenhotep III. The tomb depicts a riverine dock where foreign ships unload their wares, including textiles, at an unidentified Egyptian port, presumably Thebes (Davies and Faulkner 1947, pl. VIII; Fig. 6.18).

As we discussed earlier, there is marketplace exchange occurring, but, further to the right, other products are being brought before Kenamun for his inspection. Davies and Faulkner (1947, 45) see these goods and possibly even the women and children as “destined to pass into the possession of Kenamun himself by way of return for permission to trade (in his capacity of Mayor of Thebes) and as commission on the deal (in his capacity as a buying agent for Amun).” This interpretation may be rather imagined, but part of his responsibilities as “Superintendent of the Granaries of Amun” might have been inspecting and inventorying goods brought in. Of

course, Kenamun would have retained some of the goods for himself, I am sure, but that is not their main purpose.

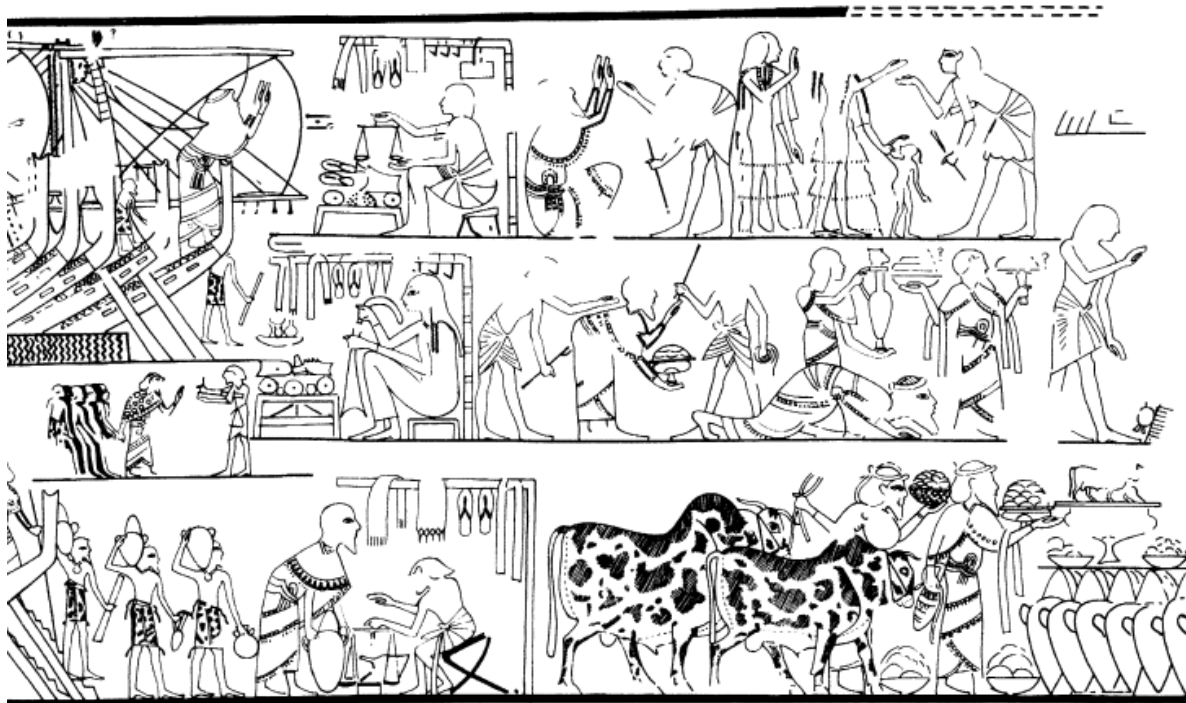


Fig. 6.18- A riverine dock and marketplace with stalls selling textiles (Davies & Faulkner 1947, pl. viii)

Again, here we should observe the exchange of fabrics from both parties, again to emphasize the possible social ramifications. Indeed, the long-sleeved garment worn by some of the Syrians is thought to be Hittite influenced (Davies and Faulkner 1947, 45). Textiles are being exchanged in both directions, contributing to the development of the elite “international” style (see Section 6.3.2.2).

Amenemopet (TT 276) was the “Overseer of Treasury” during the reign of Thutmose IV (PM I. 352); therefore, it is not surprising to find a “foreign tribute scene.” Here in the transverse hall, there remains a section depicting a Nubian delegation with baskets of gold and textiles and three individuals bearing trays of folded cloth (Fig. 6.19).

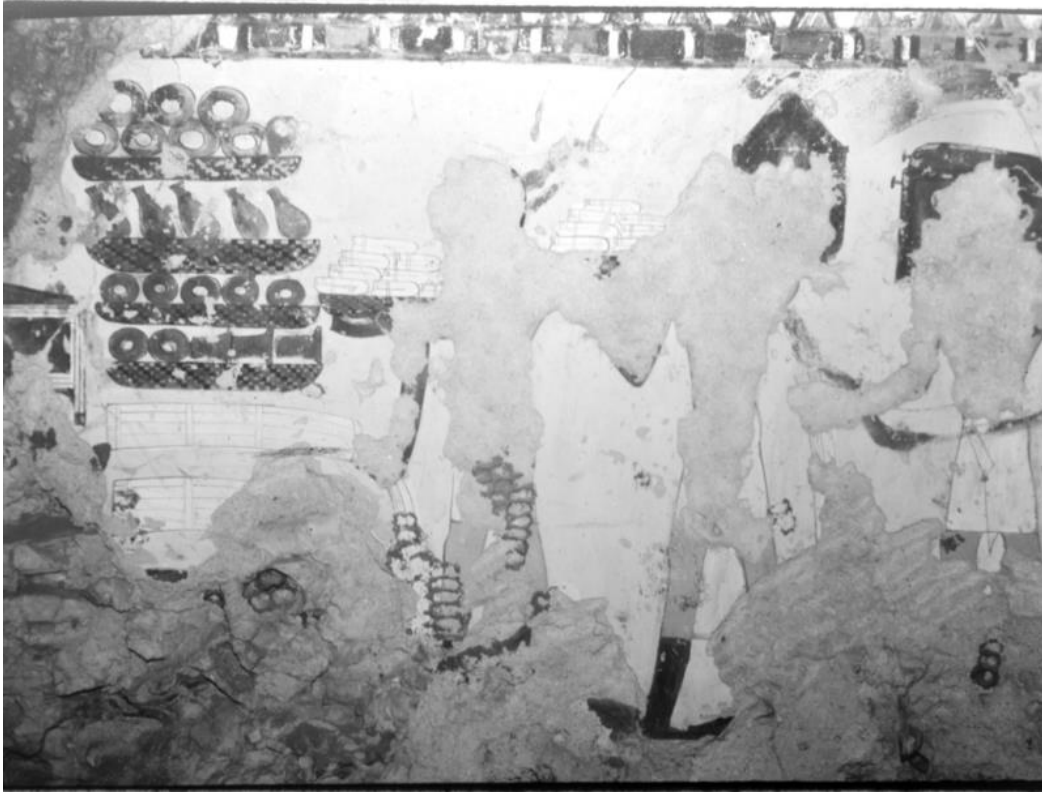


Fig. 6.19- Nubian bearing folded cloth before Amenemopet (Epigraphic Survey Negative 10388)

As was discussed in Chapter 4, the Overseer of the Treasury appears to have been involved not only in internal textile management but also incoming textiles as well. It makes sense that highly valued goods like gold and textiles were grouped together under the Treasury's management.

In summary, all groups of foreigners known to the Egyptians (in their simplified characterization)—Nubians, Syrians, Aegeans, and people of the oases—are depicted in various tombs bringing cloth. What might come as a surprise is the Nubian contribution of textiles, which, upon further research, has not been widely studied. Most studies of Nubian-Egyptian exchange relations revolve around precious metals and animal products (ivory, skins, ostrich feathers), with Nubia known for its leather workings, but the production of linen is little discussed. It is interesting to note that later in the fourth century BCE, Kush was the first African culture to adopt cotton production from the east and begin cultivation. If the land was

suitable for cotton cultivation, we should also expect to see more linen cultivation in the region as well. This topic requires further research.

Though not many “foreign tribute scenes” clearly depict cloth as one of the goods being exchanged, we should assume the presence of cloth as a more frequent item than is visually depicted. Indeed, many have argued that the painted and decorated ceilings that appear in numerous 18th Dynasty tombs represent textile patterns from the Aegean and west Asia (Cutler 2021; Barber 2016; Shaw 1970). Perhaps instead of representing the cloth coming into Egypt in tomb depictions, the patterns were incorporated in other ways to indicate the tomb owner’s knowledge and elite status *vis-à-vis* a developing international style.

6.3.2.1 The Amarna Letters and Other Diplomatic Gift Exchanges

The Amarna Letters remain the best source for exploring the textiles trade. Surprisingly, scholarship has not commented on the large numbers of textiles being given to and from Egypt, Babylon, Hatti, Mitanni, and other smaller vassals. This is probably because of the focus on the diplomatic information in the letters, focus on higher value goods like metals, and, once again, the dismissal of textiles within academic studies. Over 382 whole and fragmentary tablets are known. Though many were unearthed during illegal excavation at the site of Amarna, it is agreed upon by scholars that they probably all originated from House Q42.19.20, also known as “House of the Pharaoh’s Letters,” the archive near the King’s House and close to the Great Palace. This would have been the location where communications were kept and referenced, hence why we tend to only have more of the letters received than written.

Many of the letters do not include any reference to items being gifted or exchanged. However, in those that do, textiles appear frequently and in great numbers. Additionally, the items are listed in order of importance with metal and precious stones listed first, always followed by textiles, as noted by Warburton, which is also adhered to in internal Egyptian documents (2012, 308). Twelve letters mention the exchange of textiles. Most are gifts to Egypt,

but two record Egypt's presentation of textiles as well (Appendix 8). Egypt sent linen garments to Gazru, one of its vassals (EA 369), and one of the largest exchanges of textiles is from Egypt to Babylon (EA 14). Egypt sent a total of 1092 individual units of cloth to Babylon, including 100 fine linen shawls, 250 thin mantles, 250 thin girdles, and 120 cloaks. Linen of the finest quality comprised over 100 pieces. However, most of the texts preserve Egypt's reception of gifts or dowries from the "Great Kings" of west Asia. EA 22 and 25 documents large textile collections. EA 22 (Mittani to Egypt) will be presented here as an example:

3 pairs of leggings of shaggy-wool, 1 garment of blue-purple wool, 1 pair of shirts, Hurrian-style, for the city. 1 city-shirt, Turkish-style, 1 pair of sashes of red wool adorned. 1 linen garment, aššiani-type. 1 pair of shirts, Hurrian style, of linen. 1 city shirt of linen. 1 robe of linen. 1 garment, Hazor-style. 1 pair of shirts, Hurrian-style of linen. 1 pair of city-shirts. 1 robe and 1 cap, of blue-purple wool... 10 bright garments, 10 pairs of shirts, Hurrian-style, 10 pairs of city-shirts, 10 robes, 10 pairs of leggings, 1 loincloth of colored material, 1 šusuppu-cloth of linen trimmed with colored cloth.... It is all of these wedding gifts of every sort, that Tushratta, the king of the Mitanni, gave to Nummureya, the king of Egypt.

From this letter, there are a few important considerations. The first is the prevalence of wool. Many of the items are labeled as either being dyed or of wool. Specifically, the gift of the "3 pairs of shaggy woolen leggings" is intriguing in that the Egyptians are never depicted wearing trousers, nor wool. This contributes to my early argument that the abhorrence of wool was a misinterpretation of the available evidence (Section 3.1.1.2). Trousers would have been necessary for horse-back riding, and wool a more durable material. The presence of many-colored woolen garments also lends credence to the notion that the elite Egyptian's wardrobe outside of tomb depictions was much more colorful and less conservative and austere. The tomb depicts a conservative, highly ideological outfit. Indeed, three pairs of leggings are preserved in the Cairo Museum (nos. 13.1.26.19 and 13.1.26.18). The only other possible preservation of these gifted garments come from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Appendix 5).

The second consideration is the characterization of garments by ethnicity. Many of the garments are labeled by ethnicity, like Hurrian or Tukrish. It is unclear what exactly is meant by these labels. Is this from whence the garments originate, or do these labels reference a specific

type of garment or style that is associated with that location? I argue that this is an early form of branding, like we see today where certain places or peoples gain notoriety for a particular type of cloth. An example of this would be Egyptian cotton, Florentine leather, or the “Silk Road.” So many contemporary textiles gained their name from their city of origin—damask, madras, and calico, for example. In modern consumer studies, branding is understood to be a distinctive mode of capital accumulation. Brands become lodged into social network and cultural discourse, like brushing your teeth with Colgate or Coke’s associate with Santa Clause (Holt 2006, 300). Though the exact meaning is unclear from the Amarna letters, there was clearly value added through the linkage of a shirt with a specific locale, like Hurrian or Tukrish.

The third observation is the sheer volume of textiles exchanged. Thousands of textiles are exchanged between the various cultures, and the Amarna Letters only encapsulate a very brief period in history of a very specific type of exchange, usually dowries. If thousands of textiles were exchanged for a couple’s marriage negotiations during the reign of Amenhotep III, then we can extrapolate that tens of thousands of textiles were exchanged in these and other types of gift exchanges across the entirety of the New Kingdom.

The Amarna Letters provide a small glimpse into the type of relations occurring between Egypt and the leaders of the other powers in west Asia. We should assume similar communications before and after the period encapsulated by the letters. Textiles were one of the main luxury products exchanged between these cultures, second only in value to metals. The textiles mentioned in these letters have received little attention until now. These letters, along with the other evidence discussed for the international trade of fabrics, should be seen in the light of early “globalization” where Egypt, the Aegean, and the cultures of west Asia were highly interconnected and in frequent contact. Such contacts even bled over into the development of an elite “international” style.

6.3.2.2 The Development of an “International Style”

The prior sections were all building toward the idea that, concurrently with local styles, a broader elite “international” style was also developing. Usually this is spoken of in reference to themes and motifs that appear frequently on luxury trade goods—sphinxes, griffins, and rosettes are all elements that appear widely. This section will explore the development of a shared textile tradition across the Late Bronze Age cultures as well.

Within an economic approach to the ancient world, the question of consumer motivations arises. This debate relies on the assumption from neoclassical theory that consumers measure the level of “utility” or “satisfaction” they derive from consuming a specific good. Yet, we know this to not be accurate. Consumers make choices not solely based on price or demand. For textiles, why would the Egyptians or Babylonians desire textiles when they had their own source of production already available? In the ‘new theory of international trade,’ this quandary is termed intra-industry trade, which is defined as the exchange of similar commodities produced within the same industry (Rainelli 2003). An example would be the exchange of cars of two different brands. Such exchanges are difficult to explain using neoclassical economic theory (Graslin-Thomé 2016, 69). So instead, scholars must turn from algorithms and theorems to the social sciences, where human actions might not always line up with “utility” or “satisfaction.” Here, we again reference Graeber (2001) and Appadurai (1986). Appadurai instead viewed consumption as the sum of the variety of social practices and classifications, meaning that textiles are not solely their economic value but that they might be sought out for other reasons, like elite competition.

The possibility of a shared repertoire of motifs across the eastern Mediterranean and west Asian cultures was discussed early in the twentieth century, continuing until more recent scholars, like Marian Feldman, had tackled the issue (Feldman 2002; 2006; Kantor 1947; Poulsen 1912; Stevenson 1965). Feldman (2002, 7) defines international to mean features that

have been hybridized to such an extent that they can no longer be attributed to a single specific regional tradition, and the ‘international artistic koine’ to indicate the shared formal repertoire of icons, themes, and motifs in the cultural zones of the eastern Mediterranean, northeast Africa, and west Asia. This koine is characterized by shared object types, use of high-value materials, and a narrow repertoire of iconographic themes and motifs which are themselves executed in a consistent and mutually intelligible manner.

Part of this international style is the inability by modern scholars to clearly mark a center of production. Where an object is found might not be where it was produced. Or just because the object has many motifs that might reference one culture, the international style obfuscates to the degree that themes and motifs become origin-less. This is important because, in the following section, I will discuss textile objects as being non-Egyptian, which is not a claim that they were produced outside of Egypt (that is a possibility) but that the object is not following traditional indigenous styles and instead the international koine. In much of Feldman and others’ work on looking at international style, textiles are often overlooked due to their ephemeral nature in most geographic contexts. This section will explore this notion through the application of the approach to a number of textiles from the tomb of Tutankhamun.

First, we return to the number of distinct textile forms gifted in the Amarna Letter. The conundrum we were left with was the impact these garments had on Egyptian dress culture. Given the prevalence of funerary data from the Theban region, should we expect to find any such evidence for their influence in the first place? If they influence actual fashions, the conservative nature of the funerary sphere would not reflect thusly, and the physical remains would not last outside of mortuary contexts. If the Egyptian elites resisted any stylistic influence, then, again, without textual documentation indicating, we would never know. However, given the fact that we know the international style bled into other aspects of Egyptian culture—like home and drinking wares, military paraphernalia, and furniture—we should also assume it had a similar influence on clothing as well. And, fortunately, we do have the preserved textiles from

the tomb of Tutankhamun, who perhaps due to the rushed burial or because he was king was buried with hundreds of pieces of clothing, some even from childhood, that represent actual garments worn throughout his life. From Tutankhamun's tomb, we can see past the austere conservative veneer that is perpetuated in two-dimensional funerary depiction and temple scenes.

Scholars have already remarked upon the origins of some of the textiles attributed to Tutankhamun (Barber 1982; Crowfoot and Davies 1941; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999). The 'international style' can be seen in a number of items from the tomb (Appendix 5). Typically, any item that is heavily dyed or tapestry-woven has fallen under suspicion as being non-Egyptian. We know from the Amarna Letters that many sashes and pairs of gloves are gifted, two object types widely present in Tutankhamun's tomb but rare in other contexts. Two items in particular stand out as prime examples of the international style—a set of tapestry-woven gloves (JE62625) and the so-called "Syrian" tunic (Cairo JE62626). Both these objects came from the same storage container (JE61451), a wooden box that held very fine quality items and objects of ritualistic purpose. Were garments adhering to the international style more "valuable" and therefore more likely to be used in a highly charged ideological ceremony as the box's contents suggest? Other boxes seem to indicate that they were packed with some purpose or theme in mind. One held hunting paraphernalia like slingshots and gloves (JE61456) while another holds military-related equipment (JE61451).

To begin with the gloves (JE62625), they are composed of a tapestry-woven fabric with a rishi-feather pattern in colored threads of red and blue while along the border pomegranates and lotus buds are visible (Fig. 6.20). The feather pattern, pomegranates, and lotus blossoms are known motifs that fall under the international style.

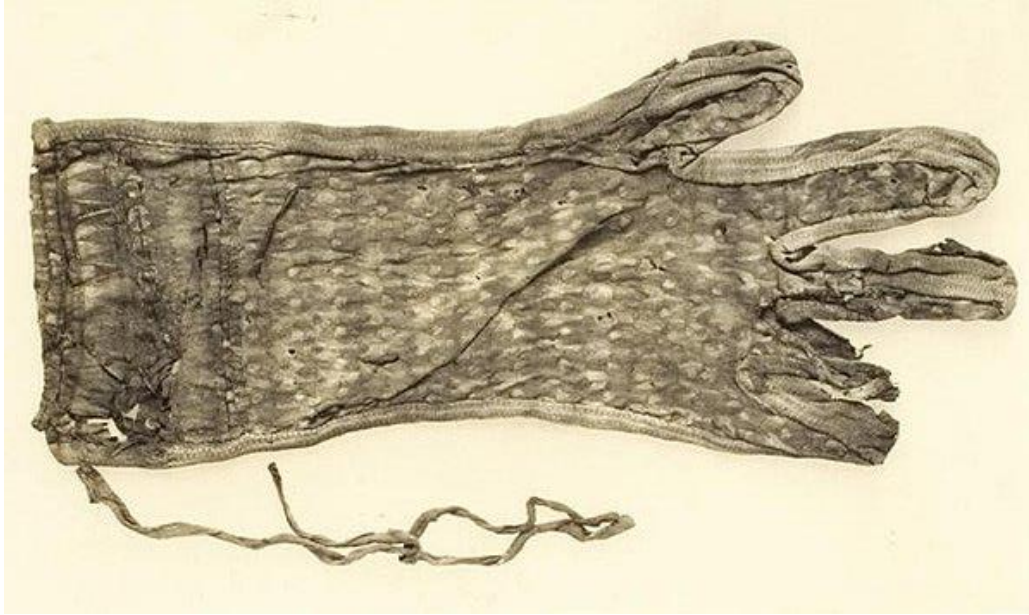


Fig. 6.20- Tapestry woven glove of Tutankhamun (JE62625; public domain)

Some have argued that, due to the tapestry weave, a tradition known more outside of Egypt than internally, these were produced elsewhere and were one of the pairs of gloves mentioned in the Amarna Letters. Knowing the exact origin is not necessary to still categorize these as another object type of Feldman’s ‘international style.’ Whether they were produced internally or not, the audience was the same—the elites of the various cultural groups who by this time were interconnected enough to be “speaking” the same language of motif and iconography.

With the marked number of these gloves in the tomb of Tutankhamun, we also begin to see the garment type appear in depictions of elites concurrently. In the tomb of Ay at Amarna, he is shown being gifted gloves from the king (Davies 1908, pl. XXIX). The tomb of Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury, at Saqqara also has scenes depicting trays of gloves (Martin 2012; Fig. 6.21). Later, in the tomb of Ipuw (TT 217), gloves are again depicted as gifts for the tomb owner (Davies 1927, pl. XXVII).

Another object, the so-called “Syrian” tunic, is even more evocative of Feldman’s international style (Cairo JE 62626). The tunic consists of a sleeved base of fine linen with warp-faced and embroidered bands along the bottom hem, side, and around the neck opening. The

embroidered appliqué bands employ a number of different colored threads. The bands along the right and left sides of the tunic are tapestry-woven, consisting of squares, zigzag, and checkered patterns (Fig. 6.22).



Fig. 6.21- Depiction of gloves from the Tomb of Maya (© Osirisnet)



Fig. 6.22- Close up on right-side warp-faced band (Crowfoot and Davies 1941, pl. xv, 6)

The patterned band around the neck opening is warp-faced (Fig. 6.23). Around the neck opening specifically are a series of cartouches with the throne name of Tutankhamun (Crowfoot and Davies 1941, 120). The horizontal band below the neck opening features two palmettes and the king's throne name bounded by two *uraei*. Below this, centered vertically, are a *djed-uraeus* figure and another palmette motif.



Fig. 6.23- the “Syrian” tunic of Tutankhamun with a close-up of the tapestry woven band around the neck opening (© Jordan Galczynski)

The bottom band of the tunic is a composite piece made of both warp-face woven bands attached to embroidery and appliqué areas. These bands were worked separately and attached to the linen base of the garment. The embroidered panels display plainly the ‘international style’

at its highest form. These include panels of winged female sphinxes flanked by palmettes, animal hunt scenes, griffins, and hunting dogs (Figs. 6.24 and 6.25), all motifs that have clear analogs with other ‘international materials.



Fig. 6.24 (left) and 6.25 (right)- Close ups of the tapestry woven and embroiderer band attached to the bottom of the tunic (© Jordan Galczynski)

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter details how textiles were consumed by institutions through their redistributive functions in temple rites and festivals, the furnishing of the king, court, and elites’ wardrobes, the military sphere, the funerary sphere, and through compensation to state employed agents. The control of textiles by the palace and temple institutions affirms how textiles became embedded within the power hierarchies of New Kingdom society. There was a strict delineation of those that had access to the fine, luxury woven goods of the temple and palaces and those that did not. This was perpetuated in the funerary sphere as well where textiles were labeled with their place of production. Individuals and agents of the state could provide the textiles for the rewrapping of the earlier kings, for example, as a display of power and piety.

One of the main consumers of textiles were the elites who utilized textiles to convey aspects of their varied identities. Through two case studies, this chapter detailed how dress practice changed, how sensory archaeology can be used to explore ephemeral aspects of dress,

and theories of consumption explain conservative or more ostentatious dress trends. Dress and the visualization of it in tomb scenes provide an avenue to investigate the established power hierarchies, be it in gender, status, or rank.

The reuse and recommodification of textiles further indicate the social and economic value of textiles within New Kingdom society. Textiles were valued especially for their fungibility. Unlike modern conceptions surrounding ‘fast fashion’ and the disposability of textiles, the Egyptians would have repeatedly consumed a piece of fabric until it was rags—with the rags even then being used as lamp wicks. Even from royal and elite contexts, garments show wear and repair.

Textiles were exchanged and traded in domestic as well as international arenas. Individuals and the state engaged in exchange on the local and supra local level within the traditional boundaries of Egypt as evidenced by both textual and artistic data. Arguably, the temples were engaged in more internal exchange than what has previously been accredited to them based on textual data (contra Warburton 2012). Similar individuals connected to the Treasury were also involved in the exchange.

As for international exchange and trade, Egypt’s role in the larger textiles trade of the eastern Mediterranean and beyond remains inconclusive. The evidence for outside trade is lacking overall, so we should not expect textiles to be treated differently. The Amarna Letters and other diplomatic texts remain our best source for a specific type of royal exchange. Visual evidence from elite tombs also depicts a specific form of exchange—the so-called “foreign tribute scenes.” “Regular” trade is harder to find, minus the few depictions of foreign individuals in shipping scenes. With the growth in interaction between the major cultures of the region, an ‘international’ program developed that influenced textile traditions as well. Certain weave types like tapestry, embroidery, and appliqué as well as specific motifs like rosettes, palmettes, and animals were noted characteristics of shared fashions. With these diplomatic letters would have

come gifts for the king, their court, and the elites, creating reciprocity and building relationships.

Following Feldman (2006, 58), “shared characteristics of theme and motif, composition, idiom, technique, material and object types thus distinguish a distinct artistic tradition.” The kings and their elites that participated in this shared hybrid visual culture allowed the reformulation of a new group identity beyond territorial borders—an early globalization, in a sense. Another aspect of hybridity is the ability to transfer hierarchies across geographic borders. So, when we speak of the producers of these goods, it does not matter if they were enslaved individuals in Egypt or Syria; the inherent power hierarchies at the root of the construction are preserved and transferred. The Egyptian elite wearing a garment just described would signal to those around them that they have more access to power through their active participation and signaling of membership in this ‘international’ tradition.

The institutions, weavers, and consumption and exchange practices behind each textile would have been clear to any Egyptian. These inequalities, exploitation, and control were embedded into the garments, just as they are today. The next chapter will investigate how textiles were used by elites to display and affirm their status, occupation, or another aspect of their identity *vis-à-vis* their contemporaries and others in their social circles. Here, the intersectionality behind textiles comes full circle, with textiles as a device through which to exercise power. Textiles serve as a useful lens to look at intersecting power relations not only structurally (Chapters 4-6) but also interpersonally via their dress practices.

Chapter 7

Cloth Culture in New Kingdom Egypt: Conclusions

The sociological neglect of fashion reflects the historical location of fashion within the arts rather than within social sciences, although the most cursory consideration of fashion demonstrates its sociological importance as an individual yet social, active yet structured, a creative yet controlled phenomenon: in short, a perfect example of structure and action

(Edwards 1997, 1)

Edwards writing almost three decades ago acknowledges the lack of academic discourse concerning dress, fashion, and the dress industry. What is dress and textiles but the social, yet as discussed in Chapter 1 dress and fashion studies have often fallen to the realm of the trivial, with the old hierarchies of cultural value assigning it to the feminine and frivolous. One of the many aims of this study was to contribute to the number of scholars pushing back against this view which still, unfortunately, pervades the academe. To further refine the definition of cloth culture, I add the sociological term fashion-- the various agents, institutions and practices which intersect to produce *fashion*. It is both an industry concerned with production and consumption, and a discursive arena on topics of identity. Fashion as a sociological concept or my use of the term 'cloth culture' provides a lens through which to analyze a culture's conceptualization, valuing, and practices around textiles. And as this study has demonstrated, the ancient Egyptians too considered textiles to be imbued with the social—and the economic, political, and ideological.

Textiles and Value

Chapter 2 explored how the Egyptians conceptualized of textiles through an analysis of the ideological and social value of the material. The value of textiles first needed to be established to understand the sociological power imbued within. Multiple deities were associated with the production of textiles and textiles served an integral role in the performance of many rites

throughout life and death. Textiles were not only relegated to the mortal realm, but fabric was needed by the gods as well, both functioning as an expression of rebirth and rejuvenation and protection and safety. The Egyptians also used textiles to communicate proper social order and status. Many pieces of pessimistic literature use metaphors of nudity or the reversal of aesthetic hierarchies to express times of upheaval. Other emotions like love were also expressed through dress metaphor, and societal notions of *maat* revolved around cleanliness and being clothed.

The various technologies, time, and labor required to produce textiles contributed to their value as well. From the planting of the flax plant to the spinning and weaving, thousands of hours were consumed in the production of a single piece of cloth. This was compounded if the cloth was embellished in any way, adding not only economic value, but value through restriction, with many types of garments and embellishment techniques relegated to the royals and the elites.

Textiles and Power

The production of textiles also relates to power as indicated in Chapter 3. The focus on linen over wool could be seen in this regard. The cultivation of sheep/goat for wool production lay in the lands outside Egypt proper—the floodplain. The major institutions controlled vast amount of cultivatable land for flax production and, therefore, it was advantageous to ascribe ideological and social value onto linen as the “pure” fabric over animal fibers for the benefit of the institutions and the elites employed therein. The production of wool was therefore relegated to the fringes—the desert zones or *isfet*, where eastern desert peoples and non-Egyptian engaged in practices outside the authority of the state, but also without the state’s benediction.

These major institutions, the temples and palace systems, managed the production of linen fabric from phase of cultivation through manufacture. As evidenced in Chapter 4, elites in a variety of upper-level positions involved in the *pr-šn* and Treasury oversaw textile production.

Individuals as high as the vizier, like Rekhmire, were directly involved in the reception of marginalized peoples endowed to the temple and palace workshops to labor in textile production. Thousands of marginalized peoples—war captives, women and children, and foreigners from the areas north and south of Egypt were given to the temple and palace institutions as a form of piety to demonstrate the might of Egypt during the New Kingdom. These individuals then labored to produce the textiles that were used for the Daily Temple Ritual and in festivals for the king to bestow to his elites. The textiles were the physical manifestation of Egyptian hegemony.

These marginalized groups, however, need to be understood through an intersectional lens. Many were of an extremely low status, enslaved war captives, nameless and hidden in the records, only mentioned as numbers to indicate the prowess of the king on campaign. Chapter 5 aimed to highlight these various groups who were exploited in many instances. However, other groups like the elite foreign women married off to the Egyptian king also came with large retinues and would have labored in textile production in private palaces. The agency of these women in these situations is up for debate and how they might have regarded their situation is unclear. The elite women, though still subordinate with the patriarchal Egyptian system, still had advantage over the non-elite weavers possibly in their employ or oversight. The ‘matrices of power’ at play is necessary to remember.

Textiles and Identity

The power and value of textiles in the New Kingdom system bleeds into how textiles were consumed and used to express both individual and group identity. Chapter 6 explored the various consumption practices starting with institutional or group practices through to individual. Temples consumed textiles in many rituals, some even happening daily that would have re-entered circulation imbued with even more value through their inclusion in the ritual. Textiles

were distributed to agents of these institutions, and the king bestowed textiles to the elites during festivals, that were a frequent occurrence. Textiles were necessary funerary goods, with the evidence indicating that fabric was often provided from these large institutions for the furnishing of the tomb and in the mummification ritual. The branding of textiles and the power imbued in them was carried with an individual to the grave. Linen had such a high value, in fact, that there is plenty of indication for reuse and recommodification, repeatedly throughout the life of a fabric.

Individual and group identity could be donned via textiles and other dress accoutrement. This was explored via two case studies looking at the expression of gender through sensory attributes of fabric in the 18th dynasty and status and changing consumption practices in the Ramesside period. The growth of new group identity—a new pan eastern Mediterranean elite culture, following Feldman (2006), as visualized through material culture, is another expression of the power of dress. Textiles, second only in value to metal and precious stone, was exchanged both domestically and internationally. With such exchange, technologies, people, and practices were also swapped, hybridized, and interpreted. The cultural value of textiles, their relation to systems of power, and ability to express identities all contribute to the construction of the New Kingdom cloth culture.

New Kingdom Cloth Culture

This study aimed to highlight the various aspects of New Kingdom Egyptian culture related to textiles—from the ideological conceptions behind textiles related to the deities, temple rites, and rites of passage, how textiles were produced by marginalized groups and controlled by the major institutions and elites in power, to how textiles were used to communication identities and facilitate cross-cultural interaction through trade and exchange. Such an approach could be

applied to other periods of Egyptian history. Many of the interesting trends seen in the New Kingdom have their roots in the Middle Kingdom. The Late Period and beyond allows for a greater grasp of cultural interactions and changing fashions.

Textiles lie at the intersection between the individual and the social, physically touching the body of the person, but also serving as the main means of visual communication between individuals and groups. The intersection of power hierarchies between the marginalized producers-- enslaved war captives, women and children, or foreigners-- exploited by the Egyptian institutions controlling the industry are directly connected to the royals and elites who perpetuate and benefit from the continuation of the industry. The intersection of consumption practices and the 'matrices of power' woven into the fabrics directs how textiles are consumed, used to display identities, and assist in foreign relations. The ubiquity of textiles that once relegated to non-academic realms actually marks them as the ideal form of material culture to study a society, modern or ancient.

APPENDIX 1- Ideological Texts Featuring Textiles

Title	Date	Type	Type (specific)	Excerpt	Citation
PT 58	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O Osiris the King, take the Eye of Horus by means of which he has danced-- a tailed loincloth	Faulkner 1969, 14
PT 60	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	[///] upon the eye of Horus... the six-weave linen	Faulkner 1969, 14
PT 61	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O Osiris, the king, take the foreleg of Seth which Horus has torn off-- four weave god's linen	Faulkner 1969, 14
PT 224	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	How happy is your condition! Your spirit, O King, is among your brothers the gods. How changed it is, how changed it is! Protect your children and beware of this boundary of yours which is on earth. Recite four time: clothe your body, that you may come to them	Faulkner 1969, 53
PT 250	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Indeed, Unas says what is in the heart of She-the-Great-One (Nut) on the Feast of the Red Cloth	Piankoff 1968, 29
PT 256	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Unas has put his fear into their hearts by making a massacre amongst them. The gods have seen it while they took their clothes off; they bow before Unas while praising, "Row him, O his mother; tow him, O his native palace! Hey, loose the rope!	Piankoff 1968, 34
PT 275	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Unas come to you, ye hawks, although your houses are closed for Unas. His loincloth is on his back, made of the hide of a baboon. Unas opens the gate with the double doors, Unas reaches the limit of the horizon after Unas has put down there to the ground his robe with the tail. Unas will become a Great One who resides in Crocodilopolis	Piankoff 1968, 46-7

PT 440	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Guardians of Upper Egypt, clad in red linen, living on figs, drinking wine, anointed with unguent	Lichtheim 1973, 45; PT 440
PT 412	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Your mother is the Great Wild Cow of Nekheb, she who wear the white royal head cloth, she who wears the lofty plumes, she who is pendulous breasts, she will nurse you and never wean you	Simpson 2003, 254
PT 414	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O King, take your bright tunic, take your cloak upon you, be clad in the Eye of Horus which is in Weaving-Town, that it may make a shout for you before the god, that it may make your cognizance before the gods, that you may assume the <i>wrrt</i> -crown by means of it before the gods, and that you may assume the <i>wrrt</i> -crown by means of it before Hours, Lord of Patricians.	Faulkner 1969, 136
PT 415	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Hail to you, Tayt, who are upon the lip of the Great Lagoon, who reconciled the god to his brother! Do you exist, or do you not? Will you exist or will you not? Guard the king's head, lest it become loose; gather together the king's bones, lest they become loose, and put the love of the king into the body of every god who shall see him	Faulkner 1969, 137
PT 417	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	While the Great One sleeps upon his mouth Nut, your mother Tayt clothes you, she lifts you up to the sky in this her name "Kite." He whom she has found is her Horus, here is your Horus, O, Isis; take his hand to Re at the horizon	Faulkner 1969, 137
PT 453	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O King, stand up, don the Eye of Horus, receive it upon yourself, that it may be joined to you and joined to your flesh; that you may go forth in it, that the gods may see you clad in it. Take the great <i>wrrt</i> -crown, says the Great Ennead of On. O King, live! The Eye of Horus is brought to you, and it will not be far from your forever	Faulkner 1969, 151

PT 465	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O you gods of the horizon who are in the limit of the sky, if you wish that Atum should live, that you should smear oil, that you should don clothing and receive your <i>p'q</i> -cakes, then take my hand and place me in the Field of Offerings, for you have caused me to be a spirit among the spirits, you have caused me to have might among the gods. I will make for you a mighty food-offering and a great oblation, I will traverse the sky, I will lead those who are in the settlements, I will take possession of the <i>wrrt</i> -crown therein like Horus son of Atum	Faulkner 1969, 155
PT 473	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	This Pepi will go with you, This Pepi will stroll with you in the Field of Rushes, He will moor as your moor in the Field of Turquoise. This Pepi will eat what you eat, this Pepi will live on what you live on; This Pepi will be clothed with that with which you are clothed; This Pepi will be anointed with that which you are anointed	Simpson 2003, 257
PT 470	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	... I have bathed in the Field of Rushes, I am clothed in the Field of <i>Khopper</i> , and I find Re there! When Re ascends in the East, he will find me there; when Re comes to the West, he will find me there; the fair place in which Re walks, he will find me there	Faulkner 1969, 159
PT 477	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	...I have come to you, Osiris; I will wipe your face, I will clothe you with the clothing of a god, I will do you priestly service in <i>Djedit</i> ...I have come to you, my lord, I have come to you, Osiris; I will wipe your face, I will clothe you with the clothing of a god, I will do your priestly service of <i>Iadi</i> , I will eat a limb from your foe, I will carve it for Osiris...	Faulkner 1969, 165
PT 515	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	I received my meal from what is in the granary of the great god, I am clothed by the imperishable stars, I preside at the head of the Two Conclaves, and I sit in seat of those who are equipped with good reputation	Faulkner 1969, 190

PT 519	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	...so that i may ferry across in it together with that headband of green and of red cloth which has been woven from the Eye of Horus in order to bandage therewith that finger of Osiris which has been diseased	Faulkner 1969, 208
PT 540	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	... I am your son, I am Horus, I am a loving-son priest of my father in this my name of Loving son; you are pure, you are wiped over, your clothing is presented, your a thousands of alabaster and your thousands of clothing which I have brought to your and for which I make you firm	Faulkner 1969, 209
PT 559	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	... the foremost of the westerners takes your hand on the edge of the <i>ḥbt</i> -mountain. Osiris makes presentation and gives to your what is upon the <i>sšrw</i> -cloth	Faulkner 1969, 217
PT 582	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	... I summon a thousand, and the sun-folk come to be bowing. If they say to me: Who has done this for you? I reply: It is my mother the great Wild Cow, long of plumes, bright of head-cloth, pendulous of breasts, who has lifted me up to the sky, not having left me on earth, among the gods who have power	Faulkner 1969, 236
PT 597	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O King, come, done the intact Eye of Horus which is in Weaving Town	Faulkner 1969, 245
PT 622	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O Osiris the king, I have clad you in the Eye of Horus, the <i>ernutet</i> -garment of which gods are afraid, so that the gods fear you just as they fear the Eye of Horus	Faulkner 1969, 258
PT 635	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O Osiris the king, I bring you the Eye of Horus, which is in Weaving Town, this <i>ernutet</i> -garment of which the god's are afraid, so that the gods may fear of you just as they fear Horus. O Osiris the king, Horus has put his Eye on your brow in its name of Great-of-Magic. O Osiris the king, appear as King of Upper and Lower Egypt	Faulkner 1969, 263

PT 672	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	It is she who once led Horus who leads this King. O King, you have gone. O King clothed and you returned the dress. This King has inherited, and sorrow ceases, laughter comes into being. I greet you, O King, be welcome!	Faulkner 1969, 287
PT 675	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	...O King, you have no human father who could beget you, you have no human mother who could bear you; your mother is the Great Wild Cow who dwells in Nekheb, white of head-cloth, long of hair, and pendulous of breasts, she suckles you and does not wean you. Raise yourself, O King, clothe yourself in this cloak of yours which is out of the Mansion, with your mace on your arm and your scepter in your hand...	Faulkner 1969, 289
PT 682	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	... The king's wings are those a divine falcon, and the King's wing-feathers are those of a divine falcon. The bones of the embalmed king are raised up, for the King is pure; the King's cloak is on his back, the King's <i>kni</i> -garment is upon him, even his <i>nšdw</i> which belong to the <i>šnp</i> .	Faulkner 1969, 293
PT 690	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	... the king awakes, the languid god wakes up, the god stands up, the god has power in his body. Horus stands up and clothes this King in woven fabric which went forth from him... O king, may your body be clothed so that you may come to me.	Faulkner 1969
PT 696	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	O jackal-breaker, O <i>dkk</i> , bring me this... pray bring me this...the messenger of Atum. I possess a <i>szf</i> -cloth and a <i>mnit</i> -cloth...	Faulkner 1969, 304
PT 726	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	If you wish to live, O Horus, chiefest of <i>a'nut</i> , do not seal up the door of the sky, do not slam shut its door-leaves when the King's double ascends to the sky for him whom the god knows, for him whom the god loves, the eater of figs, who burns incense and dons clothing of red linen, who escorts the great god, for the King's double escorts the great god...	Faulkner 1969, 312

Offering List	Old Kingdom	Religion	Offering List	Year of the first occasion, fourth month of the <i>Akhet</i> season, day 25, the day of the half-monthly festival... the list of the offerings is... clothing of <i>paqt</i> , <i>šsr</i> , and <i>‘t</i> : very great quantity	JE43290; Strudwick 2005, 125
Expedition Inscription of Shemai	Old Kingdom	Religion	Offering Formula	O you who live and who shall come to this desert and desire to return to Upper Egypt laden with their tribute for their lord, you should then say: "A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing, and a thousand of every perfect thing for the seal-bearer of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the lector priest, the judge and overseer of scribes, Shemai	Strudwick 2005, 143
Letter to the Dead	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Price	Am I being injured in your presence, when I, your son, have never said or done anything, by my brother whom I buried, whom I brought back from... whom I placed among his tomb-companions. I did this in spite of that fact that the value of 30 <i>heqat</i> of barley in the form of a loan was still outstanding against him: a loincloth, a jug, six <i>heqat</i> of barley, a bundle of flax, a <i>mehet</i> -cup; indeed, I did for him that which had never been done before	UC16163; Strudwick 2005 183
Letter to the Dead	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Good	If only you would decide between me and Sebekhotep, whom I brought from another town to be buried in his town among his tomb-companions, having given him funerary clothing. Why does he act against me, your son?	UC16163; Strudwick 2005 183
Unis Offering Ritual	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	May you awake in peace! Awake, Tait, in peace! Awake you of Tait-Town, in peace! Horus's eye in Dep, in peace! Horus's eye in the Red-Crown enclosures, in peace! You whom the adorned women receive, you who adorn the great one in the sedan chair; and make the Two Land bow to this Unis like they bow to Horus and make the two-land afraid of Unis like they are afraid of Seth. May you sit opposite Unis in his divinity, may	Allen 2005, 22

				you part his path at the fore of the akhs, that he may come to stand at the fore of the akhs as Anubis at the fore of the westerners. (To the front! to the front! with Osiris!) 2 Strips of Linen	
Unis Morning Ritual	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	As the Great One lies on his mother Nut, your mother Tayt will clothe you and carry you to the sky in her identity of a kite. The foundling she had found is her Horus	
Stela of Indi	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand of ointment jars, a thousand of clothing, a thousand of everything good	Lichtheim 1973, 85
Stela of Tjettji	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	An offering which the king gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, First-of-the-Westerners, Lord of Abydos, in all his places: an offering of a thousand bread and beer, a thousand of ointment jars and clothing, a thousand of everything good and pure	Lichtheim 1973, 92
Cult of Tjenti and Family	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Invocation Offerings	With regard to the invocation offering which have come to me from the House of the King in the form of barley, wheat, and clothing...with regard to the invocation offering for my mother, the royal acquaintance Bebi consisting of barley and wheat from the granary, and clothing from the Treasury, my brother of the funerary estate it is, the soul priest Kaiemnefret, who shall provide the invocation offerings there for my mother, the royal acquaintance Bebi and for myself	JE57139; Strudwick 2005, 202-3
Tomb of Kaiemsenu	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	An offering which the king gives that he may give every invocation offering from the royal estates: grain from the granary, clothing and <i>merhet</i> -oil from the two treasuries...	PM III, 541-2; Strudwick 2005, 209
Tomb of Kaipure	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, who dwells in the divine tent-shrine, gives so that invocation offerings may be given to him within grain from the two granaries, clothing	Penn E15729; PM III, 455-56; Strudwick 2005, 2010

				from the two treasuries, <i>merhet</i> -oil from the two chambers, and sweet things from the house of the <i>ished</i> -tree	
Tomb of Sekhemka	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	An offering which the king and an offering which Anubis give that invocation offerings may be made for him in the form of a prepared offering at the monthly and half-monthly festivals for the breadth of eternity; so that he may be given grain from the granary, clothing from the two treasuries, pieces of meat from the gate-chamber, so that he may be among the <i>imakhu</i> in the sight of the god.	PM III, 596; Strudwick 2005, 214
Tomb Lintel of Sneferunefer II	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	... and that invocation offerings may be given to him from the Residence: grain from the two granaries, clothing from the two treasuries, <i>merhet</i> -oil from the two chambers, <i>wah</i> -fruit from the <i>per-aqet</i> , and every sweet thing from the house of the <i>ished</i> -tree	CG1421; PM III, 468; Strudwick 2005, 214
Offering Table of Ishetmaa	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	A thousand of bread, beer, cakes, alabaster, clothing, incense for Ishetmaa	PM III, 511; Strudwick 2005,220
Tomb of Khui	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	If you have none, then speak with your mouths and offer with your hands: a thousand of incense, a thousand of alabaster and clothing, oxen and fowl, oryxes and antelopes, so you shall say.	PM III, 519; Strudwick 2005, 222
Text of Khuit	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	They may say: a thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand items of clothing...	Basel 6206; Strudwick 2005, 222
Tomb of Mereri	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of geese and cattle, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing...	Strudwick 2005, 225
Blocks from the tomb of Reherytet Iti	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering	If you have none, then you shall say: a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand fowl, a thousand of alabaster and a thousand of clothing for the royal noble, regular one of the phyle, Iti	PM III, 546; Strudwick 2005, 233

Tomb of Akhetmehu	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	With regard to this my tomb for eternity, it was made for bread and beer, every workman who worked on it thanks all the gods for me. I have them clothing, oil, copper and grain in great quantity, so that they said: O, every god of the necropolis, we have had our fill, and our hearts are at peace, because of the bread and beer which Akhetmehu, has given us	G2375; PM III, 87; Strudwick 2005, 252
Autobiography of Ankhmeryremeryptah	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	With regard to anyone therein with whom I dealt, I am he who propitiated them; I never slept in a state of anger with anyone. It was I who gave clothing, bread, and beer to everyone who was naked and hungry there	JE44608; Strudwick 2005,267
Tomb of Hetepherakhet	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	With regard to any person who worked therein for me, they worked on it thanking the god for me very greatly for it. They made this particularly for bread, for beer, for clothing, for <i>merhet</i> -oil, for wheat and barley, all in great quantity.	Leiden F.1904/3.1; PM III, 593-5; Strudwick 2005, 273
Tomb of Idu	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I have bread to the hungry, and clothed to the naked	G7102; PM III, 185-6; Strudwick 2005, 278
Tomb of Ipi	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked...	PM III, 569; Strudwick 2005, 279
Tomb of Kaiaper	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked	Strudwick 2005, 282
Tomb of Kaikherptah	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked	G5560; PM III, 166-7; Strudwick 2005, 291
Tomb of Metjetji	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I have them clothing and permitted them to live off the bread and beer of my funerary estate	Nelson-Atkins 52-7/2; Strudwick 2005, 299

Tomb of Neferseshemptah	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I spoke to Maat, I carried out Maat; I have bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked...	PM III, 515-6; Strudwick 2005, 300
Tomb of Neferseshemre	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	Where I had the authority, i rescued the wretched one from the one who is stronger than he; I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked	PM III, 511-2; Strudwick 2005, 301
Tomb of Peynakht called Heqaib	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked, I never passed judgment on my fellows	Strudwick 2005, 334
Tomb of Sabni and Kekhu I	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	Then this servant praised Re for the king regarding the greatness of the favor shown to this servant by the followers of the king. There was given to me... linen of the best quality and clothing	Strudwick 2005, 337
Tomb of Sabni and Kekhu I	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked	Strudwick 2005, 340
Tomb of Meryrenefer	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I was the keeper of secrets of all matters which were brought from the narrow doors in the foreign lands and from the southern foreign lands. I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked whom I found in those <i>nomes</i> .	Strudwick 2005, 344
Tomb of Idu Seneni	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography	I carried out Maat for her lord whom I satisfied in respect of that which he desired; I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked	Strudwick 2005, 349
Inscription of Djau	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Request	I begged a favor of the majesty of my lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkare, may he live forever, that a coffin, clothing, and oil be provided for his <i>Djau</i> . His majesty had wood of Lebanon brought for the coffin, <i>setj</i> -oil, <i>sefetj</i> -oil, 200 bolts of <i>hatyw</i> -linen, and <i>shemau-nefer</i> linen for bandaging were issued from the two treasuries of the Residence for this <i>Djau</i> . Nothing like this was done for another of his peers	Strudwick 2005, 365

Tomb of Henqu	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Biography; Payment	I gave bread to all the hungry of the 12th <i>nome</i> of Upper Egypt, clothes to the naked therein...I made this tomb of mine beside this noble myself for payment of cloth	Strudwick 2005, 267
Linen list of Nefertiabet	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Linen List	<i>idmy</i> -linen- 100 cubits of 1000; 90 cubits of 1000; 80 cubits of 1000; 70 cubits of 1000; Sesher-linen- ...“t-linen	Louvre E15591; For linen lists: Smith 1935; Posener-Kriéger 1977; and Manuelian 2003: 153–60)
Offering List of Ankhmeryre	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Offering List	Strips of cloth- 2	Strudwick 2005, 432
Linen list on Gebelein Box	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Inventory	(see citation)	Strudwick 2005, 433-4
Linen list on Box from tomb of Nefer and Kahay	Old Kingdom	Funerary	Inventory	(see citation)	Strudwick 2005, 434
CT 3	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Ho N! Take your staff, your loincloth and your sandals, and go down to the Tribunal, that you may be vindicated against your foes, male or female, against those who harm you, and those who would have judgment against you in the Tribunal on this happy day	Faulkner 1973, 2
CT 23	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	Beware that you do not go forth. Take your staff, your loincloth, your sandals, and your arrows for the road, that you may cut off the heads and sever the neck of your foes male and female who draw near when you are dead.	Faulkner 1973, 14
CT 44	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	You have appeared as Lord of the West, having ruled the Egyptians who are on earth! Rise up to life, for you have not died. Raise yourself upon you left side, put yourself upon your right side, receive these dignities which your father Geb has given you. Hathor has provided clothing for you; betake yourself to me, draw near to	Faulkner 1973, 37

				me, be not far from me in your tomb; turn to me, for I am your son Horus, and I enclose you within the arms of your mother Nut- may you live forever	
CT 607	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Funerary Text	You receive a robe of first-quality cloth from the hands of the washermen of Re. You eat bread on a sheet of linen woven by the Weaving-goddess herself. Its awning is a cloth of Ptah woven by the weaving goddess herself	Quirke 2013, 429
CT 61	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		A sweet breeze to your nose! Orion says to the Great Bear: Take from your lake what I take from my lake, that we may prepare a place for N. Stand upon a DA-cloth, a six-weave-cloth upon your shoulder, grant the crane's way to the sky	Faulkner 1973, 57
CT 68	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O N, stand at the Two Conclaves! Your mother Seshat clothes you, the Great mooring-post speak to you, a stairway is set up for you from the sea, the Slaughterers fall on their faces at your and the Imperishable Stars bow to you	Faulkner 1973, 65
CT 75	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		My clothing is the breadth of life which issues after me from the mouth of Amun	Faulkner 1973, 76
CT 137	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		What is my fate? So, say they to me. I am created and made firm and there is given to me this family of mine. What Re has made for me is his protection for one who is in his shroud	Faulkner 1973, 118
CT 149	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Becoming a human falcon, making a man a spirit in the realm of the dead, giving a manpower over his foes and saying to a man: Be show with a pair of white sandals and be clad in a kilt and sash of red linen	Faulkner 1973, 127
CT 154	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		It so happened that Re met Him who wear bright-red-cloth before he could direct his hand against him, and he set a trap for him, namely a woman with braided hair, and that is how the man with braided hair in <i>On</i> came into being	Faulkner 1973, 132

CT 155	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Open to me, for I am a savior, I am one who keeps secrets, and I belong to the House of Osiris. I am God in charge of the document case in the room which contains the ritual robes.	Faulkner 1973, 133
CT 177	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Tefenet is on my arms, Wepwawet is on my loincloth even he who is in his West	Faulkner 1973, 151
CT 184	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I will live on bread in the Field of Offerings, I will have abundance in the Field of Rushes, my basket of the <i>nnt</i> -plant is in my hand, my cloth-bag is of <i>twn</i> -plants	Faulkner 1973, 154
CT 255	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I will wipe my face with these cloths that are on the shoulders of Re, I will receive sandal straps then, I will appear as Horus who ascends in gold from upon the lips of the horizon.	Faulkner 1973, 196
CT 258	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		A great festival is celebrated for you with offerings of bread and beer with the Souls of Pe, Nekhen, and On. Here this: The Elder Horus clothed you with life; to you belongs the speech of those in whom is authority, and the skins are turned over	Faulkner 1973, 198
CT 260	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		The Ennead being enwrapped with sheets of linen and pure because of the great White crown... The Great One has clothed me with life in the midst of the Field of Rushes.	Faulkner 1973, 199
CT 271	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Nudity; Children	Becoming an <i>awa</i> -bird. I have flown up as an ibis, I have alighted as a <i>kad</i> -bird, I am he who say the Unclothed one, the son of Hathor [Ihy]	Faulkner 1973, 205
CT 314	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		May I be triumphant over my foes-so you shall say to Thoth. May I be with Hu on the day of the clothing of <i>TeshTesh</i> when the jars for washing of the mysterious Inert One are opened on the day of concealing the mysteries of the deep place of Rostau	Faulkner 1973, 236

CT 316	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Behold me, men and god! I have become the fiery Eye of Horus; it itself fashioned me, it has knit together <i>khn</i> for me, and She whose magic is great has raised me before my seat above the gods; Abundance, father of the gods, has clothed me	Faulkner 1973, 239
CT 334	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Hathor gives to herself in order to give pleasure to herself therewith; my thighs are her <i>hn-kt</i> garment which my mother Hathor gives to herself in order to clothe herself therewith; my belly is her... which my mother Hathor gives to herself so that she may be knit together by it	Faulkner 1973, 259
CT 335	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		(The Names of seven spirits are) <i>Dhdh</i> , <i>akdkd</i> , Bull who was not put to his burning, Black-faced who is in his hour, Bloody one who is preeminent in the Mansion of the Red Linen	Faulkner 1973, 261
CT 345	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Ho N! There will come to you those who come to Horus who dwells in his house on that day when all the gods were clothed at the burial of Osiris and on that day of interment... Ho N! Anubis the embalmer will enwrap you with the wrappings from the hand of Tayt	Faulkner 1973, 280
CT 370	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Neith is wearing her head cloth, Hathor makes Osiris glad, and who is he who will eat him or eat me?	Faulkner 1977, 8
CT 375	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Neith is wearing the head cloth, Hathor cares for Osiris, and who is he who will eat her or will eat me	Faulkner 1977, 11
CT 397	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		What about the sail? It is the cloth which issued from the <i>swtyw</i> (Reed Dwellers?), which Horus and the Ombite kissed on New Year's Day... The Mistress of Pe directed me to the Mistress of <i>Netjeru</i> , to the gods who are in front of their houses. I found them washing their headcloths; they will come bearing the loaves of the gods, and they will make loaves for	Faulkner 1977, 25-6

				you when going downstream and round cakes when going upstream	
CT 398	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Come, that you may see me adorned with a fillet and wearing the royal headcloth	Faulkner 1977, 36
CT 405	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O Great Power who reveals the sun-disk with Re, who is in charge of the dawn-red, grant that the ferryboat be ferried across for this spirit, for see, he has come clothed and put together; may be go down to the riverbank as a messenger of the Great God	Faulkner 1977, 54
CT 440	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		spell for driving off pigs...I have eaten the <i>kny</i> -garment. I have demolished my portal	Faulkner 1977, 77
CT 441	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I have smitten Seth and I have fettered him on the bank of those who are constricted. I have eaten the <i>kny</i> -garment I have demolished the portal. I possess my power of motion; I have received my panoply.	Faulkner 1977, 78
CT 444	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I am a glad-hearted spirit. I have swallowed the <i>kny</i> -garment. I have demolished my portal	Faulkner 1977, 81
CT 445	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I have eaten the <i>kny</i> -garment, I have demolished the portal. I have smitten Seth on that bank	Faulkner 1977, 81
CT 466	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Box VII- Red Cloth, 3	Faulkner 1977, 93
CT 467	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O, Provision-Town, I have come into you. I have knit up the six-weave cloth, I have donned the fringed cloak of Re in the sky whom the gods who are in the sky serve, and I am Re whom those who are in the sky serve	Faulkner 1977, 96

CT 468	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O, Food-Goddess, and Water-Goddess, I have come into you, I don the six-weave cloth, I knit up the fringed cloak of Re who is in the sky, and the gods who are in the sky serve me	Faulkner 1977, 99
CT 483	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I am one who followed the sole musician of Hathor, I have come to the place where my mistress is so that I may see her beauty and give her the dress (<i>tstn</i>)	Faulkner 1977, 128
CT 484	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Metaphor	The Pelican prophecies, the Shining One goes forth, The Dress of Hathor is woven, a path is prepared for me that I may pass by... I adorn the Great Lady in her dignity. Her Sistrum Player is on her lap, and he has built mansions among your great ones, he has presented cakes, so that he may live there and that he may celebrate the monthly festival in his hour in company with those who are in linen, for he has looked at his face.	Faulkner 1977, 128-9
CT 486	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Weaving a dress for Hathor: The mountain is broken, the stone is split, the caverns of Hathor are broken open; she ascends in turquoise and is covered with her royal wig. She has found me standing in her path, for I have appeared as a god, and my hands support Tayt. Those who are above are brought to me, I watch over those who are below, the two spells are joined together for me, I have woven the dress for Hathor, the western and the eastern, upper and lower horizons rejoice, and she favors and love me and has woven the dress for me	Faulkner 1977, 130-1
CT 487	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		They send me to the... they raise me, and I am who clothes the Great One, my members support the Great One, I am the Sole One who crosses the Abyss, whose name men do not know, I receive the staff, I govern the Conclave...	Faulkner 1977, 131
CT 517	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Yours is the White Crown of Nekhen, yours is the White Crown and Headcloth within Nekheb	Faulkner 1977, 148

CT 531	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Your White Crown is that of Thoth, your vertex is that of Wepwawet, your eyebrows are those of the two Enneads, your eyes are those of the Night-bark and the Day-bark, your hair is those of Isis and Nephthys, the back of your head is that of <i>dwn-nwy</i> , your braid is that of the scorpion, your linen is that of <i>hd-htp</i> you are in front of N, and he will see by means of you.	Faulkner 1977, 154
CT 535	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	I am Shu, the equipped, I will not be taken to the shambles of the god, for I am covered in the <i>kny</i> -garment, food offerings will not be placed away from me...	Faulkner 1977, 156
CT 556	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	May your sight be clear, may you receive your headcloths, may your garments be donned when your sight is clean, may you be anointed when meeting N, may he go out from his house.	Faulkner 1977, 166
CT 561	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	N is <i>Rrt</i> , mistress of the <i>atef</i> -crown, the own who went to and from on the folded cloth, who purified himself on the folded cloth, to whom was sung loud-voiced acclamation, because N is <i>Rrt</i> , mistress of the <i>atef</i> -crown	Faulkner 1977, 168
CT 597	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Spell for an armband...I am your son Horus; I have come, and I bring you incense, clothing in bundles, and sandals in my hand for my lord, and he will give to me.	Faulkner 1977, 193
CT 607	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	Ho N! You are clad in the Eye of Horus which belongs to your body. Ho! I have given it to you, it having appeared and having been seen on your flesh and having been joined to your flesh in this its name of Red Linen. You are clad in it in this name of Cloth... It is joined to your flesh in this name of Red Linen. Here comes Tayt. Here comes Tayt.... Here comes the cloth of Nephthys...Here comes the woven stuff of the two Sisterly Companions. Here comes what Horus gave to his father Osiris to clothe him in it. Ho N! Provide yourself with the Eye of Horus which belongs to your body. Provide yourself with the woven Eye of Horus.	Faulkner 1977, 197

CT 619	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		You shall go forth from the wealth, his number three over and above his children, over and above those female apes of his who cut off heads, whom... has seen in his fetters, whom they worship in his peregrinations in protection of Him who is in his red linen	Faulkner 1977, 202
CT 622	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		You sink into the earth to your thickness, to your middle, to your full span, you see Re in fetters, you worship Re in the loosing from fetters by means of the amulet of the Great One who is in red linen, the Lord of Offerings	Faulkner 1977, 205
CT 626	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		To me belongs the flood of Osiris as the Double Lion; to me belongs the House of Cloth in the floodwaters. May I be exalted above the Guardian, the Lord of the West	Faulkner 1977, 209
CT 627	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		She of the Fringed Clothes. Primeval spirits.	Faulkner 1977, 209
CT 646	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		May you receive natron from before the god, may you clothe yourself in your fringed cloak; I am with you as one who is in the front. I am pure, I am a god- so says the flood in which there is cleansing for you, and I am your successor	Faulkner 1977, 221
CT 663	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		The mother comes to N bearing life; Neith comes to him bearing her loincloth; (as a gift?)	Faulkner 1977, 235
CT 684	Middle Kingdom	Funerary	metaphor?	The two who bed have beseeched Horus, and his tongue is on his clothes	Faulkner 1977, 250
CT 691	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I am a falcon within the shrine. I divide the earth for him on whom is the fringed garment-- so says Horus, son of Isis	Faulkner 1977, 256

CT 728	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O Cloth, the Great One stands up, for he has received his staff, he has subdued those who conspired against him in this his name of Loincloth, so that he may set his protection about N's bed. O Cloth, Great One awakes and the serpents rouse, for they look on the mothers of those who preceded the Great Lady... she ferried across in it, in this her name of Two-Weave Cloth. You are the protection of N's bed. O Cloth arouse Osiris on his throne, for he has recovered his senses, and has presented N to himself. Arouse N on his throne, for he has recovered his senses and has presented Osiris to himself. He has found the great ones who are in the secret place... in this name of the Three-Weave-Cloth, which those who are over the healing of backbones bring...O Cloth, The Great Ones travels.... (see citation for full)	Faulkner 1977, 277-8
CT 748	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		...the two daughters of the Lord of the Thunderbolt, the two women in bright red linen and the Sunshine-God	Faulkner 1977, 285
CT 773	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		May you guard the wearers of the head-cloths for those who box the knee, who see the body and what is in it...	Faulkner 1977, 302
CT 779	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O N, take your linen, being what was given to Ernutet who is on the brow of Horus, so that you may be cheerful and content	Faulkner 1977, 305
CT 80	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		A boon which the king grants which the god of linen grants which Osiris the god of the marshland grants...	Faulkner 1978, 3
CT 837	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I have come to you my lord, I have come to you, my god, I have come to you, Osiris, that I may clothe who is with your clothing; may you be pure in <i>Djedet</i> .	Faulkner 1978, 24

CT 856	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O N, take the Eye of Horus, the garment of which the gods are afraid	Faulkner 1978, 36
CT 862	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O N, I have clad you in the Eye of Horus, which is the garment in which he clad his father, in which he clad Osiris; provide yourself with it and it will equip you as a god...O N, take all the clothing which is in the chapel of Lower Egypt, for the gods have given to you what is in it. It will cause you to appear from its egg, it will place you as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, for you are Lord of its god... O N, take these pieces of linen which are in the Mansion of Ptah, which are great and might for this Ernutet, the Mistress of dread, greatly majestic, so that she may cause your foes to fear and dress, so that you may be potent through her in her name of Linen, fine garments which he who is in the temple bring to the Eyeless One for everything which Horus has given to his father	Faulkner 1978, 40
CT 876	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Take... Nut, they are Isis and Nephthys... they will be pleased. They have received their garments; they have heaped up the oblations of those who are attached to them	Faulkner 1978, 45
CT 885	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		O <i>wnty</i> , O Sailor, the garments are put in the Day-Bark. How honored is he who has done this!	Faulkner 1978, 48
CT 890	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I am he who sought her who is far away on the day of the festival of red linen in the early morning	Faulkner 1978, 53
CT 892	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Cover your face, for I will cover you with my skin, and you shall see the great hidden lady, for my name is on the clothing which the gods have given.	Faulkner 1978, 54

CT 936	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		Clothing, fire, and incense. O N, awake in peace! Awake, O Tayt, in peace!	Faulkner 1978, 71
CT 1017	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I have glorified his soul into something which he did not know, my staff is strong because I have freshened his earth-hair, I have clothed myself, and I have scattered water for my dead father, and he has invocation offerings, being what goes down before me to my dead father.	Faulkner 1978, 118
CT 1134	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		My head is on me, my arms are on me, my legs are on me, I am the wearer of the royal headcloth who is in Dep; Dep is on him, having become him. I am he; I am the wearer of the royal headcloth who is in darkness	Faulkner 1978, 172
CT 1151	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I am he who celebrates the monthly festival who perpetuates the half-monthly festival and who examines the eighth garment. I am circling round because the Eye of Horus is with the retinue of Thoth	Faulkner 1978, 181
CT 1179	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		My two <i>sspt</i> -garment and my rod have been given to me, I have made Hetep great as its keeper, and it has been granted to me that the Bark shall make a good voyage.	Faulkner 1978, 188
Stela of Intef	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I was buried being old, since I had clothed the naked and had not done wrong against men; it is what the god hates	BM 562.37-38; Gee 1998, 116
Stela of Ikhernofret	Middle Kingdom	Religion		I clothed the god with his regalia in my rank of master of secrets, in my function of stolist. I was pure of hand in decking the god, whose fingers are clean	Berlin 1204; Lichtheim 1973, 124
Stela of Sehetep-ib-re	Middle Kingdom	Religion		I clothed the god in his regalia in my rank of masters of secrets, my function of stolist. I was open handed in decking the god, a priest whose fingers are clean, so that I may be a follower of the god so as to be a mighty spirit at the shrine of the lord of Abydos	Lichtheim 1973, 127

Sinuhe	Middle Kingdom	Funerary		I was appointed to the house of a prince, with costly things in it, with a bathroom in it and divine images of the horizon with treasure from the Treasury in it, clothes of royal linen, myrrh and kingly fine oil, with officials whom the king loved in every room, and every serving man at his duty	Parkinson 1997, 42; B285-290
Hymn to Hapi	Middle Kingdom	Religion		Who clothes mankind with flax, which he originated, letting the weaver-god get to his work...There is no thread for products there is no cloth for clothing	Papyrus Chester Beatty V
Thutmosis II, Ptah temple	New Kingdom	Religion	Purity	It was my majesty who cause it to be strong since I enlarged it more than previously so that I might purify his great place for him with electrum of the best foreign lands, with every vessel of gold and silver and every precious stone, clothing of fine white linen (<i>mnḥt m paq.t ḥdt</i>), unguents of the divine rites to act so that he is favored in the calendrical festivals of this temple	<i>Urk.</i> IV 766, Gee 1998, 9
Hymn to Happi	New Kingdom	Religion		The eyes of the curious gaze about, and limbs are clothed in red linen	O.DeM1675
Tomb of Paheri	New Kingdom	Funerary		The feasts of heaven on these fixed days, in accord with daily custom. You are clothed in a robe of finest linen, the garments clad with the flesh of the gods; you are anointed with pure oil, you drink water from the altar's rim	Lichtheim 1976, 16
Harpers Song	New Kingdom	Funerary		You have a likeness of a god... clothed through the labors of Tayt	Tomb of Neferhotep (TT50)
Harpists Song	New Kingdom	Funerary		May you be happy with this, forgetfulness giving you benediction. Follow your heart while you live! Put myrrh on your head! Clothe yourself in fine linen! Anoint yourself with true wonders of the divine rite! Increase your happiness!	Parkinson 1991, 146

Great Hymn to Osiris	New Kingdom	Funerary		An offering which the king gives to Osiris Khentyamentiu, lord of Abydos, that he may grant an offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, ointment and clothing, and plants of all kinds, and the making of transformation: to be powerful as Hapi, to come both as living <i>ba</i> , to see Aten at dawn, to come and go in Restau, without one's <i>ba</i> being barred from the necropolis	Lichtheim 1976, 85
Great Hymn to the Aten	New Kingdom	Funerary		The Two Lands are in festivity. Awake they stand on their feet, you have roused them; bodies cleansed, clothes. their arms adore your appearance.	Lichtheim 1976, 97
8th Hour	New Kingdom	Funerary	Book of Amduat	He who knows them by their names, will have clothing in the earth without being repelled from the mysterious gates	Tomb of Thutmosis III: Hornung & Abt 2007, 251
8th Hour	New Kingdom	Funerary	Book of Amduat	Those who belong to the tomb of Re who are in this place. Mysterious images of Tatenen where Horus hid the gods. They are like this on the Ptah upon which this god towed, their clothing is before them as images of the god himself	Tomb of Thutmosis III: Hornung & Abt 2007, 263
9th Hour, Upper Register	New Kingdom	Funerary	Book of Amduat	Captions: "Who belongs to cloths; who is clothed; linen-clothed remaining on their clothing as linen clothed and as images made by Horus. Re says to them: you are adorned with our clothing; you are protected by your dress! Horus has adorned you with them when he hid his father in the Netherworld which conceals the gods.	Tomb of T III: Hornung & Abt 2007, 282
9th Hour, Lower Register	New Kingdom	Funerary	Book of Amduat	They are like this in the Netherworld: they stay on their clothes in their own flesh. Those who illuminate the darkness in the chamber containing Osiris	Tomb of T III: Hornung & Abt 2007, 291
Hackling of the Earth' Liturgy	New Kingdom	Funerary		May you go out to the sky, and a ladder tied for you beside Ra. You weave the net of the river, you drink the water from it...	Louvre N 3092; Quirke 2013, 419

Horizontal Band on blank back of papyrus	New Kingdom	Funerary		... may there be brought to you the works of Neith, on the arms of her weaving-woman	BM EA 10489; Quirke 2013, 505
Formula for Giving a Garment	New Kingdom	Funerary		Formula for giving cloth to a transfigured spirit. Words spoken by N. The woven comes, Tayt comes. The woven comes, Tayt comes from afar, emerging from the weave. There comes what Isis has spliced, there comes what Nephthys has spun, there comes what Neith had pummeled, there comes what Serqet has woven, there comes what Ptah has made successful, there comes what Tatenen has brought, there comes what Horus has given his father Osiris to clock him in, when he was bound together his flesh, when he has tied together his limbs to give him bone	BM EA 10020; Quirke 2013, 511 (echoes the arrival of offerings on the model of the return of the Eye from afar)
Nine Songs of the Gold-cased Body	New Kingdom	Funerary		You put on the pure garment, you take off the thick robe, you are the sun-source on the bed. There are haunch cuts for your <i>ka</i> -spirit, O, N, and meat breast for your mummified limbs. You receive a rove of first-quality cloth from the hands of the washermen of Ra. You eat bread on a sheet of linen woven by the Weaving Goddess herself	BM EA 9900; Quirke 2013, 427
Book of the Dead, Chapter 35	New Kingdom	Funerary		Formula for preventing N from being eaten by a snake in the god's land. He says: O Shu! says Djedu city, O Djedu, says Shu. The wearer of the head cloth and Hathor they are glad over Osiris. Can anyone then eat me?	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 108
Book of the Dead, Chapter 64	New Kingdom	Funerary		Formula for going out in the day.... headcloth-wearers, give me your arms, you who are born by going out from the mouth, whose appearance are of the Eye of Ra...	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 156
Book of the Dead, Chapter 78	New Kingdom	Funerary		Ruty the Overlord said, keeper of the temple of the <i>nemes</i> -cloth that is in his cavern, how is it you go back, maker of the limits of the sky? You are ennobled with your forms of Horus, but you are not wearing the <i>nemes</i> -cloth. Do you really speak to the limits of the sky? ...May you give me a <i>nemes</i> -	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 184

				cloth, says Ruty, toward me. May you go and come on the way of the sky...	
Book of the Dead, Chapter 79	New Kingdom	Funerary		Hail to the gods, who are in the weaving circle (<i>n'yt</i>)	Quirke 2013, 188
Book of the Dead, Chapter 80	New Kingdom	Funerary		I am the one who ties the fringed cloth of Nun, the white one of the light, ornament of his forehead, illuminating the darkness, joined by the Two Comrade Goddesses...	BM EA 10470; Quirke 2013, 190
Book of the Dead, Chapter 99	New Kingdom	Funerary		... I have come to see my father Osiris. O lord of the red cloth, who has power over joy, o lord of the tempest, man of the sailing, o he who sails over this sandbank of Apep...	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 218
Book of the Dead, Chapter 110	New Kingdom	Funerary		O Djefet! I have come by you, to put on the water-robcs, after tying the fringed cloth, Ra is indeed in the sky, whom the gods who are in the sky follow, the followers of Ra who is in the sky	BM EA 9900; Quirke 2013, 246
Book of the Dead, Chapter 115	New Kingdom	Funerary		... the two plaintiffs came to be, that is how the passing of Ra came to be. There came to be the hearing of his red cloth, before his arm rested. Then he made his forms into a woman, a wife with a braid.	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 256
Book of the Dead, Chapter 117	New Kingdom	Funerary		The ways are upon me for Resetjau. I am the one who clothes his emblem-standard, who goes out with the Great Crown...	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 260
Book of the Dead, Chapter 125	New Kingdom	Funerary		I live on <i>maat</i> , I feed on <i>maat</i> , I have done what people speak of what the gods are pleased with, I have contented a god with what he wishes. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a ferryboat to the boatless, I have given divine offering to the gods, invocation offerings to the death, rescue me, protect me, do not accuse me before the great god	Lichtheim 1976, 128

Book of the Dead, Chapter 125	New Kingdom	Funerary		This is the way to act toward the Hall of the Two Truths. A man says this speech when he is pure, clean, dressed in fresh clothes, show in white sandals, painted with eye paints, anointed with the finest oil of myrrh. One shall offer to him beef, fowl, incense, bread, beer, and herbs. And you make this image in drawing on a clean surface in red paint mixed with soil on which pigs and goats have not trodden	Lichtheim 1976, 131
Book of the Dead, Chapter 127	New Kingdom	Funerary		... He gives offerings to the underworld gods. Perfect and make for him the head cloth; its bearer is in the front of the hidden chamber	P.Aeg.10207; Quirke 2013, 280
Book of the Dead, Chapter 127A	New Kingdom	Funerary		Words spoken over four torches of red cloth, anointed with foremost oil of Libya from four men on whose arms are written the names of the ones who wake Horus...	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 309
Book of the Dead, Chapter 145	New Kingdom	Funerary		I am pure with those waters with which Ra is pure, when he is unveiled on the side of the east. I am anointed with first-quality cedar-oil, I am wrapped in cloth, my scepter in my hand is of hardwood.	P.Aeg.10207; Quirke 2013, 334
Book of the Dead, Chapter 145	New Kingdom	Funerary		I am pure with those waters with which Isis and Nephthys are pure, when they introduce the crocodile to the entrance of the embalming chamber. I am anointed with oil of praise. I am robed in cloth. My scepter in my hand is a javelin	P.Aeg.10207; Quirke 2013, 337
Book of the Dead, Chapter 145	New Kingdom	Funerary		I am pure with those water with which Anubis is pure, when he acts as lector for Osiris. I am anointed with <i>sft</i> -oil I am robed in a garment of red cloth. My scepter in my hand is of a cat's tail	P.Aeg.10207; Quirke 2013, 338
Book of the Dead, Chapter 149	New Kingdom	Funerary		... I have come to see the gods who are in you. Open your faces, unwind your head cloths at my approach, just as for the Eldest God among you.	BM EA 10477; Quirke 2013, 360

Book of the Heavenly Cow	New Kingdom	Religion	Clean; Purity	A man shall pronounce this text over himself, rubbed down with olive oil and slave, while holding a censer containing incense in his hands. The backs of his ears should be cleansed with natron, and natron pellets should be in his mouth. As for his clothing, it should be two fresh linen garments after he has bathed himself in flowing water, and he should be shod with sandals of white leather. The image of Maat should be painted on his tongue in fresh ink...	Lines 75-80; Simpson 2003, 295
LRL	New Kingdom	Economic		And you shall look after the men who are in my house and give them clothing. Do not let them be naked. And you shall demand the three garments which Pakhor has.	P.Leiden I 370; Wente
P. of Ahaneferamun	New Kingdom	Funerary	Litany of Re	Chapter for Entering the Netherworld, like the Great Ennead and the Great Crew of Re... You come out and you enter like the just, though smallest the incense in the House of Ptah, you receive clothing and alabaster in the Great Place before the House of Huy...	Bibliothèque Nationale Nos. 158, 159, 160 and 161; Piankoff 1964, 134
P. of Ahaneferamun	New Kingdom	Funerary	Litany of Re	Words spoken by Imyut, He who Presides over the Booth, He gives his clothing and alabaster to Osiris, God's Father of Amun, N, the justified	Bibliothèque Nationale Nos. 158, 159, 160 and 161; Piankoff 1964, 135
P. of Paser	New Kingdom	Funerary	Litany of Re	He gives clothing and honor of the Lord of Heliopolis to the Ka of Osiris, the Beloved God's Father of the Great Ennead which are in Karnak, Paser, justified	Bibliothèque Nationale Nos. 158, 159, 160 and 161; Piankoff 1964, 166
P. of Paser	New Kingdom	Funerary	Litany of Re	He gives clothing and alabaster, incense and unguents for the Ka of Osiris, the Beloved God's Father of Amun in Karnak, Paser, justified, before the Great God	Bibliothèque Nationale Nos. 158, 159, 160 and 161; Piankoff 1964, 167
P. Userhatmes	New Kingdom	Funerary	Litany of Re	That they may give a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of clothing and alabaster, a thousand of incense and unguents, a thousand of gifts and food,	CG34023; Piankoff 1964, 173

				presents of fresh vegetables of all kinds	
Dream Book	New Kingdom	Religion		Destroying his clothes-- good; his release from all ills	BM EA 10683;
Turin Indictment Papyrus	New Kingdom	Judicial	Theft	Accusations about the Pharaoh causing the Overseer of the Treasury, Khamtir to audit the Treasury of the Temple of Khnum. And this priest stole 60 loincloths from the Treasury of the Temple of Khnum by theft. When one came to seek them, 24 of them were found on him and he had made a profit on the others.	Turin Indictment Papyrus; Gee 1998, 249T
Tomb of Anhurmosé	New Kingdom	Funerary		I was one who anointed the widow who was destitute, who gave clothing to the naked	Frood 2007, 113
Tomb of Anhurmosé	New Kingdom	Funerary		May I step in his presence as a living <i>ba</i> , so that I may receive offerings...which come forth from all his alters, being provided with the cast-offs of his clothing	Frood 2007, 115
Mortuary Chapel of Userhat	New Kingdom	Funerary	concept of body	May your heart be yours as when you were on earth, all your limbs entirely complete, your clothing being fine linen and your anointing being with fine oils	Frood 2007, 122
Stela of Tia	New Kingdom	Funerary		I have bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, and clothes to the naked	Frood 2007, 165
Djedhor 1	Late Period	Funerary		This Great God, he speaks to them and their <i>bas</i> , they enter after him, while their <i>bas</i> pass by. What Re says in order to clothe their images above the god's mound, the forms of which are hidden: O, you two gods and goddesses who accompany your mysterious mound, O, see-- the Osiris N, he flies above you! Your <i>bas</i> , they offer praise, inhaling when he enters them, without seeing him" The speech of Re to the Catfish demons, when they conceal the <i>mysst</i> .	CG29302; Roberson 2012, 449

Statue of Harwa	Late Period	Religion		An offering that the King gives, a thousand of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, Alabaster, clothing, incense, and unguent... Who have bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked	Lichtheim 1980, 26
Statue of Udjahoressnet	Late Period	Religion		An offering that the King gives to Osiris who presides over the Palace: a thousand bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, clothing, myrrh, and unguent, and every good thing, for the ka of the one honored by all of the gods, the chief physician, Udjahoressnet	Lichtheim 1980, 37
Tomb of Petosiris	Late Period	Funerary		An offering that the King gives to Osiris-Khentyamenti, the great god, the Lord of Abydos, that he may give an offering of a thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and clothing, ointment and incense, a thousand of everything good and pure to the ka of the owner of this tomb	Lichtheim 1980, 50
Simpson 2003, 254	Greco-Roman	Funerary		May they give an offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, ointment, and clothing	Lichtheim 1980, 60
Victory Stela of Piye, 103	Late Period	Religion		Entering the temple with adorations. The chieflector priest's praising god and repulsing the rebels from the king. Performing the ritual of the robing room; putting on the <i>sdb</i> -garment; cleansing him with incense and cold water; presenting him the garlands of the Pyramidion House; bringing him the amulets	Line 103; Lichtheim 1980, 77
Book of the Dead, Chapter 164	Late Period	Funerary		Hail Sekhmet-Bast, who gives the Nine Gods, and ties the headband, lady of the red cloth, mistresses of the White and Red Crowns, great in the terror of your father...	P. Marseille 291; Quirke 2013, 399

APPENDIX 2- Ritual Scenes involving Cloth

2.1 Scenes Featuring Textiles from the Opening of the Mouth Ritual

After Otto 1960

Introduction (Scene 1)

N rdi'hr h'st nt š' hr.fr rs h'yw m t' hrw n mnht h'.f mnht

N is placed on a layer of sand with his face to the south, unclothed, on the ground, by day. N-clothing behind him: clothing

Undressing the sm-priest (Scene 11)

h' in sm šsp.f sm'.f qni' hr.f

Standing up by the sm-priest! He grabs his stick. The qni-garment is on him.

Undressing the sm-priest (Scenes 19-21)

(a) *sm sfh qni' sm' šsp 'by* (b) *sm dd mdw nhm irt.tn m r.f fdw.n.i'hpš.f* (c) *hry hbt dd mdw h' N 'b n.t irt.t 'h.t im*

(a) sm-priest: putting down the qni-garment and the staff; taking the panther skin (b) Speech of the sm-priest: I have rescued this Eye from his mouth. I have torn out his thigh (c) Speech of the hri-hbt: Oh, N! I have stamped your Eye on you, so that you are inspired by it.

Presenting the nms-cloth (Scene 48)

dd mdw hry hb sm šsp nms sm'r nms N im shk w irt y r irt y wp r irt y N i, sp sn dd i' nms sp sn i' hdt sp sn i' irt hr hdt pr m nhb nms.tw ntrw im.st rn.f pwy n nms.w nms.st hkr.st m rn.s pfy hdt pr m nhb h'y N šsp irt hr shk.i' dw.i't'

Speech of the hri-hb-priest: sm-priest, taking the nms-cloth; Cloth with the nms-cloth; Clearing the mouth and eyes; Opening the mouth and eyes of N thus once. Say: Oh, N! Here comes the nms-cloth! Here comes the nms-cloth! The White One is coming! The White One is coming! Here comes the Eye of Horus, the White One that emerged from Elkab. It clothes the Gods with its name of nms. It clothes you; it adorns you, in its name, the White One, that comes from Elkab. Oh, N! Take the Eye of Horus! The bad things around you will be swept upon the earth.

Presenting the si't-Cloth (Scene 49)

sm di'si't dd h'y N šsp si't db'.tz im.st šsp irt hr

sm-priest, give the *sīṯ*-cloth. Say: Oh, N! Take the *sīṯ*-cloth. Equip yourself with it. Take the Eye of Horus.

Presenting the *mnḥt*-cloth (Scene 50a)

(a) *Ḍd in sm šsp mnḥt r sm'r N im.sn* (b) *ḏd N šsp n.k sšp.k pn šsp.n.k nfr.k pn* (c) *šsp n.k m'r.k pn šsp n.k mnḥt.k tn* (d) *šsp n.k irt nty hr ḥdt prt m nḥb ḥ'.k im.s* (e) *mnḥt.k im.s m rn pwy n mnḥt* (f) *dmi'.s rk m rn.s pwy n idm*

(a) Said by the *sm*-priest: Take the *mnḥt*-cloth; cleanse N with them (b) Say: O, N! Take for yourself this your *sšp*. Take for yourself this beautiful thing of yours. (c) Take for yourself this your mar-garment. Take for yourself these clothes of yours. (d) Take for yourself the Eye of Horus, the White One, who came from Elkab, so that you shine with it (e) so that you are excellent with the name being *mnḥt*-cloth (f) It reached to you in this its name of *idmi*-cloth

Recitation of the *šsmt*-Apron (Scene 50b)

(a) *Ḍd hry ḥb sm šsp mnḥt ḏb'w.ty n N* (b) *ḏd mdw ḏb' sw hr m šsmt.f nmtt.f hr t'.fm twt* (c) *ḏd mdw ḏb' sw stḥ , šsmt.f nmtt hr t'.fm twt* (d) *ḏd mdw ḏb' n sw ḏhty m šsmt.f nmtt.f hr t'.fm twt* (e) *ḏd mdw ḏb' sw dwn-'nwy m šsmt nmtt hr t'.fm twt* (f) *ḏd mdw ḏb' n sw N m šsmt.f nmtt.f hr t'.fm twt* (g) *h'iy N šsp nt irt hr sīṯ m ḥwt '3 iry m iwn* (h) *h'iy N sP k'.k r ḥftw.k*

(a) Speech of the *hri-ḥb*-priest: *sm*-priest, seize the cloth, present it to N (b) Words to be Spoken: Horus has equipped himself with the *šsmt*-apron, it having traveled upon his land completely (c) Words to be spoken: Seth has equipped himself with the *šsmt*-apron, it having traveled upon his land completely (d) Words to be spoken: Thoth has equipped himself with the *šsmt*-apron, it having traveled upon his land completely (e) Words to be spoken: *dwn-'nwy* has equipped himself with the *šsmt*-apron, it having traveled upon his land completely (f) Words spoken: N has equipped himself with the *šsmt*-apron, it having traveled upon his land completely (g) Oh, N! Take the eye of Horus, which recognizes the great enclosure which is in Heliopolis (h) Oh, N! Your ka knows (itself) against your enemies

Presenting the green *mnḥt*-cloth (Scene 51)

(a) *ḏd mdw in hry ḥb sm šsp mnḥt w'ḏy* (b) *ḏd mdw ḥ' w'ḏt nbt nbt iḡrt nnty ḥsfy.s m pt m t'* (c) *sw'ḏ.st N smnḥt.s m mnḥt.st sw'ḏ.st n imy w'ḏ.st* (d) *rnp.k m'rnp.st* (e) *h'iy N šsp irt hr swḏ' nt imy.s*

(a) Words spoken by the *hry-ḥb*-priest: *sm*-priest, take the green *mnḥt*-cloth (b) Speech: Wadjet, Lady of Nebet, appears, the excellent one who do not repelled it in heaven nor on earth (c) She endows the flourishing of N with her *mnḥt*-cloth; she causes it to flourish, which is of the wadjet-cloth (d) you rejuvenate like she rejuvenates (e) Oh, N! Take the Eye of Horus so that it may bring healing with it

Presenting the red insi-cloth (Scene 52)

(a) *dd mdw in hry hb s, šs mnht ins* (b) *dd mdw irt r' nbt t'wy hk't m d'wy nsrsr* (c) *wrt nbt nšn hnwt ir.s st* (d) *wdt psdt* (e) *sw'd.s N smnht.s m mnht.s tn* (f) *mi'ir-m hnt.f h't m h't.f* (g) *hwi.tw.s mk dit sndw.f* (h) *wrt phty.f h'.st m h't.f hwi.f shm.f m ntrw nbwt* (i) *N 'nh.tw m'.tw rnp.tw mi'r' hrw nb* (k) *hkn irk m, nfr.k N imy t'wy tm m twt* (l) *nn hsf.tw 'k m t' dr.f N šsp irt hr m'' nt im.st*

(a) Words spoken by the *hry-hb*-priest: *sm*-priest, take the *ins*-cloth. (b) Recitation: the eye of Ra, lady of the two lands, ruler of the two fire islands (c) the great one, lady of fury, the ruler of he who created her (d) who commands the Ennead (e) She who causes N to flourish and to be excellent in this *mnht*-cloth of hers (f) Come before her face, appearing on his forehead (g) she protects, she shelters, creating dread of him (h) great is his power appearing on his brow, he protects and has great power with all the gods (i) N, you are living, you are renewed, you are rejuvenating like Re everyday (k) Rejoicing when you come in your beauty. N, that which is the two lands in completeness (l) without your arm to protect the land in its entirety. N, take the Eye of Horus so that you can see with it

Presenting the idmi-robe (Scene 53)

(a) *dd mdw in hry hb sm dit mnht idmi'* (b) *dd mdw šsp N [///] [///] m idmi'* (c) *'wy t'yt iz iwf.s* (d) *dmi'ntr iu ntr st'm ntr hr ntr* (e) *i'w ntnt in h'p* (f) *shd hr.s in 'hw ntrw mnht* (g) *sšn nty ist msn nbt-hwt* (h) *ir.sn sšp mnht N m' hrw.s iu hftw sw*

(a) Words spoken by the *hry-hb*-priest: *sm*-priest, give the cloth of *idmi* (b) Words to be spoken: N seize of *idmi*-cloth (c) the arms of Tayt are on her flesh (d) a god joins with a god, a god is bound upon a god (e) The sweat is washed by Hapy (f) Her face is illuminated by the Akhs and gods. The *mnht*-cloth (g) was spun by Isis and woven by Nephthys (h) They made the shining garment of N as she triumphs against her enemies

2.2 Daily Temple Rituals Scenes involving Cloth from Abydos Temple

Spell for Putting on the White Cloth



(Calverley *et al* 1935, pl. 19)

“Oh, Re-Horakhty, take for yourself this your shining cloth! Take for yourself, this your beautiful cloth! Take for yourself this your *m'r* garment! Take for yourself this your *mnht* cloth! Take for yourself this Eye of White Horus, coming forth from Nekhen, that you may shine in it, that you may be splendid in it, in this its name of *mnht*, that it may cleave for you, in this its name of *idmi*” (after David 1981, 67).

Spell for Putting on the Green Cloth



(Calverley *et al* 1935, pl 19)

“May Wadjet appears, the Mistress of Nebet is excellent, when none can approach in the sky, or on earth, she hands over Re-Horakhty, who resides in the Mansion on Menmaat, to her power. She makes him excellent with this his clothes. She hands him over to those who are in her papyrus-wands. He becomes young again like fresh plants” (*after* David 1981, 67).

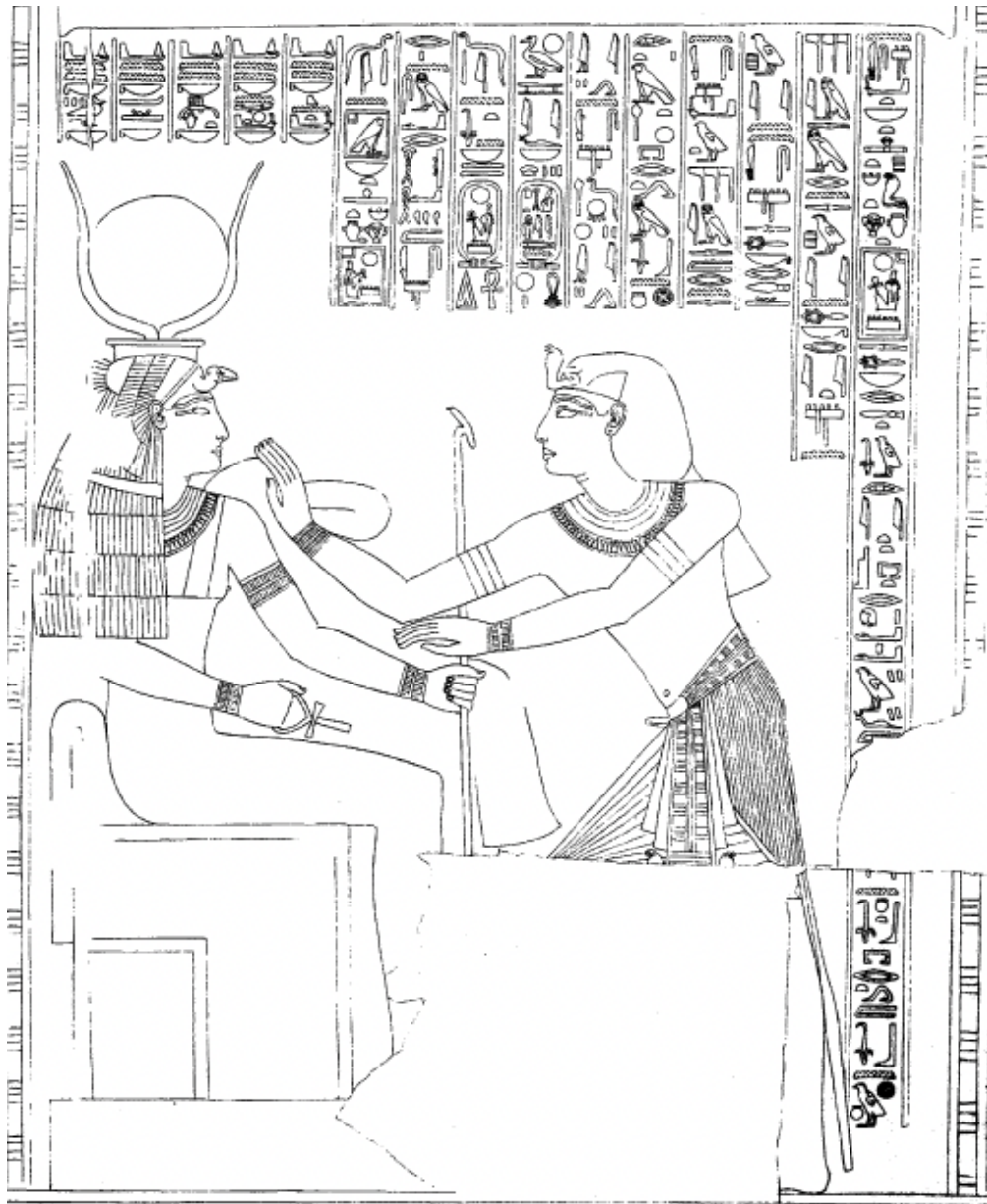
Spell for Putting on the Red Cloth



(Calverley *et al* 1935, pl. 19)

“May the Eye of Re, Lord of the Two Lands, appear, the ruler of the island of flame, great of rage, Mistress of her Maker, who issues commands to the Ennead of Gods. She gives her papyrus-wand to Re-Horakhty, she makes him excellent with these *mnht* cloths, she hands him over to those who are in her papyrus-wand. Come before him, appear upon his brow, and protect him from the *Akeru*. Grant fear of him and that his strength may be great” (*after* David 1981, 68).

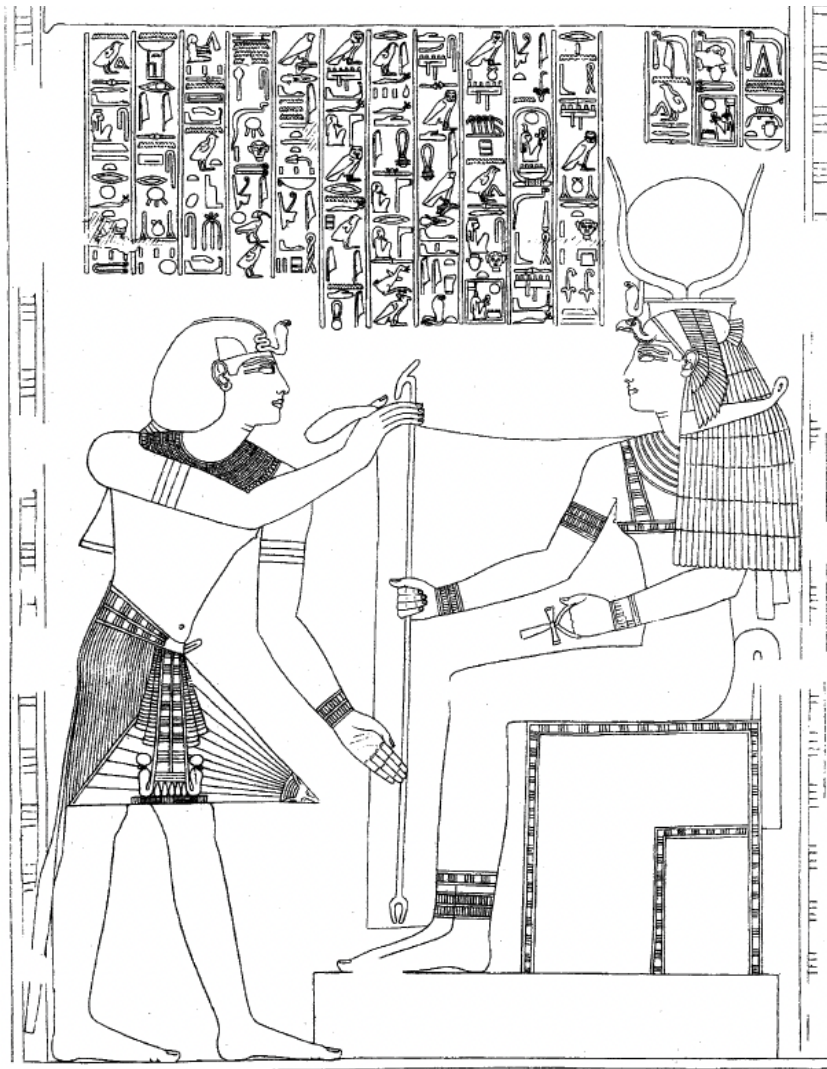
Spell for Putting on the nms-cloth



(Calverley *et al* 1935, pl. 16).

“The White Cloth comes, twice. The white Eye of Horus comes, having left El-Kab, the cloth in which the gods are covered, in this its own name of adornment [///] May you array Nebet-Hetepet. [///] may you adorn her, may you assume your position upon her arms in this name of You of the White One of Nekhen, Nekhet, who has come forth from Nekhen” (after David 1981, 70).

Spell for Putting on the Great Cloth



(Calverley *et al* 1935, pl. 16)

“His raiment is the cloth white *Iw.s-ʿs*, who resides in the Mansion of Menmaat, received. Her raiment is the *idmi*-cloth from the arms of Tait...the god approaches his god, that he may array the god in this his own name of *idmi*.. Isis has woven it; Nephthys has spun it. May you make the cloth to shine on the day of *Iw.s-ʿs*. May you triumph against your enemies” (after David 1981, 71).

2.3 The Dramatic Ramesside Papyrus' Cloth Related Ritual Scenes

Sequence 14, Scene 37- Clothing the Statue

Scene	Transliteration	Translation
Scene 37, col. 107	ḥpr.n inīw ifd sīs ḥn' ḥbsw nw īdmī ḥn' sf 'š' ḥrw pw mdw.f wsīr šḥn.f šḥn.f ḏd.f dmī r.f	It happened that 4-fiber-linen and 6-fiber-linen were brought together with clothes of <i>idmi</i> -linen and numerous fine linen. It is Horus who speaks to Osiris that he may seek the one whom he might embrace, and who says that he may touch him
Scene 37, col. 108	[...] wsīr ḏd mdw fdw n.ī ḥpš [...] // ḥpš stš // ifd // pr-ḥḏ	[...] speaks words to Osiris: For (me) [...] thigh was pulled out // Thigh of Seth // 4-fiber-linen // Treasury
Scene 37, col. 109	ḥrw wsīr ḏd mdw m rsīw ib.f r.k // stš // sīs // pr-nfr	Horus speaks words to Osiris: Do not let his mind be alert against you // Seth // 6-fiber-linen // Embalming Place
Scene 37, col. 110	ḥrw wsīr ḏd mdw dmī it.ī // wisīr // īdmī // msh	Horus speaks words to Osiris: My father shall touch me // Osiris // <i>idmi</i> -linen // Crocodile
Scene 37, col. 111	ḥrw wsīr ḏd mdw dm[...] 'wt.k // it // ssf // msh	Horus speaks words to Osiris: May [...] your limbs // the eye // fine linen // Crocodile

(after Geisen 2012)

Sequence 15, Scene 42 and 43- Bringing of a staff and ifd-linen

Scene	Transliteration	Translation
Scene 42, col 123	[ḥpr.n ...] ḥps <in> ḥry-wḏb ḥn' ifd	[It happened that] a staff by the master of largesse together with 4-fiber-linen
Scene 42, col 124	[...] ḥrw ḏd mdw wdī n it.k pn //ḥrw [...] // msw ḥrw	[...] speaks words to Horus: Give it to this father of yours// Horus // [...] // Children of Horus
Scene 43, col 126	ḥpr.n diw ifd ḥpš n šḥnw-ḥ [...] it.f stš n wsīr fd.n.f [...]	It happened that the 4-fiber-linen and the staff were given to the "ones who embrace the Akh" [...] who takes Seth to Osiris after he had pulled out [...]
Scene 43, col 127	ḏd mdw fd.n.ī ḥpš [...] ḥpš stš // ifd // pr-ḥḏ	[...] speak words to [...] I have pulled out the tight // the thigh of Seth // 4-fiber-linen // Treasury
Scene 43, col 128	ḥrw [...] ḏd mdw fdw n.ī ḥpš [...]/ ḥpš stš // sīs // pr-nfr	Horus speaks words to [...] For (me) the thigh was pulled out (too) // the thigh of Seth // 6-fiber-line // Embalming place
Scene 43, col 129	[...] ḏd mdw ḥ[...] šḥn.tw.k w // stš // ḥpš // ḥwt-nb	[...] speaks words to [...] so that you may not be met // Seth // the staff // Royal House

(after Geisen 2012)

APPENDIX 3- Social Texts Featuring Textiles

MORAL

Title	Date	Type	Excerpt	Citations
Graffiti in Nubia	Middle Kingdom	Moral	Intefiqer, who is called Gem, says: "I am a valiant citizen, a pleasant man from Luxor, a scribe of excellent fingers, one who is humble, high in love for his Person, who gives clothes among his troops..."	Parkinson 1991, 95
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	O, but families are put to the millstones; those dressed in fine linen are [wrongly] beaten; those who never saw daylight go outside without restraint.	Parkinson 1997, 175; 4.5-4.10
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	O, but the people are like black ibises, and filth is throughout the land. At this time, no one at all is clothed in white	Parkinson 1997, 173
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	O, but the grain is ruined on every side, they are stripped of clothes, unanointed with oil; everyone is saying, "there is nothing"	Parkinson 1997, 177; 6.1-6.5
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	it is good... when one is clothed in clean robes	Lichtheim 1973,160
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	See, those who owned robes are in rags, he who did not weave for himself owns fine linen	Lichtheim 1973, 156
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	Look, wealthy ladies and great ladies, those possessors of wealth, are exchanging their children for bedlinens	Parkinson 1997, 180
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	Look, the lords of bedlinens are on the ground; someone who slept squalid [now] smooths a leather cushion for himself	Parkinson 1997, 181

Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	Even the commoner will have to watch out, with the day dawning for him unready. They run away headlong, they who wove finely woven cloth inside a house, now what they makes is tents, like foreigners	Parkinson 1997, 183; 9.1-10.1
Admonitions of Ipuwer	Middle Kingdom	Moral	It is so good, when jubilation is in mouths, and the estates' nobles stand watching the jubilation from their houses clad in linen cloaks, pre-eminently purified, well provided amidst them. It is so good when beds are smoothed, and the pillows are well laid out for the officials; when the needs of every man are filled with a sheet in the shade, and a securely closed door for someone who slept in a bush. It is so good when fine linen is spread out on New Year's Day...fine linen spread out...and linen cloaks are on the ground; the overseer of cloaks [////] ...	Parkinson 1997, 187-8
Teachings of Ptahhotep	Middle Kingdom	Moral	If you are excellently well off, you should establish your household and love your wife with proper ardor: fill her belly, clothe her back!	Parkinson 1997, 257; P10.7-P.10.10
Teachings of Ptahhotep	Middle Kingdom	Moral	Teach the great man about what is good for him! Create support for him among the people! You should cause his knowledge to strike his lord. Food for you comes from his spirit. Your back will be clothed with this. Your support of him will be the life of your house through your noble, whom you love.	Parkinson 1997, 259; P12.10-12.12
Eloquent Peasant	Middle Kingdom	Moral	Sixth petition: Clothing removes nakedness; as the sky is serene after a storm, warming all who shiver, as fire cooks what is raw, as water quenches thirst.	Lichtheim 1973, 179
Satire of the Trades	Middle Kingdom	Moral	And the maker of pots is under earth, though standing up with the living. He grubs in the meadows more than pigs do; to fire his pottery and his clothes are stiff with mud and his loincloth in rags...	Parkinson 1997, 276
Satire of the Trades	Middle Kingdom	Moral	I'll describe to you also the mason; his loins give him pain; though he is out in the wind, he works without a cloak, his loincloth is a twisted rope	Lichtheim 1973, 186
Satire of the Trades	Middle Kingdom	Moral	The stoker, his fingers are foul, their smell is that of corpses; his eyes are inflamed by much smoke, he cannot get rid of his dirt. He spends the day cutting reeds, his clothes are loathsome to him	Lichtheim 1973,188
Instructions of Amenemhat	Middle Kingdom	Moral	He whom I have my trust used it to plot. Wearers of fine linen [i.e. elites] looked at me as if they were needy. Those perfumed with my myrrh poured water while wearing it	Lichtheim 1973,136

P, Lansing Schoolbook	New Kingdom	Moral	Writing for him who knows it is better than all other professions. It pleases more than bread and beer, more than clothing and ointment. It is worth more than an inheritance in Egypt than a tomb in the west	Lichtheim 1976, 168
P, Lansing Schoolbook	New Kingdom	Moral	The washerman's day is going up and going down. All his limbs are weak from whitening his neighbors' clothes every day and from washing their linen	Lichtheim 1976, 169
P, Lansing Schoolbook	New Kingdom	Moral	You are dressed in fine clothes; you own horses. Your boat is on the river; you are supplied with attendants. You stride about inspecting... {meanwhile the soldier} He is called up to Syria. He may not rest. There are no clothes, no sandals. The weapons of war are assembled at the fortress of Sile.	Lichtheim 1976, 171-2
Instructions of Amenemope	New Kingdom	Moral	Do not covet copper, disdain beautiful linen; what good is one dressed in finery if he cheats before the gods? ... Faience disguised as gold, come day it turns to lead	Lichtheim 1976, 157
Instructions of Amenemope	New Kingdom	Moral	Do not incline to the well-dressed man and rebuff the one in rags. Don't accept the gift of a powerful man, and deprive the weak for his sake	Lichtheim 1976, 158
Tomb of Neferhotep	New Kingdom	Moral	You who had many people-- you are now in the land that loves loneliness! You who had much fine linen, who loved clothing now sleep in yesterday's rags	MDAIK 1943
P. Anastasi IV 5.1	New Kingdom	Moral	They bind cloth-strips to its end for the purpose of wearing a <i>sdj</i> -garment. He is attentive on the day of the donkey, a rudder on the day of the boat. I will do all things to him after he has turned his back on his office	P. Anastasi IV 5.1
Setne	Greco-Roman	Moral	Setne awoke in a heated state, with his penis inside a chamber pot and without any clothing on him at all.... Setne started to raise himself, but he was unable to raise himself because of the shame that he had no clothing on him. Pharaoh said: "Setne, what is with you in this condition that you are in" ... Setne said in the presence of the Pharaoh: "My great lord, O may he obtain the lifetime of Pre. How shall I be able to go to Memphis with no clothing at all on me?" Pharaoh called out to a servant who was standing by. He had him given clothing to Setne	Simpson 2003, 467
Setne	Greco-Roman	Moral	Si-Osire walked out in front of him and said: My father Setne, did you not see that rich man clothed in a garment of royal linen, standing near the spot where Osiris is? He is the poor man whom you saw being carried out from Memphis with no one walking behind	Lichtheim 1980, 140

			him and wrapped in a mat. They brought him to the netherworld. They weighed his misdeeds against the good deeds he had done on earth. They found his good deeds more numerous than his misdeeds in relation to his lifespan, which Thoth had assigned him in writing, and in relation to his luck on earth. It was ordered by Osiris to give the burial equipment of that rich man, whom you saw being carried out, to this poor man, and to place him among the spirits.	
Ankhsheshonq	Greco-Roman	Moral	May he not die for whom I would rend my clothing	Lichtheim 1980, 167
Ankhsheshonq	Greco-Roman	Moral	Do not let your servant lack his food and clothing	Lichtheim 1980, 170
Ankhsheshonq	Greco-Roman	Moral	Do not steal copper or cloth from the house of your master	Lichtheim 1980, 176
Ankhsheshonq	Greco-Roman	Moral	A fool in a house is like fine clothes in a wine cellar	Lichtheim 1980, 176
Ankhsheshonq	Greco-Roman	Moral	When a wise man is stripped, he gives his clothes and blesses	Lichtheim 1980, 206
Ankhsheshonq	Greco-Roman	Moral	Let your wife look at your property. Do not trust her with it. Do not trust with her food and clothing allowance for a single year	Simpson 2003, 511
Instruction of P. Insinger	Greco-Roman	Moral	Do not outdo him in dress in the street, so that one looks at you more than him	Lichtheim 1980, 186

STATUS

Eloquent Peasant	Middle Kingdom	Status	Now the house of this Nemtyakht was at the beginning of a path which was narrow, not so wide as to exceed the width of a shawl. And one side of the path was under water and the other under barley. This Nemtyakht said to his servant, "Go bring me a sheet from my house." It	Lichtheim 1973, 170
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			was brought to him straightaway. He spread it out on the beginning of the path so that its fringe touches the water, its hem the barley. Now this peasant came along the public road. Then this Nemtynakht said, "Be careful, peasant. Don't step on my clothes"	
Sinuhe	Middle Kingdom	Status	A man left his land in nakedness-- (now) I have bright clothes, fine linen	Lichtheim, 1973 228
Prayer to Amun	New Kingdom	Status	Amun, lend your ear to the lonely in court, He is poor, he is not rich; for the court extorts from him: "Silver and gold for the clerks, clothes for the attendants!"	Lichtheim 1976, 111
LRL	New Kingdom	Status	And the King had given the office of Prophet of Nebetuu to the god's father Esmenope, whom Pharaoh (life, prosperity, health) has clothed with an apron as is fitting, they say	P. Geneva D 191

APPENDIX 4- Textile Terms

GENERAL

ʔt - linen (garment)
wnh - clothing
hbs - clothing
nʔy.t - weaving workshop
šnw - hair (wool)
sʔrt - wool; semitic loanword
sh̄t - weaver
mrt - weaver
mh̄wt - flax
n̄h - typical measurement of flax

CONDITION

iswt/ iš(w)/ išy - worn out, rags
wbh̄.t - clean clothing
šʔd - torn, ripped, worn
thn (rudw) - damaged
nqn - in good condition
m sfh̄ - used, cast off
dʔy - folded (Cerny 1965)

QUALITY

sh̄t - woven; (home?)-woven
npr ^ʔ - of the king
nʔ - smooth; cheapest quality
nfr̄.t - best quality
šiš - six-weave thread
šmʔ - thin
šmʔ nfr̄ - fine, good thin
ššr ns̄w - royal linen
sg - sackcloth; loanword (Hoch 1994 269)
h̄tyw - fine, soft cloth; luxury garments; magic and funerary purposes
h̄mniʔ - 8-thread weave

TYPE/ADDITIONS

nbd - plaiting, pleating
mk - tapestry woven (LingAe 7, 2000, 177-182)

COLOR

īns(y) - red cloth
wʔd.t - green cloth
hd̄.t - white cloth

sšp - bright cloth

GARMENT TYPES

īd/īd/īft - mostly *n*^c; sheet; four-sided cloth; bedsheet; wrap; ~ 10 deben

īnr - (king's) headcloth?

īnt - unclear garment

īsh - (pair of) sleeve; usually with *htr(i)*

īdg - mostly *sm*^c; head covering/ kerchief (Janssen 2008); lower wrap-around (Kemp & Vogelsang Eastwood 2001)

fn.t - headcloth

wmt - thick garment/cloth

bndw - wrap-around dress; not common; loanword (Hoch 1994 202)

nws - head covering?

nfrw - unclear garment; solely for gods in MK

nms - *nemes*-headcloth (of the king)

ntr - mummy wrappings?

pry - straps; bandages; strips; bands; Janssen (2008: 30) notes writing consistently inconsistent

ptr - cloth-strip, bandage

psdw - unclear garment

m'r - garment for deity

mnht – dress or robe; often ideological-charged clothing; from *mnḥ* “to be excellent”

mrw - strips; sash; “a thing that binds”

mk - a type of cloth

mstr.t - a kind cloth, a kilt?

mss - mostly *n*^c; tunic; shirt; apron (Kemp & Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001)

rbš'y - cuirass; leather armor; loanword

rwḏw/ rw - mostly *n*^c; sash-kilt; shawl; wrap; 4 x 2 m (P.BM10052)

h'wmn - unclear garment

h'.t - khat-headcloth

hrd - veil; thin cloth

hyrdy/hrd - garment; bag; purse; loanword (Hoch 1994: 252)

hbsw - clothing

hnk - unclear; 3 m long (O.Gardiner 67); undergarment

hnt/hnw - hide/leather item

hry-k'ht - lit. “a thing over the shoulder”; shawl

sš.t - fringed cloth; etymologically related to *sšws*, “falcon”

sm' - unclear garment

šndyt - apron; part of elite wardrobe (not common at DeM)

sdw/sdy - equally all qualities; loincloth; general term for cloth; prices up to 30 *deben*; lit. “tail”

sšp - a bright garment, etymologically *sšp* to make bright; brighten

sšd - bandage (religious and medical)

sfrt - a cloth or garment (Camino 1954, 120)

stt - clothing for a god's statue

q'nqtī/q'rt - cloak; mantle; royal prerogative; loanword (Hoch 1994: 326)

q'r - whip cords; cloth straps; hair band; loanword (Hoch 1994: 336)

q'ttī - garment; covering; loanword (Hoch 1994: 342)

qdmr - non-Egyptian garment; unclear

qnt/ qrt - cloak; non-Egyptian

gʾrbw - wrapped garment; loanword (temple donations in Kawa)

dʾiw/ dʾi/ dʾw - equally all qualities; kilt; skirt

dʾyt - mostly *n*“; cloak; generally, the most expensive (20-60 *deben*); 15 x 2 m (Gurob Fragment U)

tnfy - unclear, hieratic inscription on JE61455; Tutankhamun’s tomb

VERBS

ʾf - to wring out

wnh - to be clothed

wdd - to wrap; to clothe

wʾdh - to tie; to sew; to weave

wdh - to tie; to sew; to weave

mʾr - to cloth; etymologically related “to be excellent”

rht - to wash (clothes)

msn - to spin; to twist (a thread)

msd - to clothe

htʾ - to be shabby, threadbare, in rags, wrinkled

hsf - to spin (yarn)

sh - to weave

sʾn - to spin, to twist, to weave

sʾr - to work with thread

stʾ - to weave; to spin

stʾm - to cloth, to bind up

sd - to clothe

TOOLS

mʾt - loom

mnw - thread

nwt - thread, yarn (for weaving)

nd - thread; yarn

hpt - skein of thread or twine

hsʾ - thread

nbʾ - spindle

CITATIONS

After Janssen 2008; Hoch 1994; Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae- <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/home>

APPENDIX 5- Textiles from the Tomb of Tutankhamun

Carter Number	Access. #	Name
021d	JE 62634; 62635	Ceremonial Robe
021e		Patterned cloth
021 m	JE62642	Tapestry woven garment
021o	JE62644	Collar Band from shirt
021p	JE62648	Cloth decorated with applique
012q	JE62649	Similar to 021q
021r	JE62650	Similar to 021q
021t	JE62631; 62632	Leopard-skin cloak
021v	Temp. 29.3.34.72	Fragments of a tapestry woven cloth
021x	JE62641	Fragments of a tapestry woven cloth
021z		Child's glove of fine linen
021aa	JE62643;62651	Collar of Shirt
021bb	JE62640	Similar collar of shirt
021cc	Temp. 29.3.32.03	Head garment; tapestry woven
021ee	Temp. 29.3.34.50	Pieces of tassel belt
021ff	JE62645	Pieces of tapestry woven belt
021gg	JE62646	Tapestry woven belt
021hh	Temp. 30.3.34.04a-h	Bundles of cloth
021mm		Cloth with fringed edges
021nn	Temp. 29.3.34.07	Loincloth
021oo		Rolled linen
021pp	JE62664	Rolled linen
021qq	Temp. 29.3.34.37a-j	10 rolls of linen bandages
021rr		Folded cloth
021ss	Temp. 29.3.34.105	Folded cloth
021tt	Temp. 29.3.34.97	Folded cloth
021uu	Temp. 29.3.34.103a-e	5 folded cloths
021vv	Temp. 30.3.34.13	Gauntlet
043b	JE62668	9 bundles of cloth
043c	Temp. 29.3.34.08a-g	7 bundles of cloth

043e	Temp. 30.3.34.17	Gauntlet
043f	Temp. 29.3.34.09	Loincloth
043g	Temp. 29.3.34.10a-b	2 loincloths
043h	Temp. 29.33.34.11	Rolled cloth
043i	JE62672	Glove
043j	JE62672	Glove
043m	Temp. 29.3.34.12a-e	5 rolled cloths
043o	Temp. 29.3.34.14	loincloth
044b	JE62663	Linen sash
044q	JE62629;62630	Leopard-skin robe
044r	Temp. 29.3.34.02	Decorated head covering
044t	Temp. 29.3.34.01/29.3.34.04	Ornamental garment
044w	JE62653	Decorated Rob
044ff	JE62673	Linen glove
044jj	Temp. 29.3.34.06	Sleeves?
046-		Bundles of cloth
046d	Temp. 29.3.34.15a-i	9 triangular loincloths
046e	Temp. 29.3.34.16a-;	12 triangular loincloths
046f	Temp. 29.3.34.15a-i	15 triangular loincloths
046g	Temp. 29.3.34.18a-g	7 triangular loincloths
046h	Temp. 29.3.34.104	linen kilt?
046i	Temp. 29.3.34.30a-l	4 apron shaped loincloth
046j	Temp. 29.3.34.31a-d	6 apron shaped loincloths
046k	Temp. 29.3.34.32a-f	6 apron shaped loincloths
046l	Temp. 293.34.19	1 triangular loincloth
046o	JE62676	Driving gauntlet; archery?
046p	JE62677	Driving gauntlet
046bb		Linen Quiver
046cc	JE62674	Glove
046dd		Gauntlet
046ee		Gauntlet
046ff		Fragmentary leopard skin robe
046gg	JE62654	Garment with sequins
046hh		Linen gauntlet
046nn	Temp. 30.3.34.09	Linen gauntlet

046ss		Triangular loincloth
045tt		Folded cloth, garment?
046uu	Temp. 29.3.34.20	2 triangular loincloths
046vv		2 apron-shaped loincloths
048x	JE61570	Quiver
050a	JE62656	Tunic
050b	Temp. 29.3.34.21a-c	3 triangular loincloths
050d	Temp. 29.3.34.55	Shawl
050f(1)	Temp. 29.3.34.22a-d	Shawl
050f(2)	Temp. 29.3.34.56	Shawl
050f(4)	Temp. 29.3.34.58	2 fragmentary shawls
050f(5)		3 loincloths
050g		5 loincloths
050h	JE62661	Shawl
050j	JE62657	Tunic
050k		Fragmentary garment
050l		31 loincloths
050m	JE62665	19 apron shaped loincloths
050n	Temp. 29.3.34.59	Shawl
050o	JE62660	Shawl
050p	JE62659; JE62679	Shawl
050q		Shawl
050r	JE62667	9 loincloths
050s	JE62666	Cap
050u	JE62669	Tapestry woven gauntlet
054a		Fragmentary tapestry woven cloth
054f	Temp. 29.3.34.05	Tapestry woven garment
054o	Temp. 30.3.34.07	Fragmentary glove
054p		Tapestry strip
054v	Temp. 30.3.34.18	Glove
068a		2 triangular loincloths
079a		2 loincloths
079b	Temp. 29.3.34.26	1 loincloth
079c	JE62709	Gauntlet
079d	Temp. 29.3.34.107a-j	10 folded cloths

079f	Temp. 29.3.34.51	1 triangular loincloth
079m	Temp. 29.3.34.27	1 triangular loincloth
079q		finger stall
079r	Temp. 30.3.34.12	gauntlet
079u		gauntlet
089a	JE62670	gauntlet
089b	Temp. 30.3.34.16	Gauntlet
092g	Temp. 30.3.34.16	Tapestry woven gauntlet
100f	JE62647	Belt
100g	Temp. 30.3.34.51	Fragmentary loincloth
101a	Temp. 29.3.34.63a-b	2 shawls
101b	Temp. 29.3.34.6aa-b	2 folded cloths
101c	Temp. 29.2.23.28a-d	4 triangular loincloths
101f	Temp. 29.3.34.5	Shawl
101g	Temp. 29.3.34.29a-f	6 triangular loincloths
101h	Temp. 29.3.34.55a-b	2 shawls
101i	Temp. 29.3.34.67a-d	3 shawls
101j	Temp. 29.3.34.68a-c	3 shawls
101k	Temp. 29.3.34.69a-c	5 shawls
101m		Scarf
101p	JE62639	Decorated Robe
101r	Temp. 29.3.34.96	Shawl
101s	JE62662	Shawl
101u	JE62658	Garment
101v	Temp. 29.3.34.71	2 scarves
101aa	Temp. 29.3.34.35	1 apron shaped loincloth
108b		Fragmentary corselet
256,4,p,bis		Khat- headdress
256,4,t	JE62699	skull cap
269c(1)		shawl?
269c(2)		shawl
269c(3)		Shawl
367e		scarf
367f	JE62675	Pair of tapestry woven gloves
367i	JE62625	Tapestry woven tunic

367j	JE62626	Linen and tapestry tunic
403e		Fragmentary tunic
442a		fragments of linen patchwork mat
547a		Fragment of cap
585z		leather gloves, arm protectors
587a	JE62628	Leather cuirass

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APPENDIX 6- Textile-Related Titles

Title	Translations	Name	Date	Source
<i>hrp ḥwwt nt mw</i>	Director of the Mansions of the <i>mw</i> -textile	Seneb	4 th dynasty	Jones no. 2647
<i>imy-r prw/sšr nswt</i>	Overseer of the King's Linen	Senedjem-ib	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 340
<i>imy-r mrt pr-³</i>	Overseer of the <i>mrt</i> -weavers of the Great House	Ni-hotep-ptah	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 890
<i>imy-r in '(w)/ḥts(w)t</i>	Overseer of the weavers	Neferen	6 th dynasty	Jones no. 276
<i>imy-r in '(w)/ḥts(w)t</i>	Overseer of the weavers	Nefer	5 th dynasty	Jones no. 276
<i>imy-r pr-in 'wt/ḥts(w)t</i>	Overseer of the House of the Weavers	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 464
<i>imy-r pr-in 'wt/ḥts(w)t</i>	Overseer of the House of Weaving Women	Meru	5 th -6 th dynasty	Jones no. 464
<i>imy-r pr-in 't/ḥts(w)t nt msw-nswt</i>	Overseer of the House of Weavers of the Royal Children	Ian	4 th dynasty	Jones no. 465
<i>imy-r pr-in 't/ḥts(w)t nt ḥnw</i>	Overseer of the House of Weavers/Weaving Women of the Residence	Nefermenu	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 466
<i>imy-r pr-in 't/ḥts(w)t nt ḥnw</i>	Overseer of the House of Weavers/Weaving Women of the Residence	Ini-ankh	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 466
<i>imy-r pr-in 't/ḥts(w)t nt ḥnw</i>	Overseer of the House of Weavers/Weaving Women of the Residence	Menu-nefer	5 th -6 th dynasty	Jones no. 466
<i>imy-r pr-in 't/ḥts(w)t nt ḥnw</i>	(female) Overseer of the House of Weavers/Weaving Women of the Residence	Ruwedj-zawus	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 466
<i>imy-r prw in 't/ḥtswt</i>	Overseer of the Houses of Weavers	Henmu-hesef	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 511
<i>imy-r prw in 't/ḥtswt nt... nw idmi nswt</i>	Overseer of the House of Weavers of the <i>idmy</i> -cloth of the king	Netjer-nefer	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 511
<i>imy-r ḥwt šm't</i>	Overseer of the House of <i>šm't</i> -linen	Pehernefer	4 th Dynasty	Jones no. 639

<i>imy-r ḥwt šm't</i>	Overseer of the House of <i>šm't</i> -linen	Sokar-hotep	5 th Dynasty	Jones no. 639
<i>imy-r ḥwt šm't m nḥn-r'</i>	Overseer of the House of <i>šm't</i> -linen of Nekhen-Ra	Nefermenu	5 th Dynasty	Jones no. 639
<i>imy-r sšr nswt mr pr-³</i>	Overseer of the Royal Linen of the Weavers of the Great House	Nen-hefet-kay	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 867
<i>imy-r sšr</i>	Overseer of the cloth/linen/clothing distribution	Perinedju and etc	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 864
<i>imy-r sšr nswt</i>	Overseer of the Royal Linen of the Weavers of the Great House	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 867
<i>imy-r sšr pr</i>	Overseer of the <i>sšr</i> -linen of the house	Henemu-ankh	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 868
<i>imy-r sŠr n pr-³</i>	Overseer of the <i>sšr</i> -linen of the Great House	Hasy	10 th -11 th dynasty	Jones no. 869
<i>imy-r sšr smsw</i>	Senior Overseer of the <i>sšr</i> -linen	Ptah-hotep	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 870
<i>imy-ḥt prw iriwt</i>	Under-supervisor of the House of Weavers	Teti	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 1038
<i>iry is ḥbs</i>	Keeper of Clothing	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 1139
<i>iry szf</i>	Keeper of Bolts of Linen	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 1237
<i>iry sšrw</i>	Keeper of Linen	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 1238
<i>iry sšr pr-³</i>	Keeper of the Linen of the Great House	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 1239
<i>iry d'it</i>	Supervisor of linen/wardrobe	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 2378
<i>ḥry-tp d'it m ḥst-nṯr</i>	Supervisor of the Wardrobe of the Temple	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 2379
<i>ḥrp pr in 't/ḥtst</i>	Director of the House of Weavers	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 2601
<i>sš n pr-in 't/ḥtst</i>	Scribe of the House of Weavers	n/a	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 3094
<i>šḥd sš mr.t</i>	Inspector of the Scribe of the <i>mrt</i> -weavers	Nyhetep-Ptah	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 3546
<i>sš n sšr n nswt</i>	Scribe of the Royal Linen	Ka-Sawadja	5 th Dynasty	Jones no. 3197
<i>šḥd imyw-r sšr pr-³</i>	Inspector of the Overseers of the Linen of the Great House	Mery-netjer Izzezi	Old Kingdom	Jones no. 3343

<i>ḥry mr.t</i>	Master of Weavers	n/a	12 th dynasty	BM10567
<i>šḥ.ty</i>	Weaver	n/a	Middle Kingdom	CG20184
<i>šs.ty</i>	Weaver	n/a	12 th -13 th dynasty	Brooklyn p. 35.1446
<i>šḥ.ty ḥ'tyw</i>	Weaver of the <i>ḥ'tyw</i> -cloth	n/a	12 th -13 th dynasty	Brooklyn p. 35.1446
<i>ḏ' ḥ'tyw</i>	Warper of <i>ḥ'tyw</i> -cloth	n/a	12 th -13 th dynasty	Brooklyn p. 35.1446
<i>šḥ.ty sšr</i>	Weaver of the sšr-cloth	n/a	12 th -13 th dynasty	Brooklyn p. 35.1446
<i>ḏ' sšr</i>	Warper of the sšr-cloth	n/a	12 th -13 th dynasty	Brooklyn p. 35.1446
<i>imy-r sšr</i>	Overseer of Linen	Neni	13 th dynasty	MMA 26.7.293
<i>iry sšrw</i>	Keeper of the Linen	Senankh	Middle Kingdom	Abydos Tomb 404; Cairo JdE 45371
<i>iry sdw</i>	Keeper of Clothing	n/a	Middle Kingdom	n/a
<i>sšry</i>	Linen-Keeper	Nen	Middle Kingdom	Cairo JdE 75136
<i>iry ḥbsw</i>	Keeper of the Clothing	n/a	Middle Kingdom	NyC Stelae no. 14; Firenze no. 33; Hatnub Gr. 14
<i>Iḥms n pnn nsu</i>	Attendant of the Royal Clothing Chamber	n/a	Middle Kingdom	CG20030
<i>sm ḥrp šndt nbt</i>	Sm-Master of all tunics	Djehutyhotep	12 th dynasty; Sesostri II- Amenemhat III	El-Bersha, Tomb 2
<i>imy-r ḥnkt</i>	Superintendent of Weaving	Amenemhat	12 th dynasty; Sesostri I	Tomb 2, North Group
<i>sm ḥrp šndt nbt</i>	Sm-Master of all the tunics	Amenemhat	12 th dynasty; Sesostri I	Tomb 2
<i>Imy-r ts(?)</i>	Superintendent of Weaving	Senebef	12 th dynasty, Sesostri II	Tomb 3
<i>sm ḥrp šndt nbt</i>	Sm-Master of all the tunics	Khnumhotep II	12 th dynasty, Sesostri II	Tomb 3
	Master of linen and linen manufacture	Khety	12 th dynasty	Tomb 17

<i>imy-r d't.t</i>	Superintendent of Weavers	Khety	12 th dynasty	Tomb 17
<i>imy-r rh.ty</i>	Superintendent of Washing of the Linen	Khety	12 th dynasty	Tomb 17
<i>d't.t</i>	female weaver	Baqt III	12 th dynasty	Tomb 15
<i>imy-r d't.t</i>	Overseer of female weavers	Baqt III	12 th dynasty	Tomb 15
<i>hry mr.wt n imn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of Amun	Djehuty	18 th dynasty; Amenhotep II	Theban Tomb 45
<i>hry mr.wt n imn</i>	Chief of the weavers of [Amun]	Amenemhat	18 th dynasty; Hatshepsut/Thutmose III	Theban Tomb 82
<i>hry mr.wt n imn</i>	Chief of the weavers of [Amun]	Djehutymes called Aa	18 th dynasty; Thutmose III	Theban Tomb 82
<i>hry mr.wt n imn</i>	Chief of the weavers of Amun	Djehutymes	18 th dynasty; Thutmose III	Theban Tomb 82
<i>hry mr.wt n imn</i>	Chief of the weavers of Amun	Min-nakht	18 th dynasty; Thutmose III	Silsileh Stela, TT87
<i>Imy-r mr.wt n imn</i>	Overseer of the Weavers of Amun	Nebseny	18 th dynasty; Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III	Theban Tomb 38
<i>hrp šndyt nbt</i>	Director all šndyt-skirts	Ramose	18 th dynasty; Amenhotep III-Akhenaten	Theban Tomb 55
<i>hrp šndyt</i>	Director of the šndyt	Rekhmire	18 th dynasty; Thutmose III	Theban Tomb 100
<i>hry mrw nb n Imn</i>	Chief of all Weavers of Amun	Kenamun	18 th dynasty; Amenhotep II	Theban Tomb 93
<i>imy-r šnwty n Imn šm'w mh'w</i>	Overseers of the weavers of Upper and Lower Egypt	Menkhepereseneb (ii)	18 th dynasty; Thutmose III-Amenhotep II	Theban Tomb 112
<i>hry ir nrf.w mr.wt n pr-imn</i>	Chief of the weavers of the fine linen of Amun	Wennefer	19 th dynasty; Ramses II	Theban Tomb 45
<i>hry mr.wt n imn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of Amun	Djehutyemheb	19 th dynasty; Ramses II	Theban Tomb 45
<i>hry mrw m t' hwt Wsr-m't-r' step-n-Ra m pr imn-r' hr imntt w'st</i>	Chief of the weavers of the Ramesseum of the Temple of Amun at Karnak	Neferrenpet	19 th dynasty; Ramses II	Theban tomb 133
<i>hry mr.wt n imn</i>	Chief of the Weavers of Amun	Neferrenpet	19 th dynasty; Ramses II	Theban Tomb 133
<i>wḏḥw insy n Wsi</i>	Dyer of Red Linen of Osiris	Neb-waau	19 th dynasty	Cairo 34017
<i>hry mr.wt</i>	Chief of the Weavers	Khaiemtener	19 th dynasty	BM 10568

<i>šht.y</i>	Weaver	n/a	20 th dynasty; Ramses III	O. Ashmolean Museum 0103 reverse
<i>šht.y n pr-imm</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Bukhaaf	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10068, r. 4.24; r. 6.14
<i>šht.y n pr wsr-m't-re stp-n-re</i>	Weaver of the temple of the Rammesseum	Paiukhef	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10068, r. 5.1
<i>šht.y n pr-imm</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Kharu	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10068 r. 5.7
<i>šht.y n pr-imm</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Khonsumose son of Thewnozem	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 2.2
<i>šht.y n pr-imm</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Pehesi	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 2.3
<i>šht.y n pr-imm</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Thewnozem	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 2.4
<i>šht.y n pr-imm (under the chief priest)</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Thayamenemimu	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 2.6
<i>šhty n t' hwt</i>	Weaver of the temple	n/a	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	Turin Necropolis Journal, vs. A3:6
<i>sš n šht.y n pr-imm</i>	Scribe of the weavers of the Temple of Amun	Shedsukhons	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 4.3
<i>šht.y n pr-imm</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Penwenhab	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 4.3
<i>imy-r šht.y ...</i>	Overseer weaver of Pairsekher, scribe of the Temple of Amun	Penwenhab	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 4.6; 6.10
<i>hry mr.wt</i>	Chief of the Weavers	Iriperet	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 4.15
<i>šht.y n pr-imm (under the chief priest)</i>	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Pezez	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 4.17
<i>šht.y n pr-imm (under the chief priest); šht.y hms=f n pr-³ rwit hnw im mnhyt</i>	Weaver who lives in the house of Pharaoh, inside the temple of <i>Mehit</i>	Pamedushepsinakht	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 4.19; ro. 7.14
<i>hry mr.w n šm'y imm</i>	Overseer of the Weavers of the Chantress of Amun	Sauipedmi	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 5.3
<i>šht.y</i>	Weaver	Keniminu	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 5.6

<i>šḥt.y n pr-imm</i> (under the chief priest)	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Ruteti	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 6.8
<i>šḥt.y n pr-imm</i> (under the chief priest)	Weaver of the Temple of Amun	Pesepet	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10053, ro. 6.18
<i>šḥt.y</i>	Weaver	Taty	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10403, 11
<i>šḥt.y</i>	Weaver	Tutu	20 th dynasty; Ramses IX	BM 10403, 14
<i>imy-r mr.wt</i>	Overseer of Weavers	n/a	20 th dynasty	P. BM EA 75015
<i>ḥry mr.wt</i>	Chief of Weavers	Ikherpay	20 th dynasty	P. BM EA 75015

APPENDIX 7- Texts from Western Thebes concerning Textiles

Name	Date	Type	Details	Citations
O. Ashmolean 0003	Dyn 20	Payment	n/a	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 7 (description) and pl. 22-22a no. 2 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 150-151 no. 146 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 584-585 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 82-83 no. 53 (translation)
O. Ashmolean 004	Dyn 20	Judicial	Case involving the theft of some clothes from the sculptor, which are in the possession of the daughter of the scribe Amenakht according to the oracle of the deified Amenhotep	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 9 (description) and pl. 27-27A no. 3 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 151-152 no. 147 (translation, commentary); Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), 178-179 (translation); Gardiner, PSBA 39 (1917), 43 (translation); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 394 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 142 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 181-182 no. 138 (translation)
O. Ashmolean 008	N/A	Account	Account of several commodities, their amounts and possibly a total.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 10 (description) and pl. 31-31A no. 5 (facsimile, transcription)
O. Ashmolean 054	Dyn 20	Compensation	A donkey (with its young?) was hired out to a watercarrier but most probably died. After proceedings in the qnb.t he is obliged to recompense the owner, but failed to do so and mistreats a policeman sent seeking compensation.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 15 (description) and pl. 49-49A no. 3 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 159-160 no. 156 (translation, commentary); Eichler, SAK 18 (1991), 194-195 and 198-199 (transliteration and translation of obverse 1-7 and reverse 3-6); Helck, <i>Materialien III</i> , 497-498 (translation); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 30-31 (summary of contents, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 473-474 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 066	Dyn 20	Payment	Payment to the workman for a piece of woodwork.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 17 (description) and pl. 59-59A no. 4 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 165 no. 161 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 256 (transcription)

O. Ashmolean 067	Dyn 19	Judicial	Letter to Pennebu about theft from 1r-ms when the latter fell ill while working in the granary of the temple of the goddess Maat. {Apparently one Raya took away some clothing, grain and basketry}	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 14 (description) and pl. 47-47A no. 2 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 166 no. 162 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions III</i> , 542 (transcription); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 145 no. 194 (translation)
O. Ashmolean 091	Dyn 19	Judicial	Personal account of several commodities brought to the writer of the ostrakon	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 17 (description) and pl. 59-59A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 169 no. 166 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions III</i> , 551 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0103 reverse	Dyn 20	Payment	Account of various payments for woodwork and clothing.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 15 (description) and pl. 52-52A no. 2 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 169-171 no. 167 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 585-586 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0105	N/A	Payment	Account of payments made by the workman Amenepet for a bed, with deficit	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 15 (description) and pl. 53-53A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 173 no. 169 (translation, commentary)
O. Ashmolean 0120	N/A	Payment	Payment for the dyeing of garments.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 19 (description) and pl. 65-65A no. 5 (facsimile, transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0123	Dyn 19	Payment	Items paid by the workman Any to an unknown woman for 480 days of service.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 16 (description) and pl. 54-54A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 177 no. 174 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions IV</i> , 219-220 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 86 (translation)
O. Ashmolean 0133	Dyn 19	Payment	Account of payments, transfer of burial equipment	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VII</i> , 182-183 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0135	Dyn 20	Payment	Account of payment for funerary equipment.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VII</i> , 344-345 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0139	Dyn 20	Payment	Payments in connection with the painting of woodwork items.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 45.41 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0146	N/A	Account	Account / list of commodities and their values.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 45.48 (description, transcription).

O. Ashmolean 0162	Dyn 20	Account	Account of a business concluded between the workman Anemumes and the Overseer of Medjay, with a deficit.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 309-310 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0163	Dyn 20	Payment	Obverse: payment for a coffin to the carpenter Ramery by the priest Neferhotep; reverse: payment for a coffin to the carpenter Ramery.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 17 (description) and pl. 58-58A no. 3 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 182-183 no. 182 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 255-256
O. Ashmolean 0165	Dyn 19	Judicial	Disputes over donkeys, involving the chief of police the watercarrier and the workman on the obverse, and the watercarrier and an anonymous woman on the reverse.	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 183-184 no. 183 and pl. 44-45 (transcription, translation, commentary); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 31-32 (summary of contents, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 548-550 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0166	Dyn 19	Judicial	Deposition before the court about a case of theft and self-sanctioning through a divine manifestation, causing the guilty party (a woman) to own up her crime. Account of what was given to an anonymous person. Note about the death of a relative.	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 184-185 no. 184 and pl. 46 (transcription, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 550 (transcription); Borghouts, in: <i>Gleanings from Deir el-Medina</i> , 4 (translation of obverse 1-3, commentary); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 102 no. 73B (translation of obverse 1-3)
O. Ashmolean 0171	Dyn 20	Payment	Account of commodities manufactured by the workman. for the priest with payments and balance.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 332-333 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0193	Dyn 20	Account	Textile account (laundry list?) of the washerman	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 311 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0194	Dyn 20	Account	Account-list of items which are 'with' NN, with specified items.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 311-312 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0197	Dyn 19	Judicial	Protocol (?) mentioning several very unclear cases, involving the workman Paneb and the wife of Amenwia and the scribe Onherkhepeshef arrives at the riverbank first receives clothes and then gives some textile to Amenwia; the workman Rahotep cuts the hair of the scribe Onherkhepeshef; and gives him(?) textile and yarn, for the scribe's having "concealed his crimes".	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 159 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 89 (translation)

O. Ashmolean 0201	N/A	Payment	Items to be paid	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.11 (description, transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0204	Dyn 20	Account	Account of items owed by the chantress of Amun to the workman	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 15 (description), pl. 50-50A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 189-190 no. 189 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 258 (transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0210	N/A	Account	Account/list of clothing and sheets, with amounts.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.17 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean Museum 0219 + O. BM EA 25289	Dyn 19	Account	Account of commodities taken to (or from?) various workmen and the scribe on III pr.t 2-7: grain, loaves, garments and wine.	Haring, <i>JEA</i> 90 (2004), 216-219 (photograph of O. Ashmolean Museum 0219; description, transcription, translation, commentary); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 24, pl. 69 (description, photograph and transcription of O. BM EA 25289)
O. Ashmolean 0222	N/A	Payment	Account of items paid by or to [...]Pahapi	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.25 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0223	N/A	Account	List of three men and number of garments in connection with these men.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.26 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0226	N/A	Account	Objects and their values in connection with a man Neferhotep	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.28 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0233	N/A	Payment	Items paid by a person, perhaps after a 'remainder was found with him'.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.35 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0234	N/A	Payment	Items given or paid by a man to a woman.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.36 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0238	N/A	Account	Account of items with their values paid or given to someone.	Unpublished; Černý, <i>Notebook</i> 31.39 (description, transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0247	N/A	Payment	Obverse: sale of a piece of cattle and items paid with values; reverse: delivery to workman	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.48.
O. Ashmolean 0252	N/A	Transfer	Account of a transfer mentioning items and their values.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.53.
O. Ashmolean 0259	N/A	Account	Account in form of a list naming numerous commodities and amounts.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.63 (description, transcription)
O. Ashmolean Museum	Dyn 20	Account	List of an anonymous woman's property, including a statement by the woman's father concerning work,	O. Cochrane: Gardiner, in: Griffith, <i>JEA</i> 3 (1916) 194-195 (facsimile, transcription, translation, commentary); O. Ashmolean Museum 0264

0264 + O. Cochrane			<i>b/k.w.</i> A specified transfer by the father concludes the list. Old text: items given to a person as rewards from Kings Ramesses III and Ramesses IV(?).	unpublished + O. Cochrane: Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.67 (transcription).
O. Ashmolean 0265	N/A	Account	Obverse holds an account of textile, reverse a list of names.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 31.68 (description, transcription)
O. Ashmolean 0286	Dyn 19	Payment	Account of payment for three pieces of textile.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 81.6 (description, transcription)
O. Ashmolean 1199	Dyn 20	Account	Personal account of the goods and services for the repairs of a house and tomb and harboring their wife for sixty days.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 21 (description) and pl. 72-72A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 24-26 no. 4 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 587-588 (transcription); Sweeney, <i>JEA</i> 84 (1998), 105-106 (translation and commentary of reverse); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 34-35 no. 9 (translation obv. 20 - rev. 10)
O. Berlin P 01268 obverse	Dyn 20	Payment	Record of the transfer of certain commodities, with their values, by the watercarrier to the workman as payment for his she-ass. The record was written by the draughtsman in the house of the scribe	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (description, transcription, transliteration, translation, photograph and commentary); Allam, <i>FuB</i> 22 (1982), 52-53 (description, transcription, translation and commentary), pl. 2 (photograph); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 251 (partial transliteration and translation); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 231 (translation); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 44 (summary of contents, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 284-285 (transcription)
O. Berlin P 01268 reverse	Dyn 20	Account	Record of the arrears(?) in the delivery of (fire)wood, followed by a transaction involving several commodities and the total of the price paid so far.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (description, transcription, transliteration, translation, photograph and commentary); Allam, <i>FuB</i> 22 (1982), 52-53 (description, transcription, translation and commentary), pl. 2 (photograph); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 284-285 (transcription)
O. Berlin P 09408	Dyn 19	Account	A dated list of commodities, mainly textiles, divided(?) among several persons.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (description, transcription, transliteration,

				translation, photograph and commentary)
O. Berlin P 10643	Dyn 20	Transfer	Record of several items, listed with their values, given to Amunmes by Amunemopet, the father of the author of this document.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (description, transcription, transliteration, translation, photograph and commentary); Allam, <i>FuB</i> 22 (1982), 54-55 (description, transcription, translation and commentary), pl. 3,2 (photograph); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 330-331 (transcription)
O. Berlin P 10674	Dyn 20	Payment	On reverse a note saying that someone ('you') shall give clothes to User-maat-nakht who will then take something in return(?).	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photographs, description, transcription, transliteration and translation of reverse, and commentary)
O. Berlin P 11258	Dyn 20	Account	Account of some commodities which an anonymous man caused to be brought to a lady.	Černý <i>Notebook</i> 32.89 (description and transcription); Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photographs, description, transcriptions, transliteration, translation and commentary)
O. Berlin P 11259	Dyn 20	Account	A list of commodities, each followed by its price/value, on obverse added up to a total of 100 <i>deben</i> of copper.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photographs, description, transliterations, transcription, translation and commentary)
O. Berlin P 12336	Dyn 20	Account	On obverse a list of amounts of copper and commodities, some of iron (bi) and lead (i.e. a vessel and weights of a fishing net), with prices, added up to 85 1/2 <i>deben</i> of copper. On reverse only "2 sacks"	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photographs, description, transcriptions, transliteration, translation and commentary)
O. Berlin P 12343	Dyn 20	Payment	Obverse: an account of transfers, involving the workman Bakenwerner of decorated coffins and some other items; reverse: an account of transfers of carpentry work given by the workman Bakenwerner to the draughtsman	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (description, transcription, transliteration, translation, photograph and commentary); Grandet, in: <i>Les artistes de Pharaon</i> (2002), 206 no. 157 (photographs, description); Hieratische Papyrus Berlin III, Leipzig 1911, pls. XXXIV, XXXIVa (description, facsimile, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 164-165 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 81-82 (translation, commentary)
O. Berlin P 12406	Dyn 20	Transfer	Record of commodities given by Usekhnetmet t to his father-in-law on the occasion of his 'wedding' with his	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photographs, description, transcriptions (after Černý),

			daughter, and on other occasions (feasts). On reverse followed by a record of commodities given 'to him' by Nebamun on the occasion of his promotion	transliteration, translation and commentary); Toivari, <i>Women at Deir el-Medina</i> , 62-63 (translation obv. 1-2 and rev. 6-13 and commentary); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 165-167 (partial translation, commentary).
O. Berlin P 12647	Dyn 19	Transfer	Dated note(?) of a transfer(?) of some commodities, with prices.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (description, transcription, transliteration, translation and commentary); Černý <i>Notebook</i> 32.41.
O. Berlin P 12649	N/A	Account	List of pieces of clothing handed over to a washerman on a certain date.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photographs, description, transcription, transliteration, translation and commentary); Jac. J. Janssen, <i>The laundrymen of the Theban Necropolis</i> , <i>Archiv Orientalni</i> 70 (2002), 9 (translation and commentary).
O. Berlin P 14256	Dyn 19	Payment	Record of commodities given by the lady to a draughtsman as payment for decoration work done, of the last-named temple a school is mentioned.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photographs, description, transcriptions, transliteration, translation and commentary);
O. Berlin P 14260	Dyn 20	Transfer	Record of all objects (with their values), given by a workman to a carpenter	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (description, transcription, transliteration, translation, photograph and commentary); Allam, <i>FuB</i> 22 (1982), 58 (description, transcription, translation and commentary (pl. 6 (photograph)); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 342 (transcription)
O. Berlin P 14373	Dyn 20	Payment	Note about delivery of a tunic by watercarrier Kener as his account and mention of another watercarrier.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photograph, description, transcription, transliteration, translation and commentary)
O. Berlin P 15294	Dyn 20	Account	Probably a list of textile items, followed by numbers.	Deir el Medine online, URL: http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de (photograph, description, transcription and commentary)
O. BM EA 05633	Dyn 20	Payment	Obverse: account of payment, mostly of metalwork; reverse, more accounts, involving several other people.	Birch, <i>Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character</i> , pl. 16 (facsimile); Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 23 (description) and pl. 86 no. 1 (transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 588-589 (transcription); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 17-18 and pl. 23-24 (description, photograph, transcription)

O. BM EA 05643	Dyn 20	Transfer	Priced list of commodities, some of which were given to two individuals	Birch, <i>Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character</i> , pl. 24 (facsimile); Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 23 (description) and pl. 85 no. 2 (transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 163 (transcription); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 20 and pl. 40 (description, photograph, transcription)
O. BM EA 05649	Dyn 20	Payment	Account of the payment for a piece of cattle.	Birch, <i>Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character</i> , pl. 15 (facsimile); Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 23 (description) and pl. 86 no. 2 (transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 589 (transcription); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 20 and pl. 42 (description, photograph, transcription)
O. BM EA 29555	Dyn 20	Transfer	An account or list of items given by a citizeness to a number of named individuals.	Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 26, pls. 83-84 (photographs, description, transcription)
O. BM EA 29560	Dyn 20	Transfer	List of commodities given by one woman to another in certain months.	Birch, <i>Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character</i> , pl. 28 (facsimile); Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 23 (description) and pl. 85 no. 1 (transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 51-53 no. 24 (translation, commentary); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 27 and pl. 88-89 (description, photograph, transcription)
O. BM EA 50711 observe	Dyn 20	Payment	A letter from an anonymous author dealing with transfers of goods and a purchase of a donkey	Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 31, pls. 104-105 (photographs, description, transcription).
O. BM EA 50737	Dyn 20	Payment	An account of the payment given for a bed by the chantress to a workman	Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 35, pl. 138 (photograph, description, transcription).
O. BM EA 50740	Dyn 20	Account	An account consisting of various amounts of oil, grain, textiles and a bed.	Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 36, pl. 143 (photograph, description, transcription).
O. BM EA 65935	Dyn 19	Payment	Items paid by the workman Paneb to a coppersmith for a vessel.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 16 (description) and pl. 56-56A no. 2 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 220 no. 219 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions IV</i> , 229 (transcription); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 41 and pl. 183 (description, photograph, transcription)
O. BM EA 65936	Dyn 20	Transfer	List of items taken by a man to the house of his bride,	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 16 (description) and pl. 56-56A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam,

			who, however, has rejected him twice.	<i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 222-223 no. 222 (translation, commentary); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 45-46 no. 20 (translation); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 42 and pl. 184 (description, photograph, transcription)
O. BM EA 65941	Dyn 20	Account	Commodities owed by Neferhotep to Parahotep, probably partly on account of the latter's work on a coffin.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 16 (description) and pl. 57-57A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 220-221 no. 220 (translation, commentary); Demarée, <i>Ramesside Ostraca</i> , 42-43 and pl. 191-192 (description, photograph, transcription)
O. Brooklyn 37.1880E	Dyn 20	Payment	An account of payments of various items to the carpenter Ramery	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII 310-311 (transcription); Janssen, <i>De Markt op de Oever</i> , 14 (translation of rev. 4-7); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 84-85 no. 55 (translation of rev. 1-7).
O. Brussels E 304	N/A		Account of goods, including grain and textile, retrieved from various locations: a temple of the deified king Amenhotep, the Valley of Kings, and a treasury. Distribution of textiles among the workmen.	Speleers, <i>Recueil des inscriptions</i> , 50 no. 1 85 (transcription)
O. Brussels E 305	Dyn 20	Payment	Letter to the chantress of Amun with various requests: for a sack for transporting grain, for a vase, and for a coffin(?) to be paid in copper and textile. The sender also mentions his father and a woman.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 338 (transcription); Speleers, <i>Recueil des inscriptions</i> , 50 no. 1 86 (transcription)
O. Brussels E 307	N/A	Transfer	Account of items given by or to a woman	Speleers, <i>Recueil des inscriptions</i> , 50 no. 1 88 (transcription)
O. Brussels E 311	N/A	Payment	Account of items handed over or paid	Speleers, <i>Recueil des inscriptions</i> , 51 no. 1 92 (transcription)
O. Brussels E 6311	Dyn 19	Transfer	Obverse: list of items held by the workman, his wife and his daughter-in-law, all or some of which have been received. Report has been made about this by the speaker to the chief workman, who said that report should be made to the court. Reverse: the father(?) of the speaker has died during the war. The commodities he has left	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 53 and 54 (no. 25), pls. 24-27 (description, transcription, photograph, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 230 and 231 (transcription); VII, 231 (transcription of obv. 1-3 and beginnings of obv. 4-10)

			include objects of wood, which are to be used to produce a statue. The speaker has also made some garments from yarn procured by the latter. Rev. 11 and 12 mention a transaction.	
O. BTdK 686	Dyn 20	Transfer	Record of a business transaction between a workman and a necropolis scribe, listing several commodities given, like tables, beds, textiles and bronze vases.	Dorn, <i>Arbeiterhütten</i> , 424-425 (description, transliteration, translation and commentary), pls. 553-555 (photograph, facsimile and transcription).
O. BTdK 688	Dyn 20	Transfer	Account of products exchanged between persons.	Dorn, <i>Arbeiterhütten</i> , 425-426 (description, transliteration, translation and commentary), pls. 564-566 (photographs, facsimiles and transcriptions).
O. BTdK 690	Dyn 20	Payment	On obverse probably some lines of a letter. On reverse a record of a business transaction, involving a garment and some commodities given as payment, i.e. a donkey.	Dorn, <i>Arbeiterhütten</i> , 426-427 (description, transliteration, translation and commentary), 438 (description of fragments A-E), pls. 596-598 (photograph, facsimile and transcription of obverse), 567-569 (photograph, facsimile and transcription of reverse); 595 (photographs and facsimiles of fragments A-E)
O. BTdK 694	Dyn 20	Account	Record of several commodities which are with some persons named.	Dorn, <i>Arbeiterhütten</i> , 428-429 (description, transliteration, translation and commentary), pls. 573-575 (photograph, facsimile and transcription).
O. BTdK 696	Dyn 20	Account	Unclear text mentioning some commodities. At the end on reverse a colophon "made by scribe NN".	Dorn, <i>Arbeiterhütten</i> , 431-432 (description, transliteration, translation and commentary), pls. 579-581 (photographs, facsimile and transcription).
O. Cairo CG25227	Dyn 19	Judicial	Obverse: A: a writing exercise; B: a protocol of a theft(?); reverse: a protocol concerning a case of alleged but denied adultery, and a divorce.	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 55-56 no. 26, pl. 28 (transcription, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 231-232 (transcription); Daressy, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 55-56 (description, transcription); Spiegelberg, <i>Studien und Materialien</i> , 76 (translation of reverse 4-5); Spiegelberg, <i>OLZ</i> 5 (1902), 315-316 (transcription of reverse 1-6, 7-8); Wilson, <i>JNES</i> 7 (1948), 136 no. 36 (translation of reverse 4-5).
O. Cairo CG25237	Dyn 19	Request	Obverse: a dispute between the chief workman Neferhotep and the servant Panmahu concerning a	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 529-530 (transcription); Daressy, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 60-61 (description, transcription); Spiegelberg, <i>OLZ</i> 5

			payment for some work services(?) by a female servant. Reverse: the workman Paneb is commissioned and obliged to take an oath	(1902), 317-318 (transcription and translation of obverse 1-5, reverse 1-3, commentary); Davies and Toivari, SAK 24 (1997), 69-80 (obverse: transliteration, translation, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 79-80 (translation).
O. Cairo CG25258	Dyn 20	Wages	A communication by the mayor of Western Thebes to the Captains of the Necropolis of a message sent by Pharaoh about bringing and distributing grain rations; account(?).	Daressy, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 67, pl. LIV (photograph, description); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 379 (translation of lines 1 - 2)
O. Cairo CG25294	N/A	Reuse	A note on the apportioning of some unidentified object or goods to the gang; a mention of cutting a cloth, and some other issue concerning the left side.	Daressy, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> 74-75 (description, transcription); a revised transcription by Černý, <i>Notebook</i> 101.4
O. Cairo CG25314	Dyn 20	Wages	An account of tools delivered, and some delivery by the vizier, and inactivity(?).	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 666 (transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 459 (revised transcription); Daressy, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 81 (description, transcription).
O. Cairo CG25504	Dyn 19	Wages	Obverse II 7-11: a high commission headed by vizier Panehesy arrives to supervise the transport of the coffins of the king. The gang receives rewards (II 11, continued on reverse); Reverse I 1-7: supplies taken from (?) the storehouse, evidently the rewards for the gang; I 8-9: the vizier Panehesy and his commission depart northwards; Reverse II: announcing of the arrival of a high commission, amongst whom a vizier carrying a letter of the king. The commission arrive, but without the vizier, who arrives two days later. Some work is done on a coffin; rewarding of the gang.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 2 (description), 2*-3* (transcription), pl. II (photograph); Daressy, ASAE 27 (1927), 167-168 II-III (transcription of part); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 155-158 (transcription); Wimmer, <i>Hieratische Palaeographie</i> 1, 40-41 (transcription of obverse; but see Wimmer, <i>Hieratische Palaeographie</i> 1, 22); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 223-225 no. 173 (translation of obv. II 6-10 and rev. II 1-III 5); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 87-88 (translation)
O. Cairo CG25543 obverse	Dyn 19	Payment	List of various payments, e.g. for a servant, total, remainder.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 18 (description), 39* (transcription), pl. XXV (photograph); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 309-310 (transcription)

O. Cairo CG25562	Dyn 20	Judicial	Cloth is handed over by a deputy of the treasury and a scribe of the vizier. According to the Necropolis scribe it belongs to "the god". The vizier has demanded that a man be brought to him in connection with this case (?). The cloth is / has been cut into 8 pieces by the chief workman	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 23 (description), 46* (transcription), pl. XXXI (facsimile); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 424 (translation); Helck, <i>Materialien V</i> , (938) (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 13 1 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG25572	Dyn 19	Judicial	Conflict before the court, involving a false statement / accusation (?) about a loan or debt, a punishment of 100 blows and a divine manifestation.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 26 (description), 48* (transcription), pl. XXV-XXXVI (photograph); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 63-65, no. 31 (translation, commentary); Collier, <i>Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca</i> , 90-91, 156 (description, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 572-573 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Jurisdiction</i> , 179-180, 253-254 (translation, commentary); cf. Allam, <i>BiOr</i> 49 (1992), 382-383)
O. Cairo CG25583	Dyn 19	Transfer	Items given by a workman to a woman. Some items are not identifiable.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 30 (description), 52* (transcription), pl. XLIII (facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions IV</i> , 329-330 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG25588	Dyn 20	Payment	List of quantities of emmer sold by an anonymous person to various persons to pay for commodities.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 31 (description, transcription of reverse), 54* (transcription of obverse), pl. XLVI (facsimile of obverse); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 126-127 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 382 (translation)
O. Cairo CG25590	Dyn 20	Payment	Items paid for a jar; deficit remaining.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 32 (description), 55* (transcription), pl. XLVII (photograph); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 66, no. 33 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 165 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG25596	Dyn 19	Account	List of various commodities and their value.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 33-34 (description), 57* (transcription), pl. XLIX (facsimile)
O. Cairo CG25602	Dyn 20	Account	Various commodities and their value, totaling 25 <i>deben</i> .	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 35 (description), 58* (transcription), pl. LI (photograph)
O. Cairo CG25606	Dyn 20	Payment	Two accounts of payments; one to a carpenter (obverse), one to another (reverse).	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 36 (description), 59* (transcription), pl. LII and LIV (photograph of obverse, facsimile of reverse); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 165-166 (transcription)

O. Cairo CG25612	Dyn 20	Payment	Deposition of the engraver about commodities given by him to the woman.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 38 (description), 61* (transcription), pl. LIV (facsimile)
O. Cairo CG 25677	Dyn 19	Transfer	List of items given to the lady by a number of persons.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 57, 77* and 78*, pl. LXXV (description, transcription, photographs); Janssen, in: <i>Ramesside Studies</i> , 237-242, 244-279 (transcription, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions IV</i> , 175 and 176 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG 25680	Dyn 19	Account	Obverse: list of items; reverse: account of lamps, Dom-palm nuts, coriander, offering-loaves and/or cakes delivered or used on two subsequent days.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 58, 81* and 82*, pl. LXXVIII (description, transcription, photographs); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 48 (translation reverse); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions IV</i> , 170 and 171 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG 25684	Dyn 20	Account	Incomplete account of some items (including a coffin, a sheet, a garment and an ox or cow). Total of their value and a deficit.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 59, 82*, pl. LXXIX (description, transcription, facsimile)
O. Cairo CG 25690	Dyn 20	Account	List of workmen and various items, including a coffin, a garment, a leather sack, and bronze objects and a chair.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 61, 83*, pl. LXXXI (description, transcription, facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 590 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG 25693	Dyn 20	Account	Lists of objects (including razors, vessels, woodwork, a tunic and fish).	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 61, 84*, pl. LXXXII (description, transcription, facsimile)
O. Cairo CG 25707	Dyn 20	Account	List of objects.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 65, 86* (description, transcription)
O. Cairo CG 25708	Dyn 20	Letter	Message to a male addressee about a woman and garments.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 65, 86*, pl. LXXXIII (description, transcription, facsimile)
O. Cairo CG 25718	Dyn 20	Account	Obscure; the remaining parts of lines mention abuses in connection with a chief workman. Mention of clothing, bread, and the grinding of emmer.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 68, 87*, pl. LXXXIV (description; transcription of obv. and rev. 1 and 2; facsimile of obv. and rev. 3)
O. Cairo CG 25721	Dyn 20	Transfer	Deliveries of barley (and other items?) by various persons, followed by totals. Note on 20 <i>sd</i> -garments(?), 2 tunics, and a basket.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 68 and 69, 88*, pl. LXXXV (description, transcription, facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 600 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG 25723	N/A	Judicial	Case submitted to the court about garments received by the speaker. Mention of other items and 15 jars of this or of a different commodity (rev. 2; cf. obv. 4).	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 69 and 70, 88*, pl. LXXXVI (description, transcription, facsimile)

O. Cairo CG 25725 + O. IFAO 00137 + O. Louvre E 03259	Dyn 20	Judicial	Deposition to the court about the garments one gave to their daughter when she was ill. When he wanted them back, she did not give them. Items later given by a man to his daughter were only partly compensated. Louvre fragment: dispute about barley, apparently related to the above matters.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 70, 89*, pl. LXXXVII (description, transcription and facsimile of Cairo frgt.); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 68 and 69 (no. 35), pl. 59 (translation and commentary of Cairo and Louvre frgts., transcription of Louvre frgt.); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 417 and 418 (transcription of Cairo and Louvre fragments); Helck, <i>Materialien</i> V, (938) (translation of Cairo frgt.); IFAO fragment unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 102.73a
O. Cairo CG 25756	Dyn 19	Request	Letter from the two chief workmen and the scribe of the Necropolis to a functionary of the Ramesseum(?), mentioning work and lamps, and with a request to send clothes (i.e. probably rags, for lamps).	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 78, 92*, pl. XCIV (description, transcription, facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 573 (transcription)
O. Cairo CG 25815b	Dyn 19	Account	Daily entries mentioning rags and yarn, measures expressed in cubits, and carpenters.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Caire</i> , 96, 117*, pl. CXIII (description, transcription, facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 567 (transcription)
O. Černý 15	Dyn 20	Transfer	Items given by the workman 1r to a priest through various persons.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 18 (description), pl. 61-61A no. 3 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 70-71 no. 37 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 161-162 (transcription)
O. Černý 19	Dyn 19	Reuse	Letter from the draughtsman Pay to his son to buy several commodities in connection with the funeral of his wife and also to rework some old clothing into a sash and an apron.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 16 (description), pl. 54-54A no. 4 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 72-73 no. 39 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 533-534 (transcription); Wente, <i>Letter</i> , 153 no. 218 (translation); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 75 no. 46A (translation); Keller, in <i>Fragments of a Shattered Visage</i> , 59 (translation of obv. 1-4); Goldwasser, <i>LingAeg</i> 9 (2001), 132, 138 (transcription, short commentary)
O. Černý 20	Dyn 20	Account	An account of various items such as painted coffins and textiles, with noted deficits, of various persons.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 343-344 (transcription).
O. DeM 00049	Dyn 19	Payment	Obverse: payments to adraughtsman for painting cloth and coffin; reverse: the draughtsman will paint a	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 14 (description), pl. 42-42 A (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 81 no. 45

			coffin in return for items he has already received	(translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 554 (transcription; see Remarks); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 195 (transcription)
O. DeM 00051	Dyn 20	Transfer	Items given by (?) a male person.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 14 (description), pl. 43-43 A (facsimile, transcription)
O. DeM 00085	Dyn 19	Account	Various types of clothing and total.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 23 (description), pl. 52 (transcription)
O. DeM 00086	Dyn 19	Account	Issue of grain; list of clothing.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 23 (description), pl. 53 (transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 563-564 (transcription)
O. DeM 00087	Dyn 19	Account	List of clothing.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 23 (description), pl. 53 (transcription)
O. DeM 00088	Dyn 19	Account	List of clothing produced and received.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 23 (description), pl. 53 (transcription)
O. DeM 00090	Dyn 19	Account	List of clothing.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 24 (description), pl. 54-54 A (facsimile, transcription)
O. DeM 00105	Dyn 20	Account	Various types of metalwork and woodwork, blanket, and value in <i>deben</i> .	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 27 (description), pl. 58 (transcription); Lopez, <i>Ostraca Hieratici</i> , 14 (description), pl. 159-159 a (facsimile and transcription of Turin fragment).
O. DeM 00113	Dyn 20	Payment	List of items paid for an ox.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [I], 29 (description), pl. 62-62 A (photograph, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 91 no. 58 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 102-103 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 353 (translation in outline of content other source)
O. DeM 00117	Dyn 19	Transfer	Letter from a man to her sister about the transfer of a tunic and the picking(?) of vegetables.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> II, 2, pls. 3 and 3A (description, transcription, facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Pharaoh Triumphant</i> , 198 (translation); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 41, no. 15.A (translation, commentary); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 156, no. 228 (translation)
O. DeM 00125	Dyn 20	Request	Anonymous female sender urges the addressee, a woman, to procure a tunic in exchange for a ring, and to deliver it to the sender within 10 days(?).	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> II, 4, pls. 6 and 6A (description, transcription, photograph); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 96, no. 65 (translation, commentary); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 237 (transliteration, translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 543 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient</i>

				<i>Egypt</i> , 75, no. 46.B (translation, commentary); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 156, no. 229 (translation)
O. DeM 00131	Dyn 19	Transfer	List of commodities sent by the addressee to the writer, and of items sent in return.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> II, 5, pl. 10 (description, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 99, no. 69 (translation, commentary); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 161, no. 249 (translation)
O. DeM 00132	Dyn 19	Request	Letter from a man to her sister, with a request to weave a <i>rwḏ</i> -garment. Because of her "nakedness" the deified king Amenhotep has not appeared.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> II, 5, pl. 10 (description, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 99 and 100, no. 70 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 558 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 41, no. 15.B (translation, commentary); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 157, no. 232 (translation)
O. DeM 00183	Dyn 20	Transfer	List of commodities given by a workman to a draughtsman (name lost); the value of the goods is given in grain measures.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> II, 21, pl. 51 (description, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 102, no. 73 (translation with notes); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 166 (transcription)
O. DeM 00185	Dyn 20	Payment	Amounts of copper <i>dbn</i> given to an unnamed woman in exchange for garments.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> II, 22, pl. 51 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00187	Dyn 20	Account	Obv. 1-3: list of metal objects given to the coppersmith. Obv. 4 - rev. 3: list of items in the "treasury of Amenhotep I.p.h." Rev. 4 and 5: date, and the phrase "going there(from/to?)"	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> II, 22, pl. 52 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 272 and 273 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 503 (transcription)
O. DeM 00198	Dyn 19	Payment	Items paid for the painting of his burial chamber.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 3 (description), pl. 3 (transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 103-104 no. 75 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 230 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 69 no. 40 (translation)
O. DeM 00210	Dyn 19	Account	Account/list of clothing.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 5 (description), pl. 9 (transcription)
O. DeM 00211	Dyn 19	Account	List of clothing.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 6 (description), pl. 9 (transcription)
O. DeM 00212	Dyn 19	Account	List of men and (their?) clothing.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 6 (description), pl. 9 (transcription)
O. DeM 00214	Dyn 19	Payment	Obverse: receipt of grain (?), mention of clothing and value. Reverse: mention of two workmen and a coffin, and its value.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 6 (description), pl. 10 (transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 420-421 (transcription)

O. DeM 00223	Dyn 20	Payment	Items paid to the carpenter for (making) coffins.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 8-9 (description), pl. 15-15A (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 105 no. 77 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 433 (transcription)
O. DeM 00231	Dyn 20	Account	Account of the share of the workman, listing various items and total in <i>debens</i> of silver.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 10 (description), pl. 18 (transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 107 no. 80 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 579-580 (transcription)
O. DeM 00233	Dyn 19	Payment	Record of payments to the draughtsman Pay in connection with his coffin.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir el Medineh</i> III, 11 (description), pl. 20 (transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> 108 no. 81 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 844 (transcription); Andreu, <i>BIFAO</i> 85 (1985), 18-19 (translation)
O. DeM 00242	Dyn 19	Payment	The policeman pays, or receives payment, for the use of a donkey for a period of two months. The payment includes a liquid (measured in <i>hin</i> , sandals, clothing and emmer.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 1, pl. 1 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Materialien</i> III, (494) (translation); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 60-61 (summary of contents, commentary)
O. DeM 00255	Dyn 20	Payment	Account of payment(?) for a footstool made by the <i>wab</i> - priest for the workman. One <i>deben</i> still must be paid.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 4, pl. 4 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 430 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 250 (transcription)
O. DeM 00258	Dyn 19	Account	List of houses with the names of individuals and numbers of garments given to the washerman.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 5, pl. 6 (description, transcription); M.A.M. Selem, S. Abd el-Khalek, <i>Egyptian Textiles Museum</i> [no place and year], 76 (colour photograph, description, translation; see Remarks); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 571 and 572 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 59, no. 31 (translation, commentary)
O. DeM 00260	Dyn 19	Payment	Various items given (paid?) by a workman (name lost) to another	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 5 and 6, pl. 6 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 144 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 321 (transcription)
O. DeM 00283	Dyn 19	Account	List of different items of clothing, followed by figures (laundry list?).	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 11, pl. 11 (description, transcription)

O. DeM 00285	Dyn 19	Account	Account of items and their value, in connection with a person.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 12, pl. 12 (description, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 528 (transcription)
O. DeM 00292	Dyn 20	Judicial	Statement by a workman in court about the loan of a donkey.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 13, pl. 14 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Materialien</i> III, (493) (translation); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 37-38 (summary of contents, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 255 (transcription)
O. DeM 00302	Dyn 19	Transfer	Handing over cattle and garments (<i>sd</i>), with value specified.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 16, pl. 17 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00314	Dyn 19	Letter	Letter to a scribe, requesting the adjustment of a laundryman's work quota (which is expressed in amounts of 'houses') and reporting an inquiry after the natron needed for washing clothes.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 20, pl. 21 (description, transcription); Davies and Toivari, in: <i>Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD</i> , 65-77 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Pharaoh Triumphant</i> , 197 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 537 (transcription); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 144, no. 191 (translation)
O. DeM 00338	Dyn 19	Account	Obverse: list of laundry in the hands of a washerman. Reverse: delivery(?) of grain rations.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> IV, 26, pl. 32 (description, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 571 (transcription)
O. DeM 00341	Dyn 19	Account	List of laundry delivered(?) by someone; departure and arrival (of the same person?) are mentioned on reverse.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 1, pl. 1 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00363	Dyn 19	Request	The addressee is asked to make a pair of sleeves for the sender within ten days.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 7, pl. 6 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Materialien</i> V, (813) (translation)
O. DeM 00399	Dyn 20	Payment	Payment by a workman to the deputy for a metal vessel, consisting of clothing, oil and a wooden statue. A sum of 3 <i>dbn</i> remains to be paid	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 16, pl. 16 (description, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 256 (transcription)
O. DeM 00404	Dyn 20	Account	List of clothes.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 17, pl. 17 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00406	Dyn 20	Compensation	Distribution of clothes to the gang.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 18, pl. 17 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 232 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 459 (transcription)
O. DeM 00428	Dyn 20	Account	List of items (with their total value in <i>deben</i>) belonging to and now in the possession of the doorkeeper, in connection with feeding an ox.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 23 and 24, pl. 23 (description, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 580 and 581 (transcription)

O. DeM 00441	Dyn 19	Account	List of items.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 27, pl. 27 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00452	Dyn 19	Account	List of garments.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> V, 30, pl. 28 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00552	N/A	Payment	Obverse: account of items paid for a garment (<i>d'iw</i>) belonging to the sender; reverse: sender's reaction to the addressee's statement that something (the garment?) has been taken or stolen from a boat.	Sauneron, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VI], 1, pls. 2 and 2a (description, transcription, facsimile); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 127, no. 115 (translation); F. Neveu, <i>La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien</i> , Paris 1996, 51 (facsimile of reverse)
O. DeM 00553	Dyn 20	Payment	Account of items (and their value) paid to a draughtsman for a large coffin.	Sauneron, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VI], 2, pls. 2 and 2a (description, transcription, facsimile); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 127 and 128, no. 116 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 658 and 659 (transcription)
O. DeM 00554	Dyn 19	Letter	The addressee is being reproached for not having fetched 6 beams from the policeman, for not having bought one beam for the sender, and for a deficit in a delivery of fish and other commodities.	Sauneron, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VI], 2, pls. 3 and 3a (description, transcription, facsimile); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 128 and 129, no. 117 (translation); J.-P. Corteggiani, in: <i>Centenaire de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, Musée du Caire 8 janvier - 8 février 1981</i> , Cairo 1981, 72, no. 50 (photograph of obverse); F. Neveu, <i>La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien</i> , Paris 1996, 107 and 125 (facsimile); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 160, no. 245 (translation)
O. DeM 00580	Dyn 20	Judicial	Deposition by a workman about the things he has given to the watercarrier, who was to bring them to another. Instead, one took these things, as well as some items subsequently entrusted to him. The latter has apparently not received anything.	Sauneron, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VI], 7, pls. 15 and 15a (description, transcription, facsimile); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 136 and 137, no. 129 (translation, commentary); Eichler, SAK 18 (1991), 197 (translation obv. 3 and 4; commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 574 and 575 (transcription)
O. DeM 00583	N/A	Account	Amounts of garments.	Sauneron, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VI], 7, pls. 18 and 18a (description, transcription, facsimile)
O. DeM 00587	Dyn 19	Letter	Letter to the woman about some items exchanged before her mother died, and the purchase of a goat afterwards.	Sauneron, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VI], 8, pls. 20 and 20a (description, transcription, facsimile); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 140 and 141, no. 133 (translation); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 154, no. 219 (translation)

O. DeM 00626	Dyn 19	Letter	About the delivery of a garment and bread by a watercarrier, in connection with the writer's personal concerns.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VII], 1, pl. 2 (description, transcription); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 162, no. 253 (translation)
O. DeM 00642	N/A	Payment	Fragment of an account of items paid to or by the workman Ramery	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VII], 5, pl. 8 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00670	N/A	Account	Short notice, only mentioning a man, a kerchief(?) and a tunic (?).	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VII], 11, pl. 18 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00671 + O. DeM 00765	Dyn 20	Account	List of items, followed by their value, of a workman which are with a lady. The values add up to a total of 76 1/2 <i>deben</i> of copper.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> VIII, 48-49 (description, translation and commentary), 167-169 (photograph, facsimile and transcription); Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VII], 11, pl. 18 (description, transcription of O. DeM 00671); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 581 (transcription of O. DeM 00671)
O. DeM 00692	New Kingdom	Letter	Obscure message saying: "Bad money has crossed the sea. It shall revert to its owner. Give (back) my loincloth!"	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VII], 16, pl. 24 (description, transcription); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 164 no. 267 (translation)
O. DeM 00699	Dyn 19	Payment	On obverse a list of items of textile with their values and the total price given. On reverse a note concerning the day of the delivery of some items of textile.	Černý, <i>Ostraca Deir El Medineh</i> [VII], 17, pl. 27 (description, transcription)
O. DeM 00721	Dyn 20	Account	An account of received wood, fish, and textile.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> VIII, 5, 22-23, 122-123 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00769	N/A	Account	An account of textiles of a woman, who is also mentioned as delivering part of the textiles.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> VIII, 51, 174-176 (obverse: photograph, facsimile, transcription, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00790	Dyn 20	Letter	A letter by an anonymous author to an anonymous recipient concerning a payment, a delivery of items, and a doctor.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> VIII, 7-8, 62, 191 (photographs, facsimile, transcription, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00797	N/A	Oracle	An oracle question: "is the garment with Hay?"	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> VIII, 8-11, 65, 195 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. DeM 00828 + O. Vienna H. 01	Dyn 20	Account	Inventory of items in a ruined tomb. After the survey the tomb is stated to be sealed in the presence of several witnesses.	Zonhoven, <i>JEA</i> 65 (1979) 89-98, pl. XI (photograph, transcription, translation, commentary); Goedicke, <i>WZKM</i> 59/60 (1963/1964), 2, pl. 1 (O. Vienna H. 01: photograph, transcription, description); Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> VIII,

				11, 76, 212 (O. DeM o o 828: photograph, facsimile, transcription, transliteration, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 504-505 (transcription), McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 69-72 no. 41 (translation)
O. DeM 00865	Dyn 19	Account	An account of various textiles.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 2, 43-44, 252 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00866	N/A	Account	An account of deficits of textile.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 2, 44-45, 253-254 (photographs, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00867	N/A	Account	Only: "total: garments 9".	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 2, 45, 255 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00920	N/A	Account	Mention of a burn(ing), curd, fat and textile, and a workman.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 97-98, 357 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00923	N/A	Transfer	An account of textiles given to someone.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 8, 100, 360 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00924	N/A	Account	An account of various types of garments, and hides.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 100, 360 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00925	N/A	Payment	An account of payments (in emmer wheat) for the weaving of textiles?	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 8, 101, 361 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00929	N/A	Payment	A list of items given to an unknown person (as payment for a coffin?).	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 8, 104, 365 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 00931	N/A	Payment	An account of textiles and oil, which is said to be the payment for a goat.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 105-106, 368 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).

O. DeM 00937	Dyn 20	Transfer	A fragmentary account of a transfer of a garment and a bed.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 110-111, 374 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, commentary).
O. DeM 00943	N/A	Transfer	An account of various items, some of which given to an unnamed man, and a mention of someone going to the riverbank.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 8, 116-117, 381 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 174-175 (partial translation, commentary)
O. DeM 00946	New Kingdom	Account	Obverse: an account of textiles given. Reverse: deliveries of grain and incense, and notes on work and division(?).	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 119-120, 387 (photographs, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 169 (partial translation, commentary)
O. DeM 00949	N/A	Payment	An account of a payment consisting of various items.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Medineh</i> IX, 4, 8, 122, 391 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary).
O. DeM 01086 reverse	Dyn 20	Transfer	An account of various transfers of goods involving an unnamed woman and the doorkeeper.	Posener, <i>Ostraca litteraires Deir El Medineh</i> I, 22, pls. 48-48a (description, transcription, facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 582 (transcription).
O. DeM 10019	Dyn 20	Account	Journal mentioning days of working and inactivity, deliveries of commodities; on IV Akhet day 12 the gang is not working because of the funeral of Kes.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh</i> X, 27-28, 208-209 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 406 (translation)
O. DeM 10021	N/A	Account	List of several commodities with numbers.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh</i> X, 28-29, 210 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. DeM 10067	N/A	Account	List of textile items followed by numbers.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh</i> X, 70, 255 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. DeM 10071	Dyn 20	Payment	Account concerning payments for several objects.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh</i> X, 73-75, 259-260 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. DeM 10078	N/A	Account	Unclear list of objects; mention is made of the temple of Amun, a statue of wood, some pieces of clothing and a stick.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh</i> X, 80, 267 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)

O. DeM 10082	Dyn 20	Letter	Memorandum/complaint concerning all items of workman Neferhotep which are given to the chief of police, to a total of 47 <i>deben</i> copper.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh X</i> , 83-85, 271-274 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VII</i> , 312-313 (transcription)
O. DeM 10091	Dyn 20	Payment	The hire of someone's she-ass for four months; specified on the reverse what was given by a man to an anonymous woodcutter as payment.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh X</i> , 94-95, 285-286 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Med</i> , 52 (translation of obv. 1-2 and rev.; commentary)
O.IFAO 1373	Dyn 20	Payment	Dated record concerning the payment to the scribe by the chief workman for an ox, with a list of commodities given and their value, totaling up to 141 copper <i>deben</i> .	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh X</i> , 96, 288-289 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 263 (translation)
O. DeM 10101	Dyn 20	Letter	Fragmentary letter, mentioning a man and the doorkeeper, some textiles and vegetables.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh X</i> , 104, 300 (photograph, facsimile, transcription, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. DeM 10105	Dyn 19	Letter	Letter by an anonymous writer. asking if 1r-m-Hb has given a piece of clothing and mentioning a complaint.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh X</i> , 108, 305 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. DeM 10109	N/A	Letter	Fragmentary letter or note mentioning some items of clothing.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh X</i> , 111, 310 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. DeM 10113	N/A	Letter	Fragmentary letter mentioning several commodities.	Grandet, <i>Ostraca Deir el-Médinéh X</i> , 113, 312-313 (photographs, facsimiles, transcriptions, description, transliteration, translation, commentary)
O. Edgerton 02	Dyn 19	Account	An account of textile delivered for lamp wicks.	Unpublished; Černý, <i>Notebook 107.70</i> (description, transcription)
O. Gardiner AG 051	N/A	Oracle	Question as to whether a piece of clothing and a <i>hin</i> of oil the questioner has given to someone, are on his account.	Černý, <i>BIFAO 72</i> (1972), 67 no. 91 (description, transcription and translation), pl. XXIV no. 91 (facsimile).
O. Glasgow D.1925.71	Dyn 20	Transfer	Record of various items given by a workman to his father.	McDowell, <i>Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow</i> , 9-11 (description, translation and commentary), pls. VIII-VIIIa, IX-IXa (facsimiles and transcriptions); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 165-167 (partial

				transliteration and translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 361-362 (transcriptions after Černý Nb. 36.61); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 37, no. 13 (translation, commentary)
O. Glasgow D.1925.72	Dyn 20	Transfer	Record of goods given by one unnamed person to another on special occasions - at the time of his appointment to the gang and at the festival of Amenhotep. Further the period of time is specified which passed between the day the person entered and the day he left again.	McDowell, <i>Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow</i> , 13 (description, translation and commentary), pl. X-Xa (facsimile and transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 285 after Černý Nb. 36.62 (transcription)
O. Glasgow D.1925.74	Dyn 20	Transfer	Record of some commodities given to a workman on several occasions.	McDowell, <i>Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow</i> , 14 (description, translation and commentary), pl. XII-XIIa (facsimile and transcription); Kitchen <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 300 after Černý Nb. 36.63 (transcription)
O. IFAO 00107	N/A	Account	Account mentioning what remains(?) in a stall or stable and several items of textile.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 102.65 (description, transcription)
O. IFAO 00308	Dyn 19	Account	Account, mentioning workmen and pieces of textile.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 103.129 (description, transcription)
O. IFAO 01277	Dyn 20	Judicial	A deposition concerning theft of textiles. The god/oracle is asked to compensate the stolen item.	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 196-197 no. 197, pl. 57 (description, transcription, translation, commentary).
O. Leipzig inv. no. 1893	N/A	Judicial	Protocol of a legal dispute before the court about the producing and delivery of clothing and its payment.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 10 (description) and pl. 33-33A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 200 no. 202 (translation, commentary)
O. Liverpool 13626	N/A	Account	Account made by a carpenter to keep track of the work done by him for a client.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 18 (description) and pl. 62-62A no. 3 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 201-202 no. 204 (translation, commentary); Bienkowski, Tooley, <i>Gifts of the Nile</i> , 31 no. 35 (top center; photograph)
O. Louvre E 03263	Dyn 19	Transfer	Items given by a carpenter to the workman; some personal accounts about working a piece of hide into sandals.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 19 (description) and pl. 65-65A no. 2 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 203-204 no. 206 (translation, commentary); Deveria, <i>Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens</i> (1881, repr. 1980), 188-189

				no. IX.10 (partial translation of lines 1-11); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> III, 555-556 (transcription)
O. Louvre E 11178a	Dyn 20	Compensation	A letter from the Vizier and the Overseer of the Treasury about supplies of oil and clothing to the gang of workmen.	Koenig, <i>RdE</i> 42 (1991), 114-115 (description, transcription and facsimile); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 377 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 474 (translation)
O. Louvre E 27676		Payment	List of commodities given in eight instances by a priest to the deputy chief workman.	Grandet, in: <i>Mélanges Neveu</i> , 162-166 (description, transliteration, translation and commentary), 172-173 (photographs and transcriptions); id., in: <i>Les artistes de Pharaon</i> (2002), 219, no. 169 (photographs, description, commentary).
O. Louvre N 0697	Dyn 19	Judicial	Obscure. Mention of the taking (or: stealing?) of a metal (?) object in exchange for (?) 'the cloth of the god'. The reverse deals with 'the task of/for the god', a refusal. In addition to this several workmen are listed.	Koenig, <i>RdE</i> 42 (1992), 112-113 (description, transcriptions and facsimiles); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 193 (transcription).
O. OIM 16987	New Kingdom	Transfer	An account of objects, and penalties attached to these objects, which are to be extracted from a workman in order to be given to chief workman.	Černý, <i>JEA</i> 23 (1937) 187-189 (transcription, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 319 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 183 no. 140 (translation)
O. OIM 18879	Dyn 20	Transfer	An account on what appears to be a transfer involving the doorkeeper.	unpublished; Černý, <i>Notebook</i> 65.36 (description, transcription)
O. Prague H 15	Dyn 19	Account	Obverse: titles and cartouches of Ramesses II. Reverse: dated account of various items, the value being noted of each item.	B. Vachala, in: J. Mynářová and P. Onderka ed., <i>Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs</i> , Prague 2007, 272 (photograph, description and commentary of obv.) reverse unpublished; Černý, <i>Notebook</i> 26.22 (transcription); Černý, <i>Notebook</i> 26 envelope (transcription)
O. Prague H 22	Dyn 19	Transfer	An account of transfers including textiles between certain men and women, and a statement of ownership.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 233-234 (transcription).
O. Qurna 620/1	Dyn 20	Account	Account mentioning rags, several items of pottery and (possibly) a lubricant.	https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/
O. Qurna 625/1	Dyn 19	Account	Textile account.	https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/
O. Qurna 632/1	New Kingdom	Account	Mention of some textile.	https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/

O. Qurna 632/5	New Kingdo m	Account	Mention of textile.	https://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/
O. Turin N. 57061	Dyn 20	Account	Clothing account.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 1, 36 (description), pl. 36-36a (facsimile, transcription)
O. Turin N. 57093	Dyn 20	Letter	Letter in which the addressee is told that the message has been received, after which a conflict is referred to. The addressee is told that he knows the way of the Hery, who has not provided food and clothing.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 2, 9 (description), pl. 51-51a (facsimile, transcription); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 164 no. 264 (translation)
O. Turin N. 57150	Dyn 20	Payment	An ox seems to be bought by the chantress of Amon through the doorkeeper. List of items paid.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 2, 25 (description), pl. 66-66a (facsimile and transcription); Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 4, pl. 197 (photograph); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 471 (transcription); Janssen, <i>Commodity Prices</i> , 504 (translation of lines 1-3); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 238 (translation)
O. Turin N. 57173	New Kingdo m	Payment	Items given by a workman to a policeman in exchange for a donkey; oath to the effect that the donkey is in good shape.	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 249-250 no. 252 and pl. 66-67 (photograph, transcription, translation, commentary); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 241 (transliteration, translation); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 231 (translation); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 46 (summary of contents, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 457-458 (transcription); Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 2, 32 (description), pl. 76-76a (facsimile and transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 88 no. 59 (translation); Polis, in: <i>Ramesside Studies</i> , 393 (transliteration and translation of lines 3-5)
O. Turin N. 57181	New Kingdo m	Account	Unclear; mention of clothing and two times the number 60.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 2, 35 (description), pl. 77-77a (facsimile, transcription)
O. Turin N. 57200	New Kingdo m	Account	Very damaged text mentioning a house and a clothing workshop of the gang.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 2, 40 (description), pl. 80-80a (facsimile, transcription)
O. Turin N. 57253	New Kingdo m	Transfer	After the mention of some garments the remains of the text are: '[...]' in front of their children [...]' and 'I will give to her one [...]'.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 2, 55 (description), pl. 88-88a (facsimile, transcription of obverse)

O. Turin N. 57261	New Kingdom	Account	List of clothing and wine.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 2, 58 (description), pl. 89a (facsimile)
O. Turin N. 57362	Dyn 20	Payment	List of items paid for a piece of cattle?	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 3, 21 (description), pl. 109-109a (facsimile, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 287-288 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 236 (translation)
O. Turin N. 57368	Dyn 20	Payment	Payment of the scribe of the Necropolis for an outer and inner coffin and their painting and varnishing; items paid include two pieces of cattle and clothing.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 3, 23 (description), pl. 114-114a (facsimile, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 322 (transcription)
O. Turin N. 57370	Dyn 20	Account	Fragmentary account of clothing and vegetables.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 3, 23-24 (description), pl. 115-115a (facsimile, transcription)
O. Turin N. 57381	Dyn 20	Judicial	Report by a workman in front of several scribes, the foremen and the entire crew, to the effect that the chief policeman still owes him money after 11 years. Also, the workman still owes him for feeding his ox, had already been obliged by the onb.t to pay for this, but remains negligent.	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 250-251 and pl. 68-71 (photograph, transcription, translation, commentary); Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 3, 27 (description), pl. 119-119a (facsimile, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 286-287 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 238 (translation)
O. Turin N. 57398	New Kingdom	Account	List of various commodities.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 3, 32 (description), pl. 129a (facsimile and transcription)
O. Turin N. 57415	New Kingdom	Account	List of clothing.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 3, 37 (description), pl. 132 (facsimile, transcription)
O. Turin N. 57464	Dyn 19	Account	List of clothing items.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 4, 13 (description), pl. 158-158a (facsimile, transcription)
O. Turin N. 57468	New Kingdom	Account	Heading: '(the) servant and remains of account or list of items belonging to him.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 4, 15 (description), pl. 159-159a (facsimile, transcription)
O. Turin N. 57493	New Kingdom	Account	Text mentioning i.e. clothing and wood.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 4, 23 (description), pl. 165 (facsimile)
O. Turin N. 57501	New Kingdom	Account	Dating, and delivery of various commodities.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 4, 25 (description), pl. 166-166a (facsimile, transcription)
O. UC 19614	Dyn 20	Judicial	A note of a man getting divorced. The anonymous author states that he purchased a cloth from his ex-wife, which had	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyr</i> , 253-254 no. 256, pls. 74-75 (photographs, transcription, translation, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 199 (translation);

			previously been rejected at the marketplace due to its poor quality.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 1-2 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 43-44 no. 18 (translation, commentary); McDowell, in: <i>The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East</i> , Leiden, Boston, Köln 1998, 213-214 (translation obverse 4-7, commentary); Spiegelberg, <i>AE</i> 1 (1914), 106-108 (photographs, transcription, translation, commentary); Wimmer, <i>Hieratische Paläographie</i> 1, 115-177 (description, transcription); http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (photograph of obverse, description)
O. UC 31922	Dyn 19	Account	An inventory of goods and furniture which were possibly placed in a tomb. The tomb is probably Theban Tomb no. 23.	Raisman, <i>Wepwawet</i> 1 (1985) 1-3 (facsimile, transcription, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 224-225 (transcription); http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (photograph, description)
O. UC 32054	Dyn 20	Request	Oath to give a shirt within ten days, or the amount owed will be doubled.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 6 (description) and pl. 20-20A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 244 no. 245 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 143 (transcription); Baines-Malek, <i>Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt</i> (2000), 201 (facsimile, translation); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> 448 (translation); http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (photograph, description)
O. UC 39604	New Kingdom	Account	List/account of several commodities and their value, possibly for payment.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 10 (description) and pl. 32-32A no. 2 (facsimile, transcription); http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (photograph, description)
O. UC 39606	Dyn 20	Payment	A bull of a workman is bought by the policeman. Items paid for the bull.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 5 and pl. 16-16A no. 3 (description, facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 227 no. 226 (translation, commentary); <i>Les Artistes de Pharaon</i> , 134, top (photograph of obverse; Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 394 (translation); http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (photographs, transcription, translation)
O. UC 39615	Dyn 20	Judicial	Protocol, probably of a case before the court. A draughtsman has paid an amount to the watercarrier to buy him a donkey, but the	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 13-14 (description) and pl. 45-45A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 230-231 no. 230 (translation, commentary);

			latter has not come up with a good animal. Now he appeals before the court that the other person must either bring a good donkey or pay him his money back. The other person swears an oath to that effect.	Eichler, <i>SAK</i> 17 (1990), 173 (transliteration and translation obverse 1-3) and <i>SAK</i> 18 (1991), 197-198 (transliteration and translation obverse 6 - reverse 4); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 294 (translation in outline of content other source); Helck, <i>Materialien</i> III, 499 (translation); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 40-41 (summary of contents, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> V, 524 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 75-76 no. 47 (translation); Moezel, in: <i>The Workman's Progress</i> , 164-166 (transliteration, translation, commentary); www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (description, photograph)
O. UC 39619	Dyn 20	Judicial	Legal case of the workman against his wife who has neglected him when he was ill and even took away some clothing from him. As he was cared for by his son, he now leaves some landed property to him and has the wife swear an oath not to interfere and not to come near the draughtsman.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 20 (description) and pl. 70-70A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 234-235 no. 233 (translation, commentary); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 111-117 (transliteration, translation, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 404 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 430-431 (transcription); www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (description, photograph)
O. UC 39627	Dyn 20	Transfer	Note about the sending of silver to or for the 'boy'. A wife (called 'his wife') has given 'him' an unknown commodity (in lacuna), clothing and (or: amounting to?) five copper <i>deben</i> .	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 5 and pl. 16-16A no. 2 (description, facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 238 no. 237 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 145-146 (transcription); Wimmer, <i>Palaeographie</i> I, 123 (description, transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 400 (translation); www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (description, photograph)
O. UC 39641	N/A	Payment	Items given, perhaps as payment for goods or services.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 9 (description) and pl. 28-28A no. 4 (facsimile, transcription); www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (description, photograph)
O. UC 39647	New Kingdom	Account	List/account of commodities and their value.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 10 (description) and pl. 31-31A no. 4 (facsimile, transcription); www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (description, photograph)

O. UC 39649	Dyn 20	Account	List/account of commodities	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 9 (description) and pl. 28-28A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 241 no. 241 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 869-870 (transcription); Janssen, <i>JEA</i> 80 (1994), 129-130 (translation, commentary); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 78 no. 48B (translation); http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (photograph of reverse, description)
O. UC 39658	N/A	Letter	Very fragmentary letter mentioning bread (?), clothing, the arrival of the sender of the letter at the addressee, the bringing of beverages; mention of offering.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 10 (description) and pl. 33-33A no. 4 (facsimile and transcription of obverse); http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (photograph of obverse, description)
O. UC 39668	Dyn 19	Letter	Letter (?) containing an instruction about some deliveries/payments to be made, the cost of some clothing and some yarn.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 11 (description) and pl. 35-35A no. 2 (facsimile, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions III</i> , 555 (transcription); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 159 no. 240 (translation); www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk (description, photograph)
O. Valley of Queens 11	N/A	Account	On obverse probably remains of the royal titulary of Ramesses III. On reverse a note concerning the delivery of meat and clothing.	Koenig, <i>BIFAO</i> 88 (1988), 124, Document XI (description, facsimile, transcription, translation and commentary)
O. Varille 19	N/A	Account	Long account of various kinds of textiles, sandals, metalwork, tools, woodwork and yarn.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 43.31 (description and transcription); Janssen, <i>Furniture at Deir el-Med</i> , 57-103.
O. Vienna H. 02	Dyn 20	Payment	A piece of cattle exchanged between Amunkha and policeman for various goods.	Goedicke, <i>WZKM</i> 59/60 (1963/1964) 2, pl. II (facsimile, transcription, description); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 132-133 (transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 255 no. 259 (translation); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 385 (translation).
O. Vienna H. 09	Dyn 20	Letter	Letter to Ramery that he must fetch a goat, and if he does not give it, some of his clothing.	Černý-Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , 14 (description) and pl. 45-45A no. 3 (facsimile, transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 255 no. 259 (translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 563 (transcription); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 163 no. 258 (translation)
O. Vienna H. 15	Dyn 20	Account	Pictorial clothing-list; subject matter of effaced text unknown : about clothes ?	Goedicke, <i>WZKM</i> 59/60 (1963/1964) 6, pl. XV (facsimile, description). Similar clothing-lists are discussed by

				Vogelsang-Eastwood, <i>GM</i> 128 (1992) 105-111, and Janssen, <i>GM</i> 131 (1992) 55-60. Provenance: see H. Loebenstein, in: <i>Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer</i> , Vienna, 1983, 14 (reference here due to A. Zdiarsky).
P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.111	Dyn 19	Account	Verso: account of various expensive commodities (including objects of wood and stone, textile, oil, and vegetables), buildings and their measures, and value in silver <i>dbn</i> and <i>sni.w</i> . Total in verso 19 associated with the chief policeman.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 9 9 and 10 0 (transcription)
P. Berlin P 10460	Dyn 20	Judicial	The Necropolis guardian appears in court together with several tradesmen (one of which attached to the temple of Re). The dispute appears to be about a payment, an account of which is given at the bottom of recto. Court members include a mayor, priests. Docket on verso: "The document of giving [...]".	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 275 and 276 (no. 264), pl. 78 and 79 (photographs, transcription, translation and commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 564 and 565 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 863 and 864
P. Berlin P 10485 recto	New Kingdom	Payment	Dated record of a payment by an unknown person to someone unknown, in the form of i.e. 3 canopic jars, various woodwork, some clothes, totaling(?) up to 120 <i>deben</i> .	G. Burkard, H. Fischer-Elfert, <i>Aegyptische Handschriften</i> 4 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XIX, 4), Stuttgart 1994, 62-63 no. 86 (description, transcription and transliteration of recto 1 and 6).
P. Berlin P 10485 verso	Dyn 20	Letter	Fragmentary letter, sender and recipient unknown, mentioning i.e. documents and clothes.	G. Burkard, H. Fischer-Elfert, <i>Aegyptische Handschriften</i> 4 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XIX, 4), 62-63 no 86 (description, transcription and transliteration of verso x+2 and x+6)
P. Bibliotheque Nationale 197, V	Dyn 20	Reuse	A brief letter from the General of Pharaoh to the scribe, ordering him to send old clothes which are to be used as bandages to wrap up men, because the General is going on expedition.	Spiegelberg, <i>Correspondances</i> , 59-60 (transcription); Černý, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , X and XV (description), 35-36 (transcription); Janssen, <i>Late Ramesside Letters and Communications</i> , pl. 78 (photographs); Wente, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , 52-53 (translation and commentary); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 182 no. 300 (translation).
P. BM EA 10055	Dyn 19	Judicial	A deposition and a memorandum with series of indictments brought by a workman against the chief	Černý, <i>JEA</i> 15 (1929), 243-258, pls. xlii-xlvi (description, transcription, translation, commentary); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 281-

			workman Paneb. The named charges were intended for the attention of the vizier, and they include thefts, bribery, adultery, and threats.	287, no. 266, pls. 84-85 (photographs, translation, commentary); Chabas, <i>Melanges egyptologiques</i> , III serie, tome I (1870), 173-201 (facsimile, translation, commentary) ; Davies, <i>Egyptian Historical Inscriptions</i> , 343-354 (transliteration, translation, commentary); Grandet, in: <i>Les artistes de Pharaon</i> , 207-208, 318-319, no. 161 (photograph (recto), description, translation, commentary) ; Polis, in: <i>Ramesside Studies</i> , 395 (transliteration and translation of verso I 6-8); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 408-414 (transcription); Sweeney, <i>JEA</i> 84 (1998), 110 (translation of verso I 13-17, commentary); Vernus, <i>Affaires et Scandales</i> , 101-121 (translation of recto I 1-4, I 4-8, I 11-12, I 14, I 15-16, I 17, I 18, I 19, II 1-4, II 5-12, II 13, II 14-16, II 19-20, II 21, verso I 1-3, I 4-5, I 6-8, I 11-12, I 13-17, II 1-7, commentary); Winand, <i>BSEG</i> 15 (1991), 107-113 (translation of verso I 6-8, commentary)
P. BM EA 10375	Dyn 20	Letter	A long letter to the General of Pharaoh from the two chief workmen, the scribe and the guardian, informing him that his letter sent with the Sherden has arrived and been read aloud to all necropolis people; they will obey his orders. Further they explain the matter of the clothes, tell him they have accomplished certain specific commissions, i.e. finding an old tomb and ask the scribe 7ry to be sent to assist them in this matter. They sent this letter with the Medjay.	Černý, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , XI and XVI (description), 44-48 (transcription); Janssen, <i>Late Ramesside Letters and Communications</i> , pls. 39-40 (photographs); Wentz, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , 59-65 (translation and commentary); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 194-195 no. 315 (translation).
P. BM EA 10683 verso IV and V	Dyn 19	Letter	Copy of a letter written by scribe to the vizier about construction work on the royal tomb, supplies, rations and various other matters. See Remarks.	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum</i> III, vol. I, 7-8 and 24-26 (description, translation and commentary), vol. II, pls. 11-12a (photographs and transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> IV, 85-88 (transcription); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 48-49 no. 52 (translation)
P. BM EA 75018	Dyn 20	Letter	A letter from the chantress of Amun-Re to her sister(?) about agricultural matters and ordering clothes to be made.	Demarée, <i>The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri</i> (London 2006), 11-14 (description, translation and commentary), 42-45, pl. 9-12 (photographs and transcriptions)

P. BM EA 75019 + P. BM EA 10302	Dyn 20	Letter	Letter written by a fan-bearer, royal scribe and general to an unknown addressee containing a series of instructions or orders to deliver a whole range of objects and commodities, while further informing him about dealings.	Demarée, <i>The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri</i> (London 2006), 14-19 (description, translation and commentary), 46-49, pl. 13-16 (photographs and transcriptions); Jac.J. Janssen, <i>Late Ramesside Letters and Communications</i> (London 1991), 37-39, pl. 23-24 (description, photographs, transcription, translation and commentary of P. BM EA 10302)
P. BM EA 75024	Dyn 20	Compensation	Brief account declaring what is for the chief of servants: some clothes, grain, seed and fish.	Demarée, <i>The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri</i> (London 2006), 26 (description, translation and commentary), 58-59, pl. 25-26 (photograph and transcription)
P. Chester Beatty I verso D	Dyn 20	Payment	Dated record of the price received by scribe for his bull, together with a list of the actual articles handed over in payment, totaling up to 130 copper <i>deben</i> .	Gardiner, <i>The Library of A. Chester Beatty</i> , 1-7, 43-44 (description, translation and commentary), pls. 27-27A (photograph and transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 293-294 no. 269 (translation and commentary)
P. DeM 03	Dyn 20	Letter	Letter from workman to a scribe, reporting on the manufacture of a bed, and asking for materials from the addressee, as well as clothing. Reference to offering to Sobek, a festival, and to a king (Amenhotep I?)	Černý, <i>Papyrus Deir El Medineh I</i> , 13-15, pls. 18 and 18a (description, annotated translation, commentary, transcription, photograph of recto); Wente, <i>Letters</i> , 140, no. 178 (translation)
P. DeM 21	New Kingdom	Letter	Letter to a man. The addressee will be given something if he carries out an assignment. Verso: list of items, after which the letter is resumed.	Černý, <i>Papyrus Deir El Medineh II</i> , 2, pls. 4 and 4a (description, transcription, photograph)
P. DeM 24	Dyn 20	Compensation	The gang receive their rations from, or complain about their rations to the vizier, the overseer of the treasury, a royal scribe, the high priest of Amun and the mayor of Thebes.	Černý, <i>Papyrus Deir El Medineh II</i> , 3, pls. 9 and 9a (description, transcription, photograph); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , pl. 87 (transcription); Eyre, <i>GM 98</i> (1987), 11-19 (description, transcription, annotated translation, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 387 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions VI</i> , 134 and 135 (transcription)
P. DeM 26	New Kingdom	Judicial	Various legal cases: dispute about coffin and "place(s)", rest unclear, oath (A recto 1-9); court session about a promotion to "chief" and punishment of another (?) (A recto 9-13); dispute about	Černý, <i>Papyrus Deir El Medineh II</i> , 4, pls. 12-15a (description, transcription, photographs); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 297-301, pls. 92-96 (translation, commentary, transcription); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions V</i> , 461-466 (transcription)

			cloth and lamps, oracle of Amenhotep, oath (A recto 13-21); giving a donkey to one 1r (A verso I); case involving a bed and much silver (A verso II); case and oath involving more than one woman, a coffin, a shield, and a garden (B recto 1-9); case involving a woman, assault(?), compensation, oath, rest unclear (B recto 9-13); case of adultery (B verso 1); case about <i>sgnn</i> -oil and an identifying brand, foremen and gang gathered in the temple of Ptah (owner of the oil?), two men being found guilty and punished, oracle of Amenhotep (B verso 2-12).	
P. Leiden I 370	Dyn 20	Letter	A message from the necropolis scribe (who is journeying north of Thebes) to his son the scribe and the chantress of Amon concerning various household and agricultural matters. They are to take special care for the little children, the soldiers and the men in the field. The young boys should not cease studying. Special attention is to be given also to the daughter. Finally, the sender asks them to pray to Amon to remove the illness he is suffering from.	Leemans, <i>Aegyptische hieratische Papyrussen</i> , pls. 181-182 (facsimile); Spiegelberg, <i>Correspondances</i> , 39-42 (transcription); Černý, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , VIII (description), 9-11 (transcription); Janssen, <i>Late Ramesside Letters and Communications</i> , pls. 66-67 (photographs); Wentz, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , 27-31 (translation and commentary); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 180-181 no. 297 (translation); Raven in: Schneider, <i>Life and Death under the Pharaohs</i> , 90 no. 127 (description, translation and color photographs).
P. Nevill	Dyn 20	Oracle	A letter written by an anonymous author to a god asking the latter to make an oracle decision concerning textiles.	J. Barns, <i>JEA</i> 35 (1949), 69-71, pl. VI (photographs, description, transcription, translation, commentary); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 109-110 no. 79 (translation, commentary); Sweeney, <i>Correspondence and Dialogue</i> , 59, 239 (transliteration and translation of verso 2-4, recto 1-3, recto 5-verso1, commentary); Wentz, <i>Letters</i> , 219 no. 355 (translation)
P. Turin provv. 6285	N/A	Judicial	Dispute between a workman and the watercarrier; some garments and 13 sacks of barley, which the watercarrier promises to pay back, and (2) some garments,	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 16.93 (transcription)

			5 <i>hin</i> of oil(?) and 1 <i>hin</i> of fat, which the watercarrier denies having received. Lines 7 and 8 refer to the taking of an oath.	
Turin Strike Papyrus	Dyn 20	Judicial	Strike Papyrus	Gardiner, <i>Ramesside Administrative Documents</i> , xiv-xvii, 45-58, no. XVIII (description, transcription, commentary); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 310-312, no. 276 (translation and commentary of recto III 6-13 and verso V 2-VI 5); Baer, <i>Orientalia</i> 34 (1965), 431 (transliteration and translation of recto II 6-10); Černý, <i>Community of Workmen</i> , 185, 186, 188 and 189 (translation and commentary of verso II 8-17 and verso III 2-IV 11); Demichelis, in: <i>Les artistes de Pharaon</i> , 208 and 209, no. 162 (photograph of recto, commentary, bibliography); A.M. Donadoni, E. Leospo, E. d'Amicone, A. Roccati, S. Donadoni, <i>Il Museo Egizio di Torino. Guida alla lettura di una civiltà</i> , Novara 1988, 170 (photograph of recto II-IV); Edgerton, <i>JNES</i> 10 (1951), 137-145 (translation, commentary); Frandsen, <i>JEA</i> 75 (1989), 117 (translation of recto I 1-5, recto II 11 and 12, recto III 6-13, verso III 1); Frandsen, in: <i>Studies Lichtheim</i> I, 166-199 (translation and commentary of recto); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 304, 308-310, 313-315, 318 (translation recto I, II 1-20, III 1-18, 19a-22, IV 1-23, verso I a, b, III 1, 2-32, IV 2-11, VII 1-7); see also <i>ibid.</i> , 306; McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 36 no. 12, 192 and 193 no. 147, 235 and 236 no. 187 (translation and commentary of recto III 6-18, IV 1-16a, verso V 2-20, VI 2-5, 15, 16)
P. Turin Cat. 1881 + P. Turin Cat. 2080 + P. Turin Cat. 2092	Dyn 20	Compensation	Recto I-VII: deliveries to the gang on a number of dates in regnal years 6-8 by a scribe of the mat, scribes of the vizier, a royal butler, temple scribes and deputies. The supplies (regular rations as well as rewards) come from royal storerooms and various temples, and they include different kinds of food, clothing, copper, silver, gold, oil and papyrus. Recto VIII-	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 609-619 (transcription); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 313-317, no. 277, pls. 108-110 (translation, commentary, transcription and photograph of recto VIII and IX); R.A. Caminos, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> (Brown Egyptological Studies 1), London 1954, 465-474 (translation of verso I-IV); A.H. Gardiner, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca VII), Brussels 1937, xx, 125-128, no. XIII

			IX: the draughtsman receives a she-donkey and its foal from the deputy 1r of the temple of Ramesses III, apparently as a payment for a loan of grain made two years before. Thereafter the animals are claimed by temple attendants as belonging to the <i>sm</i> -priest; buys two donkeys which are handed over to the attendants. Verso I: deliveries of clothing, oil, wax, lead and copper. Verso I-IV: literary. Verso IIa and IIIa: deliveries of fowl and wood (IIIa dated to regnal year 17). Verso V-VII: deliveries of pottery, fruit, plants, firewood, fish, vegetables and flowers.	(description; transcription of verso I-IV); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 483-490, 492 (translation recto I, II a, 1-12, III 1-13, IV 1-13, V 1-12, VI 1-10, VII 1-3, VIII 1-12, IX 1-10, verso I 1-8, II a, III a, b, V 1-14, VI 1-2, 5-14, VII 1-14); Helck, <i>Materialien</i> III, (500) and (501) (translation of recto VIII and IX, commentary); Janssen, <i>Donkeys at Deir el-Medina</i> , 42-43 (summary of contents of col. VIII and IX, commentary); B. Menu, <i>CRIPEL</i> 1 (1973), 85-89, no. 6 (transliteration, translation and commentary of rt. IX 1-10 - now also in: B. Menu, <i>Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, economique et sociale de 'ancienne Egypte</i> , Versailles 1982, 241-245, no. 6); Pleyte-Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> , 9-21, pls. II (B), III-X (facsimile of recto III-IX and verso I-V, commentary; see Remarks); A. Roccati, in: A.M. Donadoni Roveri, <i>Dal museo al museo. Passato e futuro del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> (Archivi di archeologia), Turin 1989, 127 and 128 (description; photographs of recto I-III [no. 15] and verso V-VII [no. 14])
P. Turin Cat. 1883 + P. Turin Cat. 2095	Dyn 20	Compensation	Recto: commissioning of coppersmiths by the administrators of the Necropolis and the treasury scribe of the temple (of Ramesses III); distribution of tools to the gang. Verso: note about the vizier(?), followed by an account of textile, woodwork, oil, gum and bronze objects, with some workmen's names.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 431 and 432 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 461 (translation of recto 2-9 and verso I 1-2); Helck, <i>Materialien</i> VI, (981) (translation of recto 2-9); Pleyte-Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> , 41 and 42, pl. XXIX (facsimile of recto and verso III 1-7, commentary)
P. Turin Cat. 1884 + P. Turin Cat. 2067 + P. Turin Cat. 2071 + P. Turin Cat. 2105	Dyn 20	Compensation	Day to day record of work and inactivity of the gang, deliveries of copper (partly from the nearby memorial temples), tools, grain rations, oil, fish, clothing. Accounts of the use of lamps by the right and left sides of the gang. Special events: taking an oath (recto I 7), action involving an ox (recto I 10), negotiations with the mayor of Thebes about custody (recto I 11, 16-18; recto II 4), complaints about 'hunger'	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 644-650 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 511-514 (translation); Pleyte-Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> , 112 and 113, pl. 76 (facsimile of recto I 14-22 and verso IV 1-5, commentary)

			due to the delay of grain rations from the granary of the Ma'at temple (recto II 3, 4, 6), delivery of these rations with an account of their distribution (recto II 9-12), mention of a statue of/for the vizier (recto II 13), the gang sitting at the gate of the 'Place of Pharaoh' (recto III 4).	
P. Turin Cat. 1885	Dyn 20	Transfer	Recto: plan of royal tomb (of Ramesses IV) with captions indicating measures of rooms and mentioning painting and chiseling. Verso I: account of measuring a royal tomb (of Ramesses V?). Verso II 1: a payment. Verso II 2 - III 2: division of goods belonging to a scribe among his children and (his wife). The items divided include garments, woodwork, mats, honey, and oil. Verso III 3-8: fragmentary necropolis journal mentioning i.e. the delivery of grain rations, the gang going up (to work), the name of King Ramesses VII, and the temple of Ramesses III.	Carter-Gardiner, <i>JEA</i> 4 (1917), 130-158, pls. XXIX and XXX (description, facsimile of recto, transcription and translation of recto and verso I, commentary); A. Badawy, <i>Le dessin architectural chez les anciens égyptiens. Étude comparative des représentations égyptiennes de constructions</i> , Cairo 1948, 235-241 (transcription and translation of recto and verso I, commentary); David, <i>Legal Register</i> , 218-220 (transliteration, translation and commentary of verso II and III 1-2); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 450 and 455 (translation of verso II and verso III 3-6); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 58-60, 223, 224, 371 and 424 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 202-205, no. 153 and fig. 23 (facsimile and translation of recto, commentary); Pleyte-Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> , 100-102, pl. LXXI and LXXII (facsimile of verso, commentary); E. Scamuzzi, <i>Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin</i> , New York 1965, pl. LXXXVII (photograph of recto)
P. Turin Cat. 1898 + P. Turin Cat. 1926 + P. Turin Cat. 1937 + P. Turin Cat. 2094	Dyn 20	Compensation	A special delivery of gold, silver, textile, oil and vegetables (recto IV 8-11)	Botti-Peet, <i>Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe</i> , 42-55 and 27-39, pls. c and 50-63 (photographs, transcription, translation, commentary); Beckerath, <i>SAK</i> 21 (1994), 29-33 (transcription and translation of verso docket a and c; commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 541-554, 561 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 687-699, 850 and 851 (transcription); Lieblein, Chabas, <i>Deux papyrus hiératiques</i> , 4-41, pls. I-IV (facsimile and translation of recto I-IV, commentary); Schneider, in: <i>Das Grab Ramses' X.</i> , 88-104 (translation of recto and verso d, e; commentary)

P. Turin Cat. 1903	Dyn 20	Compensation	Verso II and recto (presumably in this order): account of wages for the gang issued by the deputy of the royal treasurer. The goods delivered include copper from temples and various officials, garments, oil from temple officials, and fruit, palm leaves and a liquid called <i>hnk.y.t</i> (?) from Kush. Verso I: hymn (Kitchen)	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 395-397 (transcription of verso II and recto); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 571 (translation of verso II and recto)
P. Turin Cat. 1905	Dyn 20	Account	Verso: mention of various activities, i.e. weaving garments, regnal year 12.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 638 and 639 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 475 and 504 (translation of recto and verso 8-10)
P. Turin Cat. 1907 + P. Turin Cat. 1908	Dyn 20	Compensation	Verso: deliveries made to a man by several individuals including the scribe of the treasury, the vizier, and one (necropolis guardian?). The deliveries of i.e. oil, incense, barley, emmer, loaves, fish, vegetables, sandals, garments, wine, flax, flour, wood, bronze, honey, natron, salt, reed, beans(?) and meat were made from year 5 of Ramesses VI to year 7 of Ramesses VII. Verso III 11 records a payment by the scribe of the treasury for a statue and a coffin. Recto I is a list of herds of various institutions (mainly temples) in the care of(?) the (treasury?) scribe. Recto II records a payment, involving the scribe of the treasury and another, for a coffin and possibly some other objects (cf. verso III 11). Recto III: deliveries made for divine offerings?	Janssen, <i>JEA</i> 52 (1966), 81-94, pls. XVI-XIX A (photographs, transcription, translation, commentary; see Remarks); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 456-460 (translation of recto II and verso); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 403-409 (transcription); Peet, <i>JEA</i> 11 (1925), 72-75 (partial transcription, translation and commentary of verso III 12-15)
P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P.	Dyn 20	Payment	the Necropolis scribe (the writer) is summoned by a scribe about the payment for a piece of cloth and a sack of wheat.	Botti-Peet, <i>Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe</i> , 15-18 and 27-39, pls. b and 27-43 (photographs, transcription, translation, commentary); Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 331-335 (translation and commentary of verso VIII and verso IX 2-22); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 510, 511, 516-521 (translation);

Turin Cat. 2083 verso				Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 581-594 (transcription); McDowell, <i>Village Life in Ancient Egypt</i> , 211, no 160 (translation and commentary of verso III 1-8); Müller, in: <i>Ramesside Studies</i> , 336 (transliteration and translation of verso VIII 7, 8 and 13-17, commentary; see Remarks)
P. Turin Cat. 2004 + P. Turin Cat. 2007 + P. Turin Cat. 2057 + P. Turin Cat. 2106	Dyn 20	Compensation	Recto I: list of workmen who are present(?); recto II 1-11: distribution of garments delivered by the vizier among the workmen; recto II 12 - III 6: list of workmen "who are in front of" the chief workman and a scribe. Verso A: account of garments, copper and oil for the necropolis; verso B lost; verso C obscure account; verso D account of lamp oil.	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 650-652 (transcription); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 515 and 516 (translation recto, verso A, D); Pleyte-Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> , 121 and 126, pls. 83 (A) and 90 (facsimile of recto I 1-4, 10-14, II 1-13, III 1; commentary)
P. Turin Cat. 2024 + P. Turin Cat. 2052 + P. Turin Cat. 2077	Dyn 20	Payment	Fragmentary account of payments for garments, a goat, an ox, coffins (see Remarks). The last lines of verso mention the departure of a royal treasury official(?), and the promise to the workmen(?) to take away shortages.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 15.21-22 (description, transcription)
P. Turin Cat. 2072	Dyn 20	Compensation	Necropolis journal recording work and inactivity of the gang, workmen present and absent, and deliveries of grain rations(?), fish(?) and lamps, oil and textile, and firewood (recto I 3, II 6, verso I 6, 7, 9). Mention is also made of a wooden object for the vizier (recto I 4), plaster for the "hut" of the vizier (recto I 7-9), "reaching" the god (verso I 6: oracle (?)), and an account of carpenter's work (verso I 9)	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 330, no. 283, pls. 128-130 (transcription; translation of recto I, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 497, 499-501 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 630-633 (transcription)
P. Turin Cat. 2087 verso	Dyn 20	Judicial	(2) a court case between the Necropolis scribe and a woman about a loincloth; the latter is said to be in the wrong.	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> , 309, no. 275, pl. 107 (transcription; translation, commentary); Helck, <i>Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka</i> , 504 (translation); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VI, 640 (transcription)

P. Turin Cat. 2104 verso	New Kingdom	Compensation	Column I: letter from the gang or its administrators, asking for the delivery of grain rations, garments and "wages" from the treasury. Reference is made to "year 1 of Pharaoh" and to the time of King Ramesses II. Columns II and III: account of a payment made by the scribe to an anonymous stable overseer. The items given include garments, woodwork, curd, sandals, leather, metalwork and grain. Recto: calendar of lucky and unlucky days.	Unpublished; Černý <i>Notebook</i> 23.20-3
P. Vienna inv. no. 3933	Dyn 19	Account	Account of textiles, a donkey and copper, and their value in silver, given as payment to someone.	Salah el-Kholi, <i>Papyri und Ostraka</i> , 43-50, pls. V and VA (photographs, description, transcription, translation, commentary); E. von Bergmann, <i>Hieratische und hieratisch-demotische Texte der Sammlung aegyptischer Alterthümer des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses</i> , Vienna 1886, i-iii, pl. I (photograph, transcription, translation, commentary); Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> VII, 173 and 174 (transcription)
W. DeM 5162	N/A	Weight	Weight of textile rags (for making wicks).	Valbelle, <i>Catalogue des poids a inscriptions hieratiques de Deir el-Medineh</i> , 71 (description), pl. 21-21a (facsimile and transcription)
W. DeM 5163	N/A	Weight	Weight of textile rags (for making wicks).	Valbelle, <i>Catalogue des poids a inscriptions hieratiques de Deir el-Medineh</i> , 71 (description), pl. 21-21a (facsimile and transcription)
W. DeM 5164	N/A	Weight	Weight of textile rags (for making wicks).	Valbelle, <i>Catalogue des poids a inscriptions hieratiques de Deir el-Medineh</i> , 72 (description), pl. 21-21a (facsimile and transcription)
W. DeM 5165	N/A	Weight	Weight of textile rags (for making wicks).	Valbelle, <i>Catalogue des poids a inscriptions hieratiques de Deir el-Medineh</i> , 72 (description), pl. 21-21a (facsimile and transcription); Sauneron, <i>BIFAO</i> 74 (1974), pl. XLV, top right (photograph)
O. Turin N. 57508	New Kingdom	Account	Account of unknown commodity, flax and flowers.	Lopez, <i>Ostraca ieratici</i> 4, 27 (description), pl. 168-168a (facsimile, transcription)
P. BM10326	Dyn 20	Letter	Letter from Djehutymes to Butehamon; "weave many loincloths which are to be for	Wente, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> , 9

			my... with him in the mountains..."	
P. Bologna 1094	Ramesside	Letter	I have caused him to come carrying the 50 woolen loincloths and 40 javelins, 90 pieces in all	Camino 1954, 3
P. Anastasi II	Ramesside	Judicial	When the tribunal defrauds him of silver and gold for the scribes of the mat and clothes for the apparitors, perchance Amun transforms himself into a vizier in order to release the poor	Camino 1954, 56
P. Anastasi IV, 9.4-10, 1	Ramesside	Letter	He reaches the battle: he is like a plucked bird, there being no strength in his body. He proceeds to return to Egypt. He is like a stick which the <i>kkt</i> -worm has eaten. He is ill, prostrations take hold of him; he is brought back on his ass, his clothes removed through theft, his attendant ran away	Camino 1953, 92

APPENDIX 8- New Kingdom Tombs with Flax Cultivation Scenes

TT	Name	Title	Date	Citation	Description
318	Amenmesii	Necropolis Stonemason of Amun	Hatshepsut-Thutmose III	PM I 391	Flax pulling
18	Baki	Chief Assessor of the Gold of Amun	Thutmose III	PM I 32	Flax pulling
24	Nebamun	Steward of the Royal Wife	Thutmose III	PM I 41	Flax pulling
53	Amenemhat	Agent of Amun	Thutmose III	PM I 103	Flax pulling
100	Rekhmire	Governor and Vizier	Thutmose III	PM I 209	Flax pulling
127	Senmiah	Royal Scribe, Overseer of all that Grows	Thutmose III	PM I 241	Flax pulling
144	Nu	Head of Field Laborers	Thutmose III	PM I 257	Flax pulling
143	anon.; Min?	n/a	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II	PM I 255	Flax pulling
172	Mentiywy	Royal Butler	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II	PM I 279	Flax pulling
56	Userhet	Royal Scribe	Amenhotep II	PM I 111	Flax pulling
52	Nakht	Scribe, Priest of the Hours	Thutmose IV		Flax pulling
69	Menna	Scribe of the fields of the Lord of the Two Lands	Thutmose IV	PM I 134	Flax pulling, flax combing
148	Anon.	Head of Master of Ceremonies?	Thutmose IV	PM I 258	Flax pulling and carrying
233	Khnemmesii	Scribe, Counter of the Grain	Amenhotep III	PM I 337	Flax pulling
254	Mesy	Scribe of the Treasury, Custodian of the Estate of Tiye	End of 18th	PM I 338	Flax pulling
255	Roy	Royal Scribe, Steward of the estates of Horemheb and Amun	Horemheb	PM I 339	Flax pulling
217	Ipuy	Sculptor	Ramses II	PM I 315	Flax pulling
360	Kaha	Foreman in the Place of Truth	Ramses II	PM I 424	Flax pulling
266	Amennakht	Chief of the Craftsmen of Deir el-Medina	19th	PM I 347	Flax pulling
324	Hatiy	Overseer of the Prophets of all the Gods	Ramesseid	PM I 395	Flax pulling

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