Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Of marks and meaning : a palaeographic, semiotic-cognitive, and comparative analysis of the identity marks from Deir el-Medina.

Moezel, K.V.J. van der

Citation
Moezel, K. V. J. van der. (2016, September 7). *Of marks and meaning : a palaeographic, semiotic-cognitive, and comparative analysis of the identity marks from Deir el-Medina*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/42753

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/42753

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/42753 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Moezel, K.V.J. van der
Title: Of marks and meaning : a palaeographic, semiotic-cognitive, and comparative analysis of the identity marks from Deir el-Medina
Issue Date: 2016-09-07

TABLE I3-1

CLASSIFICATION AND METADATA

TABLE I3-1: CLASSIFICATION AND METADATA GROUP I

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 01.001</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Seated man
Reminiscent of Gardiner A1
Cursive hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 5
19: 3 (O3)
20: 1 (O1)
not dated: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 4 (4b)
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The three specimens on the 19th dynasty ostracon IFAO ONL 6459 are all not well visible. They appear cursive rather than hieroglyphic in style and form. Of ostracon ARTP 02-224 from dynasty 20 we only have a facsimile, which shows the specimen in figural rather than cursive form. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6366, which is undated, is clearly cursive, but it does not resemble the hieratic form of the seated man (cf. Möller number 33). In fact, it resembles to some extent the hieratic form of ỉɜ (I 07.047a), which occurs three times as an identity mark in dynasty 20. Yet, the specimen on ONL 6366 remains coded as the seated man instead of I 07.047a, because it occurs in combination with a chisel ( ). A combination of I 07.047a with the chisel is not known from the marks' ostraca, and even though a combination of the seated man and the chisel is otherwise not encountered as well, they do make sense together: they may simply express a message 'man + chisel = man chiseling'. In that case, the status of both the seated man and the chisel as workmen's identity marks is uncertain.
If the seated man and the chisel on ONL 6366 (or either one of them) would be workmen's identity marks, we suggest a date in dynasty 19, not only because three out of five specimens of the seated man occur in that period, but also because all specimens of the chisel occur on 19th dynasty ostraca.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 01.002</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Seated man with hand to mouth
Reminiscent of Gardiner A2
Cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 9
19: 8 (O3, P5)
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 4 (3b, 1r)
incised: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Hieratic forms are seen in the 19th dynasty specimens (cf. Möller II number 35, especially his examples dating to the reigns of Sethos I, Merneptah and Sethos II). The specimen on the 20th dynasty ostracon OIM MH 2666 is less cursive and appears figural, which fits the overall style of the ostracon: OIM MH 2666 depicts commodities (among others textile, a bed), numerals and marks. The figural style as well as the combination with commodities is very similar to ostracon Brooklyn 16118-Ashmolean HO 1131, which is also dated to dynasty 20. Presumably, both ostraca were inscribed by the same hand.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 01.019</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Bent man leaning on stick
Reminiscent of Gardiner A19
Cursive hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 5
20: 5 (O3, G2)</td><td>Method
painted: 3 (1b, 2r)
incised: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">This mark is not encountered before dynasty 20. It only occurs five times, of which three times on marks' ostraca. The ostraca are comparable in style, although they were probably not inscribed by the same hand. Still, we suggest that they were not far apart in date and that the mark I 01.019 may represent only one workman's generation. The form of the specimens painted on the ostraca is cursive hieroglyphic, not hieratic (cf. Möller number 14). Compare the mark I 27.013 below.</td></tr>
</table>

	Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
I 01.028	perhaps *Pn-dwꜣ* (i) *Ḳꜣyḏr.t* (i)	Man with arms raised Reminiscent of Gardiner A28 Cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 28 **19**: 3 (O3) **19-20**: 4 (G4) **20**: 21 (O9, P1, G11)	**painted**: 11 (10b, 1r) **incised**: 16 **unknown**: 1

A first notable feature is that the specimens of dynasty 19 deviate from those of dynasty 20, especially as concerns the lower part of the body. The 19th dynasty specimen on ostracon Schaden 016 is rather abstract in form; yet, the angular form below the arms can be compared to certain hieratic samples of in script. Compare, for instance, Möller number 5, especially the specimens dated to the reigns of Merneptah/ Sethos II: the legs are drawn with lines that make a closed, almost square form. Our specimen could be seen as a linear rendition of such a hieratic form. The contemporaneous specimen on ostracon Schaden 044 is damaged, but interpreted as I 01.028 on the basis of similar sequence to ostracon Schaden 016. The third 19th dynasty specimen on ostracon Schaden 135 is very uncertain. If indeed a specimen of I 01.028, it shows no legs at all, merely one vertical line. Such a form comes close to certain hieratic examples dated to the reigns of Thutmosis III to Sethos I, although the hieratic variants include a line for the feet which is not seen in the specimen on ostracon Schaden 135. The form is repeated at least 8 times on the ostracon, which shows no other workmen's identity marks. We have merely included one in Table I3-2 because of the uncertainties; for an image of all specimens we refer to the Database Symbolizing Identity.

The specimens of the 20th dynasty are somewhat better representations of in (cursive) hieroglyphic script. They show figural (e.g. O.ARTP 02-224 or O.MMA 09.184.784) and cursive (e.g. O.Cairo JE 96647) forms, but no hieratic forms. The specimen on ostracon Cairo CG 25317 is damaged, but enough of the hands, head and a small part of the upper body remains to identify the mark.

The specimens that occur in graffiti are, again, more varied. Five of them occur in close proximity to a *nfr*-sign (cf. the Database): Th.G. 0384 (dyn. 20, 2x), 1769 (dyn. 20), 3461 (dyn. 19-20, 2x), and even two *nfr*-signs in the case of Th.G. 1577 (dyn. 20). In the case of graffito 3461 we see two forms that may be hybrids of I 01.028 and *nfr*: . They are not included in Table I3-2 as their form and meaning are uncertain; no such form is seen elsewhere in the marks' corpus. Several other specimens in the graffiti show slight variations of I 01.028. The specimen in graffito 1769, dated to dynasty 20, appears to be dancing (Gardiner A32). Perhaps the contemporaneous specimen in graffito 1261, with wobbly legs, is dancing as well. However, since a dancing man is nowhere else encountered in the corpus and since at least the specimen in graffito 1769 occurs in close proximity to a *nfr*-sign similar to the examples just mentioned, they are considered to belong to the class of I 01.028. The specimen in graffito 1941, also dated to dynasty 20, shows a line protruding from its middle, the meaning of which escapes us.

There is no clear indication yet as to who was the owner of the mark . For the 19th dynasty specimens on ostraca Schaden 016 and 135 we may suggest the workman *Pn-dwꜣ* (i). This suggestion is made purely on the basis of sequence; O.Schaden 016 and 135 can be compared to the hieratic ostraca BM EA 05634 and DeM 0706, where *Pn-dwꜣ* (i) precedes the workmen *Ḥr-nfr* and *Sꜣ-wꜣḏ.t*. The latter has been identified as the owner of the mark , which follows on O.Schaden 016 and 135. For dynasty 20, a possible candidate is the guardian *Ḳꜣy-ḏr.t* (i), who is attested around the middle of the reign of Ramesses IX. The identification is not only based on phonetic similarity between *kꜣy* and the name of this man; also, the dates of the 20th dynasty specimens on ostraca as well as in graffiti coincide (all are dated to the second half of the 20th dynasty, personal communication with Daniel Soliman), and the position of the mark on the ostraca is significant. As a guardian, *Ḳꜣy-ḏr.t* (i) is recorded in several administrative hieratic documents of his time, and he is often listed as the last or second to last person in the accounts of grain rations due to the lower status of a guardian towards workmen. On several marks' ostraca he also occurs last, e.g. ostraca ARTP 02-224, Cairo CG 25315, 25317, and JE 96647. On the ostraca MMA 09.184.783 and 784 the mark occurs in the middle of the list, but in contrast to the marks of other men listed it is not provided with dots, which perhaps reflects his lower allowance.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 01.035G</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Man building a wall
Reminiscent of Gardiner A35
Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms
Possible graphic variation:
I 14.036: </td><td>Number
Total: 6
19-20: 2 G2)
20: 4 (G4)</td><td>Method
incised: 6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs only in graffiti. Perhaps it is an elaborate form of I 14.036, which occurs quite frequently on ostraca. Yet, one wonders why such an elaborate form would be executed precisely in a graffito, scratched into stone, and why the simpler form that shows only the wall is seen on ostraca. It is not entirely certain whether was indeed a workmen’s identity mark; in none of the graffiti it occurs in clear context related to other workmen’s identity marks.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 01.040</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Seated god
Reminiscent of Gardiner A40
Cursive hieroglyphic form</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
Painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">This class is very uncertain. The mark, which occurs on ostracon BM EA 41649, is perhaps an abbreviated form of the mark I 27.039, consisting of a seated god with the mꜣᶜ.t-feather: . That mark is attested with certainty in dynasty 20. A problem is that the origin of ostracon BM EA 41649 is uncertain; it was found in the temple of Mentuhotep in Deir el-Bahri, possibly by the excavation of Naville. We have considered it in the context of the Deir el-Medina marking system since the marks on the ostracon are at present unknown from Deir el-Bahri ,while most of them are found in the corpus from Deir el-Medina.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 01.121c</td><td>Identity
ꜣḫ-p.t (iii)</td><td>Description of form
man with arms raised, supporting the sky
Reminiscent of A121c of the extended list
Cursive hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 7
20: 7 (O6, G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 6 (4b, 2r)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is not encountered before dynasty 20. Most of the specimens are of cursive hieroglyphic form, e.g. the specimen on ostracon Prague NM P 3836 and those on ostracon Cairo JE 46862. The specimen on ostracon BTdK 407 is more linear and abstract in form. The specimen that occurs on ostracon BTdK 436 is uncertain; it might be another mark, perhaps (II 001a), which occurs more often in the cluster of marks presented on BTdK 436 (i.e. , , , ,), among others on another BTdK ostracon from the same find spot (Dorn, Valley of the Kings, KV 18/6.841, find spot E.SH1d.Hütte48.A4).
The specimen in Th.G. 3880 shows a somewhat strange form, where the upper part of the figure (head and arms) and the sky seem to have merged into one. Perhaps this is due to the method of incision; otherwise, its meaning is unknown.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 03.001</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Seated god with sun on head
Reminiscent of Gardiner C1
Cursive hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 2
19-20: 1 (P1)
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1r)
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Both specimens are uncertain in form and nature. Both depict seated gods, in the case of potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51, pl. XVI.115 with a sun-disc and crescent moon on the head, and in the case of ostracon Stockholm MM 14129 at least with a sun-disc. The specimen on the Stockholm ostracon may have held an object on its knee, such as a staff, ꜥnḫ or feather; faded remains of paint can be seen above the knee, but they seem to have been rubbed out. Seated gods with attributes are not encountered elsewhere among the workmen’s identity marks. The specimen on the potsherd is rather detailed and may have been a drawing instead, while the specimen on Stockholm MM 14129 is perhaps to be identified with the (I 01.040) or (I 27.039). The latter suggestion leads to the thought that perhaps the mɜꜥ.t-feather was once depicted on the knee of , which could lead to a reading as Nb-mɜꜥ.t-Rꜥ. Two workmen named Nb-n-mɜꜥ.t were identified by Davies in Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina (1999), but both predate dynasty 20 and thus cannot have been the owners of mark . The mark on the Stockholm ostracon occurs in a context of drawings of furniture. Several other ostraca, also from dynasty 20, show furniture, such as IFAO ONL 6670, Munich 398 and Turin CG 57523; yet, none of them shows a mark comparable to . All in all, the mark remains uncertain in the marks’ corpus.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 03.019</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
The god Ptah holding a wɜs-sceptre
Reminiscent of Gardiner C19
Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract geometric forms</td><td>Number
Total: 5
20: 5 (O5)</td><td>Method
painted: 5 (4b, 1r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs only in dynasty 20. The owner remains unknown. The specimen on ostracon Cairo JE 46564 is uncertain: its form is very linear and cannot be compared to the other specimens in the class. The context in which it occurs is also not well understood: it occurs among pseudo-hieratic numerals and faded markings of uncertain nature. The specimens on IFAO ONL 6832 are also uncertain; yet the style of the bottom half of the second specimen on ONL 6832 depicted in Table I3-2 is comparable to the specimen on IFAO ONL 6239.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 04.002</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Human face
Reminiscent of Gardiner D2
Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 7
20: 7 (O6, P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 6 (5b, 1r)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">All specimens are of hieroglyphic form, which may be a little surprising for a sign that frequently occurs in script in a period when many identity marks show hieratic influences. The specimen on IFAO C 2605 appears even in drawn rather than written style. Its interpretation as an identity mark is uncertain; it occurs together with two unclear markings that may represent a melon and a cucumber (cf. Database Symbolizing Identity). The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6290, and to lesser extent those on ostraca IFAO C 7638 and IFAO ONL 6237, could be called cursive in their slant and the wavy line representing the shoulders. Of the specimen on potsherd BTdK K99 we know that it was incised post-firing, and may thus represent an owner’s mark.
The identity of the person who used the mark is as yet unknown. We do not know whether the mark in fact carried the phonetic value ḥr, which it has in script. See, however, the remarks with identity marks and (II 046) below.</td></tr>
</table>

I 04.004

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Human eye Reminiscent of Gardiner D4 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 19 **18**: 11 (O11) **19-20**: 1 (G1) **20**: 6 (O5, G1) **not dated**: 1 (G1)	**painted**: 16 (11b, 4r, 1?) **incised**: 3

The mark has a long history and is at least seen as a builders' mark since the Old Kingdom. In Deir el-Medina it is, however, quite rare, occurring mostly in dynasty 18. The specimen on ostracon Cairo JE 96650 is drawn very neatly and is of the same neat hand we see elsewhere in dynasty 18 (cf. chapter 1). The specimens from dynasty 20 are all very similar in style. The ostraca on which they occur are in general closely comparable in style and lay-out; they were probably all made by the same hand with the exception of IFAO ONL 6297.

I 04.006

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	human eye with eyebrow Reminiscent of Gardiner D6 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 6 **19**: 5 (O3, G2) **19-20**: 1 (G1)	**painted**: 3 (2b, 1r) **incised**: 3

The mark is infrequent, occurring mainly in dynasty 19. It therewith seems to fill a gap shown by between dynasties 18 and 20, but it is far from certain whether the marks and were in any way related. The specimens of I 04.006 are pictorial hieroglyphic in form, and it is not certain whether the mark carried phonetic value.

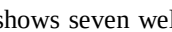
I 04.010

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	human eye with markings of a falcon's head Reminiscent of Gardiner D10 Cursive hieroglyphic forms Variant: I 27.040:	**Total**: 34 **19**: 3 (O2, G1) **19-20**: 7 (O2, G5) **20**: 24 (O18, P1, G4, Ns1)	**painted**: 22 (16b, 6r) **incised**: 12

Some specimens show a more detailed execution than others. Those on ostraca ARTP 99-027, IFAO ONL 6485 and 6283, and to lesser extent also those on Turin CG 57008 and UC 45733 show the curl that is characteristic in the hieroglyphic form . The other specimens rather show two lines, or seemingly not lines at all in the case of DeM 10121. The reason for interpreting the latter as instead of is its date in dynasty 20.

The identity of the workman who used is as yet no known. We also do not know whether the mark conveyed meaning according to the phonetic value *wḏꜣ*. As such, it may not have referred to a workman's name as we do not know anyone with a name that contains these sounds. It may, alternatively, have been selected as a wish for well-being. If one compares the position of on ostracon ARTP 99-027 with the list of workmen on ostracon DeM 831, then it would coincide with a workman *Ḥꜣy* on day 15, which may be *Ḥꜣy* (xi) or (v/iii) (personal communication with Daniel Soliman). Other clues as to the identity of are at present lacking.

The mark (I 27.040) is a graphic variant of . This can be argued on the basis of comparison of sequences, especially on ostraca BTdK 550, IFAO ONL 6539 and Prague NM P 3836.

	Identity unknown	**Description of form** Human mouth Reminiscent of Gardiner D21 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 5 **18**: 3 (O3) **18?**: 1 (O1) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 5 (4b, 1r)
 I 04.021	The mark is rare, having been securely attested only three times in dynasty 18. The date of ostracon IFAO ONL 1404 is uncertain, but an 18th dynasty date is tentatively suggested on the basis of the occurrence of several marks that are only seen in this period. See also the remarks with I 16.004 and I 14.036 below. The date of ostracon IFAO ONL 6521 remains uncertain. It is highly questionable whether it shows any workmen's identity marks at all; its figures and markings have not yet been interpreted. The status of workmen's identity mark for the specimen identified on ostracon Cairo JE 96285 is not entirely certain. On its right side, the ostracon shows seven well-attested workmen's identity marks from dynasty 18 (). These marks appear to be separated by a very faded line in black paint from three marks on the left of the ostracon: on top, below it , and underneath it . Does this separation of the three marks mean that we must read them in vertical order from top to bottom as *jrp*, hieroglyphically written? There is no difference in style between the workmen's marks and , and . Moreover, all three are also attested as workmen's marks in dynast 18. The option that they were workmen's marks thus remains open.		
	Identity *Kɜsɜ* (v)/(vi) *Pn-ʿnḫ.t* (iii)	**Description of form** Extended arms Reminiscent of Gardiner D28 Cursive and hieratic forms	**Number** **Total**: 141 **19**: 5 (O4, G1) **19-20**: 28 (O12, P7, G9) **20**: 107 (O105, P1, G1) **not dated**: 1 (G1)	**Method** **painted**: 119 (98b, 19r, 1br, 1?) **incised**: 22
 I 04.028	The mark that resembles the hieroglyph , *kɜ*, occurs from dynasty 19 on, but is especially frequent in dynasty 20. It bears phonetic value as we know that this was the identity mark used by *Kɜsɜ* (v)/(vi) and his son *Pn-ʿnḫ.t* (iii) after him. As regards the style, there are specimens with and without protrusion in the middle; this variation is also known from cursive and hieratic forms of *kɜ* in script. It is also notable that, where this can be discerned from the hands, most specimens are orientated in reading direction from right to left, conform hieratic script. See, for instance, the specimens on the 19th dynasty ostraca, or the specimens on the 20th dynasty ostraca Berlin P. 12625, Cairo JE 96328, IFAO ONL 300, 321, 334 and 338. All these ostraca are generally in hieratic style, including also hieratic texts or numbers. In contrast, some specimens seem to be orientated from left to right: compare Turin CG 57141, BM EA 05861, and Florence 2630 (the second specimen in Table I3-2). Notably, these are all ostraca that depict furniture accompanied by workmen's marks. In style, the ostraca do not seem to be of the same hand, although Florence 2630 shows that even two specimens apparently made by the same hand may show considerable variation in style and execution. Not on a furniture ostracon, but still orientated from left to right, is specimen IFAO ONL 6220, dated to the reign of Ramesses V. Curiously, this ostracon appears to show the word *mrḥ.t*, 'oil', written in hieratic script among the marks. Whether this was done by the same person who made the marks is uncertain, although another mark (, I 18.034) seems to be hieratic in form as well. The specimen of stands out in being cursive rather than hieratic in form. The specimen on ostracon BTdK 541 is not preserved, but its identification as is clear from the sequence, which shows , , , and ; also known, among others, from ostraca Ashmolean HO 1082, BM EA 50716, Cairo SR 12218 and Glasgow D 1925.80. Some of the specimens in graffiti (Th.G. 1761, 1765, 2641 and 3582) seem to have a horizontal line underneath. The addition of horizontal lines was discussed in chapter 1 as a feature encountered infrequently in dynasty 18. It is uncertain whether the horizontal lines in the graffiti are to be interpreted as a similar practice; in fact, whether they are part of the specimens at all. Specimens with horizontal lines are not seen on the marks ostraca. The mark is not encountered in dynasty 18. That is, if one wishes not to consider an early form. For this, see the remarks with II 025 below.		

I 04.036

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Human forearm Reminiscent of Gardiner D36 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 5 **18-19**: 1 (O1) **19**: 1 (O1) **20**: 3 (O3)	**painted**: 4 (4b) **incised**: 1

The mark is very rare and its five occurrences are spread over dynasties 18 to 20. The specimens from dynasty 20 are clear and recognizable, but the earlier two are uncertain. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6638 is accompanied only by eight vertical strokes. It is perhaps not a representation of a human arm; perhaps not even a workmen's identity mark. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6505 does occur among other workmen's marks. The style of this ostracon is comparable to ostraca IFAO ONL 6412, MMA 09.184.784 and Cairo JE 72495, of which the latter dates to dynasty 20 and also shows 𓂝. We do not know whether the mark had phonetic value. Marks with equivalent forms in script that have mono-consonantal value are otherwise only seen in dynasty 18. Moreover, the value ʿ would not be a very characteristic abbreviation for a workmen's name, especially not in dynasty 20 when more workmen were present.

I 04.037

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	human forearm with hand holding a conical loaf Reminiscent of Gardiner D37 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 9 **18**: 9 (O9)	**painted**: 9 (5b, 4r)

The mark is part of the typical 18th dynasty corpus. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6272 is smudged by the dot of paint that accompanies each mark on the ostracon. Yet, its identification as 𓎛 is clear from the sequence and its combination with 𓏏 (I09.009), which is comparable to ostraca IFAO ONL 6788, MMA 09.184.700 and OWV 10. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6298 deviates in form in that the hand does not seem to hold the triangular loaf: 𓂧. However, it occurs in a sequence that is the same as the sequence seen on ostracon Stockholm MM 14130, which does show 𓎛. Moreover, 𓂧 would alternatively be seen as 𓂝 (I 04.036), which does not occur in dynasty 18.

It is uncertain whether the mark carried phonetic value. It will have been seen quite frequently on tomb and temple walls. As a mark, it may have been selected on the basis of its frequency, or perhaps the phonetic value and/or meaning of *rdj* linked it to a specific workman. That there was at least some knowledge on the script-like character of the mark appears from its grouping with 𓏏 for instance on IFAO OL 6788, ONL 6272, MMA 09.184.700, OWV 03 and 10; while other marks generally follow one another in line, 𓎛 and 𓏏 are often organized into 𓏏𓎛, similar as in writing. An exception is ostracon Stockholm MM 14130, where 𓎛 occurs without 𓏏; yet, 𓏏 is not at all encountered among the marks preserved there, while the similarity in sequence with ostracon IFAO ONL 6272 shows that 𓏏 should have been underneath 𓎛 if it would have been recorded.

The mark 𓇋 with was in use at the same time as 𓎛. They occur together on ostraca IFAO OL 6799, ONL 6298, MMA 09.184.700 and Stockholm MM 14130.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 04.040</td><td>Identity
Jmn-nḫt (ix)</td><td>Description of form:
Human forearm with hand holding a stick
Reminiscent of hieroglyph Gardiner D40
Cursive hieroglyphic, pseudo hieroglyphic and hieratic forms
Graphic variants:
I 04.040a:
I 04.040b: </td><td>Number
Total: 47
19-20: 1
a: a (G1)
20: 46
a: 45 (O45)
b: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 46 (33b, 10r, 1br, 2?)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The class contains two graphic variants with at least one specimen being accompanied by the phonetic complements tw. A characteristic of the hieratic form of its equivalent in script is, however, that the difference between the stick and a possible phonetic complement, the hieratic curl crossing the arm, is not always seen. Thus, a specimen such as on ostracon Ashmolean HO 0981 may show with or without a phonetic complement w. Similar cases are seen on the ostraca Ashmolean HO 1082, 1094 and 1095 (which are all by the same hand), on ostracon BM EA 50731, and on ostracon Cairo JE 46860, as well as on several other ostraca of which the specimens are presented in Table I3-2. Yet, there are also cases in which the hieratic w can be clearly distinguished, namely on the ostraca IFAO ONL 6670, Munich 398 and on Turin CG 57523. These ostraca were all three inscribed by the same hand. Notably, they all depict furniture and may therefore have been of the hand of someone better used to drawing than (hieratic) writing: the specimens of all show a drawn figural style rather than a written style.
The mark carried phonetic value, at least in the reign of Ramesses IV when we can assign it to Jmn-nḫt (ix).</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 04.045</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
human arm with hand holding nḥb.t-wand
Reminiscent of Gardiner D45
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 3
20: 3 (O2, T1)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (2b)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is infrequent, yet should probably not be equated with (I 04.040) above. Reason for this is first of all the resemblance of the specimen on ostracon Cairo CG 25323 to rather than to in script. The specimen on the tool Bruyère Rap. 34-35 III, 224, fig. 113 nr. 1 (a wooden block) is uncertain; we only know it from the drawing by Bruyère. The specimen on ostracon BM EA 50731 somewhat unclear. It represents a human arm holding something; yet, a reason to not interpret it as is the following: the style and handwriting on the obverse of BM EA 50731 are very similar to the style and handwriting seen on ostracon IFAO OL 170. Both ostraca may have been drawn up by the same hand. However, ostracon IFAO OL 170 shows among its marks a clear specimen of , which is not comparable to the form we see on ostracon BM EA 50731.
The workman who was identified by this mark remains unknown thus far.</td></tr>
</table>

I 04.046

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	human hand Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract geometric forms Graphic variants: I 04.046a: I 04.046b:	**Total**: 30 **18**: 30 a: 1 (O1) b: 29 (O14, P14, G1)	**painted**: 17 (9b, 6r, 2?) **incised**: 13

The mark is part of the 18th dynasty corpus. The specimen on ostracon Cairo JE 72492 is the only one that comes close to the hieroglyphic form in script: although it shows the hand as a rectangular form instead of a more curved form we usually see in script, at least the top of the thumb is clearly separated from the hand. In all specimens of the space between the thumb and the hand is closed, giving it the appearance of an abstract geometric form.

The forms and are graphic variants, which appears from similarity in the clusters in which both occur. Especially the cluster in which occurs on Cairo JE 72492 and that in which occurs on IFAO ONL 6788 correspond: in both cases the specimens are in close proximity to the marks , , , and . Also, the ostraca IFAO OL 6788 and ONL 6298, which show 40 respectively 42 different marks, and therewith presumably represent approximately an entire workmen's crew in dynasty 18, both only have one form: . This may indicate that both and were the same identity mark, and was its main form in dynasty 18. The fact that this is an abstract form and an 'incorrect' execution of the hieroglyphic sign fits the conclusions on the general appearance and execution of marks in dynasty 18 (cf. Part I chapter 1, in which the form and development of the marks was discussed).

The fact that Cairo JE 72492 is the only ostracon that shows a more correct hieroglyphic execution of the mark is not a surprise: it is also one of the few ostraca, if not the only one, that shows a correct execution of the hieroglyph in dynasty 18. See the remarks with I 18.012 below.

The identity of the workman who used the mark remains unknown. It also remains a question whether the mark carried phonetic value to refer to the name of a workman. On the one hand, it seems formally to be far removed from as a linguistic sign, and it could be argued that a mono-consonantal value *d* or *ḏ* is perhaps not the best distinguishing aspect of a man's name. The mark may simply have been selected for its representation of a hand; a limb that the workmen made frequent use of on a daily basis. In the category of body parts it could therefore have been considered a prominent member. Body parts are generally frequent and almost exclusive to dynasty 18: , . , , . On the other hand, an abbreviation *d* or *ḏ* may have been clear enough in the limited community which Deir el-Medina must have been in dynasty 18. Perhaps no further distinguishing element was needed. Also, we already see the hieroglyph as mono-consonantal abbreviation in the Ramesseum Onomasticon, where it represents the town of *ḏbꜣ*, Edfu (Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, plate II).

I 04.054

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Wsḫ-nmt.t (i)	walking legs Reminiscent of Gardiner D54 Cursive and hieratic forms	**Total** 62 **19**: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 2 (O1, G1) **20**: 59 (O53, G6)	**painted**: 52 (39b, 11r, 2?) **incised**: 10

The mark shows cursive or hieratic forms of the hieroglyphic sign of the walking legs (), but in many cases confusion seems to have arisen with the hieratic sign for the ox's ear ( ). See, for instance, the specimens on ostraca BTdK 53, 546, IFAO ONL 6268, 6297, 6511 and 6581; they show two strokes on the leftmost 'leg', which is more reminiscent of hieratic examples of (Möller numbers 158-159) than of (Möller numbers 120-121). However, because the user of the mark in dynasty 20 can be identified as *Wsḫ-nmt.t* (i) and several specimens do indeed show a cursive or hieratic form of , we consider the mark to be a phonetic abbreviation with respect to the last part of the name of its owner.

Three specimens need explanation. First, the two specimens on ostracon BTdK 579 and 580 clearly deviate in form from the other specimens. Even when one considers that they were incised rather than painted, their forms still find no parallels among the graffiti, which are similarly incised. On both ostraca, the specimens are combined with the mark (I 20.002a), but no other marks accompany them. The form of the specimens reminds one of a builders' marks that has been attested in the pyramid of Sesostris I at Lisht, which Arnold interpreted as a combination of and (Arnold (1990), 125 (N72.d). Those signs are, however, not found as identity marks in Deir el-Medina, while and are encountered together on several marks' ostraca: among others on ostracon Glasgow D 1925.80 and on IFAO ONL 6240 the can be seen in sequence. The third specimen that is uncertain is the second one depicted in Table I3-2 of Turin CG 57008. The mark occurs twice on this ostracon in a more recognizable form than .We have, however, no other suggestions for the latter.

I 04.058

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	human leg and foot Reminiscent of Gardiner D58 Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract geometric forms Graphic variants: I 04.058a: I 04.058b:	**Total**:14 **18**: 12 a: 11 (O10, P1) b: 1 (O1) **20**: 1 a: 1 (O1) **Not dated**: 1 a: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 13 (9b, 4r) **incised**: 1

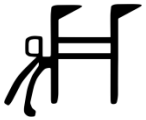
The graphic variant occurs on ostracon IFAO ONL 6371 in a cluster of marks that dates to dynasty 18 and is reminiscent of the clusters in which the specimens of occur. The fact that ostracon IFAO ONL 6371 clearly shows two legs and feet gives rise to the question whether some of the specimens of that show a double outline do not in fact represent a pair of legs and feet as well.

There is some variety in style and forms. The specimen on ostracon Cairo CG 24105 is linear and the only one in dynasty 18 that does not show double outlines (or double legs and feet). The specimens on ostraca Cairo CG 24108, JE 96603, IFAO ONL 6443, and 6489 are all fairly similar in style. The form on ostracon Petrie UC 45683 can be compared to the specimen on ostracon Petrie UC 4507, which is not dated. An 18th dynasty date may be suggested, but in fact the ostracon displays figures and markings that cannot be well interpreted and remain unclear. The only 20th dynasty specimen of on ostracon Prague NM P 3836 deviates from the 18th dynasty forms in that it emphasizes the heel in circular form.

I 04.060

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Human foot combined with a vase from which water flows Reminiscent of Gardiner D60 hieroglyphic forms (ostraca) and abstract geometric forms (graffiti)	**Total**: 12 **19-20**: 4 (G4) **20**: 8 (O5, G3)	**painted**: 5 (3b, 2r) **incised**: 7

Perhaps the mark can be read as *wꜥb*, in which case it could be conceived that it was used by a workman who was in some way connected to that title. In the Theban graffiti 3495 and 3663 the mark seems to be followed by the signs *jmn*; does it refer to a *wꜥb*-priest of Amun? The signs *j*, *mn* and the bookroll grouped as *jmn* were, however, also used as identity mark in dynasty 20, and thus *wꜥb* and *jmn* may be two identity marks perhaps placed one after the other precisely because of the correspondence with the phrase *wꜥb jmn*. In the graffiti is often connected to the mark (II 001a) (as in graffito 3938) and to a bird (as in graffito 3938 and 3478).



I 04.063

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Toes of human Reminiscent of Gardiner D63 Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract geometric forms	**Total**: 8 **20**: 8 (O4, G4)	**painted**: 4 (3b, 1r) **incised**: 4

The specimen on Cairo CG 25325 is a neat, detailed form of as encountered in hieroglyphic script. Most of the other markings that are similarly on the obverse of 25325 are equally neat and detailed in form, although many of them are faded and it is in fact not certain whether they indeed represent workmen's identity marks. The other specimens of are simpler, lacking at least the details to the left (in the case of IFAO ONL 0773) or on the right (in the cases of Ashmolean HO 1095 and IFAO ONL 0946). Two specimens in the graffiti (i.e. those in Theban graffito 3294) seem to be followed by an hieroglyphic *s* (see the depiction of the graffito in the Database). Perhaps this is a phonetic complement and we must read the mark as *sɜḥ*, although we have at present no suggestion on how to interpret *sɜḥ* in this context.

The mark in dynasty 20 shows resemblance to the mark (II 014), which is encountered only in dynasty 18. Perhaps was an early form of , although we cannot proof this. A reason not to equate with is that the former occurs also in the variant (II 014b), perhaps a representation of some kind of animal (?) (see below, I 05.017).

I 05.010

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Ḫnmw-ms (i)	Ram Reminiscent of Gardiner E10 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 6 **20**: 5 (O6)	**painted**: 6 (3b, 3r)

The specimens on IFAO ONL 6462 and Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 can be related to *Ḫnmw-ms* (i), who in the earlier years of Ramesses III worked on the right side of the crew, similar to the other workmen listed on these two ostraca (cf. the hieratic ostracon DeM 406 where he is mentioned; personal communication with Daniel Soliman). On 6462 the mark is larger in size than all other marks, and it occurs in front of the mark 𓋴, which usually comes first because it is the mark used by the foremen of the crew (in this case *Ḫnsw* (v)). On BTdK 475 the specimen is also a little larger than the others, and certainly executed with more detail. Perhaps this is to be explained by the status enjoyed by *Ḫnmw-ms* (i) who, according to Davies, was financially quite powerful in the village (Davies (1999), 261).

The specimen on IFAO ONL 0314 probably did not relate to *Ḫnmw-ms* (i). It occurs on the ostracon in the bottom line with day 16, but only after the mark 𓏤 (II 040). Since the marks' ostraca of dynasty 20 in several cases do not only give the day and the mark of the workman on duty, but also information on products such as beer, bread, dates or fish, and by whom the products were brought, it may be suggested that 𓃹 here refers to the *smd.t*-man *Ḫnmw-ms*, who delivered an unknown product to the workman indicated through 𓏤, who was on duty on day 16. It is interesting to see that in this case a *smd.t*-man and a workman received the same mark, which is therefore to be seen as an abbreviation *ḫnmw* rather than a true exclusive and personal *identity* mark.

I 05.017

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Jmn-nḫt (xii), nicknamed '*Pз-wnš*'	standing jackal hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 16 **18**: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 1 (G1) **20**: 12 (O5, G8) **not dated**: 1 (G1)	**Painted**: 6 (3b, 3r) **Incised**: 10

The mark in dynasty 20 was presumably used by the workman *Jmn-nḫt* (xii). This was suggested by Maria Fronczak and Sławomir Rzepka who found a strong correlation of 𓃠 in Theban graffiti with the name of *Jmn-nḫt* (xii) (Fronczak & Rzepka (2009), 167). The identification of *Jmn-nḫt* (xii) can be secured on the basis of the frequent appearance of 𓃠 in the graffiti accompanied by the mark 𓌙 (II 045), which belonged to his father *Ḥзy* (vii). See, for instance, the graffiti 2839, 1609 and 1077 in the Database Symbolizing Identity. *Jmn-nḫt* (xii) was nicknamed *Pз-wnš*, 'the jackal', which would explain his relation to the depiction of a jackal. In Part II chapter 2 we argue that this is a case of animalistic metaphor on the basis of which the mark as a representation semiotically refers to its referent. On ostraca the mark is not in all cases clearly recognizable. The specimens on Cairo JE 46862 and IFAO ONL 6436 are comparable in style, although not of the same hand. The specimens on Cairo JE 46863 and 46866 are also comparable; they do seem to have been drawn up by the same hand as not only the marks, but their overall style are very similar. The specimens 𓃠 are, however, not clear representations of jackals. A reason to interpret them as jackals is the combination of 𓃠 with 𓏲 (I 17.011) on Cairo JE 46863; the same combination we also see on Cairo JE 46862.

The only specimen that dates to dynasty 18 appears also to represent a jackal or other dog-like animal. Perhaps it can be compared to the mark 𓃢 (II 015), also dated to dynasty 18, although the two do not occur in the same cluster of marks. Another possibility is to compare 𓃠 to 𓃥 (II 014b). On IFAO ONL 6416 𓃠 occurs in combination with 𓃀 (I 18.033), which is also the case for 𓃥 on OWV 13 and Stockholm MM 14130. However, 𓃥 is a variant of 𓃤 (II 014a), and although the specimens of 𓃤 also occur in combination with 𓃀, for instance on IFAO OL 6788 and ONL 6298, an interpretation of 𓃤 as jackal is uncertain. It may have been an early, 'incorrect' form, a similar case as we suggest for other 18th dynasty marks (e.g. I 04.046, I 16.004; cf. chapter 1). However, the suggested relation between 𓃤, 𓃥 and 𓃠 remains precarious.

The specimen in graffito 0919 may not have been a workmen's mark. We only know the jackal of *Jmn-nḫt* as standing upright, not as lying down. The context in which the specimen occurs also does not clearly relate to workmen's marks. The lying jackal is, however, comparable to the jackal encountered in the quarry of Qurna. In chapter 2 we suggested was perhaps an indication for a team due to its larger size and combination with 11 to 12 identity marks.

I 05.034

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Wn-nfr (iii) *Pn-Jmn* (v) *Wn-nfr* (v)	Desert hare Reminiscent of Gardiner E34 Hieratic forms Graphic variants: I 05.034a: I 05.034b: I 05.035c:	**Total**: 38 **19**: 2 a: 1 (O1) b: 1 (O1) **20**: 36 a: 14 (O13, G1) b: 16 (O16) c: 6 (O6)	**painted**: 37 (23b, 12r, 2?) **incised**: 1

The mark is encountered in three variants, two of which are combined with phonetic complements (*n* resp. double *n*). The variants clearly represent one and the same mark because the sequences in which they occur are very similar. For instance, the sequences on the ostraca IFAO ONL 6693 (on which occurs), Ashmolean HO 0626 (on which occurs), on Turin CG 57008 (on which occurs), and on Prague NM P 3836 (on which occurs) are similar in that they all show , , and in the same order. Prague NM P 3836, Turin CG 57008 and IFAO ONL 6693 furthermore all three show following this sequence. Different forms of the desert hare are thus embedded within the same sequence. Several other ostraca show part of the same sequence. Compare, for instance, the sequences on Cairo CG 25318 and IFAO ONL 6602 in the Database (both have), as well as the combination or with either one of the three forms of the hare on Cairo JE 96614), IFAO ONL 0533 ( ), 6435 ( ), and UC 31940 ( ).

There are other comparable sequences in which we find either one of the three forms of the hare. For instance, both the ostraca ARTP 99-027 and Cairo JE 72491 show the sequence , , , , , , . The form of hare is in both cases . On BTdK 550, however, we find a similar sequence that deviates only in the fact that it shows instead of , after which follows ; yet, it shows embedded in the sequence. Ostracon IFAO ONL 6273 shows only two marks from the same sequence, that is and . The specimen is broken off, and it could be argued that instead of the remains represent . That mark is, after all, found in the sequence *preceding* . However, the remains above the uppermost horizontal line of the mark are more comparable with the desert hare than with , and we therefore assume that here directly followed , and is thus not represented.

There are several more clusters in which , and are indifferently embedded, but we rely on the examples above to have made this point clear. Nevertheless, there are three ostraca on which we find two different forms of the hare: Cairo JE 46862 shows and , and BTdK 539 and UC 31939 both show and . We suggest, however, that the differences are not significant, because all specimens of the mark show clear hieratic forms. They are therefore *written*, rather than drawn, and whether or not the hare was accompanied by one or two lines to represent the phonetic complements *n* is hardly meaningful in the hieratic ligature.

A formal development from the variants to might perhaps be discerned, although the exact dating of the ostraca that show variants of the hare is not in all cases clear. Yet, those ostraca that have the variant seem generally to date slightly earlier than those that have the variant ; that is, before or in the reign of Ramesses III as against in or after the reign of Ramesses IV. Thus, three specimens of , at least, date in dynasty 19 or before year 24 of Ramesses III (Cairo JE 72462, IFAO ONL 6462 and 6554), while the ostraca with variants are all dated in or after the reign of Ramesses IV. Although it remains precarious to draw conclusions from this information, such a development would in fact coincide with the development generally discerned in the marking system: one that is characterized by a growing influence of hieroglyphic and hieratic script, seen in the addition of phonetic complements as well as in increasingly cursive and hieratic forms. As a consequence of the addition of *n* and double *n* in the mark under discussion, the forms become ligatures in pure hieratic style. Two specimens show a hieratic interchange with the hieratic ligature of and : on ARTP 99-027 and IFAO ONL 6399. On the basis of sequence we can, however, be certain that they should be interpreted as forms of . Moreover, although and in hieroglyphic form are each encountered as identity marks in dynasty 18, they are neither separately nor combined in hieratic ligature attested after that period.

I 06.012

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Wsr-ḥɜ.t (ii)	Head and neck of a jackal Reminiscent of Gardiner F12 Cursive hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 06.012a: I 06.012b:	**Total**: 82 **18**: 2 a: 2 (O2) **19**: 5 a: 5 (O5) **19-20**: 5 a: 3 (O1, G2) b: 2 (G2) **20**: 70 a: 63 (O60, G3) b: 7 (O5, G2)	**painted**: 72 (55b, 15r, 2?) **incised**: 9 **kohl**: 1

The two forms and are clearly graphic variants. This is first of all apparent from sequence. For instance, the sequence on IFAO OL 170 and on BM EA 05642 are the same, except that OL 170 shows and BM 05642 shows . Otherwise, they both continue with , , and . Also, of the 68 times that occurs on 20th dynasty ostraca, 22 times it is in close proximity to (II 041b). Of the five times occurs on 20th dynasty ostraca, two times it is in close proximity to . Other marks with which both and occur in close proximity are , and . A third reason to assume that and are variants is the following. The specimen of on ostracon Berlin P. 12625 can be identified as the mark of *Wsr-ḥɜ.t* (ii), who worked on the right side of the crew at the end of the reign of Ramesses III, when Berlin P .12625 is to be dated (IV *pr.t*, year 31). His position in the duty rosters also fits the position of on other ostraca from the end of the reign of Ramesses III and the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV. One of the ostraca dated to the reign of Ramesses IV is IFAO ONL 6670. It shows the marks of workmen that all belonged to the right side of the crew, and among them is . It is, then, likely to consider *Wsr-ḥɜ.t* (ii) to be represented here as well, this time identified by his mark *wsr* with a phonetic complement *s* to ensure the reading.

While we encounter only in the early periods of dynasties 18 and 19, it cannot be argued that the addition of the phonetic complement *s* is representative of a general development of into : the addition of *s* is already seen on ostracon IFAO ONL 1314, which is dated to the late 19th, but most probably early 20th dynasty, after which continues to dominate. The other four specimens of on ostraca do, however, date to the end of dynasty 20. It may be noted that all combinations of *wsr* + *s* show a correct orientation of towards conform script. In comparison, in a similar combination of with phonetic complement the two signs are incorrectly orientated toward each other in at least three cases (see I 06.031b below). The addition of the complement s suggests that was not considered a purely non-linguistic identity mark, but rather a written abbreviation for the name of *Wsr-ḥɜ.t*.

I 06.018

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Ḥwy?	Tusk of elephant Reminiscent of Gardiner F18 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 5 **19**: 5 (O5)	**painted**: 5 (3b, 2r)

The mark can be read as *ḥwy* and could therefore have belonged to one of the *Ḥwy*'s who are known from Deir el-Medina in dynasty 19, the period to which this mark is exclusive. The name *Ḥwy*, however, was very common and we do not know which individual in particular could have been identified through . The mark, in contrast, is infrequent.

Compared to the sequences seen on the ostraca Schaden 001 and 016, the mark on Schaden 044 occurs in the position of the mark , which belonged to *Ḥr-m-wjꜣ* in this period. This gives rise to the question whether is not simply a variant of , with the same basic form, only lacking the details. Indeed, the handwriting of Schaden 044 can be argued to differ from the handwriting on both Schaden 001 and 016; for instance, it also shows a simplification of the mark (I 17.014) with respect to its occurrence on Schaden 001 and 016, which could be taken as an argument for considering a simplification of as well. A counter-argument, however, is the fact that Schaden 001, in addition to the mark , also shows a specimen of elsewhere on its obverse; that is, underneath the vase in the lower left corner of the ostracon. This makes an identification of as , the mark of *Ḥr-m-wjꜣ*, uncertain.

I 06.023

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
ꜣny-nḫt (i)	Thigh and leg of an ox Reminiscent of Gardiner F23-24 Cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic forms	**Total**: 88 **19**: 8 (O6, P2) **19-20**: 6 (O2, P6) **20**: 74 (O69, G5)	**painted**: 77 (57b, 20r) **incised**: 10 **unknown**: 1

The mark in dynasty 20 is attested for *ꜣny-nḫt* (i), who first occurs in year 10 of Ramesses III and is regularly mentioned thereafter (Davies (1999), 74), in hieratic documents as well as on the marks' ostraca. The man *ꜣny-nḫt* probably promoted to deputy in the reign of Ramesses V, although Davies mentions that 'his exact tenure in this office is unclear' since he is only attested with the title 'deputy' twice (ibid.). In the marks' ostraca, however, his position as deputy is clear from the sequence and ordering of the marks. Consider, for instance, the ostraca Cairo JE 96328, IFAO ONL 338, 6469 and 6648: in all cases the mark occurs at the beginning of the list, preceded only by (I 11.002) and in some cases also by (I 24.003). These marks were the identity marks used by the foremen of the crew () and the scribes (). Following in hierarchical status was, indeed, the deputy. The first ostracon that shows near the beginning of the list of marks is IFAO ONL 6301. It has been dated to year 2 of Ramesses IV, or slightly before that time (personal communication with Daniel Soliman). Perhaps we may take this as an indication that *ꜣny-nḫt* (i) had already taken his position as deputy by this time.

As regards style, the specimens of in dynasty 19 are generally less cursive than several specimens in dynasty 20. All of them still show the thigh of the ox's leg, which in dynasty 20 is sometimes extremely reduced to a single line, for instance on Ashmolean HO 1247, IFAO ONL 0331 and Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943: respectively , , and, twice on Fitzwilliam, and . ONL 0331 and Fitzwilliam show the same handwriting, and it is possible that the Ashmolean ostracon was also of the same hand; a hand that was at least to some extent familiar with writing hieratic texts. To the same hand belongs also the ostracon IFAO ONL 0340, which for shows . In contrast, the specimens of dynasty 20 also show more figurative forms. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6250 is the best example: this ostracon in general shows a figural style and was made by a hand that was clearly not very familiar with writing, at least not in hieratic script. A similar case can be argued for Cairo JE 72496.

In general, the specimens show much variation in the length and orientation of the ox's leg. Compare, for instance, the specimen on IFAO ONL 6386 with that on IFAO ONL 0300 and on Prague NM P 3836. The same degree of variation is known from the sign in hieratic texts; cf. Möller 164.

	Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
I 06.030	*P3-šdw* (iv)? *P3-šdw* (xvi)?	water-skin Reminiscent of Gardiner Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 06.030a: I 06.030b:	**Total** 21 **19**: 11 (O6, P5) **19-20**: 5 (P5) **20**: 5 (O5)	**painted**: 11 (10b, 1r) **incised**: 6 **unknown**: 4

The identity of the workman who used the mark is not determined with certainty. A man with the name *P3-šdw* is understandable in view of the phonetic value *šd* of when used as a hieroglyphic sign. On ostracon IFAO ONL 1383 we find the mark, or rather the abbreviated writing, followed by . It may concern here the workmen *P3-šdw* (iv) and his father *Nb-nfr* (i). This remains mere speculation, because the mark has not been attested for a *Nb-nfr* elsewhere (but see and , I 27.002). Another option could be suggested on the basis of hieratic sources that provide us the sequence of a *P3-šdw*, *P3-ḥm-nṯr*, *Pn-Mn-nfr* and a *Pn-njw.t* in the duty rosters. This is, for instance, the case on ostraca BTdK 621 and IFAO 1323. The first ostracon is an account of the distribution of grain. Dorn has dated it to the reign of Ramesses IV and remarked that 'Pasched is nicht sicher zu identifizieren, dar zur Regierungszeit Ramses' IV. drei Personen namens Pasched gleichzeitig gelebt haben dürften: Pasched (iii), … Pasched (xvi), … und Pasched (xix)….' On the basis of comparison to the hieratic ostraca BTdK 622 and Cairo CG 25609 he opts for *P3-šdw* (xvi). (Dorn (2011), 396 (note 846)). Whether this *P3-šdw* would be the same as the man represented by means of on IFAO ONL 1383 remains, however, uncertain; if we would want to assume this identification, the present date of 1383 must be changed into dynasty 20, which would in fact fit the appearance of the hieratic group better than dynasty 19. Although it may be tempting, then, to see in the combination and a combination of *P3-šdw* (xvi) and *Pn-Mn-nfr* from the sequence, the latter is attested already with the mark (I 14.024).

	Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
	Ms (iv) *Nb-nfr* (xviii) *smd.t*-personnel	Three foxes' skins tied together Reminiscent of Gardiner F31 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 06.031a: I 06.031b:	**Total**: 202 **18**: 15 a: 15 (O13, P1, Do1) **19**: 19 a: 18 (O16, P2) b: 1 (G1) **19-20**: 16 a: 8 (O4, P2, G2) b: 8 (P3, G5) **20**: 141 a: 140 (O133, P1, G6) b: 1 (O1) **not dated**: 11 a: 11 (O2, P5, G4)	**painted**: 167 (118b, 48r, 1?) **incised**: 25 **charcoal**: 1 **unknown**: 8

I 06.031

The mark is particularly frequent in dynasty 20, when it occurs in the marks' ostraca with duty rosters and can be ascribed to *Ms* (iv). The form , with phonetic complement, occurs mainly in dynasties 19 and 20. That indeed it is a graphic variant appears from ostracon Munich 398, where occurs together with the marks , , , , and ; these are the same marks that frequently accompany in the 20th dynasty sequences. All marks were used by members of the right side of the crew, to which *Ms* (iv) can be ascribed as well. It is conspicuous that the specimen on ostracon Munich 398 is the only one that occurs on an ostracon. All other specimens occur on pottery or in graffiti.

That the mark may not have been used exclusively by *Ms* (iv) might be suggested on the basis of the find-context of the vase Bruyère Rap. 26 III 033 fig. 18L. This vase was found in tomb N 1069, which may have belonged to a man called *ỉny*. We know of an *ỉny* (ii) who had a son called Mose, which is Davies' Mose (viii), which could thus be the *Ms* represented by the mark. This remains speculative, but a more secured argument for the suggestion that was not exclusively the mark of *Ms* (iv) is the fact that it is encountered several times among the marks that indicated members of the *smd.t*-personnel who brought products. The *smd.t*-member *Ms* is often known to have brought wood, for instance on ostracon IFAO ONL 0329. On ostracon IFAO ONL 0340 we find the workman *Ms* (iv) on duty on day 20, and following his mark is another mark for the wood-bringer *Ms*. On that same ostracon we also find the wood-bringer *Ms* on days 19 and 29. The wood-bringer is furthermore encountered on ostracon IFAO ONL 0341 and on ostracon Turin CG 57393. The fact that he was recorded by means of means that this mark was considered an *abbreviation* rather than a true exclusive and personal *identity* mark.

Whether this was also the case for the mark in dynasty 18 is uncertain. We do not know who used the mark in that period, and therefore we do not know whether it was selected and used on the basis of its value in script, or rather on the basis of its frequent occurrence on tomb and temple walls, or still for some other reason. Most of the 18th dynasty forms, especially on ostracon Cairo JE 72492, are clearly recognizable, which could mean that the form of the hieroglyphic sign may at least have been known; but whether that also applied to the phonetic value is uncertain.

While the marks and in dynasty 20 can be understood as abbreviations rather than marks in the strict sense, a note must be made on the variant . The forms as encountered in the graffiti 1163, 1168, 1172B and 2637, as well as on the Munich ostracon, can all be considered 'correct linguistic abbreviations' in that the orientation and positioning of the signs and is correct, conform hieroglyphic script. Yet, on the sherd Bruyère Rap. 26 III 033 fig. 18L the orientation of in relation to is reversed. The same orientation of the two marks we see on potsherds Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.056 and Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.082. In the last case, however, the identification of a workman's identity mark is uncertain. The facsimile shows and underneath a curve that may be the moon, the combination spelling out the name of Ahmose. The form of the hieroglyphic on pottery, as well as in graffiti,

	is, probably due to the method of incision, in several cases characterized by only a small difference in length between the vertical lines. Thus, in graffito 1872 the left vertical of is almost of the same length as the right vertical. The fact that it is a just a little shorter leads again to an incorrect orientation of with respect to . Thus, although in dynasty 20 the marks and are clearly of a scribal nature, they can still behave as non-textual marks in that they do not comply to the correct orientation of the two signs as they should be combined in writing. This may be due to the degree of literacy of the person who incised the specimens of on Bruyère Rap. 26 III 033 fig. 18L, Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.056, Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.082 and in graffito 1872. It could be argued that such mistakes of orientation are not uncommon; however, the fact that the signs and were here used in the context of a non-textual marking system may have been the cause for linguistic rules of orientation not to matter. A final remark may be said about the specimen of that occurs on ostracon Cairo CG 25651. This specimen may in fact not refer to *Ms*. It is accompanied in the upper left corner by a form that resembles a hieratic abbreviation of the hieroglyph . When we compare the sequence of marks on this ostracon with a hieratic list of names on ostracon IFAO ONL 1323, we see that the mark in fact coincides with the name *Nb-nfr*, who is mentioned in filliation ‘son of Mose’. This must concern the workman *Nb-nfr* (xviii), who is known as a son of Mose (Davies, *Who’s who at Deir el-Medina*, 236).

I 06.035

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Tɜ-šrj (i) for 𓏏𓏏𓏏?	Heart and windpipe Reminiscent of Gardiner F35 Cursive hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 06.035a: 𓏏 I 06.035b: 𓏏𓏏 I 06.035c: 𓏏𓏏𓏏 I 06.035d: 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏	**Total**: 91 **18**: 18 a: 18 (O13, P4, G1) **19**: 12 a: 12 (O10, P2) **19-20**: 13 a: 9 (O1, P1, G7) b: 1 (O1) c: 3 (O1, P2) **20**: 33 a: 20 (O11, G8, T1) b: 2 (O2) c: 10 (O9, G1) d: 1 (O1) **not dated**: 15 a: 15 (P3, G12)	**Painted**: 49 (40b, 8r, 1?) **Incised**: 42

The mark 𓏏 occurs from dynasty 18 into dynasty 20; the multiple variants only occur from dynasty 19 onwards. There are some uncertainties as to whether indeed all forms are graphic variants in that they were used by the same person or family – we do not know the identity of the workmen to which at least 𓏏, 𓏏𓏏 and 𓏏𓏏𓏏 can be related. The form 𓏏𓏏𓏏, which is interpreted as 𓏏𓏏𓏏, on the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 34-35 III, 363.3, is interpreted to have belonged to *Tɜ-šrj* (i) (cf. Database Symbolizing Identity; personal communication with Daniel Soliman). The form 𓏏𓏏𓏏 on Ashmolean HO 1098 occurs in exactly the same sequence as 𓏏𓏏 on IFAO OL 170; therefore, in this case at least, 𓏏𓏏 and 𓏏𓏏𓏏 can be said to be variants. Yet, whether *Tɜ-šrj* (i) was also the man referred to on IFAO OL 170 is unknown.

The mark 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 occurs only once, in dynasty 20 on ostracon Turin CG 57141. It is uncertain whether 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 is indeed a workman's identity mark: it accompanies a piece of furniture and may therefore rather be a quality marker (Weiss & Killen (2009)). The same could be said of 𓏏𓏏𓏏, which may be interpreted as *nfr.w*, or *nfr nfr nfr*, 'sehr gut' (WB II, 253.18). Yet, its occurrence on Ashmolean HO 1098 as variant of 𓏏𓏏 makes it an identity mark at least in some cases; perhaps chosen for its notion of 'sehr gut'.

The forms of the marks are in most cases hieroglyphic. In the cases of on ostracon Schaden 061, dated to dynasty 19, and on ostracon IFAO ONL 6455, dated to dynasty 19-20, we see a cursive hieroglyphic form. Many specimens of 𓏏𓏏𓏏 display very tiny circles, or rather nothing more than a minimal indication for the circles, at the lower ends of the vertical lines, for instance on IFAO ONL 0341. The specimen on Bruyère Rap. 34-35 III, 363.3 mentioned above is only known to us in the representation of Bruyère's and. He interpreted the mark as if it was the hieroglyph 𓏏. That sign, however, we do not encounter as a mark. The one specimen of 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 only has an indication for the circle in 𓏏 in the first mark; the latter three that follow are merely vertical lines, suggesting the orientation of the mark was from right to left.

It is conspicuous that at least 𓏏 and 𓏏𓏏 retain hieroglyphic forms in dynasty 20 (with the exception of the two mentioned cursive specimens). Perhaps this is related to the fact that the mark has a history of use in hieroglyphic form in dynasty 18, or even earlier, since the Old Kingdom when we encounter it as a workmen's team mark in hieroglyphic form.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 06.055</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Forepart of the Seth-animal
Reminiscent of Gardiner F55
Hieratic form</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs on ostracon IFAO ONL 1371, which stands out among the marks' ostraca in that it is fully hieratic and embeds approximately 30 identity marks in hieratic style in the text. The ostracon is dated to the reign of Ramesses IV on account of the occurrence of Jt=f-nfr (i), son of Ḥr (ii) (see mark I 21.017).The text mentions ḳḳ- and t-ḥḏ bread after every identity mark. Most of the 30 identity marks on this ostracon can be ascribed to workmen from the right side of the crew. We do not know, however, who used the mark ; it is not otherwise attested.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 07.001</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Egyptian vulture
Reminiscent of Gardiner G1
Cursive hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 3
19: 3 (O2, G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (2b)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">While birds are generally frequent among the identity marks, with the duck or goose and the owl dominating in dynasty 18 and the falcon in dynasty 20, birds in dynasty 19 are very rare, and their identification uncertain. The specimen on ostracon Schaden 061 is, however, a very neat example on which the existence of the entire class is based. It also includes the marks (I 06.035a) and (I 20.015) in a style that is cursive hieroglyphic. The specimen in graffito 3009 is interesting in that it occurs in combination with the written name ꜣny and with the mark (I 04.028). Perhaps this is to be interpreted as ꜣny (ii) with his father kꜣsꜣ (i). However, the facsimile also seems to show the group pḏ.t, written with the bow and the sign for t underneath. It is not certain whether the group is to be understood as an identity mark, although the bow alone (I 19.010) as well as the group ḥr.y-pḏ.t (I 27.017) are attested as identity marks in dynasty 19, possibly used by a man named Pꜣ-ḥr.y-pḏ.t. Davies records Pꜣ-ḥr.y-pḏ.t (i), (ii) and (iii), who all lived in dynasty 19. If we consider the combination ꜣny and Pꜣ-ḥr.y-pḏ.t, we are reminded of ostracon OIM 25365, dated to dynasty 19, on which we see both the mark of a bird and the mark of the bow, although not in close proximity. The bird on the OIM ostracon is, however, clearly not an Egyptian vulture; it rather resembles Gardiner G28 (gm) or perhaps G35 (ḳ). Since we have no clear examples of gm or ḳ birds, the specimen on the OIM ostracon is classified as I 07.005. If indeed this bird and pḏ.t refer to ꜣny and Pꜣ-ḥr.y-pḏ.t, the phonetic similarity between ꜣ and the name ꜣny is lost.</td></tr>
</table>

I 07.005

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Ḥr (ii)	Falcon Reminiscent of Gardiner G5 Cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic forms	**Total**: 139 **18**: 1 (O1) **19**: 3 (O2, P1) **19-20**: 23 (O5, P1, G17) **20**: 108 (O100, P1, G7) **not dated**: 3 (O1, G2)	**painted**: 108 (82b, 24r, 2?) **incised**: 29 **unknown**: 2

The position of in the marks' ostraca with duty rosters compares well with the position of ***Ḥr*** (ii) in the rosters in dynasty 20; he was the user of the mark, which identified him on the basis of phonetic sound. The falcon is only identified with certainty in dynasty 20.

In dynasty 20 we see mainly cursive forms in which the head of the bird is reduced to a single line. This line runs through to become the tail: e.g. Ashmolean HO 1094, IFAO ONL 0316, 0317, and the first specimen on 0333. The body is formed by another line that starts of below the head and runs through, in some cases forming a second line of the tail as in Berlin P 10842 and the first specimen on DeM 00034 Heidelberg inv.no. 567. In a few cases it is only the line that forms the body which runs through to become the tail, as on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1088 and Leipzig 1821. There is a difference between cursive forms such as , a form which is dominant in the class and still rather clearly recognizable as a bird, with as variations mainly those in the rendering of the tail; and hieratic forms more conform the examples in Möller 184, such as IFAO ONL 6246, 6273, and 6561. In addition there are two forms that are rather hieroglyphic or pictorial in style, although they differ in style among each other, and were thus not by the same hand: on ostracon Cairo CG 25317 and on ostracon IFAO ONL 6255. All forms of are on duty roster ostraca, which may all be of the same hand; the hieratic and hieroglyphic forms do not occur on duty roster ostraca, but rather in lines or columns without dates or other information. We can argue that was the form of the mark used by the scribe who drew up the marks' ostraca with duty rosters in dynasty 20.

In some cases the specimens of resemble I 19.032, for instance on ostracon IFAO ONL 6275. An argument for the option of would be the fact that the specimen occurs in proximity to I 13.027 and in that respect is comparable to the sequence on ostracon Cairo CG 25317, where I 13.027 immediately follows I 19.032. However, on that same Cairo ostracon I 07.005 also occurs, 5 positions before I 13.027. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6275 is more likely to be I 07.005 based on the remains of paint: the end of the tail goes slightly down as can also be seen in specimens on e.g. ostraca Ashmolean HO 1088, Ashmolean HO 1247, Berlin 10842, Berlin 12625, IFAO ONL 0316, 0317, 0333 and many others; moreover, a dot of black paint to the upper right seems to be detached from the body, but may well represent the remains of the head of a falcon of hieratic form.

I 07.017

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Owl Reminiscent of Gardiner G17 Cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total** 16 **18**: 16 (O15, P1)	**painted**: 15 (8b, 7r) **incised**: 1

The mark belongs to the 18th dynasty corpus. The bird is clearly characterized as an owl by means of its square-form head and the ear plumes which at least five of the specimens show. Of those specimens with ear plumes, four were of the same hand: those on ostraca IFAO C 7635, OL 6788, OWV 03 and OWV 10. These ostraca in general show the same style and handwriting in all of the marks they include. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6544 is broken off at the top, but its bottom shows that it was also very carefully executed. It differs from the other specimens in that it shows detail of the feathers in the tail; it gives the impression of having been a beautifully drawn owl.

The only specimen found on pottery lacks its head. It is seen on Bruyère Rap. 48-51, pl. XXII.12. Yet, it can be assumed that the bird must have been the owl. The sherd derives from a large amphora from Deir el-Medina, east of the temple, from the area of the 18th dynasty houses; it is therefore dated to that period. Among the birds that occur as identity marks in dynasty 18 we only find the duck or goose (G1 I 07.038) and G5 ; the form on Bruyère Rap. 48-51, pl. XXII.12 clearly coincides with the latter.

The owl disappears from the corpus of identity marks after dynasty 18.

I 07.026

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Ibis Reminiscent of Gardiner G26* Cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 6 **19**: 3 (O2, P1) **19-20**: 2 (O1, G1) **20**: 1 (G1)	**painted**: 3 (2b, 1r) **incised**: 3

This mark is interpreted as the ibis because it shows a relatively long and curved neck and body, and therewith formally differs from the duck or goose. Also, the duck or goose occurs principally in dynasty 18 and is not securely attested thereafter. The ibis, in contrast, we encounter mainly in dynasty 19 and once in dynasty 20.

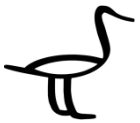
Nevertheless, several specimens of G26 are uncertain. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6249 is the best example of an ibis, yet it is uncertain whether it is a workman's identity mark. The other markings on the ostracon are rarely or not attested as identity marks, with the exception of U (I 04.028). The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6587 is also a clear example of an ibis, but again its status as workman's identity mark is uncertain. In this case we do encounter well-attested identity marks, but combined with other figures and perhaps commodities. If indeed G26 on this ostracon is an identity mark, it occurs in combination with V (I 23.008b), A (I 18.045) and Y (I 27.008). The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6598 is also found in unclear context of marks, although we may discern at least N (I 15.001) and T (I 18.040a).

As for the specimens in the graffiti, the bird in Th.G. 2303 from dynasty 20 might also be the falcon (G5 I 07.005), although it lacks the characteristic tail which most falcons have. The specimen in graffito 3956 was initially interpreted as the duck or goose, and on the basis of that interpretation we dated the graffito to dynasty 18. However, graffiti from dynasty 18 are generally rare, and a date in dynasties 19-20 would in fact coincide better with the mark occurring next to the bird in the graffito, which is F (I 17.014). An interpretation as G26 is preferred over the falcon because of the long and relatively thick body of the bird, the lack of the characteristic falcon's tail, and the long and curved neck.

The potsherd Nagel Céramique 049, fig. 31 nr. 311 which also shows a bird that can be grouped under G26 was found in TT 359 of *ỉn(i)-ḥr-ḫʿw* (ii).

If the interpretation of the ibis is correct, than we might suggest an identification on the basis of date and phonetic value : Davies records the man Thuthirmaktef (i) in dynasty 19, who was 'an ordinary workman' before the reign of Ramesses II (Davies (1999), 46, 86, 89).

A final note: on ostracon IFAO ONL 0338 we see another ibis which is, however, not a workman's mark. It occurs with the first day of the month and indicates the month I *ꜣḫ.t* of *Ḏḥwty*. Month names indicated by abbreviated signs occasionally occur, always with the first day of a new month.



I 07.038

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Goose Reminiscent of Gardiner G38 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 46 **18**: 38 (O31, P6, Ns1) **19**: 2 (O2) **19-20**: 1 (O1) **20**: 4 (O4) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 39 (19b, 20r) **incised**: 2 **incised & painted**: 1 (b) **charcoal**: 1 **unknown**: 3

The goose is encountered frequently in dynasty 18, but not thereafter. Orly Goldwasser argued that the goose was the prototype bird in script as it was used as the classifier for various kinds of birds (Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, 19-20). Perhaps that played a role in the selection and use of this mark, which could therefore be related to the linguistic concept of 'goose' or 'bird', or to the phonetic value *sꜣ*, which could, as a phonetic metaphor, also express the concept 'son'. This does not have to imply that the workman or workmen who used this mark was, or were, (fully) literate; the picture of the duck may also have been known from tomb walls where it occurs quite often in the expression *sꜣ=f*, a phrase that may have been known.

The goose occurs in many variant forms. Its body and head are differently formed and sized, and the tail occurs in many variants as well, sometimes consisting of two lines, sometimes of one, sometimes of a triangular form as in on ostracon Stockholm MM 14130 or on ostracon Cairo JE 96650. Sometimes the tail has not been separately given form, as in on ostracon OWV 10. The orientation of the birds differs as well: roughly half of the specimens look to the left, whereas the other specimens look to the right. The lack of a standard may be related to the lack of written material in 18th dynasty Deir el-Medina and consequently presumably a lack of knowledge of script, which may indicate that the mark was not modeled on the hieroglyph in form and value. This is argued in Part I, chapter 1 and in Part II, chapter 2.

Several ostraca from later periods contain bird-forms that are not well-defined and might represent gooses. These are ostraca IFAO ONL 6279 and 6542 in dynasty 19; MMA 09.184.699 in dynasty 19 or 20; and BTdK 548, IFAO ONL 0338, IFAO ONL 1371 and IFAO ONL 6684 in dynasty 20. The dates of the ostraca IFAO ONL 6542 and MMA 09.184.699 are uncertain, but on the basis of other marks at least do not seem to date to dynasty 18. The specimens do not seem to represent the birds that we see in later times, mainly the ibis, falcon and the duckling. If they do represent specimens of the goose, the goose is at least not encountered any longer to the extent in which we see it in dynasty 18.

I 07.047

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Duckling Reminiscent of Gardiner G47 Cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic forms Graphic variants I 07.047a: I 07.047b:	**Total**: 10 **19**: 4 (O2, P2) **19-20**: 2 (P2) **20**: 4 (O4)	**painted**: 5 (5b) **incised**: 3 **unknown**: 2

The duckling occurs first in dynasty 19, on ostraca once faded but seemingly in hieroglyphic form (O.Schaden 105) and once in cursive form (O.Schaden 153). In dynasty 20 it only occurs in hieratic form, once even in group-writing with a phonetic complement *t* and a vertical stroke. Especially the group-writing suggests a reading *ṯꜣty*, which may indicate a relation of some sort between the workmen who used the mark and the vizier.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 07.063</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Egyptian vulture with flagellum.
Reminiscent of Gardiner G63
Pictorial hieroglyphic and hieratic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 2
20: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (2b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workman’s identity mark. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6763 may simply be a drawing of the bird in hieratic style. It is larger in size than the two markings that can be seen underneath it: first, a figural mark that seems to represent the forepart of a crocodile, which is not attested as a workman’s identity mark; and second, a mark that may be 𓅱 (I 24.001a), of which it is uncertain whether it is used as an identity mark in this context. The more figural specimen of 𓅓 on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1082 is connected to sw 1. It may therefore be a month’s name; month’s names are very occasionally mentioned in the marks’ ostraca, usually in connected to day 1. The month in question may have been one in which a festival for Mw.t took place, for instance on I pr.t, tȝ-ʿb.t, during which the ḫnw Mw.t, ‘Sailing of Mut’ took place (Jauhiainen, ‘Do not celebrate your feast without your neighbours’, 119-125).</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 08.006</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Feather of a bird
Reminiscent of Gardiner H6
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total 2
19-20: 2 (O1, G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workman’s mark. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6249 occurs among signs that are attested rarely as workmen’s marks. The only mark on that ostracon that we know well is I 04.028. The specimen in Th.G. 2102 is perhaps part of an hieroglyphic inscription, rather than a workmen’s mark.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 08.007</td><td>Identity:
unknown</td><td>Description of form:
Paw of a bird
Reminiscent of Gardiner H7
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number:
Total 35
18: 33 (O27, P6)
19: 1 (O1)
19-20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method:
painted: 29 (15b, 14r)
incised: 1
unknown: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs predominantly in dynasty 18, and twice on ostraca dated to later periods. Both cases are, however, not certain. On the 19th dynasty ostracon IFAO ONL 6587 it lacks the vertical line of the bird’s leg. The form therewith resembles 𓅰 (I 18.045), which is a possibility for alternative interpretation since 𓅰 occurs relatively often in dynasty 19. It is not, however, encountered in combination with any of the surrounding marks on ONL 6587 (i.e. 𓄤 (I 27.008) and 𓅭 (I 07.026)). The mark 𓅰 furthermore occurs on an ostracon dated to dynasties 19-20. IFAO ONL 6464 shows a column of marks, the first mark being 𓆑 (I 11.002), followed by 𓉔 (II 029a). The mark 𓅰 is positioned above the column, and 180º turned. It does not appear to be part of the column, especially not since 𓆑 as the mark of the foremen usually beings the line or column.</td></tr>
</table>

I 08.016

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Mnnɜ (i)	Falcon's eye Reminiscent of Gardiner H16 Pictorial hieroglyphic and hieratic forms	**Total**: 64 **19**: 1 (O1) **20**: 62 (O59, P2, G1) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 61 (39b, 22r) **incised**: 2 **unknown**: 1

The mark represents the eye of a falcon. It occurs in Deir el-Medina from dynasty 19 on, as a workman's mark as well as in linguistic texts with the linguistic value *mɜɜ* (Haring, Review of J.Moje, *BiQr* 67.1-2 (2010), 27-28). We have suggested it to refer to the draughtsman *Mnnɜ* on the basis of an animalistic metonymic metaphor, which projects the quality of the falcon's sharp sight onto *Mnnɜ*. This quality of sharp sight may also have been signified by the mark as a script sign with the value *mɜɜ*, 'to see'.

As regards the specimens, they show a variety of forms but are generally in the same orientation which runs from left to right conform hieratic script. Several specimens show a hieratic style. Interesting is especially the specimen on IFAO ONL 0341. On the ostracon it occurs with *sw* 21. The mark and the number are positioned in a manner that evokes a hieratic writing of . Specimens in a style very similar to ostracon IFAO ONL 0341 are ostraca Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943, IFAO ONL 0298, 0330, 0333, 0337, 6299, 6554, Strasbourg H 045 and Strasbourg H 059. These ostraca are very similar in general and it is possible that they were all made by the same hand. A different hand is seen in specimens that are more hieroglyphic, or pictorial, in nature. They are seen Cairo CG 25317 and Brooklyn 16118-Ashmolean HO 1131.

One specimen that was tentatively identified as I 08.016 is, upon closer examination, perhaps rather not to be understood as such. It concerns the specimen on the undated ostracon IFAO C 1404. There we see three forms that could be interpreted as marks that only occur in dynasty 18: two specimens of (I 14.004) and one that is suggested to be a form of (I 16.004b). These specimens would thus date the ostracon IFAO C 1404 to dynasty 18. If so, an occurrence of (I 08.016) is unlikely as the mark does not occur until dynasty 19. The specimen is of an unusual form that does not compare well with other specimens of . We do not know whether in fact it was a workman's mark as also the other forms and markings on the ostracon are of an unclear nature.

I 09.001

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Lizard Reminiscent of Gardiner I1 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 11 **18**: 10 (O8, P2) **19-20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 9 (4b, 5r) **incised**: 1 **unknown**: 1

On most ostraca this 18th dynasty mark occurs in a cluster with other workmen's marks. Yet, on O.IFAO ONL 6298 it is the only mark that occurs in much larger size on the bottom of a bowl, which was put upside down to inscribe it with marks. Does this mean that the owner of was of higher status than the workmen whose marks were inscribed on the side? Perhaps he was a foreman in the early occupation of Deir el-Medina, or he was the owner of a tomb and this bowl was donated to him by his colleagues. The bowl was found in the Western Cemetery, in the area of the tomb of Kha, the tomb of Amenwahsu and the tomb of Nu and Nakhtmin. Yet, in the case that the bowl was donated, the fact that it shows dots and strokes which accompany the marks, perhaps checkmarks or tally marks, is strange.

There is one specimen of that is dated to dynasties 19-20. It is uncertain whether this is in fact the same workman's mark. It occurs on one of the furniture ostraca: Turin CG 57140. This ostracon does show how the workman's mark ,but it occurs with the same piece of furniture as . The latter is shown underneath the box or chest, while is placed to its right. It may be the case that is in fact the workman's mark here, possibly identifying the man who produced the box, and was depicted, perhaps as a joke, referring to an actual animal underneath the box, something that may not have been uncommon in an Egyptian desert village.

The lizard is in most cases depicted in hieroglyphic or pictorial form. It is, however, consequently orientated in dynasty 18, while in hieroglyphic script it was usually orientated . Details in the drawing of the paws, head and tail may differ. The specimens on O.IFAO OL 6799 and O.OWV 01 were clearly by the same hand, but they differ from the specimen on O.IFAO ONL 6298, which is thinner, more linear and has longer paws, the front and hind-paws being drawn in the same orientation and direction. The specimen on O.IFAO ONL 6372 differs in that it has a linear triangular formed head and its tail is straight

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">instead of curved. The specimen on O.IFAO ONL 6415 differs in orientation, its long tail that is somewhat thicker toward the end, and its small head in comparison to the body and paws. The degree of graphic variations and the difference in orientation as compared to as a hieroglyphic sign may indicate that as an identity mark was not inspired by hieroglyphic script, but rather by the notion of the animal, the lizard, itself.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 09.009</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Horned viper
Reminiscent of Gardiner I9
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total 26
18: 26 (O25, P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 25 (8b, 17r)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">This is a typical 18th dynasty mark. The specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1100 may appear uncertain at first. It does not resemble the other specimens in that its body is a rather thick and straight line (otherwise only seen on IFAO ONL 6298) and the horns, part of its characteristic appearance, are not clearly distinguished, even if one takes into account the faded traces of paint. The form rather resembles mark (I 06.018); yet, that mark is only encountered from dynasty 19 onwards. The horned viper is clearly the mark that is meant on Ashmolean HO 1100, as this also fits the cluster in which it occurs on other ostraca. The specimens of I 09.009 show variety in form to the extent that this is possible in a simple form as ; they show different forms and curves of the body and different lengths, orientations and placements of the horns. Yet, some are clearly similar in style and may have been of the same hand: IFAO OL 6788, OWV 03, OWV 10, and Varille 423. These specimens show the same neat 18th dynasty hand as was identified in Part I, chapter 1.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 09.012</td><td>Identity
Pn-Rnnw.t (i)</td><td>Description of form
Cobra
Reminiscent of Gardiner I12
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Graphic variant:
I 13.007: </td><td>Number
Total: 44
19: 1 (O1)
20: 43 (O38, G5)</td><td>Method
painted: 39 (29b, 8r, 2?)
incised: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs predominantly in dynasty 20. It was linked to the workman Pn-Rnnw.t via the phonetic sound of the name of the goddess whose manifestation was the cobra: Renenutet. Among the specimens we see a large array of forms, which is normally something that is seen in dynasty 18. There are no specimens that show a true hieroglyphic or a true hieratic form. The specimen on ostracon BM EA 41649 may be compared to nr. 247 in Möller II but, whereas Möller nr. 247 represents the snake instead of the cobra, we are obviously dealing with the cobra in connection to Pn-Rnnw.t (i). Some of the specimens do show a rather detailed pictorial representation, especially on ARTP 99-027, an ostracon that in general shows many elaborate pictorial marks, but compare also the specimens on BM EA 05642, Brooklyn 16118-Ashmolean HO 1131, Cairo CG 25318, Cairo JE 72491, DM 10121, IFAO ONL 6273, 6480 and 6596, as well as Theban Graffiti 0489 and 1758: they all represent the chest of the cobra. The other specimens show the cobra in windings of various kinds: from the head down, upwards again, and down to the tail. The specimens on Ashmolean HO 1098 and IFAO ONL 6438 show exceptional, rather linear, forms otherwise not seen.</td></tr>
</table>

	Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
I 10.001	unknown	Fish Reminiscent of Gardiner K1 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 11 **18**: 2 (O1, P1) **19**: 2 (O2) **20**: 6 (O5, P1) **not dated**: 1 (P1)	**painted**: 8 (5b, 3r) **incised**: 2 **unknown**: 1

The mark is infrequent, yet attested in all periods. It is, however, not in all cases secured as workman's identity mark. Some, such as on Cairo JE 96650, on BTdK 551 or on UC 31940 clearly occur as a mark in a context of workmen's identity marks. Others such as on IFAO ONL 6545, may rather depict fish as a commodity of which we know that it was brought to the village as provision for the workmen.

The mark is hieroglyphic, or pictorial, in form in all dynasties. It shows a large degree of graphic variety, especially in the representation of the fins and inner details separating the head and/or tail from the body of the fish. For example, in dynasty 18 shows an upper fin that is curved in form and two lower fins that are relatively long and lean 'backwards', that is, to the left. A slightly curved line separates the head of the fish from its body. On IFAO ONL 6651, appears to show three lower fins. Details of a possible upper fin are unclear, but the head is again separated from the body. The specimen on BTdK 551 is clearly the same fish as presented on JE 96650, with separated body and two lower fins, but the upper fin is now drawn in a straight line. The specimen on Turin CG 57427 differs in that it shows details of the upper fin and in that both head and tail are not separated from the body. Both the specimens on Cairo JE 96650 and BTdK 551 resemble the hieroglyphic form of the fish , but the variation in the other specimens may indicate that the hreoglyhpic fish was not the inspirational source for the mark; that was rather the fish as the animal itself, the notion of fish. This idea is supported by the possibility that IFAO ONL 6545 in fact represents the fish as such, as a pictorial commodity instead of a linguistic sign for the word 'fish'.

	Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
I 11.001	unknown	Dung-beetle Reminiscent of Gardiner L1 Pictorial hieroglyphic and hieratic forms	**Total**: 21 **18**: 2 (O2) **19-20**: 1 (G1) **20**: 3 (O1, P2) **not dated**: 15 (O3, P5, G7i)	**painted**: 6 (4b, 2r) **incised**: 9 **charcoal**: 1 **unknown**: 5

Most specimens of the dun-beetle occur on pottery and in graffiti that are not dated with certainty. Three specimens on ostraca are also not dated. Two of them appear on IFAO ONL 6224. They are the only two specimens that are hieratic of form, yet it is not certain whether they are indeed workmen's identity marks: the meaning and interpretation of this ostraca and the other markings and figures it contains escape us.

The specimens on the 18th dynasty ostraca Cairo JE 96606 and Cairo JE 96630, as well as the one specimen on the 20th dynasty ostracon Cairo CG 25317 are, however, clearly identity marks. The style in which they were drawn differs in all three cases with regard to the number of paws and the inner details, as well as the representation of the antennas on their heads. When compared to the specimens on pottery and in graffiti it seems primarily to have been the custom to present four legs, the armor by means of a vertical line over the body and a curved line near the head, and the antennas. In some cases more legs are represented, as in Theban Graffito 2683. In the case of the specimen on the sherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVII.009 the right front leg even appears to have scissors. While the specimens on pottery and graffiti are thus relatively uniform, the specimens on ostraca show a larger degree of graphic variety. There are, however, too few specimens to draw conclusions from this.

	Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
I 11.002	*Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* (vi)	Bee Reminiscent of Gardiner K2 Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic, and hieratic forms	**Total**: 43 **19**: 2 (O2) **19-20**: 16 (O2, P12, G1, T1) **20**: 25 (O25)	**painted**: 28 (21b, 7r) **incised**: 4 **unknown**: 11

The mark occurs from dynasty 19 onwards but is characteristic for dynasty 20, when it was used by the foremen of the crew. It is often encountered in the first position in the top right of columns or as the initial mark in a line, followed by the marks for the scribe and deputy. It therewith indicates the prominent position of the foreman. The mark has been attested at least for *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* (vi). He clearly switched to this mark at the moment when he was promoted foreman. Previously, he had been using the mark which was now passed on to the workman ***Pɜ-md.w-nḫt*** (i). In Part II, chapter 2 we argue that the mark conveyed meaning as a symbolic index, via bj.tj referring to 'king' and via 'king' to 'foreman', subsequently to *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* on the basis of a metonymic position-for-person relation.

As regards the forms of the specimens, those from dynasty 19 are either pictorial or cursive in style. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6464, and to an even larger extent on IFAO ONL 6469, are very cursive and linear in style, not conform the regular hieroglyphic and hieratic forms. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6280, also dated to dynasty 19, is in contrast the only pictorial sample we have. In dynasty 20 the specimens show a little bit more uniformity, although there are differences especially in the representation of the body and legs. The specimens on Cairo JE 96328, IFAO ONL 0338, IFAO ONL 0371 and IFAO ONL 6219 (, , ,) are all similar in that one line runs from the body through to represent the legs. Such specimens are not recorded by Gardiner, where we see a clear representation of four legs by means of separate strokes. Conspicuously, such forms do not occur among the specimens of the identity mark. Also in the length of the wings, which are much shorter in the specimens of the mark, do we detect a difference between mark and hieratic forms. In general, however, the marks, as also the ostraca on which they occur, show a hieratic, or at least a cursive ductus. Influence of hieratic script is also seen in their orientation: they are all orientated from left to right.

I 11.019

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Jmn-ms	Scorpion with legs (and scissors), or with scissors only Reminiscent of Gardiner K19 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 11.019a: I 11.019b:	**Total**: 19 **19**: 2 b: 2 (P2) **20**: 17 a: 11 (O10, G1) b: 6 (O2, P4)	**painted**: 11 (8b, 2r, 1?) **incised**: 4 **unknown**: 4

The mark occurs mainly in dynasty 20, but is relatively rare. Two subclasses can be differentiated: scorpions with legs (and scissors), and scorpions with scissors only. In fact, the latter is a separate class in Gardiner's list (L11 versus L19), but the two forms are probably allomorphs in the marking system. We can argue this among others on the basis of the following data:

- on ostracon Area K Unnumbered we find preceding (I 19.010). On Bruyère Rap. 28 II 113 fig. 63 nr. 052 we find and together;
- the mark is attested for *Jmn-ms*, the scorpion controller. Davies has identified this man as *Jmn-ms* (i) (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 233). However, if in fact he is *Jmn-ms* (xi), son of *S3-W3ḏ.t* (ii) (ibid., 263-264, chart 26), then this explains perhaps the combination of and on the potsherd Nagel Céramique 049 fig. 31 nr. 315: the mark is indeed attested for *S3-W3ḏ.t* (ii), and the combination may thus refer to father and son;
- The mark is mainly found on potsherds, with the exception of two ostraca (Cairo CG 25371 and Cairo CG 25660 & JE 37649). Certainly, it was easier to incise a simpler form such as in a pot rather than the more elaborate form with additional legs and details. Perhaps the difference between and , both being the same identity mark, can be explained in part by method of production?

The subclass I 11.019a displays further graphic variety in that 4 specimens are positioned in vertical orientation (ostraca BM EA 05642, IFAO ONL 6240, IFAO ONL 6246, IFAO ONL 6250), while the other 7 are positioned in horizontal orientation. The number of legs differs, for instance: ostraca ARTP 99-027 and IFAO OL 170 clearly have 4 legs on each side of the body; ostraca IFAO ONL 6507 and Turin CG 57140 both seem to have 2 on each side of the body; ostracon BM EA 05642 also seems to have 2 on each side of the body, although the upper two may also be scissors, as is the case with ostracon BM EA 50731, and possibly with ostracon IFAO ONL 6250. As suggested in Part I chapter 1, the degree of graphic variation may point to the nature and origin of the mark being pictorial, rather than deriving from a standardized model from script. Further arguments for a pictorial nature and origin of this mark are the fact that it occurs in dynasty 20 only but is never presented in hieratic form, and the fact that it referred pictorially to the function of *Jmn-ms*, who was a scorpion-controller, rather than phonetically to (part of) his name. The degree of graphic variety may indicate a concrete rather than hieroglyphic origin of the mark, an idea that was already suggested by Haring ('On the Nature of the Workmen's Marks' in Andrássy et al. (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems*, 131). The fact that the mark was used by a scorpion-controller may explain its infrequent occurrence: scorpion-controllers were not normally part of the listings of workmen we find on the ostraca.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 12.004</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Palm-branch stripped of leaves and notched to serve as tally
Reminiscent of Gardiner M4
Pictorial hieroglyphic and hieratic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 20
19: 8 (O7, P1)
19-20: 4 (P4)
20: 8 (O8)</td><td>Method
painted: 15 (9b, 6r)
incised: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">We encounter this mark evenly spread over dynasties 19 and 20. It is perhaps a variant of the mark I 27.008, which is encountered seven times on ostraca in dynasty 19, as well as once on pottery, and four times in graffiti dated to dynasty 20.The mark was possibly used by Nfr-rnp.t (ii); perhaps identifies him as well. Similar cases are seen with the group-writings , and , and the single writing for Wn-nfr (iii), as well as with the group-writing and the single mark for Rš-ptr=f (i).
The specimens on ostracon Cairo JE 46862 and Cilli 156 are hieratic of form. Probably the specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 005 is hieratic as well, although this is not entirely clear as the specimen is produced in red paint, now faded, over hieratic text in black paint. All three specimens date to dynasty 20; in dynasty 19 we rather see hieroglyphic forms.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 12.009</td><td>Identity
Ḥ^ꜥ-m-Nwn (iii)</td><td>Description of form
Lotus flower
Reminiscent of Gardiner M9
Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic, and hieratic forms
Graphic variants:
I 12.009a:
I 12.009b:
I 12.009c: </td><td>Number
Total: 254
18: 69
a: 50 (O33, P11, G6)
b: 15 (O12, P3)
c: 4 (O4)
19: 15
a: 14 (O10, P3, G1)
c: 1 (P1)
19-20: 23
a: 23 (O2, P2, G19)
20: 102
a: 102 (O90, G12)
not dated: 45
a: 45 (P11, G33, T1)</td><td>Method
painted: 151 (105b, 43r, 1br, 2?)
incised: 102
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The precise nature of the relation between the three forms that all seem to represent a flower is not entirely clear. It is possible that and are in fact two different marks as they occur together in the 18th dynasty sequence as seen most clearly on IFAO OL 6788. Two specimens of the same mark are seen elsewhere on this ostracon (both and have a double occurrence), but in both cases they directly follow one another and their forms are identical. and are similar on ostracon IFAO OL 6788, but not identical in that the stem of the latter is bent as in all specimens of I 12.009a; and they also do not follow one another directly as they are separated by two marks. The variant does not occur in the same sequence, but its four occurrences on ostraca that do not provide enough material for comparison make any interpretation of uncertain. For more information on the sequences we refer to Soliman, Of Marks and Men, chapter 2, in particular section 2.2.9 on IFAO OL 6788. It is clear, however, that at least the lotus flower in its most recognizable form of was an identity mark in dynasty 18 through to dynasty 20. It shows a graphic development that is characterized by the following aspects:</td></tr>
</table>

- In dynasty 18 we see a variety of forms and orientations of the lotus flower. Especially when one considers and graphic variants they display a wide array of forms that differ in the form and orientation of the flower, the number of flower leaves, the length and the orientation of the stem as well as in the curvature of the stem. Some specimens show a triangular flower with two flower leaves on the side (e.g. on O.IFAO ONL 6293), others show a circular flower with three leaves(?) (e.g. O.KV 10004). Most, however, show a flower bud with a triangular flower and two flower leaves on the side (e.g. O.OWV 10). In some cases the flower is elaborately worked out, for instance in on ostracon IFAO ONL 6443 and on ostracon IFAO ONL 6600. The stems are generally slightly curved as in (O.Ashmolean HO 0892), but we also see examples as the already mentioned (O.KV 10004) or ostracon Turin CG 57310. In all this variation it is conspicuous that the orientation of the flowers is generally the same: all flowers hang downwards, except for the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6362 and an uncertain form on ostracon Cairo JE 96601;
- For dynasty 19 we only have 10 specimens, but they show a clear transition from the graphic nature of the corpus in dynasty 18 to the graphic nature of the corpus in dynasty 19. We see an array of different forms in which the flowers and the stems are all different; yet the triangular form of the flower with two flower leaves on the side dominates. The orientation changes from the flower hanging downwards to the flower standing up, or being directed to the right or left. Some flowers are executed with detail, such as on ostracon Ashmolean HO 0810 and on ostracon Schaden 001. In their form and orientation of the flower handing sideways they seem to be forerunners of one of the two main forms in dynasty 20. Others are more simpler in their form and execution (e.g. on O.OIM 25356) and as such could be considered forerunners of the second main form in dynasty 20;
- In dynasty 20, the first main form shows a large, elaborately executed flower with a long curved stem that is consistently orientated toward the right. Consider on ostracon Ashmolean HO 0704, on ostracon IFAO OL 170 and on ostracon IFAO ONL 1371. Such forms can be compared the examples in Möller's *Hieratische Paläographie* (number 275). The second main form is a rather cursive form which shows a scribal ductus. The form of the flower is reduced to a single line, as are the flower leaves and the stem. One of the flower leaves usually runs through to become the stem as clearly seen in the specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1091 ( ), or the specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1095 ( ), or in on ostracon Cairo JE 96328. These forms of the flower all occur on the marks ostraca with duty rosters; they were apparently the form used by the man who noted down the lists with watches in the reigns of Ramesses III and IV. Certainly, of all the lotus flowers in the corpus of I 12.009, this was the easiest and quickest to make; its curved and linear style made it a form that could rapidly be incorporated in the entries of the records.

Not only the curved and hieratic forms of the 20th dynasty specimens indicate a growing affinity to writing, the orientation reveals this as well: all flowers are either orientated upwards in a manner they could easily be executed, or they are orientated from left to right conform hieratic script. The only exception is IFAO ONL 6232 the style of which, however, generally shows less affinity to writing – it is not part of the duty records.

In general, we see sufficient reason to suggest that the mark of the lotus flower in dynasty 18 was not so much inspired by the lotus flower as a sign from writing. It may rather have been graphically modeled on concrete depictions of lotus flowers, for instance as seen in tomb and temple reliefs, or on actual examples. In dynasty 20 the mark does behave as a sign from script in form and orientation. However, it does not seem to have made use of a phonetic value. We do not know how the mark was linked to its user, who is identified as *Ḥ^{c}-m-Nwn* (iii) in the reigns of Ramesses III and IV, but it was not via a phonetic connection to him or his forefathers. The occurrence of as a script sign is rather infrequent anyway; it is more often seen depicted in offering scenes, for instance. Therefore, despite its graphic affinity to writing, the mark in dynasty 20 may still have had its origins in concrete depictions or actual examples of the lotus flower rather than in the hieroglyphic or hieratic character from script.

I 12.013

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Sꜣ-wꜣḏ.t (ii)?	Stem of papyrus Reminiscent of Gardiner M13 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 5 **19**: 1 (P1) **19-20**: 3 (O2, P1) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 3 (3b) **incised**: 1 **unknown**: 1

This mark was presumably used as an equivalent to 𓏏 I 12.014. An indication for this may be the potsherd Nagel, Céramique 049, fig. 31 nr. 315. On this sherd are two marks: a scorpion and a form of the papyrus plant. The scorpion we know to have been used as an identity mark among others by the scorpion controller *Jmn-ms* (xi). The combination of marks on this sherd may perhaps be interpreted as *Jmn-ms* (xi) son of *Sꜣ-Wꜣḏ.t* (ii). *Sꜣ-Wꜣḏ.t* ((ii) is in fact attested with the mark 𓏏 I 12.014. This would mean that I 12.013 and I 12.014 are allomorphs. The specimen on the Nagel sherd is, however, damaged and perhaps the mark 𓌀 originally was 𓏏. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6550 is also uncertain. It may show remains of a crossing 𓋴, but this is not clear. The context is also unclear; perhaps the ostracon shows commodities.

I 12.014

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Sꜣ-Wꜣḏ.t (ii)	Stem of papyrus with cobra in repose Reminiscent of Gardiner M14 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 12.014a: 𓏏 I 12.014b: 𓍿	**Total**: 103 **19**: 30 (O25, P1, G3) **19-20**: 23 (O6, P6, G12) **20**: 50 (O41, G9)	**painted**: 71 (49b, 22r) **incised**: 29 **charcoal**: 2 **unknown**: 1

With respect to the identity of the workmen who used this mark, Austin Shard 4 with the mark 𓏏 scratched on it in linear style was found in tomb TT 290, the owner of which was *Jry-nfr* (i). The son of *Jry-nfr* (i) was *Sꜣ-Wꜣḏ.t* (ii). The mark 𓏏 I 12.014 is indeed attested for *Sꜣ-Wꜣḏ.t* (ii), for which see Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapters 3-4.

Some specimens were at first uncertain because they were damaged or the paint had faded. However, in most cases the identification as 𓏏 I 12.014 follows on account of sequence or clustering of the marks. Also, treatment in Photoshop in most cases confirmed the identification. A good example of this was ostracon Cairo CG 25324: the specimen was previously described by Daressy as the sitting man with hand to the mouth. However, 𓏏 I 12.014 was more plausible in the light of the other marks on the ostracon, which all represent the left side of the gang. The tail of the cobra and a triangular upper part of the papyrus plant can now be recognized after treatment in Photoshop. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6675 can only be recognized with the naked eye. Traces are still recognizable on the photograph, but only to someone who has seen the actual ostracon. Therefore, the sketch made during our visit to the French Institute of Archaeology in Cairo (2014) was used in Table I3-2.

The mark 𓏏 I 12.014 has a conspicuous graphic variant that only exists in graffiti: 𓍿 I 12.014b. It is considered a variant mainly because 𓍿 in Th.G. 2791 occurs together with 𓁹 I 04.006, a combination that occurs twice on ostraca with 𓏏 (ostraca Schaden 013 and 074). Since the variant 𓍿 occurs only in graffiti, it could be suggested that its linear form was due to the method of production: certainly, when scratching into the rock, it would have been easier to abbreviate the lower part of the mark 𓏏 simply to 𓎛: in this form the cobra and the lower part of the papyrus plant are melted together in a simple form that could be produced by three straight lines.

I 12.015

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Ḥ3y (iv) or *Ḥ3y* (vii)	Clump of papyrus with buds bent down Reminiscent of Gardiner M15 Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 55 **19**: 7 (O4, G3) **19-20**: 21 (O2, P9, G10) **20**: 27 (O23, G4)	**painted**: 28 (16b, 11r, 1?) **incised**: 16 **unknown**: 10

Most specimens of this mark graphically resemble the hieroglyph which is used in script with the phonetic values *3ḫ* and *w3ḫ*. It is tempting, however, to consider the hieroglyph , which in script has the value *ḥ3*. This value *ḥ3* we can connect to the workman who was identified by means of the mark in dynasty 20: *Ḥ3y*. Such a connection between mark and man would be the same as seen in for *Ms*, for *K3s3*, and for *Ḥr*, to name just a few examples. Was there an ancient confusion between and ? And does this indicate that 1) there was in dynasty 20 knowledge of script, and 2) people wished to make use of it to connect a mark to their name and identity, but 3) that the degree of literacy was not of a level that one knew to phonetically distinguish two pictorially similar marks? There are examples that rather follow (e.g. on O.Cairo JE 25318, on O.DeM 10121), but they are clearly in the minority. Certainly, a mark modeled on would be easier and quicker to execute than one modeled on , which needs extra details. Therefore, it appears that there was a specific reason to follow , either the conviction that it conveyed the sound *ḥ3*, or a reason of which we are unaware.

As regards the specimens, most are hieroglyphic or pictorial in style. It is only on IFAO ONL 6570, dated to dynasties 19-20, that we find a true hieratic example that can be compared to the signs in Möller *Hieratische Paläography* (number 278). The status of this specimen as a workman's identity marks is, however, very uncertain as the context in which it occurs is unclear and contains no other workmen's marks. It is more likely that the mark was inspired by the hieroglyphic model. There are differences in the manner of representing the papyrus flowers. Most specimens are rather linear and cursive, representing the flowers by means of short thick strokes or lines (e.g. on O.IFAO ONL 0533 or on O.Turin CG 57008); others rather show dots, and one even large circles (e.g. on O.IFAO ONL 6463, on O.Cilli 156).

The attestations of in dynasty 19 are all uncertain. Bruyère recorded an attestation on 'Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVIII, nr. 12', but unfortunately we were not able to find the original ostracon on which he based his facsimile. The other attestations either occur in unclear contexts of which it is uncertain whether they contain workmen's marks, or are dated to dynasties 19-20.

I 12.017

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Flowering reed Reminiscent of Gardiner M4 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 12.017a: I 12.017b:	**Total**: 33 **18**: 28 a: 14 (O11, P1, G2) b: 14 (O14) **19**: 1 a: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 30 (16b, 13r, 1?) **incised**: 3

This mark shows at least two forms in that I 12.017b contains the inner details of the reed leaf whereas I 12.017a does not. It is not entirely certain whether and were graphic variants or in fact two distinct identity marks, because they occur together on the same ostraca in two cases: ostraca Ashmolean HO 0892 and KV 10004. Although we do see more 18th dynasty ostraca on which the same mark occurs twice– the Ashmolean ostracon is a good example in that it also shows two specimens of (I 09.009) – such double specimens are usually similar in form and execution. Moreover, they usually occur in close proximity, which at least on ostracon KV 10004 is not the case with the reed leaf. Another indication for taking and as distinct marks is the fact that the former is still seen in dynasty 20, while the latter disappears after dynasty 18. Yet, we do not know to whom the mark or marks belonged and conclusions are

	therefore difficult to draw. If 𓂝 and 𓂞 were two distinct marks, this could indicate that they conveyed meaning via the phonetic value *j*, perhaps an abbreviation of workmen's names. If two workmen were both named *Jmn-m-ḥɜ.t*, for instance, they could make use of two distinct forms of *j*. If, on the other hand, 𓂝 and 𓂞 were rather graphic variants, this would fit the trend which was discerned in dynasty 18, which concerned graphic variation in the forms of marks particularly present in the 18th dynasty corpus.			
 I 12.022	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Rush with shoots Reminiscent of Gardiner M22 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Possible graphic variant: I 12.023: 𓄿	**Number** **Total**: 4 **20**: 4 (O3, G1)	**Method** **painted**: 3 (1b, 2r) **incised**: 1
	Reason to assume that 𓇋 I 12.022 with single leaf and 𓄿 I 12.023 with double leaf are allomorphs is the similarity between the ostraca Cairo JE 46862 and 46864. Both ostraca contain groups of marks and pseudo-hieratic numerals and share the same find context (VoK Davis/Ayrton excavations 1907-1908, workmen's houses between KV 17 (Seti I) and KV 21 (unknown, dynasty 18)). On ostracon Cairo JE 46864 a much faded specimen occurs, but the remains may be interpreted as 𓇋 I 12.022. On ostracon Cairo JE 46862 a clear example of 𓄿 I 12.023 occurs. Both ostraca share several other marks, for instance 𓏲 I 03.019, which otherwise occurs only the group of ostraca of which IFAO ONL 6239 and 6832 are part. Other marks that both ostraca share are: 𓃀 I 08.016, 𓋴 I 09.012 (on 46864 twice and on 46862 thrice), 𓁹 I 13.012 and 𓊃 I 17.011. Another reason to assume that 𓇋 I 12.022 and 𓄿 I 12.023 are allomorphs is that 𓇋 I 12.022 occurs three times on ostraca, while 𓄿 I 12.023 is only seen once, on Cairo JE 46862, although it does occur more often in graffiti. The equation of 𓇋 and 𓄿 is, however, conspicuous if one considers that both forms as hieroglyphic signs do have different values in script. Does this indicate some knowledge of script, but not full literacy, a case similar to the one suggested for the mark 𓈖 above? The specimen of 𓇋 on BTdK 538 was initially interpreted as 𓇌 I 12.014, because the traces suggest this and the ostracon shows similarities in style and cluster to ARTP 99-027 on which 𓇌 I 12.014 occurs, but not 𓇋 I 12.022. However, the marks above and below 𓇋 on BTdK 538, that is 𓅱 I 04.002 and 𓊹 I 19.10, do not occur on ARTP 99-027. Several of the marks on BTdK 538, among which in fact 𓊹 I 19.010, do occur on Cairo JE 46862, while not seen on ARTP 99-027. On Cairo JE 46862 we see, in fact, not 𓇌 I 12.014, but 𓄿 I 12.023. Ostracon BTdK 538 is thus similar in style and in some of its marks to ARTP 99-027, but in other marks it is more similar to Cairo JE 46862. The marks on BTdK 538 in the column in which 𓇋 occurs do not occur on ARTP 99-027 but, if the specimen is in fact interpreted as 𓇋, two of them do in fact occur on Cairo JE 46862, be it that 𓇋 I 12.022 is in the form of 𓄿 I 12.023. One could suggest that 𓇌 I 12.014 and 𓇋 I 12.022 and 𓄿I 12.023 are in fact all forms of one and the same mark. Then, the similarity of BTdK 538 to both ARTP 99-027 and Cairo JE 46862 could be explained. The marks 𓇌 I 12.014 and 𓇋 I 12.022 and 𓄿I 12.023 do not occur together on the same ostraca, therefore in theory their equivalence is possible. We must then assume that the specimen on BTdK 538 indeed shows traces of 𓇌 I 12.014. However, it would then be strange to see the plant has been preserved so well in thick red lines, while the snake that crosses it is faded to such an extent that only to the right of the plant it might be detected. Perhaps a mistake was made by the scribe: he started out writing 𓇌 I 12.014, but corrected his mistake by wiping it out and correcting it with 𓇋 I 12.022? If this is what happened, it suggests that 𓇌 I 12.014 and 𓇋 I 12.022 were really two different workmen's identity marks that could not be used interchangeably, since in that case the mistake would have needed no correction.			

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 12.023</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Sedge
Reminiscent of Gardiner M23
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Possible graphic variant:
I 12.022: </td><td>Number:
Total: 8
20: 8 (O1, G7)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)
incised: 7</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">As it was argued above, I 12.022 and I 12.023 are possibly allomorphs. See the remarks with I 12.022.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 12.034</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Bearded ear of emmer
Reminiscent of Gardiner M34
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 49
18: 46 (O21, P22, G3)
19: 2 (O2)
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 26 (12b, 12r, 2?)
incised: 15
charcoal: 2
unknown: 6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is characteristic for the 18th dynasty corpus. Three specimens are dated later on the basis of their context and surrounding signs, but they differ from the mark in dynasty 18 in form. That is, they are of a shorter length, while the oblong form of is characteristic for the 18th dynasty specimens. Also, for as far as it can be seen, the details on both sides of the vertical line in the later specimens seem to cluster around the upper part of the mark, while in the 18th dynasty specimens they run almost all the way down. The specimens dated to later times may be compared to mark I 27.043, which occurs only in dynasty 20. They possible represent trees or plants, while we have given the interpretation of ‘bearded ear of emmer’ to the 18th dynasty mark, mainly on the basis of the details which are not necessarily seen in the representation of the hieroglyphic tree ( ). In fact, however, we are not certain about the interpretation of the mark, as we also have no identification of its user. In addition to what has already been mentioned about the specimens we can say that they differ in particular with respect to the number of beards that are added to each side of the ear. In general, however, the simplicity of their form makes them more uniform than the specimens of other 18th dynasty marks. With the exception of the specimen on ostracon IFAO ON 6349, they also all appear in the same upright orientation, which suggests at least that it was interpreted as a concrete object with specific orientation rather than a geometric form, whether considered a tree or bearded ear of emmer, whether a picture or a sign from script.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 12.040</td><td>Identity
Jmn-ḥtp (vi)</td><td>Description of form
Bundle of reeds
Reminiscent of Gardiner M40
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 39
19: 1 (O1)
20: 38 (O33, G4, Ns1)</td><td>Method
painted: 34 (23b, 10r, 1?)
incised: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs predominantly in dynasty 20. For the identification, see Soliman, Of Marks and Men, chapter 4. It is uncertain in what manner the mark refers to Jmn-ḥtp, the chief draughtsman in dynasty 20 (cf. Davies, Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina, 112). The mark as a hieroglyphic sign would be read jsw, and as such is particularly known in the writing jsw.t, ‘crew’. Yet, why such a generic term would have to apply specifically to the Jmn-ḥtp is unclear. The sign is also used in the term js, ‘tomb’, but again the link remains purely speculative. As regards the specimens, they show a large degree of uniformity, especially in orientation: all specimens, except MMA 09.184.784, are orientated from left to right conform hieratic script. The specimen themselves do not show true hieratic forms as in all cases they retain the knot of the bundle in triangular form, some open, some closed. The size of the triangular form differs. The specimens in the graffiti show different forms especially in Graffiti 0390 and 1941, but on the basis of similar clusters they can be interpreted as , their different appearance perhaps due to the different manner of execution.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 13.001</td><td>Identity
Mry-Rᶜ(v), his son *Nfr-ḥtp* (xi), his son *Mry-Rᶜ* (vi)</td><td>Description of form
Sky
Reminiscent of Gardiner N1
Hieratic forms
Graphic variant in dynasty 20: I 16.005: 𓋴</td><td>Number
Total: 103
18: 6 (O6)
18-19: 1 (P1)
19: 8 (O7, P1)
19-20: 11 (O8, P1, G2)
20: 74 (O63, P2, G9)
not dated: 3 (P3)</td><td>Method
painted: 82 (67b, 16r)
incised: 15
charcoal: 2
unknown: 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is predominantly found in dynasty 20 but occasionally occurs already in dynasties 18 and 19. On ostracon BM EA 50716 it appears from the sequence that I 13.001 is equal to I 16.005. Compare, for instance, the sequence on BM EA 50716 with the sequence on ostracon Berlin P. 12625: 𓏏, 𓊹, 𓉔/𓋴, 𓌅. The same appears from a comparison with the ostraca IFAO ONL 0310 and 6232, which contain 𓉔 respectively 𓋴 in a very similar sequence. The mark 16.5 only appears from dynasty 19 on and was, thus, at some point equated with 𓉔 13.1 which was already in use. The question is whether 13.1 has always been 𓋴 represented without inner details, or whether it was originally a representation of the sky that was only later equated with 𓋴 on the basis of similar outline. In hieratic script, both the representation of the sky and the chest are without inner details. We have not succeeded in establishing a clear connection either between the mark 𓉔 and the workmen who are encountered with the form, nor between 𓋴 and these same workmen.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 13.002</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Night sky
Reminiscent of Gardiner N2
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 4
20: 4 (O2, G2)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)
incised: 2
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark only occurs 4 times in dynasty 20. It is uncertain whether it is an allomorph of 𓉔 I 13.001. On the ostracon ARTP 02-224 the mark 𓉗 I 13.002 occurs in a sequence preceded by 𓇋 I 07.005 and followed by 𓏤 I 24.008 and 𓂋 I 04.004. This sequence is comparable to the one on ostracon MMA 09.184.784, where I 13.001 is preceded by 𓇋 I 07.005, 𓏤 I 24.008, and 𓂋 I 04.004. Also on ostracon MMA 14.6.204 the marks 𓇋 I 07.005, 𓏤 I 24.008 and 𓉔 I 13.001 occur close together. Finally, in Theban Graffito 0390 we see 𓇋 I 07.005 followed by twice 𓉔 I 13.001; four marks below 𓏤 I 24.008 and again 2 marks below is 𓂋 I 04.004. The similarity in sequence and cluster of marks suggests that 𓉔 I 13.001 and 𓉗 I 13.002 are allomorphs. However, we have just seen that ostracon BM 50716 indicates that 𓋴 I 16.005 and I 13.001 may at least in some cases be allomorphs, which could lead to the idea that the form of 𓋴 without inner details is still 𓋴, and not the 𓉔 interpreted as the sky. With 𓉗 I 13.002 we have, however, a clear example of the night sky. The specimen of I 13.002 on the only ostracon of which we have a good photograph, KV 10041, is preceded by two times 𓐍 I 14.006. The mark 𓐍 I 14.006 occurs together with 𓉔 I 13.001 on 27 ostraca and in one graffito, although usually several places separated from each other. The combination I 14.006 with I 13.002 occurs only on KV 10041. This may again suggest that 𓉗 I 13.002 and 𓉔 I 13.001 are allomorphs. Perhaps some confusion may have risen from the similarity in outline between the hieratic form of 𓉗 I 13.001 and 𓋴 I 16.005, from which was assumed that 𓋴 I 16.005 was actually 𓉔 I 13.001, and a graphic variant 𓉗 I 13.002 may have come forth from that confusion? That would suggest that I 16.005 was initially the actual form of the mark. It is interesting to note that the chest (𓋴) also occurs as an identity mark combined with other elements. In those cases, it usually has inner detail (those specimens that do not have inner detail in almost all cases facsimiles). See the classes I 27.021 and 22.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 13.005</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Sun
Reminiscent of Gardiner N5
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 20
18: 13 (O11, P2)
19: 2 (O2)
19-20: 1 (O1)
20: 2 (O2)
not dated: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 18 (9b, 9r)
incised: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">This is predominantly an 18th dynasty mark, with 4 occurrences in dynasties 19 and 20 but their interpretation as workmen’s identity marks is uncertain as they rather occur in a context with several sorts of circular signs, vessels and numbers. Later ostraca such as Cairo JE 96334 probably depict commodities. In dynasty 18 the mark clearly occurs in a recurrent sequence of workmen’s marks which is best seen on IFAO OL 6788: , , , , , . The identity of the workmen is unknown. The mark II 030 is possibly a graphic variant without the inner dot. The two forms do not occur together on the same ostraca, and the form occurs on, among others, OWV 10 and IFAO ONL 6601, which are of the same neat hand as IFAO ONL 6799, on which we find .</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 13.006</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Sun with on both sides head of ureaus
Reminiscent of Gardiner N6
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 6
18: 6 (O6)</td><td>Method
painted: 6 (5r, 1?)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs only in dynasty 18, whereas a similar mark (, I 13.007) was in use only in dynasty 20. It differs only in the fact that shows two ureaus heads, one on each side of the sun-disc, whereas shows a ureaus head and tail. Attestations of are few. The specimens on Cairo CG 24105-24107 and Varille 423 are all similar in cluster as well as in style, except for the different rendering of the ureaus heads in Cairo CG 24105. Whereas the ostraca Cairo CG 24107 and Varille 423 may have been drawn up by the same hand, the specimen on Cairo CG 24105 was apparently by a different hand.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 13.007</td><td>Identity
Pn-Rnnw.t (i)</td><td>Description of form
Sun with head and tail of ureaus
Reminiscent of Gardiner N6
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Graphic variant:
I 09.012: </td><td>Number
Total: 9
20: 9 (O9)</td><td>Method
painted: 9 (7b, 2r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs only in dynasty 20 and differs from the previous mark in that it depicts the sun with the head and tail of a ureaus, instead of two heads. The mark seems to be a graphic variant of I 09.012. They both form the link to the workman Pn-Rnnw.t via the phonetic sound of the name of the goddess whose manifestation was the cobra: Renenutet. It is interesting to see that the mark could change as long as the signifying element, that is the cobra, remained present. The mark is not very frequent. In manner of execution, two groups can be distinguished: the forms on BTdK 540, IFAO ONL 6458 and IFAO ONL 6581 all have in common that the sun is relatively small and the head and tail of the ureaus form smooth diagonal lines. The forms on Cairo CG 25651 (note: a facsimile!), IFAO ONL 6482 and IFAO ONL 6537 al show bigger suns and a more elaborate representation of the ureaus’ head. The preservation of the ostraca does not allow to decide whether the specimens allocated to these two groupings were made by the same hand.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 13.008</td><td>Identity
perhaps Rᶜ-wbn (i)?</td><td>Description of form
Sunshine
Reminiscent of Gardiner N8
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total 55
18: 5 (O2, P3)
19: 8 (O6, P2)
19-20: 12 (O1, P7, G4)
20: 30 (O28, G2)</td><td>Method
painted: 32 (21b, 16r)
incised: 11
uncertain: 7</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark appears predominantly in dynasties 19 and 20. The five occurrences from dynasty 18 are not identified as I 13.008 with certainty. In all cases, it may concern an allomorph of the lotus flower (I 12.009c in most instances), which occurs frequently in dynasty 18. For instance, the specimen on ostracon Cairo CG 24105 , according to sequence and cluster of marks, is rather to be interpreted as I 12.009c. The specimens on potsherds might have to be interpreted as such as well, given the fact that they present 4 lines protruding from the circle; something we also see in several specimens of the lotus flower. Yet, compare also the 20th dynasty specimen on BTdK 539 which is a representation of the shining sun with four rays, and the specimen on potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.008 which has even more rays. Other specimens of I 13.008 from dynasty 18 are perhaps to be interpreted as II 034, a mark that also occurs frequently in dynasty 18. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6202 ( ) could be an example.
The identity of the workmen who used this mark in dynasties 18, 19 and 20 is unknown. However, we have one potsherd on which what appears to have been a specimen of is accompanied by the representation of a falcon: Bruyère Rap. 48-51, pl. XVI.005. We are not certain if indeed the two are workmen's marks, but both do at least occur in the corpus: I 07.005 is attested only from dynasty 19 onwards, which provides an earliest date for the Bruyère sherd in dynasty 19. The two marks of and the falcon are probably not to be interpreted as together forming one mark, because such a combination is not attested in the corpus. It is tempting to think here of the workman Rᶜ-wbn (i) and his son Ḥr-m-wiꜣ (v), attested in dynasty 19 as late as the reign of Amenmesse recorded (Davies, Who's Who at Deir el-Medina, 12). It may well be, however, that the ostracon rather depicts a drawing instead of workmen's marks.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 13.012</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Crescent moon
Reminiscent of Gardiner N12
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 36
18: 26 (O26)
20: 10 (O8, G2)</td><td>Method
painted: 33 (18b, 15r)
incised: 2
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs most frequently in dynasty 18. There are some clear 20th dynasty examples, such as the specimens ARTP 02-225, BTdK 539, the ostraca Cairo JE 72493 and 72496, and MMA 09.184.784. The specimens on Cairo JE 46862 and UC 31939 are more uncertain; they may also be I 21.026. One conspicuous difference between the mark in dynasty 18 and the mark in dynasty 20 is the fact that every specimen from dynasty 18 is depicted with the crescent moon hanging underneath the sky, while every specimen from dynasty 20 is represented with the moon above the sky. There is clearly a break and change in the use of this mark between dynasty 18 and 20. The specimens in dynasty 18 were not all made by the same hand and show large variety in form and execution, but the orientation is consistent. In dynasty 20 we may have the same hand at least on the ostraca Cairo JE 72493, Cairo JE 72496 and MMA 09.184.784; possibly also ARTP 02-225, although we only have a facsimile of that ostracon. Yet, the style of the ostracon as well as the cluster of marks in which I 13.012 occurs (, , ,) is very comparable to the Cairo and MMA ostraca.</td></tr>
</table>

I 13.014a

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
ỉry-ꜥꜣ (i)	Star Reminiscent of Gardiner N14 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 127 **18**: 26 (O20, P 4, G1, Ds1) **19**: 21 (O9, P12) **19-20**: 3 (O1, G1, Do1) **20**: 70 (O62, P1, G7) **not dated**: 7 (O2, P2, G2, Ns1)	**painted**: 92 (71b, 19r, 1rb, 1?) **incised**: 20 **uncertain**: 15

In dynasty 20 the mark belonged to the doorkeeper *ỉry-ꜥꜣ* (i). In Part II, chapter 2, we suggest that the form of the star could have conveyed meaning as a symbolic index, in which it via the sound value *sbꜣ*, which the hieroglyphic equivalent of this mark has in script, refers to the word 'portal' , and the concept of portal in turn refers to the function of doorkeeper. *ỉry-ꜥꜣ* was a doorkeeper. If this proposal for the analysis of the semiosis of the mark is correct, it is a complex construct that makes use of phonetic metaphor and metonymy, attesting semantic creativity and knowledge of script.

As regards the specimens, some remarks can be made. First of all, a development can be seen in the specimens from dynasty 18 to 20. In dynasty 18 we see many forms with horizontal line representing two rays. Consider on IFAO ONL 6293 or (turned 180 degrees) on Cilli 278. In dynasty 20, on the other hand, we see that most forms no longer have a horizontal line. They rather show forms such as on IFAO ONL 0340 and on IFAO ONL 6240. In hieroglyphic script we mainly see the form as in dynasty 18, while in hieratic script Möller shows examples of both. In general, the development could then be taken as a larger affinity of the 20th dynasty specimens to writing. The specimens such as on IFAO ONL 0340 and 6240 were made in the context of the duty rosters; we have already seen that the person responsible for the marks ostraca with duty rosters was familiar with linguistic script and displayed a scribal ductus (see Part I, chapter 1).

On several single specimens the following can be remarked. The specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO1093 is painted red over black as if it was a correction of an earlier mark. Another form of correction we perhaps encounter on IFAO ONL 6399, also from dynasty 20: the specimen of I 13.014a on this ostracon is much darker than the other marks and it is painted over faded traces of black paint. The specimen on IFAO ONL 0318 is very faded. However, the identification as I 13.014a follows from sequence, in which *ỉry-ꜥꜣ* (i) should occur on day 14. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6251 is not entirely certain. It is very faded. The remains, after treatment in Photoshop, suggest I 13.014a. This mark is also suggested by the cluster of marks in which it occurs. A combination with I 06.031a and I 15.001, for instance, occurs at least 9 times in dynasty 20. The specimen on IFAO ONL 0198 cannot be dated. It is only a small piece of stone with merely the mark and a vertical stroke. However, the style of the mark is very similar to the specimens on IFAO ONL 0300 and 6232 and on BM EA 41649 and 50716, all from dynasty 20. On the basis of the style of the specimen on IFAO ONL 0198 this piece is dynasty 20 as well.

A final note can be added on IFAO ONL 6203. One of the marks on this ostracon, dated to dynasty 18, was initially interpreted as I 13.014a. However, the mark is damaged and the identification was far from certain. In fact, the mark occurs together with II 029a and I 13.012. In dynasty 18 we see three times the combination of II 029a, I 13.012 with I 26.009: IFAO ONL 6316, OWV 05 and UC 31988. A combination II 029a, I 13.012 and I 13.014a is not attested elsewhere in dynasty 18. It occurs only twice in dynasty 20, but on both Cairo JE 46864 and 72496 the three marks do not occur in a strict sequence and are not clustered together. Therefore, I have decided to interpret the specimen on IFAO ONL 6203 not as I 13.014a, but as I 26.009 which also better fits the remains. That is, the remains show at least two legs in an angle of 90 degrees, which perfectly fits a reconstruction as a cross. There are specimens of stars that show an almost 90 degree angle between two of their legs as well, for instance the specimens on IFAO OL 6788, Cilli 278 or IFAO ONL 6461, but all stars from dynasty 18 have an (almost) horizontal line on top for two further legs. Such an horizontal line cannot be detected on IFAO ONL 6302. There are specimens of stars without such a horizontal line, with an orientation of legs, but these mainly date to dynasty 20. There is only one star from dynasty 18 that resembles the latter form, which is Cairo JE 72498. Yet, if we assume that IFAO ONL 6302 is indeed another specimen with that orientation of legs, then we must assume that one leg is completely gone. There are traces to the left of the mark, but we cannot assume that those represented a leg of the star as they lie in the same line as the lower right leg. Most probably, those traces belong to another mark to the left or upper left of what we now interpret as I 26.009.

I 13.014b

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Pentangle star Pictorial forms	**Total**: 63 **19**: 24 (O22, P2) **19-20**: 13 (O4, P5, G4) **20**: 25 (O24, G1) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 51 (41b, 10r) **incised**: 10 **uncertain**: 2

Although initially considered both forms of the star and therefore both boded I 13.014(a and b), the previous mark 𓇼 and the pentagram star 𓇽 are not graphic variants of the same identity marks. They occur simultaneously on the same ostraca referring to different workmen from the earliest occurrence of 𓇽 in dynasty 19 on (examples are the ostraca Berlin P. 14231, IFAO C 7638, IFAO 6226, 6232, 6275, 6290 and 6585). The pentagram star has a long history of use as an identity mark. It occurs quite frequently among the potmarks and builders' marks from the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. Yet, it only turns up in the Deir el-Medina marking system in dynasty 19. The star as described above (𓇼, I 13.014a) is known from hieroglyphic script as well from the marking system already in pre-Amarna times; it is found among the earliest workmen's identity marks. The pentagram star that appears in the Ramesside period does not occur as a hieroglyphic sign. It appears to have been a variant on the hieroglyphic star perhaps with a function to distinguish two workmen. When new workmen entered the crew, they needed an identity mark. Perhaps, two different workman were both associated with the picture or sign of a star, and graphic distinction was necessary? Or one workman was specifically connected to the hieroglyphic star on the basis of phonetic value, such as in the case of *ỉry-ꜥ3*, and another workman was rather associated with the star on a pictorial basis?

It is conspicuous that ostracon Ashmolean HO 1247 shows the pentagram star at the same position where ostracon Fitzwilliam EGA 6120.1943 shows I 13.014a for *ỉry-ꜥ3*. Yet, this may still not mean that both forms of the star were equated in meaning and use: the pentagram star on the first ostracon might in fact be I 12.009a (𓄿) for *Ḥꜥ-m-Nwn* (iii), who substituted for *ỉry-ꜥ3* at least on two occasions, as pointed out by Collier and by Haring and Soliman ('Reading Twentieth Dynasty Ostraca with Workmen's Marks' in Haring, Kaper & van Walsem (eds.), *The Workmen's Progress* (2014), 79). *ỉry-ꜥ3* could even have been *Ḥꜥ-m-Nwn*'s son (personal communication with Mark Collier), which makes the specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1247 either a mistake for, or an elaborate form of I 12.009a (𓄿). It is conceivable that the scribe became confused in drawing I 12.009a at a position where he normally drew the mark for *ỉry-ꜥ3*, turning the mark of the flower into a star with the pentagram star as a result.

I 13.023

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Irrigation canal with 0, 1, 2 or 3 lines of water reminiscent of Gardiner N23 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 13.023a: 𓊪 I 13.023b: 𓊫 I 13.023c: 𓊬 I 13.023d: 𓊭	**Total**: 29 **20**: 29 a: 14 (O12, G2) b: 10 (O10) c: 4 (O4) d: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 26 (18b, 7r, 1?) **incised**: 3

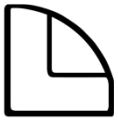
All forms are probably graphic variants, which appears from the sequences in which they occur on the ostraca. Compare, for instance, ostraca Cairo CG 25318 (I 13.023c) and Prague NM P 3836 (I 13.023a), where the mark in both cases is directly surrounded by the marks I 22.037 (𓋴), I 05.034 (𓈖,𓈗) and I 12.015 (𓏏). In some cases dots occur above the mark as if it concerns *wꜣ.t* (𓌝). This is seen for instance on the already mentioned ostracon Cairo CG 25318, but most clearly it is seen in Th.G. 0320 where the mark is also accompanied by an ideogram stroke instead of water lines. It occurs in close proximity to I 21.013 (𓎛), as does I 13.023a on ostraca ARTP 99-027. Nevertheless, some forms of I 13.023a might in fact represent the hieroglyph for *wꜣ.t*: the form I

	21.013 () is seen two more times in close proximity to specimens that have been coded I 13.023a, which have two dots above them conform the *wꜣ.t*-hieroglyph: that is on ostraca IFAO ONL 6303 and Berlin P 14231. Rather than being two different workmen's marks, however, some specimens of I 13.023a may rather have been confused with forms resembling the *wꜣ.t*-hieroglyph, which otherwise has no attestations. The user of the mark I 13.023 is not identified.			
 I 13.025	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Hill country Reminiscent of Gardiner N25 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 17 **18**: 17 (O13, P3, G1)	**Method** **painted**: 13 (3b, 10r) **incised**: 4
	The mark occurs in dynasty 18 only. The identity of the workman who used it remains unknown; therefore it is also uncertain whether the mark conveyed phonetic value. The specimens are all hieroglyphic or pictorial in form; the meaning of the mark may have been conveyed via pictorial or phonetic metaphor or metonymy.			
 I 13.026	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Mountain Reminiscent of Gardiner N26 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 36 **18**: 36 (O27, P8, G1)	**Method** **painted**: 27 (13b, 11r, 3?) **incised**: 7 **uncertain**: 2
	The reminiscence of this mark to is immediately conspicuous, as is the fact that both and occur only in dynasty 18. Mark occurs more than twice as often as . The question rises whether in the marking system is a graphic variant of . There are reasons to assume this, as both occur in the same clusters of marks. On those ostraca that may represent an entire team of workmen, such as IFAO OL 6788 or the series Cairo CG 24105-24108 occurs but not . Yet, there is one ostracon on which both and clearly occur together: IFAO ONL 6316. This may suggest that the marks belonged to two different workmen.			
 I 13.027	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Sun rising over mountain Reminiscent of Gardiner N27 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 10 **20**: 10 (O7, G3)	**Method** **painted**: 5 (5b) **incised**: 4 **uncertain**: 1
	The mark occurs only in dynasty 20. The identity of the workman who used the mark is unknown. The mark in hieroglyphic script has the value *ꜣḫ.t*. Perhaps the mark then belonged to the workman and later draftsman *Pꜣ-wr-ꜣḫ.t=f* (i), son of *Ḥr-mnw* (i), who is attested according to Davies at least in year 19 of Ramesses XI. Davies suggests he is synonymous with *Pꜣ-wr-ꜣḫ.t=f* in year 9/10 of Ramesses IX. Davies furthermore suggests that *Pꜣ-wr-ꜣḫ.t=f* was also known under the names of *Wr-ꜣḫ.t-Jmn* and perhaps also *Pꜣ-wr* (i) (pp. 171, 175). *Pꜣ-wr-ꜣḫ.t=f* (i) would have worked on the right side of the gang.			

I 13.028	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Hill over which are the rays of the rising sun Reminiscent of Gardiner N28 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 36 **18**: 1 (O1) **19**: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 5 (O1, G4) **20**: 28 (O20, G8) **not dated**: 1 (G1)	**Method** **painted**: 22 (16b, 6r) **incised**: 14
	With regard to identity, on ostracon BTdK 581 the specimen is incised to the upper left of a much larger incised mark of *Mn-ḫʿw* (i) (I 18.034a). The ostracon might be a name stone: a small piece of stone with only the mark or name of one workman. Perhaps the specimen of I 13.028 is here an hieroglyphic abbreviation of the name *Mnw-ḫʿw*? If so, then it would only be the case on BTdK 581, as the marks I 18.034 for *Mn-ḫʿw* (i) and I 13.028 occur relatively frequent as separate marks. In Theban Graffito 0156 we encounter a specimen of I 13.028 in small format positioned to the upper right of two large specimens of I 12.009a. The latter form as a mark has been attested for *Ḥʿ-m-Nwn* (iii). Perhaps we are dealing again with an hieroglyphic abbreviation *ḫʿ*, this time for ***Ḫʿ**-m-nwn*? In both cases the mark *ḫʿ* is positioned to the upper right or left of the main mark, the mark indicating the identity of the workman whose name is abbreviated by *ḫʿ*, and it is of much smaller size. Did the abbreviation serve to avoid confusion as to the identity of the marks? Both marks I 18.034a and I 12.009a are also attested for *Ḥwy-nfr* and *ꜣnwy* (ii) (I 18.034a) respectively *Ḳn-ḥr-ḫpš=f* (iv) (I 12.009a). Did the addition of *ḫʿ* with the mark then serve as an extra identifier to make clear that in those cases it concerned *Mnw-ḫʿw*, or ***Ḫʿ**-m-nwn*?		
I 13.035	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Water ripple(s) Reminiscent of Gardiner N35 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Possible graphic variants: I 13.035a: I 13.035b:	**Number** **Total**: 10 **18**: 8 a: 8 (O1, P7) **19**: 1 b: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 1 b: 1 (G1)	**Method** **painted**: 2 (2r) **incised**: 6 **unknown**: 2
	The mark occurs mainly in dynasty 18. Initially, there seemed to be two exceptions: the specimen on potsherd Bruyère Rap. 28 II 113 fig. 63 nr. 082 was dated to dynasties 19-20 on account of the find-context of the sherd: the late 19th or 20th dynasty tomb N 356 of *Jmn-m-wjꜣ* (i). However, since the mark appeared to be predominantly dated in dynasty 18, we decided to date the sherd to an origin in dynasty 18, the tomb having been reused in later times. Initially we had interpreted the mark in Theban Graffito 0390 as I 13.035a as well, because it is represented in the facsimile as a single water ripple. However, this graffito clearly dates to dynasty 20, while the single water ripple does not fit that date. It may be assumed that the remains are in fact not the mark I 13.035a, but part of the mark above, which is *wsr*, and may in fact represent *wsr* + *ḫpš*, I 27.044 as the mark of *Wsr-ḫpš* (i). That leaves one specimen on an ostracon and seven on pottery, all dating do dynasty 18. It is strange that we do not find I 13.035a as an identity mark on ostraca more often. Yet, the mark may have an allomorph in II 043, which is attested on 12 ostraca from dynasty 18. The existence of the form with three water ripples is very uncertain. We only have two attestations, of which the specimen on the ostracon (Schaden 001) is very uncertain. It occurs above a large vessel, with underneath the vessel the mark I 06.018. It may not concern a workman's identity mark here, but rather a commodity, actual 'water' in the vessel, brought, or received by the workman who was identified through I 06.018. The existence of the specimen on ostracon Schaden 001 as a workman's identity mark is thus very uncertain, but it is the basis for the suggestion to date the Theban Graffito 3956 in dynasty 19 as well.		

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">Initially we had interpreted the specimen in Th.G. 3956 as I 13.035a, the single water ripple. However, the facsimile clearly shows at least two water ripples. It is therefore more reminiscent of I 13.035b than of variant a. Interpreting this mark as I 13.035b would also offer a solution as to the date of this graffito. It was initially very tentatively dated to dynasty 18 on account of the bird occurring to the far right. However, we have very few graffiti from dynasty 18. If we would interpret the bird as a duck and the water ripple as I 13.035a, then indeed we would be stuck to a date in dynasty 18 as the duck as well as the single water ripple are attested only in dynasty 18. The mark I 13.035b, three times the water ripple, is, however, attested precisely in dynasty 19 and not in dynasty 18. If, then, we interpret the bird not as a duck but as an ibis, we have another mark dating to dynasties 19-20. The mark in the middle, between the ibis and water ripples, is I 17.004, a mark attested in dynasties 19-20 as well. The graffito as a whole can therefore be dated to dynasties 19-20.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 14.004</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Reed shelter
Reminiscent of Gardiner O4
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 10
18: 9 (O8, P1)
not dated: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 9 (5b, 3r, 1?)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is attested only in dynasty 18. The identity of the workman who used the mark is unknown. Therefore, it is also unknown whether or not the mark was inspired by the reed shelter as an hieroglyph with the value h, or whether it conveyed a pictorial notion.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 14.006</td><td>Identity
Jmn-m-jp.t (x)</td><td>Description of form
Rectangular enclosure
Reminiscent of Gardiner O6
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 114
19: 3 (O3)
19-20: 7 (5O, G2)
20: 104 (O98, P1, G5)</td><td>Method
painted: 104 (77b, 25r, 2?)
incised: 9
charcoal: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The degree of variation among the specimens is conspicuous. Not only do we see many irregular forms in the outline of the enclosure; also the inner square is differently positioned. This also occurs in hieroglyphic script. What is, however, conspicuous, is the degree of variation and the lack of any hieratic form while most specimens are dated to dynasty 20. The mark belonged to Jmn-m-jp.t (x), sone of Mry-Rˁ (v) and grandson of Jmn-m-jp.t (ix). In this family tree a phonetic relation between the mark I 14.006 as a hieroglyphic sign and the name of the workmen remains unclear.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 14.021</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Shrine
Reminiscent of Gardiner O21
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 2
19-20: 1 (1)
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (2b).</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">There are only two attestations of this mark. Interpretation and identity are unknown.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 14.024</td><td>Identity
Pn-Mn-nfr (i)</td><td>Description of form
Pyramid
Reminiscent of Gardiner O24
Hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 12
20: 12 (O9, G3)</td><td>Method
painted: 9 (8b, 1r)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The ostracon Ashmolean Museim HO 1095 has a match with the hieratic ostracon BTdK 620, which contains a name list of workmen who received quantities in ỉp.t and ḫ3r, possibly of grain (Dorn, Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige, 394). The name list corresponds to the marks on Ashmolean HO 1095, where we find I 06.030a for P3-šdw; I 27.052 for P3-ḥm-nṯr; and I 14.024 for Pn-Mn-nfr. In Part II chapter 2 we argue that the mark referred to Pn-Mn-nfr as a symbolic index: along the pictorial trail it indexically connects Pn-Mn-nfr (i) with Memphis as ‘the one from Memphis’, and along the phonetic trail it supports this connection with the sound pattern Mn-nfr. This implies that the mark had been inspired by the pyramid as a hieroglyphic sign, not only in its graphic form but also in its phonetic value. The specimens are all orientated according to the correct orientation of a pyramid. They do show variation in execution, especially in the triangular or rectangular lower part of the pyramid which in the specimen on UC 45702 is filled in with black paint. All specimens show a protrusion consistently on the left side. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6284 is the only exception: it deviates in form from the others. Yet, its interpretation as a pyramid and, in fact, as a workmen’s identity mark is uncertain as the context of the various markings on the ostracon is unclear.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 14.028</td><td>Identity
Nb-nḫt (viii)</td><td>Description of form
Column with tenon at top
Reminiscent of Gardiner O28
Hieroglyphic and pseudo hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 54
19: 3 (O1, P2)
19-20: 5 (O4, P1)
20: 46 (O44, G1, T1)</td><td>Method
painted: 48 (34b, 11r, 3?)
incised: 3
charcoal: 1
unknown: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The identification of Nb-nḫt (viii) is based on the turnus for month I of ꜣḫ.t to month IV of pr.t of year 2 of Ramesses IV. The position of Nb-nḫt (viii) in this turnus is similar to the position of in the marks ostraca. The forms of the specimens are not truly hieratic, nor are they hieroglyphic. In on Turin CG 57523 and on Cairo JE 96529 we find a pseudo-hieroglyphic form with elements from both hieroglyphic and hieratic traditions.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 14.031</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Door
Reminiscent of Gardiner O31
Hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 11
18: 8 (O8)
20: 2 (O2)
not dated: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 11 (6b, 3r, 2?)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark in dynasty 18 has a vertical orientation, which is not the way in which this form as a hieroglyph is represented, or the orientation it has in hieratic texts. Rather, it seems to be more pictorially depicted as a door in the position it is seen in the architecture of a house. The two specimens we have from dynasty 20 have the orientation which the form as a hieroglyph or hieratic sign has. This suggests a development from a pictorial nature of the mark to more influence from script.</td></tr>
</table>

I 14.036	**Identity** *Ḳd-ꜣḥ.t=f* (ii)	**Description of form** Wall Reminiscent of Gardiner O36 Pictorial hieroglyphic, cursive and hieratic forms	**Number** **Total**: 33 **19**: 2 (O2) **19-20**: 2 (O1, P1) **20**: 27 (O27) **not dated**: 2 (O2)	**Method** **painted**: 32 (24b, 8r) **incised**: 1
	The specimens of I 14.036 show a range of different forms, from fairly detailed hieroglyphic or pictorial walls, such as on O.IFAO ONL 6255 or O.Prague NM P 3836, to more cursive and hieratic renderings such as on O.IFAO ONL 1371 (an ostracon with much hieratic text, hieratic numerals and marks of hieratic forms) and O.IFAO ONL 6323. The number of buttresses that are indicated varies per specimen. The walls can be represented thick or thin: compare especially the specimen on O.BTdK 550 with the specimen on O.Cairo CG 25322. The specimens dated to dynasty 19 are uncertain. The first on O.IFAO ONL 6518 does not resemble the wall in either hieroglyphic or hieratic form. Yet, it occurs in close proximity to the mark I 13.028 ( ): a combination of I 13.028 and I 14.036 is also seen on O.Cairo JE 46858 from dynasty 20. The second 19th dynasty specimen, which occurs on O.Schaden 161, remains very uncertain. The other marks in its proximity are uncertain as well, if at all they are workmen's identity marks. Whether the mark was related to the mark I 01.035G ( ) is unknown. What can be said is that the owner of was probably *Ḳd-ꜣḥ.t=f* (ii), who appears as a deputy in the reigns of Ramesses III to V (Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina*, 55-56, 152, 230, 280). On ostracon BTdK 550 he follows the position of *Ḥꜣy* (vii) ( ), who was foreman. If indeed, the mark found its origin in the hieroglyph , which was used as a classifier in the word *ḳd* 'to form, to build' or *ḳd.w* 'potter, builder, sculptor', and as such conveyed the first sounds of the name of *Ḳd-ꜣḥ.t=f*. Such a conveyance of meaning would be equally appropriate for I 01.035G ().		
 I 14.045	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Domed building Reminiscent of Gardiner O45 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: l7 **19**: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 1 (O1) **20**: 5 (O5)	**Method** **painted**: 7 (7b)
	The specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1120 was initially interpreted as I 14.006. Indeed, the form of the specimen resembles I 14.006. However, the cluster of marks and sequence of especially I 27.014, I 14.045 and I 01.002 can be compared to the sequence on IFAO ONL 6459 and 6522, which have I 14.045. There is one other specimen in this class that also resembles I 14.045 in that its outline is relatively square in comparison to the other specimens: OIM MH 2666. It is, however, found again in proximity of I 01.002. This, as well as the fact that another more clear specimen of I 14.045 occurs on OIM MH 2666, is reason to interpret the more square-like specimen as I 14.045 as well.		

I 14.049

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Pn-njw.t (i) or (ii)	Village with crossroads Reminiscent of Gardiner O49 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 14.049a: ⊕ I 14.049b: ✪ Further variant: I 27.051: 𓉐	**Total**: 39 **18**: 9 a: 9 (O6, P3) **19**: 7 a: 6 (O6) b: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 4 a: 3 (O2, P1) b: 1 (O1) **20**: 11 a: 7 (O5, P1, G1) b: 4 (O4) **not dated**: 8 a: 8 (P6, G1, T1)	**painted**: 25 (18b, 7r) **incised**: 8 **unknown**: 5

The mark occurs in dynasty 18 as well as in dynasty 20. Typical for dynasty 18 is the proximity of I 14.049a to I 12.034, as can be seen on especially Cairo JE 25321, Cairo JE 72490 and IFAO ONL 6465. On the basis of that, we may date the specimen on potsherd Bruyère Rap. 27 II 115 fig. 77 nr. 27 to dynasty 18. On account of that, we may perhaps date the potsherd Aston pottery VoK 545 (initially not dated) to dynasty 18 as well. Both the specimens on the Bruyère and the Aston sherds show the same variant form.

A typical combination of I 14.049a in dynasty 20 is with I 16.004 and II 044a. On account of that we may suggest that I 14.049a and I 14.049b are allomorphs. On ostracon Area K Unnumbered I 14.049b occurs in between II 044a and I 16.004. Compare especially the sequences on Cairo CG 25318 and IFAO ONL 6313. Another reason to assume that I 14.049a and I 14.049b are allomorphs is ostracon IFAO ONL 6258. We see here I 14.049b preceded by what could be a hieroglyphic *p*, followed by the mark II 040. This may spell, in hieroglyphs, the name *Pn-nỉw.t*, as a result of which the ostracon could provide the name and identity mark of *Pn-nỉw.t* (i) or (ii) and *Nḫt-mnw* (vi), the user of II 040.

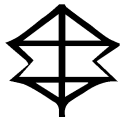
For the identification of *Pn-nỉw.t*, see class I 27.051.

I 14.051

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Granary Reminiscent of Gardiner O51 Hieratic forms	**Total**: 4 **20**: 4 (O4)	**painted**: 4 (4b)

The form that all four specimens follow is the hieratic form in which the granary itself is represented as a triangle without inner details (compare Möller II, nr. 356 from the time of Thutmosis III). Those on the sherds Petrie UC 31939 and 31940 were drawn by the same hand: the two are pieces of the same ostracon. The specimens on O.Berlin O 14231 and O.Cairo JE 46862 are more compact forms, in which the granary is much lower and in the case of O.Cairo JE 46862 filled in with black paint. The owner of the mark is unknown. The three ostraca Cairo JE 46862, Petrie UC 31939 and 31940 are all ostraca of the same kind: giving groups of marks accompanied by strokes, the groups being separated by dividing lines. What the different groups, and the strokes with every group, mean is unknown.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 15.001</td><td>Identity
Bɜk-n-Jmn (i)</td><td>Description of form
Boat
Reminiscent of Gardiner P1
Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract geometric forms
Graphic variants:
I 15.001a:
I 15.001b:
I 15.001c: </td><td>Number
Total: 100
19: 31
a: 10 (O7, P3)
b: 2 (O1, P1)
c: 19 (O17, P2)
19-20: 21
a: 13 (P7, G6)
b: 6 (P1, G5)
c: 2 (P2)
20: 47
a: 21 (O17, G4)
b: 25 (O23, P1, G1)
c: 1 (O1)
not dated: 1
c: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 67 (59b, 7r, 1y)
incised: 33</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">In the reign of Ramesses V the mark belonged to Bɜk-n-Jmn (i), which appears from comparison of the position of Bɜk-n-Jmn in the turnus with the mark in the sequence. In that period the mark had taken a recognizable pictorial or hieroglyphic form, either with indication of oar (I 15.001a) or without oar (I 15.01b), whereas in earlier times we see specimens of a more abstract and geometric form (I 15.001c). Dynasty 19 is the time in which we more often see abstract geometric forms (compare also I 27.026b, and see Part I chapter 1), and most abstract geometric forms of the boat date precisely to this time. The specimens of I 15.001c show nothing more than a curved line, ending in a triangular form on the right and in a circular form on the left, or in triangular forms on both sides. In at least 9 specimens an oar is indicated (see, for instance, the specimens on O.Ashmolean HO 1120, O.IFAO ONL 6306, O.Schaden 016 and O.Schaden 044). It is not certain to whom the mark belonged in dynasty 19, and if in fact the marks I 15.001a/b and I 15.001c were in some way related; that is, whether they belonged to family members, who succeeded each other in time, meaning that the same identity mark developed in form from abstract geometric toward a form more conform writing. A link between the abstract geometric forms from dynasty 19 and the pictorial hieroglyphic forms from later times cannot be securely made on the basis of identity or clusters and sequences in which the forms occur on the ostraca. Reason to assume that the forms of I 15.001c in fact developed into the forms of I 15.001a/b are the ostraca in the 19th dynasty Schaden corpus. The forms on the ostracon Schaden 001 is clearly an example of I 15.001b, but the forms that occur on ostraca Schaden 016, 044 and 105 gradually approach the forms of I 15.001a that we see on the 19th and 20th dynasty ostraca IFAO ONL 6338, 6542, 6598, Florence 2629 and Turin CG 57141. On the basis of these forms a graphic development can indeed be defended. Alternatively, the abstract geometric and the pictorial hieroglyphic forms concerned two separate identity marks that show a different conceptualization of the boat.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 15.002P</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Ship under sail
Reminiscent of Gardiner P2
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 2
19-20: 2 (P2)</td><td>Method
unknown: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">It is uncertain whether this was a workman’s identity mark. It is only encountered on two potsherds of which the find-spot and context are unknown. Both contain no other marks or information. The drawing by Bruyère of the specimen on the sherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.082 shows arms with hands instead of the actual sail, which reminds of Amarna times. It may concern two different signs.</td></tr>
</table>



I 15.005

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Sail Reminiscent of Gardiner O5 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 10 **19**: 4 (O2, P2) **19-20**: 4 (P4) **20**: 2 (O2)	**painted**: 5 (4b, 1r) **incised**: 1 **unknown**: 1

As a hieroglyph the form conveys the value *nfw* or *ṯ3w*. Ostracon BTdK 539 may perhaps be dated to the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV or V. It contains an hieroglyphic writing of the name of *Pn-nỉw.t*, who is securely attested as workman in year 4 of Ramesses IV or V. Kathrin Gabler has commented on the ostracon that it must show the left side of the crew with the reducement of the workmen in the reign of Ramesses V or VI. Given the period and the idea of the left side being presented here, it becomes tempting to assign the mark I 15.005 on this ostracon to Apatjau (i), who is attested in hieratic documentation to have worked on the left side in a year 4 after Ramesses III. However, Apatjau (i) is already attested with the mark I 12.014 belonging to his father Siwadjet (iii). Looking merely at the element *ṯ3w* in a workman's name, there are other possibilities, for instance *ṯ3w-nḏm* (i), who was a brother of Nebenmaat (ii) and son of Amennakth (xxi), grandson of Nebenmaat (i). The tomb-chapel of Nebenmaat (ii), however, is dated to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, and if his brother *ṯ3w-nḏm* (i) was his contemporary, he would not be serving in the early years of a kind after Ramesses III. The same would count for *ṯ3w-n-hwy* (i), son of Qen (ii), who would have lived in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II (Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina*, 176-7). A fourth option would be *P3-ṯ3w-m-dj-Jmn*. According to Davies, there may have been 1 or 2 workmen with this name. One *p3-ṯ3w-m-dỉ-Jmn* (i) is at least attested during the reign of Amenmesse, but a second one may perhaps be placed in the reign of Ramesses IV, as Davies suggests that the name of his cup-bearer, Heamare-sekheper-djamu on stela F 93/1.27 in the Leiden Collection may indicate; this name may have been based on Heqmare, the prenomen of Ramesses IV (Boeser, *Beschreibung Äg. Sammlung ... Leiden* VI, pl. 7: 48; KRI VI, 219; Davies, 225). If this is assumed, then *P3-ṯ3w-m-dj-Jmn* (ii) is theoretically a candidate for our mark I 15.005. A fifth option is an Apatjau (ii), whose son Amenhotep (iii) is attested in year 8 of Ramesses XI. Apatjau himself could have served in the reign of Ramesses IV.

It must be mentioned that at least two ostraca are dated to dynasty 19, and two to dynasty 20. The mark I 15.005 shows proximity to the mark II 029a on both ostraca from dynasty 19. On ostracon Brock 33 from dynasty 19 it also precedes I 21.026, which occurs in close proximity on the 20th dynasty ostracon BTdK 539 as well. The lack of ostraca and sequences, and the fact that the second 29th dynasty ostracon Cairo CG 25315 is very faded is against us, but the proximity to II 029a and I 21.026 may indicate that we are dealing with one and the same person who was active from the end of dynasty 19 to at least the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV. However, this would be a very long period for a workman to carry out the hard labor in a time when people did not become very old. A very tentative suggestion would then be to assign I 15.005 to *P3-ṯ3w-m-dj-Jmn* (i) in dynasty 19 and to a descendant of his, a tentative *P3-ṯ3w-m-dj-Jmn* (ii) in dynasty 20.

I 15.006

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Ḥᶜ-m-wɜs.t (iii)	Mast Reminiscent of Gardiner P6 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 118 **19**: 18 (O17, P1) **19-20**: 13 (O3, P9, G1) **20**: 86 (O85, G1)	**painted**: 105 (76b, 29r) **incised**: 5 **charcoal**: 2 **unknown**: 6

In the 19th dynasty we mainly see a triangular form of I 15.006, pointing down with two to three inner horizontal lines. Exceptions are the well preserved specimen on IFAO ONL 6199 and 6560. The second specimen on IFAO ONL 6199 is not well preserved in the middle, exactly the part where we should see the difference between a triangular form or a more hieroglyphic form of I 15.006. The date of the ostracon is uncertain: we have not context to date the ostracon in dynasty 19. Therefore, on the basis of the form of I 15.006, I would like to suggest dynasty 20. The other ostracon, IFAO ONL 6560, is very obscure. There appear to be workmen's marks on it, but also other signs and forms. A date in dynasty 19 is suggested on the basis of the occurrence of I 20.002c. Yet, when we look at the subclass I 20.002c, we see that it contains 4 specimen on 4 ostraca, one ostracon of which is not securely dated to dynasty 19, and one ostracon of which is dated to dynasty 19 only on account of I 20.002c. The other two specimens are securely dated to dynasty 19 on account of style and sequence of marks, which is comparable particularly to the Schaden group, dated to dynasty 19. Yet, all other occurrences of the class I 20.002 are dated to dynasty 20. A date for I 20.002c in dynasty 19 is only secure for 50%, while the mark I 20.002 in general is better placed in dynasty 20. Therefore, I suggest a date in dynasty 20 for IFAO ONL 6560 as well, or at least deem a dynasty 19 date doubtful.

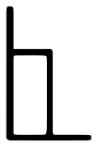
In dynasty 20 we see a form that better resembles the hieroglyphic form of the mast, Gardiner P6. Some specimens still display a triangular form, especially those on the Florence ostraca (2629 and 2631), but also IFAO ONL 6548, Schaden 215, Strasbourg H010 and Turin CG 57008. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6572 is very badly faded. Treatment of the photograph in Photoshop made the very faint remains even fainter. The photograph in the table gives the best idea of what the form looked like, and it seems to have had a triangular form as well. These ostraca displaying a triangular form of I 15.006 are, however, securely dated in dynasty 20. Therefore, the triangular form is still found in dynasty 20, although less frequently then the better hieroglyphic form.

A triangular form pointing upwards is known two ostraca (IFAO ONL 1314 and Turin CG 57141), from two potsherds (Aston pottery VoK 516 and 597) and from one graffito (Theban Graffito 0745). With the exception of IFAO ONL 1314, which dates to dynasty 20, these specimens are roughly dated to dynasty 19 or 20.

I 15.056G

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Boat with feather Reminiscent of JSesh / Hieroglyphica P56 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 4 **19-20**: 3 (G3) **20**: 1 (G1)	**incised**: 4

The depiction of a feather in a boat only occurs in graffiti, three times without any other information, and once accompanied by the hieratic phrase 'scribe *Jmn-nḫt* of the tomb'. This concerned *Jmn-nḫt* (v), who was presumably not the owner of the mark as his name and title were already written out and he is elsewhere identified only by the mark indicating function, I 24.002 ( ).



I 16.001

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Jmn-wɜ (i)	Seat Reminiscent of Gardiner Q1 Pictorial hieroglyphic and hieratic forms	**Total**: 50 **19-20**: 1 (G) **20**: 49 (O40, P2, G7)	**painted**: 38 (26b, 12r) **incised**: 9 **kohl**: 1 **unknown**: 1

All specimens show consistency in their orientation from left to right, conform hieratic script. There is only one exception: on the reverse of Turin CG 57008. The consistency and orientation suggests influence from script. However, it remains uncertain how identified *Jmn-wɜ*. The specimens show variation in the size of the seat (compare, for instance on ARTP 99-029 with on Ashmolean HO 1098), as well as in the height of the seat (compare on ARTP 99-029 with on IFAO ONL 6251).

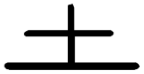
I 16.004

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Ḫnmw-nḫt	Head rest Reminiscent of Gardiner Q4 Pictorial and hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 16.004a: I 16.004b:	**Total**: 128 a: 125 (O101, P21, G3) b: 3 (O3) **18**: 59 a: 57 (O47, P10) b: 2 (O2) **18-19**: 1 a: 1 (P1) **19**: 34 a: 34 (O27, P7) **19-20**: 3 a: 3 (O2, P1) **20**: 23 a: 23 (O21, G2) **not dated**: 8 a: 7 (O4, P2, G1) b: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 100 (65b, 33r, 2?) **incised**: 22 **charcoal**: 3 **unknown**: 3

The 18th dynasty forms of I 16.004a may show a triangular form of the head rest itself. The 19th and 20th dynasty forms do not show this; they have curved head rests only. There are four specimens on ostraca that cannot be dated on the basis of textual or archaeological data. On the basis of paleography I would, however, suggest that they are likely to date to dynasty 19 or later. They all show curved forms of the head rest and the specimens on IFAO ONL 6224 may be compared to the forms we encounter on Cairo JE 46861, dated to dynasty 19; the difference being that the latter are filled in with black paint while the former remain open.

There are nine specimens that display a horizontal line underneath the mark of the head rest. Initially, we were not certain whether this line in fact belongs to the mark I 16.004 and we decided to simply classify the specimens as head rests. It concerns four specimens on pottery (Bruyère Rap. 28 II 125 fig. 69 nr. 35 (2x); Nagel Céramique 134 DM 22.93; SGP 2005 235) and five on ostraca (IFAO ONL 6260; IFAO ONL 6266; MMA 09.184.700; OWV 10; possibly IFAO ONL 6298). All nine specimens date to dynasty 18. Reason to suggest that the horizontal line is indeed part of the mark is a specimen of I 16.004b which occurs on IFAO ONL 6298: here, we also see a horizontal line but this time it crosses the mark of the head rest. A similar form we were able to identify on IFAO ONL 6354. Both date to dynasty 18 and it may therefore now be suggested that the nine specimens with a horizontal line underneath and the two specimens with a crossing horizontal line are one and the same mark, both being graphic variants of the head rest.

This hypothesis led to reconsideration of the date and interpretation of the marks on ostracon IFAO C 1404. This piece has thus far remained undated. A date in dynasty 19 or later has, however, been suggested on the basis of the alleged occurrence of a specimen coded I 14.036 (, Gardiner O36) and a specimen I 16.005 (, Gardiner Q5); both marks only occur from dynasty 19 onwards. However, as regards the specimen coded I 14.036, it deviates in many details from the other specimens of this mark: specimens of I 14.036 show double vertical lines for the wall, straight horizontal lines above and below and on each side of the wall one to three bulges. Our specimen shows a single vertical line, a horizontal line crossing it and a curved line on top; very reminiscent of I 16.004b. I therefore suggest that instead of I 14.036 this is in fact a specimen of I 16.004b which, in the light of what we have said, makes a date in dynasty 18 likely. While other marks on IFAO C 1404 would fit this date, we are left with the 19th dynasty specimen I 16.005. However, if we assume that I 16.005 is an allomorph of I 13.001 (, Gardiner N1) already in dynasty 18, as it certainly is in later periods (compare the sequence of marks on BM EA 50716 to the sequences on e.g. Berlin P. 12625 or IFAO ONL 0310 and 6232, and to the name-lists in the hieratic duty rosters), then an 18th dynasty date for IFAO C 1404 is to be preferred over a date in dynasty 19 or later.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 16.005</td><td>Identity
Mr.y-Rᶜ (vi)</td><td>Description of form
Chest
Reminiscent of Gardiner Q5
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Graphic variant in dynasty 20:
I 13.001: </td><td>Number
Total: 51
19: 9 (O9)
19-20: 7 (O4, P3)
20: 34 (O31, P1, G2)
not dated:1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 45 (35b, 9r, 1?)
incised: 5
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">See the remarks with I 13.001.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
I 17.004</td><td>Identity
Rš-ptr=f (i)</td><td>Description of form
Loaf on reed mat
Reminiscent of Gardiner R4
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Graphic variants:
I 17.004a: 82
I 17.004b: 3</td><td>Number
Total: 85
a: 82 (O78, P3, G1)
b: 3 (O3)
18: 4
a: 4 (O4)
19: 6
a: 4 (O3, P1)
b: 2 (O2)
19-20: 1
a: 1 (O1)
20: 73
a: 72 (O70, P1, G1)
b: 1 (O1)
not dated: 1
a: 1 (P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 81 (60b, 17r, 4?)
incised: 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs throughout dynasties 18 to 20. In general, they show four main forms: one with a cross on the top (e.g.), one which a bulb on the top (e.g.), one with an arrow-like form on the top (e.g.), and one with a bulb with crossing line on top (e.g.). All except for the arrow are found among the specimens from dynasty 18, which therewith show a large range of variations. The form with the arrow we see first among the specimens from dynasty 19. They are more often found in dynasty 20, but on the whole the form with the arrow is rare. In dynasty 20 the form with the cross on top dominates. None of the forms shows the true hieroglyphic or hieratic form of the equivalent script sign ḥtp. Yet, the mark did convey meaning on the basis of phonetic value, as it was used by Rš.w-ptr=f (i) whom Davies suggested was the grandson of Nfr-ḥtp (ii) (Davies, Who's Who at Deir el-Medina, 248).</td></tr>
</table>

I 17.008	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Flagpole Reminiscent of Gardiner R8 Pictorial hieroglyphic, cursive, hieratic forms Variants?: I 17.008a: I 17.008b:	**Number** **Total**: 36 **18**: 26 a: 26 (O22, P4) **19**: 2 a: 2 (O2) **19-20**: 1 a: 1 (O1) **20**: 6 a: 5 (O5) b: 1 (O1) **not dated**: 1 a: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 32 (16b, 16r) **incised**: 4
	The mark I 17.008 occurs most often in dynasty 18, in a form that is clearly recognizable as a pictorial, hieroglyphic flagpole. The specimens on ostraca OWV 01 and 03, and on ostraca IFAO ONL 6305, 6410 and Petrie UC 31988 are particularly clear examples. The form of I 17.008 has also a few attestations in later times. Its forms are then rather more cursive or hieratic, such as the 19th-20th dynasty specimen on ostracon IFAO C 7576. The contexts in which these later specimens occur are, however, difficult to interpret in every case: other identity marks do seem to occur, but in addition to forms and signs that have not been interpreted, and the execution and lay-out of these marks is very bad and untidy (e.g. ostraca BTdK 547, 590 and MMA 14.6.218). Whereas the mark I 17.008 in dynasty 18 is clearly one of the workmen's identity marks, this status in dynasty 20 is not certain. The only ostracon on which the mark clearly occurs in the context of other workmen's identity marks is O.Ahsmolean HO 0005, but this specific form has also been suggested to be in fact a form of I 27.052 ( ), a mark in which the flagpole functions, and which belonged to *Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr* (ii). I 27.052 occurs relatively often in dynasty 20 (not before that time), but a relation to I 17.008 cannot be suggested, neither on the basis of clusters or sequences in which the specimens occur, nor on the basis of identity in a family context. Among others due to the uncertain relation of the 19th and 20th dynasty specimens to the 18th dynasty specimens, the interpretation of the only form of I 17.008b ( ) is also uncertain. I 17.008b occurs only once, in dynasty 20, in a sequence that has a parallel neither in the sequences of the later specimens of I 17.008a, nor in the sequences of I 27.052. All in all, I 17.008a was, in dynasty 18, certainly a workmen's identity mark, the owner of which is unfortunately not known. In later times the status of occurrences of I 17.008a are uncertain, as well as the relation to the only occurrence of I 17.008b and to the mark in which the flagpole functioned that had now become frequent, i.e. I 27.052.			

	Identity *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏdw*	**Description of form** Column imitating a bundle of stalks tied together Reminiscent of Gardiner R11 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Possible graphic variant: I 27.011: 𓏏	**Number** **Total**: 23 **19**: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 2 (O2) **20**: 20 (O19, P1)	**Method** **painted**: 22 (17b, 4r, 1?) **incised**: 1

I 17.011

The specimens show variation in the number of crossing lines. Ostraca BM EA 05642 and Cairo JE 46862 from dynasty 20 have 4 horizontal lines. Ostracon Cairo JE 46863 from dynasty 19 or 20 seems to have only two horizontal lines. The potmark on sherd Aston pottery VoK 593 from dynasty 20 also shows only two horizontal lines. The variation between 2, 3, or 4 horizontal lines occurs in dynasty 20; that is, the variation does not represent a chronological development. We have earlier expressed the tentative suggestion that pictorial variation, in contrast to variation in adding phonetic complements or in orthography, may point to the mark conveying information pictorially instead of through writing. That would suggest that the mark I 17.011 does not refer to the workmen's name via the phonetic sound *ḏd*, but that it rather refers to a workman through metaphor or metonymy, through its representation of a pillar. Yet, the variation is very small. Fifteen of the 19 specimens of which the number of horizontal lines can still be clearly seen (thus excluding the ostraca IFAO ONL 6455, DeM 10121, IFAO ONL 6303 and Prague NM P 3836) show the correct number of three horizontal lines. This comes up to 78,95%.

That phonetic value may in fact be important in this mark, appears from the following. It has been suggested that the first specimen on ostracon Turin CG 57008 is in fact the mark I 27.010: a *ḏd*-sign with a *nfr*-sign. Remains of a *nfr*-sign cannot be detected: the specimen does show two small horizontal strokes to its upper right; however, very similar horizontal lines, also two in number, occur with the mark below I 17.011, which is I 08.016. Different numbers of small horizontal lines occur with several other marks on this ostracon. These horizontal lines are unlikely to be remains of a *nfr*-sign, which does not need two horizontal lines (although it can occur). The mark I 08.016 is never encountered with a *nfr*-sign. It is therefore unlikely that the mark I 17.011 on ostracon Turin CG 57008 was accompanied by a *nfr*-sign. However, it is possible that the marks I 17.011 and I 27.010 were graphic variants; that is, two renderings for the same workman, which would in that case probably be abbreviations of a name containing the sounds *ḏd* and *nfr*. The mark I 27.010 occurs only once, and may simply have been a less radical abbreviation. A man called ***Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏdw*** is in fact known from Deir el-Medina: he occurs on the hieratic ostracon DeM 831, which also contains the names of men that can be linked to identity marks that occur in the same sequence as I 17.011 on ostracon ARTP 99-027. This ostracon itself shares several identity marks that can also be found on ostracon BTdK 539, which shows I 27.010. In other words, there may be a link between the hieratic ostracon DeM 831 and the marks ostracon ARTP 99-027, which suggests that mark I 17.011 can be linked to *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏdw*, and this can again be linked to marks ostracon BTdK 539 to suggest that I 17.011 and I 27.010 were variant marks relating to the same man, I 17.011 being a more radical abbreviation of this man's name.

I 17.012

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Ḳny-Mnw (i) = (iii)	Min-emblem on a standard Reminiscent of Gardiner R12 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 52 **19**: 4 (O4) **19-20**: 11 (O3, P2, G6) **20**: 37 (O28, G9)	**painted**: 34 (20b, 13r, 1?) **incised**: 18

Some degree of variation can be seen among the specimens. Several have a horizontal line on top of the standard representing the Min-emblem; some lack this horizontal line, representing only the standard. IFAO ONL 6737 and UC 45733 show only a T-form without diagonal lines. Theban Graffito 0385 even shows only a T-form standard, without diagonal lines and Min-emblem. The same may be possible for IFAO ONL 6240. It is argued that this is not rather a specimen of II 028, because we have no specimens at all of II 028 that occur in graffiti, while I 17.012 occurs notably often in graffiti (15 times out of a total of 52 specimens: 28,85%).

Concerning the identity of the workmen, a suggestion can be made for *Ḳny-Mnw* (i) = (iii) on the basis of IFAO ONL 0432. Here we encounter on one side I 17.012 and on the other side I 12.014a. If indeed *Ḳny-Mnw* (i) = (iii) used the mark I 17.012, then by means of the phonetic sound *mnw* we have the last part of his name. In that case, the graphic variety of specimens with and without Min-emblem, with and without one or two diagonal lines, does not change the meaning of the mark. The Min-emblem and the standard can be combined in script, but also occur as separate hieroglyphs [Min emblem as well??], and thus the variation can be denoted as variation of script. Not so much pictorial variation. The diagonal lines, however, are part of the hieroglyph representing the standard. The variation in representation of 0, 1, or 2 diagonal lines, is pictorial variation. The mark still refers to its workmen via phonetic sound. Here, pictorial variation does not mean that the conveyance of information is unrelated to script and phonetic sound. On the contrary, we see a lot of graphic variation, but the mark refers via phonetic sound; that is, this can be suggested for at least one specimen, IFAO ONL 0432.

I 17.014

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Nb-jmnt.t (i)	Feather on standard for carrying religious symbols Reminiscent of Gardiner R14 Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 75 **18**: 4 (O4) **19**: 19 (O17, P2) **19-20**: 15 (O5, G10) **20**: 26 (O22, P4) **not dated**: 9 (O2, P2, G6)	**painted**: 46 (35b, 11r) **incised**: 22 **unknown**: 7

This is mainly a 19th and 20th dynasty mark, although it existed already in dynasty 18. We cannot, however, retrace the identity of the workmen who used in dynasty 18. In dynasty 20 at least we may suggest *Nb-jmnt.t* (i) on the basis of three potsherds, where the mark occurs together with I 18.034. The combination of I 17.014 with I 18.034 is especially notable, because on the ostraca with sequences of workmen the mark does not occur in the neighborhood of I 18.034. We see this only on the three potsherds, on which no other marks are present beside those of Nebimentet and Minkhau. That supports the idea that the occurrence of I 17.014 and I 18.034 together on the ostraca has to do with familial relations in private context, and not with the duty rosters.

Considerable graphic variety in the form of the feather in all periods. In fact, there are few actual 'feathers' as encountered in hieroglyphic script. We find various forms of the feather among which a very bulbous feather and a feather consisting of a single curled line. The upper part of the standard can be a flat line as in IFAO ONL 6274, a semi-circle as in Cairo JE 46862, a form more resembling the hieroglyph *r* as in IFAO ONL 6527 and 6587; or it can apparently be upside down (once as in ARTP 99-027). More variation is found in the length and the orientation of the vertical lines of the standard. Notable are of course the very long lines of BTdK 454, but compare also the direction of the lines of Schaden 001 to Schaden 016. In some specimens one of both lines is shorter, as in the hieroglyphic sample, such as in Schaden 044, or IFAO ONL 6215; but in other specimens the length of the lines seems equal, as in BTdK 454 and IFAO ONL 6312. The lower parts of specimens IFAO ONL 6587 and IFAO 6264 are not well preserved; therefore, we cannot say something about their lengths.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 17.019</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Scepter with straight shaft and head of jackal-like animal with filet and feather
Reminiscent of Gardiner R19
Pictorial hieroglyphic form</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1?)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark may be a variant of I 18.040, although comparison of the sequences in which I 17.019 and I 18.040 occur does not provide decisive answers.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 18.003</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Red crown of Lower Egypt.
Reminiscent of Gardiner S3
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 2
20: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (2b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">There are only two occurrences of this mark. It is uncertain whether it represents indeed the red crown as in the hieroglyph.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 18.012</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Collar of beads
Reminiscent of Gardiner S12
Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms
Graphic variants:
I 18.012a:
I 18.012b: , , </td><td>Number
Total: 75
18: 32
a: 4 (O4)
b: 28 (O23, P5)
19: 2
a: 2 (O2)
19-20: 9
a: 9 (O1, P2, G6)
20: 32
b: 32 (O27, G5)</td><td>Method
painted: 57 (41b, 16r)
incised:16
unknown: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">We suggest that I 18.012b is an early graphic variant of I 18.012a. This suggestion can be made on the basis of two specimens that we have coded I 18.012a and which date to dynasty 18: those on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1114 and IFAO ONL 6316. They seem to display a transition from the forms encountered under I 18.012b to a more correct form of the hieroglyphic collar . In the case of the specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1114 one may even dispute its codification as I 18.012a as its form is only slightly more developed towards the hieroglyphic collar than several specimens of I 18.012b; that is, it does not deviate much from specimens of I 18.012b such as those on IFAO ONL 6293 or Cairo JE 72450.
The main difference in form between I 18.012a and b is the fact that specimens of the latter show a curved line above and a horizontal line below that together make a semi-circular form with the curve upwards, precisely where specimens of I 18.012a show a semi-circle with the curve below. Specimens of I 18.012b have three to five vertical lines protruding downwards from the horizontal line whereas specimens of I 18.012a may show this (e.g. in the case of IFAO ONL 6303) but usually have a square or triangular form representing the pendant of the collar, whereby it can be mentioned that the specimens from dynasty 20 even better approach a correct form of the hieroglyphic collar, since specimens from dynasty 19 show no pendant at all.
Several specimens of I 18.012b begin to show more of an oval form instead of a semi-circle with the curve upwards. Consider the specimens on Cairo JE 72450, IFAO</td></tr>
</table>

ONL 6293 and 6588. This oval form we also see in the 18th dynasty specimens of I 18.012a on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1114 and IFAO ONL 6316 which, as a result, gradually begin to display the more correct form of the collar as encountered in dynasties 19 and 20, as well as in the other two 18th dynasty specimens (IFAO ONL 6266 and the neat specimen of Cairo JE72492). It can be suggested that the specimens of I 18.012b and the two transitional forms on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1114 and IFAO ONL 6316 were made by persons who only had a vague idea of the appearance of the hieroglyph 𓎛 without being familiar with its details and exact execution. The correct form was only vaguely approached with the semi-circular form that is the basis of the mark reversed. We may assume that the makers of these specimens were not fully literate.

In addition to the discernment of formal development there is another reason to assume that I 18.012a and b are allomorphs. When we consider the clusters of marks in which both variants occur, we detect many similarities. The 18th dynasty specimen of I 18.012a on Cairo JE 72492, for instance, occurs together with I 18.040a (𓌳) just as I 18.012b on IFAO ONL 6223 and Nagel Céramique 053 fig. 34 nr. 23. The cluster of marks in which the 18th dynasty specimens of I 18.012a on IFAO ONL 6266 and 6316 occur is very similar to the cluster in which specimens of I 18.012b occur on, for instance on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1100 and 1114, Cairo JE 96585, Cairo JE 96590, Cairo JE 96631 and IFAO ONL 6272; this cluster contains as core elements the marks I 16.004a (𓌂), I 23.008a (𓍿), II 007a (𓊃), I 13.026 (𓋴), II 036 (𓉔) and I 26.026 (𓎡).

The suggestion that I 18.012a and b are graphic variants, which is based on formal development and comparable clusters, leads to the conclusion that ostracon Ashmolean HO 1114 shows the mark I 18.012 twice; once I 18.012a in the upper row, and once (damaged) I 18.012b in the bottom row. This is not a problem, however, as many marks on this ostracon appear twice: cf. I 16.004a (𓌂), I 26.009 (𓏏), I 18.038 (𓁹) and II 007a (𓊃). Twice I 18.012 would thus not be an exception. The fact that in one of the specimens (i.e. I 18.012a in the upper row) we may see traces of a transition toward the hieroglyphic form of the collar as discussed above may suggest that this ostracon is to be dated toward the later rather than earlier periods of dynasty 18.

Unfortunately, the suggestion that all specimens under I 18.012 are related to the hieroglyphic sign 𓎛 with phonetic value *nbw* has not yet led to ideas on the identity of the workmen who used this mark during dynasties 18 to 20. We do not know whether the users were family and passed on the mark from father to son over several generations, or whether the user(s) in dynasty 19 and 20 were unrelated to the user(s) of I 18.012b in dynasty 18. Both theories are possible, with at the moment perhaps a preference for the latter as we have thus far not been able to retrace any of the identity marks from dynasty 20 down to dynasty 18; there appears to be a gap between dynasty 18 and dynasties 19-20.

I 18.014

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Jmn-nḫt (xxvi)	Combination of collar with mace Reminiscent of Gardiner S14 Cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 25 **20**: 25 (O24, G1)	**painted**: 24 (20b, 4r) **incised**: 1

The mark only occurs in dynasty 20, in clear sequences of identity marks which allow us to relate the mark to the workmen *Jmn-nḫt* (xxvi), nicknamed 'Sedet'. The mark shows relatively little variation in its execution, and is generally of a cursive hieroglyphic form, being neither hieroglyphic nor showing the scribal ductus of a hieratic hand. Some specimens show the head of the mace as a circle, such as ostraca Ashmolean HO 1082 and IFAO ONL 6470; others show it rather as a dot or bulb, such as ostraca Ashmolean HO 1095 and IFAO ONL 6259; again others show it as a short stroke such as ostraca Ashmolean HO 1081, BM EA 50716 and IFAO ONL 0946. In the combination with *nbw* the mace is not once written as it would be in hieroglyphic or hieratic script when it occurs alone. The specimens show some interesting differences in the form of the *nbw*-sign. In all cases the pendant is not represented, but that may not be surprising in cursive hieroglyphic combination sign. Yet, ostracon Ashmolean HO 1095 clearly shows at least twice the form of the necklace that we also encountered in the 18th dynasty examples of mark I 18.012b; that is, the base-form of the necklace appears to be reversed with the curved line up and the horizontal line down. Such a form is also seen on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1081, BTdK 541, IFAO ONL 6219 and IFAO ONL 6684. Specimens such as those on ostraca BM EA 50716 and IFAO ONL 6470 show what we have considered a 'transitional form' in which the *nbw*-necklace has an almond shaped form. The other specimens show the base-form of the necklace as it occurs in script, with the curved side down and the straight horizontal line up. Whether these differences in form have a meaning or would devaluate the statements made with mark I 18.040, is difficult to say. It is impossible to find out whether the specimens here indicate a chronological development within dynasty 20 since most ostraca cannot be precisely dated. Moreover, in combination signs often look different from how they were written as single forms. When starting to produce the form I 18.014, the scribes likely started with the mace-head, going down, lifting their brush just briefly to start the necklace in the lower left, going in one quick – and therefore likely curved – line to the right, ending with a line to connect both ends of the necklace. In this procedure, the attention was not placed on drawing the *nbw*-sign, but on the combination mace-*nbw*, in this order. As such, one can understand how the *nbw*-form as seen on O.Ahsmolean HO 1095 et al. came into existence: precisely in the procedure of beginning with the mace, then ending quickly with the main lines for *nbw*.

I 18.023	**Identity** *ʾIy-r-nỉw.t=f* (iii) *Ḫnsw* (iv)	**Description of form** Knotted strips of cloth Reminiscent of Gardiner S23 Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 136 **19**: 27 (O25, P2) **19-20**: 32 (O7, P16, G6, T3) **20**: 77 (O74, G3)	**Method** **painted**: 104 (79b, 23r, 1br, 1?) **incised**: 32
	Until the reign of Ramesses V the mark I 18.023, which frequently occurs in sequences that can be compared to hieratic name lists, belonged to the sculptor *ʾIy-r-nỉw.t=f* (iii). From year 1 of Ramesses V we see, however, changes. On the hieratic ostracon Cairo CG 25609, tentatively dated to III-IV *šmw* of this year 1 (personal communication with Daniel Soliman), *ʾIy-r-nỉw.t=f* no longer occurs. In his place, a man named *Ḫnsw* occurs, while the mark I 18.023 is kept in use. This can be explained, since *ʾIy-r-nỉw.t=f* probably had a son called 2nsw, who according to Davies was *Ḫnsw* (iv) (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 22, 185). We thus have a case here of a son succeeding his father, taking his position as well as his mark among the crew. It remains unclear why this mark particularly was used by both men. We have not been able to make the link, phonetic or otherwise, between mark and men. As regards the forms of the specimens, they are mainly pictorial or cursive hieroglyphic in that the circle remains in every case (except for Th.G. 1941) clearly visible. A few specimens, on ostraca as well as on pottery and in graffiti, show the strips of cloth crossing the circle, which gives them a pictorial hieroglyphic appearance: see among others ostraca IFAO ONL 6445, 6585, the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 34-35 III 364 and Th.G. 0012 and Th.G. 1513. The form of the strips of cloth as flagella can only be seen in some specimens on pottery and in graffiti; on ostraca the strips of cloth are mainly indicated as single lines. Some specimens include the horizontal line below, others lack this. Among the latter are the 20th dynasty specimens on ostraca BTdK 586, IFAO ONL 0318, and IFAO ONL 1371, which are more cursive in appearance then the other 20th dynasty members in the group. Similar cursive forms are not yet seen among the 19th dynasty specimens. In general, the larger circular forms, the crossing strips of cloth, the flagella formed cloths and the horizontal line underneath define the 19th dynasty marks, whereas in dynasty 20 more cursive specimens with smaller circles and no crossing flagella-formed cloths join the group.			

I 18.028

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Ḥr-šr (i)	Strip of cloth with fringe combined with folded cloth Reminiscent of Gardiner S28 Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic, and abstract forms	**Total**: 70 **19-20**: 3 (O3) **20**: 67 (O64, G3)	**painted**: 67 (45b, 22r) **incised**: 3

The mark is predominantly attested in dynasty 20. Three specimens are dated to dynasties 19-20: those on ostraca IFAO ONL 6230, 6276 and 6553. The context in which these specimens they appear, as well as several other marks on the ostraca, are faded and uncertain. Perhaps the three specimens could be dated to dynasty 20 as well, since all certain occurrences of I 18.028 date to that time. The mark in dynasty 20 belonged to *Ḥr-šr* (i), whose position in the turnus compares well with in the marks sequence, for instance on ostracon IFAO ONL 0318 + ONL 0325 where appears on day 26, the position of *Ḥr-šr* (i) in the 30-day turnus at the time of Ramesses III-IV. On the marks ostracon the deliveries to *Ḥr-šr* (i) are specified as 20 *psn*-bread, 12 *bỉ.t*-bread, 2 *ds*-jars, and 6 vegetable units. On the ostracon DeM 36, which records the deliveries to *Ḥr-šr* (i) in hieratic for this same day (specified as II *šmw* in year 32 of Ramesses III), the numbers are identical, except for the number of vegetable units, which on O.DeM is 6 instead of 10. Although it is clear that *Ḥr-šr* (i) was indeed the owner of the mark (for more evidence, see Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 3), a link between the mark and this man remains uncertain. As a sign of writing is used among others in the words *ḥɜy* and *ḥbs*, which both begin with the sound *ḥ*, the first sound of *Ḥr-šr*'s name. This phonetic link is a possibility. As regards the meaning of these words, *ḥɜy* means 'the naked one' and *ḥbs* means 'cloth', both known from the formula in Old Kingdom autobiographies *dỉ.n(=ỉ) ḥb.w n ḥɜ.tjw* 'I have given cloths to the naked'. Whether this formula or the meaning of the words without reference to the formula, were related to *Ḥr-šr* (i) remains an unknown possibility.

As regards the form of the mark, the specimens are relatively uniform in size and in the number of fringes represented on top of the strip of cloth (generally 3, only a few showing 4 or 5 fringes). Some specimens are rather abstract linear in form, such as the specimens on ostraca Berlin O. 10842, IFAO ONL 6474 and OIM 19125. Others are rather pictorial hieroglyphic, showing clearly the -form within the strip of cloth, such as the specimens on ostraca BTdK 551 and IFAO OL 170. There is naturally variation in the length and positioning of the two lines that form the folded cloth. In some specimens (e.g. those on ostraca IFAO ONL 0340, Cairo JE 46858, BM EA 50716) the lines are of equal length. In other cases, for instance the specimens on ostraca BTdK 539, Cairo JE 46862 and IFAO ONL 0297, the -form in which one line is short and the other long is more clearly represented. A difference is seen in that the former two show the shorter line on the right while the latter shows it on the left. This orientation also differs in other specimens that show one short and one longer line of the folded cloth.

I 18.033

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Sandal Reminiscent of Gardiner S33 Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 30 **18**: 28 (O22, P6) **18?**: 1 (O1) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 24 (14b, 10r) **incised**: 6

The owner of this 18th dynasty mark is unknown. The mark clearly represents a sandal, a sign that does not so often occur in script, but when it does has the value *ṯb* or *ṯb.t* ('sandal'). Given the lack of written sources in dynasty 18 and the relatively uncommon occurrence of the script sign , the identity mark was presumably rather based on the sandal as an object, worn daily by the workmen in the Theban necropolis. Among the 22 occurrences on ostraca which are dated to dynasty 18 with certainty there is some variation in form, especially in orientation (the part for the toes either up or down), in outline (either one oval form or the part for the heels indicated by a tapering in the outline at approximately ¾ of the length; in some cases the part for the toes is pointy rather than round), and in the form, length and direction of the straps. Some specimens clearly belong to the neat handwriting seen in some 18th dynasty ostraca and discussed in Part I chapter I, section 1 Group I: those on ostraca IFAO OL 6788, IFAO ONL 6316, IFAO ONL 6416, OWV 01 and Stockholm MM 14130.

	Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
I 18.034	*Ḥwy-nfr* *Mn-ḫʿw* (i)	*ʿnḫ*-symbol Reminiscent of Gardiner S34 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Possible graphic variants: I 18.034a: I 18.034b: I 18.034c:	**Total**: 126 **18**: 4 a: 4 (O3, P1) **19**: 22 a: 21 (O19, G2) c: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 22 a: 22 (O8, P6, G7, Do1) **20**: 72 a: 71 (O63, P3, G5) b: 2 (O2) **not dated**: 6 a: 6 (O4, P1, G1)	**painted**: 98 (72b, 26r) **incised**: 28

The workmen who were identified by the mark I 18.034 were *Ḥwy-nfr* and *Mn-ḫʿw*, who succeeded *Ḥwy-nfr*. The relation between the two men is not entirely clear as it is not entirely certain which *Ḥwy-nfr* we are dealing with, but the name *Ḥwy-nfr* and the abbreviation *Ḥwy* do occur in the family of *Mn-ḫʿw* (i). If not a family mark, the mark was perhaps related to the slot in the turnus, which *Mn-ḫʿw* filled after *Ḥwy-nfr* left.

The forms and are given as possible graphic variants. They only occur twice respectively once. The clusters of marks in which they occur do not compare well to the sequences in which occurs; yet, the ostraca on which and occur do both not present the turnus and are rather to be interpreted otherwise. Ostracon Brooklyn 16118-Ashmolean HO 1131 is a figurative ostracon inscribed with pictures, marks and hieroglyphic signs in regular compartments. The ostracon IFAO ONL 6338 gives small groups of each 2 to 3 marks on each of its three sides, without further information. Whether the forms and were also used by *Ḥuy-nfr* and *Mn-ḫʿw* (the latter only in dyn. 20) is uncertain; yet, they are variant forms of representing a double respectively a triple form, and they are therefore included under I 18.034 irrespective of which workman they identified. Double and triple variants were similarly seen with I 06.035b () and I 06.035c (). It has been suggested that the multiplication of could refer to quality, *nfr.w* written with two or three *nfr*-signs referring to ‘good things’ (Wb II, 259 gives general and specified examples). Given the similarity in form of and in hieroglyphic script, we could perhaps suggest the same for the multiplications of the *ʿnḫ*-sign: the more symbols of life, the better. An aesthetic solution was invented for the combination of three *ʿnḫ*-signs: the middle *ʿnḫ* was turned 180 degrees so that it would fit well in between the other two *ʿnḫ*-signs.

As regards form, a pictorial aspect is clearly seen in the aesthetic solution in just mentioned. But in fact, all specimens show pictorial hieroglyphic characteristics in that the circular part is a true, closed circular or oval form instead of an open zigzag form or stroke as seen in hieratic examples. Some are larger than others, whereby the largest circular and oval forms are found among the earlier – that is, 18th and 19th dynasty – specimens. Compare for instance the specimens on ostraca OWV 03, IFAO ONL 6312, IFAO ONL 6452, IFAO ONL 6501 and especially Schaden 121 to the 20th dynasty specimens, of which particularly the specimens on ostraca Ashmolean HO 0704, BTdK 546 and OIM 19215 can almost be called cursive. Nevertheless, large circular forms are also seen in the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6604 and BTdK 563, dated to the 19th-20th respectively 20th dynasties. Further variation among the specimens is seen in the height of the vertical stroke, which in a few specimens is drawn relatively low (e.g. the specimens on ostraca BM EA 50716, BTdK 563 and IFAO ONL 7611). This together with the other pictorial (hieroglyphic) characteristics suggests that the origin of the mark was not so much the *ʿnḫ*-sign as a sign of writing, but rather the *ʿnḫ* as a non-linguistic *symbol*; that is, it was presumably not so much linked to the phonetic value *ʿnḫ*, but rather to the concept of ‘life’. If so, we see that in addition to marks that have a phonetic link to the names of their owners and marks that can otherwise be related to their owners on the basis of a metaphorical or metonymical relation, marks that were known as symbols for general and religious concepts, perhaps simultaneously an expression for a long and prosperous life.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 18.038</td><td>Identity:
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Crook
Reminiscent of Gardiner S38
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 51
18: 48 (O45, P3)
18-19: 1 (P1)
not dated: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 47 (22b, 24r, 1?)
incised: 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is presumably confined to dynasty 18 (with one specimen dated in dynasty 18-19 and two undated specimens which, whatever their exact date, at least belong to the corpus of marks found mainly in dynasty 18). The forms of the specimens vary from pictorially drawn with a relatively large crook’s head, such as the specimen on ostracon Cairo JE 96631, or the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6443, to forms that almost resemble the peasant’s crook as it occurs in hieroglyphic writing (Gardiner S39), with a small crook’s head such as the specimens on ostraca Cairo CG 24107 and OWV 03. As for the orientation, 34 specimens face the left against 18 that face the right. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6362 is drawn horizontally, and the specimen on IFAO ONL 6580 is drawn diagonally. The variety in orientation is characteristic for dynasty 18.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 18.040</td><td>Identity:
uncertain</td><td>Description of form:
Scepter
Reminiscent of Gardiner S40
Pictorial hieroglyphic, cursive, hieratic forms
Graphic variants:
I 18.040a:
I 18.040b:
I 18.040c:
I 18.040d: </td><td>Number:
Total: 70
18: 33
a: 29 (O28, P1)
b: 1 (O1)
c: 2 (O2)
d: 1 (O1)
19: 13
a: 13 (O12, G1)
19-20: 3
a: 3 (O2, G1)
20: 18
a: 18 (O14, G4)
not dated: 3
a: 3 (O1, P1, G1)</td><td>Method:
painted: 60 (34b, 25r, 1?)
incised: 10</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs most often in dynasty 18, but also has a presence in dynasties 19 and 20 as well. The owner of the mark in dynasty 18 is unknown. In dynasty 19 the mark occurs in a clear sequence on the ostraca from the Schaden group, among which are particularly ostraca Schaden 001 and 016. Some workmen from this sequence are identified, such as Pn-dwꜣ ( ), Sꜣ-Wꜣḏ.t ( ), Nb-jmnt.t ( ) and Ḥr-m-wjꜣ ( ) (see also the remarks with I 01.028). From this, it is clear that these Schaden ostraca may concern workmen from the second half of the reign of Ramesses II, belonging to the left side of the crew. Ostraca Schaden 001 and 016 can be particularly well compared to the hieratic ostraca BM EA 05634 and DeM 706. The same names as those just mentioned occur on these ostraca, and the sequence in which they occur on the obverse of both the BM and the DeM ostraca compares well to the sequence of the marks on O.Schaden 016. That is, the positions of Pn-dwꜣ, Sꜣ-wꜣḏ.t, Ḥr-m-wiꜣ and Nb-jmnt.t coincide with the order of the marks on O.Schaden 016, except for one discrepancy: between the names of Ḥr-m-wiꜣ and Nb-jmnt.t the hieratic ostraca show two names – those of Jmn-nḫt/Nḫ and Wꜣḏ-ms - , but ostracon Schaden 016 only show one mark: . Ostracon Schaden 001 shows two marks (respectively). We have already seen that the owner of mark (I 12.009) in the reigns of Ramesses III and IV was Ḫ^ꜥ-m-nwn (iii), but who used the mark before him is not known. Ḫ^ꜥ-m-nwn’s father was indeed called Jmn-nḫt, but this was Jmn-nḫt (xxvi), who is attested with the mark . All in all, it also remains unclear who used , if it was Jmn-nḫt/Nḫ or Wꜣḏ-ms, or another workmen from the left side in the reign or Ramesses II. Purely on the basis of phonetics one would rather suggest the only workman with the sound wꜣs in his name,</td></tr>
</table>

that is *Mr-wꜣs.t*, but unfortunately he does not occur in the sequence starting with *Pn-dwꜣ* on the hieratic ostraca.

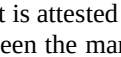
As regards form, the mark shows some neat and clearly recognizable examples in dynasty 18, drawn by the neat hand of that time. See especially the specimens on ostraca Ashmolean HO 0892, Cairo JE 96285, IFAO OL 6788, IFAO ONL 6302, 6333, 6410 and Stockholm MM 14130. There is much variation in orientation, in length and form of the scepter-head, and in its forked bottom, which in most specimens except for those from the 19th dynasty is represented as a closed circle similar to examples from hieratic (compare Möller nr. 455). Specimens from the 19th dynasty generally show a small scepter-head and a forked bottom except for the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6578 and Schaden 011, and potentially also the specimen on ostracon Schaden 001. The specimens on ostraca Schaden 016 and 044 have a forked bottom, yet comparison of all the Schaden-specimens makes clear that all must have been drawn by the same hand: they are otherwise very comparable in style. The mark in dynasty 20 shows some curious forms, which are perhaps not workmen's marks or specimens of at all. An example is the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6482. Its red paint is extremely faded, but by means of Photoshop some marks reveal themselves. Not all marks are clearly recognized as workmen's identity marks, however, and the addition of the two diagonal lines coming forth from the circle at the bottom of the shaft may point to not being a specimen of . Perhaps it is rather a specimen of or a confusion with I 19.022 ( ), although comparison of sequences and surrounding marks does not suggest this. The specimen on ostracon Cairo JE 46862 also looks strange: it takes a strange horizontal orientation whereby the right side of the scepter-head is so long and curved that it touches the small circular bottom of the shaft. The orientation, however, can be explained by a lack of space: the mark is written at the top end of the ostracon, below it are strokes counting something. The only way to position on the ostracon was horizontal.

In general, the specimens from dynasty 18 show nice pictorial hieroglyphic samples, those from dynasty 19 show in addition some cursive or abstract linear forms such as those on ostraca IFAO ONL 6527 and 6578 especially caused by staccato lines and a diagonal scepter-head, and the specimens from dynasty 20 show much less uniformity than we see with other marks from that period, but in addition to the somewhat strange forms include hieratic examples as well, such s the elongated specimens on ostraca BTdK 535 and 542 (compare Möller nr. 455 from the time of Ramesses IX) and the specimen on IFAO ONL 6494, in which the shaft and its rounded bottom were drawn in one smooth line.

A final, brief word on the variants I 18.040b-c: we have suggested in Part I chapter I section I that the horizontal crossing lines might concern some form of relation between the mark-owners. Those with crossing lines could, for instance, belong to a son or brother. This speculation is purely based on a practice seen in the systems of identity marks in medieval Portugal and Brazil. Alternatively, they may have belonged to workmen who were not related, but used the same identity mark which therefore needed a characteristic such as a horizontal crossing line. The variants only occur one to two times in dynasty 18, and the contexts in which they occur, or comparison of these contexts to the context in which occurs in dynasty 18, does not lead to clues as to the owners of the marks. We have, in Part I, also suggested that the addition of elements to the form of might suggest that this form was not or no longer considered a sign of writing. That could also indicate a familial relation, in which was perhaps used by a man with the element *wꜣs* in his name (as speculated above), while the marks with crossing lines were used by family members with different names. All of this remains pure speculation.

I 18.045

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Nfr-ꜥꜣb.t (i)	Flagellum Reminiscent of Gardiner S45 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 50 **19**: 36 (O26, P9, Do1) **19-20**: 5 (O2, P2, G1) **20**: 9 (O9)	**painted**: 37 (30b, 7r) **incised**: 13

The flagellum was the mark used by *Nfr-ꜥꜣb.t* (i). The mark can be linked to him because it is attested as determinative following his name spelled out  or . See, for instance, his stela in the British Museum, EA 305. The deeper nature of the link between the mark and this name or the man himself is, however, not clear. There does not seem to be a direct phonetic or semantic relation.

The fact that has relatively many occurrences is mainly caused by ostracon Cairo JE 72500, which shows the mark 13 times. These specimens are drawn in lines from the right to the left which, at least in 2, maybe 3 cases, follow a specimen of the mark I 17.004a ( ). The meaning of this is unclear.

As regards the form of the specimens, they are pictorial hieroglyphic rather than hieratic, showing a relatively large and clear triangular form of the flag itself. Perhaps the link to *Nfr-ꜥꜣb.t* was therefore based on the flagellum as an object or emblem of power rather than on the flagellum as a sign of writing, a semantic relation that was also expressed by the use of it as a classifier to his name.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 19.003</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Mace with pear-shaped head
Pictorial hieroglyphic form</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1(O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs only once (ostracon Cairo JE 96614), in pictorial hieroglyphic form. It appears in a sequence preceded by (I 22.025) and followed by (I 17.012). Comparison with other sequences that include both and does not lead to further clues as to the nature of the mark and the identity of the workman who used it. Older forms of the mace might perhaps be seen in (II 031), but see the remarks there.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 19.010</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Bow
Reminiscent of Gardiner T10
Pictorial hieroglyphic, cursive, hieratic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 29
18: 5 (P4, G1)
19: 6 (O5, P1)
19-20: 2 (P1, G1)
20: 14 (O9, G5)
not dated: 2 (P1, T1)</td><td>Method
painted: 14 (13b, 1r)
incised: 15</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Whether the mark that depicts the composite bow is related to the mark I 27.017 (), which occurs in dynasty 19 only and identified the workman Pꜣ-ḥry-pḏ.t (i/ii/iii) is unknown. It is possible that is a more elaborate form of , although the latter occurs before and after dynasty 19 as well. Also, both and are seen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6526, which would suggest that both marks identified different workmen.
In none of the periods is the mark frequent. As regards form, the specimens from dynasty 19 show some larger and rougher forms (e.g. the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6526, 6576 and OIM 25356) as well as a variant form that rather takes the shape of a horizontal elongated 8 (ostracon IFAO ONL 6280). The specimens from dynasty 20 show a bit more uniformity and regularity, although here as well we see a somewhat larger form on ostracon BTdK 551.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 19.018</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Crook with a package
Reminiscent of Gardiner T18
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 2
20: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (1b, 1?)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s mark. The mark only occurs twice, both times in unclear context. The paint on ostracon Cairo CG 25325 is very faded, and those forms that can still be recognized are not in all cases known as workmen’s identity marks. Among them are I 04.063 ( ) and I 27.038 (). Of ostracon BTdK 494 we only have a facsimile that shows a seated man and I 19.018.</td></tr>
</table>

I 19.019

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Ḳs (i)	Harpoon-head of bone Reminiscent of Gardiner T19 Cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic forms	**Total**: 11 **20**: 11 (O10, G1)	**painted**: 10 (9b, 1r) **incised**: 1

Remarks: In identifying *Ḳs* (i), the mark made use of the sound-value it has as a hieroglyphic sign in script: *ḳs*. As such, it referred to *Ḳs* (i) on the basis of phonetic metaphor, projecting the sound-pattern onto this referent (*Ḳs* is not mentioned in Davies' *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, but see Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 4). The specimens of the mark do not show the details it has as a hieroglyphic sign (on IFAO ONL 6563 comes closest in approaching the hieroglyph), but many of them are neither modeled on hieratic models. Exceptions are on IFAO C 2470 and on IFAO ONL 0773, which do show a hieratic form. The mark was presumably made for *Ḳs* and used only by him, as it is only seen on a small number of ostraca in dynasty 20.

I 19.022

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Two-barbed arrow head Reminiscent of Gardiner T22 Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 5 **20**: 5 (O5)	**painted**: 5 (3b, 2r)

It is not certain whether this is a workmen's identity mark. It occurs on five ostraca together with marks that are identity marks referring to workmen from the right side dated to the reign of Ramesses V, for instance on ostracon IFAO C 2470, where I 19.022 is placed next to a column with 3 identity marks. Perhaps I 19.022 simply stands for *sn*, but what is meant with that is not clear. It could refer to *sn*, 'brother' or *snw* 'two', indicating that a brother or mate was involved. Yet, on ostracon IFAO 6490 I 19.022 is positioned in between two identity marks, each of which (including I 19.022) receives a dot; that is, is counted as a separate identity mark. On ostracon DeM 00556 the mark is positioned underneath a hieratic text that gives a list of items paid by the workman *Pꜣ-Rꜣ-ḥtp* to the carpenter *Ḳny* for preparing a piece of funerary equipment.

I 19.032

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Combination of knife and walking legs Reminiscent of Gardiner T32 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 24 **19**: 2 (O2) **19-20**: 2 (O1, P1) **20**: 20 (O18, G2)	**painted**: 21 (15b, 5r, 1?) **incised**: 3

The mark occurs predominantly in dynasty 20. Its forms are mainly pictorial hieroglyphic, where the knife is often given a rather broad form resembling a basket. Yet, clear examples of I 19.032 are seen on ostraca Cairo CG 25317 and Cairo CG 25325. On ostracon Florence 2628 the form almost resembles a bird, the handle of the knife resembling its tail. In ostracon IFAO ONL 6482 the walking legs are drawn very un-hieroglyphic, and rather pictorially showing two lines for the feet both pointing outwards (as if in frontal view). The mark may be orientated either to the right or to the left, the handle of the knife being either right or left, or, as seen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6289, on the same side as where the walking legs are pointing (i.e. the 'wrong' side when compared to I 19.032 as a sign of writing). The handle may even be entirely lacking, as on ostraca ARTP 02-225, ARTP 99-027 and Cairo JE 46866. This degree of variation in style and execution of the mark, not showing hieratic elements or a scribal ductus at all, is normally taken as a possible suggestion that the origin of the mark lay in the object rather than in script. Yet, a knife with walking legs is not an object one normally encounters in daily life. Clearly, the origin of this mark was the combination of the knife and walking legs known from hieroglyphic script, but whether the phonetics *sšm* remained attached to it in the meaning of the mark (either referring to a name or to a concept to which the workman in question was metaphorically or metonymically linked) is unknown.

	Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
I 20.002	*Mɜɜ-ny-nḫt.w=f* (iii)	Sickle Reminiscent of Gardiner U1-2 Pictorial hieroglyphic, cursive and hieratic forms Graphic variants: I 20.002a: I 20.002b: I 20.002c: I 20.002d:	**Total**: 40 **18-19**: 1 b: 1 (O1) **19**: 6 b: 2 (O1, P1) c: 4 (O4) **19-20**: 1 a: 1 (P1) **20**: 31 a: 26 (O26) d: 5 (O5) **not dated**: 1 a: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 35 (28b, 6r, 1br) **incised**: 5

In the reign of Ramesses IV the mark belonged to *Mɜɜ-ny-nḫt.w=f* (iii) as appears from comparison of the sequence of marks on the marks ostraca to the turnus. The link between mark and man is clearly made on the basis of the phonetic value of , which gives the first element of the name. Interestingly, a variant dated to dynasty 19 provides a group-writing of the sickle and a pupil (), giving the phonetic sound *mɜɜ*. It occurs among others on a bowl that was used for mixing paint, that probably belonged to *Mɜɜ-ny-nḫt.w=f* (i), who was a draftsman (personal communication with Daniel Soliman). *Mɜɜ-n-nḫt.w=f* (i) in dynasty 19 was apparently not related to *Mɜɜ-ny-nḫt.w=f* (iii) in dynasty 20 (Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina*, 23, 100, 155-159, 161-162, 210, 216, 252-253). Two other variants of the mark also convey the sound *mɜ*: for *mɜʿ*, and for *mɜ* with a sun-disc that might, however, also be a 20th dynasty variant of the *mɜ* combined with the pupil (in which the pupil is given a small form without inner details). We do not know to whom these latter marks belong. *Mɜɜ-ny-nḫt.w=f* (i) had a grandson called *Mɜɜ-ny-nḫt.w=f* (ii), who may also have used or , but there is no decisive evidence. As regards the specimens, those of I 20.002a show cursive and hieratic forms, although none shows the large curve with which some hieratic examples from the New Kingdom begin in the upper left or the long ending of the sickle in the lower right (compare Möller II, number 469, especially the time of Merneptah to Seti II). The specimens of I 20.002b, however, show pictorial, hieroglyphic forms of the sickle as well as the pupil or the eye. If I 20.002d would be a 20th dynasty variant also consisting of the sickle and the pupil or human eye, it would show more cursive instead of pictorial hieroglyphic forms. The specimens of I 20.002c show pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms, but not the hieratic characteristics which one sees in the New Kingdom, in which the sickle and *mɜʿ* sign are connected, the latter coming forth from the sickle (compare Möller II, number 469B). All in all, the 19th dynasty marks (I 20.002b and I 20.002c) show pictorial and cursive forms, while the 20th dynasty variants (I20.002a and I 20.002d) show cursive and hieratic forms, which suggests that in dynasty 20 the persons who inscribed the ostraca had a better scribal hand than the persons who inscribed the 19th dynasty ostraca. Nevertheless, influence of script in dynasty 19 is clear in the group-writing of *mɜ* and the pupil or eye, in addition, of course, to the use of phonetic sound. The origin for the mark that used the sickle clearly was script, in dynasty 19 as well as in dynasty 20.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 20.006</td><td>Identity
Mr.y-Rᶜ (v)
Nfr-ḥtp (xii)</td><td>Description of form
Hoe
Reminiscent of Gardiner U6
Pictorial hieroglyphic, cursive, hieratic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 111
18: 11 (O10, P1)
19: 7 (O6, P1)
19-20: 9 (O4, P3, G2)
20: 82 (O79, P2, G1)
not dated: 2 (P2)</td><td>Method
painted: 98 (74b, 23r, 1?)
incised: 13</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark in dynasty 20 was used by the workman Mr.y-Rᶜ (v) and later by his grandson Nfr-ḥtp (xii). The origin of the mark therefore clearly lies in the hieroglyphic sign for the value mr, which was also used by Nfr-ḥtp as a later family member who by means of the value mr could be identified as belonging to the family of Mr.y-Rᶜ (v). It is not known who made use of the mr-sign as a mark in earlier times, in dynasties 18 and 19. As regards the specimens, those from dynasties 18 and 19 mainly show pictorial hieroglyphic forms. The specimens from dynasty 18 often resemble an A-form and are therewith similar in appearance to some specimens of mark II 041. They take different orientations. In dynasty 19 we still see different orientations, but less pictorial A-forms and even some forms that can we well compared to script (see especially the specimen on ostracon IFAO ON 6411). In dynasty 20, then, we see cursive and hieratic examples, for instance the specimens on ostraca BM EA 05642, BM EA 41649 and IFAO C7638. Most forms, however, show a characteristic that is not hieratic: the two outer lines of the hoe cross at the top, as seen among many others in the specimens on the ostraca Ashmolean HO 1084, IFAO ONL 0300, IFAO ONL 0313, IFAO ONL 0336 and 0337. Although it is clear from the context in which these specimens occur (which gives names and numbers in (pseudo) hieratic) that the person(s) who inscribed these ostraca with duty rosters were able to write hieratic, they often used this form of the mr-sign, perhaps because this sign was not written in the context of a hieratically written linguistic text, but as a separate mark in between other sorts of information. In other words, it was not written in context, but considered and drawn as a separate entity.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 20.015</td><td>Identity
Bɜkỉ (i)</td><td>Description of form
Sledge
Reminiscent of Gardiner U15
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Possible 18th dynasty variant:
II 036a: 𓉔
II 036b: 𓉔
II 036c: 𓉔</td><td>Number
Total: 28
18: 1 (O1)
19: 15 (O14, Do1)
19-20: 2 (O2)
20: 10 (O10)</td><td>Method
painted: 27 (22b, 3r, 2?)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark in dynasty 19 belonged to Bɜkỉ (i), who became foreman of the left side of the crew. It appears on a limestone seat that belonged to Bɜkỉ according to a hieroglyphic inscription, underneath which I 20.015 is placed (Bruyère Rap. 34-35 III pl. XL). The mark occurs in pictorial hieroglyphic form, not presenting the long lines to the upper right that are seen in hieratic examples (compare Möller II, number 489). The specimens from dynasty 19 show much variation in form and detail. Compare, for instance, the specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1120, which shows three connection lines between the two sides of the sledge as well as the pulling rope, with the specimen on ostracon Schaden 061, which has merely one vertical line connecting the two sides of the sledge. Some specimens show straight lines and a rectangular form, such as the specimen on ostracon Schaden 016, while others consist of curved lines such as the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6292. The large variety among the 19th dynasty specimens is in contrast to the uniformity seen in the 20th dynasty specimens, which all show two connecting lines between the two sides of the sledge, are all orientated from right to left, and are all similar in form and size. Whether the mark carried phonetic value, is not known, nor do we know why Bɜkỉ (i) made use of this mark.
It is possible that the 18th dynasty forms which appear to depict ‘ladders’ (see II 036) are in fact early depictions of the sledge, having changed its orientation as we see more often in dynasty 18. This would also find support in the 20th dynasty ostracon Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVIII nr. 07, where we see such a ladder-form, which otherwise does not occur in dynasty 20, while I 20.015 is attested at that time.</td></tr>
</table>

I 20.019	**Identity** *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* (ii)	**Description of form** Adze Reminiscent of Gardiner U19 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variant: I 20.021:	**Number** **Total**: 18 **20**: 18 (O18)	**Method** **painted**: 18 (14b, 4r)
	The mark belonged to *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* (ii) according to the sequence and turnus of workmen. The specimens show pictorial hieroglyphic forms. The characteristics of hieratic examples of as a sign of writing are not seen; that is, the long endings of lines or the strokes to the right seen in hieratic examples from the time of Amenhotep II until the 21st dynasty (compare Möller II, number 480). The forms are rather drawn pictures, or representations of the hieroglyphic sign. Their orientation is generally from left to right, instead of right to left conform hieratic writing. As a sign of writing, has the value *nw*, and therefore could have been used for its initial value *n* to represent the name *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t*. However, if so, the source of the mark was the hieroglyphic sign and not the sign from hieratic script. It is conspicuous that the scribes in dynasty 20 clearly retained this hieroglyphic form among more and more influence of hieratic writing. Alternatively, there is a non-phonetic link between mark and man that we can not retrieve.			
I 20.021	**Identity** *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* (ii)	**Description of form** Adze on a block Reminiscent of Gardiner U21 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variant: I 20.019:	**Number** **Total**: 18 **20**: 18 (O18)	**Method** **painted**: 18 (14b, 4r)
	The mark is equal in value to the previous mark I 20.019, as appears from the sequence of marks on ostraca BM EA 50716, IFAO ONL 0310. As for the forms of the specimens, the same can be said for I 20.021 as was said for I 20.019. The forms are pictorial, or hieroglyphic, rather than hieratic. It might be argued that the form encountered on ostracon IFAO ONL 6301 is cursive rather than pictorial hieroglyphic; it approaches the hieratic samples in Möller II, nr. 481 from the time of Merneptah/Seti II onwards.			
I 20.023	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Chisel Reminiscent of Gardiner U23 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 5 **19**: 5 (O5)	**Method** **painted**: 5 (5b)
	It is probably that this mark represents exactly what it depicts in clear pictorial form, that is, a chisel rather than a workman's identity mark. It does not occur in a clear sequence or context of other workmen's marks. On ostracon IFAO ONL 6366 it occurs together with a specimen of I 01.001, which also may not be a workman's mark, but together with the chisel simply conveys the message 'man – chisel = person chiselling'. On ostracon Cairo JE 96334 it occurs among commodities (among others vessels and baskets), followed by a number of strokes, perhaps counting strokes for a number of chisels. Only on ostracon IFAO ONL 6338 do we see the chisel accompanied by workmen's marks that we know well. It is dated to the reign of Ramesses II. Perhaps it served here to refer to *Nfr-rnp.t* (ii), who is encountered in this period as a sculptor, and who would thus have made use of a chisel. However, this remains speculation.			

I 20.037

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Razor Reminiscent of Gardiner U37 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 4 **18**: 3 (O3) **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 4 (2b, 2r)

The date of ostracon Turin CG 57532 is uncertain. The combination of marks I 06.031a, II 044a and II 045 only occurs on ostraca from dynasty 20, e.g. on ostraca Cairo JE 72491 and IFAO ONL 1314. The razor, however, seems to occur as a mark only in dynasty 18. The difference between the specimens from dynasty 18 and the one specimen presumably from dynasty 20 is obviously the positioning and orientation. Whereas the 18th dynasty examples stand upright, the specimen from the Turin ostracon takes a horizontal positioning, as do the merely two hieratic examples that have been collected in Möller II (nr. 490). The hieratic examples, however, face the right, whereas the mark on the Turin ostracon faces the left. If this specimen indeed represents the razor, it is therefore unlikely that it would have been considered a sign from writing. It was rather considered truly an identity mark.

The three specimens from dynasty 18 all show different graphic characteristics, which is conspicuous in the case of the specimens from ostraca IFAO OL 6788 and OWV 3, as they both show the same neat hand (the hand of ostracon IFAO ONL 6298 is also neat, but in general shows differences in its forms). The specimen on ostracon OWV 03 shows a little more detail in outline.

The identity of the workman who used the mark is not known.

I 21.004

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Lasso Reminiscent of Gardiner V4 Cursive hieroglyhpic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1r)

Remarks: The ostracon on which the specimen occurs, Cairo JE 46866, shows several unclear marks and several marks that could be identified as workmen's identity marks. Among the latter are I 19.032, (I 10.001) and (I 05.017). Under the 'remarks' of (I 05.017) we have already mentioned the similarity in handwriting and style on Cairo 46866 and Cairo JE 46863. The mark has not been attested elsewhere. On ostracon 46866 it appears to be combined with a *nfr*-sign, the meaning of which, however, escapes us.

I 21.006

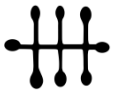
Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Cord Reminiscent of Gardiner V6 Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

The ostracon on which the specimen occurs, IFAO ONL 6469, is dated to year 2 or later of Ramesses V. This is apparent from the fact that the leftmost column begins with the mark (I 11.002) of the foreman, followed by the mark (I 06.023) of the deputy *ȝny-nḫt* (i), who was probably promoted to this position in year 2. The ostracon contains at least three columns with workmen's marks in black ink, but many of them have faded to a large degree. The present specimen occurs underneath (I 20.006) in the second column from the left. It is not elsewhere attested as identity marks, although one could suggest to compare the mark to , II 021. The latter predominantly occurs on ostraca from dynasty 18, but also on pottery from dynasty 20. On pottery, however, it is mainly incised pre-firing and is therefore interpreted as a workshop or potters' mark rather than a workman's identity mark. The form of II 021 on pottery is very comparable to potmarks found at Qantir; it is generally interpreted as a geometric form without relation to the hieroglyph V6. There are, however, among the specimens of II 021 on ostraca two examples that come from 20th dynasty ostraca: on BTdK 551 and on IFAO ONL 6586. In neither case do the specimens occur in combination with marks that are also found in combination with on IFAO ONL 6469.

I 21.013

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Rope (for tethering animals) Reminiscent of Gardiner V13 Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 1 **19**: 3 (O2, G1) **19-20**: 1 (O1) **20**: 15 (O13, G2)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

Although most specimens date to dynasty 20, their forms are generally pictorial, or hieroglyphic, in that the circles at both ends of the rope are clearly indicated, either as full open circles, or at least as small dots. Specimens of the latter kind can be considered cursive, especially the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6243 which generally shows cursive forms. The specimens of mark I 21.013 show a variety of orientations. Both specimens from ostraca dating to dynasty 19 take a vertical positioning with the circles faced downwards. Three specimens from dynasty 20, among which one graffito, take the same positioning which testifies of non-writing. In addition, one specimen from dynasty 19 from a graffito and three specimens from ostraca dated to dynasty 20 (including the aforementioned cursive specimen on O.IFAO ONL 6243), although taking a horizontal positioning, face to the left instead of the right unlike hieratic signs of writing.



I 21.016

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Looped cord Reminiscent of Gardiner V16 Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

The mark occurs on BTdK 558, which may be a name-stone; it does not contain other specimens. The form of the mark is very neat, executed with care and detail. It is possible that the mark is a variant of the more frequent mark 𓉔/ 𓉔 (II 046), but without context we cannot be certain. Several specimens of 𓉔 might themselves be interpreted as variants of 𓉐 I 06.035c, which is not the case with BTdK 558, as it has clearly been given the characteristic looped ends of the cord.

The phonetic value of the hieroglyphic equivalent 𓉐 is *sꜣ*. As such, it was used in the Old Kingdom to designate divisions of workmen on the construction site (cf. chapter 2, section 2). That is unlikely in the context of Deir el-Medina. In conveying the value *sꜣ*, 𓉔 is also a phonetic equivalent to the following mark (𓋴 I 21.017), but we do not know whether it was related to it in meaning.

I 21.017

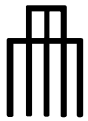
Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Jt=f-nfr (i) *sꜣ Ḥr* (ii)	Rolled up herdsman's shelter Reminiscent of Gardiner V17 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 13 **20**: 13 (O11, P1, G1)	**painted**: 11 (9b, 2r) **incised**: 2

The owner of this mark according to the turnus was *Jt=f-nfr* (i) son of *Ḥr* (ii). This man not mentioned in Davies (*Who's who at Deir el-Medina*), but Dorn mentions him in his book *Arbeiterhüttern im Tal der Könige*, 435. *Ḥr* (ii) was identified by the mark II 029 (𓉗). Both father and son thus had different identity marks, which is probably due to the fact that they both occur simultaneously in the turnus on successive days, for instance on ostracon IFAO ONL 1323 (days 27 and 28), but these marks cannot be related to their names phonetically. The link between the marks and the men remains unknown. As for the specimens, it is conspicuous that even the form of the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 1371, which contains commodities written in hieratic with hieratic numerals, is pictorial or hieroglyphic rather than hieratic. This mark was known and drawn in its pictorial form even by trained hieratic hands. This might suggest that there was no phonetic link between I 21.017 and *Jt=f-nfr*. Yet, if we would speculate a little further, the value of the mark 𓋴 as a hieroglyphic sign is *sꜣ*, and although this sign was never used in the writing of the word 'son', the sound-pattern could be used to refer to this word, *Jt=f-nfr* being identified as 'son' of his father *Ḥr* who followed him in the turnus.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 21.026</td><td>Identity
Pn-tȝ-wr.t (iv)</td><td>Description of form
Netting needle
Reminiscent of Gardiner V26
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 87
19: 5 (O2, P3)
19-20: 12 (O3, P3, G5, T1)
20: 70 (O61, G9)</td><td>Method
painted: 66 (50b, 13r, 3?
incised: 20
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">According to the turnus, this mark belonged to Pn-tȝ-wr.t (iv) in dynasty 20. The link between mark and man is unclear, as the value of as a hieroglyphic sign does not occur in the name of Pn-tȝ-wr.t or one of his forefathers. This value, ʿd or ʿḏ, could refer, for instance, to the word ʿḏ ‘to be whole, to be safe’ (Wb 1, 237.11-238.12) as a wish to be connected to Pn-tȝ-wr.t, but this is pure speculation. We encounter the mark in different orientations, horizontal or vertical. The simple structure of the form causes that further variation among the specimens is small. Nevertheless, variation is seen in the endings to the left and right: compare the specimens on ostraca IFAO OL 170 and IFAO ONL 1371, where the ending lines turn inwards, to the specimens, for instance, on ostraca Ashmolean HO 0891 and IFAO ONL 0341, where they simply fan out. The latter forms, which are most simple and straightforward, are clearly in the majority.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 21.030</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Basket
Reminiscent of Gardiner V30
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 11
18: 5 (O2, G2, Ns1)
19-20: 3 (O2, P1)
20: 3 (O2, G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 6 (1b, 4r, 1?)
incised: 4
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The status of this mark is uncertain. It does not often occur and has few form characteristics that make it undoubtedly the basket as known from hieroglyphic script. The clearest forms occur on ostracon IFAO OHI 55, but turned 180 degrees as opposed to (nb), and those specimens occurring in graffiti, especially the specimen showing the details of the wickerwork basket in Theban Graffito 2966. The specimens that are dated to dynasty 20 may be abbreviated renderings of marks that consist of the basket plus another sign, such as I 27.002.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 22.001</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Sealed oil jar
Reminiscent of Gardiner W1
Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 23
19: 22 (O19, P3)
19-20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 20 (14b, 6r)
incised: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The specimens of this mark show a wide array of forms, in the form of the jar as well as in the number of strokes on top. Generally, we see pictorial or hieroglyphic, or cursive hieroglyphic forms. None of the specimens shows a form truly common in hieratic writing. Some specimens, such as those on ostraca IFAO ONL 6491 resp. 6541, can be called cursive hieroglyphic in that they are abbreviated, linear renderings (see Parkinson’s reference to cursive hieroglyphs as ‘linear’ referred to in Verhoeven (ed.), Ägyptologische ‘Binsen’-Weisheiten I-II (2015), p. 25 fn. 6). As regards the specimen on ostracon BIFAO 76, fig. 9 nr. 5, it is uncertain whether it represents a workmen’s mark. The context in which it occurs on the ostracon is unclear (giving otherwise only strokes and dots), and it is the only specimen that is crossed by a diagonal line.</td></tr>
</table>

 I 22.004G	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Combination of alabaster basin with a butcher´s block Reminiscent of Gardiner W4 Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Number** **Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (G1)	**Method** **incised**: 1
	It is uncertain whether this concerns a workman's identity mark. The form is only attested once in a graffito without further context.			
 I 22.009	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Stone jug Reminiscent of Gardiner W9 Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Number** **Total**: 2 **20**: 2 (O2)	**Method** **painted**: 2 (1b, 1r)
	The mark occurs twice; it is uncertain whether it appears as a graphic variant the more common pots (I 22.014 and I 22.022), or whether it is a distinctive mark. The specimens show hieroglyphic forms. They may convey the sound *ḫnm* and as such refer to the name of a workman. One may think of 3nmw-ms, but the *Ḫnmw-ms* in the time in which ARTP 99-027 and Cairo CG 25651 is dated (ca. Ramesses IV) was *Ḫnmw-ms* (i), who is already attested for the mark (I 05.010). It will become clear below that all variants of pottery used as identity marks are hieroglyphic in form; perhaps they were merely selected and used on the basis of their figural representation of daily objects, rather than on any linguistic basis.			
 I 22.010	**Identity** unknown	**Description of form** Cup Reminiscent of Gardiner W10 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 5 **19-20**: 1 (G1) **20**: 3 (O3) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 4 (3b, 1r) **incised**: 1
	The specimen on the reverse of ostracon IFAO ONL 6647 may be a container for some commodity rather than a workman´s identity mark. The ostracon does not show other marks that can be identified with certainty; merely II 030 on the obverse, of which it is similarly uncertain whether it is an identity mark. The specimen occurs with three strokes, which may indicate the amount of commodity. As for the other four specimens, they do occur in the context of workmen´s marks. They are all hieroglyphic of form. As it is unknown to whom the mark belonged, it is unknown whether it conveyed phonetic value or whether it was selected and used as the representation of an object of daily use.			

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 22.011</td><td>Identity
Jmn-nḫt (v)?</td><td>Description of form
Ring-stand for jars
Reminiscent of Gardiner W11
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 42
19: 3 (O3)
19-20: 1 (G1)
20: 38 (O17, G21)</td><td>Method
painted: 20 (13b, 7r)
incised: 22</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">On the basis of the occurrence of I 22.011 in Th.G. 247 and 884 an identification as *Jmn-nḫt* (v) can very tentatively be suggested. In Th.G. 884 his son *Ṯ3y* (i), *s3 Jmn-nḫt* (v) is mentioned in hieratic, with the mark I 22.011 written above it. In Th.B. 247 we encounter this mark together with the mark of *Ḥr-sr* (i), also a son of *Jmn-nḫt* (v). More direct evidence we do not have. As regards the forms of the mark, none of the specimens shows the characteristic curve with which hieratic examples begin in the upper left. All specimens are pictorial, or hieroglyphic renderings, some showing inner details, especially among the specimens in graffiti, but others not, such as most examples among the specimens from ostraca. The fact that precisely the specimens from graffiti show inner details is perhaps to be explained by the lower degree of visibility or recognizability of signs scratched into stone; the extra element may be helpful in identifying the mark more quickly. The triangular form of the mark may be very small (as on ostracon Ahs. HO 1095), or fairly broad as on ostracon BTdK 540. Some have sharp angles such as the specimen on ostracon Glasgow D. 1925.80, others have more rounded curved such as the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6482. The specimen on ostracon Ashmolean HO 0891 shows a deviant form, but must be I 22.011 according to the sequence.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 22.014</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Tall water pot
Reminiscent of Gardiner W14
Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms
Presumably graphic variants:
I 22.014a:
I 22.014b: </td><td>Number
Total: 48
18: 35
a: 35 (O28, P7)
19: 4
b: 4 (O4)
19-20: 1
b: 1 (O1)
20: 8
a: 1 (O1)
b: 7 (O7)</td><td>Method
painted: 41 (22b, 19r)
incised: 7</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark represents a pot, just like the specimens collected under I 22.022. Yet, here we are dealing with a tall water jar, while under I 22.022 we are dealing more generally with pots and beer-jugs. The forms of I 22.014a occur mainly in dynasty 18, while the forms of I 22.014b are dated to dynasties 19 and 20. That I 22.014b in dynasty 20 was not equal to I 22.022 becomes clear from the sequences of the marks on the 20th dynasty ostraca, where I 22.014b follows several days after I 22.022b (see Soliman, *Of Marks and Man*, chapter 3). The form I 22.014a appears to be the early form of I 22.014b. The specimen of I 22.014a on ostracon Cairo JE 96590 already appears to take the form of I 22.014b, and the 20th dynasty specimen of I 22.014b on ostracon Glasgow D 1925.80 resembles the earlier forms. The difference is that the specimens from dynasty 18 show an abstract geometric form of the water-pot, which can take horizontal or vertical orientations, while the later specimens all stand upright and are rather formed on the water-pot as a sign from hieroglyphic script, with the value *ḥs*. Whether in this period the mark was phonetically linked to its owner we do not know.</td></tr>
</table>



I 22.017

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Water-pots in a rack Reminiscent of Gardiner W17 Pictorial and abstract geometric forms	**Total**: 20 **20**: 20 (O13, P4, G3)	**painted**: 13 (12b, 1r) **incised**: 7

The mark resembles the hieroglyph which Gardiner coded W17 (*ḫnt*), but whether this interpretation is correct is not entirely certain as the mark has not been identified. Its specimens show some variation in form, some being rectangular and angular, others being more rounded (e.g. the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6675 and ARTP 99-027). Most specimens show rounded forms of the two outer lines (as on ostraca FAO ONL 6435 and 6506), while of several specimens the inner lines remain straight. In some cases the two outer lines are in fact one line that crosses the mark, as seen on ostracon Cairo JE 46862, in other cases there is no connection as on ostracon IFAO ONL 6505, or on the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XXII.15. The specimens generally have three long vertical lines in the middle, in between the two mainly curved lines. It is possible that mark II 009 from dynasty18 also depicted water-pots in a rack, but there is no proof for this.

I 22.022

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Pɜ-ḫj-Jmn (i) *Jmn-nḫt* (xxv)	Beer-jugs with and without handles with and without spouting water Reminiscent of Gardiner W22 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Possible graphic variants: I 22.022a: I 22.022b: I 22.022c: I 22.022d:	**Total**: 117 **18**: 33 a: 32 (O27, P5) b: 1 (O1) **19**: 4 a: 1 (O1) b: 3 (O3) **19-20**: 4 a: 4 (O2, G2) **20**: 69 a: 9 (O7, G2) b: 31 (O22, G9) c: 13 (O13) d: 16 (O15, G1) **not dated**: 7 a: 2 (O1, G1) b: 5 (O1, P3, G1)	**painted**: 91 (61b, 27r, 1y, 2?) **incised**: 25 **kohl**: 1

The mark I 22.022 concerns a large group of specimens that show a variety of pots and jars which are, for practical reasons, divided into pots without handles and without spouting water (I 22.022a), pots with handles (I 22.022b), pots with spouting water (I 22.022c) and pots with handles and spouting water (I 22.022d). It is not entirely certain whether they are *in all cases* variants the related to the same workman, but at least it is clear that different workmen are in play. Concerning the forms of the pots and jars, some of them are already encountered in dynasty 18 while others are new introductions. None of the specimens shows signs of cursive or hieratic influence: their forms remain hieroglyphic or, rather, figurative, in style. This together with the great degree of variations may suggest that the depictions of pots and jars were perhaps not related to script: they may simply have referred to the objects. This idea is strengthened by the fact that none of the values that we can ascribe to the pots as hieroglyphic signs refers to a workman's name. The existence of many varieties, in which pots may or may not have one or two handles, spout liquid, have a neck or an oblong bulbous body, while many of them occur in the same or comparable sequences, suggests that details were insignificant and a specific rendering of one pot did not distinguish it from others. In other words, all variants could simply have conveyed the notion 'pot', referring to the object. This, Haring said, is 'an important difference with respect to the hieroglyphic

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">writing system, in which the addition of details like handles and pouring liquid make(sic) different signs.' (Haring, 'On the Nature of the Workmen's Marks', in: Andrássy et al. (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems*, 131).
Nevertheless, there is some difference between the forms of pots and the workmen who made use of them to identify themselves. For instance, the mark connected to day 19 on ostracon Cairo CG 25651 corresponds to the position of *Pꜣ-ḫj-Jmn* (i) on ostracon IFAO 1323. Davies discerned two men by this name, but they might in fact have been one and the same person (Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina*, 109 n. 364; Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 3). Soliman further mentions: 'The distinction between *Pꜣ Pꜣ-ḫj-Jmn* (i) and *Pꜣ-ḫj-Jmn* (ii) is depended on the interpretation of Theban Graffito 3744, which mentions a *Pꜣ-ḫj-Jmn* as the brother of scribe *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏd*. This *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏd* in turn could be *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏd* (i), son of *Jmn-nḫt* (v), although the graffito can be read in such a way that *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏd* is another scribe, *Pꜣ-nfr-m-ḏd* (ii) son of *Mnnꜣ* (i). In the latter case, *Pꜣ-ḫj-Jmn* would be a son of *Mnnꜣ* (i) as well, while in the former case he would be a son of *Jmn-nḫt* (v). The mark that presumably refers to *Pꜣ-ḫj-Jmn* resembles that of *Jmn-nḫt* (xxv), , but there are no reasons to believe that *Jmn-nḫt* (xxv) and *Jmn-nḫt* (v) are one and the same person.' (Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 3). We thus see two people using the mark of a pot, one of a simple and plain pot without handles and without spouting water, the other of a pot that does spout water, but no (family) relation links the two men. All in all, it remains unclear how many different marks the forms collected under I 22.022 in fact represent, who made use of them and whether the "pot as an object" was a connecting element between the men, for instance indicating family members all using the "pot as an object" as main identifying mark.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 22.025</td><td>Identity
Jn(*j*)*-ḥr-ḫʿw* (i)
Jn(*j*)*-ḥr-ḫʿw* (ii)
Ḳnnꜣ</td><td>Description of form
Combination of walking legs with bowl
Reminiscent of Gardiner W25
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 100
19: 32 (O22, P9, G1)
19-20: 11 (O4, P4, G3)
20: 6 (O51, G5)
not dated: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 78 (57b, 17r, 1y, 3?)
incised: 22</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark belonged to the family of *Jn*(*j*)*-ḥr-ḫʿw* (i). It is used throughout Part II, chapters 2 and 3, as the main example to explain the workings of the system. The mark in question conveyed meaning on the basis of phonetic metaphor and on the basic of phonetic metaphoric metonymy. It was used at least over five generations. Considering the fact that it conveyed meaning on the basis of phonetic value it is conspicuous that the marks' specimens show a large degree of variation. They are orientated either to the right or to the left, show different lengths of the legs and different forms of the bowls. Most bowls are represented with a rim, but we also have such as IFAO ONL 6218 that are shown without a rim.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 22.037</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Pavilion with pillars on a bowl of alabaster
Reminiscent of Gardiner W37
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 40
20: 40 (O39, P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 39 (27b, 9r, 3?)
incised: 21</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs quite frequent in dynasty 20. It is of pictorial form, showing the alabaster bowl with three to four pillars on it. In some cases, the bowl seems to have inner details, for instance in the specimens on ostraca Area K Unnumbered, Ashmolean HO 0999 and IFAO C 3360, but these traces of paint may also belong to the vertical lines of the pillars, such as in the specimens on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1081 and BTdK 540. The specimen on ostracon Cairo CG 25270 seems to show the alabaster bowl upside down. We do not know whether the mark carried phonetic value.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 23.008</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Conical loaf
Reminiscent of Gardiner X8
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Probable graphic variants:
I 23.008a:
I 23.008b: </td><td>Number
Total: 45
18: 45
a: 41 (O28, P12, T1)
b: 4 (O4)</td><td>Method
painted: 32 (16b, 15r, 1?)
incised: 13</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">An 18th dynasty mark, the forms of which are mainly pictorial hieroglyphic forms. We do not see the elongated triangles, mostly without inner details, that hieratic script in the New Kingdom shows. All specimens of I 23.008a appear to show the inner stroke. There are only 4 occurrences of I 23.008b, also showing an inner stroke. The positioning of the stroke and the orientation of the mark suggest, however, that it concerns a depiction of the feminine genital parts. Nevertheless, the forms occur in the same well-known 18th dynasty group of marks as I 23.008a, and are therefore considered to be graphic variants.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 24.001</td><td>Identity
Pn-tȝ-wr.t (vii)</td><td>Description of form
Papyrus rolled up and tied
Reminiscent of Gardiner Y1
Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract forms
Probable graphic variants:
I 24.001a:
I 24.001b:
Further variant:
I 27.030: </td><td>Number
Total: 49
18: 1
a: 1 (O1)
19: 3
a: 3 (O1, G2)
19-20: 7
a: 6 (O1, P3, G2)
b: 1 (O1)
20: 38
a: 34 (O29, G5)
b: 4 (O3, G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 36 (23b, 12r, 1?)
incised: 13</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The identification of as the mark for Pn-tȝ-wr.t (vii) is clear from the sequence of the turnus in dynasty 20. The mark generally has a simple form: only a horizontal line with two to three diagonal lines coming out of its middle. This is a rather abstract representation of the papyrus. There are also more pictorial forms, seen specially on ostracon ARTP 99-027, but also in graffiti. The specimen on ostracon BTdK 572 is represented 90 degrees turned to the left. This is done because of a lack of space: the surface of the ostracon is fairly small, and to the right of I 24.001 the mark of Jmn-m-jpt (I 17.014) is inscribed. The latter mark is an oblong mark which makes the current orientation of I 24.001 not only efficient, but also aesthetic. In the 19th and 20th dynasties a variant of the mark occurs, which consciously is the older form of the papyrus encountered in script (Gardiner Y2). The link between the mark and Pn-tȝ-wr.t is not clear.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 24.003</td><td>Identity
Jmn-nḫt (v)
sš n pɜ ḫr</td><td>Description of form
Scribe’s outfit
Reminiscent of Gardiner Y3
Pseudo hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 53
18?: 1 (T1)
19: 6 (O5, P1)
19-20: 11 (O2, P4, G1, Do3, Bb1)
20: 34 (O33, G1)
not dated: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 40 (31b, 9r)
incised: 8
unknown: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark depicting the scribe’s outfit was used by the scribes, the sš n pɜ ḫr. It referred to the function carried out by them. The specimens of this mark show many pseudo-hieroglyphic forms in which elements of the hieroglyphic sign and elements of the hieratic sign are combined. Pseudo-hieratic forms appear first in the 19th dynasty, but in the case of I 24.003 they remain dominant also in dynasty 20. Some specimens show true hieratic forms, but they are clearly less in number. Why precisely the mark for ‘scribe’ retained a pseudo-hieroglyphic form is conspicuous.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 24.005</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Draught-board
Reminiscent of Gardiner Y5
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 50
18: 6 (O2, P4)
19: 21 (O15, P5, G1)
19-20: 7 (O4, P2, G1)
20: 12 (O8, G4)
not dated: 4 (O2, P2)</td><td>Method
painted: 31 (22b, 9r)
incised: 19</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark shows spread occurrences between dynasty 18 and dynasty 20, but it is never really frequent. Most often it is seen in dynasty 19. The draught-board is a quite simple form, and therefore variation is limited. Variation is mainly seen in the number of playing pawns on top and the presence or absence of inner details. The number of pawns generally varies from 3 to 5, with more pawns being present in the specimens from pottery as well as on ostracon IFAO C 7637. The latter occurs without other information or other identity marks, and it is not entirely certain whether this specific occurrence indeed represents the workman’s mark. Inner details are seen as separate dots or short strokes on ostraca Hawass and IFAO ONL 6431, and as lines on ostraca IFAO 6642 and Schaden 133. Finally, there is variation in the length of the pawns (per specimen, but also per pawn in one and the same specimen), and in the thickness and broadness of the board. The form occurs quite often in script with the value mn, a pattern of sounds also heard quite frequently in names. In dynasty 20 we see the group Jmn relatively often as an identity mark. Perhaps I 24.005 was, in dynasty20, an abbreviated form of this mark (comparison of sequences does not give a definite answer).</td></tr>
</table>

I 24.008

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Mr.y-Sḫm.t (iii)	Sistrum Reminiscent of Gardiner Y8 Pictorial, and cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 51 **19**: 2 (O2) **19-20**: 2 (P1, T1) **20**: 47 (O36, P9, G2)	**painted**: 39 (28b, 9r, 2?) **incised**: 12

The position of the mark in the sequence suggests that *Mr.y-Sḫm.t* (iii) was its owner. If so, there was a phonetic and semantic link between the mark and the owner, the sistrum as a hieroglyphic sign conveying the sound *sḫm*, and as an attribute being linked to the goddess Sekhmet as an instrument that soothed her. As such, the mark was a phonetic metaphor referring to the owner as well as an index referring to the goddess by whom he, according to his name, was loved. The specimens of mark I 24.008 take a variety of forms. On ostraca such as IFAO ONL 6411, Ashmolean HO 1123, BM EA 05642, Cairo JE 72497 and IFAO OL 170 the sistrum has a rectangular upper part, a triangular or curved middle part, followed by the vertical line for the handle. There may or may not be two diagonal strokes , which may have been an indication of the ears attached to the Hathor head of the sistrum. These ears may become large curls, as seen on ostraca Cairo JE 96614, IFAO ONL 6297 and especially on Turin CG 57008. Smaller ears are seen in the specimen that still preserves a fairly pictorial form of the head on ostracon Turin CG 57427. One specimen is particularly pictorial: the one on ostracon ARTP 99-027. This ostracon has already been mentioned several times as regards its pictorial forms: the person who inscribed it was not so much a writer, but he was an artist. The specimen in question shows an oval upper part in which two strings are shown. Sistra that also show an oval form (yet without indication of strings) are seen on ostraca BM EA 41649, BTdK 547 and on MMA 09.184.783. Finally, sistra that are of a form which fans out are seen on ostraca IFAO ONL 6297 and Ashmolean HO 0626. The variety in forms corresponds to the many forms of sistra known from ancient Egypt. Among cursive and hieratic examples we also see the variation in forms. The mark was presumably formed on the variation of sistra as objects, and the same can probably be said for the examples seen in cursive and hieratic script. As the sign in script is not very frequent, it may not have had a standard formalized hieroglyphic form as origin; it may rather have based itself on the actual object.

I 26.009

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Unknown	Two sticks crossed Reminiscent of Gardiner Z9 Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 57 **18**: 48 (O21, P11, Do12, T4) **19**: 5 (P5) **20**: 1 (O1) **not dated**: 3 (O3)	**painted**: 25 (16b, 9r) **incised**: 20 **embroidered**: 12

The identity and interpretation of this mark remain unknown at present. As regards the forms of the specimens, this sign does not allow to say whether it is pictorial hieroglyphic, cursive or hieratic in form, as it has too few characteristics and looks the same in all three scripts. However, since the mark occurs predominantly in dynasty 18, a period in which we see no hieratic forms and hardly cursive forms, the specimens are here indicated as being pictorial hieroglyphic, which means that they may either be a pictorial rendering, or based on the hieroglyph which Gardiner has coded Z9.

I 26.015

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Reminiscent of Gardiner Aa15 Hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **18**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1?)

Uncertain. The form is not otherwise attested. Perhaps a variant of another mark not recognized thus far (candidates would be I 27.037 ( ) or I 27.038 ( ), but both only occur in dynasty 20 and are therefore not equal or related).

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 26.026</td><td>Identity
Unknown</td><td>Description of form
Uncertain, possibly a supporting pole
Reminiscent of Gardiner Aa26, O30
Hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 32
18: 30 (O25, P4, Do1)
19: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 28 (9b, 17r, 2?)
incised: 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is clearly part of the 18th dynasty repertoire. We do not know its owner, nor do we know what the mark represents, if it was not merely a geometric form. A similar form in script has been interpreted as a supporting pole by Gardiner. Despite the simple form of the mark, the specimens display variation in the length of the diagonal line, its placement to the right or to the left of the vertical line, as well as in the upper part being more symmetrically forked, e.g. in the specimen on IFAO ONL 6293 ( ).</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.001</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Basket with two lines of alluvial land, nb tɜ.w.y
Hieroglyphic and pseudo hieroglyphic forms
Graphic variants:
I 27.001a:
I 27.001b:
I 27.001c: </td><td>Number
Total: 101
18: 38
a: 33 (O22, P10, T1)
b:4 (O3, P1)
c: 1 (P1)
19: 12
a: 8 (O4, P4)
c: 4 (O4)
19-20: 5
a: 5 (O4, G1)
20: 37
a: 35 (O33, G2)
b: 2 (O2)
not dated: 9
a: 8 (O2, P4, G1, Bb1)
c: 1 (P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 74 (42b, 30r, 2?)
incised: 19
unknown: 7</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">In chapter 1 we have describe the trend of which the specimens of this mark are an example. The18th dynasty specimens of all variants show the largest degree of variation in form and orientation, while toward dynasty 20 the forms become more uniform and all orientated conform the hieroglyphic group in script+ the variant clearly dominates. Almost all specimens in dynasty 18, dynasty 19 as well in dynasty 20 are hieroglyphic in form. The specimen on the 18th dynasty ostracon Cairo JE 72490 even shows the inner details of the wickerwork basket. In dynasty 20 we find three specimens that also show the inner details; yet, in hieratic style: those on Area K Unnumbered, IFAO ONL 6874 and BTdK 529. The latter most closely approaches a hieratic rendering of (cf. Möller 510), which it's the overall style of this ostracon (it shows further hieratic influences, as well as pseudo-hieroglyphic forms, in , and). The form of the two lines for tɜ.w.y remain in all cases simple horizontal lines. Only in the case of the specimen on Area K Unnumbered do we see an indication for the grains of sand underneath each line, conform hieratic examples of the group in Möller 317.
We do not know which workmen made use of this mark throughout the dynasties. While it appears among other identity marks on ostraca in all periods, there is at least an indication for dynasty 20 that instead of a workman it directly referred to a domain or institution. On Cairo CG 25317 the mark occurs toward the end of two columns with identity marks. It is preceded by the mark (I 14.031), which presumably referred to a doorkeeper; therewith, it would be a mark that relates to function, which are found also for scribes () and scorpion controllers (/). The mark on 25317 could refer to a doorkeeper of a chapel or temple of the king (personal communication</td></tr>
</table>

	with Daniel Soliman; see also chapter 2, section 2). The fact that this would be a mark that specifies identity on the basis of an institutional relation fits a tradition that is seen in the Old and Middle Kingdom builders' marks (cf. chapter 2, section 2). Whether the mark 𓊪 refers to a domain or institution more often is unknown. The two marks are found together also on Cairo CG 24105 and 24106; yet, although they are in close proximity, 𓊪 does not follow 𓉔.			
 I 27.002	**Identity** *Bɜk-n-wrnr* (vii)	**Description of form** Combination of *nfr* with *nb* Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Number** **Total**: 119 **19**: 14 a:11 (O8, G3) b: 3 (O2, G1) **19-20**: 56 a: 17 (O6, P3, G8) b: 39 (G39) **20**: 48 a:36 (O34, G2) b: 12 (O4, G8) **not dated**: 1 a: 1 (G1)	**Method** **painted**: 54 (42b, 11r, 1?) **incised**: 65
	The mark 𓋴𓏏 can be read *nb-nfr*. It occurs eight times on ostraca in dynasty 19 and three times more in graffiti. Although the mark is not attested for a person named *Nb-nfr* and no match exists for dynasty 19, it is attested in dynasty 20 for the workman *Bɜk-n-wrnr* (vii). The name *Bɜk-n-wrnr* has no connection to the phonetic value *nb-nfr*, and therefore we may hypothesize that this man adopted the mark from a family member who used it before him in dynasty 19. Unfortunately, we do not know *Bɜk-n-wrnr*'s ancestors, but we do know that he had a son called *Nb-nfr*, who in turn had a son called *Bɜk-n-wrnr* (viii). It is, then, possible that *Bɜk-n-wrnr* (vii) himself had a father called *Nb-nfr*, from whom he inherited the mark. The mark 𓄿𓋴 is very reminiscent of 𓋴𓏏, which also suggests a reading *nb-nfr*. Yet it remains uncertain whether the two marks are variants used by the same workman, or whether the addition of an extra 𓏏 in 𓄿𓋴 functioned to distinguish two marks used by two different workmen. The mark 𓄿𓋴 is attested only twice on ostraca from dynasty 19, and once more in a graffito. It is much more common in graffiti dated to dynasties 19-20 or to dynasty 20. Three 20th dynasty graffiti (Theban Graffiti 0292b, 3284 and 3295) show 𓄿𓋴 in close proximity to the mark 𓌙. The latter belonged to *Pn-tɜ-wr.t* (vii), who happened to be a son of a man called *Nb-nfr* (vii). If indeed 𓋴𓏏 and 𓄿𓋴 were variants of the same mark, we may theorize that the *Nb-nfr* whom we suggested was *Bɜk-n-wrnr*'s father was in fact *Nb-nfr* (vii), and *Bɜk-n-wrnr* was the older brother of *Pn-tɜ-wr.t*. Davies remarks that *Nb-nfr* (vii) was active in the crew at least in years 23-24 of Ramesses III; therefore, the use of 𓋴𓏏 and 𓄿𓋴 in dynasty 19 must go back even earlier. Here, however, we lose track: the name *Nb-nfr* is not known among the ancestors of *Nb-nfr* (vii).			

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.003GD</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
wḏ3.t-eye with heart and windpipe (nfr)
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 4
19: 3 (G3)
19-20: 1 (Do1)</td><td>Method
incised: 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs thrice incised in hieroglyphic form on the pavement of the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medina. It also occurs once on a neck support. Although incised, at least those specimens on the pavement show care and detail in execution, even rendering the pupil of the eye as well as the curl of the falcon’s marking. This may have been due to the votive nature which is assumed for the marks on the pavement. The style of the specimen on the neck support is unknown, as we only have Bruyère’s rendering in hieroglyphic font.
The identity of the workman who used the mark is unknown. Perhaps he used it as an expression of a wish for well-being. In regard of the marks that follow, which are all graphic variants of single marks with only the addition of the nfr-sign, the possibility that is a graphic variant for (I 04.010) might be proposed.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.004GTD</td><td>Identity
Ḫ^ꜥ-m-wꜣs.t (iii)?</td><td>Description of form
Heart and windpipe combined with mast
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Graphic variant’:
I 15.006: </td><td>Number
Total: 6
19: 1 (G1)
19-20: 4 (G2, T1, Do1)
20: 1 (G1)</td><td>Method
incised: 6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">In Th.G. 1748 the mark appears together with the mark (I 27.011). Without nfr, (I 15.006) has been attested for Ḫ^ꜥ-m-wꜣs.t (iii), and without nfr, (I 05.034) has been attested for Wn-nfr (iii), who was Ḫ^ꜥ-m-wꜣs.t’s brother in law. This graffito may thus suggest that was used by Ḫ^ꜥ-m-wꜣs.t, who appears here with his brother in law. The addition of the sign nfr to marks that are also attested without it is an interesting feature of dynasties 19 and 20. Although it could be argued that the group-writings with nfr are simply more elaborate abbreviations of names as in Wn-nfr, another suggestion could be tentatively made, especially in regard of the examples of (I 27.003GD), the present mark (I 27.004GTD) and (I 27.007) below for which no similarity to a workman’s name has been found. The word nfr is known with the meanings ‘tüchtig’ and ‘pflichtsgetrau’, which may be characteristics ascribed to the workmen by means of the addition .</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.005P</td><td>Identity
Nfr-ꜥꜣb.t (i)</td><td>Description of form
Heart and windpipe combined with flagellum
Pictorial hieroglyphic form
Graphic variant:
I 18.045: </td><td>Number
Total: 1
19: 1 (P1)</td><td>Method
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is a graphic variant of (I 18.045), which is much more frequent among the identity marks of dynasties 19-20. It can be linked to Nfr-ꜥꜣb.t (i) because it is attested as determinative following his name spelled out spelled out or . See, for instance, his stela in the British Museum, EA 305. What the link between the flagellum (nḥꜣḥꜣ or nḥḥw in Egyptian) and Nfr-ꜥꜣb.t was, remains at present unclear.</td></tr>
</table>

I 27.006

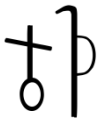
Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Pn-Mn-nfr (ii)	Heart and windpipe combined with a pyramid Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Variant: I 14.024: 𓊪	**Total**: 6 **20**: 6 (O3, G3)	**painted**: 3 (3b) **incised**: 3

The mark occurs in similar sequence on ostracon Cairo SR 12218 as the mark I 14.024 (𓊪) which belonged to *Pn-Mn-nfr* (ii). In Part II chapter 2 we have argued that the latter mark referred to *Pn-Mn-nfr* as a symbolic index: along the pictorial trail it indexically connects *Pn-Mn-nfr* (i) with Memphis as 'the one from Memphis', and along the phonetic trail it supports this connection with the sound pattern *Mn-nfr*. This implies that the mark had been inspired by the pyramid as a hieroglyphic sign, not only in its graphic form but also in its phonetic value. In the variant 𓏏𓊪 the link between *Pn-Mn-nfr* and the mark is even more explicit, adding the *nfr* phonetically to the location to which the pyramid refers. As regards the specimens, there are three on ostraca that are of pictorial hieroglyphic form. All are partially damaged or faded, but the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6301 shows that the sign of the pyramid has a horizontal line through its middle, as also seen in the specimens of I 14.024. There are also three specimens of I 27.006 in graffiti. Twice seem to show a house- or temple structure rather than a triangular form pyramid. Exactly the same characteristics are seen in specimens of I 14.024 in graffiti: a rectangular form with triangular part on top, in several cases even the door or portal having been indicated. Although the conveyance of meaning happens via script, there is thus a large pictorial element in the execution of the specimens as well as in the fact that the pyramid functions only as a semantic classifier in script, referring to *Mn-nfr*.

I 27.007

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Heart and windpipe combined with bent man leaning on stick Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

Remarks: Uncertain if workman's mark. Perhaps the two marks must be seen separately as 𓄿 (I 06.035a) and 𓀀 (I 01.019), which are attested as identity marks apart from each other in dynasty 20. The ostracon Cairo JE 4682 is, however, not conclusive: it contains many identity marks accompanied by a number of strokes. Yet, 𓀀 occurs near the right-side edge of the ostracon where it is broken off. There is one other ostracon consisting of the pieces UC 31939 and 31940 which is similar in style and handwriting. It does not, however, contain either 𓀀, or the marks 𓄿 and 𓀀 apart.

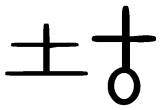
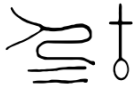


I 27.008

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Nfr-rnp.t (ii)?	Heart and windpipe combined with palm-branch stripped of leaves and notched (*nfr rnp.t*) Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 12 **19**: 8 (O1, P1) **20**: 4 (G4)	**painted**: 7 (7b) **incised**: 5

The group 𓏏𓇋 *nfr rnp.t* has a history in 18th dynasty Deir el-Bahri. It is encountered frequently in the temple of Hatshepsut, where it had presumably functioned as a builders' mark, indicating a team of workers according (Budka in Haring & Kaper (2009), 109). In 19th dynasty Deir el-Medina, however, it is more likely that the mark belonged to a man named *Nfr-rnp.t*. A candidate is *Nfr-rnp.t* (ii), who was a sculptor: on ostracon IFAO ONL 6338 the mark occurs with several others as well as with the depiction of a chisel, which may relate to the nature of the work carried out by the men.

The style of the mark is in some cases hieroglyphic, for instance in IFAO ONL 6587, where the palm-branch shows its notch. More cursive are IFAO ONL 6541 and 6488, in which the notch of the palm-branch is abbreviated to a single line. The latter approaches hieratic forms of the branch.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
I 27.009</td><td>Identity
Nfr-ḥtp (ii)
Rš.w-ptr=f (i)</td><td>Description of form
Heart and windpipe combined with loaf on a read mat
Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract forms
Graphic variant:
I 17.004 : </td><td>Number
Total: 23
19: 2 (O1, G1)
19-20: 2 (O1, P1)
20: 19 (O18, G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 20 (11b, 9r)
incised: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">From the comparison of sequences in dynasty 20, the marks I 17.004 () and I 27.009 were graphic variants, the latter being a more elaborate writing. As such, in can be related to the workman Rš.w-ptr=f (i). Davies tentatively suggested that Rš.w-ptr=f (i) was the grandson of Nfr-ḥtp (ii) (Davies, Who's Who at Deir el-Medina, 248), to whom the mark originally belonged. If so, this would support the phonetic interpretation of the marks and as nfr and ḥtp, referring to Rš.w-ptr=f. The earlier specimens dated to dynasties 19 and 19-20, then, probably belonged to Nfr-ḥtp (ii). As regards the specimens, the sign for ḥtp shows the abstract form consisting merely of a horizontal line with a "+"-form on top that is also seen in the specimens of I 17.004 from dynasty 19 onwards. The 20th dynasty specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 0337 and Turin CG 57008 show an arrow-form instead of a "+"-form, which is also seen in a few 20th dynasty specimens of I 17.004. The nfr-sign in the group is in each case fairly small, showing no or only a small circular form of the heart. The nfr-sign on ostracon IFAO ONL 6237 appears to show two horizontal lines instead of one, which is also seen in some hieratic examples of the nfr-sign (compare Möller III, number 180).</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.010</td><td>Identity
Pɜ-nfr-m-ḏdw</td><td>Description of form
Heart and windpipe combined with column
Pictorial hieroglyphic form
Possible graphic variant:
I 17.011: </td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">See the remarks with mark I 17.011 above.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
I 27.011</td><td>Identity
Wn-nfr (iii)</td><td>Description of form
Hare with phonetic complements n, combined with heart and windpipe
Pseudo-hieratic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 3
19: 1 (G1)
19-20: 1 (P1)
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1r)
incised: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">It has been mentioned above that the mark in graffito 1748 occurs together with (I 27.004GTD), referring presumably to Wn-nfr (iii) with his brother in law Ḥ^ꜥ-m-wɜs.t (iii). The addition of nfr can then be interpreted as being a more elaborate rendering of the name Wn-nfr than the hare with phonetic complements alone. The ostracon IFAO ONL 6670 dates to a later period. It depicts furniture accompanied by marks of workmen who lived mostly in the reign of Ramesses IV. If it can be dated to the early years of Ramesses IV, the mark could still denote Wennefer (iii) (Davies (1999), 6).
The specimen on IFAO ONL 6670 consists of the hare in hieratic form with a hieroglyphic nfr. The other two specimens both consist of the hieratic hare with two hieratic complements n, combined with a hieroglyphic nfr. In neither of both specimens the hare and the complements are ligatured. In chapter one we have speculated about the reason.</td></tr>
</table>

I 27.012

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Nfr-ḥr (vi)	Combination of *nfr* with an abstract geometric human face? Pictorial hieroglyphic (*nfr*) and abstract geometric forms	**Total**: 6 **19**: 1 (G1) **19-20**: 2 (P2) **20**: 3 (O3)	**painted**: 3 (3b) **incised**: 1 **unknown**: 2

The mark (I 27.012) can be ascribed to *Nfr-ḥr* (vi) in dynasty 20. Because of the fact that the marks and alone (see II 046) were also used to refer to him, it appears that can again be considered a more elaborate abbreviation of and . Could, then, respectively be interpreted as an extremely abstract sketch of the human face, *ḥr*, forming the second component in the name *Nfr-**ḥr***? Consider fig. I1-5. The lines of the marks and could be considered the grid lines that indicate the most important facial features: the eyes, the ears or sides of the head, and in case of the mid- or nose-line. A mark that represents the human face as (I 04.002) is encountered in dynasty 20, but only 7 times as against a total of 99 occurrences of and in dynasties 19 and 20. Certainly, and are easier and quicker to draw than the face. Moreover, grid lines would not be an uncommon feature to the workmen; they were, after all, artisans.

An argument against equating and with the mark is, however, found on ostracon IFAO C 7638. There, we find as the second mark in the rightmost column, while is found as the last mark in the leftmost column. A way out would be to consider and as different identity marks that belonged to different workmen, yet both represented a human face: one in figural style and the other in abstract geometric style.

I 27.013

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Sn-nḏm (i)	Heart and windpipe combined with d2v1h1, a level Pictorial forms	**Total**: 10 **19**: 9 (O5, P3, Bb1) **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 7 (3b, 4r) **incised**: 3

The form appears to be a recurrent element in identity marks that can be related to the family of *Sn-nḏm* (i) (see under mark II 042). The mark I 27.013, in combination with (*nfr*), was found in building blocks from the north and south walls of the court of TT1, the tomb of *Sn-nḏm* (Bruyère, *La tombe no. 1 de Sen-Medjem*, 10). This strongly suggests that these building blocks had been marked specifically for his tomb, and that was therefore *Sn-nḏm*'s mark. A different combination with an element added to is (I 27.015 below), which is dated exclusively to dynasty 19. It was found several times on pottery in the tomb of *Sn-nḏm*, but we will see below that it might rather have belonged to a son of *Sn-nḏm*.

As regards the specimens, they are pictorial in form. In Part II chapter 2 we have argued that may be the representation of a level. The sign rarely occurs in script; it is only seen as a semantic classifier precisely to determine the word for 'level'. The accompanying *nfr* sign is not drawn or written as if it was a sign from script with linguistic value. That is, its positioning in the group varies strongly, from 180 degrees turned when compared to *nfr* as a script sign (seen on ostraca IFAO ONL 6270 and 6418), to very small in the upper left corner of . When it is positioned next to the level, this may be to the right or to the left. The representation of the level also shows variation. On the building block Bruyère Rap. 28 II 132.2 it is 180 degrees turned when compared to *nfr* (of course, this may again be a case in which the *nfr* sign is 180 degrees turned – on a building block, and with regard to marks in general, orientation does not matter as long as the mark remains recognizable). On the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVII.077 the level is represented with a piece of lead hanging from the rope in the middle. The degree of variation, the pictorial nature of the specimens and of both elements that make up the group, and the lack of a scribal ductus in general suggest that the source of this mark was in fact the level as an object itself, that was accompanied by a second element to differentiate it from other marks using the level.

There is one occurrence of the group dated to dynasty 20: the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6255. It is, however, uncertain whether the two elements here in fact formed one mark rather than two separate marks. The marks and are attested in dynasty 20, and therefore I would argue that on O.IFAO ONL 6255 as well they were two separate marks.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.014</td><td>Identity
ꜣnwy (i)</td><td>Description of form
Two sticks crossed combined with d2h1
Pictorial abstract forms</td><td>Number
Total: 21
19: 20 (O12, P6, G1, Do1)
19-20: 1 (G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 11 (8b, 2r, 1?)
incised: 10</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs on a head rest (Bruyère Rap. 48-51 049 fig. 8 nr. 42), which was inscribed and marked for ꜣnwy (i), who was deputy of the left side of the crew in the reign of Ramesses II. On ostracon Ashmolean HO 1120 the mark occurs in the upper part of the first column to the right, conform ꜣnwy's position as deputy. It is not entirely certain whether the mark I 27.014 was related to the mark II 041 ( ), which is attested from dynasty 18 onwards. Most occurrences of II 041 are found in dynasty 20, when it was first used as a variant of by the workman Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t (vi) until the moment that he became foreman (first year Ramesses IV). The mark was then taken over by the workman Pꜣ-md.w-nḫt (i), who does not appear to have been related to Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t. As far as we can see, there was also no relation between ꜣnwy (i) in dynasty 19 and Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t (vi) or Pꜣ-md.w-nḫt (i) in dynasty 20. The mark I 27.014 also has some resemblance to the mark II 042 ( ), which itself has some variants that consist of a second element accompanying the form . We have just mentioned that those marks are presumably linked by a family relation of their owners. Interestingly, Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t (vi) was a descendant of Sn-nḏm (i) and therefore his use of the mark / before he became foreman may have been linked to the use of by the family of Sn-nḏm. In that case we have variants of the mark such as I 27.013 () and the following mark I 27.015 () having been used by members of the Sn-nḏm family in dynasty 19, and another variant / having been used at least by one descendant in dynasty 20, while in dynasty 19 is a completely different mark. ꜣnwy (i) was the son of Ḳꜣḥꜣ (i). Both the families of Sn-nḏm (i) and Ḳꜣḥꜣ (i) were known and important families. Could that be related to the similarity in form between the base-marks and ? On the other hand, if the marks are in fact abstract geometric representations of objects, such as the level was suggested for , the similarity may only be coincidence.
As for the specimens of , they show variation in the positioning of the and the +. The latter can be positioned to the right of , to its upper right, underneath , or to its left. It may be fairly small, as on ostracon IFAO ONL 6533, or very large, as on the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.108. The -form itself is in most cases relatively large and broad, and therefore does not immediately resemble the form as the hieroglyphic sign for the value mr. Yet, it cannot be ruled out that the broad -form was, in fact, the 18th dynasty representation of (see also some early forms of I 20.006, which are not as broad as , but also not as small and elongated as in dynasty 20). Whether the mark was related to , or whether it carried phonetic value (mr, or another value if referred to another object or hieroglyphic sign) is unknown.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.015</td><td>Identity
Ḫʿ-bḥn.t (i)?</td><td>Description of form
Scepter combined with d2v1h1, a level
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 24
19: 24 (O6, P18)</td><td>Method
painted: 5 (5b)
incised: 19</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">As was mentioned under I 27.013 (), the element seems to have been a recurrent element in identity marks that are related to the family of Sn-nḏm (i). Whereas could be linked to Sn-nḏm himself, as it occurs on buildings blocks from his tomb TT1, the combination was also found in his tomb, namely several times on pottery. Yet, also occurs many times on pottery from the tomb TT2, which belonged to Ḫʿ-bḥn.t (i), who was a son of Sn-nḏm. Perhaps we can therefore relate to this son.
As regards the specimens, there is a great degree of variation in the form of the scepter. On ostraca IFAO ONL 6281 and 6347 it is of a recognizable, pictorial hieroglyphic form. On ostracon IFAO ONL 6419 it is still recognizable as wꜣs, but the scepter head has a deviating form in that it goes upwards. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6279 is hardly recognizable as wꜣs, but on the basis of date and form is still best interpreted as I 27.015. All incised specimens on pottery show forms that are also hardly recognizable as wꜣs. They rather resemble the first letter of the Runic alphabet (fehu). Certainly, this is well explained by the method of production: incising wꜣs will not end up in the curved form seen on ostraca, it will rather lead to linear, staccato forms. The orientation of wꜣs and the level toward each other differ, on ostraca as well as in the potmarks. The wꜣs may be positioned either to the right or to the left of the level, orientated toward it or away from it. The forms of the group as well as this variation in composition suggest that the group was not 'read' with linguistic value. Its origin may rather have been the level as an object (as it was for the mark of Sn-nḏm), with a second element to distinguish it from other marks that made use of the level.</td></tr>
</table>

I 27.016

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Sceptre combined with tie or strap (*ꜥnḫ*) Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 27.016a: I 27.016b:	**Total**: 27 **19-20**: 1 a: 1 (G1) **20**: 26 a: 11 (O11) b: 15 (O11, P1, G3)	**painted**: 21 (17b, 3r, 1?) **incised**: 6

The mark consists of an *ꜥnḫ*-sign combined with one or two *wꜣs*-scepters, a symbol that is known from temple reliefs. Conform the depiction of the symbol on temple walls and columns, the *ꜥnḫ*-sign, when combined with two *wꜣs*-scepters, may have been given 'arms', as seen in the relatively elaborate pictorial specimen on ostracon ARTP 99-027. Although we do not know to whom this mark belonged, it may be suggested that the origin of the mark lay in the known symbol rather than in grouping of signs of writing to convey the name of the mark owner.

The orientation of the signs that make up the group differs. That is, when the group consists of the *ꜥnḫ*-sign and one *wꜣs*-scepter, the latter may be orientated towards the *ꜥnḫ*-sign, but in one case (on ostracon IFAO ONL 6303) it is orientated away from the *ꜥnḫ*-sign, as if it does not concern the symbol in its known form but simply the succession of a single *ꜥnḫ* and *wꜣs* sign. The *ꜥnḫ*-sign is in all cases pictorial hieroglyphic in form in that its circular form is in all cases indeed a large or smaller circular or oval form, and not the open form seen in hieratic examples. Some circular forms are quite large, such as seen on BTdK 551. This specific form also shows a low positioning of the horizontal line, and in general a drawn rather than a (hieroglyphically) written sign. Its producer was not a scribe. Similar pictorial and hieroglyphic forms for the *ꜥnḫ*-sign were seen in the specimens of mark I 18.034. The specimen in Th.G. 2258 is of a very unusual form. It was interpreted as I 27.016b on the basis of the surrounding signs and the fact that I 27.016b occurs twice more in graffiti.

I 27.017

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
Pꜣ-ḥry-pḏ.t i/ii/iii	Combination of sky with composite bow Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 4 **19**: 4 (O4)	**painted**: 4 (2b, 2r)

The mark belonged to *Pꜣ-ḥry-pḏ.t* (i/ii/iii), which is clear from the phonetic sounds *ḥry* and *pḏ.t* conveyed by the signs of which the mark consists. This is a mark that was clearly inspired by writing in meaning as well as in composition, although the specimen on ostracon Schaden 022 shows that the linguistic character of the mark was probably not always understood: the person who inscribed this ostracon, which in other marks as well shows no knowledge of script or scribal hand at all, was presumably not aware of the phonetics of and , having reversed their order and apparently not having recognized the form of as a composite bow. It is unknown if the mark I 27.017 is related to the mark I 19.010 (); perhaps the former is a more elaborate form of I 19.010. Yet, the latter occurs in dynasties 18 and 20 as well, whereas we see no *Pꜣ-ḥry-pḏ.t*'s in those periods. Also, ostracon IFAO ONL 6526 shows both and , which would suggest that the two are different marks that identified different workmen. All *Pꜣ-ḥry-pḏ.t*'s are known lived in dynasty 19, but who was who exactly remains unclear (Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 2, 9, 13, 153-154).

I 27.018P

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	Combination of composite bow with neck support Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 2 **19-20**: 2 (P2)	**incised**: 2

The mark is attested twice on pottery only. One potsherd was found in the Grand Puits, the other at the workmen's huts at Station de la Repos du col. The user and meaning of this mark are unknown.

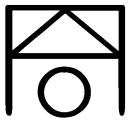
I 27.019

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
uncertain	Combination of neck support with square (block stool (?)) Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Possible graphic variants: I 27.019a: I 27.019b:	**Total**: 40 **19**: 31 a: 29 (O24, P4, G1) b: 2 (O2) **20**: 9 a: 1 (O1) b: 8 (O7, G1)	**painted**: 34 (25b, 9r) **incised**: 6

The mark occurs mainly in dynasty 19, among others on the ostraca Schaden 001 and 016, which can be compared to the hieratic name lists on ostraca BM EA 05634 and DeM 0706. On both marks' ostraca I 27.019 follows after I 17.014, which is the mark of *Nb-jmnt.t*. In the hieratic name lists we encounter *Ḥḥ*(*-nḫw*) after *Nb-jmnt.t*, which would suggest that I 27.019 was of *Ḥḥ*(*-nḫw*). Yet, the marks and name lists do not exactly coincide, and it is also possible that I 27.019 belonged to the next man in the list (*Nḫt-mnw*), or yet another man (see also the suggestion of *Ḥḥ*(*-nḫw*) for mark I 27.026 below). Phonetic value does not give us a hint. It was already mentioned with I 16.004 that as a hieroglyphic sign is very rare, and that the source of the mark I 16.004 was presumably the neck support as an object of daily use rather than the sign from script. The neck-support occurs very frequently as an identity mark, alone and in combination with a variety of secondary elements We have just seen the combination with a composite bow, and the following two marks show a combination with a pentagram star and a chest. In this case we see the combination with a square. The square may represent a block stool in the variant I 27.019a, but in I 27.019b ( ) the interpretation of the square as a block stool seems rather odd. Yet, the variant I 27.019b is generally dated to dynasty 19 whereas I 17.019a is dated to dynasty 19. The square may in dynasty 19 have represented an object such as a block stool, but may have been otherwise interpreted in dynasty 20. It is not entirely clear whether I 27.019b is indeed a variant of I 27.019a, or whether it is in dynasty 20 rather a variant of I 16.004. It has not yet been attempted to try to find a relation between the various marks making use of the neck support throughout dynasties 18, 19 and 20.

As regards the specimens, those of I 27.019a show variation in the combination of the neck support and the square. The latter may be positioned to the right of the neck-support, to the left, or underneath it. It can be filled in with paint such as seen on ostraca Schaden 001, Schaden 016 and Schaden 044 (second specimen), or be left open, such as seen on ostraca IFAO ONL 6445, Schaden 011 and Schaden 044 (first specimen). As such, the square reminds of the 18th and 19th dynasty mark II 017, which also occurs as an open square and a filled square, and perhaps also represents a block throne. The neck support itself may be quite large in relation to the square, as seen on ostraca IFAO ONL 6488 and Schaden 001, but it may also be of similar size as seen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6445 and in Th.G. 1233. The upper part of the neck support (the surface for the neck) may be rounded or triangular. The latter is seen on ostraca IFAO ONL 6526 and 6541, the former on, among others, ostraca Schaden 016 and 044. Similar rounded and triangular forms were seen among the specimens of I 16.004 in dynasty 18. The specimens of I 17.019b also show a relatively large degree of variation, especially if one realizes that most marks in dynasty 20 usually show a large degree of uniformity. We see forms of the neck support that fill the entire square, as on ostraca IFAO ONL 6185 and 6832, and we see smaller neck supports that leave some space in the square open, as on ostraca Ashmolean HO 0810 and BTdK 533. The neck support on ostracon ARTP 99-027 is very pictorial in nature, the support itself drawn as a block. This variation in the 20th dynasty specimens may suggest that I 27.019b indeed did not convey phonetic value and its origin did not lay in the form of as a sign from script.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.020</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Combination of neck support with pentagram star
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 6
19: 5 (O3, P2)
20: 1 (O1</td><td>Method
painted: 4 (3b, 1r)
incised: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark belongs to the 19th dynasty corpus seen especially in sequences on the Schaden ostraca 001 and 016. These ostraca can be compared to the hieratic ostraca BM EA 05634 and DeM 0706. Unfortunately we lose the comparison of the sequences after the first three to four marks, and it therefore remains uncertain to whom this mark precisely belonged. It may, however, at least be said that it belonged to one of the men that occur on O.BM EA 05634 (obverse) and O.DeM 0706 (obverse I). As regards the form of the mark, the combination of a neck-support and a pentagram star is not a linguistic combination known from writing. The neck support only occurs rarely in script, and the pentagram star does not occur as a script sign at all. The neck-support is seen quite often as an identity mark, on its own (I16.004), but also in combination as mentioned above. It was apparently a popular sign, perhaps because it was a well-known and daily used object. If more people would have used the neck-support as an identity mark, there must be elements added to it in order to make the difference clear. In this case, the pentagram star was chosen. The star can be positioned next to the neck-support (e.g. on ostraca IFAO ONL 6526 and Schaden 013), but also underneath it (as in the specimens on ostraca Schaden 016 and IFAO ONL 6508). On ostracon IFAO ONL 6526 as well as on ostracon Schaden 013 the star is somewhat larger than the neck-support, while on ostracon Schaden 016 it is somewhat smaller. On ostracon IFAO ONL 6508 both are of approximately similar size. The star in question is of a somewhat strange form, resembling rather a form such as , but this may be due to the fact that it is rather small. As regards the form of the neck-support, the specimen on the 19th dynasty osctracon Schaden 013 shows a triangular form of the upper part. Among the specimens of I 16.004 we saw this especially in dynasty 18. The 20th dynasty specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6508 appears to show a similar triangular form, but in fact the mark is damaged here and a look at the ostracon itself shows that nothing can be said about the exact form.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.021</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Combination of chest with neck support
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 28
19: 27 (O13, P12, Do2)
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 14 (10b, 4r)
incised: 14</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is again a combination of the neck support and a second element, in this case a chest. The owner is unknown. As regards the specimens, there is again variation in the combination of the two elements. In most cases on ostraca the neck support is depicted underneath the chest, except for the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6274 and 6528, in which the neck support is depicted to the right of the chest. In all cases in which the mark is incised on pottery and a wooden docket, the neck support is positioned either to the right or to the left of the chest. The chest has in most cases inner details, often two diagonal lines from the middle of the upper horizontal line to both corners as seen on ostraca Cairo JE 96335 and Hawass. Sometimes a vertical line also seems to be present, as on ostracon IFAO ONL 6395, but also on the sherds Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVII.092 and 093. The surface for the head in the neck support is in some cases triangular, such as on ostraca Cairo JE 9633, IFAO ONL 6325 and Hawass, in other cases it is rounded (the same forms are seen in 18th and 19th dynasty specimens of I 16.004 and in 18th and 19th dynasty specimens in which the neck support is combined with a second element). The specimen on ostracon BTdK 383 most probably does not represent an occurrence of the workman's mark. It is positioned in between other representations of furniture and therefore most probably represents furniture. It is, however, strange that the same combination of the neck support – this time on top of – the chest occurs. Perhaps this combination of the two pieces of furniture on this specific ostracon was inspired by the identity mark. Or the chest is in fact a representation of a piece of furniture, while the neck support accompanying it functioned as an identity mark. In all cases where I 27.021 certainly functions as an identity mark, its inspiration were most probably the chest and neck support as objects rather than as signs from script, for the same reasons as those given above with marks I 27.019 and I 27.020.</td></tr>
</table>



I 27.022

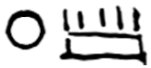
Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Nb-n-Mɜᶜ.t (ii)	Combination of chest with a circular form Pictorial hieroglyphic forms (chest), cursive forms (circle)	**Total**: 21 **19**: 19 (O8, P8, G1, Ns1, Do1) **19-20**: 1 (P1) **20**: 1 (G1)	**painted**: 7 (7b) **incised**: 13 **unknown**: 1

The mark belongs to *Nb-n-Mɜᶜ.t* (ii), and was among others found on a name stone in his hut (hut G, West group, Station de la Repos du col). In Theban Graffito 1336 the mark occurs together with the hieratic name of *Jmn-nḫt*, by which is most probably meant *Jmn-nḫt* (xxi), *Nb-n-Mɜᶜ.t*'s father. That dates the mark to dynasty 19. As regards the forms of the specimens, most of the chests have inner details, especially those that occur on ostraca. The circles are predominantly drawn without inner details, except the one on ostracon IFAO ONL 6412, which occurs with an inner dot. This might suggest that the sun is depicted. Yet, Bruyère drew the mark on the neck support in his Rapport 34-35 III, 233.1 as consisting of a chest with a *njw.t*-sign. The circular form may be positioned underneath the chest, or next to it (either to the right or to the left). In cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic writing, every circular sign may be drawn simply as a circle without inner details, which may thus fulfill a multitude of functions.

I 27.023

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Mr.y-Rᶜ (v) *Nfr-ḥtp* (xii)	Combination of sun disc and hoe Pictorial and cursive hieroglyphic, and hieratic forms Graphic variant: I 20.006:	**Total**: 19 **19**: 2 (O2) **20**: 17 (O16, G1)	**painted**: 17 (14b, 3r) **incised**: 2

According to a comparison between ostraca IFAO ONL 6322 and BM EA 05642 the form must be equal to ; they occur in the same sequence. However, the form on ostracon IFAO ONL 6322 is not entirely clear: it appears to consist of the *mr* sign with another element, interpreted as the sun-disc. Nevertheless, there are more ostraca that share more or less the same sequence, or at least the same cluster of signs; compare also the cluster of marks on ostracon BTdK 537 to the sequence on ostraca IFAO ONL 6322 and BM EA 05642. This makes it likely that is in fact a graphic variant of . Moreover, it would be logical considering the phonetic value of the group: *mr* and *rᶜ*, referring to *Mr.y-Rᶜ* and later to his grandson *Nfr-ḥtp*. Th group *mr-rᶜ* occurs twice in dynasty 19, but mainly in dynasty 20. That the circle should indeed be interpreted as the sun, becomes clear from the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6221 and Cairo JE 96581, which both have an inner dot. Especially the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6221 also has a very pictorial, hieroglyphic appearance, not only in the form of the sun disc, but also in the form of the hoe and the positioning of the sun disc underneath the hoe (following the order of the name *Mr.y-Rᶜ*). In the other specimens, the circles are without inner details and they show more cursive and hieratic forms of both the hoe and the sun disc. There is, however, variation in the position of the sun disc with regard to the hoe. In most cases (i.e. 12 times) the sun disc is placed above the hoe, as usually seen in script. In 6 cases it is placed underneath the hoe, and in one case it is positioned to the right of the hoe. In general, the positioning of the group, its cursive and hieratic appearance and, of course, its phonetic value, connects the mark to script as its source of inspiration.



I 27.024P

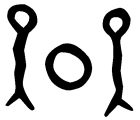
Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Combination of draught-board with circular form Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (P1)	**incised**: 1

It is not entirely certain whether I 27.024P is one mark, or whether it presents two separate identity marks. Both forms apart from each other are attested as identity marks, for instance on the 20th dynasty ostracon Cairo JE 72493, where they are separated only by the mark I 13.012 ( ). Another possibility is that I 27.024P was originally part of the *Jmn Rᶜ* group (I 27.036). However, this group is not seen with the *Rᶜ*-circle, which makes this option unlikely.

I 27.025

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Nb-Rᶜ (i)?	Combination of basket with circular form Pictorial hieroglyphic and hieratic(?) forms	**Total**: 3 **19**: 3 (O2, P1)	**painted**: 2 (1b, 1r) **incised**: 1

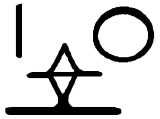
When read as hieroglyphic signs, we see here the combination of *nb* and *Rᶜ*. It may indeed have been the case, that this mark in dynasty 19 was used by the workman *Nb-Rᶜ* (i). *Nb-Rᶜ* was the brother of *Pꜣ-Rᶜ-ḥtp* (i), whom we will see further below with mark I 27.027 ( ). The mark I 27.25 has very few occurrences, which differ among each other in form and style. On ostracon Cairo JE 46861 we see a pictorial hieroglyphic group with *nb* above and *Rᶜ* below. On ostracon IFAO ONL 0233 we see the group read from right to left, where the *nb*-sign has no upper horizontal line, but it does have inner details, in fact beginning to resemble the *nb*-basket as written in hieratic script On the potsherd Nagel Céramique 145, K.2.137 the *nb* basket is placed above a filled dot and an stroke that completes the block-writing of *Nb-Rᶜ*'s name. Interestingly, this grouping appears to have been taken from script, as not merely the signs that were needed to convey the phonetic sounds were used, but the block was completed with a stroke. The *nb*-basked was, however, positioned bottom up; that is, upside down if one compares it to hieroglyphic writing. The name was clearly known in writing, but the execution of the specimens in the contexts of the marks was not in every case done by a person who was (fully or partially) literate.



I 27.026

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Two wicks of twisted flax, combined with the sun in between Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract geometric forms Graphic variants: I 27.026a: I 27.026b:	**Total**: 44 **19**: 11 b: 11 (O11) **19-20**: 1 b: 1 (O1) **20**: 31 a: 30 (O13, G17) b: 1 (O1) **not dated**: 1 a: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 27 (16b, 11r) **incised**: 17

The mark shows a development from an abstract linear style in dynasty 19 to a hieroglyphic group in dynasty 20. While it was at first not recognized that I 27.026b was in fact an early form of I 27.026a, it became clear after comparison especially of the specimen on ostracon IFAO C 7586 with the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6253 that we were dealing with a simplified linear representation of in dynasty 19. This fits the trend that we have discussed in Part I chapter I, section 2. We do not know to whom the mark belonged. We do see a workman named *Ḥh*-(*nḫw*) in dynasty 19. He occurs on the hieratic ostraca BM EA 05634 and DeM 0706, the two ostraca to which we can compare the marks sequence on ostraca Schaden 001 and 016. Yet, we lose the sequence before we come to *Ḥh*-(*nḫw*); moreover, the mark I 27.026 is not attested on ostraca Schaden 001 and 016.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
I 27.027</td><td>Identity
P3-Rˁ-ḥtp (i)?</td><td>Description of form
Loaf on reed mat combined with sun (and ideogram stroke)
Pictorial hieroglyphic and abstract forms</td><td>Number
Total: 6
19: 6 (O3, P2, Do1)</td><td>Method
painted: 3 (3b)
incised: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The combination of forms, when read as hieroglyphic signs, reads Ḥtp-Rˁ. Whether the mark belonged to an owner of that name is not entirely certain, but a workman named P3-Rˁ-ḥtp (i) is certainly a possibility. He is known to have lived in Deir el-Medina in dynasty 19, but more telling is that the mark I 27.027 occurs together with the mark I 18.045 ( ) on the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVI.040. The latter mark belonged to Nfr-ˁ3b.t (i), who was P3-Rˁ-ḥtp's brother in law. This family relation may link P3-Rˁ-ḥtp (i) to the mark . The mark does not often occur: only once on a name stone, twice on ostraca in similar sequence (surrounded by the marks I 18.023 ( ) and I 13.014b ( )), twice on pottery, and once on a footing of a lamp that was found in one of the houses, the dating, however, of which is unclear. On the aforementioned potsherd, as well as on the footing of the lamp, the form of the ḥtp sign is rather abstract, giving merely a short or longer horizontal line with an arrow on top. In both cases the group is without ideogram stroke accompanying the circle for Rˁ. On the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVII.104 this stroke is clearly present, and it can also be detected on ostracon IFAO ONL 6319. The presence of the stroke gives the group the appearance of a group-writing from script; that is, not only the signs necessary for conveying the sounds were used, the entire group was inspired by writing.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.028</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Papyrus rolled up and tied combined with sun
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 2
19-20: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (2b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs only twice on ostraca that cannot be precisely dated. Its identification is unclear. If indeed the lower sign is the papyrus, it looks different from all other forms we see in I 24.001 as well as in the groups below: I 27.029 and I 27.030. The combination with the sun is seen in the marks above I 27.022 to I 27.027.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.029</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Papyrus rolled up and tied combined with mouth(?)
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 13
19: 9 (O7, P1, Do1)
19-20: 1 (O1)
20: 3 (O3)</td><td>Method
painted: 11 (9b, 2r)
incised: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark may be a variant of I 27.030, or it may be a separate identity mark. The sign underneath is in all cases clearly the papyrus, but the sign on top of it is not clear: it is either the mouth, or perhaps a short form for ˁ3 ( ). In most cases on the ostraca, this oval form is indeed seen on top of the papyrus, although on several Schaden ostraca (nrs. 013, 075, 065) and on ostraca IFAO ONL 6606 and Cairo JE 96326 the order is reversed and the papyrus is the sign on top. When also the specimens on pottery and the wooden docket (domestic object) are taken into account, the number of specimens in which the oval form is on top is equal to the number of specimens in which the papyrus is on top.</td></tr>
</table>

I 27.030

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Pn-tꜣ-wr.t (vii)	Papyrus rolled up and tied combined with basket(?) Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Variant: I 24.001: 𓋴	**Total**: 43 **19-20**: 1 (P1) **20**: 42 (O16, P4, G22)	**painted**: 16 (12b, 4r) **incised**: 27

The mark is equal to I 24.001 and was used by *Pn-tꜣ-wr.t* (vii). As regards the forms of this grouping, the papyrus is in all cases placed above the basket, yet in some specimens the two signs are lose from each other (e.g. on ostraca DeM 10121, IFAO OL 170 and IFAO ONK 6297), while in many cases the papyrus and basket have merged into one monogram (e.g. on ostraca BTdK 550, 561, Cairo JE 72497 and on potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51 pl. XVII.058. When the two signs are represented as lose signs, the papyrus usually consists of merely a horizontal line with two to three diagonal lines coming from its middle, as seen in examples of I 24.001 alone. Yet, especially in graffiti we see more elaborate forms of the papyrus, in some cases even with indication of the straps (such as in Th.G. 0208). All the baskets are of a pictorial hieroglyphic form, not showing the inner details and open top as is known from hieratic examples. Why the basket was added to the mark I 24.001, apparently as a more elaborate representation of it, is unclear. We do not know whether the mark conveyed phonetic value, perhaps related to the name of a forefather of *Pn-tꜣ-wr.t*.

I 27.031G

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Pintail duck flying combined with basket and alluvial land (*nb tꜣ*) Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **19**: 1 (G1)	**incised**: 1

The mark occurs once as a graffito on the pavement of the Hathor temple directly north from Deir el-Medina. We do not know it as a workman's identity mark; it is not seen as such on the marks ostraca or on objects bearing marks. When read as hieroglyphic signs, the mark reads *pꜣ nb tꜣ*. A man named Paneb is, of course, known from Deir el-Medina in dynasty 19, the addition *tꜣ* would translate his name into 'the lord of the land'. This kind of speculation, however, does not help in identifying this one graffito.

I 27.032

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Bird (falcon?) seated on a basket Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

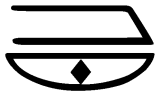
Uncertain if workmen's mark. The mark occurs on ostracon Cairo CG 25320 next to a column of workmen's marks that are known and in some cases identified. The lines of I 27.032 are thinner than those of the marks in the column. The combination of the falcon and basket is not attested elsewhere. When read as hieroglyphic signs, the mark would suggest the sounds *ḥr* and *nb*, but that does not lead us to a certain identification.

I 27.033

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Ḥr-ms	Falcon combined with *ms* Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

The mark occurs only once, on ostracon Cairo JE 96647, and spells out the name of *Ḥr-m*s, which may have been *Ḥr-ms* (iii) (personal communication with Daniel Soliman). The ostracon is dated to dynasty 20 on account of similarity in sequence with ostracon IFAO ONL 6481, on which, however, I 27.033 does not occur.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I27.034G</td><td>Identity
Ḥr-nfr?</td><td>Description of form
Falcon combined with heart and windpipe
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 7
19-20: 5 (G5)
20: 2 (G2)</td><td>Method
incised: 7</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark only occurs in graffiti, but at least twice clearly in the context of workmen’s marks (e.g. Th.G. 1561 and 1697b). Nevertheless, it is uncertain whether this combination was indeed a workmen’s identity mark, or whether it is simply a hieroglyphic rendering of the name of 1r-nfr, as so many names are encountered in the graffiti in the Theban Mountains.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.035</td><td>Identity
unknown
perhaps Ḥr-mn?</td><td>Description of form
Falcon combined with draught-board
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is uncertain, and not attested except for once on ostracon IFAO ONL 6322, an ostracon with many unclear or hardly recognizable marks drawn by an incompetent hand. Some other workmen’s marks can, however, be identified in the same column where we find I 27.035. When read as hieroglyphic signs, this mark would give the sounds ḥr mn, which could point to a name such as Ḥr-mnj occurring in the New Kingdom (Ranke, Personennamen, 248). Two Ḥr-mn’s are known from Deir el-Medina in dynasty 20, of which Ḥr-Mn (i) is best identified. Suggesting that this man was the owner of I 27.035 is, however, the purest of speculations.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.036</td><td>Identity
Jmn-pꜣ-Ḥ^ꜥpy (iii)</td><td>Description of form
Reed leaf combined with draught-board (and water ripple), reading jmn
Pictorial hieroglyphic and hieratic forms
Graphic variants:
I 27.036a:
I 27.036b: </td><td>Number
Total: 30
20: 30
a: 15 (O10, P2, G3)
b: 15 (O12, P1, G2)</td><td>Method
painted: 22 (16b, 6r)
incised: 8</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark gives the first element of the name of its owner, either via the signs of the reed leaf and the draught-board, or via these two signs followed by a phonetic complement n. Hieratic forms are seen among the specimens of I 27.036b, on ostraca IFAO ONL 1371 and 6185. They also take the orientation conform hieratic writing, read from right to left. Other specimens are pictorial hieroglyphic in form, and may take an orientation read from left to right or from right to left. While the specimens of I 27.036b show block-writings with a scribal ductus as one encounters in script, some of the specimens of I 27.036a rather seem to have been inscribed by persons who were not so familiar with this group in script. Consider the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6250 and Petrie UC 45733, which both show other marks that are of a pictorial rather than of a written form. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6273 also seems odd, yet the paint of this specimen is very much faded and it is difficult to make out its exact form.</td></tr>
</table>

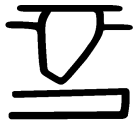


I 27.037

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Jmn-m-ḥb?	Gardiner Aa13 combined with a bowl of alabaster, reading *m ḥb* Pictorial hieroglyphic forms Graphic variants: I 27.037a: I 27.037bP:	**Total**: 21 **19-20**: 2 b: 2 (P2) **20**: 18 a: 18 (O17, P1) **not dated**: 1 a: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 18 (13b, 4r, 1?) **incised**: 3

The mark occurs several times in dynasty 20 and seems to spell out *m ḥb*. There is another mark in which this group appears, which occurs only twice on amphora adding the reed leaf to the beginning of the group; that is, reading *j m ḥb*. Certainly, one wants to read *Jmn-m-ḥb* here, but the mark has not been connected with certainty to a man of this name. Dorn has published the ostraca in *Arbeiterhüttern im Tal der Könige* (part I p. 36-370; part 2 Tafel 454 nr. 538), but has interpreted both components of the sign as two separate marks. Due to the other occurrences of the mark, we can now connect them as elements of a single identity mark.

As regards the forms of the specimens, they are pictorial hieroglyphic rather than hieratic, seen especially in the form of the alabaster bowl, which does not show any of its hieratic characteristics. There is some variation among the specimens, in form and in orientation. At least 10 specimens show inner details inside the alabaster bowl, the others do not, or it cannot be decided anymore due to damage or fading of the mark. In most cases the rectangular form is indeed positioned above the bowl, as one would expect when they would indeed be read as hieroglyphic signs; yet, on ostracon ARTP 99-027 the order is switched. This ostracon contains many marks that are somewhat peculiar in their form; the person who inscribed this piece was perhaps not so familiar with script, but he could draw and he was certainly creative. Compare also the forms of I 24.008 (), which is quite elaborate, of I 09.012 (), which is quite well drawn, and the elaborate form of I 27.016b (). The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 1371 shows only the upper part of the mark, yet can be identified as I 27.037 on account of the sequence. This is an ostracon with much hieratic text and hieratic numerals, the scribe of which apparently thought it not necessary to write such an elaborate mark. The form on ostracon IFAO C 7638 seems to show only the lower part, the bowl; yet in the same sequence as where we expect I 27.037. The specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6250 shows a nice hybrid form, in which the lower line of the upper element uses horizontal line of the bowl, becoming a monogram.



I 27.038

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Heart combined with Gardiner Aa13 Pictorial hieroglyphic form	**Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

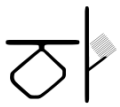
This mark is rather unknown as a workman's identity mark. Perhaps, it rather concerns two separate marks, although the upper element (resembling Gardiner F34 , *jb*) is not attested as a mark. The lower element is attested once on its own (I 26.015 ()), but uncertain and only in dynasty 18, and several times as part of the previous mark I 27.037 ().

I 27.039

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	Feather combined with seated god Pictorial hieroglyphic forms	**Total**: 3 **20**: 3 (O3)	**painted**: 3 (3b)

When read as signs of writing, one expects this mark to refer to a man with the element *šw* in his name. A *Šw-m-ip.t*, or *Pꜣ-šw-m-jp.t*, is known from Deir el-Medina, from the reign of Ramesses III (Davies, Who's who at Deir el-Medina, 40, 42), but not much of this man is known. The mark is also very infrequent, occurring 3 times on a total of two ostraca. Both ostraca (Cairo JE 46862 and Petrie UC 31940) show similar information in a similar lay-out; that is, groupings of signs accompanied by vertical (counting) strokes and pseudo-hieratic numerals, the groups being divided by lines.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.040</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
Human eye on a standard
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms
Variant:
I 04.010: </td><td>Number
Total: 5
20: 5 (O5)</td><td>Method
painted: 5 (2b, 3r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">From the sequences seen on ostraca BTdK 550, IFAO ONL 6539 and Prague NM P 3836 it becomes clear that the mark I 27.040 is equal to I 04.010 (), identifying the same man. Whether the mark carried phonetic value (wḏꜣ), either as relating to the name of the workman or relating to a concept, for instance a wish for well-being, is not known.</td></tr>
<tr><td>I 27.041</td><td colspan="4">See I 27.002a.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.042G</td><td>Identity
Nḫt-Mnw?</td><td>Description of form
Forearm with hand holding stick, combined with the emblem for Mnw
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 3
19: 3 (G3)</td><td>Method
incised: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">When read as hieroglyphic signs, the components of the mark read nḫt Mnw. Nḫt-Mnw was a fairly common name in Deir el-Medina, and it is not entirely clear who was who (Davies, Who's Who at Deir el-Medina, 111-112, 212-215, 239-242, 252, 264). Yet, the mark only occurs three times, each of the three times as votive graffito on the pavement of the Hathor Temple directly to the north of the village. It may therefore not have been a workmen's mark in the sense that we encounter the other workmen's marks in the necropolis administration; it may rather have been nothing more than a briefly written name that served to express the presence of this particular man near the temple and the goddess Hathor. This particular man may have been Nakhtmin (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) or (v).</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.043</td><td>Identity
Nb-Jmn (iv)</td><td>Description of form
Tree or beard of emmer, combined with legs walking
Pictorial hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number
Total: 4
20: 4 (O4)</td><td>Method
painted: 4 (4b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">It is not entirely certain whether the components of I 27.043 are part of one single identity mark, or whether they rather represent two marks. There are only 4 occurrences, and in each case the two components are found closely together, but nowhere are they so closely connected that they are without doubt one mark. When one compares the ostracon Cairo CG 25651 and the name list on ostracon IFAO ONL 1323, the mark I 27.043 would be connected to the name Nb-Jmn. Knowing this, we may perhaps analyze the mark and its owner as follows: the mark consists of the element , which we in fact know as the mark of Wsḫ-nmt.t (i) (mark I 04.054), accompanied by something that looks like a tree or a beard of emmer, which was perhaps the identifier for Nb-Jmn (iv), the son of Wsḫ-nmt.t (i). If this is correct, the mark of Nb-Jmn's father was for some reason attached to his own mark. Perhaps father and son worked together, or Wsḫ-nmt.t's sign was merely an extra identifier. As regards the four specimens, they show some variation in form and composition. In two cases the tree or beard of emmer is positioned to the left of the mark of Wsḫ-nmt.t (ostraca Cairo CG 25651 and IFAO ONL 6458). The stem of the tree or beard of emmer is fairly long, after which the fairly short branches start at ¾ of the height of the mark. The style of both specimens, also as regards the mark of Wsḫ-nmt.t, is very similar. The ostraca also share the same cluster of marks, and may have been inscribed by the same hand, although ostracon IFAO ONL 6458 does seem to be of better quality. The other two specimens do not resemble the previous two, nor do they resemble each other. The specimen on ostracon IFAO C 2470 shows a form of the tree or beard of emmer that differs, in that the branches are spread over the entire length of the mark. It is positioned above the mark of Wsḫ-nmt.t in a column of marks, in which it in fact does not seem to be connected to . The latter form is a neat hieratic form of the walking legs. The</td></tr>
</table>

	last and fourth specimen of I 27.043 is seen on ostracon IFAO ONL 0946, on which the tree or beard of emmer is not recognizable in form. It rather looks like a mark which accompanies the mark I 06.031 ( ) on ostracon Cairo CG 25651. There, we suggested that the form that accompanies resembles the hieratic form for , referring to *šrỉ* 'young son', because the mark was used by *Nb-nfr* son of *Ms*. The form accompanying the mark of *Wsḫ-nmt.t* on ostracon IFAO ONL 0946 could be the same hieratic abbreviation of in a more elaborate and curved form. If so, this would mean that *Nb-Jmn*'s own identifier was replaced by the message that he was '*Wsḫ-nmt.t*'s son'. The combination I 27.043 only occurs 4 times, and the tree or bearded emmer along hardly occurs (except in dynasty 18), and therefore we do not know what happened to *Nb-Jmn*. Did he receive a mark of his own, or eventually take over the mark of *Wsḫ-nmt.t*? Or did he only help his father out a couple of times, therefore not having received a full mark of his own? Or did he receive a mark of his own, and was this mark completely different from either the tree or bearded ear of emmer, or the mark of his father?			
 I 27.044	**Identity** *Wsr-ḥpš* (i)	**Description of form** Head and neck of a canine animal combined with the foreleg of a ox Cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic forms	**Number** **Total**: 6 **20**: 6 (O5, G1)	**Method** **painted**: 4 (3b, 1?) **incised**: 2
	The mark belonged to *Wsr-ḥpš* (i), known as deputy and chief workman in the later dynasty 20. The mark nicely spells out his name, having made a monogram out of the two signs of writing and . On ostracon IFAO ONL 6240 the position of the mark coincides with his position as deputy, following in the first column on the right the marks for the foreman () and the scribe (). As regards the forms of the specimens, most of them show cursive forms in that the foreleg as well as *wsr*-sign are clearly recognizable as such without showing a hieratic ductus (as in the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 0307); yet, the foreleg may take hieratic forms in elongating its right most line as in the specimen on ostracon IFAO OL 170. All specimens take an orientation from right to left, conform hieratic writing. The origin of this mark most probably lay in cursive and hieratic script, having been selected precisely for its phonetic characteristics.			
 I 27.045	**Identity**: *jmj-r pr-ḥḏ*	**Description of form**: Writing of the title *jmj-r pr-ḥḏ* by means of the signs and double Hieroglyphic and hieratic in form	**Number**: **Total**: 9 **20**: 9 (O9)	**Method**: **painted**: 9 (5b, 2r, 2?)
	The mark gives the title *jmj-r pr-ḥḏ*. For the identification of the mark we refer to Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 4, section 4.2.3. The specimens that are clearly visible are partly hieroglyphic () and partly hieratic () in form, but the entire combination reading *jmj-r pr-ḥḏ* goes back to hieroglyphic script, as in hieratic the combination was rather used to write *jmj-r* (Haring, personal communication). The hieroglyphic form of can be seen nicely on ostracon IFAO ONL 6583. The fact that the specimens convey a title written linguistically shows a degree of affinity with writing in the 20th dynasty, yet not with the hieratic administration of that time: the hieroglyphic instead of hieratic construction sets the mark apart from this administration, showing that despite its readability as a linguistic composition, was part of a different system, namely the nonlinguistic marking system.			
I 27.046	See I 07.047b.			
 I 27.047	**Identity**: *Ḥ3y* (ix)?	**Description of form**: Combination of reed leaf with pot for *jdn.w*	**Number**: **Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**Method**: **painted**: 1 (1r)
	The mark may refer to *Ḥ3y* (ix) called *P3-jdn.w* (Dorn (2011), 353). That would date ostracon BTdK 475 around the middle of the 20th dynasty.			

I 27.048	**Identity**: unknown	**Description of form**: Sun combined with water ripple?	**Number**: **Total**: 1 **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**Method**: **painted**: 1 (1b)
	Very uncertain if workman's mark.			
I 27.049GT	**Identity**: unknown	**Description of form**: Sail with mountain underneath Pictorial forms	**Number**: **Total**: 2 **19-20**: 2 (G1, T1)	**Method**: **incised**: 2
	The mark on Bruyère Rap. 33-34, 132, fig. 59 occurs on a limestone mold of a wailing woman. The specimen in graffito 2646 does not occur with other workmen's marks. The meaning of the mark is uncertain.			
I 27.050	**Identity**: *Ḥr* (xii), *sꜣ Jmn-m-wjꜣ* (i)?	**Description of form**: Feather with seat Hieroglyphic forms	**Number**: **Total**: 8 **20**: 8 (O5, G3)	**Method**: **painted**: 5 (2b, 2r, 1?) **incised**: 3
	On the basis of the two specimens on BM EA 05642 and 50731, as well as those in the graffiti, we see that the mark is a combination of the hieroglyphic signs and . It could be read as *s.t-mꜣʿ.t*, but this designation is not specific enough to relate it to a specific workman. According to a comparison between Giornale 17A and the ostraca BM EA 05642 and IFAO OL 170 + OIM 19130 the mark would identify *Ḥr* (xii) son of *Jmn-m-wjꜣ* (i).			
I 27.051	**Identity**: *Pn-njw.t* (ii = iv?)	**Description of form**: City with crossroads, with hieratic *p* Pseudo-hieroglyphic form	**Number**: **Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**Method**: **painted** (1r)
	This mark is reason to date ostracon BTdK 539 to the reigns of Ramesses IV or V. It gives the name of *Pn-njw.t*, who is securely attested as a workman in year 4 of one of these kings. According to Kathrin Gabler, he must have left the crew with the reducement of the workmen in the reign of Ramesses V or VI (personal communication. The mark gives a hieratic writing for *p* and a pseudo-hieroglyphic rendering of *njw.t*. Another pseudo-hieroglyphic mark that occurs on this ostracon is .			

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.052</td><td>Identity:
Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr (i)
Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr (ii)</td><td>Description of form:
Cloth wounded on pole with club
Hieroglyphic and hieratic forms</td><td>Number:
Total: 34
19: 3 (O2, G1)
19-20: 3 (O1, P2)
20: 27 (O26, G1)
not dated: 1 (P1)</td><td>Method:
painted: 28 (24b, 3r, 1?)
incised: 5
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark in dynasty 19 and the first half of dynasty 20 belonged to Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr (i), which is apparent not only on the basis of phonetic value and the position of this workman in the duty rosters of the time, but also from its occurrence in a graffito on the pavement of the temple of Hathor in Deir el-Medina (Bruyère Rap. 35-40 IV, fasc. II pl. IX), where it occurs togehter with the mark that may have belonged to his father Nfr-ḥr: (I 27.012). Int he second half of the 20th dynasty the mark may have been used by Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr's grandson, Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr (ii). This is apparent from ostracon MMA 09.184.785, which is dated to the period between the reign of Ramesses IV and the second half of the 20th dynasty on the basis of the writing of thename Wꜣsꜥs.t-nḫt. This can only be Wꜣs.t-nḫt (i), a daughter of Ḥꜥ-m-nwn (i) who is himself represented by means of his mark together with his son Mꜣꜣ-ny-nḫt=f (iii).
The mark shows one hierogplyphic specimen, on ostracon 6581, where the club and the pole are moreover connected by means of two horizontal lines. The other specimens display hieratic characteristics in the triangular form of the cloth wounded on the pole, for instance on Ashmolean HO 0999, IFAO C 7638 and ONL 6290. The club shows in some cases a circular top (e.g. IFAO C 7638, ONL 6306 and 6515); in other cases this top is reduced to a single line (e.g. Hawass, BM EA 50731, IFAO ONL 6229). Both forms are among the examples represented in Möller 483. The specimen on Turin CG 57523 shows hieratic forms for both the pole and the club, the latter with the stroke which hieratic examples of may show.
The specimen in graffito 1098 is uncertain. The sign is damaged but clear; yet, its combination with a seated god is unknown as identity mark. The combination seems be simply a writing 'nṯr'. That it may be a variant of may be argued on the basis of its close proximity to (I 27.050); the latter mark also occurs in close proximity to on BM EA 05642 and 50731.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
I 27.053</td><td>Identity:
unknown</td><td>Description of form:
Conical loaf with folded cloth
Hieroglyphic forms</td><td>Number:
Total: 8
20: 8 (O8)</td><td>Method:
painted: 8 (7b, 1r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is a combination of a triangular form and the hieroglyphic s, suggesting the reading spd. In one case, IFAO ONL 6586, the triangle has been given the characteristics of the conical loaf, a sign that can be used in the writing of spd (WB IV, 108; V, 419). Otherwise, the reading would be dj=s, but perhaps spd is to be preferred; words such as 'sharp', 'pointed' or 'capable' may relate to the characteristics of a workman. Who this was remains, however, unknown.</td></tr>
</table>

TABLE I3-1: CLASSIFICATION AND METADATA GROUP II

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 001</td><td>Identity
Jr-sw (i)
Ns-Jmn (iii)</td><td>Description of form
II 001a: h1d2h1
II 001b: h1d2h2</td><td>Number
Total: 179
18: 40
a: 36 (O30, P6)
b: 4 (O4)
18-19: 3
a: 1 (P1)
b: 2 (P2)
19: 14
a: 14 (O9, P4, G1)
19-20: 13
a: 6 (O4, G2)
b: 7 (O1, P1, G5)
20: 95
a: 64 (O62, G2)
b: 31 (O28, G2, Ns1)
not dated: 14
a: 11 (O5, P4, G1, T1)
b: 3 (G3)</td><td>Method
painted: 143 (99b, 41r, 3?)
incised: 30
charcoal: 1
unknown: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">For the identification of the workmen, see Soliman, Of Marks and Men, chapter 4. A form that resembles occurs already as potmark in Early Dynastic period. In Old Kingdom we see a similar mark that stands for ṯs.t, but it is usually orientated horizontally: . As such, it indicates sub-teams of workmen as discussed in Part I chapter 2. An identification as the hieroglyphic sign with the value ṯs.t is in our case unlikely. It is conspicuous that our mark II 001a is consistently orientated , at least in dynasty 20 (with only two examples of in dynasty 18, and one in dynasties 19-20). The mark II 001b is consistently orientated in dynasty 18, but often in dynasty 20. Perhaps this reflects that the mark had a different origin, but was conceptualized as ṯs.t in dynasty 20? The variant , however, remains dominant throughout the dynasties. This, as well as the fact that the designation ṯs.t is neither known from Deir el-Medina nor can be linked to the workmen of whom we know used the mark in dynasty 20 (Jr-sw (i) and Ns-Jmn (iii).), suggests that there is no relation between the hieroglyphic sign ṯs.t , the Old Kingdom builders' mark, and the identity mark.
An interpretation that has been suggested by Pierre Grandet relates the mark to the hieratic determinative in the word jsbw.t, 'folding stool', as seen on the hieratic ostracon IFAO ONL 1263. Although it is possible that such a connection was once made or conceptualized, it was not the origin of the mark; in addition to the fact that a similar mark occurs already in Early Dynastic period, it is also very frequent among the 18th dynasty marks, none of which seems to be inspired by hieratic script thus far (most probably due to a lack of hieratic writing in this period in general).</td></tr>
<tr><td>II 002</td><td colspan="4">See I 18.012b</td></tr>
<tr><td>II 003</td><td colspan="4">See I 04.046b</td></tr>
</table>

	Identity unknown	**Description of form** h1v1	**Number** **Total**: 3 **18**: 3 (O3)	**Method** **painted**: 3 (3b)
 II 004	The mark occurs only three times, and only in dynasty 18. We initially thought that it might have been an early form of I 17.008a. However, the ostracon Petrie UC 31988, which shows twice, already shows a correct hieroglyphic form of in proximity to . It is possible to encounter two or more specimens of the same mark on ostraca dated to dynasty 18, but in all cases they are at least close in style and execution. On the basis of ostracon Petrie UC 31988 we thus suggest that and are different marks. An alternative initial interpretation of the first specimen of on ostracon Petrie UC 31988 depicted in Table I3-2 was the mark (I 18.038). Although this option would fit the cluster of marks from dynasty 18 and it does not occur elsewhere on the ostracon, the bulb of paint that was understood as the hook is in fact a dot; dots accompany all the marks on the ostracon. The form of the mark that remains deviates from all other 18th dynasty forms of ; it is therefore not considered a specimen of it. Several problems concerning prevent any further interpretation, as well as identification with a workman. The mark is of a very simple form, and it remains a question whether it represented a concrete form, whether it was simply an abstract geometric form, or whether it was a workmen's mark at all; it is very rare. If indeed it was an identity mark, it is not even certain whether the specimen on ostracon Cairo JE 72498 and the two on ostracon Petrie UC 31988 in fact are to be equated; their clusters do not correspond. Not a single mark in the proximity of on ostracon Cairo JE 72498 corresponds to the cluster of on ostracon Petrie UC 31988, with the exception of I 07.038 if one accepts the identification of this mark on ostracon Petrie UC 31988. In sum, mark II 004 remains unclear.			
	Identity The foreman *Ḫˁ*	**Description of form** II 005a: c1b2d4 II 005b: c1b2d2 II 005c: c1b2d3	**Number** **Total**: 85 **18**: 85 a: 3 (O1, P2) b: 81 (O3, P15, T1, Do62) c: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 22 (14b, 2r, 6?) **incised**: 18 **charcoal**: 1 **embroidered**: 38 **unknown**: 6
 II 005	The mark is encountered frequently in the Western Cemetery, in tomb TT 8 of the foreman *Ḫˁ*. It is painted or embroidered on his linen or incised on pottery, an adze (Turin S 8386 RCGE 19412), or domestic objects such as a bronze container (Turin S 8361 RCGE 19406) or an amphora support (Turin S 8466 RCGE 19769). In contrast, it is rare on ostraca. Of several specimens, especially those on linen, we have unfortunately no image; merely a verbal description. Table I3-2 therefore shows the font-type in such cases. The difference in form between the three graphic variants is presumably caused by the different surfaces onto which the mark was painted, incised or embroidered. While the form generally appears to be more curved on ostraca, it is naturally more angular when incised on pottery or objects. We have at present no suggestions as to what the mark may represent. The option of a sandal has been suggested; yet, the sandal occurs as a mark in dynasty 18 in much more recognizable form as , and not once in the tomb of *Ḫˁ*. Moreover, both the sandal and the mark occur on the same ostracon IFAO ONL 6298, which presumably shows the marks of an entire crew, not one of them twice. This, and the clear difference in their form on ostracon IFAO ONL 6298, suggests that they were marks that belonged to two different men. One might also think of an earthenware pot with handles; yet, pots as well occur in more recognizable forms in dynasty 18 (). Moreover, the necks and rims of these pots are usually displayed as triangular and rectangular in form, not as a circle as consistently in , and . The mark does come across as the representation of a concrete object or being rather than as an abstract geometric from, also because exactly the same form appears as a builders' mark on the pyramid of Amenemhet II at Dashur (cf. Part I, chapter 2, section 2:).			

II 006

Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
unknown	h1v2	**Total**: 6 **18**: 6 (O5, P1)	**painted**: 5 (2b, 3r) **incised**: 1

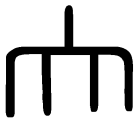
The mark occurs primarily in dynasty 18. It is uncertain whether it represents an object, or whether it is merely an abstract geometric form. The indications for an assumption that ⊓ is a graphic variant of 𓉔:

- On ostraca Cairo JE 96603 and IFAO ONL 6520, for instance, ⊓ occurs directly next to 𓌙. The same pairing, but with 𓉔 instead of ⊓, we see on ostracon UC 31988. The marks 𓉔 and 𓌙 furthermore occur in close proximity on the ostraca IFAO OL 6788, ONL 6293, 6316, and OWV 01;
- Also, the close proximity of ⊓ to 𓏏 on ostracon IFAO ONL 6520 may be compared to the close proximity of 𓉔 and 𓏏 or 𓏛 on ostraca IFAO ONL 6293, 6316, 6371, KV 10002 and OWV 03;
- Furthermore, the pairing of ⊓ and 𓍿 on ostracon Cairo JE 96603 can be compared to the pairing of 𓉔 and 𓍿 on ostracon IFAO ONL 6410;
- Finally, the pairing of ⊓ and 𓎛 on ostracon Brock 27 can be compared to the pairing of 𓉔 and 𓎛 on ostracon Cairo CG 25321.

In sum, the clusters in which ⊓ occurs on ostraca Cairo JE 96603, IFAO ONL 6520 and Brock 27 are comparable to the clusters in which 𓉔 occurs on ostraca Cairo CG 25321, IFAO OL 6788, IFAO ONL 6293, 6316, 6371, 6410, KV 10002 , OWV 01, 03, and Petrie UC 31988. The clusters share especially the marks 𓌙, 𓏏 and 𓏛, 𓍿 and 𓎛. Any equation remains, however, very uncertain, especially when dealing with so few attestations of the marks for which moreover no context exists.

Clearly, most specimens take the form of 𓉔, but several of them need elucidation. First of all, the specimen on ostracon Cairo CG 25321 is broken off at the top. However, just enough remains to discern the start of what must have been the upper vertical line of 𓉔. Second, the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6272 is partly covered by a large dot of black paint. Yet, the cluster in which it occurs clearly identifies it as II 006, and II 006b in particular, because it occurs in close proximity to the marks 𓎡, 𓋴 and 𓋳, which are not seen in the clusters of ⊓ but frequently occur with 𓉔. Third, the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6370 is completely broken off at the top. Again, on the basis of the cluster of marks in which it occurs (𓎛, 𓊃, 𓈙) it can be identified as 𓉔. Especially its proximity to 𓊃 is seen again on ostraca Cairo JE 72490; IFAO ONL 6293, 6298, 6372 and 6788; OWV 01, 03 and 12; UC 31988; and Stockholm MM 14130. With 𓈙 it furthermore occurs in close proximity on Cairo JE 96587 and IFAO ONL 6316. The fourth remark that must be made concerns three specimens that only occur on pottery: Bruyère Rap. 33-34 I, 065 fig. 30b; and Nagel, Céramique, 099 fig. 7, nrs. 147 and 148. Of all three specimens we merely have a facsimile by Bruyère respectively Nagel, but these facsimiles clearly show a short diagonal line, a hook, added on top of the upper vertical line, to its right side. It is unknown whether this addition is significant. All three specimens occur unaccompanied by other marks, the first mentioned on a red clay base, the second on a bowl, and the third on a vase; we can therefore not compare clusters. Also, nothing is known about the identity (identities?) of the workman (workmen?) who used these objects, and who can thus be connected to the specimens that show a hook. We decided not to code the three specimens separately as *II 006c, because we are not able to check the facsimiles by Bruyère and Nagel to the originals. Moreover, a hooked variant is not seen in the marks' ostraca, which are our primary point of departure.

	Identity unknown	**Description of form** II 007a: 𓉐 h1v3 or v3h1 II 007b: 𓉑 h1v4	**Number** **Total**: 30 **18**: 27 a: 17 (O16, P1) b: 10 (O5, P5) **19**: 1 a: 1 (O1) **20**: 2 a: 2 (O2)	**Method** **painted**: 24 (14b, 9r, 1?) **incised**: 4 **unknown**: 2
𓉐 II 007	The mark primarily occurs in dynasty 18. Only three specimens of 𓉐 are dated after dynasty 18. They are, however, all uncertain. First, ostracon IFAO ONL 6530, dated to dynasty 19, shows a form that deviates from the other specimens in that it less broad and much taller due to its fairly long vertical lines. It occurs in a sequence of marks that also contains 𓌙, 𓌞, 𓌟 and 𓍿. This sequence is comparable to sequences on ostraca Schaden 001 and Schaden 016. Both Schaden ostraca do not contain the mark II 007, but they do include in their sequences both 𓉔 (II 046b) and 𓉗 (II 040). On the basis of the Schaden ostraca it might thus be suggested that 𓉐 on ostracon IFAO ONL 6530 is rather 𓉔 or 𓉗. Second, the specimens dated to dynasty 20 both come from ostracon Cairo JE 46864. The context of this ostracon is unclear: it appears to show commodities in vessels and pseudo-hieratic numerals. It contains many unclear markings, and also the specimens of 𓉐 included in Table I3-2 are not workmen's identity marks with certainty. That having said, the mark II 007 primarily belongs to the 18th dynasty corpus. It is unknown what it represents, or whether it is simply an abstract geometric form. On the basis of the overall flat and broad shape of the mark, one may suggest that it represented a comb, of which examples from later periods have been found in Deir el-Medina (cf. Bruyère Rap. 48-51, 065 fig. 15, which is a comb with the mark 𓌟 carved in its wood). Since a comb is an object that has no clear top or underside, this would explain the fact that 𓉐 is encountered in different variations, either as h1v3 or as v3h1. The variant 𓉑 is, in contrast mainly seen in this orientation; that is, those five times that it occurs on ostraca and in at least three occurrences on pottery. Two more remarks can be made. First, the specimen of 𓉐 on ostracon IFAO ONL 6588 appears to be 𓉔 (II 006), but it is broken off at the right. According to sequence it must indeed be 𓉐. Second, two specimens on pottery (Nagel, Céramique, 087, fig. 67 nrs. 91-92) are uncertain. They do not formally resemble the other specimens in that their vertical lines are longer and they lack a horizontal line altogether. The markings simply appear to consist each consist of four strokes, and instead of being workmen's identity marks they may rather be compared to the potters' marks encountered throughout Egyptian history (cf. Part I, chapter 2 on the origin of the marks).			
	Identity unknown	**Description of form** v1h1v2	**Number** **Total**: 42 **18**: 41 (O25, P16) **19-20**: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 26 (19b, 7r) **incised**: 16
𓉔 II 008	The mark belongs to the 18th dynasty corpus. The only occurrence dated to dynasties 19-20 is uncertain: the specimen in question occurs on ostracon IFAO ONL 6723, the interpretation of which is uncertain. It contains some faint traces and fragmentary signs, perhaps some pseudo hieratic numerals. The 18th dynasty specimens show a variety of forms. Some specimens are very broad, such as the one on ostracon Cairo JE 96587, others are very small and elongated, such as the specimen on ostracon Cairo JE 72490. The latter is also an example of a specimen inscribed with thin lines, while several specimens show very rough and thick lines, such as seen on ostraca Cairo CG 24105, Cairo CG 24108, IFAO OL 6788 and IFAO ONL 6371. The mark may be orientated with the vertical line upwards or downwards. This vertical line may be very long, as again seen best on ostracon Cairo JE 72490, but also in specimens on pottery (e.g. Aston pottery VOK 524, 554), but the line may also be short as in the specimens on ostraca IFAO ONL 6401, OWV 12 or Petrie UC 31988. It is not certain what the form represents, if it represents an object or creature at all. The mark is to be separated from both II 007 and II 009, although all three forms are very similar. Yet, the sequences in which they occur do not allow to see them as variants of a mark referring to one and the same workman. The mark II 008 occurs mainly on ostraca dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, the forms II 007 and II 009 occur throughout the 18th dynasty.			



II 009

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	II 009a: v1h1v4 II 009b: v2h1v4 II 009c: d1v2h1v4 II 009d: v3h1v4	**Total**: 19 **18**: 19 a: 1 (O1) b: 15 (O12, P2, G1) c: 1 (O1) d: 2 (O2)	**painted**: 16 (7b, 9r) **incised**: 3

The main form of this mark appears to have been II 009b (), which occurs most often. However, the other forms with less or more vertical lines on top appear to be graphic variants. This is not entirely certain, as the variants have merely few occurrences and comparison of sequences or clusters is therefore limited. However, the fact that the variants with 1 or 3 lines on top occur so infrequently, yet in clusters which do seem to coincide with the clusters in which II 009b occurs (containing in addition the marks I 18.038, I 13.025, II 001 and II 025in the surroundings) could suggest that the variants were not marks on their own. Beside the number of vertical lines on top, there is some variation in form. For instance, the specimens on the ostraca OWV 01, 08 and 10 show diagonal instead of vertical lines. Yet, it is conspicuous that we see no variation in orientation. None of the specimens is turned 90 or 180 degrees, while this is otherwise very frequent among 18th dynasty marks. Whether the form of the mark represented something and if so, what, is unclear. The specimens of II 009d remind of a mark that is found in dynasty 20: I 22.017. Was II 009 perhaps an early representation of the water-jars in a rack, in abstract geometric form as we see more often in dynasty 18?

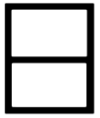
II 010

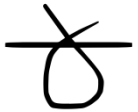
Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	h1v2h1b1	**Total**: 1 **18**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1r)

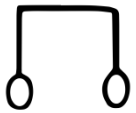
The mark only occurs on the 18th dynasty ostracon Cairo JE 96601. Its interpretation and the identity of the workman who used it are both unknown. Yet, three remarks can be made. First, the mark resembles (I 13.001) or (I 13.002). Yet, it cannot be related to either one of them with certainty. An identification of as (I 13.002) can be ruled out as the latter occurs only in dynasty 20. An identification of as (I 13.001), which does occur in dynasty 18 albeit infrequently (6 out of 103 specimens in total), is difficult to support. The mark occurs on Cairo JE 96601 together with (II 034). A combination of with is not known from the marks' ostraca: these marks only occur together once, on ostracon IFAO ONL 6203, but they are not in association, both occurring on different sides of the ostracon. A second remark concerns the fact that and (I 16.005) are graphic variants in dynasty 20. That might raise the question whether can perhaps be related to . However, any relation between and can be ruled out as the latter only occurs from dynasty 19 onwards, and thus never in combination with the 18th dynasty mark . A final suggestion remains extremely speculative. In analogy to what was suggested for those specimens of (I16.004) that show a horizontal line underneath or crossing them, we could suggest that the owner of mark was perhaps related to the owner of mark in dynasty 18. The mark may have been a family mark, and the owner of may have been a son, brother, nephew or son-in-law of the workman who used . He may have distinguished himself by adding a streak to his identity mark. Although the mark is known to have been used in the latter half of dynasty 19 and in dynasty 20 by *Mr.y-Rᶜ* (v) and his grandson *Nfr-ḥtp* (xii), we do not know who used it in dynasty 18; and thus speculation on the identity behind as a relative of the owner of ends here.

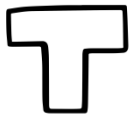
	Identity unknown	**Description of form** d2c1h2	**Number** **Total**: 1 **18**: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 1 (1r)
 II 011	The mark occurs only once, on the 18th dynasty ostracon Cairo JE 96590. It appears to consist of a triangle with a horizontal in its middle above which a circle or dot is placed. Dots tend to occur with marks on several marks' ostraca; however, it is here likely part of the mark as no other mark on Cairo JE 96590 is accompanied by a dot. We do not know how to interpret the mark. An identification as 𓇋 (I 23.008a) might be tentatively suggested, but cannot be supported with conclusive evidence. The mark 𓇋 occurs on Cairo JE 96590 in a cluster of marks of which the order of interpretation is unknown. In closest proximity to 𓇋 are the marks 𓂋, 𓎛, 𓂝 and 𓏏 (the latter added in charcoal).The close combination of 𓇋 with 𓂋 on 96590 can be compared to a close combination of 𓇋 with 𓂋 on Cairo JE 96603; and the close combination of 𓇋 with 𓎛 on 96590 can be compared to the close combination of 𓇋 with 𓎛 on IFAO C 2503. However, the correspondences between 𓇋 and 𓇋 end there; 𓇋 is in most cases encountered in a sequence accompanied by other marks than 𓂋, 𓎛, 𓂝 and 𓏏. With respect to ostracon Cairo JE 96603, there is one other similarity to Cairo JE 96590 that could be mentioned, although it does not lead to further interpretation and identification of the mark: the overall style. Both ostraca display a rather untidy cluster of red marks. They were, however, not drawn by the same hand; the palaeographic style differs, which is most clearly seen in a comparison of the specimens 𓂝 (I 07.038) and 𓌙 (I 16.004a) on both ostraca. For the handwriting on Cairo JE 96590, compare ostracon IFAO ONL 6203, especially the specimens 𓂝 (I 07.038) and 𓁹 (I 13.012).		
	Identity unknown	**Description of form** v2 or h2	**Number** **Total**: 6 **18**: 5 (O5) **20**: 1 (O1)	**Method**: **painted**: 6 (3b, 3r)
 II 012	The mark occurs primarily in dynasty 18, orientated either as 2 vertical lines or as 2 horizontal lines. The specimen on the 20th dynasty ostracon IFAO ONL 6399, if indeed it is a workmen's identity mark, is uncertain. This ostracon shows two columns of marks that on the basis of their sequence can be dated to the second half of the 20th dynasty. The form 𓈖 occurs out of line to the bottom left of the leftmost column; that is, it does not seem to continue that column downwards. Because its position deviates from the format in which the 20th dynasty marks are placed, we may suggest it was not part of the sequence. Also, the paint of 𓈖 is much less faded than that of most marks on the ostracon. The only exception is 𓁷, but whereas a smudge indicates that the scribe had made a mistake, wiped out an earlier mark, and redrew 𓁷 in thicker paint, no such mistake seems to be the case for 𓈖. Close examination of ostracon IFAO ONL 6399 does reveal very faded traces of paint underneath 𓈖. These traces are of the same faded hue as the 20th dynasty marks. Despite the big difference in paint preservation between 𓈖 and these traces, one could suggest that together they originally represented a specimen of 𓏠 I 17.012. That mark would fit a 20th dynasty date. However, it would not fit the sequence 𓆑, 𓆗, 𓆓, 𓆈 that is presented in the leftmost column, which is not attested elsewhere followed by 𓏠; also, it would still be out of line with respect to the column. In sum, the remains on ostracon IFAO ONL 6366 of which only the two lines 𓈖 are still clearly visible cannot be identified with certainty. It seems unlikely, however, that they are to be interpreted as the 18th dynasty mark 𓏥.		
II 013	See I 27.026b			

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 014</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
II 014a: h4v2h1
II 014b: d4h1d4</td><td>Number
Total: 15
18: 14
a: 12 (O9, P3)
b: 2 (O2)
20: 1
b: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 12 (4b, 8r)
incised: 2
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The suggestion that and are graphic variants is based on a comparison of sequences on ostracon IFAO OL 6788, which shows , , , , , and on ostracon Stockholm MM 14130, which shows the same sequence but with instead of . The combination and is also seen on ostracon OWV 13, where is also closely associated with ; a mark that occurs in the same context as on ostracon IFAO OL 6788, ONL 6298, MMA 09.184.700 and ostracon Petrie UC 31988. Both and are marks from dynasty 18.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 015</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
b1h1v1h1d1v4</td><td>Number
Total: 1
18: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The identification and interpretation of this mark are as yet unknown. The form appears to represent an animal, perhaps a dog. It can, however, not be related to other identity marks, neither by form nor by sequence or clustering.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 016</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
b1h1v1</td><td>Number
Total: 13
18: 13 (O12, P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 12 (4b, 8r)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark belongs to the 18th dynasty corpus. In the form in which it occurs on ostraca IFAO ONL 6372 and 6486 it resembles the depiction of a fan in that the semi-circle is directed upwards. However, in the majority of cases (7 out of 13) the semi-circle hangs down and the form is . In three cases (ostraca IFAO ONL 6207, 6293 and 6298 the mark appears to have been turned 180°; at least in the specimens on ostraca IFAO 6293 and 6298 a short vertical line can be perceived going upwards from the semi-circle. We thus deal with roughly three orientations of the mark: 1 bent line – 1 horizontal line – 1 vertical line ( ); 1 horizontal line – 1 bent line – 1 vertical line ( ); 1 vertical line – 1 bent line – 1 horizontal line ( ). It was discussed in chapter 1 that the large measure of variety among the specimens of an identity mark is one of the characteristics of the 18th dynasty corpus.
In one case, the specimen shows some resemblance to the mark (II 040). It concerns ostracon Petrie UC 31988: . Instead of a semi-circle the specimen shows what is almost a rectangle. The only difference with specimens of is that a diagonal line cuts off the rectangle on its right side: . It is unlikely that is presented here, however, since that mark occurs only from dynast 19 onwards.</td></tr>
</table>

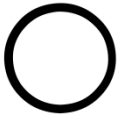
<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 017</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
II 017a: ■ h1v2h1
II 017b: □ h1v2h1</td><td>Number
Total: 14
18: 11
a: 1 (O1)
b: 10 (O5, P5)
19: 2
a: 1 (O1)
b: 1 (P1)
19-20: 1
b: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 8 (6b, 2r)
incised: 6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The identification and interpretation of the mark is as yet unknown. The occurrence of filled and open squares is also seen in the mark I 27.019a. The square form may represent a block stool, but this is unknown. The status of II 017 as a workman’s mark is uncertain as the contexts in which II 017 occurs are uncertain.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
II 018</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
h1v2h2</td><td>Number
Total: 9
18: 4 (O2, P2)
19: 4 (O4)
19-20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 8 (5b, 3r)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s mark. The contexts in which II 018 occurs are unclear.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 019</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
h1v3h1</td><td>Number
Total: 2
19: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (2b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s mark. It is only attested twice, both times in dynasty 19. On ostracon IFAO ONL 6414 it occurs among illegible (traces) of signs, of which two others might be interpreted as marks (I 24.002 and I 13.028), but the other traces remain unclear. On ostracon Schaden 013 occurs at the far left end of the ostracon. Workmen’s marks are discerned on the right, but their relation to is unclear due to an area of damage in between. The workmen’s marks (, , , and an unclear mark that is perhaps) are placed in columns. Underneath the marks, the columns contain remains of paint that has been rubbed out. It is unknown what kind of marks or writing these columns originally contained. The columns run through to the left end of the ostracon, underneath the area of damage that could have contained two more marks. No column with rubbed out paint is, however, seen underneath . This may suggest that is not part of the enumeration of workmen’s marks. We have at present no further suggestions.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 020</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
h1v4h1</td><td>Number
Total: 3
18: 1 (O1)
19: 1 (O1)
not dated: 1 (P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 2 (1b, 1r)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s mark. The contexts in which II 020 occurs are unclear.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 021</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
b1</td><td>Number
Total: 26
18: 7 (O6, P1)
19: 2 (P2)
20: 16 (O2, P14)
not dated: 1 (G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 7 (6b, 1r)
incised: 19</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workman’s mark. Most of the 20th dynasty specimens occur on pottery and they were incised before firing. This suggests that instead of ownership marks referring to workmen they were potter or workshop marks. The forms of the 20th dynasty potmarks are very similar to potmarks found at Qantir, which are interpreted as workshop codes. See Part I, chapter 2, section 1.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
II 022</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
b1h1</td><td>Number
Total: 1
not dated: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workman’s mark. The form occurs on ostracon IFAO ONL 6381 without further information (marks or otherwise).</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 023</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
d2h1 or h1d2</td><td>Number
Total: 4
19: 4 (O4)</td><td>Method
painted: 4 (4b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s mark. The specimens may be compared to two specimens of I 23.008 from dynasty 18: those on ostraca IFAO ONL 6348 and OWV 12. These specimens also show simple triangular forms. On the basis of context, however, they can be identified as II 23.008. It is uncertain whether this is also true for the four 19th dynasty specimens of triangular form; they do not occur in clusters comparable to I 23.008 in dynasty 18.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 024</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
II 024a: d2h1v1
II 024b: d2v1h1v1
II 024c: v1d1v1h1</td><td>Number
Total: 24
18: 22
a: 18 (O12, P5, Ns1)
b: 3 (O3)
c: 1 (O1)
not dated: 2
a: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 18 (8b, 9r, 1?)
incised: 6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark II 024 is clearly part of the 18th dynasty corpus. The main form is ; the other two variants seemingly mix this form with and (I 23.008). Mark does occur on the ostraca often in proximity to , but the exact relation between , the variants and , and and is unclear.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
II 025</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
h1v2c2</td><td>Number
Total: 35
18: 35 (O29, P6)</td><td>Method
painted: 29 (14b, 15r)
incised: 6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is one of the characteristic marks from dynasty 18. In Part I chapter 1 we have suggested a relation between and (I 04.028). The latter mark occurs not in dynasty 18, but it does occur four times on 19th dynasty ostraca, 12 times on ostraca from dynasties 19-20, and 105 times on ostraca from dynasty 20. The mark occurs 35 times in dynasty 18, but not thereafter. We know that was endowed with the value kꜣ at least in the reigns of Ramesses III and IV, when it was used by Kꜣsꜣ (v/vi) and his son Pn-ʿnḫ.t (iii). Whether was an early graphic variant of is not entirely certain. We do not know the identity of the workman who used in dynasty 18. We decided to code the mark under group II, and not under , because its specimens are generally turned 180 degrees and none of them shows the protrusion in the middle which in some 19th and 20th dynasty specimens of indicates the neck or shoulders in between both arms. However, it should be stressed that on IFAO ONL 6509 we do see an orientation of conform . This ostracon is certainly to be dated to dynasty 18 on the basis of a sequence similar to the one seen on the 18th dynasty ostracon IFAO ONL 6788. Among the marks of earlier systems (i.e. potmarks from the Early Dynastic period onwards and builders' marks from the Old Kingdom on) we see the form quite frequently, which is always interpreted as .
It is conspicuous that the mark in dynasty 18 shows a large degree of uniformity, in orientation as we have said, but also in the representation of the elements that would be the 'hands' if the form is interpreted as . Whether or not, the specimens of the mark seem to have been inspired by a specific model. In this case, the specimens of that are graphically as well as phonetically inspired by script show more variety in form than .</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 026</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
b1v1</td><td>Number
Total: 35
18: 35 (O28, P6, Ns1)</td><td>Method
painted: 28 (19b, 8r, 1?)
incised: 5
unknown: 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Among the 18th dynasty marks is seen quite frequently. The form might represent a fan, or the handle of a mirror lacking the mirror itself, or another object: no suggestion can at present be supported with evidence. The form is very simple, yet the degree of variation is large. The vertical line can be long (as on ostracon Cairo JE 72490, which in general shows long, elongated marks, compare also II 008; ostracon IFAO ONL 6461, the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 34-35 II 165.3.2 or the name stone Bruyère Rap. 30 III, 7.1); or the line is short as seen on ostraca Ashmolean HO 1100 and Cilli 278. The bent line may be more or less curved; compare the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 658 to the specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6260. This bent line may furthermore be long or short: compare again ostracon IFAO ONL 6588 to the specimen on ostracon KV 10002. Two incised specimens on pottery two diagonal lines rather than one curved line on top of the vertical line, which is of course the result of the method of production. It is conspicuous that all specimens take the same orientation, and none occurs 90 or 180 degrees turned, with is otherwise seen frequently in dynasty 18.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 027</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
d2b1</td><td>Number
Total: 18
18: (O16, P2)</td><td>Method
painted: 15 (4b, 11r)
unknown: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Identification and interpretation are unknown. The mark occasionally occurs together with a circle (O, II 029); it is positioned with this mark in an aesthetically compact whole as .</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 028</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
h1v1</td><td>Number
Total: 33
18: 33 (O33)</td><td>Method
painted: 33 (16b, 16r, 1?)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The identity of the workman who used this mark remains as yet unknown. The form may be interpreted in analogy to the possibilities given for the mark II 029 below. However, the two marks functioned as different workmen’s identity marks as they regularly occur on the same ostraca; that is, on IFAO ONL 6203, 6293, 6302, 6316, 6340 and on KV 10004. For possible identifications, see Soliman, Of Marks and Men, chapter 2.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
II 029</td><td>Identity
Ḥr (ii)</td><td>Description of form
II 029a: h1v2h1v2h1
II 029b: h1v2h1v1
II 029c: h1v2h1v2h1</td><td>Number
Total: 213
18: 26
a: 23 (O21, P2)
c: 3(O2, P1)
18-19: 1
b: 1 (P1)
19: 38
a: 13 (O13)
b: 7 (O2, P5)
c: 18 (O6, P12)
19-20: 18
a: 16 (O2, G14)
b: 2 (O1, P1)
20: 69
a: 54 (O36, P1, G17)
b: 4 (O4)
c: 11 (O4, G7)
not dated: 61
a: 47 (O1, P10, G36)
b: 1 (G1)
c: 13 (O1, P9, G3)</td><td>Method
painted: 94 (70b, 21r, 3?)
incised: 107
charcoal: 1
unknown: 11</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">In Part I chapter 1 we established that this form has received many interpretations, from soul-house to funerary architecture, offering basins, gardens and harbours (for references, see pp. 34-35, notes 103-108). Goldwasser related the form to the bet-grapheme in Proto-Sinaitic script from the time of Amenemhet III and IV. This grapheme,</td></tr>
</table>

	seen for instance in Sinai inscriptions 359 and 346a, differs from the hieroglyphic, cursive or hieratic forms for the Egyptian sign *pr*, 'house'. Following Hamilton, Goldwasser rather suggests a connection to the soul-houses which were 'common in the Middle Kingdom' and 'certainly appropriate to the social environment of the miners' of Canaanitic origin in Serabit el-Khadim. She argues that this representation in the *bet*-grapheme is a 'clear example of the mixture, in one grapheme' of two referents: one taken from written hieroglyphic forms and another taken from a 'real life' object. As such, the grapheme forms the bridge between the concept 'house' and the concept 'soul-house' as a specific type. The concept 'soul-house' may also be understood as a type of offering table. and as such is related to specific types of offering altars or basins shaped in the form 𓉔. Such altars and basis are particularly a feature of the New Kingdom. several have been found at the villages of Amarna and Deir el-Medina, as well as at Deir el-Bahri, and they are depicted in tomb paintings in the Theban Necropolis. We do not know how the form as a mark conveyed meaning and signified its referent. Neither do we know why there were two forms so alike, 𓉔 and 𓊪, simultaneously functioning in the marking system: their likeness could lead to confusion. Apparently, there was a specific reason for their selection in both cases, which was clear to the members of the system. All we know is that the mark 𓉔 in dynasty 20 was used by *Ḥr* (ii), the father of *Jt=f-nfr* (i) (see the remarks with I 21.017), but we do not know the signification. Note that both variants 𓊪 and 𓉔 do not or hardly occur in dynasty 18. This is conspicuous, as usually most graphic variants of a mark date to dynasty 18.

	Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
 II 030	unknown	c1	**Total**: 49 **18**: 26 (O25, P1) **18-19**: 1 (P1) **19**: 6 (O2, P4) **19-20**: 3 (O1, P2) **20**: 9 (O8, P1) **not dated**: 3 (O1, P1, Bb1)	**painted**: 38 (25b, 12r, 1?) **incised**: 7 **charcoal**: 1 **unknown**: 3
	The mark 𓇽 may be a representation of the sun. Theoretically, it may also stand for any other object or hieroglyphic sign that is circular (e.g. 𓇼, 𓇾). Yet, the circle occurs only in dynasty 18, which is also the period in which we find most attestations of 𓇽 I 13.005. The identity of the workman who used the mark remains unknown at present.			

	Identity	**Description of form**	**Number**	**Method**
 II 031	unknown	c1v1	**Total**: 38 **18**: 38 (O35, P3)	**painted**: 35 (18b, 14r, 3?) **incised**: 3
	The identification and interpretation of this mark are as yet unknown. . The form reminds of the mace 𓌙 in hieroglyphic script. However, Haring noted that 'one significant feature of both the hieroglyph and its hieratic equivalent – the top of the stick projecting from the macehead – is absent … and so it is possible that this is not a mace, but a mark of the 'abstract' or 'geometric' category: a mere combination of a circle and vertical stroke.' (Haring, 'On the Nature of the Workmen's Marks' in Andrássy et al. (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems*, 128). Another reason to interpret it as such is the fact that the actual hieroglyphic mace, also in later times, does not seem to be part of the corpus of identity marks; it is encountered only once, in dynasty 20, but also then is uncertain (see I 19.003).			

II 032

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	c1v1h1	**Total**: 22 **18**: 21 (O20, P1) **19**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 21 (13b, 7r, 1?) **incised**: 1

The mark resembles the previous mark 𓌳 but differs in the addition of a horizontal line underneath. The that two forms are different marks is clear from their simultaneous occurrence in the same sequences, for instance on ostraca Cairo CG 24105, 24107 and Varille 423. It is not clear whether 𓌳 represented a concrete object or whether it was a mere combination of geometric forms. It occurs in most cases with the circle upwards, but in seven cases it is turned 180 degrees. In two cases, both on ostracon IFAO ONL 6403, it is orientated 𓊹. The lack of a fixed orientation may hint at the form being a geometric configuration, rather than the representation of an object. The identification and interpretation remain as yet unclear.

II 033

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	c1h1	**Total**: 8 **18**: 8 (O6, P2)	**painted**: 6 (4b, 1r, 1?) **incised**: 2

The identification and interpretation of this mark remain as yet unknown.

II 034

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	c1b1v1	**Total**: 44 **18**: 44 (O23, P17, Ns1, Do3)	**painted**: 25 (9b, 16r) **incised**: 15 **unknown**: 4

The mark may represent a mirror. Haring has argued that its specimens have the common shape of ancient Egyptian mirrors, as they are preserved and depicted (‘On the Nature of the Workmen’s Marks of the Royal Necropolis Administration in the New Kingdom’ in Andrássy et al. (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems*, 128). Yet, in the hieroglyphic captions to mirrors depicted on tomb walls and coffins he was not able to find a hieroglyphic sign that resembles the mark 𓋴; all captions use the conventional sign 𓌳 *ʿnḫ* to write the word ‘mirror’. Yet, Haring argued that ‘given the endless graphic variety of hieroglyphs the existence of such a sign cannot be excluded’(ibid.). However, in the light of the nature of the 18th dynasty marking system, which contains several marks that are rather pictures or geometric configurations rather than signs of writing, it could be suggested that in the absence of evidence for a hieroglyphic sign of the mirror the mark 𓋴 had a ‘concrete and actual origin in the mirror as tangible object rather than that it was derived from script.’ (ibid.).

If we then look at the possible manners in which the mirror as an object could have been meaningful, we may suggest that it conveyed a meaning in which it made use of the qualities of ‘brightness’, ‘reflection’ and ‘perfect eternal appearance’, perhaps projected onto the workman who used the mark. Otherwise, there may have been a special relation between the god Re or the goddess Hathor and this workman; both Re and Hathor had a cultural-religious link to the mirror on the basis of the aforementioned qualities. An alternative option is that the mark 𓋴 conveyed meaning on the basis of phonetic sound-patterns of words in which it acted as a classifier. Examples are *mnḫ.y* (‘the excellent one’) and *jmn.t.y* (‘the western one’ or ‘divine one’). All the possibilities are visualized in the semiotic model proposed in Part II, chapter 2 (p. 202). They remain, of course, purely speculative.

II 035

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	c1h1v1	**Total**: 1 **18**: 1	**unknown**: 1

The mark was recorded twice by Černý. In *Notebook* 65.26 he draw the form ⊖; in Notebook 14.56, however, he draw ⊕. We cannot check the original as the ostracon, which is Parker H5, is now lost. We may, however, suggest that the form ⊕ was the correct one: on Černý's drawing the specimen occurs in close proximity to 𓏛 (I 12.034), which is a characteristic of the mark ⊕ (I 14.049a) in dynasty 18.

II 036

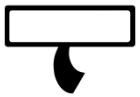
Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	II 036a: 𓉔 v2h2 II 036b: 𓉔 v2h3 II 036c: 𓉔 v2h4	**Total**: 39 **18**: 38 a: 5 (O5) b: 26 (O23, P5) c: 7 (O5, P1, Do1) **19-20**: 1 a: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 33 (17b, 14r, 2?) **incised**: 5 **unknown**: 1

It is tempting to interpret the form of mark II 036 as a ladder. However, since ladders are not known from Deir el-Medina, such a suggestion remains without support. Another possibility is that the form is an early, 18th dynasty representation of the mark I 20.015 (𓏏), which occurs more often in dynasties 19 and 20 (see the remarks with I 20.015). The mark II 036 is frequent in dynasty 18. All variants, which differ mainly in the number of horizontal lines that connect the vertical lines, occur in similar clusters and sequences, and are therefore considered graphic variants. As so many workmen in dynasty 18, the owner of mark II 036 remains unknown.

II 037

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	v1d1h1d1h1d1	**Total**: 1 **18**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 1 (1b)

The interpretation of this form is as yet unclear. It is not certain whether it is a workman's identity mark: the ostracon, Brock 27, contains markings of an unclear nature, some of which could be interpreted as workmen's marks from the corpus as it is known, yet others seem to be of a different, unknown, nature.



II 038

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
unknown	II 038a: 𓉐 h1v2h1b1 II 038b: 𓊪 b1h1v2h2	**Total**: 2 **18**: 2 (O2)	**painted**: 2 (2r)

The identification and interpretation of these forms are as yet unclear. One might be inclined to relate them to forms of I 24.001, but their sequences do not compare. Moreover, the form 𓎛 (17.004a) already occurs on Cairo JE 96631, where we also see 𓊪. For an interpretation, see Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 2.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 039</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
b1d2v1</td><td>Number
Total: 28
18: 27 (O20, P6, Ns1)
19: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 23 (13b, 8r, 2?)
incised: 5</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">There are as yet no suggestions for identification and interpretation, except that on the basis of potsherd Nagel, Céramique 049, fig. 31 nr. 315 we may suggest that the form might have been an early representation of the papyrus plant.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 040</td><td>Identity
Nḫt-Mnw (vi)</td><td>Description of form
h1v3h1</td><td>Number
Total: 148
19: 20 (O20)
19-20: 11 (O5, P3. G3)
20: 115 (O115)
not dated: 2 (O2)</td><td>Method
painted: 141 (113b, 25r, 1y, 2?)
incised: 7</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The owner of the mark can, on the basis of comparison between the marks sequence and hieratic name lists in dynasty 20, be identified as Nḫt-Mnw (vi). Yet, he may not have been the only one who used the mark. We see that the mark occurs relatively frequently in dynasties 19 and 20, and thus has a long history. It is possible that this is a family mark, that was passed on for several generations. Nḫt-Mnw (vi) is not yet attested in the duty roster of year 24 of Ramesses II, yet his mark occurs on ostracon Ashmolean HO 1247 on day 9 just before we encounter Rš-ptr=f on day 10. This is the same position which Nḫt-Mnw later takes, yet in year 24 we encounter Ḫ^ꜥ-m-jp.t. This Ḫ^ꜥ-m-jp.t is then perhaps Ḫ^ꜥ-m-jp.t (iv), son of a man called Nḫt-Mnw. Although Davies had not identified this Nḫt-Mnw (Davies, Who's who at Deir el-Medina, 249 note 594), we can suggest that this was Nḫt-Mnw (iv); and moreover that this Nḫt-Mnw (iv) also used the mark II 040, which his son Ḫ^ꜥ-m-jp.t (iv) took over, after whom the grandson of Nḫt-Mnw (iv), that is Nḫt-Mnw (vi), took over the mark. If II 040 was indeed the family mark of the Nḫt-Mnw's and family members, the relation between the mark and the men also becomes clear. The mark resembles an abstract geometric form of the hieratic sign for Mnw, 'Min', Möller's number 545, as Haring already suggested in 2000 (Haring, 'Towards decoding the necropolis workmen's funny signs', in GM 178, 50). Compare especially the hieratic form in Möller II, number 545, from the time of Seti I. This suggests that already in dynasty 19 the hieratic form inspired the mark for the Nḫt-Mnw's and family members which was, however, not represented in hieratic form, but rather in abstract form. Was the hieratic sign with its value Mnw known, but were the specimens inscribed by persons who did not write hieratic? Alternatively, the mark may also have been simply an abstract geometric summary of the hieroglyphic form , in which the upper sign and the upper horizontal line of the standard have been connected by means of two vertical lines. Whether the form was inspired by the hieratic or the hieroglyphic sign, it at least found its origin in script in that it used phonetic value.
As regards the specimens, there is a clear difference between the forms from dynasty 19 and those from dynasty 20: the rectangular forms in the former are larger and broader, whereas the 20th dynasty specimens are smaller and more compact. There is also more variation in size among the 19th dynasty specimens than among those from dynasty 20. In dynasty 20 the vertical line sometimes runs through above the rectangular form as seen on ostraca IFAO ONL 0307, IFAO ONL 0310 and IFAO ONL 0317. The length of the vertical line below the rectangular form varies from short (e.g. ostraca IFAO ONL 6220, IFAO ONL 6453 and Turin CG 57008) to fairly long (e.g. ostraca IFAO ONL 6468 and 6536). Not one of the specimens shows a true hieratic form as those seen in Möller; the abstract geometric was retained in dynasty 20.</td></tr>
</table>

II 041

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t (vi) *Pɜ-md.w-nḫt* (i)	II 041a: d2h1 II 041b: d4h1	**Total**: 113 **18**: 2 a: 2 (O1, G1) **18-19**: 1 a: 1 (P1) **19**: 4 a: 4 (O3, P1) **19-20**: 5 a: 4 (O2, P2) b: 1 (O1) **20**: 96 a: 23 (O21, G1, T1) b: 73 (O73) **not dated**: 5 a: 5 (O2, P3)	**painted**: 111 (80b, 23r, 8?) **incised**: 2

It was initially not certain whether and were graphic variants. They were both coded under II 041 because of their graphic similarity. Their relation is as yet not entirely clear. However, there is a clear difference in date. Mark occurs from dynasty 18 onwards, although with most of its specimens dated to dynasty 20, and mark occurs only from dynasty 20 onwards. The mark had a longer history. Several of its specimens, especially its earliest specimens, might be 18th dynasty forms of I 20.006 (see under that code). The mark in dynasty 20 was used by *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* (vi) until the moment that he became foreman in the first year of Ramesses IV. The mark was taken over by *Pɜ-md.w-nḫt* (i). We cannot attest a family relation between *Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t* and *Pɜ-md.w-nḫt*; it seems to have been the case that the latter was a newcomer to the group and needed an identity mark while the mark had just become available. This would suggest that there is no further meaning behind the allocation of a mark other than the position taken in the crew. Without further context, however, any interpretation remains speculative. For possible identifications, see Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapters 3-4.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 042</td><td>Identity
Ḳ3ḥ3 (i)
Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t (vi)
P3-md.w-nḫt (i)
Component in marks connected to the family of Sn-nḏm (i)</td><td>Description of form
II 042a: d2v1h1
II 042b: d2v1h1d2v1h1

Graphic variant in dynasty 20:
II 041b: </td><td>Number
Total: 76

19: 31
a: 26 (O15, P10, Bb1)
b: 5 (O4, P1)

19-20: 31
a: 24 (P20, G4)
b: 7 (O1, P6)

20: 14
a: 13 (O12, G1)
b: 1 (G1)</td><td>Method
painted: 32 (19b, 13r)
incised: 44</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">In Part II chapter 2 (p. 173) it was suggested that the form represents a level. This idea particularly finds support in the specimens seen on ostraca IFAO ONL 6351 and 6479, which show the form with a small circle at the end of the measuring line in the middle. Although the level does not occur as a hieroglyph with phonetic value in script, it is seen as a classifier in the words sb3, ‘level’ and ḫḫ, ‘to level’. Both words are attested in the New Kingdom. A suggestion that concerns the identity of the man who used this mark if first of all based on the frequent occurrence of the mark in TT 360: it may therefore have identified the owner of the tomb who was the 19th dynasty foreman Ḳ3ḥ3 (i). The level as a tool could have referred to the profession of foreman in a metonymic tool-for-profession relation. A level could well have served as a mark for the office of foreman: Sn-nḏm (i) was buried with a level, and in his mark (I27.013) as well as in what is presumably the mark of his son (, I 27.015) the same form occurs.
In dynasty 20 the mark was apparently the form II 041b had become a graphic variant of . This is clear from a comparison of the sequence in which occurs with ostracon BM 50716, on which takes the position of . This mark, as jut mentioned above, belonged to Nḫw-m-Mw.t (vi) before he became foreman. The question now arises why Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t used the mark of the level precisely before he became foreman, and why he changed his mark, therewith the semiosis between the mark and the office of foreman after his promotion. Presumably, the connection between the mark and the office was, in dynasty 20, no longer known or used, which may also explain the more frequent of which it is less easy to understand that it would have been conceived of as a level. In sum, we have to conclude that the mark in dynasty 19 may have been connected to the office of foreman, having been used by Ḳ3ḥ3 (i) and in combination with secondary elements by the family of Sn-nḏm (i), both families of foremen; yet, that this relation between mark and office no longer existed in dynasty 20, in which we find Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t (vi) and after him P3-md.w-nḫt (i) as owners of the mark, the first presumably because of his relation to his forefather Sn-nḏm, the second perhaps merely because he took over Nḫ.w-m-Mw.t’s position.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 043</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
d4</td><td>Number
Total: 12

18: 3 (O2, P1)
19: 4 (O3, P1)
19-20: 1 (P1)
20: 4 (O4)</td><td>Method
painted: 9 (6b, 3r)
incised: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark is difficult to interpret. It is evenly spread over dynasties 18, 19 and 20, but in general is very infrequent. It may be a short rendering of I 13.035, which occurs primarily in dynasty 18; or a short rendering of II 041b above, which occurs mainly in dynasties 19-20.</td></tr>
</table>

II 044

Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
ʿɜ-nḫt (iii = iv)	II 044a: h1d2h1d2v1 II 044b: h1d2h1d2h1d2v1	**Total**: 57 **19**: 12 a: 11 (O10, P1) b: 1 (O1) **19-20**: 9 a: 9 (O3, P3, G2, Ro1) **20**: 35 a: 33 (O32, G1) b: 2 (O2) **not dated**: 1 (O1)	**painted**: 49 (39b, 8r, 2?) **incised**: 8

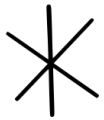
For the identification, see Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 4. The mark could represent the bouquet of flowers that is often seen in offering rituals depicted on temple walls. An example from Luxor is depicted in fig. III1-7. These bouquets can be of various lengths, which may explain the two variations and . The former, however, clearly dominates; two levels were apparently considered recognizable enough. Slight variations are seen in specimens that extend the vertical line where the triangular forms begin, for instance on ARTP 99-044, on IFAO ONL 6526, on IFAO ONL 6541, and on the potsherd Nagel, Céramique 049, fig. 31 nr. 312. A variation that occurs only once is seen on the potsherd Bruyère Rap. 48-51, pl. XVI.038: . A similar variation might be seen on the undated ostracon IFAO C 1430 ( ), but the interpretation of this form as a workman's identity mark is overall uncertain.

II 045

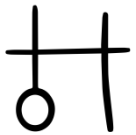
Identity	Description of form	Number	Method
Ḥɜy (iv) or *Ḥɜy* (vii)	Pomegranate	**Total**: 88 **19**: 23 (O21, P2) **19-20**: 13 (P3, G9, Do1) **20**: 50 (O42, P1, G7) **not dated**: 2 (O1, P1)	**painted**: 64 (50b, 13r) **incised**: 20 **unknown**: 4

The mark was occurs in dynasties 19 and 20 and was used by the foreman *Ḥɜy*. For the identification, see Soliman, *Of Marks and Men*, chapter 4. As regards the specimens, we see a development between dynasties 19 and 20. Some specimens in dynasty 19 show a curved stem of the pomegranate, but most have a straight vertical stem. The flower on top is in two cases drawn in detail (on IFAO ONL 6254, and on Schaden 001), but otherwise is fairly simple consisting of two or three short lines. The specimens on IFAO ONL 6347 ( ) and 6690 ( ) are very similar in form and execution: the person who made these forms first draw the left line of the pomegranate, then the right line running through in a relatively long stem toward the left. The specimen on IFAO ONL 6585 shows a similar manner of execution, but is different in style.

In dynasty 20 we no longer see considerable less straight vertical stems. In general, the stems are curved and longer than in dynasty 19. Also the flower is in several cases more elaborately formed. Consider (BTdK 550), (IFAO ONL 6261), and IFAO ONL 6448). The development is somewhat similar as the one seen in the lotus flowers, which also become more elaborate in detail and, in fact, splendor, in dynasty 20. There remains considerable variation among the 20th dynasty specimens; yet, close in style and possibly made by the same hand are the specimens on IFAO ONL 6685 and IFAO ONL 6832, perhaps also including IFAO ONL 6448. The same manner of execution as described above – that is, where the left side of the pomegranate is drawn after which the right side runs through to become the stem directed towards the left – is seen in IFAO ONL 6239, 6246 and Leipzig 1821.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 046</td><td>Identity
Nfr-ḥr (vi)</td><td>Description of form
II 046a: 𓉔 v2h1
II 046b: 𓉔 v3h1</td><td>Number
Total: 100
18: 1 (P1)
  a: 1 (P1)
19: 9 (O9)
  b: 9 (O9)
19-20: 14 (O6, P8)
  a: 1 (O1)
  b: 13 (O5, P8)
20: 76 (O76)
  a: 39 (O39)
  b: 37 (O37)</td><td>Method
painted: 91 (70b, 20r, 1?)
incised: 1
unknown: 8</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">A suggestion on the interpretation of this mark was made on the basis of the knowledge that the mark 𓉔𓂋 (I 27.012) was used by the workman Nfr-ḥr (vi) in dynasty 20. Because of the fact that the marks 𓉔 and 𓉔 alone were also used to refer to him, it could be suggested that 𓉔𓂋 was a more elaborate form of the mark that conveyed at least the phonetic value nfr in the name Nfr-ḥr. Could it be, that in the more elaborate writing the element 𓉔 or 𓉔 referred to the other part of the name, ḥr? Could, then, 𓉔 and 𓉔 be interpreted as an extremely abstract sketch of the human face 𓁹, ḥr? In Part I, chapter 1 (p. 33) we have suggested this: the lines of 𓉔 and 𓉔 would represent the grid lines, or the lines of the most important features of the human face, that is the eyes, ears or sides of the head, and in the case of 𓉔 the nose-line. This remains speculation.</td></tr>
<tr><td>II 047</td><td colspan="4">See I 15.001c.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
II 048</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
II 048a: ✳d3
II 048b: ✳ d4</td><td>Number
Total: 10
18: 9
  a: 7 (O3, P4)
  b: 2 (O2)
20: 1
  a: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 6 (5b, 1r)
incised: 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s marks; uncertain if graphic variants.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 049</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form</td><td>Number
Total: 2
not dated: 2 (O1, P1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)
incised: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s mark. Both the ostracon and the potsherd have not been dated. A comparison might be made with one specimen of II 034 from dynasty 18, on ostracon IFAO ONL 6334: it shows the same triangular top. The vertical line in II 049 is, however, not a feature of II 034.</td></tr>
</table>

	Identity unknown	**Description of form** h1b2h1	**Number** **Total**: 2 **20**: 2 (O2)	**Method** **painted**: 2 (2b)
II 050	Uncertain if workmen's mark.			
	Identity unknown	**Description of form** v1h1d3-5	**Number** **Total**: 3 **18**: 1 (O1) **20**: 1 (O1) **Not dated**: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 3 (1b, 2r)
II 051	Uncertain if workmen's mark. The 18th dynasty specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6444 might be considered a graphic variant of I 13.014a. It occurs in sequence with I 12.009a and II 029a and, although not in sequence, this combination occurs at least six more times in dynasty 18 (ostraca BM EA 41649, Cairo JE 46864, 72496 and 96647, IFAO ONL 6203 and 6293). The 20th dynasty specimen on ostracon IFAO ONL 6482 appears to represent a broom, which we do not know from the corpus of marks; yet, occurs in a row of identity marks that we do encounter elsewhere. The third specimen on ostracon Turin CG 57533 also resembles a broom, but in combination with what appears to be a chest or other piece of furniture it may represent an object rather than a workmen's identity mark.			
	Identity unknown	**Description of form** d2b2	**Number** **Total**: 4 **20**: 4 (O3, G4)	**Method** **painted**: 3 (2b, 1r) **incised**: 1
II 052	The mark represents a necklace, but it cannot be compared to the necklace we know from hieroglyphic script (I 18.012); it does not occur in comparable sequences.			
	Identity unknown	**Description of form** h1v2h1v1h1	**Number** **Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 1 (1?)
II 053	The mark occurs in a column of identity marks belonging to workmen after Ramesses IV. It is, however, not identified.			
	Identity unknown	**Description of form** c1d7b7	**Number** **Total**: 1 **20**: 1 (O1)	**Method** **painted**: 1 (1)
II 054	Remarks: uncertain if workmen's mark. The mark has puzzled us from the start. It occurs on ostracon Ashmolean HO 0999 from dynasty 20 next to two lines of well-known identity marks. It is therewith larger in size than the identity marks. Perhaps it represents the team? It is, however, conspicuous that the first mark to the left of II 054 is the scribe's mark I 24.003 and that the foreman's mark I 11.002 occurs in the middle of a third line on another side of the ostracon.			

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 055</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
v1b2</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Probably not a workmen’s identity mark. Perhaps it represents a pot that is connected to the hieratic number 200, rather than a mark I 09.009 as presented in the facsimile that accompanies the photograph in the database. The mark I 09.009 occurs only in dynasty 18. When not a pot, the form II 055 could perhaps be a hieratic form of the seated man, Gardiner A1 and Möller number 33. Ali presents a very similar form among his specimens of the seated man in graffiti in the Theban Mountains, and specifically refers to it as a ‘Mittelhieratische’ form. See Ali, Hieratische Ritzinschriften aus Theben (1996), p. 95 graffito 1224.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 056</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
d4h1d2</td><td>Number
Total: 1
18: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
Painted: 1 (1r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">This is the only mark that occurs on ostracon IFAO ONL 6206. The date of the ostracon is uncertain as it contains no other information and its find-spot and archaeological context are unknown. An 18th dynasty date is suggested on the basis of the formal appearance of the mark, which seems to be abstract geometric or concrete in form, and simply drawn in style. Perhaps a variant of I 13.026 may be suggested, although there is no evidence. An 18th dynasty date may also appear from comparison with several other ostraca that present only one mark mostly in red, sometimes in black paint, on a small piece of limestone, a mark that is in fact specific to dynasty 18: IFAO ONL 6198 (I 13.026), 6326 (I 13.025), 6345 (II003), 6353 (II 024b). 6357 (I 14.004). 6363 (I 23.008), 6369 (II 016), 6369 (II 005c), 6398 (II 033), 6403 and 6558 (II 032). There are, however, also similar ostraca presenting marks that are specific to later times, for instance IFAO ONL 6270 (I 27.013, dynasty 19), 6329 (I 27.002a, dynasty 19-20), 6351 (II 042a, dynasty 19), 6355 (I 20.015, dynasty 19-20) and 6356 (I 06.031a, dynasty 18-19-20). Certainty concerning the 18th dynasty date of can therefore not be given.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 057</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
d1h1d2h1</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Uncertain if workmen’s mark. The marks on ostracon UC 45733 are all accompanied by a number of dots, while II 057 is not. The vertical line here considered part of II 057 may simply be one of the dividing lines that are so frequent on this ostracon.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"> 
II 058</td><td>Identity
Tɜ-šrỉ?
Rš-ptr=f (i)?</td><td>Description of form
v2h1c1
Perhaps a variant of I 06.035c or I 27.009?</td><td>Number
Total: 1
20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
unknown: 1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark occurs on ostracon Munich 0398, which shows furniture (chairs, chests, beds) and eight identity marks that belong mainly to members of the right side of the crew. The ostracon is very comparable to IFAO ONL 6670, which also shows furniture and has a very similar range of marks. The two ostraca were clearly drawn by the same hand, which is particularly apparent in the comparison of the marks I 04.040, I 04.028 and I 14.028. On the basis of the similarity between Munich 0398 and IFAO ONL 6670 we may suggest an interpretation for . Since both ostraca can be dated to the reigns of Ramesses IV-V on account of their cluster of marks, may be seen as a variant of I 06.035c, which was used by Tɜ-šrỉ (i) at this time. This is apparent from a comparison between the hieratic duty rosters on ostraca BTdK 621 and Cairo CG 25609 and several marks’ ostraca with , among which Ashmolean HO 1250, BM EA 50716 and BTdK 539. An alternative interpretation for on the basis of the similarity with IFAO ONL 6670 would be to consider it an alternative of I 27.009, which appears in the cluster of marks on ostracon IFAO ONL 6670, but otherwise not on Munich 0398. In this case, would represent Rš-ptr=f (i), also a workman of the right side.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 059</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
c1d7b4</td><td>Number
Total: 1
19-20: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1r)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Probably not a workmen’s mark. The find-spot and archaeological context ostracon Romer 23001.140 is unknown; it might not be related to Deir el-Medina. It shows some markings and numbers, none of which, however, can clearly be identified as a workmen’s identity mark. The form seems to represent a sun.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 060</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
h2b1d1</td><td>Number
Total: 1
19: 1 (O1)</td><td>Method
painted: 1 (1b)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Remarks: the mark closes a column of identity marks on ostracon Schaden 105 from dynasty 19. The other four marks are recognizable as workmen’s identity marks. The first three marks (I 16.004a, I 12.014a and I 15.001b) even occur in almost similar sequence on ostracon Schaden 016. Mark II 060 is, however, not recognized and identified.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">
II 061G</td><td>Identity
unknown</td><td>Description of form
d2v1d2</td><td>Number
Total: 3
19-20: 3 (G3)</td><td>Method
incised: 3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">The mark only occurs in graffiti, twice in Theban Graffito 0476 with inner vertical and horizontal lines, and once in Theban Graffito 0484-0485 with apparently only an inner vertical line. In graffito 0484-0485 the specimen occurs in proximity to the hieratic texts ‘scribe Thutmose (ii), son of Khaemhedjet (i)’, ‘scribe Horshire (i), son of Amennakht (v)’ and ‘his son, Nebnefer (?), justified’. In graffito 0476 the two specimens occur underneath the hieratic line ‘chief of the crew, Paneb’. It is uncertain whether II 061G is a workmen’s identity mark.</td></tr>
</table>