



## PHARAONIC PRELUDE—BEING ON THE MOVE IN ANCIENT EGYPT FROM PREDYNASTIC TIMES TO THE END OF THE NEW KINGDOM

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### ABSTRACT

*As textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence shows, travel and mobility were an essential force within Egyptian culture. Not only the elite, including the pharaoh himself, but members of all social strata were also on the move. Travels to very distant destinations have been recorded since earliest times. The frequency of travel, as well as the travel distances of individual voyagers, differ considerably, the latter ranging from long treks to local jaunts. Various modes of travel and transport are attested, from journeys by foot up to trips with exclusive and expensive vehicles such as the chariot. While practical aspects are occasionally highlighted in the Egyptian sources, the emotional consequences for the individual travelers are hardly ever mentioned and remain diffuse for the modern observer.*

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Travel and mobility in Egypt up to the New Kingdom are topics that were not discussed in detail in Egyptological research discourse up until now;<sup>2</sup> therefore the workshop and its publication, initiated by Melanie Wasmuth, focusing on this research desideratum, is highly welcome.

The following analysis, which is a compilation of the sources detailing the practical dimensions and emotional aspects of travel from Predynastic times to the end of the New Kingdom, is a prelude to the view on travel in the 1st millennium BCE, which this volume focuses on, and shows the basis from which mobility in later times develops.

“Mobility” covers a vast field, including the person of the passenger, modes of transport and locomotion, traffic, innovations, their diffusion, migration, integration, identity, and many other topics. Therefore, instead of placing special focus on a case study dealing with one of the mentioned examples, or with one social group of travelers, the following analysis is a comprehensive synopsis on the practical aspects of travel in ancient Egypt. It provides an overview on the key issues of the workshop as preparation and departure, motives for traveling, the preferred itineraries, accommodation and supply en route, and dangers during the trip, supplemented by topics such as travel speed, spatial orientation, and gender questions. This part of the following study is a short amalgamation on the topics of mobility and travel that I examined earlier

in greater detail.<sup>3</sup> The practical part is followed by a discussion of the emotional features, focusing on the Egyptian’s encounter with the foreign, those who were left behind, and the host society.

The study focuses on Egyptian travelers being on the move in their own country and across borders. Discussing foreign voyagers visiting Egypt is of course a most important issue, but it goes beyond the scope of this article; on this topic see, e.g., Thomas Staubli’s contribution to this volume; on the equally important question of what is perceived as Egyptian, see Melanie Wasmuth’s article also in this volume. The period analyzed in this paper is the time from the Predynastic Period up to the end of the New Kingdom. Being issued in a publication focusing on the 8th to 6th century BCE in Egypt, it is to be understood as a prologue allowing, due to the large amount of evidence, a detailed insight into the conditions and circumstances of the earlier period. Moreover, it draws attention to the diversity, the different facets, and the very large range of the subject. The circumstances of the earlier period stated in the following illuminate the general foundations of “mobility” and “travel” in Egypt, since the basic surrounding circumstances—such as climate, conditions prescribed by the annual flood, traffic flows, the immense significance of the waterway as a kind of pre-modern highway, the modes of transport, and locomotion of the lower social classes, traveling speed, the transport capacities of pack animals, or the accommodation of

travelers in regions with undeveloped infrastructure—did not change in later times.

#### DEFINITION

In this article the term “travel” is understood as the movement from a point A to point B, with B being outside the traveler’s everyday radius.<sup>4</sup> Characteristic is, furthermore, the fact of being away from home, sojourning in a foreign environment, and the aim of coming back to the starting point, since the intention of staying in the foreign surrounding must be considered as emigration, not travel. Travel distance and duration of the trip, however, are not decisive factors.

#### SOURCES

The following article is based on a very large database of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence revealing the ancient Egyptian characteristics of travel, transport, and mobility.<sup>5</sup> In comparison to other regions where mobility can only be established through strontium isotope analysis<sup>6</sup> or the evaluation and comparison of archaeological finds,<sup>7</sup> the evidence from ancient Egypt offers far better research conditions. Even though depictions of Egyptian travelers and travels are rare in pharaonic Egypt, Egyptian means of locomotion and transport do sometimes appear in iconographic sources such as reliefs and wall paintings within temples and tombs.<sup>8</sup> Some sledges,<sup>9</sup> chariots,<sup>10</sup> wagons,<sup>11</sup> boats, and ships<sup>12</sup> have also been found as artifacts. So far, only one carrying chair is known.<sup>13</sup> Besides, a few models have been preserved such as the wagon from the tomb of Queen Ahhotep<sup>14</sup> and a great variety of model vessels.<sup>15</sup> The theme of traveling emerges in Egyptian literature, as in *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, *Sinuhe*, *The Eloquent Peasant*, *Wenamun* and *The Letter of Wermai*.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, travel or mobility is mentioned in textual sources<sup>17</sup> such as biographies,<sup>18</sup> official documents,<sup>19</sup> visitors’ graffiti,<sup>20</sup> and expedition texts.<sup>21</sup> In these fictional as well as non-fictional texts, however, the topic “travel” is often only referred to *en passant* and is not the key motif.

In the most cases texts do not refer to the traveling route,<sup>22</sup> the journey’s end,<sup>23</sup> the point of departure, the means of transport or locomotion,<sup>24</sup> or practical aspects such as place of rest during the voyage.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, detailed descriptions of foreign lands have not been found in Egyptian texts;<sup>26</sup> often such statements are restricted to stereotyping according to the available trading goods, such as incense, ebony, leopard skins, elephant tusks, throw sticks, *s3.t* and *hknw* oil, as in the biography of Harkhuf.<sup>27</sup> The same applies to literary compositions such as *The Shipwrecked Sailor* or *Sinuhe*. The few specified facts that are included appear to have been sufficient for the contemporary reader to visualize the foreign surrounding.<sup>28</sup> The lack of specifics might also indicate that the authors had not visited the foreign places.

Travel literature in its nearest sense (see apodematic books, travelogues, or travel guides) is not known from ancient Egypt. The text that comes closest to an itinerary

is the Ramesside papyrus Anastasi I, providing the traveler with information on Palestine and Syria, including geographical lists, and warning him of potential dangers such as robbery.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, these sources allow the identification of key characteristics of ancient Egyptian travel habits.

#### CLIMATE, TRAFFIC ROUTES, AND MEANS OF TRAVEL

For travel and mobility climate, infrastructure, and modes of transport and locomotion are of fundamental importance. The following section is a short overview on this topic from Predynastic times to the end of the New Kingdom.

In pharaonic times, the climate was relatively constant; therefore, there was no preferred traveling season, but traveling was possible perennially.<sup>30</sup> Traveling was not restricted during the annual flood;<sup>31</sup> when the roads were not usable, the waterway was preferred. However, it should be noted that journeys through the Nile Valley were different from those leading through the desert, where specific environmental hazards such as sandstorms or even heavy rain could hinder travel.<sup>32</sup>

Considering the traffic routes, the main travel artery from north to south was the Nile, due to Egypt’s unique geographical circumstances. The river was suitable for travel and transport perennially, and was accessible and affordable for everyone. The significance of the Nile for travel and transport cannot be understated. Naturally occurring and artificially built canals branched off this main traffic artery, providing the best preconditions for an ideal travel activity. Egypt’s transportation system extended beyond these waterways by means of a widely branched system of roads and paths. Being closely connected to the Nile and to the canals, this transportation network was necessary for everyday traffic between settlements, from residential areas to harbors, and also for the large-scale transport of goods from economically important locations such as quarries to waterways leading to their final destination. Nevertheless, travel and transport were not restricted to the Nile Valley or within the political boundaries of Egypt, but extended far beyond this, over the area of the Red and the Mediterranean Seas, through the Eastern and Western Deserts, and up to very far south into Nubia.

Regarding the transport of freight by water and by road, in principal, for heavy loads transportation on the waterway was preferred.<sup>33</sup> Cargo was brought as close as possible to the final destination, sometimes by building a branch canal to the endpoint.<sup>34</sup> For lighter freight, however, overland transport was sufficient. In the *Instructions of Ankhsheshonq*, a demotic literary text, it is said: “The waste of a donkey is carrying bricks. The waste of a boat is carrying straw.”<sup>35</sup>

An established and extensive traffic system already existed in the Old Kingdom, including various waterborne vessels as well as different means of overland transport and locomotion. This did not fundamentally change up until the New Kingdom, although new means appeared

and completed the system without substituting for older versions;<sup>36</sup> some of its features are summarized in the following paragraph.

Waterborne transit was of fundamental importance in ancient Egypt, and the vast number of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence reflects the intensive usage of vessels for travel and transport. The earliest watercrafts are attested in the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE from Merimde Beni-Salame.<sup>37</sup> Seagoing ships are documented on the Palermo Stone from the time of King Sneferu, being used for the transport of cedar wood.<sup>38</sup> A wide variety of ships and boats were used for transporting freight and passengers, be it on the River Nile, the canals, the Red Sea, or the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>39</sup> Often these vessels belonged to the pharaoh or a temple, but ships and boats were privately owned since the Old Kingdom as well.<sup>40</sup> Smaller boats were used as ferries in the area of local public transport from one side of the Nile to the other, or for the transport of goods.<sup>41</sup> Special passenger vessels, transport ships, and seagoing vessels were known, and, moreover, warships are attested.<sup>42</sup> The different categories of vessels exhibited very different sizes. While passenger ships had a size of about 13–15 m, transport vessels had a length of 15–26 m and were equipped with broader and deeper hulls for the carriage of heavy cargoes.<sup>43</sup> Seafaring vessels of 14–15 m in length were found in Ayn Sukhna.<sup>44</sup> Even larger examples are documented: The ship of Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty has a length of 43.40 m,<sup>45</sup> and in the Nauri Decree from the Nineteenth Dynasty a ship of more than 50 m is mentioned.<sup>46</sup> An even larger one of 68 m it is referred to in papyrus Harris, dating to the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>47</sup>

Special mooring places and harbors served as anchorage for the vessels. Various harbors have been archaeologically documented, as in Malqata in Thebes, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>48</sup> Several were excavated at the Red Sea at Ayn Sukhna,<sup>49</sup> a central place and traffic junction for overseas connections via the Red Sea already in the Old Kingdom. Other Red Sea harbors were Wadi el-Jarf from the Fourth Dynasty, and Mersa Gawasis,<sup>50</sup> which is estimated to have been in use since the 3rd millennium BCE.<sup>51</sup> Several ships, parts of ships, and equipment were found at these sites.

Ships and boats were essential modes of transport and locomotion, being both easy to access and affordable. Nevertheless, depending on the travel destination, water and overland traffic completed each other. Before a traveler could start his journey on the waterway, he had to cover the distance from his home to the river or a canal overland, be it by foot, riding, carrying chair, or chariot. Traveling overland, the easiest and cheapest method was, of course, walking. Various types of sandals are known from ancient Egypt.<sup>52</sup> Donkeys and horses served as mounts. Donkey riding is sometimes shown in Egyptian reliefs and paintings. Already in the Old Kingdom, several harvest scenes show donkeys equipped with a saddle.<sup>53</sup> Depictions of ridden horses, however, are rare and are mostly restricted to the martial context.<sup>54</sup> As a prestigious

mode of locomotion, carrying chairs were used by both male and female members of the elite since Predynastic times.<sup>55</sup> In the New Kingdom, these carrying chairs were replaced by the chariot as a high-status mode of locomotion in the civil context.<sup>56</sup> Sledges, carts, and wagons are not used to transport passengers.

Overland freight was transported either by the traveler himself or by donkeys when the cargo was too heavy to be carried by an individual. Larger loads were transported by wheeled vehicles, and even heavier cargo with sledges, as explained in greater detail below.

Accompanying luggage and lighter loads were carried in baskets or bags by the travelers themselves. Yokes and carrying poles,<sup>57</sup> suitable to distribute the weight on the shoulders of several carriers, were employed for long-distance travel as well.<sup>58</sup> A factor not to be underestimated is that human beings adapt to differing ground conditions much better than animals or vehicles.<sup>59</sup>

For freight that was too heavy for human transport, pack animals were used; donkeys were preferred since the First Dynasty at the latest. The maximum load bearing capacity of donkeys in a temperate climate is 150 kg.<sup>60</sup> For longer distances about 50 kg appears to be the maximum practical burden.<sup>61</sup> Oxen were not employed as pack animals, but rather as draft animals for wagons, carts, sledges, and plows. The horse has a traction power of over 1000 kg; its maximum transport capacity, in contrast, is 170 kg.<sup>62</sup> Up to the end of the New Kingdom, nevertheless, it was not used as a pack animal, but only as a draft animal and as mount. Camels were sporadically represented between Predynastic times and the New Kingdom. Although they are depicted as pack or mount animals from time to time, it is unclear whether they served as pack or riding animals in dynastic Egypt on a larger scale.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, they were predestined to be used in the desert because of their frugality regarding water and food. With a carrying capacity of 270–300 kg, a small daily feed allotment, and reduced water-supply requirements, camels are very effective beasts of burden.<sup>64</sup>

For heavy loads, wheeled vehicles such as carts and wagons drawn by oxen were available as modes of transport.<sup>65</sup> For even heavier cargo, sledges were preferred, since the danger of broken axles as in the case of wheeled vehicles could be limited.<sup>66</sup> A prominent example is the transport of the statue of Djehutihetep, which weighed 58 tons, on a sledge<sup>67</sup> drawn by 172 individuals over a distance of about 35 km.

The traveler's choice of the transportation or locomotion modes depended on various factors, including the weight of load the traveler intended to carry with him, his destination, as well as the financial background. Regarding the cost ratio of land to water transport, up to the end of the New Kingdom, insufficient data has been preserved to make any strong assertions on this subject. Nevertheless, referring to later sources, it can be assumed that transport on water was cheaper than on land.<sup>68</sup>

#### TRAVEL PREPARATIONS, PLANNING, AND SPATIAL ORIENTATION

The textual sources and archaeological evidence expose both the types of travel equipment that was taken along at the departure and the orientation methods that were known in ancient Egypt.<sup>69</sup> In contrast, the planning of a trip is not explicitly mentioned in the texts.

As attested in various written sources,<sup>70</sup> the travelers equipped themselves at the beginning of a journey with travel necessities in terms of clothing, sandals, sticks, and weapons, as well as food and water in water sacks,<sup>71</sup> not only for themselves but also for their mount or pack animals. Means of payment or exchange to purchase food on the way or paying for accommodation are not stated in the texts, nor is there mention of passport use by Egyptian travelers.<sup>72</sup>

Even though the planning of a route is not documented explicitly in Egyptian texts, it can be assumed that the following aspects were taken into consideration. Traveling over very long distances implies that the traveler depended on wells, cisterns, and constantly refilled water deposits<sup>73</sup> along the way. Therefore, the route had to be planned correspondingly. The traveler most certainly had access to information concerning the location of water as shown in the text of papyrus Anastasi I, where the wells and forts along the Ways of Horus are mentioned.<sup>74</sup>

Apart from water supply, changes to mode of transportation or locomotion must be taken into account while coordinating the travel route. Very often, sea or land travel complemented each other: due to the relative speed and ease of locomotion, travelers tried to journey as far as possible by ship. However, if the point of destination was not directly accessible on the waterway, a part of the journey had to be traveled over land. Hence, it was necessary for the traveler to gather information in advance or on the spot about good opportunities for changing of the current means of locomotion. If a traveler, for example, journeyed via chariot, it was even possible to take that vehicle with him while changing the mode of traveling from land to water: Iconographic<sup>75</sup> and textual<sup>76</sup> evidence shows that chariots as well as horses were transported by ship from one river bank to the other, so that the traveler could afterwards continue the voyage with his chariot by land again.

AS TO THE spatial orientation, several methods are documented. There is one topographical map from the New Kingdom surviving in the archaeological record;<sup>77</sup> it is one of the oldest maps in the world. Although there is no explicit evidence for a traveler carrying such a map with him, the object shows that maps were known and could have been used as orientation guides in otherwise foreign surroundings.<sup>78</sup> Additionally, geographical lists are attested from various contexts,<sup>79</sup> though, again, not explicitly in the hand of a traveler. Nevertheless it indicates that geographical lists, which could have served as an orientation aid by listing the settlements and towns the traveler had to pass through, are known in ancient

Egypt.

Further evidence for orientation survived archaeologically: Along several tracks in the desert, stone piles, so-called *alamat*, were installed as route markers.<sup>80</sup> Other trail markers in ancient Egypt are single stone blocks or stelae.<sup>81</sup>

#### LODGING

There are no indications of guesthouses or taverns spaced in regular intervals in ancient Egypt similar to examples known from the 3rd millennium BCE in Mesopotamia<sup>82</sup> or the European Middle Ages. Nevertheless, alternative types of accommodation were used in ancient Egypt.

In the desert, semicircular wind huts made of irregular stones served as shelter, as found near the road from Gebel el-Asr to Toshka.<sup>83</sup> With blankets and poles carried along by the traveler, they could be extended into a tent. Along the Abu Ballas Trail, wind shields as well as rock shelters are attested.<sup>84</sup> Travelers who had to stay in a foreign locale for a longer time, such as members of expeditions, could live in special worker settlements that were erected near the Widan el-Faras road,<sup>85</sup> in Hatnub next to quarry P,<sup>86</sup> Umm es-Sawan,<sup>87</sup> in the Wadi Hammamat, in Sinai, and in the Wadi Maghara.<sup>88</sup> Interestingly, the worker settlements located at very remote sites often had small temples or sanctuaries, as at the Gebel el-Zeit, Hatnub, in Sinai, and Sadd el-Kafara.<sup>89</sup>

In the texts dealing with the expeditions and war campaigns of the pharaohs, even royal tents are mentioned from time to time, such as the tent of Thutmose III during his Megiddo campaign.<sup>90</sup> Tents are also attested as parts of the travel facilities for both Tutankhamun and Hetepheres I, mother of Khufu. The one of Hetepheres I included, besides the tent, a bed, a chair, and a carrying chair<sup>91</sup>. In Tutankhamun's tomb, the travel equipment included a wooden tent frame<sup>92</sup> and, furthermore, a traveling bed, which could be folded up to one third of its actual size.<sup>93</sup> Although there is no textual or archaeological evidence that similar equipment was used by the traveling elite, it should not be discounted.

In inhabited areas, the traveler could hope to find shelter at private homes, since hospitality similar to the model of the European Middle Ages is attested in some texts, including *The Story of Sinuhe*,<sup>94</sup> *The Doomed Prince*,<sup>95</sup> and the papyrus Anastasi I,<sup>96</sup> where the traveler is supplied with food, water, and accommodation. On a journey to the land of Punt the arriving Egyptian travelers were serviced with fruits, wine, bear, meat, and bread.<sup>97</sup>

Even though there were no guest houses or taverns, travelers on official duty had the opportunity to supply themselves at temples or special depots. Two texts refer to this, both of which date to the Old Kingdom. A royal decree of King Pepi I from the Min Temple of Coptos states the following: "As to any commissioner who shall travel south on any mission, my majesty does not permit (him) to charge any travel expenses to the chapel. Nor does my majesty permit to supply the royal retinue. For my majesty has commanded the exemption of this Chapel."<sup>98</sup> A text of

similar content is known from the tomb of Harkhuf.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, both texts hint at the fact that travel expenses of voyagers on official duty were covered by governmental sources.

For the voyages of the king special arrangements for lodging and supply were made.<sup>100</sup> For Horemheb's travels to the Theban Opet festival, his supply had to be provided by the mayors of cities that his envoy passed during the trip, as known from the king's decree.<sup>101</sup> Several types of residence, from rest houses to palaces, served as the lodging for the king.<sup>102</sup> In one letter, several items that the king needed for his accommodation are listed in detail, and include various kinds of bread, cakes, oils, fish, beer, slaves, and other items. To ensure the appropriate board for the pharaoh, these rest houses were awarded with land.<sup>103</sup>

FOR MESSENGERS TRAVELING by chariot, stations are mentioned in a Ramesside love song from the New Kingdom: "O that you came to your sister swiftly! Like a swift envoy of the king; the heart of his lord frets for his message, his heart is anxious to hear it. All stables are held ready for him, he has horses at the stations; the chariot is harnessed in its place, he may not pause on the road."<sup>104</sup> This hints at the fact that the messengers probably received a provisioning with food and water for their horses, and that they could exchange their exhausted horses for fresh ones. Furthermore, they might get supplied with food for themselves and find accommodation in these stations.

#### TRAVELING SPEED

In order to calculate a day's journey to the next water depot or overnight accommodation, traveling speed was of great importance. The speed of a mixed traveling group consisting of diverse means of overland transport and locomotion as well as travelers with different physical constitutions was always determined by the one with the slowest pace. Only little data is available from ancient Egypt regarding this complex subject. Together with evidence from the Middle Ages, the modern era, and the results from experimental archaeology, a speed of 4–7 km/h can be reached by foot, donkey, and palanquin for overland travel, while vehicles drawn by oxen reach only ca. 3 km/h. Horses have a speed of 4–7 km/h at a walking pace and are therefore as fast as donkeys and travelers by foot. In full gallop, however, 45–52 km/h are attested for them. Chariots presumably reached about 40 km/h.<sup>105</sup>

Regarding the waterway, the data<sup>106</sup> vary even more, ranging from 17 km/day to 130 km/day<sup>107</sup> when traveling from south to north. For voyages in the opposite direction 33 km/day<sup>108</sup> to 73 km/day<sup>109</sup> are documented. These differences arise from factors such as the direction of the wind, the stream velocity and which type of vessel was used.

#### DANGERS OF TRAVELING

Generally, the longer a journey lasted, the greater the probability of unexpected incidents. Traveling was, by its

very nature, exhausting, a hazardous venture,<sup>110</sup> and a danger to life. The traveler could lose his way<sup>111</sup> or fall ill because of adverse weather conditions and overexertion. He might run out of supplies because he had to leave the track he had planned to travel due to different reasons, such as the change of political constellations between different tribes or countries, or the drying out of water deposits or their deliberate destruction.<sup>112</sup> However, water points can fall dry even without wanton demolition, since they need continual maintenance; otherwise, without this regular care, they might get covered by sand or collapse. Sometimes it was difficult to find a well even if the location was known, since it might be hidden by sand or nearly invisible due to its construction style.<sup>113</sup> A letter from late antiquity says, "We must be very grateful to him because he undertook the trouble of the journey to you although we paid the expenses."<sup>114</sup>

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN REPORTS from travelers describing their own experiences, such as recovering from hazards on land or sea, are not found in private letters or similar primary sources. Nevertheless, they are mentioned now and then in biographies and literary texts.

In papyrus Anastasi I, one of the dangers associated with traveling over land is mentioned; a chariot accident is described, caused by the fact that the horses bolted and the chariot broke because of a very poor track.<sup>115</sup>

Traveling on a waterway was apparently no less dangerous than overland. It is important to note that perils could not only occur on the dangerous, open sea but also on the reliable, familiar Nile River. The Old Kingdom biography of Kaemtenenet explains such river dangers. In this text, he explains that he helped the king to cross the river during a storm and that he received a reward because the pharaoh arrived safely.<sup>116</sup>

In fictional literature, the motif of dangerous water travel is sometimes addressed as well. The sinking of a vessel is very vividly described in the fictional story *The Shipwrecked Sailor*: "A tempest came when we were at (high) sea. Before we could reach land, the wind rose, it got stronger and there were waves eight cubits high. It was a beam that struck me. When the ship died, none was left that were on board".<sup>117</sup> In the story of *Wenamun* the risks at sea are likewise mentioned.<sup>118</sup>

IN ADDITION, ROBBERY seemed to be an omnipresent danger, as several fictional texts describe. In the literary text *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* it is stated: "O, but the plunderer [rob]s everywhere" and "they sit in bushes until a night traveler comes to seize his load, and what he carried is taken; he is treated to blows of a stick, and is falsely slain."<sup>119</sup> In the already cited papyrus Anastasi I, a satirical letter correspondence from the New Kingdom, warnings are issued against nomads hiding in bushes.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, it is mentioned in the text that the traveler was robbed of his property.<sup>121</sup> In papyrus Pushkin, a fictional text from Ramesside times or the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>122</sup> the protagonist Wermai laments that he had to travel by foot,

since his horses and chariot were stolen.<sup>123</sup>

In order to minimize these dangers, it can be assumed that the traveler tried to find some company on his way or joined a caravan, as known from neighboring Mesopotamian regions<sup>124</sup> and still from the European Middle Ages.<sup>125</sup> Explicit evidence for this assumption is, however, so far lacking for ancient Egypt.

A different kind of protection was the dependence on divine aid.<sup>126</sup> There is evidence for several gods like Min,<sup>127</sup> Ha,<sup>128</sup> Mut,<sup>129</sup> Amun,<sup>130</sup> Amun-Ra,<sup>131</sup> Horus,<sup>132</sup> Isis,<sup>133</sup> and others guarding different regions. While crossing a specific god's area, the traveler worshipped him or her and prayed for protection during his journey. Moreover, travelers took figurines of gods with them on their journeys, as stated in a few texts. In papyrus Lansing, Egyptians are mentioned as traveling to Syria by ship: "They depart from Egypt for Syria, and each man's god is with him."<sup>134</sup> Besides, in the fictional story of Wenamun the protagonist is said to travel with a statuette of "Amun-of-the-Road."<sup>135</sup>

If the traveler returned home alive and healthy, it was assumed that this only happened because of the help of a god, as mentioned in the Demotic text of papyrus Insinger: "He who goes away saying 'I shall come back' is one who returns by the hand of the god."<sup>136</sup>

#### REASONS FOR DEPARTURE

In principle, reasons to embark on a voyage are the search for food, the expansion of territory due to demographic pressure, military reasons, adventurousness, curiosity, grand tours, profit, religious, and health-related motives.<sup>137</sup> In ancient Egypt the following motives are attested, demonstrating that foraging was not an important factor to start a journey. Military campaigns, as in the annals of Thutmose III,<sup>138</sup> as well as trading journeys to Punt,<sup>139</sup> are often mentioned. Educational tours are documented, for example, in school trips to temples and buildings.<sup>140</sup> Voyages for religious reasons such as pilgrimages are attested at least since the New Kingdom.<sup>141</sup>

Travels out of curiosity are memorialized in visitors' inscriptions at the Temple of Philae, revealing the individual's interest in the location.<sup>142</sup> Involuntary travelers are evidenced as well.<sup>143</sup> Journeys for leisure are rarely attested; it is likely that this is because one was well aware of the many dangers accompanying such a trip. One of the rare texts, however, evidencing this situation is the so-called *Menna's Lament* or *Letter to a Wayward Son*<sup>144</sup> from the New Kingdom, which seems to reflect traveling for pleasure and as an expression of exuberance. Traveling in ancient Egypt does not seem to be caused by health reasons, something comparable to the grand tour,<sup>145</sup> or by demographic pressure.

Regarding the textual evidence, the motivation to start a journey was within the scope of the traveler's work and, in most cases, on behalf of the pharaoh. Furthermore, the institution of corvée labor stimulated mobility. This enforced mobility concerned all social classes.<sup>146</sup> Texts mentioning travel activity for various professions demonstrate the high mobility of Egyptian society since

the earliest of times. Workers, officials, and even the pharaoh himself were on the move.<sup>147</sup> Mobility was, thus, neither a prerogative of the elite nor an expression of prestige.<sup>148</sup>

However, private travel activity is only seldom attested, as in the biography of Sabni, the governor of Elephantine Island and expedition leader from the Sixth Dynasty, who undertook his journey in order to bring back the corpse of his father, who had died abroad.<sup>149</sup> The New Kingdom text "*Menna's Lament*" or "*Letter to a Wayward Son*"<sup>150</sup> from the Twentieth Dynasty has already been mentioned. It is written from the viewpoint of the Deir el-Medina worker Menena for his son Meri-Sakhmet Pairi and contains the travels of the latter, who started his journey on his own initiative and not on behalf of the pharaoh or within the scope of his work. Whether the priest Heqanakht<sup>151</sup> was traveling for private or for professional reasons cannot be decided with any certainty.

However, the sporadic mentioning of private journeys does not imply that they did not take place, only that they were rarely recorded in the texts that have come down to us. It is highly likely that private traveling occurred in many situations, such as travel based on the Egyptian marriage customs<sup>152</sup> and the resulting mobility by visiting relatives.

Considering all voyages, the possible plurality of the travel motif is apparent: A traveler could be on the move on behalf of the king, and moreover, visit sanctuaries or tombs of relatives.

#### TRAVELING WOMEN

The number of male travelers exceeds that of female travelers by far.<sup>153</sup> Again, it cannot be assumed that female mobility did not exist, only that it is less frequently mentioned, due to the inadequacy of our sources.

Some women in special professions—such as chantresses of a god, for example—had a large radius of action within Egypt up to nearly 900 km.<sup>154</sup> Others are even evidenced in Megiddo, which is a 1,025 km journey from Thebes, and Byblos,<sup>155</sup> a distance of 1200 km from Thebes.<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, it is assumed that women accompanied their husbands if they had to move for professional reasons and to take over tasks that led them away from home for extended periods of time.

Additionally, female mobility can, for instance, be deduced from the Egyptian marriage customs, since women had to leave their parents' home and move to their husband's household.<sup>157</sup> These marriages are not only attested on a regional and local level but also at long distances, as the example of an elite woman named Takertia shows. Originally located in Heliopolis,<sup>158</sup> she moved to Thebes for her spouse, which is a travel route of 650 km. In comparison to women in the western parts of Central Europe in the Middle Bronze Age, this is a very long distance, since their average travel radius amounted to 50–100 km according to the archaeological evidence; in only one instance is 250 km attested.<sup>159</sup>

In addition, both men and women were included in

corvée labor, as at a temple of Seneferu.<sup>160</sup>

Considering the modes of locomotion in a prestigious context, it is noteworthy that women used the same means as men<sup>161</sup> such as carrying chairs (as evidenced by the example of Hetepheres I, the mother of Khufu<sup>162</sup>) and chariots (known from depictions of Nefertiti, her daughters, and several others<sup>163</sup>). There is, however, no evidence for Egyptian women of the middle or upper class riding donkeys or horses. Only the goddess Astarte is shown on horseback.<sup>164</sup> It should be emphasized that horse riding is even for men very seldom attested in ancient Egypt,<sup>165</sup> so the lack of female riders should be interpreted neither as taboo nor a gender limitation.

With regard to overland transport, it can be observed that men are more often shown transporting loads on their shoulders, with or without a yoke or carrying pole, whereas women carry weight preferentially on their heads. There is less iconographic evidence for women transporting items with a pole or a yoke.<sup>166</sup> The fixation of baskets for transport on the back via headbands is not a typical Egyptian phenomenon, but is only documented in depictions of foreign carriers—especially women—in Egyptian art.<sup>167</sup>

#### JOURNEYS WITHOUT BORDERS

Egyptian travel habits do not show a territorial limitation on the Nile Valley only, but are documented even beyond Egypt's political borders. Far-reaching relations are evidenced since the earliest times. Trading with Palestine is attested since Dynasty 0.<sup>168</sup> The Egyptians traveled to Nubia probably already in Predynastic times,<sup>169</sup> or in the Early Dynastic Period at the latest.<sup>170</sup> The northern Sinai was crossed on the way to southern Canaan since Predynastic times.<sup>171</sup> Travels to Lebanon possibly occurred since Early Dynastic times at the latest.<sup>172</sup> The Eastern Desert and Punt<sup>173</sup> were travel destinations since the Old Kingdom.

All in all, the travel distances of individual travelers varied significantly, ranging from short travels under 100 km up to more than several hundred kilometers within Egypt, such as the journey from Memphis to Aswan, which is about 900 km.<sup>174</sup> There was also travel abroad to places such as Babylon, a 1,400 km linear distance from Thebes, and Hattusa,<sup>175</sup> which is a 1,600 km overland journey from modern Cairo. The expedition leader Harkhuf probably even journeyed 14,000 km, traveling four times to a place called Yam.<sup>176</sup> Journeys to faraway places on behalf of the king were undertaken even though they would be very long and, therefore, dangerous.

These travel distances, however, cannot be generalized for the entire population. The individual range of action for the vast majority of the Egyptian populace would have been significantly smaller, merely including their home town, its immediate surroundings, and possibly the neighboring settlement.<sup>177</sup> Even the visit to the latter might have been an upsetting affair. Personal mobility varies greatly. It ranges from repetitive travels, such as the journeys of the expedition leader Weni,<sup>178</sup> who undertook

at least nine journeys, to the unique travel experiences of individuals who were sent by the pharaoh in a singular act of corvée labor. Of course, a sizable portion of the population never traveled at all.

The lives of those not recruited for corvée labor or on the move for professional reasons were characterized by sedentariness.<sup>179</sup> Mobility caused by a depletion of the fields was not necessary, since the annual Nile flood ensured fertilization; the link to the land was therefore very strong. Moreover, it was essential to be incorporated into the social network and the local community where one was born. It was even more indispensable to be buried there as well, since the sense of belonging to the community reaches beyond death.<sup>180</sup> Remaining stationary also promised security, while a foreign environment is unknown and, hence, potentially dangerous. In a letter from the 4th century CE, it is said that "it is better for you to be in your homes, whatever they may be, than abroad."<sup>181</sup>

The individual range of action differed greatly, thus, between those who were sent out and had concrete experiences of the "otherness" while visiting foreign surroundings and lands, and that percentage of society who remained largely sedentary.

#### EMOTIONAL ASPECTS

In the following paragraphs the emotional implications of three groups are analyzed, namely those of the traveler himself, the people he left behind, and the host society. Emotional reports in context with traveling are very rare in Egyptian texts, and much remains uncertain.

Regarding the first group, the traveler's personal feelings in a foreign surrounding are hardly mentioned in the writings, but some examples do occur. The range of these emotions extends from complaining about the foreign surroundings to perceiving the land's strangeness. These observations often result in feelings of loneliness on behalf of the traveler. Other texts reveal that the traveler worried about those who stayed home.

The fact-based biographies of the early voyagers of the Old Kingdom such as Weni<sup>182</sup> or Harkhuf<sup>183</sup> do not contain any emotional statements concerning this matter at all. The same applies to a private letter from the New Kingdom, written from an employee and addressed to his employer. He only stated "I have arrived" without any further emotional comment, probably due to the formal relationship between letter writer and recipient.<sup>184</sup>

One of the very few texts expressing emotion is a private letter dating to the New Kingdom and written by an official who is stationed in Syria. He laments about the high temperature, gnats, midges, fleas, dogs, jackals, and the fact that he has neither employees nor equipment.<sup>185</sup> Obviously, he is not at all satisfied with his sojourn in Syria.

THE SO-CALLED HEQANAKHT papyri dating to the Eleventh Dynasty is another textual document implying the emotional impressions of somebody being abroad. But this

time the concern not with the traveler himself, but with his family are documented. The text corpus consists of the private letter correspondence of the priest Heqanahkt, staying in the Theban area, and his family at home near Memphis or Lisht. Heqanahkt wrote several letters to them with very complex instructions for economic transactions.<sup>186</sup> He charged his employee Merisu with caring for his property, emphasizing: "Mind you that my barley seed is guarded and that all my property is guarded."<sup>187</sup> From a distance of about 650 km, he still takes care of his wife by insisting on firing a housemaid who behaved incorrectly toward her.<sup>188</sup> These letters show that he is concerned with the wellbeing of those he left behind and informed them that he was in good health.<sup>189</sup>

How the traveler ensures the safety of this family while he is abroad is not explicitly mentioned. In the literary text *The Eloquent Peasant* it is stated that the protagonist left his wife with some barley as a food ration for her and their children,<sup>190</sup> but there is no information about an arrangement of personal protection through relatives or friends. The household of the above-mentioned Heqanahkt is obviously well served, because it is stated that its members do not have to suffer from hunger, according to letter II.<sup>191</sup>

THE FEELING OF strangeness is expressed in the literary text *Sinuhe*: "It was like the nature of a dream, like a Delta man seeing himself in Elephantine, a man of the marshy lagoons in southern Egypt."<sup>192</sup> Apparently the sensation of otherness occurs not only while traveling to foreign lands, but even on Egyptian terrain, when an unfamiliar area was crossed where one was not born.<sup>193</sup> This feeling of not belonging is similarly outlined in papyrus Pushkin: "I was constantly in a city that is not mine, a settlement that I do not know, in the constitution of a stranger. My old companions did not exist anymore. I wanted to make new friends, they stayed with me for a while, but then they moved away from me again".<sup>194</sup> In the literary story *The Shipwrecked Sailor* his loneliness is expressed very pictorially: "I spent three days alone, my heart as companion; I slept inside a hut (made) of wood, I embraced the shade".<sup>195</sup>

Apart from strangeness and loneliness, several texts refer to fear of dying abroad as in the fictional stories *The Shipwrecked Sailor* and *Sinuhe*.<sup>196</sup> This fear was not only thematized; being an issue in the Middle Kingdom, but in a much later text, being preserved in Demotic and Greek, the so-called *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, as well.<sup>197</sup> The texts state that it was not only important to be buried within Egypt, but explicitly at the place where one was born. Dying far from the birthplace was a real threat, as an expedition text from the time of Ramesses IV documents, stating that 10 % of the members of the mission came to death; roughly 900 people died.<sup>198</sup> The biographies of Sabni and Pepinakht<sup>199</sup> refer to the fact that higher-ranked individuals such as the expedition leaders who died abroad were usually brought to Egypt to be buried in their homeland.

WITH RESPECT TO the second group, the emotions of the group or family staying home when the traveler left are not explicitly mentioned in the texts. In the above-mentioned literary text *The Eloquent Peasant*, no feelings of the wife he left behind are stated.<sup>200</sup> The same applies to the tomb inscription of Sobekhotep from the Middle Kingdom. In the text the wish is expressed that passersby return safely to their wives at home, and to tell them of their exciting travel and expedition experiences.<sup>201</sup> This is evidence that the wife staying at home and waiting for her husband's return was an established image.

REGARDING THE THIRD group and the question how the new community integrates the Egyptian traveler, there are again only a few sources and they are, furthermore, ambivalent. In the literary work *The Story of Wenamun* from the New Kingdom the problems the protagonist faces are described in detail like the risk of being killed when reaching Alasia.<sup>202</sup>

Contrary to *Wenamun*, the fictional text of the *Sinuhe* story, a narrative from the Twelfth Dynasty, mentions that the fleeing protagonist was very well received, be it by a tribe of Bedouins<sup>203</sup> or the chief of upper Retenu with the name Amunenshi.<sup>204</sup> *Sinuhe* married the latter's daughter, received a piece of land, and became a ruler.<sup>205</sup> In this fictional text, the protagonist is, thus, represented as having overcome his uprooting and being fully and effectively integrated into the hosting community, although he longs to be buried in Egypt.<sup>206</sup> This being a piece of literature, it is uncertain whether the described integration was really a fact form Egyptian traveler being abroad or if it was fiction owed to the expectations of the targeted audience.

Looking at the integration of foreigners into Egyptian society, the Egyptian attitude toward foreigners and their countries cannot be generalized up to the end of the New Kingdom. Depending on the context, it is often ambivalent.<sup>207</sup> In the *Great Hymn to the Aten* from the Amarna period, all lands are mentioned as being equated and gathered under the protection of the god Aten.<sup>208</sup> As an enemy, the foreigner is always described as a coward.<sup>209</sup> On the boundary stela of King Senwosret III at Semna, located near the second cataract, the following is mentioned: "... since the Nubian only has to hear to fall at a word: answering him makes him retreat. One is aggressive to him and he shows his back; retreat and he becomes aggressive. Not people to be respected — they are wretched, broken-hearted!"<sup>210</sup> Nevertheless, Nubians were part of the Egyptian army since the Old Kingdom.<sup>211</sup> In the New Kingdom the nobleman Maiherperi is supposedly Nubian, due to the depictions showing him in his *Book of the Dead* and his mummy. He held a high position in the Eighteenth Dynasty and was buried in the Valley of the Kings.<sup>212</sup> The integration of non-nationals could, however, be handled very differently, as the example of the Hyksos<sup>213</sup> in the eastern delta demonstrates. These foreigners from western Asia were, at first, tolerated (until

fighting erupted at the end of the Second Intermediate Period) but not integrated. Nevertheless, this inconsistent attitude against foreigners is a question of everyday life versus cosmological order: The foreigners and foreign states are alien and thus elements of the chaotic environment of the Egyptians outside their borders and thus are enemies to be fought. Within the Maat concept, the diminution or defeat the enemy by the pharaoh is inherent in the system, guaranteeing secureness and order instead of chaos and disorder.<sup>214</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Mobility and travel are significant issues within Egyptian culture. As mentioned above, no travel literature as it is understood today, such as itineraries, apodemica books, travelogues, and travel guides, survived from ancient Egypt. In the texts that are available, information about travel is mentioned in passing and not as the main topic. Within these writings the diversity of the textual evidence is high, including private letters, royal decrees, literary works, therefore presenting differing amounts of information and allowing for divergent opportunities for interpretation. Often the texts are related only to the elite.<sup>215</sup> It is assumed that only 1%<sup>216</sup> of the Egyptian society possessed writing skills; therefore textual evidence from the lower stratum is very limited. The tomb inscriptions belong to higher strata; the official inscriptions such as decrees have a special target group, and the literary works are composed for special reasons. Therefore, the limitations to the analysis of travel and mobility arise from the restricted existing sources dealing with them.

All in all, the aim or result of traveling up to the end of the New Kingdom was not to emigrate but to return home. Although some travelers staying abroad for a long period of time are known,<sup>217</sup> several texts emphasize the desire to return home and especially to be buried in the place where the individual was born. Most of the reported travels were undertaken on behalf of the pharaoh and in the scope of the voyagers' professions, while private traveling and female travelers are seldom attested. Regarding the numbers of travelers, it is noteworthy that, when referring to the expedition inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, at least 23,400 individuals were on the move. In the Middle Kingdom, it was nearly 40,000, and in the New Kingdom 13,622.<sup>218</sup> Although the last number is smaller due to less surviving numerical data referring to expeditions, it seems more reasonable to assume that the number of travelers actually increased due to improved infrastructure and the expansion of Egypt in the New Kingdom.<sup>219</sup>

The radius of action of documented travelers is very high since the earliest of times. Very long travel distances are attested for Harkhuf (going four times to Yam, a total of 14,000 km), the expeditions heading for Punt in the Old Kingdom, and the messengers underway to Hattusa in the New Kingdom (1,600 km).<sup>220</sup> Therefore, in chronological terms, the number of travelers increased, while the radius of action was very large per se and remained constant. Nevertheless, the mobility range of an individual can

differ very much from these extreme travel distances; mobility should not be over-generalized. It was not the same for all Egyptians, but ranged from high travel activity to rare travel experience up to not traveling at all and remaining sedentary.

In the texts a preferred travel period is not mentioned. The preparations needed before starting a journey are—again due to the sources—rarely stated; those that are mentioned correspond to what would be expected, i.e., provisions, water, extra changes of clothes, and replacement shoes. Moreover, according to the Egyptian sources, weapons and walking sticks were also carried. For the accommodation of the voyager en route, no privately maintained guesthouses and probably no state-run hostels existed. Lodging and travel expenses were partly regulated by the royal court, while in the desert or unpopulated areas the travelers had to provide for themselves. In inhabited areas without state facilities they could hope for hospitality. With regard to the question of what the traveler could expect at the end of his journey, it is noteworthy that not a single text refers to a journey with an unknown destination, but they all lead to a fixed endpoint. Therefore, the traveler who was sent out on behalf of the pharaoh and for professional reasons could expect some kind of infrastructure at the journey's end.

All in all, a fundamental change in travel planning and realization cannot be stated for the analyzed period, except for the fact that the carrying chair used by the elite up to the end of the Middle Kingdom was replaced by the chariot in the New Kingdom.

In addition to these practical features, a very important aspect of this analysis is that feelings of the traveler himself, of those he left behind, and of the hosting society are hardly mentioned. The emotions of those who remained at home are even more rarely documented, while the attitude of the host society is sometimes stated. The fact that feelings are seldom referred to is not characteristic for all the texts from ancient Egypt, since emotions in the ancient Egyptian love songs are described very vividly.<sup>221</sup> The inclusion of such information is therefore due to the type of source referring to the travel undertaken.

NEVERTHELESS, MOBILITY IS of fundamental importance in later times in Egypt as well; therefore an analysis as compiled in this volume is highly desirable. Using the derived information on travel and mobility in pharaonic times up to the end of the New Kingdom offers the opportunity to highlight development trends toward the period of the first millennium BCE. The fact that a high level of mobility did not develop in later times but is already attested in the period up to the end of the New Kingdom is very significant.

Of course, there are many research avenues that, upon closer investigation, could provide much needed insight into the topics of travel and mobility. For example, a detailed study on the visitors' graffiti<sup>222</sup> is sure to offer new insights into travel and mobility in ancient Egypt in the

period analyzed in this paper and in later times as well.

Moreover, the change in travel habits in the period after the New Kingdom needs further investigation. While carts and wagons were not used in the earlier times for the transport of passengers, passenger vehicles are attested in Greco-Roman times. Moreover, the traffic system on the whole and its development in the subsequent periods after the New Kingdom needs closer analysis. A change in the traffic system after the New Kingdom can be noted, since, for example, the amount of evidence for transport wagons increases significantly in Greco-Roman times.<sup>223</sup> Another item of urgent interest is change in the travel behavior of certain categories of the population<sup>224</sup> in the time after the New Kingdom, to analyze how, whether, or to what extent it changed under foreign domination. No less interesting is the question of whether the amount of evidence referring to the feelings of the traveler or the reaction of the host society—which are rather rare until the end of the New Kingdom as stated above—increases.

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**ABBREVIATION**

Urk. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums. Abteilung I–VIII* (Leipzig—Berlin: Hinrichs, 1903–1988).

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<sup>2</sup> See J. Baines, *Die Bedeutung des Reisens im Alten Ägypten*, Siegfried-Morenz-Gedächtnis-Vorlesung 13 (Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museum der Universität, 2004), 1–56; J. Baines, “Travel in Third and Second Millennium Egypt,” in Colin Adams and Jim Roy (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Near East*, Leicester Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 10 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 5–30; H. Köpp, “Reisen in prädynastischer Zeit und Frühzeit,” in E.-M. Engel, V. Müller and U. Hartung (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*. Menes 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008a), 401–412; H. Köpp, “Weibliche Mobilität: Frauen in Sänften und auf Streitwagen,” in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf* (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Universität, 2008b), 34–44; H. Köpp-Junk, “Travel,” in Elizabeth Froid and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eSchoarship, University of California, 2013a), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3945t7f7>, accessed 7 November 2016; H. Köpp, “Desert Travel and Transport in Ancient Egypt: An Overview Based on Epigraphic, Pictorial and Archaeological Evidence,” in H. Riemer and F. Förster, *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*, Africa Praehistorica 26 (Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2013), 107–133; Patricia Berg, *Perspectives on Mobility and Travelling: A Study of References to Functionally-bound Forms of Individual Movement in Non-literary Texts from New Kingdom Deir El-Medina* (University of Helsinki, Department of World Cultures, 2014); H. Köpp-Junk, “Mobilität, Tod und Jenseits,” in M. M. Grewenig (ed.), *Götter. Menschen. Pharaonen. Ägypten—Meisterwerke aus dem Museum Egizio Turin*, Ausstellungskatalog Völklinger Hütte (Völklingen: Edition Völklinger Hütte; Heidelberg: Verlag Das Wunderhorn, 2014a), 31–33; H. Köpp-Junk, *Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur, Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015a); Heidi Köpp-Junk, Heiko Riemer and Frank Förster, “Mobility in Ancient Egypt—Roads and Travels in the Nile Valley and Adjacent Deserts,” in S. Scharl (ed.), *Mobilität in sesshaften Gesellschaften*, Kölner Studien zur prähistorischen Archäologie (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> H. Köpp-Junk, *Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur, Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015a).

<sup>4</sup> Köpp-Junk 2015a, 19, 213; Baines 2007, 5–6.

<sup>5</sup> The primary sources are mentioned in the endnotes of this article. In case they exceeded the scope of this study, the relevant pages of Köpp-Junk 2015a are mentioned, where the sources are listed in detail.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Julia I. Giblin, Kelly J. Knudson, Zsolt Bereczki, György Pálfi, and Ildikó Pap, “Strontium Isotope Analysis and Human Mobility during the Neolithic and Copper Age: A Case Study from the Great Hungarian Plain,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013): 227–239.

<sup>7</sup> See for example A. Jockenhövel, “Räumliche Mobilität von Personen in der Mittleren Bronzezeit des westlichen Mitteleuropa,” *Germania* 69/1 (1991): 49–62.

<sup>8</sup> For detail on mobility, travel, transport and locomotion in ancient Egypt see R. Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt* (London: The Rubicon Press, 1996); Köpp 2008a, 401–412; Köpp 2013; Köpp-Junk 2013a; H. Köpp-Junk, “The Chariot as a Mode of Locomotion in Civil Contexts,” in André J. Veldmeijer and Salima Ikram (eds.), *Chasing Chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference (Cairo 2012)* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013b), 131–142; Köpp-Junk 2014a, 31–33; H. Köpp-Junk, “Sledges in Religious Contexts in Ancient Egypt,” *Material Religion* 10.1 (2014b), 122–124; Köpp-Junk 2015a; for female

- mobility see H. Köpp, “Weibliche Mobilität: Frauen in Sänften und auf Streitwagen,” in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf* (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Universität, 2008b), 34–44; H. Köpp-Junk, “Ikonographische und textliche Belege für Frauen auf Streitwagen in der Amarnazeit,” in C. Huyeng and A. Finger (eds.), *Amarna in the 21st Century*, Kleine Berliner Schriften zum Alten Ägypten 3 (2015b), 102–149.
- <sup>9</sup> See, e.g., the sledge made of cedar wood found near the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht from the Twelfth Dynasty (D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, The South Cemeteries of Lisht I, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition XXV [New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992], 59, pl. 72–73) or the one in the vicinity of the pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 4928; D. Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), fig. 6.35). For a listing of sledges found in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015, 122–123; for the religious connotation of sledges see Köpp-Junk 2014b, 122–124.
- <sup>10</sup> Several chariots are attested from Thebes, such as the ones from Amenophis II, Thutmose IV, Yuya and Tuyu, Amenhotep III, and Tutankhamun. The tomb of the last included six specimens (M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crowel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* [Leiden: Brill, 1979], 75, n. 17). Moreover, a large number of chariot pieces have been found (M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crowel, “An Egyptian Wheel in Brooklyn,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 65 [1979]: 107–120; Herold 2004, 129–130; André J. Veldmeijer, Salima Ikram and Lucy Skinner “Charging Chariots: Progress Report on the Tano Chariot in the Egyptian Museum Cairo,” in André J. Veldmeijer and Salima Ikram [eds.], *Chasing Chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference [Cairo 2012]* [Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013], 277–291).
- <sup>11</sup> A wagon dating to the Middle Kingdom or the Greco-Roman Period was found in Medinet Madi (K. H. Dittmann, “Der Segelwagen von Medinet Mâdi,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo* 10 [1941]: 60–78). Furthermore, a sarcophagus equipped with wheels was excavated in the tomb of Sennedjem (Deir el-Medineh, TT 1, Nineteenth Dynasty; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 27301; V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, mumiekister, og mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten: typologisk atlas* [Copenhagen: Frimodt, 1919], 123, nos. 625, 626; A. G. Shedid, *Das Grab des Sennedjem* [Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1994], fig. 110); in detail on wheeled vehicles in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 215–160, 188–212; H. Köpp-Junk, “Die Entwicklung von Fahrzeugen und Landverkehrswegen im Alten Ägypten,” *Das Altertum* 60.2 (2015): 125–153; H. Köpp-Junk, “Wagons and Carts and Their Significance in Ancient Egypt,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 9 (2016): 14–58; H. Köpp-Junk: “The Development and Introduction of Wheeled Vehicles in Ancient Egypt: Technical Innovations and Their (Non-)acceptance in Pharaonic Times,” in G. Graßhoff, S. Hansen, J. Renn, and F. Klimscha, *Contextualising Technical Innovations in Prehistory* (forthcoming).
- <sup>12</sup> Several boats dating to the First Dynasty were found in Saqqara and Abu Roash (S. Vinson, *Egyptian Boats and Ships* [Princes Risborough, U.K.: Shire Publications, 1994], 17–18; *Institute française d’archéologie orientale*, “La Nécropole protodynastique ‘M’ d’Abou Rawash,” [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/abou-roach/#necropole\\_M](http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/abou-roach/#necropole_M), accessed 18 May 2016). In the boat pits near the pyramid of King Khufu two ships were found (M. Z. Nour and Z. Iskander, *The Cheops Boats I* [Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Office, 1960], pl. 31, 37, passim; B. Landström, *Die Schiffe der Pharaonen* [München: Bertelsmann, 1974], 26–34; Z. Hawass, “The Royal Boats at Giza,” in Z. Hawass (ed.), *Treasures of the Pyramids* [Vercelli: White Star, 2003], 165–171), and six boats near the pyramid of Senwosret III in Dahshur (Partridge 1996, 48, fig. 33; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 82–94, fig. 17, pl. 2e–f, 3a–e).
- <sup>13</sup> The palanquin belonged to queen Hetepheres, the mother of Khufu (Giza, G 7000x, Dynasty 4; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 52372; G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis II: The Tomb of Hetep-Heres, the Mother of Cheops* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955], pls. 5b, 26e, 27a; M. Saleh, M. and H. Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke im ägyptischen Museum Kairo* [Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1986], nr. 29). In detail on women in carrying chairs, see Köpp 2008b.
- <sup>14</sup> Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga, beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 4681 = CG 52666 (barque) and JE 4669 = CG 52668 (wagon); Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, nr. 123.
- <sup>15</sup> Model vessels are attested since Predynastic times. In the tomb of Tutankhamun 35 model vessels were found (H. Carter, *Tut-en-ch-Amun: Ein ägyptisches Königsgrab III* [Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1934], pl. 3, 39, 59; A. Wiese and A. Brodbeck, *Tutanchamun. Das Goldene Jenseits* [München: Hirmer, 2004], 274). See as well H. Köpp-Junk 2014a.
- <sup>16</sup> For the motif of traveling in Egyptian literature see G. Moers, “Travel as Narrative in Egyptian Literature,” in G. Moers (ed.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature: Proceedings of the Symposium “Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms,”* Los Angeles, March 24–26, 1995, *Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica* 2 (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 1999), 43–61; G. Moers, *Fingierte Welten in der ägyptischen Literatur des 2.*

- Jahrtausends v. Chr.: Grenzüberschreitung, Reisemotiv und Fiktionalität* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 167–283; A. Loprieno, “Travel and Fiction in Egyptian Literature,” in D. O’Connor and S. Quirke, *Mysterious Lands* (London: UCL Press, Institute of Archaeology, 2003), 31–51; J. Galán, *Four Journeys in Ancient Literature, Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 5* (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 2005); Köpp-Junk 2013a, 11–12.
- <sup>17</sup> This is not the place for a detailed source criticism of the different texts that will be mentioned in the following. Therefore only a short reference will be given to every source as being, e.g., a literary work, a biography, a private letter, or a royal decree.
- <sup>18</sup> See, e.g., the biographies of Harkhuf (*Urk. I*, 124, 9–127, 12–15), Sabni (*Urk. I*, 135,8–140,11) or Pepinakht (*Urk. I*, 131, 15–135, 7), dating to the Old Kingdom.
- <sup>19</sup> See, e.g., the Coptos Decree of King Pepi I (*Urk. I*, 214, 11–17; H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 14* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967], 42–54, fig. 4).
- <sup>20</sup> A group from a village near Qubân traveled to the Hathor temple of Thutmose III in Deir el-Bahri, which is a distance of about 350 km, and left an inscription there (M. Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I. Les Inscriptions Hiératiques de Temple du Thoutmosis III* [Warszawa: PWN, Edition Scientifiques de Pologne 1974], 61–63, nr. 4).
- <sup>21</sup> For expedition texts, see further discussion here in detail.
- <sup>22</sup> One of the few sources in which the itinerary is attested is the biography of Harkhuf in his tomb on the Qubbet el-Hawa (tomb nr. 34, Sixth Dynasty), in which the Elephantine road and the oasis road are mentioned (*Urk. I*, 124, 17–125, 4; 125, 12–126, 4); see as well Köpp-Junk 2015a, 40, 69, 225 and Förster 2015, 49, 227, 474–476.
- <sup>23</sup> A rare example is the biography of Sabni, since in the text it is stated that Sabni’s final destination was Memphis (inscription in the tomb of Sabni on the Qubbet el-Hawa [Sixth Dynasty; *Urk. I*, 139, 3]).
- <sup>24</sup> One of the few exceptions is the biography of Weni, where two kinds of transport ships are referred to (*Urk. I*, 99, 15; 107, 7–9; 108, 4, 13). Another one is, e.g., the letter of Sennefer (TT 96, Eighteenth Dynasty), stating his arrival at Diospolis Parva by ship (pBerlin 10463; R. A. Caminos, “Papyrus Berlin 10463,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49 [1963]: 31, pl. 6, line 5).
- <sup>25</sup> Only during the campaigns of Thutmose III the installation of the encampment and the pitching of pharaoh’s tent are mentioned; see subsequent discussion in the present paper.
- <sup>26</sup> See for example the description of the travel of Senneferi to Lebanon (*Urk. IV*, 532, 12–536, 4). In the annals of Thutmose III the land Djahi (*Urk. IV*, 687, 9–
- 688, 1) and the river Euphrates (*Urk. IV*, 697, 3–9) is described in more detail.
- <sup>27</sup> *Urk. I*, 126, 17–127, 3. See as well the biography of Sabni (*Urk. I*, 137, 8: elephant tusks).
- <sup>28</sup> See Köpp-Junk 2015a, 273–274 with further details.
- <sup>29</sup> Papyrus Anastasi I 20, 1–6; H. W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 160. The literary text with a rather satirical content, dating to the New Kingdom, is composed as a letter exchange between Hori and Amenemope. Hori is making fun of Amenemope by posing numerous questions, insinuating that the latter is unable to calculate the number of workers necessary for some building projects and that he has no knowledge about the geographical details of Palestine and Syria.
- <sup>30</sup> In detail see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 22–25. In the European Middle Ages traveling was mainly restricted to the drier periods of the year, when the roads were not nearly impassable because of rain and snow (N. Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. [München: Artemis-Verlag, 1988], 27–28).
- <sup>31</sup> The inscriptions on the pyramid blocks from the Red Pyramid of Seneferu cover all seasons (R. Stadelmann, “Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahschur. Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen Steinpyramide,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo* 39 [1983]: 235); the same applies to those from the pyramid of Senuseret I at Lisht and of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (D. Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur I. Die Pyramide*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 53 [Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1987], 72). See as well the inscription of Weni, referring to stone transport when the water level was low (*Urk. I*, 107, 16–108, 9).
- <sup>32</sup> Modern travelers, including Thesiger and Monod, describe very vividly their experiences during sandstorms and heavy rainfall while traveling the desert; see W. Thesiger, *Die Brunnen der Wüste. Mit den Beduinen durch das unbekannte Arabien*, 5th ed. (München: Piper, 2001), 263 and T. Monod, *Wüstenwanderungen* (München: Goldmann, 2002), 161.
- <sup>33</sup> See the transport of obelisks during the reign of Hatshepsut (Navelle, E.: *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund* 27 [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908], pl. 154).
- <sup>34</sup> W. Schenkel, “Kanal,” in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 311.
- <sup>35</sup> Papyrus British Museum 10508, cols. 20, 24–25; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I–III* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London: University of California Press, 2006), vol. III, 175.

- <sup>36</sup> The only exception was the chariot, which replaced the palanquin as an elite mode of locomotion in the civil context (Köpp-Junk 2013a, 8; Köpp-Junk 2013b; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 319). For detail on modes of transport and locomotion in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 81–213.
- <sup>37</sup> Medelhavsmuseet Stockholm, nr. MM 17976; Vinson 1994, 11.
- <sup>38</sup> *Urk. I* 236, 12.
- <sup>39</sup> For details on Egyptian watercraft see B. Landström, *Die Schiffe der Pharaonen* (München: Bertelsmann, 1974); N. Düring, *Materialien zum Schiffbau im Alten Ägypten*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo: Ägyptologische Reihe 11 (Berlin: Achet-Verlag, 1995); A. Merriman, *Egyptian Watercraft Models from the Predynastic to the Third Intermediate Period*, British archaeological reports, International Series 2263 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011); regarding travel by vessel in Egypt, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 27–29, 81–93, pl. 2e–3e.
- <sup>40</sup> R. Müller-Wollermann, “Ich bin ein Besitzer von Booten,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 26 (1998): 231, 235, 237. For the New Kingdom see the stela of Nefer from Deir el-Bahari, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (I. E. S. Edwards, “Lord Dufferin’s Excavations at Deir el-Bahari,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 51 [1965]: 25, pl. 11, 2; M. Lichtheim, *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt*, *Orbis biblicus et orientalis* 155 [Freiburg, Göttingen: University Press, 1997], 53).
- <sup>41</sup> Düring 1995, 147–149.
- <sup>42</sup> Düring 1995, 137–154.
- <sup>43</sup> Müller-Wollermann 1998, 234–235; Landström 1974, 60.
- <sup>44</sup> P. Tallet, “Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf: Two Newly Discovered Pharaonic Harbours on the Suez Gulf,” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012): 148, 150, fig. 10.
- <sup>45</sup> Nour and Iskander 1960, pl. 31, 37; Landström 1974, 26–34.
- <sup>46</sup> E. W. Castle, “Shipping and Trade in Ramesside Egypt,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 240.
- <sup>47</sup> Papyrus Harris I, 7, 5.
- <sup>48</sup> B. Kemp, D. O’Connor, “An Ancient Nile Harbour: University Museum Excavations at the ‘Birket Habu’,” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3 (1974): 101–136.
- <sup>49</sup> Tallet 2012, 148, 150–151.
- <sup>50</sup> K. Bard, R. Fattovich (eds.), *Harbour of the Pharaohs to the Land of Punt: Archaeological Investigations at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis Egypt, 2001–2005* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli, 2007); A. M. A. H. Sayed, “Wadi Gasus,” in K. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1999), 866–868; A. M. A. H. Sayed, “Discovery of the Site of the 12th Dynasty Port at Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea Shore,” *Revue d’égyptologie* 29 (1977): 140–178; A. M. A. H. Sayed, “The Recently Discovered Port on the Red Sea Shore,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64 (1978): 69–71; A. M. A. H. Sayed, “New Light on the Recently Discovered Port on the Red Sea Shore,” *Chronique d’Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth* 58 (1983): 23–37.
- <sup>51</sup> C. Ward, “Building Pharaoh’s Ships: Cedar, Incense and Sailing the Great Green,” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012): 221.
- <sup>52</sup> On Egyptian sandals see, for example, F. Feindt, “Botanische Untersuchungen altägyptischer Sandalen,” *Alt-Ägypten* 30 (2000), 284–309; A. J. Veldmeijer, “Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear: Technological Aspects Part X: Leather Composite Sandals,” *PalArch’s Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 6.9 (2009): 1–27; A. J. Veldmeijer, *Tutankhamun’s Footwear: Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2011). Several sandals from ancient Egypt are nowadays in several museums, including Turin (H. Köpp-Junk: “Sandalen,” in M. M. Grewenig (ed.), *Götter. Menschen. Pharaonen. Ägypten—Meisterwerke aus dem Museum Egizio Turin. Ausstellungskatalog Völklinger Hütte* [Völklingen: Edition Völklinger Hütte; Heidelberg: Verlag Das Wunderhorn, 2014], 150).
- <sup>53</sup> See the depictions in the tombs of Kahief (H. Junker, *Giza VI. Die Mastaba des Nfr [Nefer], Kdfj [Kedfi], K3hjf [Kahjef] und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen*, Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 72,1 [Wien, Leipzig: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1943], fig. 45), Neferirenef (B. van de Walle, *La Chapelle Funéraire de Neferirenef* [Bruxelles: Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, 1978], pl. 12), and Methethi (Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs in the Old Kingdom* [London—New York: KPI, 1987], fig. 212). For a compiling of the records on donkey riding, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 165–166).
- <sup>54</sup> See, e.g., an armed rider on horseback from the time of Thutmose III (Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, nr. 05.3.263). On the horse as a mode of locomotion in Egypt, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 166–171.
- <sup>55</sup> See, e.g., the one depicted on the Narmer macehead (Hierakonpolis, Dynasty 0, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, AN1890.1908.E.3631; J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, Egyptian Research Account 4 [London: Quaritch, 1900], pl. 26 b). Another carrying chair including passenger is shown in the tomb of Nimaatre (Giza, Fifth Dynasty; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II [1930-1931]* [Oxford: Johnson, 1936], fig. 240). Even two are represented in the tomb of Djehutyhetep (el-Bersha, Twelfth Dynasty; British Museum London,

- nr. EA 1147; P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 3 [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895], pl. 12–13, 29). For further information see Köpp 2008a, 407; Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2015, 173–188.
- <sup>56</sup> In ancient Egypt the chariot was used not only for warfare, but likewise for sport, hunting and as a mundane mode of locomotion (T. G. E. Powell, “Some Implications of Chariotry,” in J. L. Forster and L. Alcock [eds.], *Culture and Environment: Essays in Honour of Sir Cyril Fox* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963], 165; A. R. Schulman, “Chariots, Chariotry and the Hyksos,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 10.2 (1980): 144–146, 148; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 196–199). On its use in civil context see Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2013b, 131–142; Köpp-Junk 2015b, 102–149; H. Köpp-Junk, “Der ägyptische Streitwagen zwischen Kriegsgerät und Fortbewegungsmittel,” *Antike Welt* 1/2016 (2016): 70–75.
- <sup>57</sup> For a compiling and interpretation of the records concerning this kind of transport see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 93–103; on its use for travel see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 105–107.
- <sup>58</sup> Regarding an inscription in the Wadi Hammamat (J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* [Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1912], inscription nr. 114), poles were used on long-distance travels. A hunting scene in Beni Hasan depicts the use of a yoke in the desert (P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II* [London: Paul Kegan, Trench, Trübner, 1894], pl. 13).
- <sup>59</sup> J. G. Landels, *Die Technik in der antiken Welt* (München: Beck, 1989), 206.
- <sup>60</sup> Ohler 1988, 35, referring to the European Middle Ages. The figures concerning the carrying capacity of donkeys vary considerably; in detail see Frank Förster, *Der Abu Ballas-Weg: eine pharaonische Karawanenroute durch die Libysche Wüste*, *Africa Praehistorica* 28 (Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2015) 407–418.
- <sup>61</sup> This is attested in the *British Army Manual* of 1923 (D. P. S. Peacock, and V. A. Maxfield, *Survey and Excavation at Mons Claudianus 1987–1993 II: Survey and Excavation* [Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2001], 297). On the use of donkeys along the Abu Ballas Trail see Förster 2015, 385–456.
- <sup>62</sup> Ohler 1988, 35–36.
- <sup>63</sup> This is not the place to discuss the use of the camel in Egypt before the Greco-Roman period in detail; see Köpp 2013, 107; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 112–116, 171–173 with further literature; P. Rowley-Conwy, “The Camel in the Nile Valley: New Radiocarbon Accelerator (AMS) Dates from Qasr Ibrihm,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988): 245–248. On the domestication,
- see M. Heide, “The Domestication of the Camel: Biological, Archaeological and Inscriptional Evidence from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel and Arabia, and Literary Evidence from the Hebrew Bible,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 42 (2010), Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2011: 331–384.
- <sup>64</sup> See, e.g., M. Ripinski, “The Camel in Dynastic Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 134–141, 135; U. Braukämper, *Migration und ethnischer Wandel: Untersuchungen aus der östlichen Sudanzone*, *Studien zur Kulturkunde* 103 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 157; R. T. Wilson, “The One-Humped Camel as a Producer of Rural and Urban Energy,” in R. A. Pearson, P. Lhoste, M. Saastamoinen, and W. Martin-Rosset (eds.): *Working Animals in Agriculture and Transport: A Collection of Some Current Research and Development Observations*, EAAT Technical Series No. 6 (Wageningen: Academic Publishers, 2003), 186.
- <sup>65</sup> In detail on carts and wagons in ancient Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 132–160; H. Köpp-Junk, “Die Entwicklung von Fahrzeugen und Landverkehrswegen im Alten Ägypten,” *Das Altertum* 60.2 (2015): 125–153; Köpp-Junk 2016, 14–58.
- <sup>66</sup> On sledges as a mode of transport in Egypt, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 117–132.
- <sup>67</sup> The scene is depicted in the tomb of Djehutihetep in el-Bersha (tomb nr. 2) and is dated to the Twelfth Dynasty (Newberry 1895, 18–19, pl. 12, 15; Arnold 1991, 277, fig. 3.5; A. Badawy, “The Transport of the Colossus of Djehutihetep,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 8 [1963]: 325–332). Willems even assumes a weight of 80 tons (H. Willems, C. Peeters, and D. Verstraeten, “Where Did Djehutihetep Erect His Colossal Statue?,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 132 [2005], 173–174, n. 6).
- <sup>68</sup> For details see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 28–29. No costs concerning passenger transport are available.
- <sup>69</sup> In detail on this topic see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 267–278; F. Förster, H. Riemer, A. Bolten, O. Bubenezer, S. Hendrickx, and F. Darius, “Tracing Linear Structures: Remote Sensing, Landscape Classification and the Archaeology of Desert Roads in the Eastern Desert,” in W. J. G. Möhlig, O. Bubenezer, G. Menz (eds.), *Towards Interdisciplinarity: Experiences of the Long-Term ACACIA Project*, *Topics in Interdisciplinary African Studies* 16 (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2010), 49–75.
- <sup>70</sup> *Truth and Falsehood*, papyrus British Museum 10682, 7, 1–2; *The Two Brothers*, papyrus D’Orbiney 12, 10–13, 2; CT I, 10 (spell 3) and 72 (spell 23); *The Eloquent Peasant*, R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991), R I, 1–7
- <sup>71</sup> For long-distance travels, vessels were used as containers for wine, oil, and other products, but not for water. The latter was transported in water-skins, as mentioned in several texts (Couyat and Montet

- 1912, inscription nr. 114; papyrus Anastasi I, 25, 7f.; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 224; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical IV: Merenptah and the Late 19th Dynasty* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 14, 8 (Israel Stela). Those water-skins called *guerba* are nowadays made of the skins of goats or antelope and have a volumetric capacity of 20–25 liters (Monod 2002, 140; C. Bergmann, *Der letzte Beduine. Meine Karawanen zu den Geheimnissen der Wüste* [Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2002], 303). On the botanical remains of traveler sites in the Theban desert, see R. T. J. Capper, L. Sikking, J. C. Darnell, D. Darnell, “Food Supply Along the Theban Desert Roads (Egypt): The Gebel Roma, Wadi el-Hôl, and Gebel Qarn el-Gir Caravansary Deposits,” in R. T. J. Cappers (ed.), *Fields of Change: Proceedings of the 4th International Workshop of African Archaeobotany* (Groningen: Barkhuis and Groningen University Library, 2007), 127–138. On supply during desert travels see Köpp 2013, 122–123; on the supply chains at the Abu Ballas Trail see Förster 2015, 341–372; for the grain storage, Förster 2015, 316. On the inscriptions of desert travelers see J. C. Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1-45 and Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 1-45*, Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert I, Oriental Institute Publications 119 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2002); J. C. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert 2. The Rock Shrine of Pahu, Gebel Akhenaton, and other Rock Inscriptions from the Western Hinterland of Naqada*, Yale Egyptological Publications 1 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2013).
- <sup>72</sup> On formalities such as passports and permissions see Köpp-Junk 2015, 315–317.
- <sup>73</sup> See for example the water depots on the Abu Ballas Trail in the Libyan Desert, dating to the Old Kingdom (F. Förster, “With Donkeys, Jars and Water Bags into the Libyan Desert: The Abu Ballas Trail in the Late Old Kingdom/First Intermediate Period,” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 7 [2007]: 1–36; Förster 2015).
- <sup>74</sup> Fischer-Elfert 1986, 230–235.
- <sup>75</sup> See TT 57 and TT 324; U. Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im Alten Ägypten* (Bonn: Hochschulschrift, 1989), 288, pl. 70, 72.
- <sup>76</sup> *The Doomed Prince*, papyrus Harris 500 vso. 4, 13–5, 1; A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), 2, 14–16.
- <sup>77</sup> A. H. Gardiner, “The Map of the Gold Mines in a Ramesside Papyrus at Turin,” *Cairo Scientific Journal* 8 (1914): 41–46; J. Harrell and V. M. Brown, “The Oldest Surviving Topographical Map from Ancient Egypt (Turin Papyri 1879, 1899, and 1969),” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 81–105.
- <sup>78</sup> In detail on the usability of the map for travelers see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 275–276, pl. 15c–16c.
- <sup>79</sup> On some of those being attested in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 271–272.
- <sup>80</sup> See, for example, those on the Hatnub road to quarry P (I. M. E. Shaw, “A Survey at Hatnub,” in B. J. Kemp [ed.], *Amarna Reports III*, Egypt Exploration Society [London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1986], 195); Köpp-Junk 2015a, 57, 68, pl. 1a. On the *alamat* along the Abu Ballas Trail see Förster 2015, 78–85.
- <sup>81</sup> See for example those flanking the Dahshur road or the Fayum road (Köpp-Junk 2015, 69).
- <sup>82</sup> Schulgi A 29–35; S. A. Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 45 (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1988), 94, note 75.
- <sup>83</sup> I. M. E. Shaw, “Master of the Road: Quarrying and Communication Networks in Egypt and Nubia,” in B. Mathieu, D. Meeks, and M. Wissa (eds.), *L’apport de l’Égypte à l’histoire des techniques. Méthodes, chronologie et comparaisons*, Bibliothèque d’études, Institut français d’archéologie orientale 142 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2006), 253–266: 258, fig. 6.
- <sup>84</sup> Förster 2015, 50, 106, 108, 111, 115, 123, 127, 312, 316, 588, figs. 21, 98, 111, 120, 136, 141.
- <sup>85</sup> J. Harrell and T. M. Bown “An Old Kingdom Basalt Quarry at Widan el-Faras and the Quarry Road to Lake Moeris,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32 (1995): 77–78, figs. 3, 8–10.
- <sup>86</sup> Shaw 1986, 198–200.
- <sup>87</sup> Kemp 1991, 166, 247, fig. 83.
- <sup>88</sup> Shaw 1986, 191.
- <sup>89</sup> For further details see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 261.
- <sup>90</sup> *Urk.* IV, 655, 12; 655, 15; 656, 6; 656, 13. The same applies for Ramesses II in the battle of Kadesh (K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical II* [Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1979], 102), and Pije [*Urk.* III, 40, 11–15]. For Akhenaton a tent is mentioned as accommodation for his overnight stay at his first visit to Amarna [*Urk.* IV, 1982, 11–12].
- <sup>91</sup> Reisner and Smith 1955, pls. 5b, 26e, 27a.
- <sup>92</sup> It was covered by a rosette-embroidered cloth (Wiese and Brodbeck 2004, 85, fig. 6).
- <sup>93</sup> H. Carter, *Das Grab des Tut-ench-Amun*, 6th ed. (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1981), fig. 57.
- <sup>94</sup> *Sinuhe* B 25–28; *Sinuhe* B 94–98.
- <sup>95</sup> Papyrus Harris 500 vso. 5, 7–10.
- <sup>96</sup> Papyrus Anastasi I 25, 7.
- <sup>97</sup> *Urk.* IV, 325, 12–16.
- <sup>98</sup> Egyptian Museum Cairo nr. 41890; *Urk.* I, 214, 11–17; Goedicke 1967, 42–54, fig. 4; translation by M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdom* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London:

- University of California Press, 1984), 28.
- <sup>99</sup> *Urk. I*, 131, 4–7.
- <sup>100</sup> Köpp-Junk 2015a, 231–232; F. Hagen, “On Some Movements of the Royal Court in New Kingdom Egypt,” in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Another Mouthful of Dust: Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 246 (Leiden: Peeters, 2016), 155–181.
- <sup>101</sup> W. Helck, “Das Dekret des Königs Haremhab,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 80 (1955): § 5, 120, 133.
- <sup>102</sup> B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London—New York: Routledge, 1991), 218–219.
- <sup>103</sup> Papyrus Anastasi IV 20; R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, *Brown Egyptological Studies* 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954b), 198–201; Kemp 1991, 218.
- <sup>104</sup> Papyrus Chester Beatty I; A. H. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931) pl. 29, G, 1–4; Lichtheim 2006, vol. II, 186. For the performance of these love songs and love poems by musicians and reciters see H. Köpp-Junk, “The artist behind the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs: Performance and technique”, in R. Landgráfová and H. Navrátilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess II: The World of the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2015), 35–60.
- <sup>105</sup> On traveling speed in ancient Egypt in detail see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 289–302, tab. 6–13.
- <sup>106</sup> In detail on traveling speed on the waterway see Köpp-Junk 2015, 298–300, tab. 12–13.
- <sup>107</sup> H. G. Fischer, “Two Tantalizing Biographical Fragments,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1975): 34.
- <sup>108</sup> Papyrus Leiden I 350 vso., IV, 32.
- <sup>109</sup> Herodotus, *Histories* II, 9.
- <sup>110</sup> See for example papyrus Anastasi I 19, 8; 23, 3–4; 23, 7–25, 2.
- <sup>111</sup> Traveling the desert was still as dangerous in the 19th century CE as it was in ancient Egypt, and it still is. Losing the track can lead to fatal consequences, as nearly happened to Richard Lepsius and Max Weidenbach, traveling from Thebes to Sinai in 1845. They were parted from their caravan, got lost in the desert and could not find the watering holes when their guide left them alone. By chance they met another caravan, which saved their lives (E. Freie, S. Grunert, S., and M. Freitag, *Eine Reise durch Ägypten* [Berlin: Henschel, 1984], 151).
- <sup>112</sup> Depriving his enemy of access to water is a common praxis. The contamination of wells by animal cadavers is even mentioned in the Bible (1 Moses 26:15; 2 Kings 3:25).
- <sup>113</sup> Köpp 2013, 122–123; Monod 2002, 147; Bergmann 2002, 265; C. Rossi, “Umm el-Dabadib, Roman Settlement in the Kharga Oasis: Description of the Visible Remains,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Abteilung Kairo* 56 (2000): 339.
- <sup>114</sup> Papyrus Wise. 1174; translation after R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 40.
- <sup>115</sup> Papyrus Anastasi I 25, 8–26, 1; H. W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I. vol. 2. Textzusammenstellung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 147.
- <sup>116</sup> *Urk. I*, 180–188; E. Schott, “Die Biographie des Ka-em-tenenet,” in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Festschrift Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977, 443–461; N. Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie und Entwicklung, Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte* 8 (Hamburg: Buske, 2002), 35, 210–211.
- <sup>117</sup> Papyrus Leningrad 1115 33–39; A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 2 (Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), 42, 11–13; translation by Galán 2005, 31.
- <sup>118</sup> *Wenamun* 2,50.
- <sup>119</sup> *Admonitions* 2, 2; 5, 11–12; translation by R. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 171, 176.
- <sup>120</sup> Papyrus Anastasi I 23, 7–8.
- <sup>121</sup> Papyrus Anastasi I 20, 1–6; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 160.
- <sup>122</sup> Regarding the dating of the text see R. A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe: From a Hieratic Papyrus in the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1977), 4; J. F. Quack, “Ein neuer Versuch zum Moskauer literarischen Brief,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 128 (2001): 172.
- <sup>123</sup> Papyrus Pushkin 127, column 3, lines 4–7.
- <sup>124</sup> ARM II, 133.19–24; SLA 34.6–1r; Meier 1988, 80–81.
- <sup>125</sup> Ohler 1988, 86; E. Schubert, *Fahrendes Volk im Mittelalter* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1995), 80–84.
- <sup>126</sup> In detail see Köpp-Junk 2015, 278–280.
- <sup>127</sup> W. Gutekunst, “Min,” in W. Helck, and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982), col. 137.
- <sup>128</sup> D. Wildung, “Ha,” W. Helck, and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977), col. 923.

- <sup>129</sup> An expedition inscription in the Wadi Hammamat refers to Mut and Min (K.-J. Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 15 [Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981], 247, 276–277, inscription M 199).
- <sup>130</sup> Private letters from Deir el-Medineh invoke Amun as the god of travelers (P. Berg, “Perspectives on Travelling in the Texts from Deir e-Medina,” in V. Gashe and J. Finch [eds.], *Current Research in Egyptology 2008: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Symposium* [Bolton: Rutherford Press, 2008], 6).
- <sup>131</sup> Amun-Ra and Min were addressed in the Wadi Gawasis by Nitocris, Psammetikh, and Shepenupet (G. Schweinfurth and A. Erman, *Alte Baureste und hieroglyphische Inschriften im Uadi Gasus* [Berlin: Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1885], 3–23, 10–15).
- <sup>132</sup> Dieter and Dorothea Arnold, *Der Tempel Qasr el-Sagha*, Archäologischen Veröffentlichungen 27 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1979), 25. According to the Edfu texts, Horus is the protector of the way to Punt as well (Edfou I<sup>2</sup>, 425, 13–14; S. H. Aufrère, “Religious Perceptions of the Mine in the Eastern Desert in Ptolemaic and Roman Times,” in Olaf E. Kaper, *Life on the Fringe: Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine periods*, Contributions by the Nederlands-Vlaams Instituut in Cairo 2, CNWS Publications 71 [Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1998], 11).
- <sup>133</sup> In the Ptolemaic Period Isis served as a protective maritime deity (Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis: die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* [München/Leipzig: Saur Verlag, 2001], 66; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* [Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1971], 330; W. Gutekunst, “Schutzgott, -göttin,” in W. Helck, and W. Westendorf [eds.], *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), col. 751; F. Dunand, *Le culte d’Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée III* [Leiden: Brill, 1973], 331).
- <sup>134</sup> Papyrus Lansing 4, 10–5, 2; A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7 (Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937), 103, 13–16; translation after Lichtheim 2006, vol. II, 170.
- <sup>135</sup> *Wenamun* 1, 34; 2, 55. In detail on the travels of Wenamun and their chronology see A. Egberts, “The Chronology of ‘The Report of Wenamun,’” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77 (1991): 57–67.
- <sup>136</sup> Papyrus Insinger 28, 14; A. Volten, *Kopenhagener Texte zum Demotischen Weisheitsbuch. Analecta Aegyptiaca II* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1940), 214; translation after Lichtheim 2006, vol. III, 207.
- <sup>137</sup> For detail on the motivations for traveling see Köpp-Junk 2013a, 4–5; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 217–222.
- <sup>138</sup> The text is inscribed in the temple of Karnak and deals with the military campaigns of pharaoh Thutmose III to Syria-Palestine (*Urk. IV*, 645–734).
- <sup>139</sup> *Urk. I* 246, 4.
- <sup>140</sup> J. Kahl, “Ein Zeugnis altägyptischer Schulausflüge,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 211 (2006): 29; V. Davies and R. Friedman, *Unbekanntes Ägypten* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1999), 63; W. Helck, “Ägypten im frühen Neuen Reich, Grundzüge einer Entwicklung,” in A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1987), 20; L. Casson, *Reisen in der Alten Welt* (München: Prestel, 1974), 27; D. Wildung, *Die Rolle des ägyptischen Königs im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 17 (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1969), 66.
- <sup>141</sup> See for example the inscription of the scribe Amenhotep, son of Hapu (*Urk. IV* 1832–1833); J. Yoyotte, “Les pèlerinages dans l’Égypte ancienne,” in *Sources orientales* 3 (Paris: Seuil 1960), 19–74; Beinlich, “Wallfahrt,” in W. Helck, and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), col. 1145; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 233–235.
- <sup>142</sup> D. Wildung, “Besucherinschriften,” in W. Helck and E. Otto (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), cols. 766–767.
- <sup>143</sup> For further details see Köpp-Junk 2015, 235.
- <sup>144</sup> Ostrakon Oriental Institute 12074; W. Guglielmi, “Eine ‘Lehre’ für einen reiselustigen Sohn,” *Welt des Orients* 14 (1983): 147–166; J. Foster, “Oriental Institute Ostrakon 12074, ‘Menna’s Lament’ or ‘Letter to a Wayward Son,’” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14.4 (1984): 88–99; John L. Foster, *Echoes of Egyptian Voices: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poetry* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 56–59.
- <sup>145</sup> Köpp-Junk 2015a, 218 with further references.
- <sup>146</sup> For detail see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 221.
- <sup>147</sup> For detail on various professions of travelers see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 213–266.
- <sup>148</sup> For detail see Köpp-Junk 2015.
- <sup>149</sup> *Urk. I*, 135, 17–140, 11.
- <sup>150</sup> Guglielmi 1983, 147–166.
- <sup>151</sup> T. G. H., James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 19 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1962); J. P. Allen, *The Hekanakht Papyri*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Edition 27 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002).
- <sup>152</sup> On Egyptian marriage customs see S. Allam, “Ehe,” in W. Helck and E. Otto (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*

- I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), col. 1167.
- <sup>153</sup> For further information see Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 227–230. A detailed analysis is currently being done by the author of this article.
- <sup>154</sup> *Urk. IV, 7*; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 229–230; D. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re. Eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes*, Abteilung Kairo 16 (Berlin: Achet-Verlag, 1999), 277–278.
- <sup>155</sup> According to the literary work *Wenamun* (II, 69), the Egyptian chantress Tanetnut was a resident at the palace of the ruler of Byblos (see as well Köpp-Junk 2015a, 230).
- <sup>156</sup> W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 2. und 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 434.
- <sup>157</sup> On Egyptian marriage customs in detail see Allam 1975, col. 1167.
- <sup>158</sup> Inscription on the statue of her son Mai (dating to the reign of Ramesses II); Egyptian Museum Cairo, JdE 67878; Raue 1999, 197–198, 287.
- <sup>159</sup> Jockenhövel 1991: 50.
- <sup>160</sup> P. Posener-Kriéger, “Les papyrus de Gébélein. Remarques préliminaires,” *Revue d'égyptologie* 27 (1975): 211–221 212.
- <sup>161</sup> For detail see Köpp 2008b.
- <sup>162</sup> Reisner and Smith 1955, pl. 27 a.
- <sup>163</sup> N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna I* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), pl. 10, 17 (tomb of Merira I); Amarna, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Akhenaten; Davies 1905, pl. 13, 15–16 (tomb of Panehesi). For detail see Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2015b, 102–149.
- <sup>164</sup> M. G. Daressy, “Une représentation de cavalier égyptien,” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 6 (1905): 97, fig. 1; A. R. Schulman, “Egyptian Representations of Horsemen and Riding in the New Kingdom,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957): 269.
- <sup>165</sup> Köpp-Junk 2015a, 166–171.
- <sup>166</sup> See, for example, J. Garstang, P. E. Newberry, and J. G. Milne, *El Ar'abah*, Egyptian Research Account 6 (London: Quaritch, 1901), pl. 9.
- <sup>167</sup> Köpp-Junk, H. (2015a), 97; see U. Bouriant, *Le tombeau de Harmhabi*, *Mémoires Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* 5, 3 (Paris: Leroux, 1894), pl. 4 (tomb of Haremhab, Thebes, TT 78, Eighteenth Dynasty); N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes II*, Egyptian Expedition XI (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), pl. 21 (tomb of Rekhmira, Thebes, TT 100, Eighteenth Dynasty); Eberhard Dziobek and Mahmud Abdel Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep Theben Nr. 63*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 71 (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1980), pl. 2a (tomb of Sobekhotep, Thebes, TT 63, Eighteenth Dynasty); N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II*, *Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 14 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), pl. 38 (tomb of Merira II, Amarna, Eighteenth Dynasty).
- <sup>168</sup> For the 700 wine jars found in the tomb U-j and imported from Palestine see U. Hartung, “Bemerkungen zur Chronologie der Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Südkanaan in spätprädynastischer Zeit,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo* 50 (1994): 110.
- <sup>169</sup> E. Teeter, *Before the Pyramids: The Origin of Egyptian Civilization*, *Oriental Institute Museum Publication* 33 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2011), 162–163; R. Gundlach, *Die Zwangsumsiedlung auswärtiger Bevölkerung als Mittel ägyptischer Politik bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, *Forschungen zur Sklaverei* 26 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 53–54.
- <sup>170</sup> J. Baines and J. Malek, *Ägypten* (München: Christian, 1992), 20–21.
- <sup>171</sup> Hartung 1994: 112.
- <sup>172</sup> L. Watrin, “The Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture: A View from Buto, Ma’adi Harageh and Gerzeh,” in H. Hanna (ed.): *Proceedings of the International Conference in Naqada und Qus Region’s Heritage*, *International Council of Museums (ICOM)*, Alexandria, Egypt (Cairo: Egyptian Printing Company, 2007), 11; C. Ward, “Boat-building and its Social Context in Early Egypt: Interpretations from the First Dynasty Boat-grave Cemetery at Abydos,” *Antiquity* 80 (2006): 120; F. Feindt and M. Fischer, “Untersuchung botanischer Proben,” in G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühesten Schriftzeugnisse*, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 86 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998) 191–192; S. Vinson, “Seafaring,” in E. Frood and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eSchoarship, University of California, 2009), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9d93885v>, 3, accessed 7 November 2016.
- <sup>173</sup> Palermo Stone, reign of Sahura; *Urk. I*, 246, 4.
- <sup>174</sup> See the physician Idu in the Sixth Dynasty (E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* [Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976], 49).
- <sup>175</sup> Edel mentions two Egyptian messengers residing at the Hittite court (E. Edel, “Neue keilschriftliche Umschreibungen ägyptischer Namen aus den Bogazköytexten,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7 [1948]: 17–18). See as well the several physicians sent to the land of Hatti, such as the scribe and physician Pareemhat (KUB III 67; Edel 1976, 46–47, 82–84, 87–89, 104).

- <sup>176</sup> The inscription was found in his tomb on the Qubbet el-Hawa (tomb nr. 34; Sixth Dynasty; *Urk. I*, 124, 9–127, 12–15). For the calculation of the length of this travels see Edel 1955: 66, note 2. The localization of Yam is nevertheless still in discussion; see for example D. M. Dixon, “The Land of Yam,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 44 (1958): 40–55; D. O’Connor, “The Locations of Yam and Kush and Their Historical Implications,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986): 27–50; C. Obsomer, “Les expéditions d’Herkhouf (VIe dynastie) et la localisation de Yam,” in M.-C. Bruwier (ed.), *Pharaons noirs. Sur la Piste des Quarante Jours*. Catalogue de l’exposition du 9 mars au 2 septembre 2007 par le Musée royal de Mariemont (Mariemont: Musée royal de Mariemont, 2007) 39–52; J. Clayton, A. De Trafford and M. Borda “A Hieroglyphic Inscription found at the Jebel Uweinat mentioning Yam and Tekhebet,” *Sahara* 19 (2008): 129–134; J. Cooper, “Reconsidering the Location of Yam,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 48 (2012): 1–21; Förster 2015, 474–476, 479–487.
- <sup>177</sup> H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit*, Bonner Historische Forschungen 26 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1964), 64.
- <sup>178</sup> Inscription from the tomb of Weni in Abydos (Sixth Dynasty; Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 1435; *Urk. I* 98–110).
- <sup>179</sup> Partridge 1996, 77. He argues that “this is not unusual, for it is only in the last two hundred years that the population of modern countries have had the ability to move easily over great distances.” For later times see Braunert 1964, 335, quoting H. I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: A Study in the Diffusion and Decay of Hellenism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 119: “The average man was fixed for life in the station to which he was born.”
- <sup>180</sup> Sinuhe B 159–160; *The Shipwrecked Sailor* (papyrus Leningrad 1115, 120–123); Jan Assmann, “Zum Konzept der Fremdheit im alten Ägypten,” in Meinhard Schuster (ed.), *Die Begegnung mit dem Fremden. Wertungen und Wirkungen in Hochkulturen vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart*, Colloquium Rauricum 4 (Stuttgart, Leipzig: Teubner, 1996), 80; see the subsequent discussion in the present paper as well.
- <sup>181</sup> Bagnall 1993, 40, referring to pFay. 136 from Arsinoites (Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 10811).
- <sup>182</sup> *Urk. I*, 98–110.
- <sup>183</sup> *Urk. I*, 120–131.
- <sup>184</sup> Papyrus Anastasi IV 6, 11; Caminos 1954b, 155.
- <sup>185</sup> Papyrus Anastasi IV 12, 6–13, 8; Caminos 1954, 188–189.
- <sup>186</sup> James 1962, 6; Allen 2002, 106, 125, 180. The household consists of different relatives, namely his mother, brother, sister, an aunt or sister, his wife, his son, and a daughter (Allen 2002, 116).
- <sup>187</sup> Letter I, 1–3; Allen 2002, 15.
- <sup>188</sup> Letter I, vo. 13–15; Allen 2002, 16. For the discussion concerning her position within Heqanakhte’s household as his potential second wife see Allen 2002, 108–109.
- <sup>189</sup> Letter I, vo. 17 and letter II, 1–2; Allen 2002, 16. See as well letter IV, 1–4 (Allen 2002, 18), written by a daughter to her mother.
- <sup>190</sup> *Eloquent Peasant* R 1.5; R. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader’s Commentary*, *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* 10 (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2012), 28.
- <sup>191</sup> Letter II, vo. 2–5a, 24–29; Allen 2002, 16–17.
- <sup>192</sup> *Sinuhe* B 225; translated by Parkinson 1997, 38.
- <sup>193</sup> Assmann 1996, 77–99.
- <sup>194</sup> Papyrus Pushkin 127, 3, 7–9; Assmann 1996, 93–94.
- <sup>195</sup> Papyrus Leningrad 1115, 41–45; Blackman 1932, 14–16; translation by Galán 2005, 31.
- <sup>196</sup> Papyrus Leningrad 1115, 120–123; *Sinuhe*, B 159–160; E. Otto, “Die Geschichte des Sinuhe und des Schiffbrüchigen als ‘lehrhafte’ Stücke,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966): 100–111, 103; in detail on dying abroad see Köpp-Junk 2015, 283–289.
- <sup>197</sup> Papyrus Leiden I 384, 5, 14–21; Assmann, 1996, 88.
- <sup>198</sup> Couyat and Montet 1912, 38, inscription nr. 12, 19.
- <sup>199</sup> *Urk. I*, 135, 17–140, 11; *Urk. I*, 131, 15–135, 7.
- <sup>200</sup> Parkinson 1991, R I, 1–9,
- <sup>201</sup> Stela Tübingen nr. 458.11; K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke. Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1959), 88, lines 22–23.
- <sup>202</sup> *Wenamun* 2, 75; 2, 80.
- <sup>203</sup> *Sinuhe* B 25–29.
- <sup>204</sup> *Sinuhe* B 30–31.
- <sup>205</sup> *Sinuhe* B 78–81, 86–87.
- <sup>206</sup> *Sinuhe* B 159–160.
- <sup>207</sup> A detailed analysis of this topic is beyond the scope of this article; see therefore A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*. *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 48 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988); Assmann 1996; Jürgen Zeidler, “Fremde im Alten Ägypten. Zur kulturellen Konstruktion von Fremdheit,” in U. Riemer und P. Riemer, *Xonophobie—Philoxenie. Vom Umgang mit Fremden in der Antike* (Stuttgart: Frankz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 31–64; Christina Riggs and John Baines, “Ethnicity,” in Elizabeth Froid and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles:

- eScholarship, University of California, 2012), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/32r9x0jr>, accessed 4 June 2016.
- <sup>208</sup> Lichtheim 2006, vol. II, 98–99.
- <sup>209</sup> See for example *Sinuhe* B 63. In detail on late Egyptian fictional texts see C. Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 32 (Leiden: Brill 2013).
- <sup>210</sup> Berlin Museum 1157; R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 45. For the hieroglyphic text of the stela see Parkinson 1991, 44.
- <sup>211</sup> Weni, *Urk.* I 101, 13–16; S. J. Seidlmayer, “Nubier im ägyptischen Kontext im Alten und Mittleren Reich,” in S. Leder and B. Streck (eds.), *Akkulturation und Selbstbehauptung: Beiträge des Kolloquiums am 14.12.2001*, Mitteilungen des SFB “Differenz und Integration” 2, Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte 4 (Halle-Wittenberg: Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum der Martin-Luther-Universität, 2002), 96.
- <sup>212</sup> Tomb of Maiherperi, Thebes, KV 36; N. Reeves and R. H. Wilkinson, *Das Tal der Könige* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2000), 179–181. His *Book of the Dead* is now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 24095; see Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, nr. 142a.
- <sup>213</sup> The earliest finds date to the Twelfth Dynasty. For a compact overview on the Hyksos with detailed bibliography see M. Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go,” in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven 2010: Peeters, 2010), 139–181.
- <sup>214</sup> For details see H. Köpp-Junk, “Mobilität, Fremdheit und Integration im Alten Ägypten,” in H. Meller and R. Risch (eds.), *Migration und Integration von der Urgeschichte bis zum Mittelalter* (forthcoming).
- <sup>215</sup> Köpp-Junk 2013a, 5.
- <sup>216</sup> P. A. Bochi, “Gender and Genre in Ancient Egyptian Poetry: The Rhetoric of Performance in the Harpers’ Songs,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 35 (1998): 91, n. 11.
- <sup>217</sup> Some of the Amarna letters are addressed to Egyptians staying in Syria-Palestine (Kemp 1991, 224). Physicians (Edel 1976, 46–47, 82–84, 87–89, 104), chantresses (*Wenamun* II, 69), scribes (W. F. Albright, “The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (1937): 191f.), and traders are attested at foreign courts (Köpp-Junk 2015a, 216).
- <sup>218</sup> On the expeditions of the Old Kingdom see E. Eichler, *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, Göttinger Orientforschungen Reihe 4, Ägypten, 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 36–44, 120–127, 113, 155, 325. With regard to the Middle Kingdom see Seyfried 1981, 219–220, 269; for the New Kingdom see T. Hikade, *Das Expeditionswesen im Neuen Reich. Ein Beitrag zu Rohstoffversorgung und Außenhandel*, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägypten 21 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 2001), 23–53, 199–204, 227–228. For further details referring to the total number of expedition members see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 256–259, 264.
- <sup>219</sup> Köpp-Junk 2015a, 264.
- <sup>220</sup> Köpp-Junk 2015a, 262–264.
- <sup>221</sup> See for example “Beginning of the Sayings of Great Happiness,” papyrus Chester Beatty I verso, C1–5; Gardiner 1931, 30–34, pl. 22–26. For further detail on the ancient Egyptian love songs see, e.g., Renata Landgráfová and Hana Navrátilová (eds.), *Sex and the Golden Goddess* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2009); Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2015.
- <sup>222</sup> See for example H. Navrátilová, *The Visitors’ Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara* (Praha: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2007).
- <sup>223</sup> This item is currently being analyzed in detail by the author of this article.
- <sup>224</sup> For an analysis of this topic in the Greco-Roman Period see Braunert, 1964. Due to the publication year, a new investigation seems appropriate.