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Necropolis journal: daily records of events in an ancient Egyptian artisans' community

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PART III



7. Discussion

7.1 The concept of a Necropolis journal

In view of the definition of an events journal given above¹⁸⁶, the criteria formulated in Chapter 5.1., and our open and preliminary list in Chapter 5.2, we may conclude that the daily notes on activities kept by the scribe of the Necropolis can be considered as such. The concept of a journal did exist in the mind of the scribes of Deir el-Medina. The day-to-day notation in these documents is indeed mostly respected, the entries are ordered following calendrical notations, not necessarily consecutive, but showing that the intention was that of recording a series of daily activities concerning the artisan community of Deir el-Medina and their work in the tomb of Pharaoh. An events journal may contain notes on deliveries, for example the distribution of grain rations, but in these cases only the activity of the distribution is recorded¹⁸⁷.

The style in which these documents are drawn up is generally simple, brief and concise, with basic grammatical constructions, and recurrent formulas and terms. Immediately after the date (year, month and day), frequently follows a verbal construction (usually a narrative infinitive) stressing the event, the action which is considered relevant to record, at the beginning of the sentence.

We need to stress once again that classifying a document as belonging exclusively to the genre of journal or not is extremely difficult. The division between journal/not journal is not a clear-cut line and, above all, is partly subjective and debatable. What is more, sometimes we are dealing with only a fragment of text and the decision is then inevitably subjective. Finally, we should not forget that identifying genres in Egyptian texts is an unsolved long vexing problem¹⁸⁸ (see Chapter 4.1). Even if we are stating that there was a Necropolis journal, that it existed as a concept, this does not mean that it was a fixed genre. "The system of genre is not an aggregate of fixed categories, but can be understood through relations between different types of texts. Genres are fluid and flexible¹⁸⁹". As we have seen, some texts can be clearly defined, like letters, oracles, oaths, while others like accounts, lists and journals, are less clearly identifiable (see chapter 5, Criteria). All these texts overlap in content and it is necessary to keep in mind

¹⁸⁶ A series of day-by-day records of daily activities of the Necropolis including details about work, supplies and administrative matters, but also including notes on official important events like the death of the sovereign.

¹⁸⁷ See Mandeville 2014.

¹⁸⁸ Parkinson 1996, 297.

¹⁸⁹ Parkinson 1996, 299.

both their mutual belonging and their diversity in order to comprehend the concept of Necropolis journal in Deir el-Medina. Knowing the differences does not prevent us from undertaking a broader study in order to understand that at Deir el-Medina the concept of journal existed, even if the dividing line between accounts journal and events journal was not fixed and the Egyptian scribes most probably did not bother to make a sharp division. The same argument applies to the subtypes A-D we try to define further in 7.3.a. As it will be stressed, this is only for study reasons, in order to be able to handle the extremely large amount of documents, and NOT with the intention to produce strict classifications.

Concerning the audience of the day-books, the matter intertwines with the debate concerning the opposition between documents written on ostraca and those written on papyrus, and the question of whether the ostraca were actually official documents or merely temporary drafts to store information, which would then be transferred in more presentable form onto papyrus. It is not our intention, however, to investigate whether the ostraca were drafts or not (we think that one should not regard every ostrakon as a draft, and consider instead a number of uses of ostraca texts, that of serving as a drafts being only one of these. See note 48). Understanding for what purpose and for whom they were written is the main goal, even if this again is a debated matter¹⁹⁰. Moreover, the difference in chronological distribution apparently seen between ostraca and papyri could be due to find circumstances, the different conditions under which these records have been found and preserved, and the publication record, especially if we consider the last “re-discoveries” in the archives of the Turin Museum (see Chapter 2.3).

Leaving thus aside the long-vexing debate ‘ostraca vs papyrus’, we must attempt to understand for whom the journals were written, since such a variety of events and activities was obviously considered important to document and therefore to be kept. Who was the intended readership of the day-books?

7.2 Readership of the day-books

A text, any text, can be written for different purposes: silent reading, public reading, teaching, copy, consultation, checking, inventory, accounts, archiving, etc. According to Eyre¹⁹¹, “The texts (i.e. day-books)...belong to the realm of process, not record. [...] The writing of a document can often be an end in itself and not a means to an end”. It is true that writing in ancient Egypt meant power and control: pen, palette and papyrus were

¹⁹⁰ See Allam 1968, Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, Dorn 2011 and Haring “Material matters. Documentary Papyri and Ostraca in Late Ramesside Thebes” forthcoming, for a general view.

¹⁹¹ Eyre 2013, 251-252.

themselves symbols of authority and writing was itself a sign of authority. Nonetheless, it is hard to see bureaucracy only as a process and not as a record and to believe that a journal was simply used to “control people at work” and not intended to be submitted to anyone. In support of this, we can consider i.a. five journal texts: the three unnumbered and unpublished fragments of papyri in Turin held in “Cartella F 495” (most probably last years of Ramesses III), in “Cartella F103” (year 10, 12 of Ramesses IX), and in “Cartella F 245, verso” (year 5 of either Ramesses VI or a successor. On the recto a plan of the necropolis is present), a fragment, also in Turin, with the provisional number 6290 and probably belonging to P. Turin 1900 + P. Turin 2048 + P. Turin 2088 + P. Turin 2093 + P. Turin 2097 + P. Turin 2101 of Ramesses IX, and finally P. Turin Cat. 1880, recto III, 20 (the well-known “Strike Papyrus” of Ramesses III). On the five documents, we see a control mark (appearing twice in Cartella F 245 and in red before dates also in red in

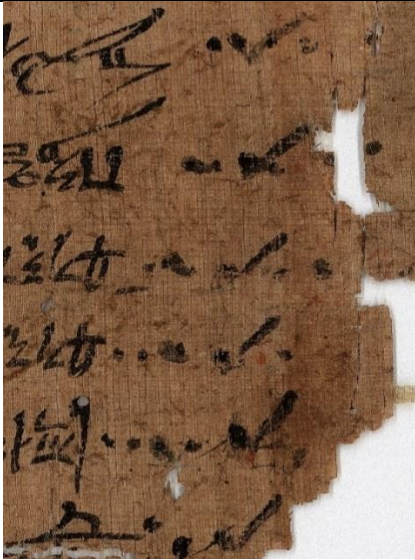
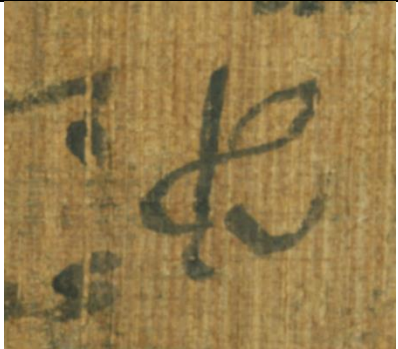
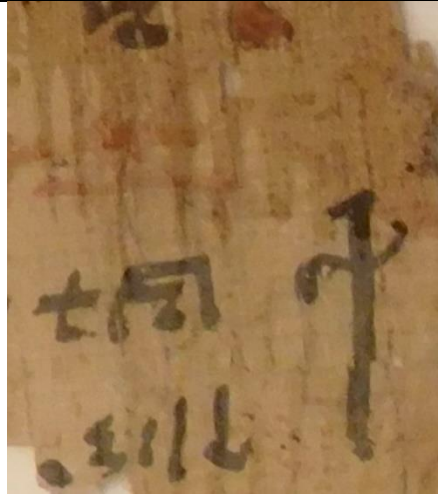
Cartella F 495) indicated as a large man with hand to mouth  (*snhi* = to check, to verify¹⁹²) at the right of the column.

A different control mark is found on a journal fragment in “Cartella F 101” (also unnumbered, unpublished and in Turin). The papyrus is dated to year 13 of Ramesses

IX and in front of a column there is an abbreviation for the sign  *smtr*, also meaning “examined, checked” (see Helck 1974, 62: “prüfen”). Further, on Papyrus Turin 1932+1939, an account journal of the time of Ramesses IX (year 19) containing a list of grain rations distribution, in front of all names more than one type of control mark is present (ticks and dots), again proving that documents were read and consulted.

¹⁹² See Helck 1974, 62 and 131.

Illustration with examples of check or control marks

Dots and other check marks (Papyrus Turin 1932+1939)	<i>snhi</i> (Turin Provv. 6290)	<i>smtr</i> (Turin 'Cartella F 101')
		

The presence of such control marks as traces of the act of accessing and retrieving information in the material, suggests that the scribes did not write simply for the sake of writing, but instead these texts, at least some of them, were somehow used and “checked”.

Based on their layout, can the intended readership of the so-called Necropolis journals be determined? In order to do this, we can first look at the photos or facsimiles available for the documents, both ostraca and papyri, and consider the layout of their columns or sections. The way the content of the notes is organised may indeed help us understand if they were written for someone else to check, and perhaps give us information about the use of such documents. Examining how the records are arranged can tell us if they were meant for internal use or instead to be submitted to a higher authority or simply to be audited. We can indeed imagine that, if a document was written to be submitted to someone, the scribe would try to write it and present it in order: neat and clear, with the intention of facilitating its reading. If, on the other hand, the document shows a sloppy appearance or the notes are written randomly on the page and occupy all the available small spaces, it is quite improbable that such a document would end up in the hands of someone else to be checked.

To this end, we will make use of a few examples, since it would be impossible to examine every single document. Instead of a mere list of documents labelled “most likely to be

checked by someone” and “most likely for internal use”, we will consider a number of documents particularly interesting for their features.

Looking at the available inventory of dated documents, we can identify two main types according to their layout: on the one hand, sloppy and careless documents that seem to have been hastily written and on the other hand, a group of more precise day-books which are well-organised and written in neat and compact business-like handwriting.

Whether this distinction was deliberate is a possibility we will investigate in the following paragraphs (7.1.a and 7.1.b). The uncertainty about the purpose of the administrative texts poses an impediment to the understanding of their readership. If the documents were supposed to be submitted to officials, we would expect to find these documents, or their copy, in the “office” of the superior authority, but the archaeology so far shows us that all journals were found in the place where they were produced, and therefore never sent to a central administration. Yet, we can imagine that copies or extracts were sent although those documents have not yet been found.

We have evidence of correspondence between the administrators of the Tomb and higher dignitaries, first of all the man who founded the institution, the vizier¹⁹³. References to documents being **sent** to him are present (e.g. in P. DM 28¹⁹⁴, a letter in which the vizier Neferronpet several times mentions documents (*r-^c-sš.w*) and tells the foremen to send him every memorandum (*sh3*) regarding the Place of Pharaoh, and in O. Cairo CG 25831 recto 6¹⁹⁵, a letter to the vizier Hori by a guardian who writes that he is working all according to the *dri r sš n* = “written instructions of...”, implying that *sš.w* were sent), as well as documents being **given** to officials (*Giornale* of Ramesses X, recto 5, 15-16¹⁹⁶:...*di.t t3 ʕfd.t p^c r-^c-sš.w* = “...giving the box...(with) the documents (to) the deputy”). Documents were also **requested** from local administrators, indicating that information kept in the records of the village administration could be asked for (*Giornale* 17-B, recto 9, 1-5, dated to Ramesses IX). Here in fact, the royal butler asks the chief workman Nekhemmut to see the state of attendance at the Tomb. Even if we learn from the text that the chief workman was not able to give the information required because “the two registers¹⁹⁷ are not present”, this document informs us on occasional control exercised

¹⁹³ The scribe Hori is omnipresent in many documents dated to the second half of the 20th Dynasty (Černý 1973a, 216-218). He is called ‘scribe Hori of the Tomb’, but he is not a member of the workforce. He is deeply involved in all matters concerning rations and supplies. Could he be the local representative of the vizier?

¹⁹⁴ Černý 1986, 5, pls. 18-19a.

¹⁹⁵ KRI IV 361, 6.

¹⁹⁶ P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094.

¹⁹⁷ Probably referring to the right and left side of the gang.

by the external administration. A few references point to documents arriving from (O. Cairo CG 25308 and O. Cairo CG 25515) or sent by the vizier (P. Louvre N 3169).

Although the idea that some administrative documents may have been prepared to be presented to a superior cannot be proven, it seems more than likely that they were written to inform authorities about events related to the community of tomb builders and their progress of work. We will therefore proceed to investigate this possibility according to the format and layout of the documents.

7.2.a Day-books for internal use?

Before discussing the first group of documents, the carelessly written ones with the texts occupying every blank space in random order, containing many erasures, not well-organised and confusing, we must question ourselves: are we sure that an ostrakon, a piece of stone or pottery, would have been handed over as an official document? It seems unlikely and therefore, in our opinion, the two writing materials (papyrus and ostrakon) probably had different functions. We can indeed imagine that no ostrakon, even the most perfectly written one, would have been submitted to a higher authority, while some papyri, that could be rolled up and sealed as a guarantee that the document was authentic, could have been delivered for audit. Although both documents are consistent with what we call “journal”, we can assume that the ostraca were most probably meant for internal use; in view of their dimensions alone it is very unlikely to imagine that the large absence ostraca from the reign of Amenmesse found in the Valley of the Kings would be carried around and delivered to someone (see note 235).

As further proof for the internal use of some ostraca versus the possible official one of the papyri, we may point out that on many ostraca the dates are not always written at the beginning of the line, i.e. aligned one under the other. They often follow each other in chain, while in the papyri the main trend is that each line begins with a new date. This could be due to a more formal use of the papyrus document, since, aligning the dates at the right edge of the pages of the document would have facilitated finding or checking and retrieving the necessary information.

As we can see from several ostraca (but also some papyri) which were reused after many years, they were nonetheless not discarded and probably stored somewhere¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁸ Here follow some examples which prove that they were not discarded but rather reused: O. Cairo 25504 years 7 and 8 under Merenptah, O. Turin N. 57072 records notes from three different years, 28, 29 and 30 of Ramesses III, to mention two ostraca, and P. Turin 2070/154 years 2 and 7 under Ramesses VII, P. Turin 1881 + P. Turin 2080 + P. Turin 2092 years 5, 6, 7, 8 and 18 under Ramesses IX, P. Turin 1895 + P. Turin 2006 year 12 and 14 under Ramesses XI to mention some papyri. For the possibility of the existence of archives of ostraca, see Allam 1968, 124-128 and here note 53.

In order to imagine an internal use of some documents, we can look at their layout and how some of them were written. Here some examples of those documents which most probably were not intended to end up in the hands of someone else, since their level of carelessness and inaccuracy definitely does not meet the expectations of an official document.

Ostrakon Ashmolean Museum 7, of the 18th Dynasty, concerns the work done by stoneworkers. It has on both recto and verso a large *sphr* “copied” over the text. We suggest therefore that this document was probably used as a draft and then discarded (or better put back into a supposed “archive”; why otherwise bother to write that it was copied?) after it had been copied, most likely onto a more official document. This document was thus obviously not handed in and only used internally.

Ostrakon Cairo 25779, **Ostrakon Cairo 25783**, and **Ostrakon DM 898** (d.¹⁹⁹ Amenmesse), list names of workmen present or absent, sometimes with a reason specified. In the first two examples, the scribe tries to cover all possible space on the ostrakon, on the last one, a line is completely erased by the scribe (it was a mistake) and another one is squeezed in between two lines in smaller writing. We cannot believe that such a document was meant to be checked or considered to be an official document.

Another example is the well-known papyrus **Turin Cat. 1880** (d. Ramesses III), the “Strike Papyrus”. The scribe wrote the text columns scattered over the pages and without a clear order in the notes. Most probably this document was not meant to be audited, but instead, contained a collection of private notes.

On **Ostrakon Turin 57031** (d. Ramesses III), with notes concerning the interrogation of a workman *Nhw-m-Mwt*, the use of lamps, the work on the eastern treasury-room and work in two princes' tombs, the scribe also found it necessary to write some information perpendicular, on the edge of the ostrakon, even though there was still space to write in the main area.

The *verso B* of **Ostrakon IFAO 1255 + Ostrakon Varille 39**, concerning the passing of the guard posts by the work gang with their grain rations under Ramesses III, bears part of the Teaching of Amennakht²⁰⁰. This may be proof of the fact that the document was for internal use.

Further, there are several documents on whose *recto* or *verso* we find a drawing, such as **Papyrus Turin 1885** (d. Ramesses VI), which shows on the recto the plan of the royal tomb of Ramesses IV, while on the verso different texts are written (account of

¹⁹⁹ Here and following, d. plus the name of the king, indicates “dated”.

²⁰⁰ There are not so many ostraca with both literary and administrative/journal text, but there are some (i.a. O. Cairo 25517 -Sethi II-, O. MMA 14.6.216 -Ramesses IV-, and O. Ashmolean Museum 0302+O. Ashmolean Museum 0342 verso -Ramesses VI-). What does that mean for the “status” of these texts? Are they drafts or just quick notes?

measuring a royal tomb; a payment made; division of goods belonging to the scribe *Imn-nht* among his children and his wife; delivery of grain rations; the presence of the work gang, etc.). The verso of **Ostrakon Cairo CG 25297** (d. Ramesses VII) shows a cartouche with the name of the pharaoh written in hieroglyphs in red ink and the verso of **O. Leningrad 2973** (d. Ramesses IX), a drawing of a royal skirt. In both cases the recto is used to write day-to-day journals.

Papyrus Turin CGT 54021 (d. Ramesses IX) bears on its verso a ritual text, a calendar of festivals, with lists of offerings, while on its recto, accounts dealing with emmer wheat, grain and donkey hire. The ritual text concerns the Calendar of the Festivals of Montu and is unrelated to Necropolis matters on the recto.

The question is now if besides observing that the documents quoted above were probably intended for internal use only, we can also determine for what purpose they were written. Since their level of carelessness and inaccuracy does not seem to correspond to the requirements of an official document, we have to ask ourselves for whom the scribe wrote them. What if he simply needed those documents as an *aide memoire* during the visit of high officials to the Tomb? The vizier indeed paid periodical visits to 'receive the work' (*šsp b3k.w*), possibly meaning to check the progress of the project and supervise the ongoing work²⁰¹. The scribe would eventually be the one who, having the ostraca or the papyri as a sort of memorandum, would report to the vizier the progress of the work, the problems and all related matters.

7.2.b Day-books to be audited?

Let us now focus on few examples of the other type of documents, those that from their layout seem to have been written in such a neat way, probably meant to be handed in and consulted by a local higher authority or ultimately by the highest superior of the Tomb, i.e. the vizier. We have proof that journals were audited (see beginning Chapter 7.2). To prove that it was done by a superior or the vizier remains difficult, but likely (see Chapter 7.2 for evidence of correspondence between the administrators of the Tomb and Theban dignitaries, and the *Duties of the Vizier* where it is said that every leader of any institution or the like in the country should report to the vizier - so we assume that it could be the same for the Tomb²⁰²).

²⁰¹ We have records of his visits or arrival of letters with instructions (O. Ashmolean Museum 0011, 0115, 0118, 0270; O. Cairo CG 25537, 25538; O. Turin 57032, 57047, to mention just a few). For a more general outline of visits to the Necropolis by dignitaries, see Janssen 1997, 147-173.

²⁰² Duties of the vizier R. 3-4, 15-19 see Van den Boorn 1988, 42-43, 133, 172.

We have to consider that among the examples discussed below, only of P. Berlin 23300 and 23301 we know the find spot (Deir el-Medina), while for the others we do not know exactly where they have been found. We can suppose that if a document was found in the village, it was never sent to the central administration, unless we want to suggest that what was sent was a copy or an extract.

P. Berlin 23300 and 23301, dating to the reign of Merenptah, report on the king founding a new offering to a god, inspection of guard posts, and the “passing of the walls”. The style employed by the scribe on the recto is almost calligraphic and may indicate that the text had more than just administrative relevance. A more rapid documentary hand is seen on the verso.

P. Turin 1949+1946 (d. Ramesses III) records days of inactivity and work, deliveries of supplies, and the announcement by chief policeman *Mntw-ms* of the death of Ramesses III and the accession to the throne by Ramesses IV. The notes are written in a neat, clear, professional hand. See instead **Ostrakon DM 39+174** covering the same days but probably used for a different purpose, further p. 194-195.

The sections of **Giornale year 17** and **P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin fragment gamma + P. Turin 2074** (work and inactivity of the work gang, deliveries of fish and firewood, collecting and redistributing copper tools and special events) are precise and ordered, written in a professional hand, clear, and neat.

These papyri all bear the features of documents intended for an archive, but were they ever delivered to a higher administration?

From the examples considered, both “day-books for internal use” and “day-books to be audited”, it appears that the question “Who was the intended readership of the day-books?” cannot be definitively answered. It is impossible to trace a real and clear-cut distinction and place the documents into categories affirming with certainty that some journals were for internal use and others were meant for a superior. We lack evidence and can only guess and wait until new findings might throw light on the issue. Surely, we can conclude that some documents, given their nature (papyri, therefore easily sealable and deliverable to a higher authority), the clarity with which they were written, the dates listed (written in one flow) and their contents, seem to have been submitted to (or at least checked by) someone other than the scribe himself and entered the archives of the village, while others were written and remained documents for an internal use in the village.

Journals had different audiences and different purposes.

7.3 Different types of journal

As we have seen above in 7.1, Necropolis journal is not a fixed type of document. Within the concept of journal fall many “*faces*” (i.e. types). We can therefore try to identify smaller subgroups of this broad genre. For purposes of study only, one could make note of and list the differences amongst the types of journals. The reader should be aware that our intention is not to make a strict classification, our intention is to put some order into the enormous amount of texts.

To keep things manageable we will only consider the corpus of Necropolis journal documents dated with certainty, studied in the Appendix, in order to answer our next research question: ***How many types of journal can we identify?***

The classification of the documents into typology subgroups will be made according to the type of information and content of the texts. Each subgroup will receive a name and its features will be described²⁰³.

Before proceeding, we should first realize that there are different texts of Necropolis journal which **cover the same dates**. Here are a few examples:

- **O. Turin 57031** and **O. Glasgow D.1925.67** both cover year 25 of Ramesses III, II *pr.t* day 1-8. The first records the interrogation of *Nḥw-m-Mw.t*, the use of lamps, and the work in progress in the Valley of Queens, while the second is a duty roster and a list of deliveries of various staples. The two documents are not written by the same scribe²⁰⁴.

O. Turin 57031 recto	O. Glasgow D.1925.67 recto
7- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 1, day 2, day 3, day 4, day 5 they were absent 8- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 6 , they worked. Lamps: 4, remaining... 9- Day 7 , lamps: 4. Of <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mry-Imn</i>	1- Year 25, month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 1 , <i>Hy-nfr</i> . Receiving from <i>Hnsw-ms x dbn</i> of fish. 2- Right (side), month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 2 , <i>H^c-m-nwn</i> .

²⁰³ Again, only the documents of the corpus dated with certainty will be considered here.

²⁰⁴ See Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 68.

10- Terminating the work on eastern treasury of the charioteer	3- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 3 , <i>Nfr-ḥtp</i> . Receiving as the work of <i>Imn-ḥ</i> 380 <i>dbn</i> of fish.
11- Day 8 , work in the tomb of the	4- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 4 , <i>K3s3</i> . 1 <i>ps</i> -jar, right (side). Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 5 , <i>Ḥ^c-m-W^cs.t</i> . 1 <i>ps</i> -jar, left (side).
12- Charioteer (Praherwenemef).	5- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 6 , <i>Nḥt-mnw</i> . Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 7 , <i>Ršw-ptr=f</i> . Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 8 , <i>Imn-m-Ip.t</i> .
	6- 1 <i>ps</i> -jar, right (side). 1 portion of dates, left (side).

These two sources, partly covering the same dates, are both considered to be “journals”, and this strongly suggests that indeed there was more than one type of such record. They record two different kinds of data: in the overlapping days, O. Turin 57031 focuses on the absence and presence of the gang at work, together with the number of lamps used, while O. Glasgow D.1925.67 records deliveries of various types.

- **O. Cairo 25530; O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39, Turin Cat. 1880 “Strike papyrus” and O. Brussel E.7359 verso**, all record “the passing of the guard posts” by the gang because of the problems with their grain rations and cover year 29 of Ramesses III, month II of *pr.t*.

O. Cairo 25530 recto	O. IFAO 1255 + O. Varille 39 recto	Turin Cat. 1880 (strike papyrus)	O. Brussel E.7359 verso (on recto King Ramesses III smiting his enemies)
1- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 10 , in this day 2- the gang passes the guard posts because	<u>O. IFAO 1255+ O. Varille 39</u> 1- [Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 10 , they] passed the guard-post because of their ration, 2- near the causeway of (king <i>Mn-ḥpr-R^c</i>). Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 11 , likewise. 3- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 12 , they passed (again the walls) and	RECTO Col. I 1- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 10 . This day passing the 5 walls of the Necropolis by the gang 2- saying: “we are hungry; 18 days have elapsed in the month”. And they sat down 3- at the rear of the mansion of <i>Mn-ḥpr-R^c</i> . Arrival of the scribe of	Col. I 1- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 15 , they did not work... 2- Month II of <i>pr.t</i> , day 16, the same...

3- of their grain rations. Day 11, likewise. 4- Month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 13, the chief of the police... 5-...to provide their...	they reached the temple of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i>. 4- The chief of police <i>Mntw-[ms]</i>...to the gang: "Stop what you are doing! 5- Go back!" [Month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 13, likewise. They took their 6- women. He made an oath to the lord I.p.h., not to... ..then he came back to see them saying:... 7- but they did not go. ...<i>P3-3-h.t</i> made them bring 9 goats...and 1600 fish(?) 8- List of what came to them (in) month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 15:...10 sacks of grain.	the secret(?) tomb, the 2 foremen, the 2 deputies, 4- and the 2 <i>3t.w</i>-officers. Calling to them saying: "come in! They swore great oaths 5- (saying): "may you (?) come! We have matter for Pharaoh I.p.h.". Spending the day in this place, spending the night in the Necropolis. 6- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 11. They passed again. Reaching the gate of the southern boundary of the mansion of <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i>. 7- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 12. Reaching the mansion of <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i>, spending the night in disorder(?) in its gate. Entering into its interior... VERSO Col. Ia Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 11, brought by the scribe <i>Pn-T3-wr.t</i> of the Tomb: <i>s^cb</i>-cakes 28, Col. III 1- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 10. Passing the 5 walls of the Necropolis by the entire crew. Reaching the innermost chamber(?) of the mansion of Pharaoh. Starting(?) by the 3 chiefs, the deputy and the 2 <i>3t.w</i>-officers. Finding them seated at the rear of the mansion of <i>Mn-hpr-R^c</i> in the outer road of year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day... 24- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 17. Giving the rations of the month II....	3- Year 29, month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day 17(?)... 4-Holding back the gardeners... 5- Month II of <i>pr.t</i>, day... Col. II 1-... 2-... 3-... 4- The gang was on the back of the temple... 5- <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c</i> (Ramesses II)... 6-...
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In this example, other than in the previous ones dealing with two different kind of texts (i.e. recording two different kinds of data), the four documents report almost the same information about an important event (“the passing of the walls” = the strike). Why? We have three ostraca and one papyrus. Were the ostraca perhaps used as a draft and the information later copied onto P. Turin Cat. 1880? Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered, at least for the time being. What seems obvious is that each one was written for a different purpose. At least for O. IFAO 1255 and Turin Cat. 1880, the scribe seems to be the same, Amenakhte, son of Ipuy²⁰⁵. What then was the need to write two different documents reporting the same event by the same scribe? Maybe the documents had different use and purpose?

The same problem applies to the following example, where again one period is covered by two different ostraca which record almost the same data:

- **O. DM 47** and **O. Berlin P 12641+12628** recording the deliveries of various commodities and the duty roster, cover the same date of year 1 of Ramesses IV, III *pr.t* day 1-4 and most likely were written by the same scribe²⁰⁶.
O. DM 47 records the second half of month I of *pr.t* and the whole month II of *pr.t*, plus the day 1-4 of month III of *pr.t*, while O. Berlin P 12641 + 12628 is dedicated to month III of *pr.t* only.

O. DM 47 verso	O. Berlin P 12641 + 12628 recto
11- Month III of <i>pr.t</i> , day 1. From <i>Pth-ms</i> wood 312. 400 <i>dbn</i> of fish, of <i>Imn-h^c</i> son of <i>Imn-m-In.t</i> . 12- Day 2, <i>Hr</i> . 13- Day 3, <i>Nfr-htp</i> . From <i>Imn-htp</i> , wood 324. 14- Day 4, <i>Pn-^cnq.t</i> . 2 <i>ds</i> -jugs, 1 portion of dates, right side. From <i>Imn-htp</i> wood 200 to fulfill 500, 15- of which 20 from <i>H^c-m-Nwn</i> .	1- Year 1, month III of <i>pr.t</i> , day 1, <i>H^c-m-Nwn</i> . From the fisherman <i>Imn-h^c</i> 2- ...940. Month III of <i>pr.t</i> , day 2, <i>Hr</i> . Month III of <i>pr.t</i> , day 3, <i>Nfr-htp</i> , from the hand of <i>Imn-htp</i> ... 3-... <i>pr.t</i> , day 4, <i>Pn-^cnq.t</i> . 2 <i>ds</i> -jugs, 1 portion of dates, right side, wood 200 from <i>Imn-htp</i> ...

²⁰⁵ See Grandet 2016, 328.

²⁰⁶ See Donker van Heel 2003, 77-78.

- We consider now another example, provided by Janssen, of overlapping documents, in this case a papyrus and an ostrakon: **Papyrus Turin 1949+1946**, verso Col. I line 5-16 indeed covers the same days as **Ostrakon DM 39+174**, recto lines 10-16²⁰⁷. Both are dated to year 32 of Ramesses III/year 1 of Ramesses IV, month III of *šmw* (the death of Ramesses III is mentioned). The papyrus records days of inactivity and work, deliveries of supplies, and the announcement by the chief policeman *Mntw-ms* of the death of Ramesses III and the accession to the throne by Ramesses IV; the ostrakon records the delivery of various commodities, the name of the watchman, and the mention of the death of Ramesses III.

Papyrus Turin 1949+1946 v. Col. I, 5-16	Ostrakon DM 39+174 r. 10-16
5-...day 11, they did not work. 6-...day 12, in this place, 2 <i>ds</i>-jars, 1 portion of dates. 7-...day 13 in this place. 8-...day 14, in this place, 2 <i>ds</i>-jars, 1 portion of dates, x portions of vegetables. 9-...day 15, they worked. 8 <i>bi3</i>-loaves and x <i>psn</i>-loaves... 10- [day 16], in this place... 11-...arrival of the chief of the police <i>Mntw-ms</i>... 12-...[to tell] those of the Tomb: "the Falcon has risen up [to the sky]... 13-...the king <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mry-Imn</i> son of Ra <i>R^c-ms-sw Hq3-Twn.w</i> l.p.h. 14-...[and the king] <i>Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-Imn</i> son of Ra <i>R^c-ms-sw Mry-Imn</i> l.p.h. 15-...sits on the throne of Ra in His place. 16-...[the gang of] the Tomb rejoices all day until sunset.	10- Day 11, <i>Hr.</i> From <i>Pth-ms</i> wood 340. 11- Day 12, <i>Wsr-h3.t.</i> 270 from <i>B3k-n-Hnsw</i>. 12- Day 13, <i>Mnw-h^c</i>. 13- Day 14, <i>Tr.y-^c3.</i> 2 <i>ds</i>-jars, 1 portion of dates, right side. 14- Day 15, <i>Hr-šri.</i> 8 <i>psn</i>-loaves, 8 <i>bit</i>-loaves. From <i>Mh.y</i> fish 277. From 15- the wood cutter <i>Imn-htp</i> wood 480. 16- Day 16, <i>Ti-r-niw.t=f.</i> 2 <i>ds</i>-jugs. It was announced that the falcon went to the sky (Ramesses III died).

According to Soliman, "it is possible that the scribe of the papyrus used the ostrakon while composing his text, choosing to include certain elements of the ostrakon as he

²⁰⁷ Janssen 2005.

went along...²⁰⁸. Our opinion is that it is more likely that the two documents were written independently and used for two different purposes, since what they record are different matters, and thus it seems unlikely that the scribe would need the ostrakon in order to write the data on the papyrus.

Interestingly, a third document of a different nature records the same days 11-16 of year 32 of Ramesses III/year 1 of Ramesses IV, month III of *šmw*: IFAO ONL 318+²⁰⁹. This document is one of those bearing “identity marks”, i.e. workmen’s marks²¹⁰, and records deliveries of wood, *psn*-loaves, *bit*-loaves, dates and *ds*-jars. We have thus an ostrakon and a papyrus (both Necropolis journals) and an ostrakon with “identity marks”, all recording the same days, with the ostrakon containing marks closely related to the hieratic ostrakon²¹¹.

According to Janssen, (he used this example to test the reliability of the accounts), “the two texts [Papyrus Turin 1949+1946 and Ostrakon DM 39+174] are of different nature [...and] belong to different categories. The papyrus was perhaps based on notes by the senior scribe, made in the Valley of the Queens where the crew was at work in the year 32, while the ostrakon would have been composed by a scribe of the *smdt* (personnel) at the Enclosure of the Tomb²¹²”.

In any case, this further example confirms that there were different types of documents, all looking like journals, but they must have had different purposes.

We will now attempt to identify and describe the different types of journal encountered.

7.3.a Classification according to the type of information and contents

We will focus now on the classification of the different typologies of journals that are part of the corpus of the ones dated with certainty, in order to answer the question: ***How many types of journal can we identify?***

In order to list the different categories of journals, we will use their content to distinguish between them²¹³.

²⁰⁸ Soliman, D. M., unpublished PhD Thesis 2016.

²⁰⁹ See Soliman, D. M., unpublished PhD Thesis 2016, 265-266 and Appendices 14 and 32.

²¹⁰ For further information, see Haring 2000, Haring 2009a and 2009b, and Haring-Soliman 2014.

²¹¹ We have, therefore, not only examples of different types of journals recording the same dates, but also different genres of documents (journals vs ostraca with marks). More examples of Necropolis journals overlapping with ostraca with marks are known: O. DM 427 and IFAO ONL 338+ of year 28 of Ramesses III; DM 142 and IFAO ONL 317+ of year 26 of Ramesses III; O. DM 41 and O. Leiden F.2000/1.5 of year 1 of Ramesses IV, for example, prove that this is not an isolated case. Unfortunately, the relation between the hieratic records and the ostraca with marks is still unclear (see Soliman, D. M. unpublished PhD Thesis 2016, 251-266 and Haring-Soliman 2016, 73-93).

²¹² Janssen 2005, 156.

²¹³ The group to which the document is assigned should not be considered as a fixed type. Some of the documents fit in more than one group, but, for study purposes, we had to choose which “type” was the predominant and more evident one.

We will divide all the documents in subtypes and list the differences. Note that it is not our intention to make a strict classification of different types of journal as separate genres. We do not intend to trace boundaries of a neat category or typology, but only to notice and list the differences between the individual journal manuscripts which belong to the same overall genre. As there are very many documents, it may be useful -only for study purposes- to be able to identify smaller subtypes. We are fully aware of the fact that it shall remain uncertain whether the differences in style and kind of the documents in the corpus are a real reflection of administrative differences or only noticeable in the documentation that by chance survived. This seems inevitable, however, since we want to deal with the whole large corpus of documents.

Below, the four types into which we divided the whole corpus of documents with a brief description of their respective content:

- **Type A: DELIVERIES/PROVISIONS²¹⁴**

This type of document records both the delivery of different commodities as “salary” to the community of Deir el-Medina (clothing, fish, beer, bread, dates, cakes, meat, fruit, vegetables, grain, pottery, natron), and provisions in order to carry out the work in the royal tomb (firewood, rags, yarn, plaster, lamps, dung, tools, oil).

- **Type B: ABSENCES/PRESENCES²¹⁵**

Another frequent type of journal lists of names of single workmen being idle or absent with the dates on which they were inactive and sometimes even the reasons for their absence. Among the reasons, the most common are: illness of the workman or a member of his family, funerals, festivities, working for someone else, brewing, and offering.

- **Type C: WORK COMPLETED**

These are documents reporting the work carried out: the work done by stone-workers or carpenters, work completed in the royal tombs, transportation of stones and tomb equipment, construction of a road, the production of bricks, founding of a prince's tomb, preparation of wooden doors for the tomb, etc. Sometimes the amount of the work done is expressed in cubits. Surprisingly not

²¹⁴ See Mandeville 2014.

²¹⁵ See Janssen 1980.

much of the ongoing work is recorded on journals. It is possible that the progress of the work was marked on the walls of the tomb better than on a document.

- **Type D: EVENTS CONCERNING THE COMMUNITY**

Documents in this group records different kinds of events related or relevant to the community of artisans and other inhabitants of Deir el-Medina: daily notifications of working, being idle or absent, religious or memorial feasts, arrivals of the vizier or other officials and announcements of grain rations or extra payments, passing of the guard posts, sealing the royal tomb, etcetera.

In the following table, all the documents dated with certainty have been assigned a letter from A to D to indicate the group they belong to.

DYNASTY 18	NAME OF DOCUMENT
C	O. Ashmolean Museum 0007
DYNASTY 19	
Ramesses II	
A	O. Cairo 25645
A	O. Cairo 25803
B	O. Cairo 25502
C	O. Cairo CG 25815a
A	O. Cairo CG 25815b
D	O. University of Memphis Expedition n. 97
Merenptah	
C	O. Cairo 25581
D	O. Cairo 25552
D	O. Valley of Kings, Area A, Square G 0, between KV 62 and KV 7
C	O. Cairo 25504
B	O.DM 594
D	P. Berlin 23300 and 23301
A	P. Ashmolean Museum 1960.1283
Amenmesse	
B	O. Cairo 25779
B	O. Varille 26
B	O. Ashmolean Museum 0290
B	O. Cairo 25780
B	O. Cairo 25782
B	O. Cairo 25783
B	O. Ashmolean Museum 0167
B	O. Ashmolean Museum 0174
B	O. Ashmolean Museum 0291

B	O. Cairo 25784
B	O. DM 898
Sethi II	
B	HO 64, 1 (O. MMA 14.6.217)
B	O. Cairo 25509
B	O. Cairo 25510
A	O. Berlin P 14842
B	O. DM 889
B	O. Cairo CG 25529
B	O. Cairo 25512
A	O. Cairo 25516
B	O. Cairo 25517
D	O. Cairo 25538
B	O. Cairo 25515
Siptah	
B	O. Cairo 25515
C	O. Cairo CG 25536
B	O. Cairo 25516
B	O. Cairo 25525
D	O. Cairo 25518
B	O. Cairo 25517
B	O. Cairo 25519
B	O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text)
B	O. DM 908
B	O. Cairo 25521
B	O. Ashmolean Museum 0118
B	O. DM 10052
C	O. Cairo JE 72451
B	O. DM 10051
A	P. Greg P. UC 34336
B	O. DM 899
B	O. DM 909
B	O. DM 910
DYNASTY 20	
Ramesses III	
B	O. DM 99
B	O. DM 253
B	O. Turin 57020
A	O. Varille 36
C	O. DM 422
B	O. Turin 57034
B	O. Turin 57047
B	O. Turin 57026
A	O. DM 625
C	O. Turin 57027
B	O. Turin 57046

B	O. Turin 57039
A	O.DM 164
B	O. Turin 57029
B	O. IFAO [unnumbered]+O. Varille 06
B	O. Turin 57028
B	O. Turin 57056
A	O. Gardiner AG 139
D	O. Turin 57055
B	O. Turin 57033
A	O.DM 32
A	O. UC 39648
A	O. UC 39626
C	O. Turin 57031
A	O. Glasgow D.1925.67
C	O. Ashmolean Museum 0221
A	O. Glasgow D.1925.76
B	O. Berlin P 12295
A	O. Turin 57475
A	O. DM 654
D	O. Hildesheim 5464
A	O. Turin 57044
A	O. DM 148
A	O. IFAO 00284 + O. IFAO 00285 + O. IFAO 00286 + O. IFAO 00287
A	O. Turin 57153
B	O. DM 911
A	O. DM 653
A	O. DM 633
A	O.DM 33
A	O. IFAO 00253
A	O. Ashmolean Museum 0255
A	O. DM 00034 + O. Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 567
A	O. DM 427
A	O.DM 156
C	O. Berlin P 10663
C	O. Turin 57007 r°
D	O.DM 284
A	O. Berlin P 10633
A	O. Berlin P 14689
A	O. DM 604
A	O. Turin 57007 v°
D	O. Cairo 25530
D	O. IFAO 1255+O.Varille 39.
D	O. Brussel E. 7359
A	O. DM 330
A	P. Turin 2006+1961
D	P. Turin Cat. 1880
D	O.DM 98
A	O. Prague H 14
A	O.DM 55

A	O.DM 158
A	O.DM 36
D	O.DM 578
A	O.DM 37
A	O. Michaelides 073
A	O.DM 38
A	O.DM 39+174
A	P. Turin 1949+1946
B	O. Turin 57432
A	O. IFAO 00268 + O. IFAO 00278
B	O. Turin 57156
A	O. Berlin P 14255
B	O. Louvre E 13160
A	O. Louvre E 25325
Ramesses IV	
	O. DM 39+174 See under Ramesses III
	P. Turin 1949+1946 See under Ramesses III
A	O. Berlin P 12631
A	O.DM 40+O.Strasbourg H. 042
A	O.DM 41+ O. Berlin P 12626
A	O.DM 42
A	O.DM 43
A	O.DM 47
A	O. Berlin P 12641+12628
A	O.DM 161+O.Berlin P 12640+Strasbourg H82
A	O.DM 44
A	O. IFAO 00295
A	O.DM 45
A	O.DM 46
D	P. Turin 1891 r°
A	HO 73, 1 (O. Ashmolean Museum 0113)
A	O.DM 401
D	O. MMA 14.6.216
A	O. Cairo CG 25266
B	O.DM 398
C	O. Ashmolean Museum 0070
A	O. Cairo CG 25271
C	O. IFAO 00383
D	O. Cairo CG 25272
A	O. Berlin P 09897
D	O. Cairo CG 25274
D	O. Berlin P 09906
D	O. DM 657
A	P. Turin PN 109 (Provv. 6258)
A	O. DM 393
B	O. DM 617
B	O. DM 10049
D	O. Cairo CG 25303

Ramesses V	
B	O. Cairo 25609
C	P. Turin 2044
C	P. Turin 2002 r°
Ramesses VI	
D	HO 68, 1 (O. BM EA 50722 + O. Cairo CG 25726+660)
D	O. Cairo 25254
D	O. Cairo 25256
D	O. BtdK 659
A	O. Ashmolean Museum 0160
A	O. Ashmolean Museum 0302+O. Ashmolean Museum 0342 rev.
A	P. Bibliotheque Nationale 237, Carton 1
D	O. Cairo 25566
C	O. Cairo 25269
A	P. Turin 1885 v°
Ramesses VII	
A	P. Turin 1885 v° col. III, l. 3-8
A	P. Turin 2070/154
A	P. Turin 1883+2095.
B	O. Cairo CG 25297
Ramesses IX	
B	O. Ashmolean Museum 0187 rev.
A	P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128
A	P. Turin 2013 + P. Turin 2050 + P. Turin 2061
A	P. Turin 1881 + P. Turin 2080 + P. Turin 2092
A	P. Turin 2002 r° (col. IV end of line 21 and lines 22-23) + P. Turin 2002 v°
A	P. Turin 1906 + P. Turin 1939 + P. Turin 2047
A	P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin fragment gamma + P. Turin 2074
B	P. Turin 2072/142
A	P. Turin 1900 + P. Turin 2048 + P. Turin 2088 + P. Turin 2093 + P. Turin 2097 + P. Turin 2101
B	P. Turin [unnumbered 1]
D	P. Turin 54021
D	O. Cairo CG 25305
B	P. Turin 2071/224 [140]+frgt
A	P. Turin 1891 v°
D	P. Turin 2087 v°
B	<i>Giornale</i> , pl. 4-7 (P. Turin 1999 + P. Turin 2009 v°)
A	O. Léningrad 2973 r°
A	O. Cairo 25299
B	HO 69, 1 (O. BM EA 05672 + O. Cairo CG 25649)
A	P. Turin 2071/224+1960
A	P. Turin Cat. 1884 + P. Turin Cat. 2067 + P. Turin Cat. 2071 + P. Turin Cat. 2105
A	P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P. Turin Cat. 2083 verso (<i>Giornale</i> year 17B)

D	P. Turin Cat. 2001 + P. Turin Cat. 2005 + P. Turin Cat. 2029 + P. Turin Cat. 2078 recto (<i>Giornale</i> year 17A)
B	P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P. Turin Cat. 2083 recto (<i>Giornale</i> year 17B)
A	P. Turin Cat. 2001 + P. Turin Cat. 2005 + P. Turin Cat. 2029 + P. Turin Cat. 2078 verso (<i>Giornale</i> year 17A)
D	P. Turin Cat. 2106 + P. Turin Cat. 2107
A	O. Cairo CG 25314
Ramesses X	
A	<i>Giornale</i> , pl. 50-63 (P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094)
B	O. Cairo CG 25244
Ramesses XI	
A	<i>Giornale</i> , pl. 50-63 (P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094)
A	P. Turin 1895 + P. Turin 2006 <u>Turin taxation papyrus</u>
A	P. BM EA 09997
A	Gardiner, <i>RAD</i> , 64-68 (P. Turin 1888 + P. Turin 2085)
D	P. Turin 2094 [1]
A	O. Cairo CG 25243

Before drawing some conclusions and presenting the charts of the data obtained, one important remark has to be made: all the documents in the above table list are considered journals, but, if we focus on the documents dated to Ramesses IX and his immediate successors, it seems that these are the ones which most align with the definition we gave of “(events) journal” and most closely meet the criteria given to identify such texts. Journals of the late 20th Dynasty are closer to what is expected of a generalised institutional day-book. In the course of time we can observe an evolution in the style and contents in the available documents. The journal changes and one wonders whether this is the sign of a change in the administration at Deir el-Medina²¹⁶. From the earliest period (18th Dynasty) there are almost no records available²¹⁷, from the 19th Dynasty we have ostraca and a few papyri gradually containing more and more information, and then from the 20th Dynasty of course the vast amount of ostraca and extensive papyri.

In the earlier versions of journals on ostraca long, detailed notes and regular day-to-day records of information are not yet standard. The columns of text are rather narrow and contain little information. Some of these journals of the later years of Ramesses III and the early years of Ramesses IV (from year 24 of Ramesses III until year 2 of Ramesses IV) record deliveries to the workmen of Deir el-Medina and indicate the name

²¹⁶ See Häggman 2002, 160 ff. and Valbelle 1985, 186 ff.

²¹⁷ This is in marked contrast to the substantial groups of mid-18th Dynasty ostraca from the work especially on the temples of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri and Qurna.

of the workman who was responsible for the receipt of supplies on a particular day. The presentation of the data follows a quite standard model: first the date with the year and the day, then the name of the man on duty on that specific day, and finally notices of any deliveries made. Moreover, deliveries of supplies and goods were also included, such as beer, vegetables, fish, dates, bread, pottery, wood, flowers and grain rations. If other events of administrative interest such as workdays or not were noted, the description is rather short and concise.

Also from some unpublished fragments of papyri kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (P. B.N. 237, carton 3, 5, 7, 16, 22 and 27) dated to the middle of the 20th Dynasty, it is clear that the Necropolis journal layout still consists of narrow columns of text, with short lines like in the ostraca, and not yet the long lines of the documents from later periods.

Some as yet unpublished journal fragments in the collection of the Turin Museum dating to the later years of Ramesses III likewise show a general layout of the document similar to that of the ostraca: the columns are narrow and the information provided is not very detailed²¹⁸.

With the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IX (or maybe a little earlier), when the workforce of Deir el-Medina is still at its peak capacity, journals become more elaborate than in previous periods; short and concise accounts are being replaced by more extensive lists on papyrus, covering a wider range of subjects. We must bear in mind that the apparent shift (see charts fig. 43-44) from ostraca to papyri might at least partly be the result of the by chance surviving documents²¹⁹. Anyhow, papyrus as writing material evidently offered more space to be used for one document. The papyri show lists of goods (vegetables, grain, wood, etc.) in a more detailed way, as well as the provenance of the supplier and the names of the personnel and institutions involved in the distribution system. In general the papyri are all rather long and inscribed either on the recto or the verso with a minimum of two columns. The information on the papyrus is usually presented listing the notes day by day, but in some documents the notes only cover a few days.

Also during the reigns of Ramesses X and Ramesses XI journals were mostly written on often rather long papyri, with the exception of (at the present state of our knowledge) three ostraca²²⁰. The information we find now in the journals is much more

²¹⁸ Information kindly provided by Dr. R.J. Demarée (personal communication).

²¹⁹ Fragments of as yet unpublished papyri such as those in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and those in the Turin Museum mentioned above may change the picture and prove that papyrus was more widely used during earlier reigns.

²²⁰ O. Cairo CG 25244 (Ramesses X), O. Cairo CG 25243 (Ramesses XI) and the unpublished O. MMA 09.184.733 (probably dated to year 1 of Ramesses X and kindly mentioned to me by Dr. Demarée).

complete. They deal with a wider range of activities and the notes are now taken on a daily basis and cover a longer time span. The *Giornale* of Ramesses X, for example, covers the period from II *pr.t* day 24 until II *3h.t* day 2 of regnal year 2. The account of deliveries for the gang of workers on specified dates is more detailed and lists individual names, and the description of specific events concerning members of the staff is more comprehensive²²¹. Accounts of individual portions of grain²²² distributed are listed and for the amount of grain received, the provenance²²³ is fully indicated (individual priests, administrators, herdsman, fishermen and farmers). During this period, the day-by-day notes seem to become a more usual type of record.

Why did these changes in the content of the journal occur?²²⁴

Far from being able to give a definite answer, we can nonetheless try to suggest some reasons for the variations in the records:

Was it on request from the higher authorities? Was it the zeal of the local scribes who wanted to show in greater detail the progress of the work to the vizier who occasionally came to visit? And, more specifically:

1- Was it because the vizier *T3* in year 29 of Ramesses III became vizier of the whole country: “vizier of the land of Upper and Lower Egypt”?²²⁵ Was this part of a restructure of the administration? We have to realise that the vizier's extended area of duty would have kept him away from Thebes and from Necropolis matters for some time, which probably caused the need for the collection of additional data and details of the work going on in the ‘Place of Truth’.

2- Was it because of all the problems caused by the strikes in year 29 of Ramesses III²²⁶? Perhaps the administration became more and more interested in things such as details of the deliveries to the community? (see chart fig. 38-39 which shows indeed that in the second half of the 20th Dynasty, there are many more documents of group A, that is, related to deliveries and provisions).

3- Was it because of the shift of power from the vizier to the high priest of Amun when the latter's influence started to grow around the middle of the 20th Dynasty? In records from this period, in fact, an increased presence of the high priest of Amun in the

²²¹ P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094 (Ramesses X).

²²² P. BM EA 09997 (Ramesses XI).

²²³ P. Turin 1895 + P. Turin 2006 (Ramesses XI).

²²⁴ As we have seen above, it was not simply a matter of writing material, since papyri are used in earlier periods and the general outline of the documents, with narrow columns of short lines, is similar to the contemporary ostraca.

²²⁵ O. Berlin P 10633, ll. 7-8.

²²⁶ See e.g. P. Turin Cat. 1880, the “Strike Papyrus”.

Necropolis administration can be noted, both in Necropolis journals and in other contemporary documents²²⁷. It is clear that the high priest of Amun played a significant role in the administration of the Necropolis since the middle of the 20th Dynasty, a time when the boundaries between his areas of influence and those of the vizier were blurred²²⁸.

In spite of the differences amongst the documents, it can nonetheless be concluded that they all belong to the concept of journal, bearing in mind that “The system of genre is not an aggregate of fixed categories...Genres are fluid and flexible” (Parkinson 96, 299). We need to imagine a wider genre including different types of notes and information. Every document gives us a pixel of a picture of the village administration. For this administration it was necessary to note and list the incoming food, tools and other goods, as well as to indicate day-to-day who was absent from work and record all the events related to the life of the community. Listing and classifying the differences is not intended to trace boundaries of a neat category. The same genre changed its format and contents during the years, and shows therefore many “faces”.

7.3.b Charts of the data obtained

This section considers the distribution of the different groups (A, B, C and D) to see if this provides some useful information. In order to do so, the following bar charts have been produced from the above table list:

²²⁷ See e.g. P. Ashmolean Museum 1958.112, a letter recording the involvement of the high priest, who became a reference for complaints; P. Turin 1879 verso A col. II, where the Necropolis scribe *Hr* is taken to the high priest of Amun, who orders that the copper tools of the Necropolis are to be collected; P. Turin 2002 recto col. III, 13 a journal mentioning the arrival of the high priest of Amun together with the vizier; P. Turin 2044 verso col. II, 11 where the high priest of Amun is giving orders; P. Turin 1883+2095 recto col. I, 4 where we read the commissioning of coppersmiths by the administrators of the Necropolis and the treasury scribe of the temple (of Ramesses III) under the high priest of Amun; and P. BN 237 carton 1, 15-20 where the high priest of Amun and other dignitaries arrive in Thebes to attend the appearance of a god).

²²⁸ Nonetheless, we still must be careful with the conclusions we may draw. Once again, we should bear in mind that we can only build theories based on the documents we have, and we have to take into consideration that there are others still undiscovered or unknown to us that might change our hypothesis. Recently we were informed that in Turin there is a papyrus (labelled Provv. 6252), belonging to year 1 probably of Ramesses IX, in which the vizier still plays a role in the administration of the Necropolis, dealing with the complaints of the crew (Col. II, lines 7 and 12). When the new Turin documents are studied and published, they will probably shed more light on certain aspects of the Necropolis administration and modify our theories (personal communication from Dr. R.J. Demarée).

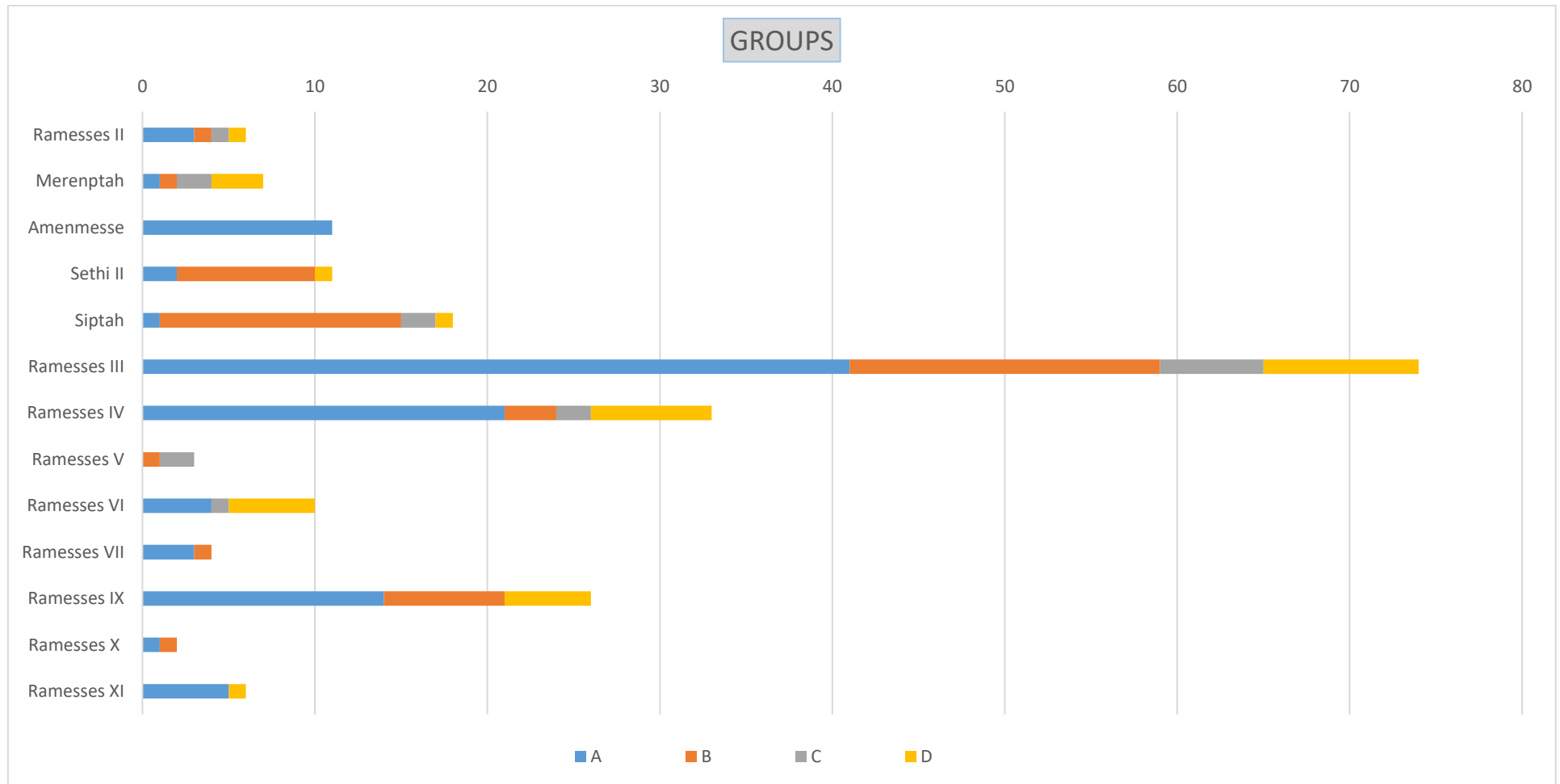


Fig. 38 Chart representing the groups of documents divided per single pharaoh (the results are obviously limited to the fact that there are some short and some long reigns; the chart does not give us firm statistics, but merely an indication)

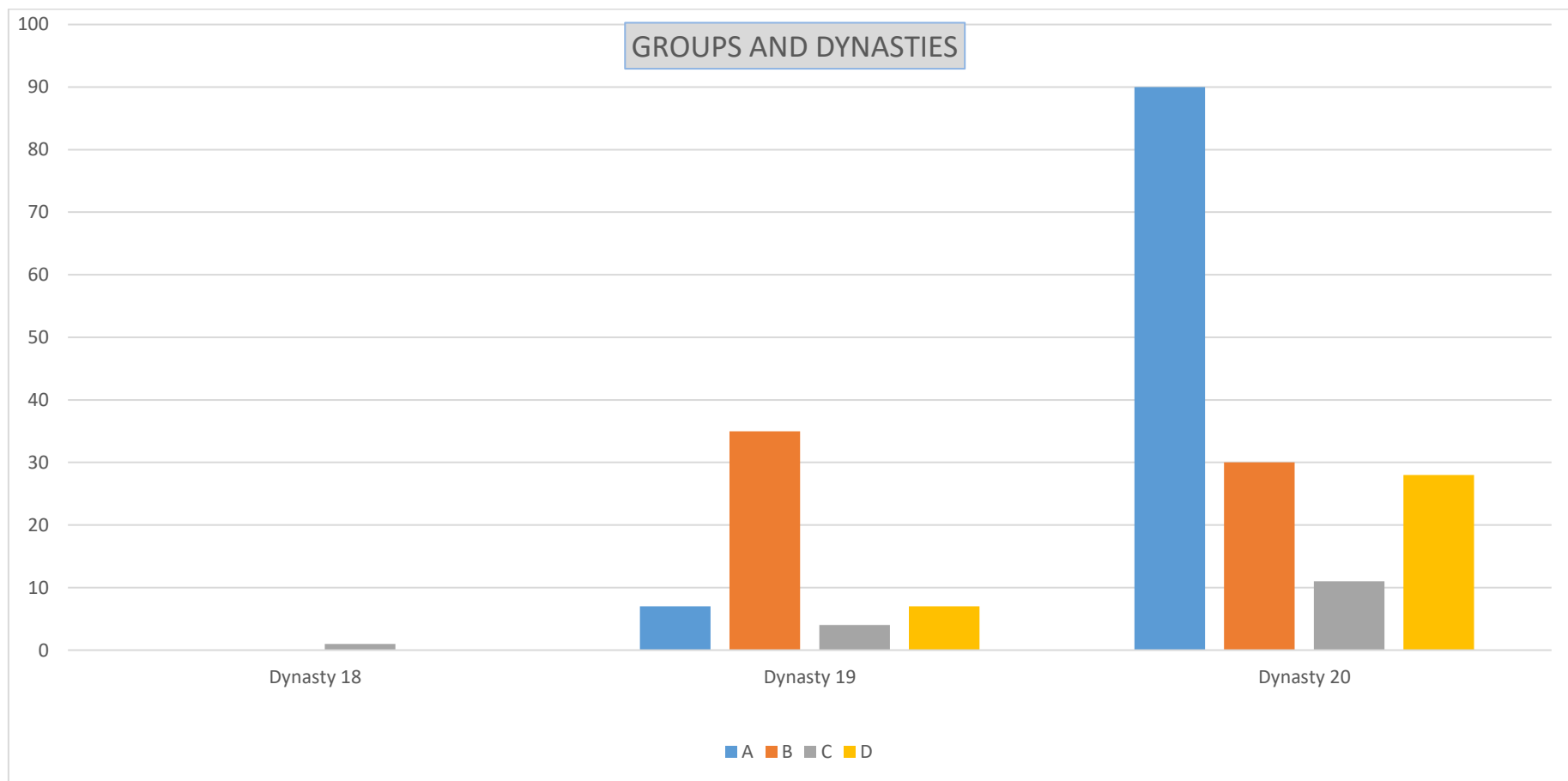


Fig. 39 Chart representing the groups of documents divided per dynasty

From the first chart, we can see that, until the beginning of the 20th Dynasty (Ramesses III), there is a preponderance of documents belonging to Group B, the one concerning absences and presences of the workmen, while afterwards Group A is the type most commonly encountered, the group dealing with the delivery of different commodities²²⁹. This trend is even more visible in the second bar chart, where we can also observe that Groups C (work completed) is poorly represented, while Group D does not really change its trend over the years.

²²⁹ Bearing in mind that we can only make conclusions based on what we have, i.e. the surviving documents.

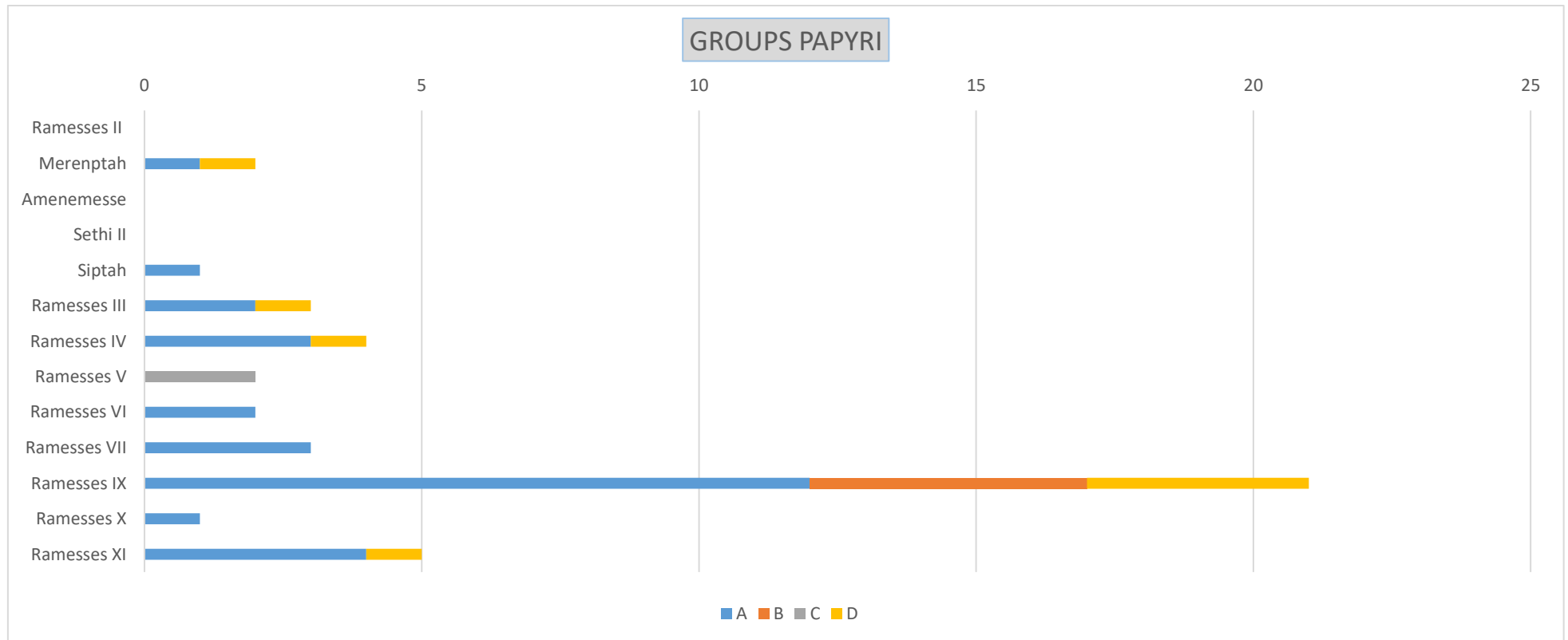


Fig. 40 Chart representing the documents on papyri divided per group

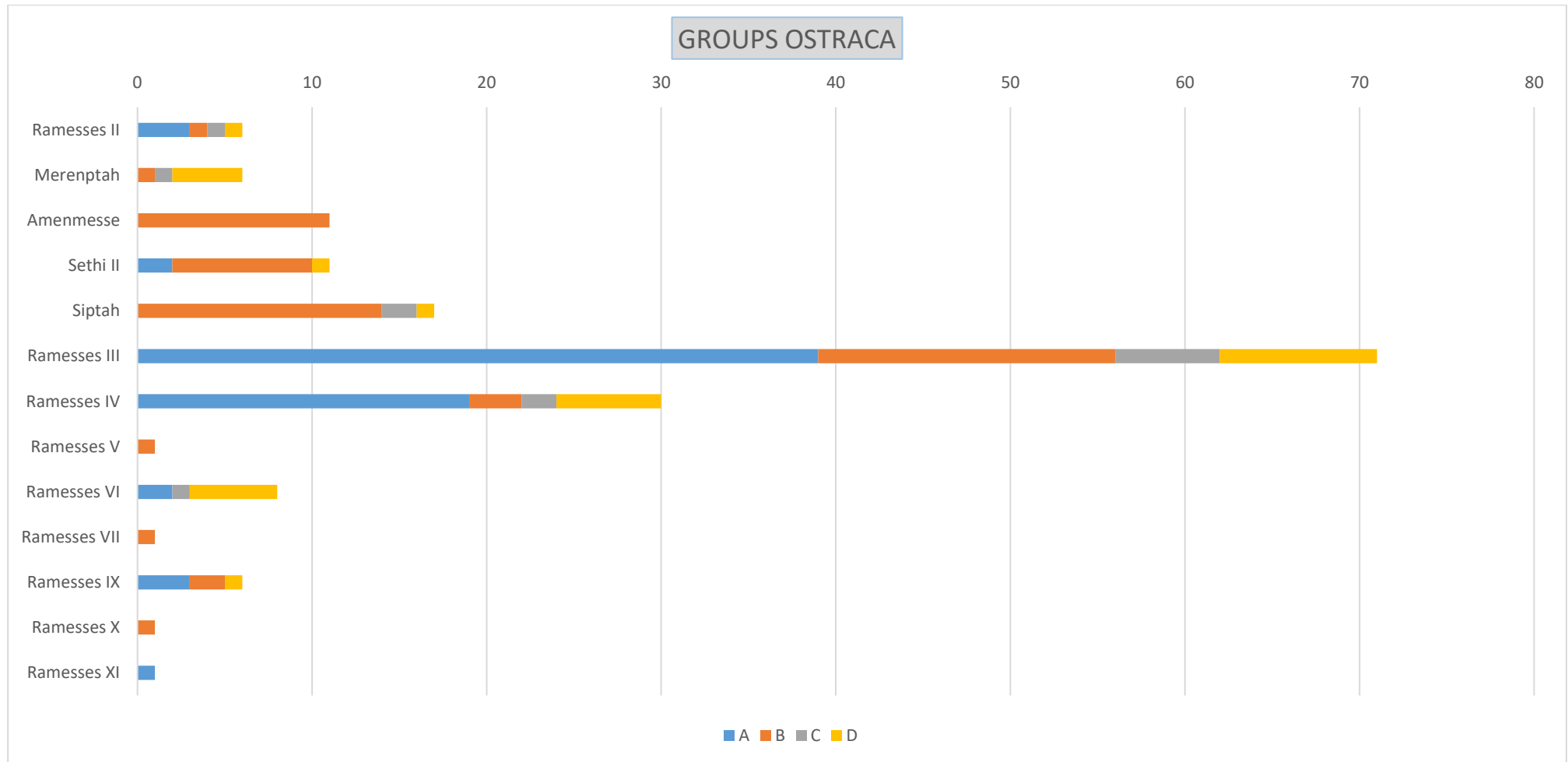


Fig. 41 Chart representing the documents on ostraca divided per group

What happens when we divide the papyri and ostraca to see how the groups are represented? If we analyse only journals written on papyri (in the first chart above, fig. 40), we see that the majority of the papyri record information concerning the deliveries and provisions to the community. Considering that a papyrus could be submitted to a higher authority (see above 7.2.b), this makes sense. The external administration would be interested in the supplies necessary to carry out the work in the Valleys, more than in the events or the distribution of payments to the workers.

The second chart above (fig. 41) concerns the other type of writing material, the ostrakon. In this case journals written on ostraca, especially those from before the reign of Ramesses III, are more focused on recording absences and presences (Group B). Different from the papyri, we can imagine (see above 7.2.a) that an ostrakon was intended for internal use, where it was therefore important to keep track of days off of the entire gang and single absences of workmen.

We should not forget that all the observations we can make about types and format of documents give us only a partial and limited picture, since the overlapping of the documents and the difficulty in genre classification do not give us firm statistics, but merely an indication. We are also strongly dependent on the type of texts that have been preserved. Whether the differences in style and type of documents preserved are a real reflection of administrative differences or simply the result of chance shall remain uncertain. New finds in excavations or in some collections may have influence on any conclusions made thus far.

7.4 The database

7.4.a The initial idea

When we started this study about the Necropolis journal, the approach taken was to collect all the primary sources (i.e. all the documents written on ostraca and on papyri) and make an inventory of all of them for an easier consultation. In view of the large number of existing documents, the best idea was to enter all the useful data in a table-list.

A **chronological table-list** of all the documents was thus created bearing the following information:

- Date (Dynasty and if possible the name of the pharaoh and the days named in the document)
- Inventory number of the document and related bibliography

- Type of writing support (papyrus/ostraca)
- Indication of the provenance of the document

The list created was obviously to be considered open and not definitive. The list now includes 399 records.

7.4.b The website

Even chronologically ordered in a list, the material was still too much to be easily consulted and studied. We therefore decided to create a **database in the program Access** to facilitate any kind of search/research or comparative study.

ID	Doc_no	Dynasty	Specific_Year	Specific_date	Kind	Pharaoh	Provenance	Bibliography
1	O. Cairo CG 25662	18	-	IV pr.t day 8; IV pr.t day 9	ostrakon	UNCERTAIN	Deir el-Medina	Černý, Ostraca Caire, 53 (description), 73 (transcription), pl. DXX (photo)
2	O. Ashmolean Museum 0007	18	-	day 12, 14	ostrakon	UNCERTAIN	No indication	Černý-Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, 7 (description) and pl. 22-22A no. 1 (facsimile, transcription).
3	O. Cairo 25671	19	Year 5	III Axt, day 10	ostrakon	01. RAMSES II	Valley of Kings, valley between KV 7 (Ramesses II) and KV 9 (Ramesses VI); Carnarvon/Carter excavations 1917-	Černý, Ostraca Caire, 55 and 56, 75*, pl. DXX (description, transcription, photo); Helck, Die datierten und
4	O. Cairo 25645	19	Year 20	II Axt, day 11	ostrakon	01. RAMSES II	Valley of Kings; Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907-1908; mark: House HO (workmen's houses between	Černý, Ostraca Caire, 47-48 (description), 68* (transcription), pl. DXX (facsimile); Helck, Die

Fig. 42 Example of a page of the database

The fields of the database are:

- number (name) of the document
- dynasty
- pharaoh
- specific date
- writing support (ostrakon or papyrus)
- provenance
- bibliography

- group (A, B, C or D)²³⁰

The new database allowed us also to produce some charts from the data collected, in order to understand more the general features of the documentation. Above (fig. 38-41) we have already used examples of the charts created, now two more charts will be presented, which show the distribution in time of journals written on ostraca versus journals written on papyri (see 2.3 for the debate about this matter):

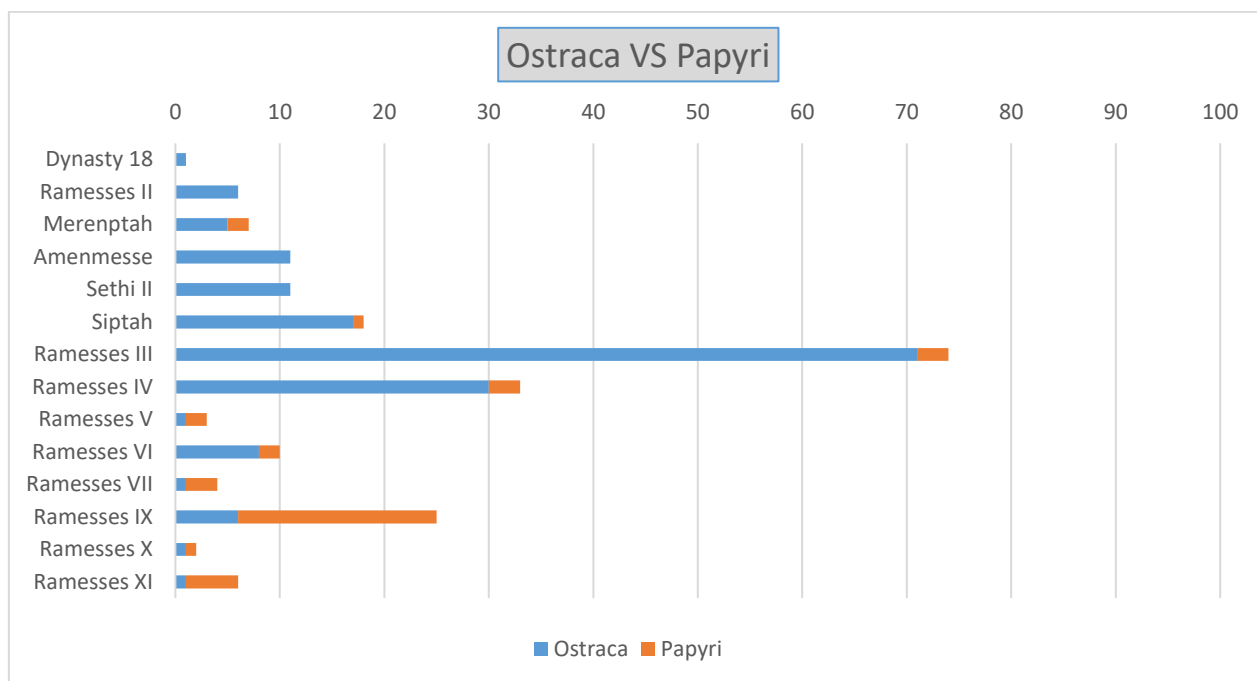


Fig. 43 Chart representing distribution in time of journals written on ostraca vs journals written on papyri (only documents dated with certainty). Considering what was stated on p. 28, that 40% of the papyri is palimpsest, we can imagine that papyri with records now dated to R. IX, X or XI earlier may have carried records dating to R. VI, VII or VIII. This would change the picture of the chart.

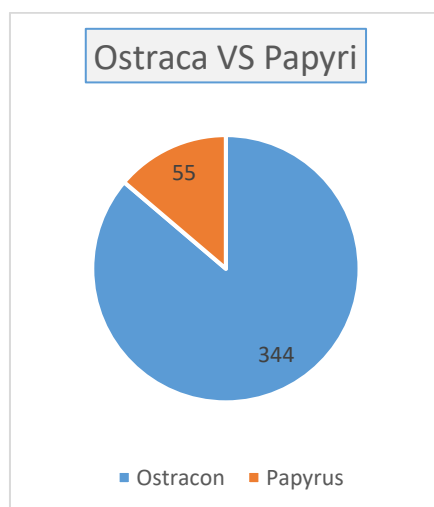


Fig. 44 Chart representing the number of ostraca vs the number of papyri (the whole corpus)

²³⁰ See above 7.3.a.

Regarding the information about the provenance of ostraca and papyri, not much can be said and bar-charts cannot help, since for most of the documents a precise find spot is unknown²³¹. Generally, the provenance of papyri is less well known than that of ostraca. A large group of papyri now in the Museo Egizio of Turin for example, comes from the Drovetti collection, acquired by the museum around 1824²³². Unfortunately, their archaeological context is lost and we ignore where they were discovered, although it seems that they have been found together and their contents point to a Theban origin. Concerning the material with a clear provenance, the ostraca, we can mainly distinguish between documents found in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens (i.e. the working site), and those found in Deir el-Medina village, mainly during the archaeological excavations of the IFAO (French Archaeological Institute). The material found in the village unfortunately mostly comes from dump sites like the 'koms' (the rubbish mounds to the north and the south of the village) or the 'Grand Puits', a deep hole to the north of the site. The provenance of these documents is only relevant in so far as that they most probably had been kept together before being discarded. Documents found around the village are mostly related to guard duty and deliveries, but not exclusively; many ostraca found in the Grand Puits record indeed absences or presences of workmen. In contrast, and predictable, documents (only ostraca) found in the Valley of the Kings²³³ and the Valley of the Queens²³⁴ mainly record the work in the

²³¹ For general patterns of find distribution, see Valbelle 1985, 27-29; Eyre 2013, 233-240; Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 14-16; Dorn 2011.

²³² P. Turin 2006+1961; P. Turin Cat. 1880; P. Turin 1949+1946; P. Turin 1891; P. Turin PN 109 (Prov. 6258); P. Turin 2044; P. Turin 2002; P. Turin 1885; P. Turin 2070/154; P. Turin 1883+2095; P. Milan E 0.9.40126 + P. Milan E 0.9.40128; P. Turin 2013 + P. Turin 2050 + P. Turin 2061; P. Turin 1881 + P. Turin 2080 + P. Turin 2092; P. Turin 1906 + P. Turin 1939 + P. Turin 2047; P. Milan E 0.9.40127 + P. Turin fragment gamma + P. Turin 2074; P. Turin 2072/142; P. Turin 1900 + P. Turin 2048 + P. Turin 2088 + P. Turin 2093 + P. Turin 2097 + P. Turin 2101; P. Turin [unnumbered 1]; P. Turin 54021; P. Turin 2071/224 [140]+frgt; P. Turin 1891; P. Turin 2087; P. Turin 1999 + P. Turin 2009; P. Turin 2071/224+1960; P. Turin Cat. 1884 + P. Turin Cat. 2067 + P. Turin Cat. 2071 + P. Turin Cat. 2105; P. Turin Cat. 1945 + P. Turin Cat. 2073 + P. Turin Cat. 2076 + P. Turin Cat. 2082 + P. Turin Cat. 2083; P. Turin Cat. 2001 + P. Turin Cat. 2005 + P. Turin Cat. 2029 + P. Turin Cat. 2078; P. Turin Cat. 2106 + P. Turin Cat. 2107; P. Turin 1898 + P. Turin 1926 + P. Turin 1937 + P. Turin 2094; P. Turin 1895 + P. Turin 2006; P. Turin 1888 + P. Turin 2085; P. Turin 2094 [1].

²³³ O. Cairo 25645; O. Cairo 25803; O. Cairo 25502; O. Cairo CG 25815; O. University of Memphis Expedition n. 97; O. Cairo 25581; O. Cairo 25552; O. Valley of Kings, Area A, Square G 0, between KV 62 and KV 7; O. Cairo 25504; O. MMA 14.6.217; O. Cairo 25509; O. Cairo 25510; O. Cairo CG 25529; O. Cairo 25512; O. Cairo 25516; O. Cairo 25517; O. Cairo 25538; O. Cairo 25515; O. Cairo CG 25536; O. Cairo 25525; O. Cairo 25518; O. Cairo 25519; O. Cairo JE 72475 (old text); O. Cairo 25521; O. Cairo JE 72451; O. Cairo 25530; O. MMA 14.6.216; O. Cairo CG 25266; O. Cairo CG 25271; O. Cairo CG 25272; O. Cairo CG 25274; O. Cairo CG 25303; O. Cairo 25609; O. Cairo 25254; O. Cairo 25256; O. BtdK 659; O. Cairo 25566; O. Cairo 25269; O. Cairo CG 25297; O. Cairo CG 25305; O. Cairo 25299; O. BM EA 05672 + O. Cairo CG 25649; O. Cairo CG 25314; O. Cairo CG 25244; O. Cairo CG 25243.

²³⁴ O. Turin 57020; O. Turin 57034; O. Turin 57047; O. Turin 57026; O. Turin 57027; O. Turin 57046; O. Turin 57039; O. Turin 57029; O. Turin 57028; O. Turin 57056; O. Turin 57055; O. Turin

tomb, the number of lamps used for such work, and the absences²³⁵. “Typically these ostraca were found among the groups of workmen's huts scattered through the valley, associated with the work on each tomb. It is a reasonable guess that they were kept in the scribe's hut in current use, and left there when the work moved to the next tomb project²³⁶”. Unfortunately, we cannot draw any more information from the provenance of ostraca and papyri.

Concerning the database, our intention was to make this available online to all interested, so that future studies can use the list to produce more detailed results, without losing any more time in collecting the material, and anyone can add new records to the list provided. We are aware of the fact that the ongoing project of the papyrus database of the Museo Egizio of Turin (only for specialists so far), the available Deir el-Medina database and Trismegistos, already provide much useful information²³⁷. Nonetheless, it is our aim to offer a Necropolis journal database, i.e. only dedicated to this kind of records, with the intention to facilitate the creation of a separate branch of texts amongst the vast number of 4506 records present for example in the Deir el-Medina database (last consulted on August 2018).

The fourth step and last objective of this study is therefore to make the research done, not for its own sake, but share it with all Egyptologists interested, as a useful updatable tool available to all scholars, and answering thus to our question: **How can the list become a useful updatable tool available to all scholars interested in the subject?** To this aim, the database has been published online as part of the website <https://www.edicionesadaegyptum.com/irenemorfini/> and it is accessible with a password, given after a request to our personal mail address ire.morfini@gmail.com²³⁸. On the **online database** one can search for: document number, pharaoh, dynasty and writing support (papyrus/ostrakon).

57033; O. Turin 57031; O. Turin 57044. Some of them probably coming from the same cache. See Van den Berg-Donker van Heel 2000.

²³⁵ A group of large ostraca from the reign of Amenmesse, all found in the Valley of the Kings in an undisturbed stratum east of KV 47 during the Carnarvon and Carter excavations in 1922, record labour activities and absences of workmen. These documents were obviously produced at the work site and, considering the dimension of the stones, left *in situ*. These ostraca are: O. Cairo 25779; O. Cairo 25780; O. Cairo 25782; O. Cairo 25783; O. Cairo 25784. For the controversial issue on dating and for matters on the handwriting of the scribe, see Donker van Heel-Haring 2003, 49-51.

²³⁶ Eyre 2013, 235.

²³⁷ The research project in Turin includes specialists of the Politecnico di Torino, and the universities of Basel, Bologna, Copenhagen, Groningen, Leiden, Liège and Munich.

²³⁸ For the technical work done on publishing the database online, I am very grateful to my friend Maurizio Papalini for his patience and the time he devoted to this work.

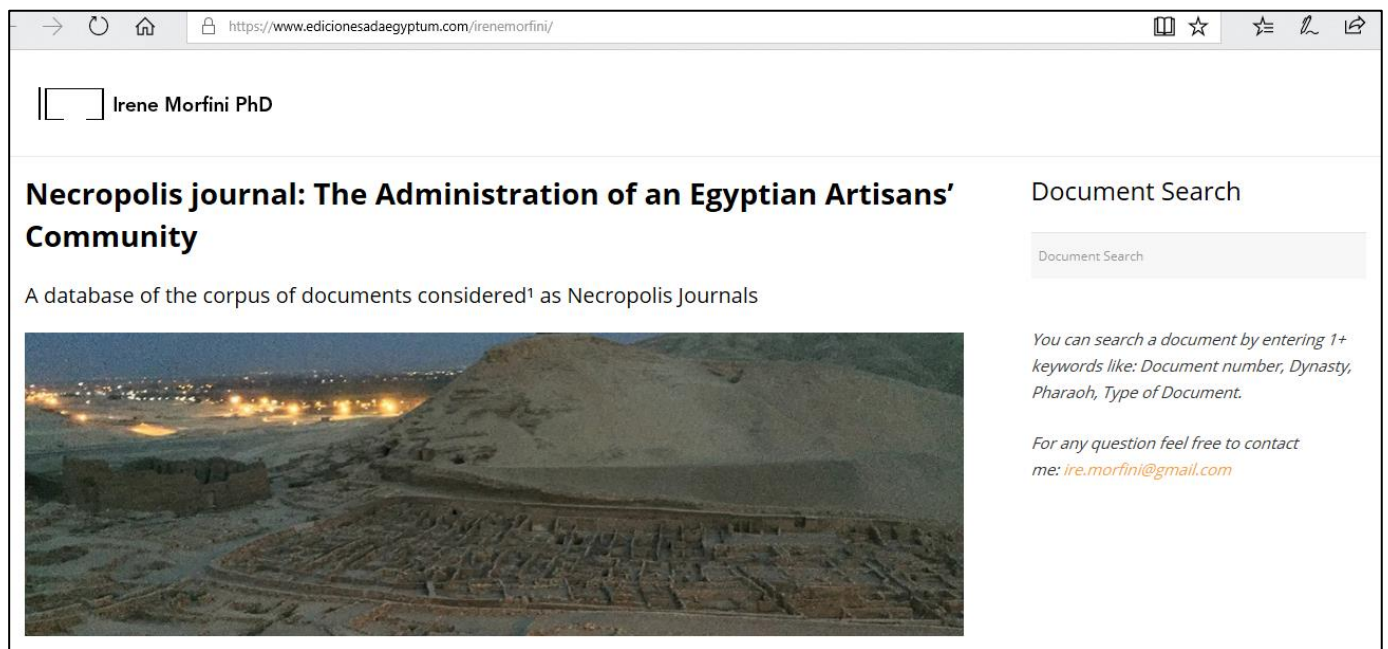


Fig. 45 The homepage of the website

Originally the plan was to include in the online version of the database also the photos of the documents but, given the copyright matters and the time necessary in order to obtain all of them, we preferred to keep it for the future, when maybe the museums where the papyri and ostraca are kept, will be willing to cooperate with this project and will allow to make the photos available online.

For the time being, the Necropolis Journal database can be consulted online with all the information listed above for every record. Moreover, after verification, one can add new documents considered as journal to the list.